

# Albanian Etymological Dictionary

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ALBANIAN ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY



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BY

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## 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 CABEJ, authors of earlier Albanian etymological dictionaries (CABEJ'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 \**Wk. & tai*, see *bjeshke*). 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 *lifer 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 4. 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: *e* 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 *š*, *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 KRISTOFORIDHL LEOTTL 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 quern 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 7, and b as signs for vowels in Bulgarian, Church Slavonic and Old Russian but presenting b 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 (Joiu. *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 Koci (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 Oreek 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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## 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 cABEI *St. III* 96-98):

1. In Geg there exist nasal vowels corresponding to non-nasal vowels in Tosk, cf. Geg *pese* Tosk *pese*, Geg *li* Tosk

2. In Tosk there exists (stressed) *e*, an equivalent of Rum *a*, *i*, Bulg *a*. 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 - *ki*, *gj*.

9. Intervocalic *-n-* is preserved in Geg but underwent the process of rhotacism in Tosk; hence, Tosk *vere* as an equivalent of Geg *vene*.

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].  
*c* is a sign for [tg].  
*dh* denotes an apicodental [ʃ].  
*e* stands for [a] or zero if unstressed. When stressed, it denotes a central unrounded vowel [ɐ] similar to Bulg *v*.  
*gj* denotes a palatalized velar [gʲ].  
*j* stands for [j].  
*l* stands for "clear" European [l]. It can also denote a palatal being a separate phoneme in certain local dialects.  
*//* is a "dark" [ɫ] similar to the non-palatalized [ɫ] in Russian. It is opposed to / 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].  
*sb* is a palato-alveolar spirant [ʃ].  
*th* denotes an apicodental [θ].  
*x* stands for [dz].  
*xh* is a sign for [dʲ].  
*y* denotes a front rounded [y].  
*ʒb* is a palato-alveolar spirant [ʒ].  
 Nasality of vowels in Geg is shown by the sign of circumflex *A*: *a* stands for a nasal [ã], *e* is [ɛ̃] and so on.

## ALBANIAN HISTORICAL PHONETICS

*Vocalism*

1. Short IE *\*e* was preserved as *\*e* in Proto-Albanian but later, after or during the 'wriod 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*, *lehte*, *lend*), after clusters containing *\*r* (*kradh*, *shkrep*, *bredh*) but not after the initial *\*r* (*rjep*), after *\*j* (*ngjesh*). The diphthong *\*ie* was generally preserved as *ie je* (*bie*, *pjekk*, *djeg*, *diell*). In some cases, presumably, before a syllable containing PALb *\*i* and/or before some clusters, *\*ie* changed to *is ja* (*gjalme*, *jam*, *mjalte*, *jashte*). The initial element of the diphthong was lost again after *c*, *gj*, *nj* (*cel*, *gjerb*, *njeri*, *qengj*). The earliest Latin loanwords in Albanian reflect Lat *é* as *je ja* (*pjese*, *vjersh*, *mjek*).

2. Short IE *\*o* changed to PALb *\*a* > Alb *a* (*nate*, *gardh*, *gjak*, *mardh*). Lat *o* is reflected as *u* (*krushkë*, *kunder*, *shpuze*) or *a* (*popull*, *porte*, *korb*) in loanwords. Short IE *\*a* coincided with *\*o* in PALb *\*a* > Alb *a* (*kap*, *dal*, *bathe*). Lat *a* appears as *a* in Albanian loanwords (*faje*, *larg*, *shtat*). In some cases, Alb *a*, *e* < PALb *\*a* reflects the old IE *\*a* (*dbene dhane* < *\*danti-*, part. of *jap*, *mellenje* < *\*melania*). However, in other words (probably, before the old stress) *\*a* disappears (*balte*).

3. Narrow short vowels *\*i* and *\*u* were preserved in Albanian (*gdhij*, *lige*, *vidh*; *dru*, *gjume*, *uje*, *bute*). The same applies to Lat *i* and *u* (*kemishe*, *keshill*, *iriq*; *luftë*, *popull*, *shume*). At the same time, in some words (belonging to a later chronological layer?) Lat *i* appears as Alb *e* (*shenje*, *meshe*, *krëshpe*).

4. Before nasal consonants, Proto-Albanian short vowels *\*a*, *\*e*, *\*i*, *\*u* were nasalized and turned into *\*o*, *\*e*, *\*l*, *\*i*. Later they were preserved as such in Geg dialects (where they are marked as *a*, *e*, *l*, *i* if not followed by a nasal consonant). In Tosk, *\*l* and *\*i* lost their rhinesm while *\*i* changed to *e* and *\*e* - to *e*, *e*; hence such pairs as Tosk *kerp* - Geg *kanp*, Tosk *hene* - Geg *hang*.

5. Long IE *\*e* changed to PALb *\*a* and then to Alb *o* (*mos*, *plate*, *kohe*, *ngroh*). In one case (*mish*) *\*e* is reflected as Alb *i* (this development clearly preceding the application of the "ruki" rule). In Latin loanwords, Lat *e* is usually rendered as Alb *e* (*regj*, *femer*, *prendvere*). Occasionally, however, it yields Alb *i* (*bishe*, *ligj*, *kishe*). Long IE *\*el* merged with *\*e* in PALb *\*a* > Alb *o* (*mater*, *kolle*, *kopshite*). As to Lat *a*, it is always preserved in Alb *a* (*blate*, *shkalle*) while Gk *a* appears as *o* in loanwords (*maker*).

6. Long IE *\*o* yielded PALb *\*o* later reflected as Alb *e* (*tete*, *pele*, *blere*). The same result is found in earlier Latin loanwords with *o* (*peme*, *termet*, *tmerr*). Later, Latin loanwords display *u* (*kanushe*, *shulle*) or even *o* (*ore*, *koore*) as a reflex of *o*. While IE *\*o* was palatalized to IE *\*a* gave PALb *\*ia* usually appearing as *y* in the inlaut (*dylle*, *gjysh*) and *i* in the auslaut (*mi*, *ti*, *thi*). Lat *u* is normally rendered as *y* (*gjyq*, *shqyt*, *fytyre*, *vertyt*) but, occasionally, also as *u* (*rrushkull*).

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

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

umlauticized into Tosk *ye*, Geg *y* (*dyer* - pl. of *dere*, *lyej*). In Latin loanwords, Lat Or gives the same results (*kapua*, *ftua*, *sherbetuar*, *arsye*).

9. IE *\*ei* was preserved as PAIb *\*ei* but later coincided with *\*i* in Alb *i* (*dimer*, *mire*). As to IE *\*ai* and *\*oi*, they yielded PAIb *\*ai* reflected as Alb *e* (*vere*, *be*, *dege*).

10. Indo-European diphthongs in *u* lost their second element in Albanian. Thus, IE *\*eu* preserved as PAIb *\*eu* appeared as Alb *e* (*desba* - aor. of *dua*, *det*, *nente*). 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*, *ga<sub>z</sub>*, *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*, *grure*, *kulper*, *ujk*, *hire*). Syllabic nasals *\*r̥* and *\*l̥* changed to PAIb *\*a* > Alb *a* (*shtate*, *giate*, *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 (*eb*, *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 *e*. When a new system of stress came into being in Albanian, new unstressed vowels in all positions were reduced to *u* or zero. If afterwards an anlaut consonant fell, the sequence of two vowels was contracted and colored according to the accented vowel (*pyll*, *kij*).

4. In the vocalic anlaut, a prothetic *h-* may well appear (*arme* *har-me*, *ll* — *hyll*). In early loanwords, the initial *o* was substituted by *\*a* > Tosk *va*, Geg *vo* (*vai<sub>fer</sub>*, *vadbe*, *vater*).

### Consonantism

15. Non-syllabic liquids were preserved as PAIb *\*r*, *\*l*. PAIb *\*r* is reflected as Alb *r* (*dru*, *tre*, *moter*) and occasionally as *rr* (*kerr*, *vjeherr*, *rrap*). For unknown reasons, the intervocalic *r* was altogether lost in *bie*. In Latin loanwords, initial *r* is usually rendered as *rr* (*rralle*, *rregull*, *rrem*). In other positions it yields *r* (*grill*, *drejte*, *kunder*). PAIb *\*l* tends to yield / in the anlaut (*lebte*, *lende*, *lidb*) but gives both / and /l

in other positions (*pele*, *mjalte*, *hell*, *mjegull*). In Latin loanwords, intervocalic / appears as Alb /l (*popull*, *ulli*, *menjone*). Otherwise it gives / (*larg*, *leti*, *plage*). Geminated Lat // is reflected as / (*pule*, *gjel*, *bale*).

16. IE *\*m* remained unchanged in PAIb *\*m* > Alb *m* (*mjalte*, *muaj*, *mjeker*). The same is true of Lat *m* in loanwords (*mik*, *mije*, *mend*). IE *\*n* yielded PAIb *\*n* that also remained unchanged in the anlaut and in various consonantal clusters (*ne*, *nente*, *nate*, *nuk*). Initial Lat *n* is rendered as Alb *n* (*natyre*, *nemeroj*, *nyje*). In the intervocalic position PAIb *\*n* remained unchanged in Geg but yielded *r* in Tosk (*vere* *vene*, *emer emen*, *Here llane*). Latin loanwords reflect the same process of Tosk rhotacism (*kerp* *kanp*, *rere rave*, *fewer femem*).

17. The reflex of IE *\*0* is PAIb *\*w* > Alb *v* (*ve*, *vere*, *vehete*). PAIb *\*w* was lost before rounded vowels (*dere*). In a few words, the development of *\*4144-* to Alb *y* is attested (*gryke*, *hyll*, *qytet*). As to Lat *v*, it also yields *v* in Albanian (*vjershe*, *verdhe*, *gjuvengje*). 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 (*gjesb*, *gjaj*, *gjem*). In the anlaut, PAIb *\*j* disappeared after front vowels (*di*, *hi*, *fle*, *hie*) but changed to *\*x* > *h* after other vowels (*babe*, *shtrobe*, *ngroh*, *ftob*). The shift to *\*x* covers the earliest Slavic loanwords (*llobe*, *krabe*, *kerabine*). In Latin loanwords, the anlaut *j* is reflected as *gj* (*gjuvengje*, *gjuq*, *gjuvengje*) and later as *j* (*janar*).

18. Initial IE *\*s* > PAIb *\*s* yields Alb *gj-* (*gjashte*, *gjalpe*, *gjalle*, *gjarper*). 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* (*kobe*, Geg *nabe*, acc. of *ne*). However, after *\*T*, *\*u* PAIb *\*s* changed to *\*S* > *sh* (*bresher*, *push*, *gjysh*, *plish*, *kush*). In Latin loanwords, Lat *s* is always rendered as *sh* (*shekull*, *peshoj*, *shelg*). The same is true of earlier borrowings from other languages (*shake*).

19. IE *\*p* remains unchanged as PAIb *\*p* > Alb *p* (*pele*, *pese*, *pjek*). IE *\*bh* yields PAIb *\*h* > Alb *b* (*bie*, *bathe*, *dhemb*, *balte*). Labials in Latin loanwords are preserved as *p*, *b* (*popull*, *pjeper*, *bule*, *bishe*).

20. IE *\*t* > PAIb *\*t* is reflected as Alb *t* (*tre*, *tete*, *ti*, *trap*). The voiced IE *\*d* is unchanged (*darke*, *dire*, *drite*). IE *\*dh* coincides with *\*d* in PAIb *\*d* > Alb *d* (*dere*, *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 (*dhune*, *dhashe*) or by sandhi (*dhjete*). In Latin loanwords, dentals yield *t* and *d* (*tmerr*, *trofte*, *dem*, *drejte*). Lat *d* changes to Alb *dh* in the same position as PAIb *\*d* (*shurdh*, *urdher*).

21. So called "pure" velars were preserved as such in Albanian. IE  $*k$  remained PALb  $*k > \text{Alb } k$  (*krua, karpe, kedh*). As to  $*g$  it appears as PALb  $*g > \text{Alb } g$  (*agoj, lige, gunge*). The same reflex continues IE  $*gh > \text{PALb } *g > \text{Alb } *g$  (*shteg, gardh, mjegull*). Latin velars were not changed in Albanian borrowings: Lat *c* is rendered as Alb *k* (*kemishe, kenge, keshill*), Lat *g* - as Alb *g* (*gaz, grigj, plage*). In contemporary Albanian initial *k* is sometimes voiced in Geg (*gelbaze kelbaze, geshtenje - keshtenje*).

22. Indo-European palatal stops were asibilated to affricates in Proto-Albanian. IE  $*k$  changed to PALb  $*ts > \text{Alb } th$  (*thorn, theni, thep, djathte*) but occasionally PALb  $*ts$  appears as *c*. Both IE  $*k$  and  $*gh$  yielded PALb  $*dz > \text{Alb } dh$  (*lidh, vjedh, berdhe, madh, rrjedh*). However, in the anlaut only IE  $*A$  gave the same reflex (*dhemb, dhender, dballe*) while IE  $*gh$  reflected as PALb  $*d > \text{Alb } d$  (*dore, dimer, dylle*) with some irregularities. In many words where palatals were neighbors of sonants the process of asibilation did not take place (*grure, quaj, mjeker*). The development of IE  $*k$  in *vjeherr* is explained by an assimilation  $*swetsura > *swesura > *swexura$ .

23. The history of labiovelars was particularly complicated in Albanian. At first, IE  $*k^w$ ,  $*g^w$  and  $*O$  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  $*k^w$  yielded Alb *k* (*pkje, kater, ndjek*),  $*g^w > \text{Alb } g$  (*gur, gak, gershas*) and  $*g^wt > \text{Alb } g$  (*djeg, garbe*). Before front vowels, the clusters  $*kw$  and  $*gw$  changed to  $*k^w$  and  $*g^w$  with a palatalized first element and (together with groups IE  $*ky$ ,  $*gy > \text{PALb } *k^w, *g^w$ ) yielded  $*tsw$ ,  $*dzw > *Cs$ ,  $*di > \text{Alb } s$ , (*sjell, sy, pese, zorre, ze, zule, zjarr, ndez*).

24. In Proto-Albanian, some of the intervocalic voiced dentals and velars were lost (*ve, le, nge, dray*). 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, perra116 pre, tra*).

23. in the anlaut, 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* (*rooter*).

24. Before the old  $*j$ , the following PALb  $*t$ ,  $*d$  and  $*s$  changed to  $*ts$ ,  $*di$  and  $*f$  in a process that may be described as the *first palatalization* (*mas, neser, tres, buzë, shosh, vesh*). Latin clusters *tj* and *dj* were also affected by this process (*pjese, pus, rreze, shpuze*). Lat *sj* coincided with *s* in Alb *sh* (*kernishe*).

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* - *land nj* (*male, be, njeri*). This process may be called the *second palatalization*. It is also attested in Latin loanwords (*qete, gender, regj, ligj, geshtenje*).

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

27. Proto-Albanian clusters  $*rw$ ,  $*nr$  as well as  $*hw$  changed to *rr* and *ll* (*arre, rribe, gjalle, miell*). Later Latin loanwords follow this pattern (*rryle*) but then, probably in words coming from Balkan Eastern Romance (proto-Rumanian) one also finds *-rb-* < Lat *-rv-* (*sberbej*). Also, as in proto-Rumanian, Latin groups *-br-* and *-bl-* change to *-yr-*, *-y/-*; then the labial forms a diphthong with the preceding vowel and (in Albanian) disappears (*farke, shtalle*).

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

29. In Proto-Albanian  $*rn$  and  $*In$  were preserved. These clusters lived long into the pre-historic Albanian period until they yielded *rr* and *ll* (*verr, barre, pjell, shtjell*). The same reflexes are found in Latin loanwords (*fern, furre, kerrute*). In loanwords one can also trace the old cluster *mn* reflected as *m* or, with a secondary final *-b*, *mb* (*dem, shkemb, shtembe*). Geminate *nn* in borrowings was preserved as *n* or *nd* (similar to *-m > -mb*) and, apparently, was not affected by the Tosk rhotacism (*gune, pende*). The cluster  $*nr$  developed an epenthetic  $*d$  and changed to  $*ndr > \text{nder}$  (*enderr, dhender*).

30. Before spirants and affricates of various origins, nasal sonorants disappeared (*pese, wish, peshoj, meze*).

31. As noted above, anlaut *m* and *n* occasionally changed to *mb* and *nd* (*shkemb, shtembe, pellambe, pende*). 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 (*lende, pende, ndej, nga, tembull, prind, kenge*). Some of these clusters tended to lose their second element (*ane, dbune*).

32. In the anlaut, Alb  $*kl$ ,  $*gl$  yielded *q*, *gj* in standard literary Albanian and some dialects (*qaj, qete, qesh, gjate, gjemb*) while other dialects have [ts], [di] or [14], [gi] or even depalatalized [k], [g]. The

same change was applied to loanwords (*gjender*) including those from Slavic (*gjobe*). In other positions *\*gl* changed to *gull* (*mjegull*). Proto-Albanian clusters *\*lk*, *\*lg* fluctuate between *lk*, *lg* (*shelg*, *balge*) and *jk*, *jg* (*bujk*, *bajge*).

33. Clusters *\*sw*, *\*sm* and *\*sn* lost their first element (*vjeherr*, *vjerr*, *mjeker*, *mug*, *thaj* < *\*sausnja*). Clusters *\*sr* and *\*s/* yielded *rr* and *ll* (*rryme*, *korr*, *kolle*). Clusters *\*rs* and *\*Is* gave the same results (*djerr*, *kalli*) but the group *\*Ist* changed to *\*st* > *sht* (*kashte*).

34. PAIb *\*sp* underwent a metathesis into *\*ps* and yielded *f* (*faj*, *fal*, *fare*, *ferre*, *fier*) while in loanwords *sp* is reflected as *shp* (*shpatull*, *shpuze*). PAIb *\*st* changed to *sht* both in Indo-European words and loanwords (*shteg*, *shtate*, *shtyj*, *shtallue*, *shtat*). The voiced cluster *zd* was metathesized to *\*dz* and changed to *dh* (*pidh*) and, occasionally, to *th* (*drithe*).

35. PAIb *\*sk* < IE *\*sk*, *\*sr* changed to *shk* (*shkak*, *shkal*, *shkas*, *shkep*) and, before front vowels, to *shq* (*shqarr*, *shqerr*, *shqej*). In other cases, PAIb *\*sk* (apparently, continuing also *\*sk*) underwent a metathesis into *\*ks* and yielded *h* (*hale*, *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 *c* before a front vowel (*caj*, *pie*).

36. The rare but diagnostically important cluster *\*tt* gave PAIb *\*th* > *s* (*pasur*, part. of *kam*). Other clusters consisting of two stops lost their first element (*drite*, *nate*, *dhe*, *dje*). In Latin loanwords clusters of two stops were represented mainly by *et* and *cs* = *x*. Their development was twofold. When borrowed from East Balkan Romance of the Rumanian type, *ct* coincided with *pt* in *ft* (*prift*, *gift*, *ftua*, *lufte*, *trofte*) and *cs* gave *fsh* (*kofshue*, *lafshe*). When borrowed from Dalmatian (i.e. Western) Romance, *ct* yielded *jt* (*drejte*, *trajte*, *pajtoj*) while *cs* developed to *sh* (*frasher*, *ushunjez*).

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- ZjslavPh* - *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie.* Leipzig - Heidelberg, 1924 -.
- ZjSlaw* - *Zeitschrift für Slavistik.* Berlin, 1956-.
- ZOG* - *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien.* Wien, 1850-1928.
- ZONE = *ZfOrt.*
- 2A* - *Ziva antika.* Skopje. 1952 -.

## 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
DaIm - 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 - ( )Irish
IE - Indo-European	°Hal - Old Italian
Illyr - Illyrian	OLith - Old Lithuanian
Ir - Irish	ON - Old Norse

OPers - Old Persian  
 OPort - Old Portuguese  
 OPrus - Old Prussian  
 ORuss - Old Russian  
 OS - Old Saxon  
 OSard - Old Sardinian  
 Osc - Oscan  
 Osset - Ossetic  
 Pers - Persian  
 Phryg - Phrygian  
 Piem - Piemontan  
 Pol - Polish  
 Port - Portuguese  
 Prov - Provençal  
 Rom - Romance  
 Rum - Rumanian  
 Russ - Russian

Sard - Sardinian  
 SCr - Serbo-Croatian  
 Sicil - Sicilian  
 Skt - Sanskrit  
 Slav - Slavic  
 Sogd - Sogdian  
 Sp - Spanish  
 Swed - Swedish  
 Thr - Thracian  
 Tokh - Tokharian  
 Turk - Turkish  
 Ukr - Ukrainian  
 Venet - Venetian  
 W - Welsh  
 Yagn - Yagnob  
 Yazg - Yazgulam

## A

a part. 'whether', conj 'or'. The particle is etymologically identical with the conjunction (cABEJ *St.* I 27-28). From PAIb \*a connected with Gk ij 'indeed' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 322) or with the pronominal stem \*e-l\*o. 0 BOPP 498 (to Skt a-, demonstrative particle); CAMARDA I 313-314 (to Gk interjection); MEYER *WI*. 1 (borrowing from Lat *an* 'whether' but the nasal could not be lost without any traces; conjunction a continues Lat *aut* 'or'); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* 11047, 1057; JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 19; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 67 (follows PEDERSEN); FRISK I 619; HAMP *HSyn.* 177; cABEJ *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 *av*, 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 *ax pov* 'point, top', Lith *aftrits* 'sharp', Slav \*ostrb id. 0 POKORNY I 21.

acar m 'frost, strong cold'. Historically identical with *acar* 'steel', with a semantic development 'strong cold' < 'sharp'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 20 (explains the derivative *aceroj* 'to fester [of a wound] as a borrowing from Slav \*eirkji, 'wound, furuncle'); CABEJ *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 *adorare* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 1). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* 11047; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; CABEJ *Etim.* II 11 (from Italian); LANDI *Lat.* 79.

afar adv., prep. 'near'. From PAIb \*apsera representing a contamination of \*aps, a variant of IE \*apo reflected by Gk *Ocw* 'backwards', and of \*apero, a derivative of \*apo-: Skt *dpara* '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 *afar* from Germanic: Goth *afar*, OHG *avar* 'again' and the like. 0 GILFERDING *Otm.* 20 (to Skt *dpara-*); MIKLOSICH *Rom.*



*Elemente* 26 (from *Latfinis*); MEYER *Wb.* 3 (borrowed from Rom \**affindre* 'to approach' - Lat *affinis* 'near' with Geg < Tosk); JOKL *Studien* 103-104 (preposition *a* followed by *-fer* borrowed from Gothfer *side*); BARD' *Lingv. Studien* 87 (links *afer* to Lat *spent?*) 'to sever, to separate, to remove', Gk *aiteti.pw* '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; cABEJ *St.* I 28-29 (privative *a-* < \**0-* and *-fer* compared with E *far*), *Etim.* II 11-12; HULD 36; DEMIRAJ *AE* 70-71.

afsh m, pl. *afshe* 'heat, hot breath, smell'. From PAIb \**aweisa*, a suffixal derivative of IE \**ayei-* 'to blow' structurally close to MW *awyd* 'gust of wind', OCorn *awit* 'air' < \**ayei-* (*OREL Fort.* 78). Another derivative of the same root is PAIb \**aweita* > *aft* 'blow of wind' (DEMIRAJ *AE* 72). 0 CAMARDA 1305, II 100, 150 (*aft* to Gk *Ocxvri* 'chaff'); MEYER *Wb.* 3 (from Ital *afa* 'heat coming from the ground'); JOKL *IF XLIII* 63 (to *enj*); POKORNY I 82; cABEJ *Etim.* 11 13 (to *avull*).

afte adj. 'capable, proper'. Borrowed from Lat *aptus* id. (cABEJ *Etim.* II 13). 0 MANN *Comp.* 29 (related to Lat *aptus*).

ag m, pi. *agje* 'twilight, dusk'. From PAIb \**auga* etymologically related to Gk '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*. 0 CAMARDA I 94 (to Gk 'dawn'); BARK *ARSt* I 60 (wavers between MEYER'S and CAMARDA'S etymologies); PERSSON *Beitrag* 369; GONDA *Anc.* 73-83; MANN *Language XXVI* 382; PISANI *Saggi* 99; CHANTRAINE 137; POLAK *Zffialk I* 87 (to Basque *ego* 'light'); TRUBAEV *Etmogenez* 151 (identifies the first element of 'Aylievpuot with *ag*); cABEJ *St.* I 30 (to Gk *Opyvri* 'darkness, night'), *Etim.* II 16-17; DEMIRAJ *AE* 72.

agjeroj agjenoj aor. *agjerova agjenova* 'to fast'. Borrowed from Rom \**adjundre* id., cf. Rum *ajuna* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 4). 0 CAMARDA I 80 (to Lat *jejunium* lase); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1049; Pu5cARtu *EWB* 5; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 12; cABEJ *Etim.* II 18-19 (from *jejanare*).

ah m, pl. *aha*, *aha* 'beech-tree'. Goes back to PAIb \**aksa* identical with IE \**osk-*: Gk 641a 'beech', Arm *hac* 'i' 'ash-tree', ON *ask-* id., Maced

go;• iSkti (MEYER *Wh.* 4; PEDERSEN *IF V* 44). 0 PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 86; BOGA II 286; BARIc *Hymje* 24; AeAREAN *HAB* III 65; PISANI *Saggi* 128; POKORNY I 782; FRISK II 400; CHANTRAINE 806; HAMP *Laryngeals* 132; HULD 36-37; cABEJ *Etim.* II 19-20; DEMIRAJ *AE* 73.

ai, ay pron. 'he', f. ajo 'she; that'. Masc. *ai* goes back to PAIb \**a-ei* consisting of a proclitic particle \**a* and a demonstrative \**ei*, identical with IE \**ei-* in Skt *aydm* 'he', Lat *is* (*eis* in early inscriptions) and the like. The feminine form is from PAIb \**a-ja* continuing IE \**ia* id., fem. sg. of the demonstrative \**io-* (BOPP 519; CAMARDA I 209; MEYER *Wb.* 5). 0 MEYER *ZfromPh* XI 268-269 (*a-* from Lat *atque*); *Alb. St.* III 40, 63, 79, IV 24; JOKL *Studien* 4 (*a-* from Lat *ad*), *LKUBA* 271 (*a-* from IE \**ad* or \**d*), *IF XXXVI* 98-100; PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 248-252, *KZ XXXIV* 288, XXXVI 309 (derives *-jo* from IE \**sa* treating *-j-* as a hiatus filler), *Pron.* 315 (*a-* from IE \**au-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 68; POKORNY I 282-283; CAMAJ 103 (follows MEYER); cABEJ *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 FLHVIII/1-2* 43; HULD 38 (repeats PEDERSEN's version); KORTLANDT *SSGL X* 224-225 (*-jo* < IE \**ija* or \**eja*), XXIII 174; DEMIRAJ *AE* 70, 73.

aj m 'bite'. Borrowed from Lat *alium* (MEYER *Wb.* 6). 0 cABEJ *Etim.* II 23-24 (to *aneze*).

ajk8 f 'cream, wool fat'. In dialects, a more phonetically archaic form *a/ke* has been preserved. Goes back to PAIb \**alka* related to Lith *dlkti* 'be hungry', *aika* 'hunger', Slav \**olkti* 'be hungry' (*OREL Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 257). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 5 (from Lat *alica* 'kind of grain, spelt' with an obvious discrepancy of meaning); *OSTIRAnthropos VIII* 165-167 (to Lat *sebum* lard); FRAENKEL 8; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 57-58 (to *lule*); cABEJ *St.* I 31-32 (reconstructs \**olka* and compares *ajke* with Lat *alga* 'sea-weed'), *Earn.* II 26-28 (to IE \**o-* 'fat, dirt'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 74.

akull m, pl *aku* Loanword from Gmc \**jakulaz* 'icicle, glacier', cf. ON *j9kull* 'icicle', OE *gicel* id. (*OREL Linguistica XXVI* 171). In Albanian, the source may be East Germanic (Balkan Gothic?). The loss of the anlaut \*/-, probably, shows that the loan penetrated into Proto-Albanian at a stage when there was no f-like sound there. 0 CAMARDA

161 (suffix *-u/-*); MEYER *Alb. Studien* I 66, Wh. 7 (comparison with Gk *ticxki*); 'fog', Lat *aquilo* '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. Worth.* 53-54 (to *ehull*); HULD 38-39 (follows JoKL); OREL *Koll. Mg. Ges.* 355; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 31-32; DEMIRAJ *AE* 74.

ame f, pl. *ama* 'source, river-bed'. A metaphoric use of *ame* 'mother' (VASMER *Zfs/avPh* XVI 337; TAGLIAVINI *Melanges Pedersen* 162-163), in fact, a calque of SCr *matica* 'water-source' or Bulg *matka* 'water-bed' (to *\*mati* 'mother'). 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* III 64; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 90-91 (to Lat *amnis*); BARD' *AArbSt* II 157; MANN *Language* XXVI 380 (follows JOKL); CHANTRAINE 70; cABEJ *Etim.* II 39 (agrees with TAGLIAVINI); GAMKRELIDZE - IVANOV II 886 (to Gk *Ocpsipri* 'pit, canal'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 75-76.

ame f, pl. *ama* 'mother'. In Tosk where *ame* comes from Geg, there exists *erne* as well. A widespread *Lallname* (MEYER *Wb.* 5). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 111; SAINÉAN *ZfromPh* XXX 314 (borrowed from Lat *amnia*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 170.

amez f 'odour, aroma'. Derivative in *-ez* from (G) *ame* < PAIb *\*adma* connected with Gk 681..tii id., Lat *odor* id., Lith *tiosti* 'to smell' (JoKL *Studien* 3; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Melanges 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-*); cABEJ *Etim.* II 40-41 (derived from *ame* 'mother', cf. Fr *mere de vinaigre*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 76.

amull adj. 'stagnant (of water)'. As to *amull* 'very hot', it is the same word (cABEJ *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 *\*kall*. 'dirt'. Continues PAIb *\*amulwa* with a prothetic *a-* etymologically related to Lith *mulve* 'silt, marsh', *multi* 'to get dirty'. 0 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; TRUBAC'EV *ESSJa* IX 124; cABEJ *St.* I 34; MANN *Comp.* 20 (to Arm *amul* 'barren', OIr *ambal* 'dark'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 75 (to *ame*).

an m 'uterus'. A metaphoric transformation of *ene*, singularized plural of dialectal *an*, *ane* 'vessel'. As to the latter, it is identical with *ane* 'side' (KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 223). 0 CAMARDA II 31 (comparison of *ene* with Gk *Otyyciov* 'vessel'), 71 (to Gk *g.vtcot* 'vessel'); MEYER Wh. 12 (identifies *ene* with *ane* 'side'), *Alb. St.* IV 9; JOKL *Studien* 3 (compares *ane*, *ene* with Skt *ukhd-* 'vessel, boiler' and/or Goth *auhns* 'oven', reconstructing *\*aug"na*); BARD I *ARSt* 86 (to Lat *auxilla*); MAYRHOFER I 98; cABEJ *St.* I 34 (links *ane*, *ene* to Gk *ayyoc* 'vessel'); MANN *Comp.* 20 (*an* 'caul' related to Gk *&ploy* 'vessel for sacrificial blood'); OLBERG apud DEMIRAJ (close to JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 76-77.

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

ane f, pl. *ane* 'side'. From PAIb *\*anta* related to Skt *dnta-* 'end', Goth *andais* id. (cABEJ *St.* I 35, IV 56-57) with *\*-nt-* > *-n-*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 11 (reconstructs *\*wand* related to IE *\*Ous-* '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; PoLAK *Orbis* XVI 127 (to Georg *hana* cABEJ *Etim.* II 47-49; JANSON *Unt.* 90-92; DEMIRAJ *AE* 77-78 (supports cABEJ).

ang m 'fear, nightmare'. From PAIb *\*anga* corresponding to Skt *einThas-* 'fear', Lat *angor* 'unrest, fear', Oh *cumcae* gl. 'angor' < Celt *\*kom-ong-ia* (OREL *Antic. balk.* 5 32; OREL *Zffialk* XXIII/2 147) and further connected with IE *\*anghu-* 'narrow', *\*ang hos* 'narrowness, oppression' (cABEJ *St.* I 36). 0 JOKL *IF* XLIII 61 f. (links *ang*, *ankth* to Skt *dniti* 'to breathe' < IE *\*ana-*); ( )*STIR* *AArbSt* I 104 (fantastic comparisons with Slav *\*mora* 'mythic incarnation of) fear', Gk *utat* and the like); MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; POKORNY I 42-43; HAMP *Eriu* XXVIII 147-148, *LB* XXX 131-132; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350.

(G) angerr f, pl. *angrra* 'skin; intestines'. From PAIb *\*angara* < IE

\**anghtira* related to Arm *anjn* 'soul, person', ON *angi* 'smell, odor'. 0 JOKL *Melanges Pedersen* 127-129 (zero-grade derivative of IE \**Or-* 'to eat, to swallow'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 86; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 232 (follows JOKL); ACAREAN *HAB* I 202-203; POKORNY I 42; cABEJ *St.* I 35 (identifies *angerr* with the participle *hanger* '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 *OyKOTottat* 'to cry', Lat *unca* 'to growl (of bears)'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 304 (to *ankth*); POKORNY I 322; cABEJ *Etim.* II 51 (follows MEYER).

(G) **ankoj** aor. *ankova* 'to cry, to weep'. This verb also appears as *nekoj*, *rekoj* and *renkoj*. A denominative verb that is probably based on PALb \**anaka* borrowed from Gk *etvOcyrn* 'grief, distress'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 304 (to *angullij* and Slav \**jc(Yati)* '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 \**anghosto-* \**anghosti-*: Lat *angustus* 'narrow', OHG *angust* 'fear' (MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; cABEJ *St.* I 36). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 13, 304 (compares with *ankoj* and its variants); BARIC *ARSt* 116-17 (to *emakth* id., *eme* 'mother'); JOKL *IF* XLIII 61-62 (to Lat *animus*, Skt *dniti*); (MTIR *AArbSt* 1 104 (to Basque *amets* 'dream'); POKORNY I 43; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; cABEJ *Etim.* II 53-54; BEEKES *CIEL* 263; DEMIRAJ *AE* 79.

**ape m** 'elder brother; dad'. A typical *Lallnanze*. 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 39 n.1 (from Hung *apa* 'father'); cABEJ *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* (cABEJ *St.* I 36-37). 0 PEDERSEN *Pron.* 315 (to Gk *av* 'again'); TRUBACEV *ESSJA* I 64-65; cABEJ *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). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3* 1 1047, 1056; MANN *Language* XXVI 381; MIHAESGu *RESEE IV* 11-2 12; HAARMANN 112; cABEJ *Etim.* II 59-60; LANDI *Lat.* 72.

**arber arben** m, pl. *arber arben* '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 'A243avoi (Ptol.). The form *arberesh arbenesh* 'Halo- or Graeco-Albanian' reflects Rom \**albanensis* (*JoKL Arch. Rom.* XXIV 137). 0 CAMARDA I 30; MEYER *Wb.* 14; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 299 (to Gk *Opyav6*; 'orphan'); 00YPIKIE XLIII 3-7, XLVI 9-12 (to the name of the Alps and Illyr *Arbona*); SPITZER *MRIW* 1334; TROMBETTI *AArbSt* III 1-6 (from proto-Indo-European); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 71-72 ('sicuramente indigeno'); MEYER *Illyrier* II 4 (to Gk *Op(pvog)* 'dark'); LANGE-KOWAL *ZfBalk* XVIII/2 134-136 (< \**arb-* parallel to \**alb-*); KACORI *EB* 1977/1 122-129; Mil-IAESCu *RESEE IV*/3-4 327; LUKA *KKF* 281-291; cABEJ *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 \**ardhe* and, further, to PALb \**ardz-* related to the aorist stem *erdha* (see *vij*), cf. CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 51; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 65-66. Semantically, 'vine' < 'climbing, going' as in Slav \**loza* 'vine' \**loziti*, \**lezti* 'to climb' (cf. BRUCKNER *AfclPh* XXXIX 4; VASMER II 512). An alternative etymology (MEYER *Wb.* 147) is based on the variant *rdhi* and connects it with IE \**yreg-* 'to break, to cut'. 0 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; BARD *Hymje* 43, 57 (compares *ardhi* with Basque *ardao* 'wine'); POKORNY 1181-1182; PoLAK *ZfBalk* I 87 (to Basque *ardao* 'wine'); WEITENBERG *KZ* LXXXIX 68-70; cABEJ *St.* I 38 (a phonetically difficult comparison with *urth*), *Etim.* II 69-70; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 355; DEMIRAJ *AE* 195-196.

**are** f, pl. *ara* 'field'. From PALb \**ara* etymologically connected with Latv *ara* id. (GATERS *KZ* LXXIII 108-109) and, probably, with Hitt *arba-* 'border, area', Lyd *aara-* 'farmstead, land', Mess *aran* (*HAMP* *KZ* LXXV 237-238). 0 CAMARDA I 96 (to Gk *iipoupa* 'tilled land'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3 (from Lat *area* 'ground, space, thresh-

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

arez an& f, pl. *areza anza* 'wasp'. Continues PA1b \**auna* derived from IE \**au(a)-* 'to weave' similarly to Lith *vapsa*, Slav \**osa* and the like based on IE \**nebh-* 'to weave'. 0 MEYER Wb. 14 (borrowing from Turk *ari* 'bee' with a suffix *-ez-* but how to explain the rhotacism in Tosk?), *Alb. St.* V 68; BARIC *ARSt.* I 83-84 (reconstructs \**akna* compared with Lat *accileus* 'sting'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 70; cABEJ *St.* 40-41 (agrees with BARD); cABEJ *Etim.* II 87-88 (from \**ak-* 'sharp').

areze f, pl. *areza* 'nape'. Note a more phonetically conservative variant *arreze*. Another derivative of the same stem is represented by *aril*. 'upper jugular vertebra'. Both words are based on *arre* in its metaphoric sense of a round protuberance (CAMARDA I 181; MEYER Wb. 7). 0 cABEJ *St.* I 41, *Etim.* II 90.

argesh m 'crude raft supported by skin bladders, crude bridge of cross-bars, harrow'. From PA1b \**argusa* related to Skt *argala-* 'bolt', OE *reced* 'building, house'. 0 POKORNY I 65; cABEJ *St.* I 39 (comparison with IE \**uerg-* 'to work, to do').

argjend argjand m 'silver'. Borrowed from Lat *argentum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27; MEYER Wb. 15). 0 CAMARDA 155 (unspecified comparison with Lat *argentum*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 237; MANN *Language* XVII 22; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 77; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMANN 111; cABEJ *Etim.* II 75-76; LANDI *Lat.* 54, 79, 116.

ari m, pl. *arinj* 'bear'. From PA1b \**arina* (JOKL *LKUBA* 310) derived from \**ara* > (A)lb *ar* (BoGDANI). The feminine forms are *arushe* and *areshe*. A tabooistic transformation of IE \**rkso-* \**rkto-* id.: Hitt *bartag-*

*ga-*, Skt *fkasa-*, Gk *Cepiccoc*, Lat *ursus* and the like (CAMARDA I 86; MEYER Wb. 15, *Alb. St.* IV 20). The expected Alb \**ar<sup>h</sup>th* must have been treated as a diminutive in *-th*, from where the existing form *ar* was later derived (DEmiRm *AE* 82). 0 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 *IES<sup>t</sup>* II 504-539; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 66 (erroneously connects *ari* with Gk *apvui.tat* 'to obtain, to get, to receive' and the like); HULD 38; cABEJ *Etim.* II 77; KODDERITZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 66.

ark m, pl. *arqe* 'bow'. Borrowed from Lat *arcus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER Wb. 15). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1042; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMANN 111; LANDI *Lat.* 79, 148-149.

arks f, pl. *arka* 'chest, box, coffin'. Borrowed from Lat *arca* id. (CAMARDA I 186; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER Wb. 15). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* I 1042; Iola. *LKUBA* 126; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 72; HAARMANN 111; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; cABEJ *Etim.* II 78-79; LANDI *Lat.* 175.

arms f, pl. *arms* 'weapon'. Borrowed from Lat *arma* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER Wb. 15). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1042; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMANN 111; cABEJ *Etim.* II 81; LANDI *Lat.* 79.

armik anemik m, pl. *armiq anemiq* 'enemy'. Borrowed from Lat *inimicus* id. (CAMARDA I 38; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 33; MEYER Wb. 15). 0 GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25 (derived from *arms*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1044; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 131; JANSON *Unt.* 49; cABEJ *Etim.* II 81.

arnoj aor. *arnova* 'to mend, to repair'. Note a more conservative form *arenoj* as well as a back formation *acne* 'patch'. The source is Lat *renovare* 'to renew' (MEYER Wb. 16). 0 CAMARDA I 140 (to Gk *cipapicsicco* 'to produce, to make'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 73; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; cABEJ *St.* I 40 (to *harr* 'to weed'), *Etim.* II 83-84; HAARMANN 145; MANN *Comp.* 34-35 (related to Gmc \**armiz* 'arm').

argite f, pl. *arrita* '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 (cABEJ *Etim.* II 85). 0 SVANE 128.

arsye f, pl. *arsye* 'reason, understanding'. From Lat *rationem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54; MEYER *Wb.* 14). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifl*<sup>3</sup> I 1051; JOxl. *Stud.* 10; OREL *FLH VIII* 1-2 37; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV*/1-2 24; cABEJ *Etim.* II 85-86; HAARMANN 145.

arcc m, pl. *arrca* 'cricket'. Derived from *ar* 'bear', cf. *ari*. For the semantic development cf. Russ *medvedka* 'cricket' based on *medved* 'bear'. 0 cABEJ *St.* I 41 (identifies *arcc* with *harc* 'uncastrated pig' and *arcc* 'thorny bush'), *Etim.* II 89.

arcc m, pl. *arrca* 'kind of thorny bush, Rhamnus'. Derived from *arre*. 0 cABEJ *St.* 141 (identifies *arcc* with *harc* 'uncastrated pig'), *Etim.* II 89.

arre f, pl. *arra*, *arre* 'walnut-tree, walnut'. The rare Geg variant *harre* is secondary. From PAIb *\*arwa*, a singularize pl. neut. etymologically identical with Gk Cippa ia 'lpockeorrith lairua, Hes. (MEYER *Wb.* 17). Further links, including that with Gk icapuov 'nut' (CAMARDA I 69), are dubious. 0 JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 83 (reconstructs *\*ar-n-d*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 71; PISANI *Saggi* 127; FRISK I 157; CHANTRAINE 118; POLAK *Zffialk* I 87 (to Basque *hurr* 'small nut'); ABU *Etim.* II 89-90; DEMIRAJ *AE* 82.

arrij aor. *arriva*, *arrita*, *arrija* 'to come, to arrive'. Borrowed from Rom *\*arrivare* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 17). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifl*<sup>2</sup> I 1040 (from Ital *arrivare*); HAMP *Laryngeals* 137 (to *rri*); cABEJ *Etim.* II 91.

as adv. 'neither, nor, not (even)'. Compound of *a* and *s* (CAMARDA I 312). 0 BOPP 497 (treats *a-* as a privative particle); MEYER *Wb.* 17 (mistaken explanation of *a* <Lat *aut*); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 322 (to Arm TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 73; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP IV* 204 (follows PEDERSEN); BORGEAUD *RRL XVIII* 529 (to Gk oiitE); cABEJ *St.* 42, *Etim.* II 92-93 (agrees with CAMARDA I 312).

ashke f, pl. *ashka* 'wood splinter'. From PAIb *\*a(k)ska*, a derivative of

IE *\*aks-* 'axis': Skt *dksa-*, Gk Lat *axis* and the like (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). 0 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. Worth.* 114 (suffix *-ke*); MIHAESCU *RESEE IV*/1-2 12; HAARMAN 111; cABEJ *Etim.* II 100; LANDI *Lat.* 79, 110.

ashper adj. 'hard, sharp, rough'. Borrowed from Lat *asper* 'rough, uneven' (CAMARDA I 86; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 19). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifl*<sup>2</sup> I 1042, 1053; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV*/1-2 12; HAARMANN 111; cABEJ *Etim.* II 100-101; LANDI *Lat.* 79, 136.

asht m, pl. *eshtra eshtena* 'bone'. From PAIb *\*anti* or *\*agta* further connected with IE *\*ost(i)-* 'bone': Hitt *hatai*, Skt *dsthi*, Gk Ocrth)v and the like (XYLANDER 298; BOPP 461; GIUFERDING *Otn.* 22; CAMARDA I 36; MEYER *Wb.* 19). 0 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 1/2 202-203; HAMP *Laryngeals* 133, *Ric. Ling.* VI 231; GINDIN *Onorn.* 101; HULD 38-39; cABEJ *Etim.* II 101; KLINGENSCHMITT apud DEMIRAJ (reconstructs *\*ostn*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 82-83.

ashtu adv. 'so, thus'. As opposed to *keshtu* (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). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 19 (compares *ashtu* with *tashti*), *Alb. St.* I 45, IV 50; BARK *AarbSt* 1199-200 (*-shtu* from IE *\*so-to-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 73-74; cABEJ *St.* I 42-43 (compares *tu* with *tuke*), *Etim.* II 101-103.

ate m, pl. *eter aten*, *eten* 'father'. From PAIb *\*ata* further connected with Hitt *atta-* id., Lat *atta* id., Slav *\*othcb* id. and similar *Lallworter* (MEYER *Wb.* 20; HAMP *Laryngeals* 136). In Albanian, the replacement of the original *\*pater-* with *\*ata* may be related to another shift affecting *\*mater* > *"toter*. 0 MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 99; PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 247; JOKL *LKUBA* 38-39; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 111; ERNOUT-MELLET 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*. 0 PEDERSEN *Pzon.* 315 (-*tje* < -*teje*); *cABEJ Etim.* II 108.

**aty** adv. 'there'. A compound of *a* and *ty* < \**tu* with a lengthening, etymologically close to -*tu* of *ashtu*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 20 (-*ty* connected with the pronominal stem \**to-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 73 (follows MEYER); *cABEJ Etim.* II 109.

**athet** adj. 'harsh, sour, rancid'. From PAIb \**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). 0 CAMARDA 1161 (**compares** *athet* with *uthull*); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 99; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 332; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89, *LKUBA* 49; OREL *Etnogenez* 110-114 (*athet* as a source of Slav \**ocbt7*, 'vinegar'); *cABEJ Etim.* II 109-110; MANN *Comp.* 12 (identical with Gk & laic 'ray of light'); KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; DEMIRAJ *AE* 83-84.

**avdos m 'chaffinch'**. Identical with *avdos* 'ice-floe' (see *aver*), for the semantic development cf. *hors*. 0 POKORNY I 86; *cABEJ Etim.* II 110 (related to *bors*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 84-85 (compound of two elements: *av*-related to Lat *avis* 'bird' and *dose*).

**aver** f, pl. *avra* 'ice-floe'. Cf. also *avdos id.* Probably, connected with IE \**auer-*, \**clued-* 'to make wet'. 0 POKORNY I 78-79; *cABEJ St.* I 45 (to *varre*), *Etim.* II 112-113 (*avdos* derived from *bore*); LUKA *HD XXIV* 60-61.

**avull** m, pl. *avuj* 'steam, vapor'. From PAIb \**abula* continuing an earlier \**obh(u)/o-* (HAMP RRL XX 499-500: **reconstructs** \**Ohio-* but erroneously compares it with Skt *abhrd-* 'cloud' with a definite \*-*r-* > -*r-*). Thus, \**abula* is close to OHG *nehul* 'fog', OS *nifol* < Gmc \**nebulaz* < \**nebhelo*. 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. 0 CAMARDA I 57 (to Gk *dcalLa* 'tempest'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 69 (from Lat *vapor id.*); MEYER *Wb.* 21 (comparison with Skt *abhrd-* 'cloud'; ultimately, to \**nebh-*), *Alb. St.* III 36, 81; JOHANSON *IF* IV 139; JOKL *LKUBA* 270-271 (particle *a-* and -*vu//* connected with *vale*); WEIGAND *BA III* 210 (of Thra-

cian origin); HASDEU *EMR I* 106; PASCU *RE 21* (reconstructs Rom \**vapulus*); *Pu5CARIu EWR I*; BARIC *ARSt 107-108*, *Lingv. stud.* 39 (*avull* < \**o-gl-* compared with Germ *Qualm* 'fumes, smoke'); LA PIANA *Studi* 99; SCHMIDT *KZ LVII* 14 (comparison with Messap *atahulus* 'sirocco'); PISANI *REIE IV* 17 (from Rom \**nebula*, a variant of Lat *nebula* 'mist, fog'); ZALIZN'AK *Etimologija* 1964 175; PETROVICI *CL X 357-358* (to Lat *Boreas* 'North wind'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 335; ROSETTI *ILR I* 271; *cABEJ St.* I 45-46 (follows JoKL); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 80-81 (same as SCHMIDT), *2A XXIX* 90; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 144; HULD 39-40; MANN *Comp.* 46 (follows CAMARDA); *cABEJ Etim.* II 116-117; DEMIRAJ *AE 85* (to *aft* and *afsh*).

## B

**babe** f 'old woman'. Borrowed from Slav \**baba* 'woman' (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 15). 0 SELIGT'EV *Slay. naselenie* 183; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 111-112; *cABEJ Etim.* II 120; SVANE 189.

**bac** m, pl. *baca* 'elder brother, uncle'. From PAIb \**batja*, a *Lallwort* similar and, perhaps, related to Slav \**hat'a* \**batja* 'elder brother, father' (OREL *Subst.* 4). The Albanian word is the source of Rum *baci* 'chief shepherd, cheese-maker', Megleno-Rum *bats id.* from where Slavic and Hungarian words for 'shepherd' were borrowed (MEYER *Wb.* 29). 0 MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 15; BARK *ARS/2-3* (from \**bar-e, to bah*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 112; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 335; ROSETTI *ILR I* 272; TRUBA'EV *Term. rodstva* 21, 195-196, *ESSJa I* 163-164; *cABEJ Etim.* II 122-124; SVANE 188.

**bader** f, pl. *badra* 'narcissus, daffodil'. More phonetically advanced variants are *badher* and, especially, *bather* (HAHN). The word is identical with Skt *bhdstra* 'bellows', further based on \**bhes-* 'to blow'. Alb -*d(e)r-* goes back to IE \**-str-* as in *thader* (OREL *Fort.* 78-79). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 22 (borrowed from Turk *badruk* 'basin'; *cABEJ St. I* 46-47 (with a metathesis, from *bardhe*), *Etim.* II 124-125; MURATI *Probleme* 63-66 (same as *cABEJ*).

**bage** m 'oil for anointment'. Borrowed from GkI3Comolta 'baptism' (MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/3-4* 350; *cABEJ St. I* 48, *Etim.* II 128). For the phonetic development of the inlaut cf. *pagezoi*.



**bageti bakti** f, pl. 'domestic animal, (head of) cattle'. Based on an unattested adjective borrowed from Slav *\*bogateh* 'rich' (SELISStEv *Slay. naselenie* 165) or going back to the otherwise unregistered Slav *\*bogatjhe* 'richness' (OREL *ZfSlaw* XXX/6 912, *Etimologija* 1983 137-138). 0 *Otn.* 20 (to Skt *pasic-* 'cattle'); MEYER *Wb.* 22 (compares with OFr *bague* 'bundle' and the like); JOKL *Studien* 5-6 (links *hageti* with Skt *bhdga-* 'prosperity, happiness', Slav *\*mbohje* 'property, cattle'), *Slavia* XIII 310; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 77, *Stratificazione* 147; HOLUB-KOPEeNY 261 (to OHG *packe* 'pack' and the like); SKOK i 179; cABEJ *St.* I 48, *Etim.* II 129-130.

**babe** f, pl. *bahe* 'sling'. A singularized plural based on a more archaic form *bahe* < PALb *\*baja* etymologically close to Slav *\*bojb* 'fight'. Both forms are further related to IE *\*bhei-* 'to strike, to beat' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 45). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 22-23 (to ON *baugr* 'ring', IE *\*bheugh-* 'to bend'), *Alb. St.* III 35; cABEJ *St.* I 47 (compares with Gmc *\*bautan* 'to beat', *Latfustis* 'knobbed stick, cudgel'), *Etim.* II 126-127; POKORNY I 117-118.

**bajge** f, pl. *bajga* 'dung'. A more archaic form is *baleg(e)*, *bake*. The word is also attested in a metathesized form *bagel*. Goes back to PALb *\*bolo* probably related to Gki3OXIFircov 'cow dung' if the latter is based on *\*bole-* (*WTIR AArbSt* II 370). It is the source of Rum *balegd* id. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 23, *IF* VI 116 (from NItal *bagola*, *bagula*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 77 (from SCr *balega* id.); LA PIANA *Studi* 177; CAPIDAN *DR* II 467-470 (borrowed from substratum); BART(*IF* II 297-298 (reconstructs *\*balno-e'd*, cf. Slav *\*govbno* 'dung' < IE *\*eou-* 'cattle'), *AArbSt* II 80-81, *Hymje* 22; IL'INSKIJ *JF* V 183-185 (*bajge* borrowed from Slavic); HASDEU *EMR* III 124; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 335; ROSETTI *ILR* I 272; MOUTSOS *ZjBalk* X/2 68-72 (from NGk  $\gamma(x)6(aXa$  < Lat *caballus* 'horse (dung)'); ROHR *Zf73alk* XVII/1 80; cABEJ *St.* I 49 (agrees with CKTIR), *Etim.* II 132-133; DEMIRAJ *AE* 86-87.

**bajze** f, pl. *bajza* 'coot, kind of water-fowl'. The same word is attested as *bake* and may be interpreted as a derivative of *\*bal-* 'white' (DoDBIBA *St. Leks.* 256). 0 CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 125; cABEJ *St.* I 50, *Etim.* II 134-135 (to Lat *fulica*).

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

*hark* (cABEJ *Etim.* II 137). 0 MANN *Comp.* 62 (to Gk (paicEXoc 'bunch')).

*bahn*, p. *bala* 'dog with a white spot on its forehead', adj. 'white-haired'. Also *bale* 'white spot'. From PALb *\*hala* etymologically close to Lith *balas* 'white', Latv *bals* 'pale', Gk (peak 7t.eipc6c (Hes.) and the like. As to *halash*, *balosh* 'horse or ox with a white spot on its forehead', it was borrowed from Slav *\*belaSb*, *\*beloh*, 'white animal' (MEYER 14th. 25; OREL *Etimologija* 1983 133-134) with *\*-e-* rendered as *-a-* under the influence of *bal*. 0 MEYER *NGriech. St.* II 69 (treats *balash*, *balosh* as cognates of Lith *balas* 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; cABEJ *St.* I 50-51, *Etim.* II 138-140; KALUZSKAJA *Slavjanovedenie* 1992/2 80-86; DEMIRAJ *AE* 87.

**balm** in 'balm'. Attested in a more archaic form *balshem* in Old Albanian (BuzuKU). Borrowed from Lat *halsamum* id. (MIKLOSIGH *Rom. Elemente* 5; MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 25; JOKL *LKUBA* 115 n.1). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 24-25 (together with *balsam* id. treated as a Turkish loanword); MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 112; cABEJ *St.* 151, *Etim.* II 143-144; LANDI *Lat.* 111.

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

**balte** f, pl. *baize* 'swamp, marsh, dirt, earth'. Goes back to PALb *\*ba/ta* (singularized pl. neut.) closely related to Slav *\*bolto* with which it continues IE *\*bholatom* (MEYER *Wb.* 25). This form belongs to the paradigm of the adjective *\*bholato-* 'white' represented in Lith *bciltas* further derived from IE *\*bhela-* 'shining, white'. Rum *ballet* 'swamp', NGk Pato; id. seem to be borrowed from Albanian. 0 GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 20 (to Skt *prthvf* 'earth'); BRtIcH *Glotta* VII 83 f. (*balte* 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 *balte*); BARD *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 1190; 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. ram.* 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; cABEJ *St.* I 51-52, *Etim.* II 144-147; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; MURATI *Probleme* 127; DEMIRAJ *AE* 87-88.

**balls** m/n, pl. *bane* 'forehead'. Singularized pl. neut. *\*bald* related to Skt *bhala-* id., OPrus *ballo* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 24, *Alb. St.* 1111 33). 0 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; cABEJ *St.* I 53, *Etim.* II 148-150; HULD 40; DEMIRAJ *AE* 88-89.

**bullunge** f, pl. *ballunga* 'bump, swelling'. With a secondary assimilation of vowels, also *bullunge*. A derivative in *-unge* based on *balle*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 53 (borrowed from Rom *\*bulluca* and related to *bule* and/or to *melle*); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236 (to *bule* < *\*bhulnd* in connection with Gk *yalov* 'leaf'); BART (*AArbSt.* 1144-145 (follows MEYER' s comparison with *melle*); cABEJ *St.* I 82 (agrees with BARK).

**bane** f, pl. *bana* 'dwelling'. From PA1b *\*banti*, a nti-derivative of *bej* 'to make, to do' (for semantic parallels see cABEJ I 52). 0 JOKL *Studien* 6-8 (from IE *\*bhouno-*, cf. Skt *bhavana-* 'dwelling, home' despite the irregularity of Tosk *-n-* < *\*-n-*); MANN *Language* XXVI 382; cABEJ 51-52 (explains *bane* as a Geg participle of *bej* identical with Tosk *bere* but *bane* is well attested in both dialects of Albanian), *Etim.* II 151-153; MAYRHOFER II 485-486; OREL *SBJa* *Leksikol.* 148 (explains *bane* as a phonetic variant of adv. *mbane* 'near, nearby'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 89.

**banje** f, pl. *banja* 'bath'. Borrowed from Slav *\*banja* id.: OCS *banja*, Bulg *ban'a*, SCr *banja* and the like (Mticiosicu *Slay. Elemente* 15; MEYER *Wb.* 24; WEIGAND 4). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4; (from Latin); HELBIG 90 (from Italian); cABEJ *Etim.* II 155 (from Rom *\*banea* or Ital *bagno*).

**bar** m, pl. *barera harena* 'grass'. From PA1b *\*bara* etymologically

related to Lat *far* 'sort of grain, spelt' < *\*bhars-*, ON *barn* 'spelt' and the like (CAMARDA 1336; MEYER *Wb.* 26, *Alb. St.* III 71). 0 POTT *KZ* VI 321 (to Lat *herba* id.); MEYER *Alb. St.* III 33 (to Gk (pOpoc `(agricultural) yield'); KRETSCHMER *Glotta* III 338-339, VI 96 (to Gk TOtpptaicov 'drug, healing remedy'); JOKL *Vox Rom.* VIII 192 (Alpine Romance parallels); BARK *ARSt.* I 30 (to NPers *bar* 'fruit'); MANN *Language* XVII 16; CHANTRAINE 1179; HAMP *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 90 (close to KRETSCHMER); cABEJ *St.* I 54 (agrees with KRETSCHMER), *Etim.* II 156-158; DEMIRAJ *AE* 89-90 (from IE *\*bheu-* 'to grow').

**bardhe** adj. 'white'. From PA1b *\*bardza* continuing *\*bhorago-*, a derivative of IE *\*bherag-* 'to shine; white', cf. Skt *bhrajate* '(he) shines, beams, glitters', Goth *bairhts* 'light, shining' and also the word for 'birch': Lith *berzas*, Slav *\*berza* (MEYER *Wb.* 29, *Alb. St.* III 17, 33, 72). PA1b *\*bardza* is particularly close to Skt *hhdrga-* 'shining' with an irregular development of *\*-g-*. The Albanian word is the source of Rum *barza* 'stork'. 0 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 *SP7'* 68-69; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 336; RosErn *ILR* I 272-273; OLBERG *Beitr. Idg.* 57; GREPPIN *JIES* V/2-3 203-207 (Dac *\*bar&o-* 'stork' related to Arm *brdoi-* 'lammergeyer'); HULD 40; cABEJ *Etim.* II 161-164 (to Gk Topx6v • A,Eux6V); DEMIRAJ *AE* 90-91.

**bares** aor. *barita* 'to go for a walk, to stroll'. From PA1b *\*bar-dtja* derived from *\*bar* 'shepherd' preserved in *bari* (WEIGAND *Balkan-Archiv* I 252-253). 0 JOKL *Die Sprache* IX 144 (to *mhaj*); cABEJ *Etim.* II 164 (denominative of *bar* 'grass').

**bari** m, pl. *barinj* 'shepherd'. Based on an unattested *\*bar* < PA1b *\*bara* (the derivation is similar to that of *ari*, *njeri*, cf. DEMIRAJ *AE* 91) related to OHG *barn* '(free) man'. As to ()Alb *beruo* 'shepherd' (BUZUKU, BUDI), it is not connected with *bari* and should be rather analyzed as a loanword from Lat *bardnem* 'simpleton'. 0 CAMARDA I 341 (mistaken translation of *bari* as 'bestiame'; comparison with Gk(3aptxot - OcpvEc, Hes.); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 69, *Wb.* 27, 33 (to *berr*); JOKL *Melanges Pedersen* 156 (follows MEYER); WEIGAND *Balkan-Archiv* I 252-253 (compares *bail* with *bares* 'to go for a walk, to stroll'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 147; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 191 (to *bar*); HAMP

*ZfceltPh* XXXIX 212 (same as CtmocfIOWsKI); cABEJ *St.* I 55-56 (suggests an etymological link to *bie*, *mbar*), 64 (compares *bari* with *beruo*), *Etim.* II 165-167; DEMIRAJ *AE* 92 (both *bari* and *beruo* borrowed from Lat *barn*, *baranis*).

**bark** m, pl. *barge* 'belly, womb, abdomen'. From PAIb *\*baruka* identical with 13ap(D)ica • ai. Soiov map& Tocparrivot; (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 PAIb *\*bciruka*, cf. *baruke* < *\*bartika*. 0 CAMARDA I 58 (correctly compares *bark* and *barre*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 327 (follows MEYER), *BB* XX 238, *Pron.* 344 (to Gk *picppy*4); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVIII 231 (to *LatfarciO* 'to cram, to stuff'); BARIC *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; cABEJ *St.* I 56-57, *Etim.* II 167-169; HUED 41; DEMIRAJ *AE* 92.

**barke** f, pl. *harka* 'boat'. Borrowed from Lat *barca* id. (MIKLOSIC *Rom. Elemente* 5; MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1042); LANDI *Lat.* 93.

**barme** f 'bast'. A parallel form is masculine *barm*. From PAIb *\*bardzma* *\*bardzma* derived from *\*bardza* > *bardhe* 'white', with a typical semantic pattern for the nomination of bark and bast (CABEJ *St.* I 57, *Etim.* II 170), cf. Slav *\*lyko* 'bast' from IE *\*leuk-* 'to shine; shining, white'. 0 MANN *Language* XVII 19 (to Gk *Topjto*); TRUBACEV *Rem. term.* 164-166; OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 172; DEMIRAJ *AE* 90.

**baruke** f 'fleece'. From PAIb *\*baruka* derived from *\*barwa* > *berr* 'sheep, goat' (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 172-173). 0 DEMIRAJ *AE* 92 (to *barre*).

**barre** f, pl. *barre* 'load, burden'. From PAIb *\*tiara* further related to *bie* and *mbar* (Boil.: 471; MEYER *Wb.* 28, *Alb. St.* III 73) and particularly close to Gk *yopOc* 'load' (CABEJ *Etim.* II 174). 0 GILFERDING *Otm.* 21; BUGGE *KZ* XXXII 4; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 78-79; PISANI *Saggi* 103, 121; BARIC *Lingv. stud.* 34 (stresses the similarity with Gk (*pipvi* 'dowry')); MANN *Language* XVII 19; FRISK II 1003-1005; POKORNY

I 128-132; HAMP *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 210 (from *\*bhorna*); cABEJ *St.* I 57; MANN *Comp.* 94 (from IE *\*bhorma*); HUED 41; DEMIRAJ *AE* 92-93 (agrees with CABEJ).

**barre** f, pl. *barre* 'fetus'. From PAIb *\*barna*, a singularized plural cognate with Gmc *\*barnan* 'child'. The word must be strictly differentiated from *barre* 'load, burden'. 0 ZALIZN' AK *Etimologija* 139; CABEJ *Etim.* II 173-174.

**bashkd** f 'fleece'. From PAIb *\*bar(u)Ra* etymologically connected with *baruke* id. and derived from *berr* 'sheep, goat' (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 172-173). For a similar semantic development cf. Skt *ajina-* 'skin, hide' *ajci-* 'goat'. The Albanian word was borrowed to Rum *basal* id. 0 BARTHOLOMAE *IF* IX 252 (to Av *varasa-* 'hair'); MEYER *Wb.* 28 (from *\*vars-ke* connected with Cyren 13a66sipoc 'fox'); JOKE, *LKUBA* 170; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3236; ROSETRI *ILR* I 273; RESTELLI *RIL* XCI 467 (to Germ *Burste*); OLBERG *Festschr. Bonfante* 566; MANN *Language* XVII 13, *Comp.* 67 (identical with *bashke* 'together'; was borrowed from Thracian or ancient Macedonian); VRACIU *LB* VIII 20 (from substratum); CABO I 58 (to Gk *qipao*; 'piece, part' and its cognates), *Etim.* II 178-180; DEMIRAJ *AE* 93 (identical with *bashke* 'together').

**bashke** adv. 'together'. Goes back to PAIb *\*hakska* related to *Latfascis* 'bundle', *fascia* 'band, bandage' (MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 80, *IF* VI 106). 0 GILFERDING *Otm.* 21 (to Skt *pascd-* 'back, posterior'); BARB *ARSt.* I 95, *AArbSt* III 215 (follows MEYER); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 77; JOKL *LKUBA* 170 (to Skt *badhate*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 80 (agrees with JOKL); MANN *Language* XVII 13; WALDE-HOFMANN I 459-460; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282; CABEJ 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'.

**bathe** f, pl. *bathe* 'broad bean'. Continues PAIb *\*batsa* < IE *\*bhaka* also preserved in Gk *coccicij* 'dish of lentils', (Kock 'lenti' (MEYER *Wb.* 22, *Alb. St.* III 13, 33). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 80; MANN *Language* XXVI 380; PISANI *Saggi* 118; JUCQUOIS *Museon* LXXXVIII 445; POKORNY I 106; FRISK II 985; CHANTRAINE 1173, 1180;

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

be f, pl. *be* 'oath'. From PAIb *\*haida* connected with Slav *\*beda* 'disaster', Lat *foedus* 'league, treaty' and other nominal derivatives of IE *\*bheidh-* 'to persuade, to force' (MEYER *Wb.* 30, *Alb. St.* III 33). 0 ERNOUT-MEILLET 233; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 81-82; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 26; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; TRUBACEV *ESSJa* II 54-56; POKORNY I 117; HAMP *KZ* LXXVII 252-253; HULD 42; cABEJ *Etim.* II 186-187 (to Gk *itiatt5*, Lat *fides* 'belief'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 94-95.

begat adj. 'rich'. Other variants are *begate* and *hugate*. Borrowed from Slav *\*bogath* id., cf., in particular, South Slavic: OCS *bogath*, Bulg *bogat*, SCr *bogat* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 16; MEYER *Wb.* 50). 0 SELIKEV *Slay. naselenie* 326; cABEJ *Etim.* II 190-191; S VANE 267.

bejke f 'white sheep'. Borrowed from Slav *\*b elhka* 'white animal, white sheep' (cABEJ *Etim.* II 192).

bekoj aor. *bekova* 'to bless'. A more phonetically conservative variant is *benkoj*. Borrowed from Lat *benedicere* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 6; MEYER *Wb.* 31). 0 CAMARDA I 141 (to *be* and *bese*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrill* <sup>2</sup> I 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 81; KODDERITZSCH *Asp. Alb.* 121-130; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 112; cABEJ *Etim.* II 193.

belbe adj. 'stammering, dumb'. Borrowed from Lat *balbus* 'stammering, stuttering' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4; MEYER *Wb.* 31). From *belbe* such synonymous forms as *belber* and *belbet* were derived. 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrill* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; 114THAESCo *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 112; cABEJ *Etim.* II 194-195 (onomatopoeia).

belbice f, pl. *belbica* 'kind of trout'. Another variant is *belvice*. Borrowed from Bulg *belvica* id. (WEIGAND 6, JOKL *Slavia* XIII 311). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 32 (from Lat *barhus* 'barber'); KRISTOFORIDHI 43; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 7; cABEJ *Etim.* II 195, *St.* IV 97-98; SvANE 150.

belbe f 'wool cover'. Borrowed from Slav *\*belica* 'white object' (CABEJ *Etim.* II 195).

beng m, pl. *bengje*, *benge* 'oriole, finch'. Borrowed from one of the continuants of (West) Gmc *\*finkan* 'finch', cf. especially Bavarian *pienk* (MEYER *Wb.* 32). 0 HAHN 13 (to *zbehem*); cABEJ *Etim.* II 198 (agrees with MEYER).

berm 'bow, arrow, spear'. From PAIb *\*bora*, derivative of *bie* < *\*bera* 'to strike, to fall' (JOKL *LKUBA* 244). 0 cABEJ I 61, *Etim.* II 199-200 (to Gk (pdcpog 'plow'); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 67; DEMIRAJ *AE* 95 (to *bri*).

berk m 'bast'. From PAIb *\*bardz(i)ka* derived from PAIb *\*bardza* > *bardhe* 'white' (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 172). For the semantic evolution cf. *barme*. 0 CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 114 (suffix *-k*); cABEJ *Etim.* II 201 (from Slav *\*ob(h)vhrтка* > Russ *obertka*).

beronje f, pl. *beronja* 'barren woman; holly; kind of serpent'. Another phonetic variant is *buronje*. A derivative with a feminine suffix *-onje* of an unattested *\*her* < PAIb *\*bara* 'naked, barren', borrowed from Gmc *\*bazaz*: OHG *bar* 'bare', ON *berr* id. (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 33 (comparison with *berr* and Slav *\*baranh* 'ram'); BUGLE *BB* XVHI 174 (from Romance, cf. OFr *baraigne* 'barren'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 147; cABEJ *Etim.* II 201-202; DEMIRAJ *AE* 95 (derived, as two separate words for 'barren woman' and 'holly', from *her* and *berr*).

berm m, pl. *berra* 'sheep, goat'. From PAIb *\*harwa* etymologically connected with ON *borgr* 'hog', OHG *barug*, *baruh* id., Slav *\*born* 'boar' (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 173; MANN *Comp.* 95). Note a deminutive *berk* 'goat' only in *era berk* 'stench of a goat' (cABEJ *Etim.* II 201). 0 STIER *KZ* XI 208 (to Gk (3Ocpixot • (Ipvec, 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 *blr*, cry with which the shep-



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

bese f, pl. *besa* 'pledge, truce, trust'. From PA1b *\*baitša* traced back to IE *\*bhoidh-ta* (*HAMP KZ* LXXVII 252-253 follows STIER *KZ* VII 160 and CAMARDA I 43 in reconstructing *\*bhidh-ta* as an exact equivalent of Gk /Mr\* 'faithful, trustworthy') or *\*bhoidh-tia* (*PISANI Saggi* 129) further connected with IE *\*bheidh-* 'to persuade, to force' and Alb *he*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 33 (compares with Alb *bind* and reconstructs *\*bhendhtia*), *Alb. St.* II 50, III 25, IV 97; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 308 (thinks of *\*bhendhta*); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 201; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 163; JOKL *LKUBA* 262 n. 2; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 26 (derivative of *\*bheidh-* in *\*-atia*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 110; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 81-82; *PISANI Saggi* 129; FRISK II 487-488; POKORNY I 117; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; cABEJ *St.* I 61-62, *Etim.* II 204-206; HULD 42; WATKINS *Dragon* 83; DEMIRAJ *AE* 96-97.

bdj baj aor. *bera bana* 'to do, to make'. From PA1b *\*banja* compared with Gk (paive.) 'to appear' (MEYER *Wb.* 23-24, *Alb. St.* III 33), a zero grade further connected with IE *\*bha-*. For the semantic development cf. OIr *Kann* 'deed' of the same root (BUGGE *BB* XVIII 162).

CAMARDA I 48 (to IE 'to grow'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 84-85; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verburn* 113; HULD 43; cABEJ *Eat*). II 207-208; DEMIRAJ *AE* 97-98.

bercel m 'kind of wheat, *Triticum monococcum*'. Derived from an unattested *\*berce* *\*brice* borrowed from Slav *\*bbrica* > Bulg *brica* 'kind of white wheat' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). 0 JOKL apud cABEJ *St.* 162 (related to *bardhe*); TRUBAeEV *ESSJa* III 125; cABEJ *Etim.* II 209-210 (from Maced *&mica* 'wheat' < Slav *\*pbšenica*).

bdrcik m *bercike* 'span (between thumb and index)'. Borrowed from Slav *\*bbre'ikb*, cf. Bulg *brbeka* 'fold, wrinkle'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 34 (to an unattested Bulg *prb±d*); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 7 (borrowed from SCr *\*brjik* related to Pol *bark* 'arm'); TRUBAeEV *ESSJa* III 125; cABEJ *Etim.* II 210; SVANE 89.

berkoq m 'little pig'. Another variant is *berkuq*. Derived from *berk*, see *berr*. 0 JOKE IF XLIV 56 (borrowed from *Latporcus*); cABEJ *Etim.* II 211 (to *koqe*).

barsi f, pl. *ber,s'i* 'husks of grapes, mare'. Borrowed from Rom *\*bratea* reflecting Thracian *ppirEa*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 34 (from Lat *brrsa*); BROCH *IF* XL 241-244 (from "Illyrian", cf. Thr 13pircov 'beer'); HAARMAN 113; cABEJ *Etim.* II 212 (reconstructs *\*bris-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 98 (borrowed from Thracian).

(G) bershe m 'juniper'. Continues *\*eburusa*, a form somehow connected with Oh *ihar* id., Gaulish *eburo-* (*JOKL Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 235-237). 0 BERTOLD *WuS* XI 155 (follows JOKL); cABEJ *Etim.* II 212-213; DEMIRAJ *AE* 98-99 (critical of the Celtic parallels).

bertas aor. *brica* 'to shout, to cry'. Borrowed from Slav *\*lybrtvati* *\*bbrtviti* 'to babble', cf. Bulg *brbtv'a*. 0 CAMARDA I 68 (compares *bertas* with Gk *Ppux&o[ta]t* 'to bellow'); MEYER *Wb.* 470 (to *verras*), *Alb. St.* III 38; MACHEK *LP* V 59-60 (follows CAMARDA); TRUBAeEV *ESSJa* III 132; cABEJ *St.* I 63 (to Latv *brekt* 'to cry', OIr *bressim* id.), *Etim.* II 213.

berthame f, pl. *berthama* '(fruit) stone'. A compound consisting of *berth* < *birth* (with a vocalic shift in the unstressed position) and *ame*; thus, *berth-ame* is something like 'mother of the fruit'. Its synonym, *berthokel* is to be analyzed as a formation with two suffixes *-ok-* and *-Cl* of the same root. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 34 (from Rom *\*petramen* derived from *petra* 'stone'); BARD *ARSt.* I 30 (divides *berthame* into *be,* ' and *tha(l)me*, the latter to be compared with *thelb*); cABEJ *St.* I 63-64 (a derivative of *bathe* > *\*barthe*, *Eta*). II 213-214; MURATI *Probleme* 66-67 (root *her-*).

berrak8 f, pl. *berraka* 'muddy pool, pond, swamp'. Derivative of *biro*. Note a similar change of *-r-* > *-rr-* in *berryl*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 33 (to Slav *\*bara* 'pool, rivulet'; JOKE *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 84-87 (identifies the root of *berrake* with the ancient Balkan stem *bar-* in river-names); MLADENOV *IORJaS* XVII/4 228-230 (to Skt *barburd-*); cABEJ *St.* I 64 (to (3)plyoc • Hes.), *Etim.* II 215-217\_

bdrryl m, pl. *berryla*, *berryle* 'elbow, forearm'. Other variants reflect an original *-ii* in the auslaut. From PA1b *\*barei ul(e)na* 'turn of the bow' > 'elbow' (for the first element - cABEJ 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 //ere – llane. In hiatus, the resulting group \*-ei u- develops exactly as \*-iwi- > -y-, cf. *gryke*. 0 MEYER Wb. 49 (from Rom \**brachi ale*); BARD AArbSt I 159 (from Lat *brachiullus*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 89; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 5 (to *bri*, *brinje*).

bie m, pl. *hica* 'piglet'. Onomatopoeia (cABEJ *Etim.* II 222-223) similar to that in E *pig*. 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* I 39 (from SCr 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 *hhdrti*, Gk (p4co 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* < \**pruom*, a form based on IE \**per-* 'to lead': Skt *plparti* 'to bring over', Gk *itEipo* 'to penetrate' and the like (BOPP 481, MEYER Wb. 35). 0 PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* II 475; BRUGMANN 117, 150; JoKL *Stud.* 82-83; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 187, 230; PISANI *Saggi* 116; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 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 \**bherfo*); cABEJ *Etim.* II 225; DEMIRAJ *AE* 99-100, 334.

bie aor. *rashe* 'to fall, to hit, to strike, to beat'. From PALb \**be(r)ja* derived from IE \**bher-* 'to strike': Lat *feria* id., OHG *herjan* id. and the like (MEYER Wb. 35, *Alb. St.* III 33, 73). As to *rashe*, it goes back to PALb \**raukt*, a sigmatic aorist of IE \**reu-* 'to tear': Skt *rdvate* 'to smash', Lat *ruCi* 'to tear, to dig out' and the like (JoKL *IF* XLIII 49-50). 0 BOPP 471; CAMARDA I 240 (*rashe* related to Gk *ISOcesco*) 'to strike, to dash'; MEYER *BB* VIII 183, 189 (connected with IE \**bhei-* 'to strike, to beat'), Wb. 35 (*rashe* compared with Slav \**raziti* 'to strike'); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 111; BARD 177 (*rashe* < \**e-ndk-s-om* to Gk '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 \**bhorefo*); HAMP *Anc. IE* 115, *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 210-211; cABEJ *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; KODDERITZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 66; KLINGENSCHMITT *Munch. St. Spr.* XL 97 (to ON *rasa* 'to overthrow'); DEMIRAJ *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 72, *AE* 100, 343-344.

big f, pl. 'forked stick, branch; double-crested mountain'. A metaphorical usage of the borrowed Lat *biga* 'pair of animals; team for plowing'. 0 MEYER Wb. 35 (compares *bige* with Romance words for 'beam'); BARIi AArbSt I/1-2 141 (< \**bhi-ghd* to Goth *bai* 'both', structurally similar to \**duoigha*); OREL *Antic. balk.* III 37-39 (from PALb \**dweiga* related to Slav \**dvig* 'branch'); cABEJ *Etim.* II 228.

bije f, pl. *bija* 'daughter'. In South Tosk and Italo-Albanian there exists a more archaic form - *bile*. From PALb (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*. 0 STIER *KZ* VI 148 (to Messap *bilia* 'daughter'); MEYER Wb. 37 (feminine of *bir*), *Alb. St.* III 33; JOKL *LKUBA* 194; OLBERG *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. < \**bhyr/ia*); HULD 44 (supports HAMP); cABEJ *Etim.* II 230-231; DEMIRAJ *AE* 101 -102.

bilonje f 'twig, branch; pretty girl or young woman'. From PALb \**bakinja*, a derivative of unattested \**bala* etymologically identical with Gk (rnAov 'leaf'. 0 cABEJ *Dint.* II 233 (*bilonje* compared with South Slavic reflexes of Slav \**bylbje* 'grass'); OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 173 (to *bile*).

binit f, pl. *bime* 'plant'. From PALb \**buma*, a singularized pl. neut., related to *mbij* (MEYER Wb. 36) and particularly close to Gk (piwa 'plant' (MANN *Comp.* 123). 0 MANN *Language* XXVI 387, XXVIII 37; CHANTRAINE 1235; cABEJ *St.* I 66 (adds *bim* 'piglet', *bime* '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). 0 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 1495 (to Skt *badhate* 'to push, to press'); PISANI *Saggi* 129; SCHMIDT KZ LVII 26; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; HAMP KZ LXXVII 253 (agrees with BOPP); cABEJ *St. I* 66-67, *Etim. II* 235-236 (from IE *\*bhedh-na*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 101.

**bir** m, pl. *bij* 'son'. From PA1b *\*bira* compared with Goth *baur* 'son' < IE *\*bhero-* (PEDERSEN *BB* XIX 295; KZ XXXIII 541), with further link to IE *\*bher-* 'to give birth'. 0 CAMARDA I 79 (to Gk *vtoS* 'son'); MEYER *Wb.* 37 (from IE *\*bhfi-l-*, cf. Gk (*piiXov* '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 *bije*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 112-113; PISANI *Saggi* 226; BARIc *Hymje* 57; HAMP *BSL* LXVII 213-217 follows PEDERSEN); HULD 44-45; cABEJ *Etim. II* 239-240; KLINGENSMITT *Lldg.* 103 (to *bij*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 102 (agrees with KLINGENSMITT).

**bird** f, pl. *bira* 'hole'. From PA1b *\*bira*, a zero-grade derivative of IE *\*bher-*: *Lat fore* 'to bore, to pierce', OHG *boron* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 37). 0 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-ra*), *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 211 (from IE *\*bherHya*); cABEJ *Etim. II* 241-242; DEMIRAJ *AE* 102-103 (to *brej*).

**birko** adv. 'good, fine, excellent'. Related to *birq* (*OREL Linguistica* XXVI 174). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 37 (compares with *mire*); BARD *ARSt* 3 (compound of *\*bher-* as in *mbare* and *ko-* < *kohe*); cABEJ *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 PA1b *\*birka* formally identical with an isolated Slav *\*lybrIcb* 'moustache, hair, trunk'. Thus, the original meaning of the Albanian word could be 'upright, vertical (heap)'. 0 CAMARDA 59 (identical with *pirg* 'tower' < NGk *TrUpyo5* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 98 (follows CAMARDA); TRUBAEV *ESSJa* 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 *Praslay.170-171*); cABEJ *Etim. II* 242.

**bisedd** f, pl. *biseda* 'talk, conversation, speech'. Borrowing from Slav *\*beseda* id., cf., in particular, South Slavic forms: OCS *beseda*, Bulg *beseda*, SCr *beseda* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 16; MEYER *Wb.* 33). 0 SELISCEV *Slay. naselenie* 143, 192; MANN *Language* XXVIII 35; cABEJ *Etim. II* 243; SvANE 1220, 230.

**bisk** m, pl. *bisq, bisqe* 'branch, twig'. Borrowed from a diminutive Slav *\*bie'bk7*, derived from *\*biech* 'whip' (*OREL Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). As to *bisk* 'rivulet', it may also belong here. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 37 (from NGk (*3iwot* 'switch, rod' borrowed from Bulg *vica* id.); cABEJ *Etim. II* 243-245 (borrowed from Slav *\*bicvl*, or derived from *mbij*); MANN *Comp.* 78 (to Lith *biskis, blaskis* 'bit, fragment' - a German [East Prussian] loanword); PAGLIARO *Shejzat* X 315-317; DEMIRAJ *AE* 101 (derived from *mbij*).

**bister** adj. 'agile, nimble, sour'. Borrowed from Slav *\*bystrl*, 'agile, quick', cf. South Slavic forms: OCS *bystrh*, Bulg *bismr*, SCr *bistar* (DESNIKAJA *Slay. zaim. 13*). 0 cABEJ *Etim. II* 246; SVANE 150.

**bishd** f, pl. *bisha* 'beast, wild animal'. Borrowed from *Lat bestia* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 38). 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 112; cABEJ *Etim. II* 246-247; LANDI *Lat.* 119.

**bisht** m, pl. *bishta, bishtra hishtna* 'tail'. From PA1b *\*bašta*, derivative of IE *\*bhfi-* 'to grow'. The metaphor views the tail as a bodily outgrowth. 0 XYLANDER 287 (to Basque *bustan* id.); CAMARDA I 58 (to Gk *On1.60Ev* 'back, behind'); MEYER *Wb.* 38; JOHANNSON *IF* XIV 268 (from *\*bhid-to-* and, further, to *Lat findere* 'to cleave'); JOKL *LKUBA* 261 n. 2; OSTIR *AArbSt. I* 127; TREIMER KZ LXV 109 (follows JOHANNSON); PEDERSEN KZ XXXIX 429; TAGLIAVINI *RIEB I* 165 n. 1, *Dalmazia* 83-84 (against JOHANNSON), *Stratificazione* 143; BARIc *Hymje* 57; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 102; cABEJ *St. I* 67-68 (from *\*mb-ith-sht*, to *ith*), *Etim. II* 248-250; HULD 45 (disagrees with cABEJ); DEMIRAJ *AE* 103 (to *bij*).

**bishtajd** f, pl. *hishtaja* 'pod, hull, pea, green bean'. Borrowed from Rom *\*pistellia* > Rum *pastaie* 'pod, hull', cf. *Lat pistare* 'to pound' (CANDREA - DENSUIANU I 204). 0 cABEJ *St. I* 68 (to *bisht*), *Etim. II* 250.

bjerr aor. *borra* 'to lose'. Numerous phonetic variants of the anlaut are attested in dialects: *djerr*, *debjerr*, *vdjerr*, *dzjerr*. They seem to go back to PA1b *\*dd-bera* or *\*dd-berna* further related to *hie* 'to fall' (PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 325). 0 MEYER *Wh.* 70 (to Gk *8epw* 'to skin', Slav *\*dbrati* '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 *90cpto* 'to destroy' or *LatferiO* 'to strike'); HAMP *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 210 (to Lith *beiti* 'to disperse'); cABEJ *Etim.* II 253-255; DEMIRAJ *AE* 104 (follows HAMP).

bjeshke f, pl. *bjeshke* '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-*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 58 (identifies *bjeshke* with *byshe* 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 *\*bjershke* as a derivative of *hie* 'to fall'); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 114; TRUBAC'EV *Nazv.* 281 (against the connection with the name of the Beskidy); cABEJ *St.* I 68 (follows JOKL and derives the name of the Beskidy Mountains from *bjeshke*), *Etim.* II 255-256; OREL *Antic. balk.* 5 32 (from *\*bheug-iska*).

bland 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 *Etimologija* 1983 134-135). Closer meanings have been preserved in East Slavic: Russ *holona* 'young wood between the bark and the trunk; lump or scar on the bark'. 0 TRUBAeEV *ESSJa* II 175-177; cABEJ *Etim.* II 257; SvANE 120.

blat f, pl. *blate* 'wafer'. Borrowed from Lat *ohlata* id. (Mit(Lošicx *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 38). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1040, 1049; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMAN 138; LANDI *Lat.* 87, 109, 158.

blegdrij blegdrij aor. *blegeriva* 'to bleat'. Onomatopoeia (MEYER *Wb.* 38-39, cf. Gk (3k.ripiogat id.). 0 POKORNY I 102; cABEJ *Etim.* II 258 (same as MEYER); DEMIRAJ *AE* 104.

blehurd adj. 'pale'. From PA1b *\*blaid-ura* related to Slav *\*bledb* id., OE *bltd* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 38). 0 PoxoRNY 1160; TRUBAeEV *ESSJa* II 111-112; DEMIRAJ *AE* 105.

blej aor. *bleva* 'to buy'. Borrowed from Rom *\*ablevare* 'to lift up, to relieve (from)' (MEYER *Wh.* 39). 0 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; cABEJ *St. I* 71 (to Latv *blenst* 'to see badly; to look' and its other Baltic cognates), *Etim.* II 259-260.

blertd adj. 'green'. There exists a derivationally more archaic variant Italo-Alb *blere*. The word goes back to PA1b *\*blara* related to *Latflorus* 'shining, bright', Oh *bldr* 'gray', W *blawr* id. < IE *\*bhlaros* (cABEJ *Etim.* II 260-261). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 38 (compares with Slav *\*blech*, 'pale'); WALDE-HOFMANN 1513-514; HULD 45 (from *\*bhleudhro-*, to IE *\*bhleuo-* 'light-colored'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 104-105.

blete f, pl. *blete* 'bee, swarm, hive'. Goes back to *\*mblete* borrowed from Rom *\*melettum*, cf. *me/barium* 'beehive, apiary' (JOKL *LKUBA* 284-296). 0 POTT *KZ* VI 321 (comparison with Gk *OXtrca* 'bee'); CAMARDA I 44 (the same); MEYER *Alb. St.* II 79 (from Rom *\*albietus*, cf. Rum *albinci* 'tee'), *Wb.* 39 (from Rom *\*apetta* *\*abetta* 'bee'); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 235 (follows CAMARDA in deriving *blete* from *\*melit*); SKOK *AarbSt* I 225 (from Rom *\*albeata*), *Arch. Roman.* VIII 148-150; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 84 (agrees with JOKL); PISANI *Saggi* 120 (from Gk *\*patija*); MIHAESCURESEE IV/3-4 350 (follows PoTT); OLBERG *IBK* XVII 38 (borrowed from Gk *liEkiacycov* 'beehive'); cABEJ *St. I* 69-70 (borrowed from Gk *Rama* with a shift of accent), *Etim.* II 261-263; DEMIRAJ *AE* 105 (from PA1b *\*m(e)/ita*).

blend& — blondes m, pl. *blendesa* *blandesa* 'paunch, stomach'. Another form is *blenxe blanxe*. Variants of *plendes plandes*.

bli bli m, pl. *blire*, *blinj* 'linden'. From PA1b *\*blina* further connected with Lith *blindis*, *blendls* 'Salix caprea' (cABEJ *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). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 40 (treats *bli* as a loanword from Rom *\*(li)brinum*); FRAENKEL 49.



**bli bli** m, pl. *bli j, blinj* 'sturgeon'. From PAIb *\*blina* connected with Gk *Wvvoc* id. (MEYER Wb. 40; cABEJ *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). 0 CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* 1165-182 (further connections of *bli* with Gk (p62a,r1 'whale' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 133; FRISK I 242-243; MIHAESCURESEE IV/3-4 350 (borrowed from Gk(3kivog); cABEJ *Etim.* II 264-265 (identical with *bli*

**blige** f 'forked piece of wood'. From PAIb *\*bliga*, a zero ablaut variant related to Gk (pciaay 'stem', ON *bialki* 0 LA PIANA *Prefisso* 14 (from *\*le-bige*); POKORNY I 122; cABEJ *Etim.* II 265 (identical with *bige*).

**Wok& f** 'rubbish, trash'. Continues PAIb *\*blauka* derived from IE *\*bhleuos* 'blue, yellow', cf. *Latf/avus* 'yellow' and the like. 0 LA PIANA *Prefisso* 15 (prefixal form related to Lat *bacca*); POKORNY I 160; cABEJ *Etim.* 267 (to *bluaj*).

**blord** f 'sling'. Continues PAIb *\*blagra*, a form reflecting a long grade variant comparable with Lat *flagrum* 'whip', cf. further ON *blekkja* 'to beat, to strike'. 0 LA PIANA *Prefisso* 15 (from *\*le-bore*); POKORNY I 154; cABEJ *Etim.* 268 (derivative of *babe*).

**blozd** f, pl. *bloze, bloza* 'soot'. Derivative of *bluaj* (CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 124). 0 MEYER Wb. 40; JOKL *Studien* 8-9 (to Skt *malind-* 'black', Gk [tau; id.]; LA PIANA *Prefisso* 13-14 (from *\*le-boze*); cABEJ *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 *bluashke, blloshke* 'splinter' (cABEJ *St.* I 71). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrij3*<sup>2</sup> I 1054; JOKL *IF XLIX 291*; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 84; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 146; HAMP *IF LXVII 147* (from IE *\*mel-*); cABEJ *Etim.* II 270-271.

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

*Slay. 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. 0 SELISTEV *Slay. naselenie* 154; cABEJ *Etim.* II 271; SVANE 73.

**bludd** f (film of) 'mould, scum on wine, skin on milk'. Borrowed from an unattested South Slavic continuant of Slav *\*blQda* reflected in Bulg dial. *bl7,da* 'unclean pimples' and Slovene *blada* 'mistake'. 0 MEYER Wb. 40 (from SCr *bluta* 'mould'); MEYER-L(MKE *REW* 32 (from Rom *\*abluta* 'rinse water'); cABEJ *St.* I 72, *Etim.* II 271; SVANE 117; TRUBACEV *ESSJa* II 125.

**boj** aor. *Nova* 'to mate'. Usually, attested in passive as *bohet*. Metaphoric use of *hoj* 'to drive' attested in North Geg. From PAIb *\*bagnja* related to Lith *begti* 'to run', Latv *begt* id., OPrus *begeyte* id., Slav *\*begti* id., Gk 0I3ouat id. (cABEJ *St.* I 119). For the semantic development in Albanian cf. Russ *gon* 'heat (of animals)' < *gnat* 'to drive'. 0 MEYER Wb. 41-42 (to NGk *umaiva*); TREIMER *MRIW* I 373-375 (to Germ *Bahn* 'road'); BUGGE *BB XVIII 174* (from Rom *\*disbina*); BARK *ARSt* 68-69 (from *\*bhoreja*); JOKL *IF XXXVII 103, 118* (related to *mbaj, bie*); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 23-24 (from *\*deboj* further connected with Lith *vYti* 'to drive (away)' and the like); MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to Gk *itoo.*) 'to frighten'); FRAENKEL 38; FRISK II 998-999; cABEJ *St.* I 73 (follows LA PIANA); DEMIRAJ *AE 105-106*.

**bolbd** f 'accident, disaster, sorrow'. Borrowed from the otherwise unattested Slav *\*bolbba*, derivative of *\*boh*, 'pain' (KRISTOFORIDHI 487; SELISCEV *Slay. naselenie* 193). 0 VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 8 (against Slavic etymology); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 322 (from Rom *\*volva* or from IE *\*bhe/-*); cABEJ *St.* I 73, IV 98, *Etim.* II 281-282 (to Lat *bullā*, OIr *holach*).

**bolle** p1. 'testicles'. From PAIb *\*balnai* connected with IE *\*bhlan-*: Gk *coccaog* 'phallus', *Latfollis* 'bellows', OIr *ball* 'limb, member' (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 67-68). 0 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; cABEJ *Etim.* II 282 ("elementary creation"); MANN *Comp.* 63-64 (to Skt *bhala-* 'forehead').

**bolle** f, pl. *holla* 'kind of harmless snake'. Borrowed from Rom *\*bola*,

cf. Lat *bolea* 'salamander' (JOKL *ZRomPh* XLI 228-230). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 41 (borrowed from Lat *belua* 'beast, monster'); SPITZER *IVIRIW* 1 295 n. 1 (to Skt *bhala-* 'with shining skin'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 85, *Stratificazione* 133; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 328; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMAN 112; *cABEJEtim.* II 283-285 (from IE *\*bhul-* 'to swell'); LANDI *Lat.* 126.

**bore** f, pl. *bore, borera horna* 'snow'. Dialectal variants *debor, vdor, zbore, xbore* and the like reflect PA1b *\*diš-bard* with a borrowed suffix (iota *IF* XXXVII 193) or, rather, *\*is-bard* with a Proto-Albanian suffix. The semantic structure of the word is similar to Rum *zapada* 'snow' < Slav *\*zapada* 'falling down (snow)' and, therefore, *\*-hard* is linked to *bie* 'to fall' (ibid.; CIORANESCU *DER* II 910). In fact, *bore* may be a calque of the Slavic word (TRuEAtEV *Slay. jaz.* XI 19). Its verbal correlate is *zhjerr* 'to lose' < *\*-her-na*. 0 CAMARDA 1100 (to Gk *I3opiotg* '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 *Pop6ag* '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; *cABEJ St.* 173-74 (follows JOKL), *Etim.* II 287-289; HULD 45-46; DEMIRAJ *AE* 106-107.

**borige** f, pl. *boriga* 'kind of pine; splinter'. Another variant is *borike*. Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *borika* 'fir-tree', SCr *borika* 'pine' (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 16; MEYER *Wb.* 42). 0 JOKL *IF* XXXVII 94-95 (related to Gk (*papuy4* 'throat' and IE *\*bher-* 'to cut'); SELISStEV *Slay. naselenie* 164; OLBERG *IF* LXXIII 206 (follows JOKL); GAMKRE-LIDZE - IVANOV H 707 (follow DLBERG); *cABEJ St.* I 74 (supports MEYER), *Etim.* II 289; SVANE 125; DEMIRAJ *AE* 107.

**bors** m, pl. *borsa* 'chaffinch, Fringilla'. Derived from *bore* as shown by names of chaffinch in other languages, cf. Fr *pinson de neige*, Germ *Schneefink* and the like (*cABEJ St.* I 75, *Etim.* II 290-291). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 482 (borrowed from Slav *\*skvorbch* 'starling').

**bosht** m, pl. *hoshte, boshtinj* 'spindle, axis, axle'. From PA1b *\*basta* close to Gmc *\*basta* > OHG *buost* 'rope made of bast'. Further related to Gmc *\*bastaz* 'bast' as well as Lat *fascis*, Alb *bashke* (*OREL Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). The spindle is, thus, described as 'june-

ture'. Note that *boshter* 'Forsythia' is derived from *bosht* (*cABEJ St.* I 75). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 42 (derived from Ital *hosso* 'tox-tree'); GUYON *St. Glott. Ital.* V 11 (borrowed from Slav *\*bochch* 'thorn, sharp stick'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 86; KLUGE 55; ZALIZN' AK *Etimologija* 1964 166; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 102 (prefixal *b-*); *cABEJ Etim.* II 292-293 (to *bie* 'to carry' or to Skt *bhrgi-*).

**bote** f, pl. *how* 'earth; world'. From PA1b *\*bwata* based on IE *\*bheu-* *\*bha-* 'to be, to grow' (JOKL *Studien* 7). Among derivatives of *bote* note *botem* 'pale'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 43 (comparison with Lat *betere, baetere* 'to go'); MANN *Language* XXVI 380 (to Skt *hhata-* 'shining', cf. Rum *lume*), *Comp.* 67; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144; *cABEJ Etim.* II 294-296; DEMIRAJ *AE* 107.

**bram** m 'residue, scoria, rust, ear-wax'. From PA1b *\*hradma* connected with Skt *bradhnd-* 'reddish, yellow', Slav *\*broni*, 'colored' < *\*brodn7*, (*cABEJ Etim.* II 300; OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 174). For the semantic development cf. OHG *rust* 'rust' based on IE *\*reudh-* 'red'. 0 MAYRHOFER II 451; TRUBICCEV *ESSJa* III 41-42; MANN *Comp.* 98 (to Lat *fragmen* 'scrap, fragment').

**brane** 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*. 0 SELIk' EV *Slay. naselenie* 15, 156; *cABEJ Etim.* II 301; SVANE 31, 253.

**brave** f 'herd'. Borrowed from Slav *\*borvh* *\*borva* 'cattle', cf. in particular Bulg *brava*, SCr pl. *bravi* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 45). 0 SKOK I 203; *cABEJ Etim.* II 301-302; SVANE 134.

**brave** 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). 0 SELIgtEV *Slay. naselenie* 150, 306; *cABEJ Etim.* II 302; SVANE 83.

**braze** f, pl. *braza* 'furrow'. Another (and more conservative) variant is *hrazde*. Borrowed from Slav *\*borzda* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *brazda*, SCr *brazda* (WEIGAND 9; SELIgtEV *Slay. naselenie* 158, 322) 0 SEIAtEV *Slay. naselenie* 158; *cABEJ Etim.* II 302.; SVANE 37.

brazim m 'hoar-frost'. Derivative based on *brazę* and semantically motivated by the form of hoar-frost looking like wrinkles or furrows. 0 MEYER Wb. 45 (from Venet *brosa* id., Friul *brose* id.); HUBSCHMID *Vox Rom.* III 133 (from Venet *bro:zima* id.); cABEJ *St.* I 75 (derived from *mrazę*), *Etim.* II 302; SVANE 173.

bredh m, pl. *bredha* 'fir-tree'. From PAIb *\*brada* etymologically connected with Slav *\*bredb* 'willow' and, further, with *\*broth*, 'ford', Lith *bradas* id., all these forms based on IE *\*hbredh-*, cf. *bredh* 'to jump, to spring' (OREL *Etimologija* 1985 29-30). For the semantic motivation, similar to that of Slav *\*bred*", (a tree growing or "walking" along the rivers or hill-slopes), cf. VASMER I 210 and TRUBACEV *ESSJa* III 11-12. Rum *brad* 'fir-tree' is a Proto-Albanian loanword reflecting the original root vowel of PAIb *\*brada*. Note a derivative *breshite* 'fir-tree forest'. 0 CAMARDA II 62 (to Lat *bratus*); DIEFENBACH I 50 (to Latv *priede* 'pine'); JOKL *IF* XXX 208-210 (from IE *\*bbrozdb-*); MEYER Wb. 45-46 (compares *bredh* with the IE *\*bherag-* 'birch'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 231 (to ON *barr* 'pine needle'); FRAENKEL 58-59; CAMAJ 121, 123 (reconstructs suffix *\*-db-*); POGHIRC *1st limb. rom.* II 3237; ROSETTI *ILR* I 273; PISANI *Saggi* 126 (reconstructs *\*bbreg-* and links *bredh* to the IE name of birch, following MEYER); HULD *KZ XCIX* 247 (borrowed from Gk *j3pd8u*); TRUBACEV *ESSJa* III 13, 36-37; cABEJ *Etim.* II 303-305 (follows CAMARDA); DEMIRAJ *AE* 107-108.

bredh aor. *brodha* 'to jump, to spring'. From PAIb *\*breda* identical with Slav *\*bredQ*, *\*brest* 'to wade, to ford', Lith *brendit*, *bristi* id. (MEYER Wb. 46, *Alb. St.* III 28, 35, 71). 0 FRAENKEL 58; PISANI *Saggi* 125; HAMP *ZfBalk* XXV 43; cABEJ *St.* I 75-76 (to OE *bregdan* 'to stir'), *Etim.* II 305; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 113 (prefix *b-*); TRUBACEV *ESSJa* III 14-15; DEMIRAJ *AE* 108.

breg m, pl. *brigje*, *bregje* 'hill, bank'. Borrowed from Slav *\*bergb* 'bank, coast, hill', cf. South Slavic forms: OCS *breg-*, Bulg *br'ag*, SCr *brijeg*, *breg* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 17; MEYER Wb. 46). 0 SELISCEV *Slay. naselenie* 188; cABEJ *Earn.* II 305-306; SVANE 161.

brej brej aor. *brejta brejta* 'to gnaw'. From PAIb *\*brainja* further connected with IE *\*bhrei-* 'to cut': Skt *bbrindti* '(he) injures', Lat *fru*, 'to rub', Slav *\*briti* 'to shave' and the like (OREL *ZfBalk* XX1111 68; cABEJ *Etim.* II 306-307). For similar semantic development see

JEGERS *KZ LXXX* 109. 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* V 70-71 (to *Latfrenda*); JOKL *Studien* 9; LA PIANA *Studi* I 73 (from *\*bhoreja*); MAYRHOFER II 532-533; WALDE-HOFMANN I 549; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* (reconstructs *Thbr-n-H-elo-*); SVANE *GjA* II 39 (*brij* < *brej* influenced by aorist); DEMIRAJ *AE* 108-109.

brae pl. 'pants'. Borrowed from Lat *bracae* 'trousers, breeches' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 7; MEYER Wb. 46). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* 'I 1043; MIHAE, SCLIRESEE IV/1-2 13; HAARMANN 112; cABEJ *Etim.* II 307-308; LAND! *Lat.* 27, 38.

brenda adv. 'inside'. Together with other phonetic and morphological variants, *brenda* and *mbrenda mbrenda*, continues a sequence of prepositions and adverbs PAIb *\*(en) per enta* (CAMARDA I 318). For the last component cf. *nde*. The derivative *brendes* 'intestines', is the source of the Balkan word for goat- and sheep-cheese prepared in sheep's stomach, cf. Rum *brInza*. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 33 (from Lat *intro*); MEYER Wb. 47-48; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (from *\*en-pren-do*); PASCURE 27 (Rum *br'inza* related to *berr*); Russu *Etnogeneza* 270-273; cABEJ *Etim.* II 308-310; HAARMANN 141 (from Lat *per intu*).

brenge f, pl. *brenga* 'grief, sorrow'. From PAIb *\*brain(i)ka* connected with *\*brainja* > *brej* 'to gnaw'. For the semantic development cf. E *remorse* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 68). Rum *brined* denoting a contagious disease was borrowed from the intermediate Albanian form *\*brenka* < *\*brain* (*Oka* and, quite probably, preserves its earlier meaning; thus, 'illness' > 'grief' (cABEJ *St.* 176, *Etim.* II 311-312). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 46; PHILIPPIDE *Viata romaneasal* XVII 39; DICULESCU *DR* IV 477 (to Rum *brincci* < Gk (*3pOryx0c*); MANN *Comp.* 53-54 (to Goth *ana-praggan* 'to oppress').

bresher breshen m 'hail'. Singularized plural of *\*brash* (cABEJ *St.* I 76-77, *Etim.* 312-314) going back to PAIb *\*brauSa* and, further, to IE *\*bhreus-* 'to break': OR *brdu* id., MW *breu* 'fragile', OHG *broasma* 'crumb' (MEYER Wb. 47, *Alb. Studien* III 35, 61, 72). 0 CAMARDA I 78 (to Gk *Ppixo*) 'to wet'; WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 245-247; PEDERSEN *IF* V 38 (argues against the above etymology), *Kelt. Gr.* I 55; TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 87; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 17; POKORNY I 171; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 53 (< *b-resb-en* OLBERG *IF* LXXIII 217; OREL *Zffialk* XXIII 69 (reconstructs *\*hbroidsino-* and connects *bresher breshen*

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

**breshkd** f, pl. *hreshka* 'tortoise'. Another variant is *bregke*. Together with Rum *broascci* 'toad, frog' this word continues a Balkan Romance form *\*brotascus* or *\*brosacus*, eventually going back to Gkr3p6Oalco; 13potaxo5 'frog', cf. *bretk* (CAMARDA 1104). 0 MEYER *Wh.* 47 (borrowed from Rom *\*brisca* 'frog'); PUSCARIU *EW*R 18; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 253 (from MLat *bruscus*); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 113 (suffix -ke); cABEJ *Etim.* II 314-315.

**breshte** adj. 'wild, rough, rugged, rude'. From PAIb *\*braifita* or *\*braildta* derived from *brej* < IE *\*bhrei-* (OREL *Zf73alk* XXIII/1 68-69). For the semantic development cf. Slav *\*grglyz*, - *\*grub*', 'rough, rude' and Gmc *\*grauta-* 'big, great' (OHG *gr 03* and the like) in their connection to Slav *\*gruditi* 'to gnaw'. 0 MANN *Comp.* 101 (to ON *bresta* 'to burst').

**bretk** m, pl. *bre tq* 'frog'. Borrowed from Rom *\*hrotacus* or directly from Gk *Ppooakoc* *flporaxoc* 'frog', a phonetic transformation of *pdapaX0c* (CAMARDA 1104; MEYER *Wb.* 47). 0 FRISK I 226-227; HAARMAN 113.

**brez** m, pl. *breza* 'belt'. Comparison with Rum *brlu* 'strap, belt' borrowed from Proto-Albanian (MEYER *Wb.* 46-47) leads to the reconstruction of PAIb *\*hreuna* from which *brez* was derived with suffix *-(e)z*. As to PAIb *\*hreuna*, it may be identified with Lith *briauna* 'edge'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 46-47 (to Goth *brunjo* 'breastplate' and the like); SKOK *Arch. Roman.* VIII 150; TREIMER *ZfromPhil* XXXVIII 391; SKOK *ZONF* I 89, *ArRom* VIII 150 (diminutive); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 87; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 33 (to Gk *p6X0c*); PISANI *Saggi* 121; FRAENKEL 57; CAMAJ *Alb. Worthb.* 124; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 337; ROSETTI *ILR* I 273; cABEJ *Etim.* II 317-320 (derived from *mbrej* 'to put on yoke' < *\*m-ber-enj*).

**bri bri** m, pl. *bri*, *brinj*, *brire* - *brine* 'horn'. From PAIb *\*brina* related to Messap *Opiv8ov ampov*; Ppevrtov - icEpoai1 'rob eX6upon (Hes., Et. Magn.), Swed *brind* 'deer', Latv *briedis* 'elk', OPrus *braydis* id. (MEYER *Wh.* 48). 0 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 *\*bhrmo-*); PORZIG *Gliederung* 210; PISANI *Saggi* 124; FRISK I 265; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 78; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; SCHICK *AAT* LXXXVII 89-118; cABEJ *Etim.* II 321-323; DEMIRAJ *AE* 110-111 (related to Skt *bhrti-* 'eyebrow').

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

**brittle** f, pl. *brima* 'hole'. From PAIb *\*brima*, an adjective in *\*-mo-* related to *hire* (MEYER *Wb.* 37, *Alb. St.* III 35). 0 MANN *Language* XVII 15; CHANTRAINE 1179; cABEJ *Etim.* II 324-325 (to *brej*).

**brinjd** f, pl. *brinje* 'rib, side'. From PAIb *\*brinja* derived from *bri* (LAM-HERTZ *KZ* LIII 284; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 5) with the semantic development 'horn' > 'side' similar to that of Slav *\*rogs* 'horn' > 'corner'. The meaning 'rib' in *brinje* was derived from 'side'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 48 (related to Skt 'rib', Slav *\*pbrsi* 'breast' and the like), *Alb. St.* III 31-32; WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 236-238 (to Goth *brunjo* 'armor'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 87; cABEJ *St.* I 77-78 (related to Lith *briauna* 'edge' and the like), *Etim.* II 325-327.

**brisk** m, pl *brisqe* 'razor, penknife'. Early loanword in a form of *\*britfika* from South Slav *\*brie'bleb*, diminutive of *\*brie b* id. (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 17; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 68). Another (and more rare) form *briske* goes back to South Slav *\*briebka* preserved in Bulg *brieka* 'razor with a handle', SCr *brieka* 'razor' (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 88). 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* 122 (correctly compares with Slav *\*brieb*), *Wb.* 49, *Alb. St.* IV 90 (borrowing from Slav *\*brldnyti* 'to shave', particularly, from Bulg *brssna* id., *brssnac*'. > *brssnie* 'razor' - phonetically impossible); PISANI *Saggi* 126; cABEJ *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.

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

*brymes* id. (derivative of *bryme*) under the influence of *brej* (DEMIRAJ AE 111).0 MEYER Wb. 50 (derived from *brej*).

**bruke** f 'tamarind'. From PAIb *\*bruka* identical with Slav *\*bbrk7*, 'twig, stalk, sharp end'. 0 HAMP *Anc. IE* 102; TROBAGEV *ESSJa* III 128-129; CABEJ *Etim.* II 332 (borrowed from Gk i.rupiial via Dor Vpincq).

**brume** m, pl. *brume* 'dough'. Derived from *mbruaj mhruej*, *mbryj* 'to knead' (cABEJ *Etim.* II 333-334). From PAIb *\*bruma* related to Gmc *\*barma* 'yeast' (OE *beorma*) and Lat *fermentum* 'leaven, yeast' (MEYER Wb. 49). 0 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 PAIb *\*brust-ula* related to Slav *\*brwth* 'sprout, bud' and OS *brustian* 'to shoot, to sprout'. 0 VAN WIJK *IF XXIV* 235; POW *IX ICL* 862-864 (from EGmc *\*brustilo*, cf. E *bristle*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. tom.* II 329 (to Dac *riborasta*, plant name); NEROZNAK *Paleob.* 197 (follows POGHIRC); TRUBAIEV *ESSJa* III 58; GINDIN - KALUZSKAJA - OREL *Blssl.* 249; cABEJ *Etim.* II 335-336 (borrowed from Slav *\*H'ukh*).

**brut** adj. 'blue, indigo'. From PAIb *\*hrudja* comparable with Slav *\*brudi*, 'dirt', *\*bruds,n7*, 'dirty' < IE *\*bhrou-dh-*, cf. *\*bhrou-t-* in Thrac *riporrog* 'barley beer' (OREL *Linguistica XXVI* 175). 0 DETSCHEW *Thr. Sprachreste* 93; CABEJ *Etim.* II 336 (to *barre*); TRUBACIEV *ESSJa* II 44.

**brydh** adj. 'weak, pliant, mild'. From PAIb *\*bradza* related to *Latfrac* 'fruit', Goth *hrukjan* 'to use' (where IE *\*g* should be reconstructed) The meaning in Albanian is based on the original notion of 'used, worn out'. 0 MANN *Language XXVIII* 34 (to Slav *\*lybrz,h*), *Comp.* 54, 111 (to *W brydd* 'feeble, ailing'); POKORNY I 173; OREL *Linguistica XXVI* 175 (to Slav *\*bryethh*, 'disgusting, sharp'); CABEJ *Etim.* II 337-338 (to *breth* 'to jump').

**bryind** f. 'frost'. Borrowed from Lat *brama* 'cold, frost' (CAMARDA I 53; MEYER Wb. 49). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53 (from Lat *pruina* id.); CAMAJ 47 (to IE *\*bher-*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV 11-2* 13; HAARMAN 113; HULD 46; CABEJ *Etim.* II 338; LANDI *Lat.* 68-69.

**buall buell** m, pl. *buaj buej* 'buffalo'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*byvotz*, id. (MTK *Lostcti Slay. Elemente* 16; SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 243) with the diphthongization of the group *\*-yvo-* similar to that in *patkua*. The feminine form *bualllice buellice* goes back to Slav *\*byvolica*. 0 STIER *KZ XI* 150 (borrowed from Lat *babalus* id.); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 7 (from Lat *babalus* or Gk Poi)(3aXog); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 64, *Wh.* 50 (same etymology); MEYER-LOME *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1048 (agrees with MEYER); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 535, 541; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV 11-2* 13; HAARMAN 113; CABEJ *St.* I 79 (questions the phonetic validity of MEYER'S etymology), *Etim.* II 339-340 (identical with Thracian (3eatv0oc `bull')); TRUBAIEV *ESSJa* III 158-159; LANDI *Lat.* 107, 137.

**blips** aor. *bucita* 'to roar, to thunder'. Borrowed from Slav *\*bt dati* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *btda*, SCr *btdati* (DESNIKAJA *Slay. zaint.* 16). 0 cABEJ *Etim.* II 345 (from SCr *bucYati*); SVANE 260.

**buj bilj** aor. *hujta bajta* 'to accommodate (a guest); to stay overnight'. From PAIb *\*bunja* related to Goth *bauan* 'to stay' and other derivatives of IE *\*bheu-* *\*bha-* 'to be, to grow' (CAMARDA I 59; MEYER *Wh.* 51, *Alb. St.* III 33). As to *bune* 'alpine hut', it continues *\*bunta* derived from *buj*, cf. Lith *Naas* 'dwelling' and Oh *both* 'hut' derived from IE 0 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 (*bune* to Thrac -(icaivov); CABO:St. 1 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 1180; MEYER Wb. 53). From this stem, *bulk*, *bulkth*, *burkth* 'cricket' is derived. 0 MEYER Wb. 55 (*burkth* to *\*murk-* 'black'); MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1050; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 133; POGHIRC *LB VI* 99-100 (to *murk*); MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 30-31; HAARMAN 113; MANN *Comp.* 112 (*burkth* related to OE *heorcan* 'to bark'); CABEJ *Etim.* II 356; LANDI *Lat.* 89, 135-136.

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

also Rom *\*buccella* 'bread', Ital *huccella* 'mouthful' (CAMARDA i 132; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 7; MEYER *Wh.* 51). This semantic shift is typical of all the Carpatho-Balkan area (HAMERRL XXIV 315). 0 XYLANDER 277 (to Phryg Pico; 'bread'); PUSCARIU *EWR* 19; MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* 2 i 1046; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 46, *Stratificazione* 133; °STIR *A ArbSt* I 84; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 90, *Origini* 190; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV* 11-2 27; HAARMAN 113; HAMP *RomPh* XXXIV /4 434; HULD 46; cABEJ *Etim.* II 357-358; DESNICKAJA *Sravn.* 317-323; LANDI *Lat.* 66, 134.

**bukel** f, pl. *bukla* 'weasel'. From PALb *\*bukla* connected with *bukur* (MEYER *Wb.* 51-52). The variant *bungel* seems to be secondary (influenced by *hung*?). 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 plopoc*, 6wpwv, Slav *\*bujbn7*, 'violent, wild, lusty, fertile'), and in particular with Germanic formations in *\*-k-*: OHG *buhil* 'hill' < *\*bhukl-*, ON *bdla* 'lump, knob' < *\*bhukl-On-* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 69-70). 0 BARD *A ArbSt.* II 79-80 (to Mlr *bocc*, Skt *hhugna-*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 133 (thinks of a Romance loanword); SCHUCHARDT *ZifromPh* XXXIV 215 (to MFr *bacoule* id.); POKORNY I 98 f.; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 119; MANN *Comp.* 124; cABEJ *Etim.* II 358.

bliklir adj. 'beautiful, fine, nice, pretty; good, noble; dim'. From PALb *\*hukura* etymologically connected with *bukel*, cf. Slav *\*laska* 'weasel' — 'caress', Lith *lok.fnits* 'tender' (SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 254; MEYER *Wh.* 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 (TRuBAeEv 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). 0 STIER *KZ* VII 160 (identical with Lat *pulcher*); CIHAC II 715 (borrowed from Turk *buhur* 'incense'); BARK *A ArbSt.* II 79-80 (to Jr *boce* 'ark'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 133; HAAS *LB I* 35, 43, III 51 (to Gk (3auxpoc); ROSETTI *ILR I* 274; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 338 (explains both Albanian and Rumanian words from the Balkan substratum); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 119; cABEJ *Etim.* II 360-362.

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

irregular voiced anlaut. 0 MEYER *Alb.St* V 71 (from Ital *polvere* id.); HELBIG 39; cABEJ *Etim.* II 362.

**bule** f, pl. *bula* 'bud'. Borrowed from Lat *bulla* 'bubble, boss, knob' (MEYER *Wb.* 53). 0 SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236 (to Gk *cpiaXov* 'leaf'); BARK *A ArbSt I* 145; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 536; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 90; MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (follows SCHMIDT); MIHAESCURESEE IV/1-2 13; HAARMANN 113; MANN *Comp.* 122 (to MHG *bolle* 'bud'); cABEJ *St.* I 81 (accepts MEYER'S etymology), *Etim.* II 362-363; LANDI *Lat.* 93.

**bull** f 'soft flesh (on the rear side of the finger)'. Borrowed from MLat *bulla* 'seal' ((ABEJ *Etim.* II 363). 0 HELBIG 84 (from Ital *bolla*, Venet *bola* id.).

**bullar** m, pi. *bullare* 'blindworm'. Together with its variant *bollar* this word is derived from *bone* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 90). It is the source of Rum *bcilaur* 'dragon' from where other Balkan forms were borrowed. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 41; BARIEARSt 3-5 (from *\*bala* 'water, marsh' and *\*var* 'snake'); PASCU *RE* 25 (reconstructs Rom *\*belluarius*); 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*); cABEJ *Etim.* II 366-367.

**bullog m** 'dragon's dwelling'. Transformed from *\*burlllog* under the influence of *bullar*. Borrowed from South Slav *\*bmlog7*, < Slav *\*bbrlogi*, 'den, dwelling', cf. Bulg *bmlog*, Slovene *brlog*. Alb *-ur-* < South Slav *-7,r-* indicates an early loanword. Another trace of Slav *\*bbrlog7*, is *berlllok* 'den' (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 16 on *berlllok*). 0 OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 356; cABEJ *Etim.* II 211; SvANE 43.

**bullunge** f, pl. *bullunga* 'lump, knob'. Formation in *-unge* (JOKL *RIEt-Balk.* II 76) derived from *\*bull* < PALb *\*bulna*, etymologically connected with IE *\*bhela-* 'to swell' (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 68). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 53 (from Rom *\*bullaca*); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236 (compares with Gk *TiAlov* BARK *A ArbSt III-2* 144-145 (< *bu-* + *lunge*); cABEJ *St.* I 82 (connects *bullunge* with *balle*), *Etim.* II 368-370 (to *mul& -mulle*).

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

*\*bun(i)ka* derived from IE *\*bheu-* 'to grow' and closely related to Arm *bun* 'trunk' (cABEJ *St.* I 83, *Etim.* II 373-375). The Albanian word was borrowed to Rum *hunget* 'thicket'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 54 (comparison with Slav *\*buky*, *\*bukl*, 'beech' which, however, is a Germanic loanword); BARK I 103 f. (to Lith *bingits* 'brave, courageous' or Gk nap% 'thick'); JOKL *LKUBA* 177-179 (to Skt *bhundkti* 'to enjoy, to use, to consume' because of the edible nature of acorns!); LA PIANA *Studi* I 102-103 (to Gk *tpacyo*; and Phryg *Bayaioc*); ACAREAN *HAB* I 483-484; MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to OHG *hunga lump*); POKORNY 1146-148; HAMP *LB DC* 117 (to the Indo-European name of 'beech' *\*bliagna*); FRIEDRICH *Trees* 108; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 118; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3238; ROSETTI *ILR* I 274; HAMP *LB XX/1-2* 117 (from *\*bhag-n-*); OREL *ZIBalk XXIII* 11 70; DEMIRAJ *AE* 112-113 (supports HAMP).

**burhdh** f 'kind of sack'. Attested in Albanian of Greece. From PAIb *\*burda* < IE *\*bhrdh-* further related to ON *bor5* 'board, edge', OE *bord* id. 0 POKORNY 1138; cABEJ *SCL X* 556 (to Germ *Bürde*); HAMP *RRL IV* 335 (reconstructs *\*bhorH-da*); 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). 0 CAMARDA II 145 (to Gk *rti*pyoc); 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 *Etimologija* 1964 206; cABEJ *Etim.* II 379-383 (follows CAMARDA).

**burre** m, pl. *burra* 'man, husband'. Borrowed from OHG *giburo* 'peasant, villager' with the simplification of the anlaut cluster *\*gb-* > *h-*. Cf. a similar source of Hung *pot-* id. < OBavar *\*pour*. 0 GIL 'FERDING *Otm.* 21 (to Skt *ptirusa-* 'man'); MEYER *Wb.* 55 (etymologically identifies *burre* with OHG *giburo*, Germ *Bauer*), *Alb. St.* III 74; SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 254 (from MLat *barro*); PISANI *Saggi* (follows MEYER); WIEDEMANN *BB XXVII* 219 (reconstructs *\*bhorno-* further connected with OHG *haro* '(free) man'); JOKL *LKUBA* 230 (follows WIEDEMANN and reconstructs *\*bherno-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 91 (agrees with JOKL), TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 113; VASMER *ZfslavPh V* 368-369 (to Illyr *Boiipot*); RIBEZZO *Riv. Alb.* II 135 note 1; PISANI *Saggi* 121; MANN *Language XVII* 13 (reconstructs *\*bhrnfo-*); GEORGIEV *Issledovanija* 119 (to Thrac -(3opp); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 76, *ZfreltPh XXXLX*

209 (reconstructs *\*bhorH-n-* *\*bhorHtr-*); CAMAJ 230; DURIDANOV *Trakite* 74 (same as GEORGIEV); cABEJ *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 *haus* id. (WEIGAND 10). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 56 (from SCr *bus* id.); HELBIG 43, 76 (from Ital *basso*); cABEJ *Etim.* II 392 (follows WEIGAND 10).

**bushter** f, pi *hushtra* 'bitch', adj. 'raging, wild'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*hustr-L*, fern. *\*bystra* 'quick' (TREIMER *AArbSt* I 27), cf. Russ *borzoi* 'borzoi' < 'fast'. 0 CAMARDA 1162 (to Lat *bustum*); MEYER *Wb.* 56 (to ON *bikkja* id., E *bitch* or to Lat *bestia*); JOHANSSON *IF IV* 268 (to *Latfindo*); LA PIANA *Prefisso* 14-15 (to *bush* 'bogy, werewolf'); cABEJ *Etim.* II 394-395 (same as LA PIANA); MANN *Comp.* 127 (related to Slav *\*bystrs.*).

**but** m, pl. *bute* 'big barrel'. Borrowed from Lat *buttis* id. (MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrift* <sup>2</sup> 11046). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 6 (from Ital *hotte*); HAARMAN 113; cABEJ *Etim.* II 396; LANDI *Lat.* 83-85.

**bute** adj. 'soft, smooth'. From PAIb *\*buta* < IE *\*bhugh-to-* comparable with NIr *bog* 'soft' < *\*bhugho-*, Arm *hut* 'blunt' (PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 341). The source of both forms is IE *\*hheugh-* 'to bend'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 57; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 159; JOKL *IF XLIV* 54; MLADENOV *IF XXXVIII* 169-171; POKORNY 1152-153; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 1 70 (to *buj*); cABEJ *Etim.* II 397-398; MANN *Comp.* 121; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 114; DEMIRAJ *AE* 114.

**buze** f, pl *buze* lip, end, edge, bank, stitch, rock'. The word goes back to PAIb *\*budja* identical with Lith *bud* 'tree-fungus, tinder, whetstone' (OREL *LB XXVII* 49 f.); semantically, cf. Slav *\*gQba* lip, tree-fungus' (ToPoR0v *Balkanica* 243 f.) and Rum *buza* (see below). Both the Lithuanian and the Albanian words are related to IE *\*bhudh-men* 'bottom' (cABEJ *St.* I 86, KALUZSKAJA *SBJa Leksikol.* 152 f.); the development of meaning is paralleled in Alb *fund* 'bottom, end, edge'. Alb *buze* is the source of Rum *buza* lip, edge, sharp edge, top of a rock', Arum *budza* lip, edge'. The latter forms were borrowed into Slavic: Bulg *huza* 'cheek', Maced *buza* 'lip', SCr *budza* 'mouth, lip', *buza*



`mouth, lip, kiss'. The status of Pol *buzia* 'mouth, face' and Ukr *buz'a* id. (< Polish?) is dubious. Alb *buzem* 'edge, stone at the edge of the hearth, piece of wood burned down at Christmas' is a late derivative of *buze* and, therefore, cannot be a base for a deep semantic reconstruction as suggested by TOPOROV (*Etimologija* 1976 136 f.) in connection with SCr *badnjak*. 0 CAMARDA I 52 (cognate of Lat *bucca* 'mouth'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 5 (from Lat *basium* 'liss'); MEYER *Wb.* 57 (from *\*bus-ze* compared with Lat *bucca* 'mouth' and derived from IE *\*buk-*); PUSCARIU *EWR* 21, *LR I* 177; PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 114 (compares with Lith *burna* 'mouth', Arm *beran* id.); JOKL *Studien* 11-12, *LKUBA* 143, 278 (follows PEDERSEN; identifies *-ze* as a collective suffix); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 87 (onomatopoeia); LA PIANA *Studi* I 103 (from IE *\*bhecid-* 'to swell'); PISANI *Paideia* XXI 343; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom. II* 329; POKORNY 1174 (to IE *\*bu-* 'kiss'); CABEJ *St.* I 86-87 (derives *buze* from *\*bhrdhja* and compares it with E *board!*), *Etim.* II 400-402; NIKOLAEV *Antic". balk.* 5 30 (*buze* borrowed from North Caucasian); BfIGA 1324 (identifies Lith *bude* 'fungus' and *blide* 'whetstone'); FRAENKEL 61-62; BARIC *Hymje* 66; VAILLANT *BL* XIV 16 (Rum *buza* < Slav *\*lolywa*); *BER* I 87; ROSETTI *ILR* I 274; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 356; DEMIRAJ *AE* 114-115.

byr aor. *byra* 'to carry out, to perform, to execute'. Continues PALb *\*bara* related (as a causative) to IE *\*bha-* 'to be, to grow'. It is probable that the Proto-Albanian verb is a denominative based on an unattested abstract noun *\*bharom* > *\*bara*. 0 XHUVANI *KLeTr* 1/3 2 (based on *NJ*); CABEJ *Etim.* TI 408-409 (derived from *bie*).

byth8 f, pl. *bythe* 'backside, buttocks'. A Proto-Albanian compound of *mbe* and *vithe*, with *-y-* resulting from PALb *\*-iwi-* as in *qytet*. 0 BARD *AArbSt* I 141-142 (compound of *mbe* and *ith*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 87; SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236 (to IE *\*bll-*); HAMP *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 211-212; CABEJ *Etim.* H 410-411; MANN *Comp.* 57-58 (from IE *\*busd(h)fd*, related to Gk *ilucia6*; 'depth').

## C

ca pron. 'some'. From the sequence of article *to* and pronoun *sa* (PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 20, *KZ* XXXVI 316). 0 CAMARDA I 214 (links *ca* to

*sa*); MEYER *Wb.* 383 (connects *ca* with the pronominal stem *s-*); CABEJ *St.* 187 (follows PEDERSEN), *Etim.* III 3-4.

calik m, pl. *calike* 'goat-skin'. Borrowed from Slav *\*celikl*, 'whole object', in this case, 'whole skin' (OREL *Etimologija* 1983 135). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 439; PoLAK *Orbis* XVI 131 (to Gk *OaXXig*); cABEJ *St.* 187 (unacceptable comparison with *cull*), *Etim.* 6-7.

camUrdhok m 'little boy'. Of unclear origin. 0 GAZULLI 18 (prefix *ca-*); CABEJ *Etim.* 8 (to *callok* id.).

carac m, pl. *caraca* 'nettle tree'. Of unknown origin. 0 cABEJ *St.* I 88 (cognate of *ther*).

carbe f, pl. *carba* 'scrap, rag'. Borrowed from Slav *\*eartha* 'daub, dirt' attested only in Czech *carba* but believed to be of much wider distribution originally. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 439 (to NGk *toep(3oiata*, 'kind of shoe' and the like); CABEJ *St.* 188 (to *carac* and *ther*).

care t, pl. *care* 'witch'. Borrowed from Slav *\*Cara* 'witchcraft', cf. South Slavic forms: SCr *Cara*, Slovene *Cdra* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 439; OREL *Etimologija* 1983 138). 0 SELISCEV *Slay. naselenie* 185; SvANE 214.

carrok m, pl. *carroke* 'lad, youth'. The etymology is uncertain. 0 CABEJ *St.* I 88-89 (to *carac* and *ther*).

cek aor. *ceka* 'to touch'. A variant of *cerk*. The noun *ceke* 'intention, aim' is a deverbative. 0 CABEJ *Etim.* III 16-17 (onomatopoeia).

cemte adj. 'cold (of water)'. Derived from *cerme* 'cold' (cABEJ *Etim.* III 18-19).

cenis aor. *cenita* 'to value'. Borrowed from Slav *\*ceniti* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *cen'a*, SCr *ceniti* (JOKL *Studien* 103). 0 SKOK *AArbSt* II 343 n. 3 (identical with *cmoj*); CABEJ *Etim.* III 20 (follows JOKL).

cep m, pl. *cepe* 'angle, edge'. Phonetic variant of *thep* (*JoKL Balkangerm.* 125). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 446 (mistaken spelling *cep*); CABEJ *Etim.* III 20-21 (agrees with JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 115-116.

cerk aor. *cerka* 'to hit'. From PAIb *\*tserka* related to *ther*. The form *cerk* preserved the original affricate.

**cerme** f 'arthritis'. Borrowed from Slav *\*ehrmī*, 'inflammation' attested in South Slavic as Slovene *cym* (*OREL Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). 0 cABEJ *St. I* 90 (historically identical with *therme* - this view can be only accepted for *cerme* 'cramp, spasm'), *Etim. III* 22-23.

**cerme** adj. 'cold, cool'. Continues PAIb *\*tserma* related to Lith *knit&* 'frost', Latv *sal-ma* id. 0 cABEJ *St. I* 90 (identical with *cerme* 'arthritis').

C61110j aor. *ceMOva* 'to hurt'. Derived from *therme* with a dialectal change of *th-*. Thus, *cevoj* < *\*thervoj*. 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 318-319 (related to *thimth*, *thumb*); cABEJ *St. I* 90 (same as JOKL), *Etim. III* 24-25.

**cerij** aor. *cerita* 'to melt butter'. Based on PAIb *\*tsira* related to Skt *s'rciyati* 'to cook, to fry', Gk *icipyrun* 'to mix'. 0 FRISK I 824-825; POKORNY I 582; cABEJ *Etim. III* 25 (onomatopoeia *cer cer* of boiling oil).

ceril m 'thrush'. Another variant is *cerne*. An early Slavic loanword, borrowed from *\*6,m/di°* 'black (object)' (MEYER *Wb.* 440). 0 KRISTOFORIDHI 202; SKOK I 278 (same as MEYER); VASMER *Alb. Wor4Orsch. I* 62-63 (from Romance, cf. Ital *merla* id.); cABEJ *Etim. III* 25-27 (onomatopoeia).

**cfurk** m, pl. (*furqe* 'pitchfork'). Derived from *furke* (MEYER *Wb.* 114).

**cice** f, pl. *cica* 'breast, nipple'. An element of the child language, cf. *thithe* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 290). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 90 (adduces Slavic and Romance parallels), *Alb. St. III* 44; SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 255 (from Romance); JOKL *Balkangerm.* 127-128; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP II* 234; cABEJ *St. I* 91 (follows TAGLIAVINI), *Etim. III* 30-31.

**cili** pron. 'which'. Together with its older variant *ci/e*, *cili* continues *\*te sile*, cf. *ca* (MEYER *Wb.* 383). As to *\*si/e*, it appears to be a recent formation based on *si* (PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 316). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 50 (derives *-I-* of *cili* from *\*-In-*); LAMBERTZ *IF XXXIV* 113 n. 2 (reconstructs a suffix *\*-/-* in *cili* similar to that of Lat *tails* 'such'); cABEJ *St. I* 91-92 (follows PEDERSEN), *Etim. III* 34-38.

**cimb** in, pl. *cimba* 'sting'. A dialectal form related to *thimth* as well as *cimak* id. (JOKL XXIV 217). 0 cABEJ *St. I* 92, *Etim. III* 39.

**cip m 'point, tip; upper part'**. A dialectal form standing for *\*thip* and connected with *thep* id. 0 cABEJ *Etim. III* 20-21.

**cipe** f, pl. *cipa* 'thin skin; milk skin'. Derived from *cip* in its meaning of 'upper part' (cABEJ *Etim. III* 44-45). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 441 (borrowed from Slavic).

**cirle** f, pl. *cirla* 'blackbird'. An onomatopoeia similar to that of Slav *\*arbki*. 'teal'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 440 (mistakenly reconstructs *\*eernlle* as borrowed from Slav *\*e'brnidlo*).

**cite** adj. 'full, brim-full'. From PAIb *\*tseita* etymologically identical with Slav *\*clit%* 'whole', Lith *kletas* 'hard' and continuing IE *\*leePtos*. The verb *cis* 'to saturate, to stuff' < *\*isitja* also belongs here. 0 CAMARDA I 87-88 (*cis* to Gk *amino* 'to feed'); MEYER *Wb.* 441 (compared with NGk T61, T6VCO 'to fill holes with lime'); VAILLANT *RES VI* 106-107; FRAENKEL 252; TRUBACEV *ESSJa IV* 124-125; cABEJ *Etim. III* 48-49 (from Slavic).

**cjap** m, pl. *cjep* 'he-goat'. Various forms including *cap* and *sqap* continue PAIb *\*tsapa* which, together with Slavic *\*cap7*, id., Rum *tap* id. and Ital *zappo* id., reflects an Oriental *Wanderwort* of Iranian or Altaic origin, cf. NPers *capEs* 'one year old goat', Osset *crew* 'goat', OTurk & IN§ 'six-months old kid'. 0 POTT *KZ IV* 70 (connected with Lat *caper* 'he-goat'); MEYER *Wb.* 387-388 (the same); PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom. II* 738 (Rum *tap* from Albanian); DENSUSIANU *GS I 243-244* (against the Latin etymology of Rum *tap*); SPITZER *MRIW I* 292 (Rumanian loanword); ROZWADOWSKI *Roczn. Slaw. II* 109 (Iranian parallels); ROHLFS *ZfromPh XLV* 662-664 (independent sources of Romance, Albanian and other words for 'goat'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 133-134; ABAEV I 307; HUBSCHMID *Pyren.* 49, *Kult. SOE* 89; Russu *TD* 203 (Rum *tap* from Dacian); TRUBACEV *2iv.* 89; ROHLFS *ZfromPh XIV* 624 (pre-Romance nature of Rum *tap* = Ital dial. *zappo* id.); ROSETTI *ILR I* 282; KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 48-50; MEIER *Etym.* 56; TRUBACEV *ESSJa IV* 172-173; cABEJ *Etim. III* 49-51 (follows MEYER).

**cmag** m, pl. *cmage* 'peg'. Another variant is *cmak*. Together with

*cimak* this word is related to *cimb* (cABEJ *St. I* 93, *Etim.* III 51-52). 0 VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 62-63.

**cub** adj. 'with a short tail, with a tail cut off'. An early borrowing from Slav \**e'ulyz*, 'tuft of hair' and also 'stump, a cut off piece'. 0 MEYER 442 (to SCr *eupa* 'tuft of hair'); cABEJ *Etim.* III 58-59 (to *cup*).

**cub** m 'robber, brigand'. Borrowed from a Germanic source, cf. Goth *Nubs* 'thief', OHG *diob* (MANN *Language XXVI* 384). 0 cABEJ *Etim.* III 58 (to *cub* 'with a short tail').

**cute** f, pi. *cuca* 'girl, maiden'. An onomatopoeic form with parallel formations in Slavic as well as in Hung *csucsa* 'loved one' (MEYER *Wb.* 443). 0 MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente 17*; JOKL apud cABEJ *St. I* 93-94 (from \**cull-ce* to *cull*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 113; MANN *Language XXVI* 384-385 (to GothPiwi); BRINCUS *SCL 1* (1961) 25-28; cABEJ *Etim.* III 59-60.

**still** m, pl. *cu/e* 'youth, boy'. A relatively recent loanword from Ital *ciullo* 'nincompoop' < *fnaciullo* (MEYER *Wb.* 449-450; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 315-316). 0 cABEJ *St. I* 95 (reconstructs the original meaning as 'skin'), *Etim.* III 63-65.

**cup** adj. 'odd (uneven)'. Continues PAIb \**tsupa* from IE \**k(e)u-po-*, based on \**keu(a)-* 'to swell', cf. in particular Skt 'empty'. As far as the suffix is concerned, cf. Skt *PO-pha-* 'swelling'. 0 POKORNY I 592-593; cABEJ *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*. 0 JOKL *Studien* 115-116 (borrowed from Hbr sor 'rock'); BARIC *ARSt.* I 104 (reconstructs \**no-*, to 01r *carp*), *AArbSt.* II 388; cABEJ *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*. 0 JOKL *Melanges Pedersen* 105-106, 149 (to *qoj* and, further, to Lat *ciere* 'to move'); MANN *Language XXVIII*

31-32 (from \**teudjo*); cABEJ *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.

## C

**cafke** f, pt. *cafka* 'heron'. Borrowed from Slav \**eamka* 'claw, magpie', cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *e'avka*, SCr *cYavka* (MEYER *Wb.* 443). A homonymic *cafke* 'glass, cup' is borrowed from Slav \**MS'Lka* 'small bowl'. 0 cABEJ *St. I* 97 (adducing dialectal *cap* id., reconstructs \**capke* > *Etim.* III 75-76 (from *cap*); SvANE 145.

**caj** aor. *cam* 'to split, to cleave, to smash, to batter, to chop up'. A parallel variant is NGeg *shaj*. From PAIb \**tšenja*, formed on the basis of IE \**sked-* 'to split': Skt *skhadate* id., Gk *cricESCivvwt* id. and the like (JOKL *IF XXX* 196). Note *raze* 'leaf representing a derivative in -ze'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 444 (to Gk *axgcu* 'to cut, to incise'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 97; PISANI *Saggi* 119; POKORNY I 918-919; MAYRHOFER III 507; FRISK II 721; CAMAJ *Alb. Wotb.* 60; OREL *ZjEalk XXII* 111 71; cABEJ *St. I* 98, *Etim.* III 77; HULD 47-48 (reconstructs \*-a- in the Proto-Albanian root); DEMIRAJ *AE* 116-117 (*caj* < \**de-shaj*, related to Lat *sario* 'to weed').

**cajme** f, pl. *Rime* 'red-backed shrike, heron'. Derived from Slav \**e'aja*, \**šajbka* 'gull, lapwing', cf. South Slavic forms: Maced *ejjka*, Slovene *edjka* (cABEJ *Etim.* III 77). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 443 (uncertain relation to Slav \**eOpja* 'heron').

**018** adj. 'lame'. From PAIb \**ftss'ala* related to Gk *cricoAto*; 'crooked', Lat *scelus* and their cognates (MEYER *Wb.* 443). 0 JOKL *IF XXX* 194 (from IE \**skel-no-*); MANN *Language XXVIII* 40 (from IE \**eks-skolyios*); PISANI *Saggi* 128; FRISK II 723-724; CHANTRAINE 1013; POKORNY I 928; cABEJ *Etim.* III 80 (to *shale*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 117-118 (reconstructs \**de-shale*).

**cam** m, pl. *came*, *Varner Thamerian*, inhabitant of the western part of Epirus'. Borrowed from early dial. Slav \**earn*', or \**cams* rendering

an earlier *\*tjama*, the latter reflecting the Greek river-name Gimp; of Epirus. 0 LEAKE *Greece* 13 (establishes the connection between *cam* and 0i)ocinc); cABEJ *St.* 198 (treats *cam* as a direct continuation of ei)atit;), *Etim.* III 82-83.

**ganddr** f, pl. *candra* 'prop, support'. From *\*S''tkntra* reflecting a singularized plural of the Indo-European neut. *\*skentrom* with s-mobile, close to IE *\*kentrom* (*OREL Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 259): Gk idvtpov 'goad, spur', cf. also Latv *sits* 'spear, lance' < Balt *\*ssIntas*. The anlaut *c(a)-* excludes the possibility of a borrowing from Latin or a Romance language, cf. *gender*. 0 POKORNY I 567; FRISK I 820-821; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII/ I* 71 (mistaken comparison with *caj*); cABEJ *Etim.* III 84 (variant of dialectal *gander* < *gender*).

**gap** aor. *capa* 'to chew'. From PALb *\*ft.fepa* connected with IE *\*skēp-* 'to cut, to split' (JoKL *IF XXX* 192-193). Note that *cape* 'step', *cap* 'to step, to pace, to go' represent a metaphoric usage of *gape* 'bite, piece', *cap* 'to chew'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 444 (connects *cape* 'step' with Turk *capmak* 'to run' as well as with Slav *\*stQpiti* 'to step'); MANN *Language XXVIII* 40 (prefix *\*eks-* followed by *hap*); POKORNY I 930-932; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII/1* 72; cABEJ *Etim.* III 84-85.

**capua gapue** m, pl. *caponj* 'spur (of a rooster)'. Derivative of *gape* 'step' (cABEJ *Etim.* III 89).

**care** f, pl. *cara* 'fissure, crack'. Borrowed from Slav *\*cara* 'line, rent, cleft', presently attested in South Slavic only in Slovene *cdra* (*OREL Etimologija* 1983 135-136). 0 OREL *ZfSlaw XXX/6* 914.

**cars** aor. *Carta* 'to destroy, to spoil'. From PALb *\*fts''ertja* based on IE *\*sker-4-*, cf. ON *skera* 'to cut', Lith *skirti* id. and the like (JoKL *IF XXX* 195-196, XXXVII, 100-101, *LKUBA* 156). 0 FRAENKEL 803; POKORNY I 938-942; cABEJ *Etim.* III 91-92; DEMIRAJ *AE* 118 (originally, from *\*de-shart-*).

**gas** m, pl. *case* 'moment, time'. Another variant is *cast* (with *-t* generalized from locative as in *ne cast*, cf. cABEJ *Etim.* III 93-94). Borrowed from Slav *\*case* 'time', cf., in particular, South Slavic forms: OCS cases, Bulg *eas*, SCr *eas* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 445). 0 SELISCEV *Slay. naselenie* 197; SVANE 176.

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

**gel** aor. *vela* 'to open'. From PALb *ntkla* etymologically related to Hitt *iškallai-* 'to tear up', ON *skilja* 'to split', Lith *skeliu*, *ske'lti* id. (JOKL *IF XXX* 194-195, *WuS XII* 70). 0 PISANI *Saggi* 125; MANN *Language XXVIII* 40 (from IE *\*eks-skelid*); FRAENKEL 800; BORETZKY *ZfBalk VIII/1-2* 21-26 (on *ge/es* 'key' < 'opener' as an Oriental semantic calque); cABEJ *Etim.* III 100-101; HAMP *Munch. St. Spr.* XLI 52 (< *\*dz-kl-* < IE *\*sel-* 'to put').

**celt-** f 'best part'. Borrowed from Slav *\*eelo* 'head', its South Slavic reflexes (Bulg *celo* and SCr *eelo*) having a specific meaning of a 'front, visible place' and 'end, edge' (cABEJ *St.* I 98, *Etim.* III 101). 0 SVANE 180.

**celitet** refl. 'to recover, to get well'. Borrowed from Slav *\*cella* 'to heal', cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *ce/iti*, Bulg *cel'a*, SCr *cijeli-ti*.

**gelnik** m, pl. *celnike* 'senior shepherd'. Borrowed from Slav *\*eelbnikb* 'leader, head', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *eelnik*, SCr *oeonik* (*SELIGtEv Slay. naselenie* 179). As to *celing* 'senior shepherd', it goes back to NGk *tobayxa*; id., ultimately, from the same Slavic source (cABEJ *St.* I 98). The variant *celik* was influenced by an Albanian Turkism *celik* 'steel'. 0 SVANE 194; cABEJ *Etim.* III 102.

**gem** aor. *cema* 'to bring to light, to disclose, to reveal, to broach'. From PALb *\*gdepna* etymologically connected with *cap* (*OREL ZfBalk XXIII/1* 72). For the semantic development cf. ON *skilja* 'to separate, to divide' > 'to understand' (BUCK 1207). 0 JOKL *Studien* 91 (divides *cem* into prefix *g-* and *-em* < *\*apnjo* compared with Lat *apia* 'to fasten, to attach'); cABEJ *St.* I 98-99, *Etim.* III 103.

**gerdhe** f, pl. *cerdhe* 'nest'. A singularised plural of the original *\*gerdhe*. An early borrowing from Slav *\*eerda* 'row, herd, flock' (Bulg *ereda*, SCr *ereda*) with a particularly interesting shift of meaning (MEYER *Wb.* 446). 0 JOKL *A ArbSt* I 38 (reconstructs *\*skerdh-* related to Lith *skerd±lus* 'shepherd' and its cognates); cABEJ *LP VII* 199, *St. I* 99, *Etim.* III 108-109.

gerr m, pl. *Terra* 'wren'. A substantivized use of a borrowed Slavic adjective \**ebrnl*, 'black' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 259). 0 cABEJ *Etim.* III 111 (onomatopoeia).

cete f, pl. *ceta* 'clan, armed group'. Borrowed from Slav \**eeta* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *Beta*, SCr *Beta* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 446-447). 0 SELISCEV *Slay. naselenie* 184; SVANE 202; cABEJ *Etim.* III 112.

getine l, pl. *cetina* 'pine-tree'. Borrowed from Slav \**etina* 'bristle, needles', cf. in particular South Slavic: Bulg *etina*, SCr *etina* (cABEJ *St.* 199). 0 SVANE 125; cABEJ *Etim.* III 112.

96 pron. 'what'. With a full reduction of vowel, also is used in the form of *c*'. From PAIb \**th* continuing IE \**Vid*: Hitt *kuit*, Gk "cf., Lat *quid* and the like (BARD *AArbSt* I 206, II 399; HULD 47). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 218 (borrowed from Rum *ce* id.); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 328 (from \**qish*); TREIMER *KZ LXV* 388 (borrowed from SCr *ea* id.); MANN *Language XXVIII* 35; FRISK II 903-904; WALDE-HOFMANN II 404-405; cABEJ *St.* I 97 (identical with *qe*), *Etim.* III 73-74.

citlake f, pl. *cimka* 'tug'. Another variant is *qimke*. Borrowed from Lat *cimicem* id. (MIKLOSICH Rom. *Elemente* 14). Another word for 'bug', *cim err*, seems to be an expressive formation based on *cimke*. 0 STIER *KZ XI* 137; MEYER *Wb.* 227 (from SCr *kimak* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 146; MIHAESCū *RESEE IV 11-2* 22; HAARMANN 117; cABEJ *Etim.* III 119-120 (follows MIKLOSICH).

cjerr aor. *corra* 'to tear up'. From PAIb \**štšera* etymologically related to OIr *scaraim* 'to separate', ON *skera* 'to cut', Lith *skiriu*, *sk)rti* 'to separate' and the like (CAMARDA I 69, 87; MEYER *Wb.* 410-411). 0 MANN *Language XXVIII* 40 (from \**eks-skerio*); FRAENKEL 808; VENDRYES [S] 33-34; cABEJ *Etim.* III 124.

91110j aor. *plow* 'to estimate'. Borrowed from Lat *aestimare* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 448). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3* 2 1 1052; MANN *Language XXVIII* 35 (related to Gk *TtliCao*); MIHAESCURESEE *IV 1* 1-2 12; HAARMAN 110; cABEJ *Etim.* III 126-127.

nderoj aor. *oderova* 'to dishonor'. Borrowed from Lat *exhonorare* id.

coj aor. (*ova* 'to bring, to rise, to send'. Borrowed from Lat *excfre, exciere* 'to call out, to cause, to wake'. 0 CAMARDA I 68 (to Gk *KiM*); MEYER *Wb.* 448 (from Lat *excitare*); TREIMER *MRIW* I 341 (against MEYER, reconstructs \**ske-* in the anlaut); JOKL *Studien* 81 (accepts the view of CAMARDA), *Melanges Pedersen* 145 (close to CAMARDA's view, from \**ds-qoj*); BARK *ARSt.* I 73 (to Goth *skewjan* 'to go'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 98 (agrees with MEYER); SCHMIDT *KZ LVII 8-10* (to Lat *sagi6* 'to feel'); MANN *Language XXVIII* 40 (from \**eks-skenfi5*); cABEJ *Etim.* III 128-130; DEMIRAJ *AE* 119.

gotill f, pl. *fOtila* 'stamp, kind of long blender'. A metathesized form of *tocille* (cABEJ *St.* I 102, *Etim.* III 134). 0 BARD *ARSt.* I 73, *AArbSt* I 156-157 (compares with Lat *quatiO* 'to wield, to beat'); JOKL *Melanges Pedersen* 145 n. 1 (to *cuter* 'stream, brook').

cube f, pl. *Tuba* 'bush, shrubbery'. Borrowed from Slav \**euba* 'lock, forelock, curl' (SCr *euba*) with a semantic innovation. 0 MANN *Language XXVI* 380 (related to Slav \**euba*); cABEJ *Etim.* III 135-136 (related to *kacube*).

cudis aor. *cudita* 'to astonish'. Borrowed from Slav \**euditi* id. as well as Geg *cude* 'wonder' - from Slav \**eudo* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 449). As to *cudi* id., it is an Albanian derivative of *cudis*. 0 SELISCEV *Slay. naselenie* 191, 323; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 98; TRUBACEV *ESSJa* IV 127-129; SVANE 231; cABEJ *Etim.* III 136-137.

cuke f, pl. *cuka* 'peak'. Borrowed from South Slav \**euka* id. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 449; MLADENOV *AfslPh* XXXIV 385 (borrowed from Bulgarian); SELISCEV *Slay. naselenie* 189; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 339; ROSETTI *ILR* I 275 (comparison with Rum (*laces*); cABEJ *St.* I 103, *Etim.* III 138-140; SVANE 161, 181.

guild f 'sheep with little ears'. Borrowed from Slav \**e'14/7*, id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *eula*, SCr *eula*. 0 cABEJ *Etim.* III 141-142 (Balkan parallels).

gun m, pl. *Tuna* 'boy, youth'. Together with *tune* 'penis', borrowed from

Ital *cionno* 'penis' (MEYER *Wh.* 449-450). 0 CAMARDA II 67 (from Ital *ciullo* 'little'); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 77 (from \**qun* borrowed from Slav \**C'tdo* 'child'); MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* VII 101 (*cane* borrowed from NGk Toovvvi 'branch, twig, penis'); cABEJ *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). 0 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 *ἄcciol.tat* 'to divide', Skt *ddyate* id. (BoPP 483; CAMARDA I 144; MEYER *Wb.* 59, *Alb. St.* III 26). 0 JOKL *Idg. Jb.* IX 58 (to Skt *ddlayati* 'to split'), *Sprache* IX 128 (follows BoPP); RESTELLI *RIL* XCI 471-472; MANN *Language* XXVI 381; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 54; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239 (verb in \**-nfO*); FRISK I 341-342; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 117; cABEJ *Etim.* III 150-151; DEMIRAJ *AE* 119-120.

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

**dal** aor. *dola* 'to go out'. From PAIb \**dala* etymologically related to Gk *ἄOa@* 'to bloom', i.e. 'to appear, to come out' (MEYER *Wb.* 60, *Alb. St.* III 29). 0 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(1)ja*); FRISK I 649-650; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240, *St. IE* 43 (from \**claim*); CAMAJ *Alt. Wortb.* 37; CHANTRAINE 421; HAMP *Sprache* XXX/2 156-157 (< IE \**dhalnia*); OREL *ZfBalk* XXII 76-77; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 172; cABEJ *St.* 104 (reconstructs \**dahui* and compares *dal* with Lat *dolo* 'to cut'), *Etim.* III 153-154; CLACKSON *LR* 118; DEMIRAJ *AE* 120.

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

(MEYER *Wh.* 60). 0 SKOK *Slavia* III 115-116; BARIc *Hymje* 75; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 305-306; SELL GEV *Slay. naselenie* 173, 319; cABEJ *St.* 105 (treats *dalte* as a cognate of Slav \**delhto* or of Skt *ddlayati* 'to split'), *Etim.* III 154-156; SVANE 78; MURATI *Probleme* 129-130.

**dallendyshe** f, pi. *dallendyshe* '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 72-73 with some differences). 0 CAMARDA I 37 (to Gk Takavt6w 'to swing, to rock, to shake'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 31 (from Lat *hirundo*); MEYER *Wb.* 59-60 (from Lat *hirundinem* 'swallow' + suffix *-yshe*, influenced by *dallendis* 'to take heart, to be brave'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544 (to Gk xe2,143c6v 'swallow'); BARD *ARSt* I 5 (contamination of Lat *hirundo* and \**dalle*, to Germ *Schwalbe* 'swallow'); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236-237 (to Germ *Schwalbe*); MAYER *KZ* LXVI 89-96 (comparison with Illyr *Taulantii*, TabLityrtot, aNog npb; 'Aopia Tonaavtivow npocrExic 'col; XEXtEsoviotc, Hecat.); HASDEU *EMR* II 51; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 134; HALTmi *GjA* (1972) 124 (from \**da-ne-dyshe*); KNOBLOCH *AIAK* 335-337 (agrees with PEDERSEN); cABEJ *St.* I 105-106, *Etim.* III 157-159.

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

**dalloj** aor. *dallova* 'to discern, to recognize'. Continues PAIb \**dalnanja* based on an adjective in \**-no-* - \**dalna* related to Skt *ddlayati* 'to split', Lat *dola* 'to chip, to hew' and the like (JokL *Studien* 12). 0 CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239; MAYRHOFER II 24; WALDE-HOFMANN I 364-366; XHUVANI *KLetr.* 1/11 2 (to *daj*); cABEJ *St. Etim.* III 159-160; DEMIRAJ *AE* 121.

clang f 'belly'. Another variant is *denge*. Goes back to PAIb \**danga* etymologically identical with Lith *danga* 'table-cloth, cover', Latv *danga* 'puddle, marshland', Slav \**dQga* 'arc' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 259). All these forms are deverbatives related to Lith *dengih*, *defigti* 'to cover'. Adjectival *deng* '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. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 61 (to Slovene *danka* 'rectum'); FRAENKEL 88-89; cABEJ *St.* 1106 (to *deng*), 121, *Etim.* III 162 (back formation

of Turk *dangalak* 'stupid' > Alb *dengallak*); TRUBAeEV *ESSJa* V 98-99.

dardhe f, pl. *dardha* 'pear, pear-tree'. From PAIb *\*darda*, a derivative of *derdh* 'to tip out, to pour' < PAIb *\*derda* (*OREL Etimologija* 1986-1987 220-221) with a semantic motivation established for Slav *\*grida*, *\*kruša* 'pear, pear-tree' < *\*grušiti*, *\*krufiti* 'to crumble, to break', IE *\*peisom* 'pear' < *\*peis-* (*TRURaftv ESS.Ia* VII 156). 0 HAHN I 236 (connects *dardhe* with the name of Dardania); MEYER *Wb.* 61 (follows HAHN), *Gr. Gr.* 50; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 164 (to Gk *axep8og*, *axpii*; 'wild pear, wild pear-tree'); *JOKLFestschr. Kretschmer* 89-90 (to IE *\*gher(s)-* 'to stiffen'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 106; MANN *Language* XVII 17 (reconstructs *\*Ohrdis*), XXVIII 34 (from IE *\*ghrd-*); PISANI *Saggi* 118; JUCQUOIS *Muse'on* LXXVIII 440; FRISK I 199, 203; *CAMAJAlb.Wortb.* 121 (to *\*der-* 'to split'); GINDIN *Onom.* 124; cABEJ *St.* I 107 (to OIr *draigen* 'wild pear'), *Etim.* III 165-167; HULD 48; DEMIRAJ *AE* 121-122.

dare — dane f, pl. *dare* — *dane* 'pincers, tongs'. From PAIb *\*dana*, a participial form related to *daj* (cABEJ *St.* I 107-108, *Etim.* III 1167-168). 0 CAMARDA II 61 (to Gk *43ducvco* '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 Museon* UO0/111442; LEHMANN *GED* 338 (follows JOKL); OLBERG apud DEMIRAJ (to IE *\*dhau-*); JANSON *Unt.* 21; DEMIRAJ *AE* 122.

darke f, pl. *darke* 'supper'. From PAIb *\*darka*, originally a singularize neut. pl. of IE *\*dorleom* reflected in Gk *86prcov* id. (CAMARDA I 67; MEYER *Wb.* 61). On the other hand, the connection with *dreke* is doubtless. 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* III 3, 26, 72, *Gr. Gr.* 245; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 189; PEDERSEN *BB* XX 231 (reconstructs *\*drake-* in order to explain *dreke*); 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 *Apai* (oinvot < *\*darkuina*); PISANI *Saggi* 118; HAMP *Anc. IE* 116 (adds Bret *dibri* 'to eat'); FRISK I 410-411; CHANTRAINE 294; ANTTILA *Schw.* 29, 100; OLBERG *Festschr. Bonfante* 563; cABEJ *St.* I 108, *Etim.* III 168-169; HULD 48-49; DEMIRAJ *AE* 122-123.

darovd 'bride's gift'. Borrowed from Slav *\*darov7*, '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 *Slay. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 61) while *dari* 'dowry' is based on *\*dar* borrowed from Slav *\*dart*, 'gift, present'. 0 SELL REV *Slay. naselenie* 183; SVANE 212, 231, 252; cABEJ *Etim.* III 169.

dasme pl. *dasma* 'wedding'. Another widespread and historically important variant is *darsme*. Goes back to PAIb *\*dartšima*, originally, \* 'wedding feast', derived from *darke* (OLBERG apud DEMIRAJ; cABEJ *St.* I 108-109, *Etim.* 111 169-170). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 62 (to Rum *zestre* 'dowry'); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 232, *KZ* XXXVI 309 (reconstructs *\*dam-ese* to be compared with Gk *pit[oc]* 'marriage, wedding'); JOKL *LKUBA* 14; HULD 49; DEMIRAJ *AE* 123-124.

dash m, pl *desh* 'ram'. From PAIb *\*datda* reflecting IE *\*dhouso-* 'breath, breathing, animal' (MANN *Language* XXVI 387), cf. Gmc *\*deuzan* 'wild animal' (Goth *dins*, ON *dfr*), Lith pl. *daišios* 'paradise', Slav *\*duxl*, 'breath, spirit'. The Albanian word was borrowed to Rum *day*. 0 CAMARDA II 70 (to Gk *66aictX2* og 'kind of fish'); MEYER *Wb.* 62; BARD *ARSt.* 6 (*dash* < *\*dalsh* connected with *dele*); JOKL *LKUBA* 240-241, 329 f. (compares *dash* < *\*dhuosf-* with Lat *bestia* 'animal'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 134-135; LA PIANA *Studi I* 91 (*dash* Lat *densus*, difficult both semantically and phonetically); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 164 (links *dash* to *desh*); IVANESCU *SAO* VIII 274-276; POKORNY 1270; FRAENKEL 115-116; FEIST *Goth.* 121-122; ZALIZN' *AK Etimologija* 139; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom. II* 341; ROSETTIILR 1 276; OREL *Die Sprache* XXXI 280, *ZfBalk* XXIII 144, *Koll, Idg. Ges.* 351, 356; cABEJ *St.* I 109-110, *Etim.* III 171-173 (to Goth *tagl* 'hair'); TRUBA 'GEV *ESSJa* V 153-154; DEMIRAJ *AE* 124-125 (related to *dem*).

dege f, pl. *dege, dega* 'twig, branch'. From PAIb *\*dwaiga* etymologically related to OHG *zwr̥g* id., Germ *Zweig* (MEYER *Wb.* 62, *Alb. St.* III 9, 26, 39). 0 CAMARDA 180 (to Gk *TEKVOV* 'child, sprout'); BUGA II 319; JOKL *Studien* 15; PISANI *Saggi* 103, 122; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; KLUGE 897; HAMP *Trends* LVII 906; HULD 145 (against MEYER); cABEJ *Etim.* III 179-180 (dubious Alpine-Romance parallels); DEMIRAJ *AE* 125-126.

deh aor. *deha* 'to inebriate'. From PAIb *\*degaska*. At the same time, con-



tinuants of *\*degnja* are attested in *dej denj* id. Both *\*degska* and *\*degnja* are related to *djeg*. 0 BOPP 539 (to IE *\*dhe(i)-* 'to suckle'); MEYER Wb. 62-63 (to Goth *dauns* 'vapor'), *Alb. St.* III 29, 90; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 88 (to *dylle*); SCHMIDT KZ LVII 6-7; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 110; MANN *Language XXVIII* 32 (to IE *\*dhyes-* 'to destroy'); cABEJ *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 *\*dyoi-ous* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 127). For the development of IE *\*dyo-* > PAIb *\*da-* see OREL *Antic'*. *balk.* 3 37-39.0 CAMARDA I 310 (to Gk &iv); MEYER 14/b. 62, *Alb. St.* III 39 (to IE *\*dyoin-l\***dyein-*); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 88; OATIR *AarbSt. II* 307; FRAENKEL 108; OREL *ZfBalk* 73 (close to MEYER); cABEJ *Etim.* III 183-184 (back formation based on *andej*).

(G) **deje** f 'place where the snow melts, low place'. Denominative forms: *dejet dejet*. From PAIb *\*danja* related to Skt *dhdnvan-* 'dry land', OHG *tenni* 'threshing-floor' (DEMIRAJ *AE* 127). 0 JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 88 (to *deh*); SCHMIDT LVII 6-7 (to Skt *ddhvanit* 'to burn out, to fade away'); MANN *Language XXVIII* 32 (to IE *\*dhyes-*); POKORNY I 249; cABEJ *Etim.* III 180-182 (to *ndej*).

**dele** f, pl *dele, dhen, dhen* 'sheep'. The Geg variant *delme* represents a formation in *\*-ma* (and hardly has anything in common with the name of Dalmatia *pace* MEYER Wb. 63 and cABEJ *St. I* 111). The word is based on PAIb *\*daila* 'sheep' < 'suckling' and related to various 1-derivatives from IE *\*dhe(i)-* 'to suckle' (MEYER Wb. 63, *Alb. St.* III 29 operates with *\*dailja* < IE *\*dhailia* or *\*dhoilia*), cf., in particular, Arm *dayl* 'colostrum' < IE *\*dhailo-*. Suppletive plural forms *dhen, dhen* should be treated separately as a Proto-Albanian (collective) derivative in *\*-anti* based on *dhi* 'she-goat'. Thus, the source of *dhen, dhen* is to be reconstructed as *\*aiganti-*, with apheresis of the anlaut vowel (OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 357). 0 BRUGMANN 117; PETERSSON *LUA XIX/6 12*; BARI( *ARSt.* 6 (*dhen* compared with IE *\*dhe(i)-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 239 (mistakenly explains *-l-* from *\*-In-*), 251-253 (compares *dhen, dhen* with Celt *\*damatos* 'sheep' > W *dafad*, Bret *dauat* or with n-derivatives of IE *\*dhe(i)-* 'to suckle', in particular, with Skt *dhena* 'milk cow', cf. also OIr *dinu* '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 *gees* 'tribe'); POKORNY I 241-242; DURIDANOV *ZA XVIII* 37 (*dhen* - to Thr *AavSaXtrat*); cABEJ *St. I* 152 (comparison of *dhen, dhen* with Gk **NIA** *Etim.* III 184-186 (follows MEYER); HULD 143; KODDERITZSCH *LB XXXI* 108; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 52; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 357; DEMIRAJ *AE* 127-128, 157-158 (agrees with MANN).

**deltine** 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'? 0 JOKL *ArRom XXIV* 24 (from *\*nde-baltine*); cABEJ *St. I* 112 (compares *deltine* with *dalte*), *Etim.* III 187-188 (to *dylle*).

**den** m, pl. *dej* 'tendon'. From PAIb *\*daisla* probably related to Lith *gYsla* 'blood-vessel, tendon', Slav *\*fila* 'tendon' (MEYER Wb. 63, *Alb. St.* III 18) if the latter are treated separately from Skt *jiyd-* 'bow-string', Gk *ptog* 'bow' (BRUGMANN *Grundr.* I 345). 0 CAMARDA I 71 (to Gk *Uo.*) 'to tie'); PEDERSEN *IF V* 68 (to Lat *ftlum* 'thread'), *KZ XXXVI* 326 (agrees with MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 13 (comparison with Gk *SEW* 'to bind'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 87-88; FRAENKEL 150; FRISK I 237; MAYRHOFER I 448; VASMER II 57-58; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP II* 239; cABEJ *St.* 1112-1113 (connects *dell* with Slav *\*doti*, 'valley' and Gk 06Xog 'mud' - those two having nothing in common), *Etim.* III 189-190; DEMIRAJ *AE* 128 (against cABEJ).

**dem** m, pl. *dema* 'young bull'. From PAIb *\*dama* etymologically related to Oh *darn* 'ox' and, probably, to Gk 8(ittaA,o) 'calf' (CAMARDA I 73; MEYER Wb. 63, *Alb. St.* III 26, 64). 0 PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* 1164; JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer 92, Festschr. Rozwadowski I* 236; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 135; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP II* 239; MANN *Language XXVI* 385; FRISK I 345; cABEJ *St. I* 113, *Etim.* III 190-191; DEMIRAJ *AE* 128-129.

**dend** aor. *Benda* 'to stuff'. An archaic non-assimilated variant is NGeg *tend*. From PAIb *\*tenda* related to Skt *tandate* 'to weaken', Lat *ten&* 'to stretch'. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 21 (based on Lat *densus*); MEYER Wb. 65 (related to Lat *densus*), *Alb. St.* V 72 (borrowed from Lat *tendere*); BARTHOLOMAE *IF I* 300 (to Lat *densus* 'thick'); JOKL apud WALDEHOFMANN 1341 (to *gdhend*); MANN *Language XVII 19*; CIMOCHOWSKI

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

denje adj. 'worth'. Borrowed from Lat *dignus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 21). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 63 (borrowed from Ital *degno*); cABEJ *Etim.* III 195.

depertoj aor. *depertova* 'to penetrate'. Borrowed from Rom *\*depenetrare* (MEYER *Wb.* 65). 0 MANN *Hist. Gr.* 146 (borrowed from Lat *departire*); cABEJ *Etim.* III 195-196 (derived from *ndeper* 'across').

derdh aor. *derdha* 'to pour out'. In Old Albanian the stem is not umlauticized: *dardh* (BUZUKU, BUDI). Continues PALb *\*darda* close to onomatopoeic Lith *dardeti* 'to rattle', Latv *dardet* 'to creak', W *go-dyrddu* 'to mumble, to grumble'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 64 (to Slav *\*dhrz7*, 'daring'), *Alb. St.* III 13, 26; FRAENKEL 83; PEDERSEN *BB XX* 238 n. 2 (to Skt *srjdti* 'to sell off, to discharge'), *KZ XXXVI* 289, *Kelt. Gr. T* 494; JOKL *Studien* 13-14 (to Skt *dhdra* 'stream'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 101; LA PIANA *Studi* I 42-43 (to Skt *ksarati* 'to flow'); cABEJ *St.* I 114-115 (to Gk NO; 'sperm'), *Etim.* III 197-198.

dere f, pl. *dyer* 'door'. From PALb *\*dwora*, a secondary a-stem based on IE *\*dhner-* id.: Skt *dvdr-*, Gk *ei*)pa, Tokh B *twere* and the like (CAMARDA I 17; MEYER *BB VIII* 188, *Wb.* 63, *Alb. St.* III 29, 39, 71). 0 JOKL *IF xxxvi* 132, *LKUBA* 240, 255; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 101; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP II* 240; MANN *Language XXVIII* 32 (reconstructs *\*dhueres*); PISANI *Saggi* 103; FRISK I 695-696; MAYRHOFER II 83-84; POKORNY I 278; OREL *Antij. balk.* 3 37-39 (on the development of the anlaut); HAMP *LP XX* 9; KLmTGENSESCHMITT *Munch. St. Spr.* XL 104, 125; HULD 49; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 149; cABEJ *Etim.* III 198-201; DEMIRAJ *AE* 129-130.

(T) dere adj. 'bitter; difficult'. From PAIb *\*deuna* etymologically identical with OS *tiono* 'evil', OE *teona* 'wrong' (JOKL *Studien* 19-20 with further erroneous link to *dhune*). 0 HAHN 29 (connected with *dhune*); MEYER *Wb.* 87 (accepts HAHN's etymology with some doubt); HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 346; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP II* 241; OLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* I 689; cABEJ *St.* I 115 (to the Indo-European word for 'tear': Gk 6Ccpb), *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 *\*Argati* 'to pluck, to pull' and particularly with Gmc *\*targjan* 'to tear': MHG *zergen* 'to pluck, to pull' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 9). 0 PEDERSEN *BB XX* 238 (to Lith *sergit* 'to be ill', Oh *serg* 'illness' supposing IE *\*sy-* > Alb *d-*), *Kelt. Gr. I* 71; TRAUTMANN *BSIWB.* 56; FRAENKEL 96; VASMER I 500-501; HAMP *IF LXXIX* 155 (follows PEDERSEN); cABEJ *St.* I 115-116 (to Lith *ddrga* 'rainy weather', Slav *\*ddrga* '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 86)po, 86pe, Scupi 'here' compared with Lith *aure* id. and Av *avara* id. and analyzed as *\*6E-ocypo* or *\*SE-upo*. 0 MIKLOSICH *Slay. 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 PAIb *\*dada* connected with Gk *xoipoc* id. < IE *\*ghorfos* (CAMARDA I 96; MEYER *Wb.* 64). Note a derivative *derk* 'piglet' continuing PALb *\*darika*. 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* III 18; JOKE *Festschr. Kretschmer* 78 f. (reconstructs *\*ghar-n-*); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 333 (to *dose*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 135; LA PIANA *Studi* I 45-46 (to Skt *-dari-* 'making burst'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP II* 230; PISANI *Saggi* 116, 118; FRISK II 1107-1108; HULD 148 (from IE *\*syoinro-*); cABEJ *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' (Joxi. *Studien* 14-15). Intermediary stages of the phonetic development are preserved in the uncontracted Italo-Alb *dejt*, *defer* and in dialectal forms with a long vowel - *det*. PALb *\*deubeta* is particularly close to Gmc *\*deupiPa* 'depth' > MDu *diepde*, MLG *depede*, E *depth*. 0 BUGGE *BB XVIII* 165 (connected with *dal* 'to go out'); MEYER *BB VIII* 187 (to Gk *ektc*, name of the sea-goddess), *Wb.* 64 (reconstructs *deft* < *\*delt* to be compared with Gk OCaccocra), *Alb. St.* IV 54 (follows BUGGE); RIBEZZO *Riv. Indo-greco-italica XVI* 25 f. (reconstructs *\*dakti* compared with Epir 8goc- 13Oc7, aaaa Hes.); TAGLIAVI-

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

detyrd f, pl. *detyra* 'duty, debt'. Borrowing from Rom *\*debitra* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 66). The verb *detoj detonj* reflects Rom *\*debitare*. 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3*<sup>2</sup> I 1047; TAGLIAWNIDA/mazia 111; MIHAESCURESEE IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 122; cABEJ *St.* I 118-119 (derived from *detores* 'debtor'), *Etim.* III 210-211; LANDI *Lat.* 39, 41, 82-83.

**deboj** aor. *debova* 'to drive away'. Other variants are *zboj*, *xboj*, *cbøj*. Related to *boj* (cABEJ *St.* I 119, *Etim.* III 212-214). 0 BUGGE *BB XVIII* 174 (borrowed from Rom *\*disbinare*); MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 44 (agrees with BUGGE); JOKL *IF XXXVII* 119 (reconstructs *\*bhareid* connected with *bie*); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 23-24 (to **IE** *\*uei-*); MANN *Language XXVIII* 32 (to Gk *rucato* < *\*de-bhojeid*).

**d8frej** aor. *defreva* 'to enjoy oneself'. Based on the recombination of its antonym, *shefrej*, *shufrej* 'to suffer' < Lat *sufferare* id., as a prefixal formation in *she-* (cABEJ *Etim.* III 214-215). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 111 (from Rom *\*disfrendre* or *\*defrenare*); KRISTOFORIDHI 98 (to *fryj*).

**deftoj** aor. *deftova* 'to show, to point'. Borrowed from Rom *\*indictdre* (MEYER *Wb.* 64-65, *Alb. St.* IV 41). 0 CAMARDA I 64 (derives *deftoj* from **IE** *\*deik-*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3*<sup>2</sup> I 1054 (borrowed from Rom *\*doctare*); JOKL *RIEB II* 65-67 (analyzes the verb as *\*de-fetoj*, its root borrowed from MGk *Taticw* 'to shine, to illuminate'); BARIC *Hymje* 63 (follows MEYER); JOKL *RIEB II* 65-67 (based on *\*ftoj*, to *foti* 'oil lamp'); MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 23; HAARMANN 122, 130; Di GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 16-24; cABEJ *St.* I 120 (to *\*f-tonj* further related to Gk *a-thiu* 'to cover', Lat *tegd* id.), cABEJ *Etim.* III 215-217 (from Lat *digitare*).

**degjoj** aor. *degjova* 'to hear'. Dialectal forms *ndegoj* and, particularly, *delgonj*, *diligonj* reflect the obvious Latin source - *intelligere* 'to perceive' (MEYER *Wb.* 66-67). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3*<sup>2</sup> I 1054; BARD *ARSi* 33-34 (related to Gk *aicoi(o)* 'to hear', Goth *hausjan* id.); cABEJ *Etim.* III 217-218.

**dekoj** aor. *dekova* 'to hit, to strike'. Borrowed from Lat *indicere* in its specific meaning 'to impose, to inflict' > *\*to inflict pain*'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 65 (from Rom *\*decolearre* based on *coleus* 'bag, sack'); GAZULLI 19 (*-koj* to Gk *xico*); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXV* 539-560 (agrees with MEYER); cABEJ *St.* I 120-121 (connects *dekoj* with *koj* and *mekoj*); cABEJ *Etim.* III 218-200 (from *\*dergoj*, to *darke*).

**dear** aor. *delira* 'to clean, to cleanse, to deliver'. The variant *deliroj* is morphologically more regular. Continues Rom *\*deliberare* and is connected with *lire* (CAMARDA 1172; MEYER *Wb.* 247). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 538 (derived from *lire*); cABEJ *Etim.* III 221 (agrees with PEDERSEN).

**dellinje** f, pl. *dellinja* 'juniper'. A more archaic variant *dale*\* seems to reflect PA1b *\*daislanja* (for the derivational structure cf. *mellenje*) related to *dell* < *\*daisla* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 259). Semantically, the juniper is described as a wiry, sinewy plant, cf. Russ *mogieval'nik* id. derived from Slav *\*mozgh* 'brain, marrow', Lith *mazgas* 'knot'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 65 (from Rom *\*cedrulanea* or *\*cedrulina* derived from *cedrus* 'cedar, juniper'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 9-10 (to Lith *chills* 'fog', Skt 'dust' and the like); JOKE *LKUBA* 191-193 (same as VASMER); JAGIC *AfslPh VIII* 654-655; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP II* 241; FRAENKEL 426-427; VASMER II 637; cABEJ *St.* I 121 (related to *dalte* and *dalloj*), cABEJ *Etim.* III 222; DEMIRAJ *AE* 132.

**dem - dam m**, pl. *deme - dame* 'damage'. Borrowed from Lat *damnum* 'hurt, harm, damage'. As to *denoj* 'to condemn, to punish', it is an Italian loanword (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 60). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3*<sup>2</sup> I 1042, 1047, 1050; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 15; HAARMANN 122; cABEJ *St.* I 121, *Etim.* III 222-224; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 94, 115.

**dergoj** aor. *dergova* 'to send'. Borrowed from Lat *delegare* id. with an irregular change of *liquida* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 259). 0 CAMARDA 167 (to Gk *tpgxco* 'to run'); MEYER *Wb.* 65 (borrowing from Lat *dirigere* 'to arrange, to lay straight'); JOKL *IF L* 43; MIEAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 27; HAARMANN 122; cABEJ *Etim.* III 226 (follows MEYER).

**dermoj** aor. *dermova* 'to cut into pieces, to plummet down'. Borrowed from Lat *\*deramare*, cf. Rum *deirima* 'to tear off' (MEYER *Wb.* 65, *Alb.*

*St.* IV 56). Note a derivative *derme* 'steep slope'. 0 PUSCARIU *EW*R 42; cABEJ *St.* I 122 (reconstructs *\*dromoj* and connects it with *dromce*), *Etim.* III 227-229.

**derrase** f, pl. *derrasa* 'board, stone plate'. From PAIb *\*deratja* based on IE *\*der-* 'to tear, to split', see *djerr* (*CimOCHOWSKI LP III* 158-161: to Slav *\*dbrati* 'to tear'). 0 CAMARDA II 143 (to *dru*); MEYER *Wb.* 66 (from Ital *terrazzo* 'terrace'); MANN *Language XXVIII* 33 (to Gk )(depot); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP III* 158-159; HELBIG 70; cABEJ *Etim.* III 230-231 (derived from *rrase* 'flat stone').

**deshiroj** aor. *deshirova* 'to wish'. Borrowed from Lat *desiderare* 'to long for, to desire' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 65). As to the noun *deshire* 'desire', it seems to be a deverbative rather than a continuant of Lat *desiderium* id. (cABEJ *St.* I 123, *Etim.* III 233). 0 CAMARDA I 176 (wavers between the correct etymology and the comparison with *dashur*, participle of *dua*); MEYER-LCBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1048, 1052; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 15; HAARMANN 122.

*deshmoj* aor. *deshmova* 'to testify'. Borrowed from Rom *\*testimoniare* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66; MEYER *Wb.* 64). 0 cABEJ *St.* I 124, *Etim.* III 233-234 (denominative); HAARMANN 153.

**di shperoj** aor. *deshperova* 'to make desperate'. Borrowed from Lat *desperare* 'to despair' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 22). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 68 (from Ital *desperare* id.); cABEJ *Etim.* III 235.

*deshtoj* aor. *deshtova* 'to have a miscarriage'. Borrowed from Rom *\*deponere* used as a replacement of *depanere* in its meaning 'to give birth' (MEYER *Wb.* 66, *Alb. St.* V 72). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> 1049; SPITZER *MRIW* 1318-319 (connects *deshtoj* with Ital *tosto* 'fast, quick'); BARK *ARSt* I 38 (derives the verb *deshtoj* from a noun *\*dushyte* 'miscarriage' explained as IE *\*dus-sato-* 'badly born'); cABEJ *St.* I 124 (a prefixal derivative of *shtoj*), *Etim.* III 235-236.

**di** aor *dita* 'to know'. From PAIb *\*dija* connected with IE *\*dheff a-* 'to see', cf. Skt *dhyati, dhyayati* 'to observe, to feel, to think', Av *da(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 PAIb *\*dita*, a formation in *\*-to-*, cf. Skt part. *dhyata-* and *dhita-*. 0 OILTERDING *Otm.* 22 (to

Skt *vid-* 'to know'); MEYER *Alb. St.* III 29; JOKL *IF XXXVI* 112, *Sprache IX* 128; TAGLIAVINI 104; CimOcHowsici *LP II* 240; POKORNY 243; MAYRHOFER II 45; HULD 152; cABEJ *St.* I 125 (reconstructs PAIb *\*din-* < IE *\*gena-* 'to know'), *Etim.* III 237-238; DEMIRAJ *AE* 132-133 (*di* <

**dig** 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). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 316; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 105; cABEJ *St.* I 125.

**diet** f 'Sunday'. Derivative in *\*-jit* or in *\*-na* based on *diell*, a calque of Lat *dies solis* id. (PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 43). 0 cABEJ *Etim.* III 240-241.

**diell** m, pl. *diej* 'sun'. From PAIb *\*delwa*, a tabooistic substitute of the original word for the sun based on a color adjective, cf. Skt *hdri-* 'pale, yellowish', Av *zairi-* id., Lat *helvus* 'yellowish', Lith *frivas* id. 0 BOPP 513 n. 3 (to Skt *claw* 'by day'); CAMARDA I 123 (comparisons with Gk *Ode*); 'sun' and, on the other hand, with *oiakoc.* (pavEpog, 4.inpoc); MEYER *Wb.* 69 (links *diell* to *dal* or, alternatively, reconstructs *\*dheeh-lo-*, cf. *djeg*); PEDERSEN *BB XX* 238 (to IE *\*suet-* 'sun', cf. CAMARDA); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 103; MANN *Language XXVIII* 36 (follows MEYER in reconstructing *\*dheehalos*); MAYRHOFER III 581; WALDE-HOFMANN I 639; PISANI *Saggi* 118 (to Gk 62■xg 'light, shine'); FRAENKEL 1297; cABEJ *St.* I 125-126 (to OIr *delirad* 'shine', OE *dealt* '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). 0 SVANE 256; cABEJ *Etim.* III 242.

**dike** f 'desire, lust'. Continues PAIb *\*dika*, a substantivized fern. adj. related to Lith *dykas* 'idle, empty', Slav *\*dikm*, 'wild'. 0 FRAENKEL 95; TRUBAĀEV *ESSJa* V 29-30; cABEJ *Etim.* III 243 (borrowed from SCr *dika* 'pride').

**diktoj** aor. *diktova* 'to discover, to find out'. Borrowed from Rom *\*decaptare*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 67 (from Lat *detegere*); JOKE *RIEB* II 59-60

(from Rom *\*dis-captare*); cABEJ *Etim.* III 243-244 (unclear).

dim& dimen m, pl. *dimra dimna* 'winter'. From PAIb *\*deimena* related to IE *\*gheimen-* id.: Skt *heman* loc. 'in winter', Gk 'winter' and the like (GIL'FERDING *Otn.*; MEYER *Wb.* 67, *Alb. St.* III 18, 64). 0 CAMARDA 196 (to Gk *iitOpoc* '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* 152-53 (to *tym*); *CimoCHOwsm LP* II 229; ERNOUT-MEILLET 294; PORZIG *Gliederung* 190; PISANI *Saggi* 99; MANN *Language* XXVI 384 (erroneous comparison with OE *tima* 'time'); MAYRHOFER III 607; FRISK II 1079-1081; ANTTILA *Schw.* 35, 134; HAMP *IF* LXVI 52-55; HULD 51; OREL *ZJBalk* XXIII 146; JANSON *Unt.* 21-23; cABEJ *Etim.* III 245; DEMIRAJ *AE* 133.

din (3 sg.) aor. *diu* 'to break (of the day)'. Also appears as refl. *dihet* id. From PAIb *\*dine*, a denominative verb based on IE *\*dino-* *\*deino-* 'clay': Skt *diva-* 'day', Slav *\*dbnb* id., Lith *diend* id., Latv *diena* id. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 68 (derivative of *dite*); JOKL *Studien* 22 (a derivative in *\*dei-* with a verbal suffix *\*-nja*); MAYRHOFER II 41; FRAENKEL 93; IVANOV *Slay.* 168; TRUBAtEV *ESSJa* V 213.

dire f, pl. *dira* 'trace'. Borrowed from South Slav *\*dira* *\*dir'a* id.: Bulg *dir'a* > *dira*, SCr *dira* (cABEJ *St.* I 126). 0 SVANE 141; cABEJ *Etim.* III 248.

dishte f, pl. *dishta* 'mill funnel'. Another variant is *dishke*. Borrowed from Lat *discus* 'disk' (cABEJ *Etim.* III 249-250). 0 CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 123 (suffix *-shte*).

dishull m, pl. *dishuj* 'kind of aromatic shrub, Pistacia lentiscus'. Other variants (*dyshkull* and *dyshkull* 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. 0 cABEJ *Etim.* III 250 (derived from *dylle*).

dite f, pl. *dit*, *dite* 'day'. From PAIb *\*dita* etymologically connected with Gmc *\*tidiz* 'time' (OHG *zit*, OE *tid*) and Skt *diti* 'brightness, splendor' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 10-11, 40). 0 BOPP 513; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (to Skt *diva-* 'day'); CAMARDA 173 (to Lat *dies* 'day'); MEYER *Wb.* 68 (from *\*din-te* related to Skt *dina-* 'day', Slav *\*dt,nh* id., Lith

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

djale m, pl. *djem*, *djelm* 'boy, youth'. From PAIb *\*dela* probably connected with Latv *dels* 'son', Lat *filius* id. as a derivative of IE *\*dhei-* 'to suck' (XYLANDER 317; cABEJ *St.* I 127-128). Note that the vocalism in Proto-Albanian is irregular so that a secondary transformation of the stem must be presumed. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 60 (derives *djale* from *dal*), *Alb. St.* III 29; KRETSCHMER *Glotta* XIV 310-311 (to *dal*); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 115; OSTiR *AArbSt.* I 114 (to Gk *tat*; 'maiden'); VASMER *ZfslavPh* III 269 (to Thr *-te2q.a.*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 113-114; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; PISANI *Saggi* 121; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 78; HULD 52; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; cABEJ *Etim.* III 255-258; DEMIRAJ *AE* 134-135.

djall m, pl. *djaj* 'devil'. Borrowed from Lat *diabolus* id. (MilmosICH *Rom. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 60, *Alb. St.* V 73). 0 CAMARDA 198 (connection with Gk *8i613oA,o*; id.); THUMB *IF* XXVI 12-13 (from Gk *81613oXoc*); MEYER-LCIBKE *Gr. Grundrifl.* <sup>2</sup> I 1041; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 535; JOKL *LKUBA* 20 (from Greek); HAARMANN 122; cABEJ *Etim.* III 258-259; LANDI *Lat.* 75, 137-138.

djathe m/n, pl. *djathera* *djathna* 'cheese'. A diminutive in *-the* (CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 121) of *\*djadh* < PAIb *\*dedi-*, the latter to be compared with Skt *dddhi* 'sour milk' and OPrus *dadan* 'milk', derivatives of *\*dhei-* 'to suck' (JOKE *Studien* 15-16, *WuS* XII 70). For the irregular development of the root vowel cf. *djale*. 0 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; cABEJ *Etim.* III 259-260; DEMIRAJ *AE* 135-136.

djathte adj. 'right'. Old Albanian texts preserve *djathe* 'right (side)' (BUZUKU), thus showing that *djathte* is a relatively new formation in *-te* based on PAIb *\*detsa* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 291; cABEJ *St.* I 128-129). The latter is etymologically connected with IE *\*dela-* Skt

*daksina-*, Gk Ss t6S, Lat *dexter* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 69). 0 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 1190; JUCQUOIS *Le Museon LXXVIII* 445 (phonetically impossible *\*deksto-* with *\*-kst-* reflected as Alb *-tht-*); HAMP *RESEE XIX/1* 141-145 (reconstructs *\*deksino-*); HULD 53; cABEJ *Etim.* III 260-261 (to Lat *decus* 'beauty, decoration'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 137-138.

dje adv. 'yesterday'. From PAIb *\*de* etymologically identical with Skt *hyds* id., Gk x0k id., Lat. *heri* id. and the like (CAMARDA I 96; MEYER *WI.* 69, *Alb. St.* III 18, 63). 0 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; cABEJ *Etim.* III 261; PUHVEL *Festschr. Hoenigswald* 317; DEMIRAJ *AE* 138.

djeg aor. *dogja* 'to burn'. From PAIb *\*dega* etymologically related to IE *\*dheeh-* 'to burn': Skt *ddhati*, Tokh AB *tsak-*, *tseik-*, Lit *degn*, *degti* and the like (BOPP 508; GIL 'FERDING *Om.* 22; MEYER *Wb.* 69, *Alb. St.* III 9, 29). 0 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 *Slay.* 129; HULD 53-54, *KZ CVII* 166; KLINGENSCHMITT *Munch. St. Spr.* XL 101, 127; cABEJ *Etim.* III 261-262; DEMIRAJ *AE* 138-139.

(G) djemen pl. 'demons, devils'. A lexicalized plural of *djall* similar to that of *djale djem* (*SKOK AArbSt* I 220-221). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20 (from Lat *daemonem* 'demon'); MEYER *Wb.* 69 (same as MIKLOSICH - but the stress is placed differently); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> 11043; THUMB *IF XXVI* 13 (borrowed from Gk ocallovEg id. - but the development of -at- > -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 *dernonl.* id.); MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/3-4* 350 (follows THUMB); CABE., *St.* I 129 (repeats THUMB'S etymology), *Etim.* III 262-264; LAND! *Lat.* 72, 83.

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

*kratto* 'basket'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 69-70 (related to Slav *\*zylybka* id.), *Alb. St.* III 18, 36; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 333; JOKL *IF XXXVI* 158-159, *Melanges Pedersen* 155 (reconstructs *\*ghoubha* thus slightly correcting MEYER); BARIC *Hymje* 77; cABEJ *St. I* 129-130 (from IE *\*dheubh-* - *\*dheup-*; Gk obtocc is explained as an ancient Albanian loanword), *Etim.* III 264-265.

djerse f, pl. *djerse* 'perspiration'. Another variant is *dirse*. From PAIb *\*widertja* with the loss of the unstressed first syllable. Further related to Gk iop6c id. < *\*suidrOt-s*, cf. also Latv *sviedri* id., Lat *sudor* id. (PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 288-290). 0 CAMARDA 148, 96 (to Gk `gpun `dew'); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 81 (to Gk opOcsoc `dew'), *Wb.* 70 (to Gk 6Ccievo '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; cABEJ *Etim.* III 265-266; HULD 148; KORTLANDT *SSGL X* 219; DEMIRAJ *AE* 139-140.

djerr aor. *dora* 'to destroy'. From PAIb *\*dera* or *\*derna* related to Skt *dodti* 'to burst, to tear', Gk Sipco 'to skin', Goth *gatairan* 'to tear' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 70, *Alb. St.* III 26). 0 JOKL *Studien* 8; FRISK I 368-370; MAYRHOFER II 59; FEIST *Goth.* 203.

djerr m, pl. *djerre* 'fallow land'. From PAIb *\*dersa* etymologically identical with Gk x6παος 'dry land' (CAMARDA I 96) < IE *\*ghersos*. 0 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; cABEJ *Etim.* III 266-268 (to *bie* 'to fall').

dobet adj. 'weak'. Derived from *dobe* id. The latter is borrowed from Slav *\*dobi*, 'good, fine' unattested in South Slavic where a more usual *\*dobry* id. is widespread. Note *dohi* 'profit, use' related to *dobe*. 0 PISANI *Saggi* 129 (to Lat *dehilis*); cABEJ *St.* I 131 (based on *udob*), cABEJ *Etim.* III 272-273; SVANE 273.

dobis aor. *dobita* 'to win'. Borrowed from Slav *\*dobyti* 'to acquire, to win' (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 70). The Albanian verb is semantically closer to SCr *dobiti* than to Bulg *dobija*. 0 SELISCEV *Slay. naselenie* 178; OREL *Etimologija* 1983 136; SVANE 199-200; CABEJ *Etim.* III 273.

dojka f, pl. *dojka* 'nurse'. Borrowed from Slav *\*dojka* id., cf. in particular South Slavic continuants: Bulg *dojka*, SCr *dojka* (c.A13EJ *St. I* 131, *Etim.* III 277). 0 SvANE 190.

doke f 'traditions'. Borrowed from Gk *Soxii* 'opinion, view, meaning'. 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 53-56 (related to *duket*); cABEJ *St. I* 131 (agrees with JOKL), *Etim.* III 277-278.

dokerr f, pl. *dokrra* 'big bone, bone of arm or leg'. Derived from *\*dok* (for the formation pattern cf. *kokerr*), borrowed from Gk 6016; 'rafter, beam' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). 0 CAMARDA 185 (to Gk 86icava 'a structure of two joined upright bars'); MEYER *Wh.* 70 (to Turk *dogru* 'direct'); BARD *ARSt I* 8 (from *\*dorkr-* composed of *dore* and *krah*); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 119 (suffix *-err*); cABEJ *St. I* 132 (an expressive form compared with *docke* 'little hand' and the like).

doling f, pl. *dolina* 'valley'. Borrowed from Slav *\*dolina* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *dolina*, SCr *dolina*. 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 106 (borrowed from SCr *dolina*).

dorberi f 'herd'. A secondary phonetic transformation of *\*doberi* derived from Slav *\*dobro* 'property' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 12-13). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 71 (borrowed from Ital *turba* 'crowd'); JOKL *Studien* 16-17, *IF XXXVII* 100 (a compound consisting of *dor-* < IE *\*Arkuer-* 'animal, beast' and *-beri* compared with Lith *burys* 'crowd'); BARD *AARBSt I* 215; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 147; cABEJ *St. I* 133 (derived from *\*torhar* based on *torbe* 'shepherd's bag; knapsack'), *Etim.* III 286-287.

dor f, pl. *duar duer* 'hand'. A singularized neut. plural PAIb *\*dara* < IE *\*ghesr-* (PISANI *Saggi* 121; HAMP *Anc. IE Dial.* 115) related to Gk *xEip* id., Hitt *kalar* id., Tokh A *tsar-* id., B *sar-* id., Arm *jean* id. (BOPP 492; MEYER *Wh.* 72, *Alb. St.* III 18, 71). 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* I 92 (to Gk *oGvov* '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 *\*Rhard-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; cABEJ *Etim.* III 288-291; SCHRTJVER *BC* 58; DEMIRAJ *AE* 140.

dose f, pl. *dosa* 'pig, sow'. From PAIb *\*da(i)ija*, a derivative of IE *\*dhe(i)-* 'to suckle' (OLBERG apud DEMIRAJ; cABEJ *St. I* 134-135). 0 CAMARDA II 203 (to Gk 06c 'jackal'); JOKL *Studien* 17 (reconstructs IE *\*suatia* further connected with *\*sa-* 'pig'); BARD *ARSt I* 6-7 (from *\*der* & related to *derk* < *\*dergo-* as *darke* to *dasme*); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVIII* 393 (to *derk, dirk*, from *\*derria*); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 13 (borrowed from Bulgaro-Turk *dogs* 'pig'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 100 (agrees with JOKL), *Stratificazione* 135; RIBEZZO *RivAlb I* 140, II 144 (from *\*ghetia*, to Maced *yordev* • vv); HULD 148 (follows JOKL); cABEJ *Etim.* III 293-296; DEMIRAJ *AE* 140-141.

dot part. of irreal. A lexicalized sequence of two particles, *do* and *to* (LAMBERTZ *LP* VII 92). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 72 (borrowed from Lat *in tata*); PEDERSEN *BB XX* 233-235, *KZ XXXVII* 236-238 (reconstructs acc. *\*dhetim* of a deverbative related to IE *\*dhe-* 'to put'); MANN *Language* XXVI 381; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 20 (from Lat *totum*); cABEJ *St. I* 135 (follows LAMBERTZ), *Etim.* III 296-297; MANN *Comp.* 129 (identical with Gk 81yra); HAARMANN 154 (same as MiliikEscu).

dra **dra** f 'oil-cake, melted butter'. Reflects PAIb *\*draga* (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 *dra*. Close parallels are found in Germanic (ON pl. *dreggiar* 'yeast') and in Baltic: OPrus *dragios* 'yeast' (if not borrowed from Germanic), OLith *drages* id. (if not from Old Prussian), Lett dial. *dradzi* 'sediment in melted butter'. Cf. also Slav *\*drofcl:i* 'yeast' (but Bulg *droide* '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. 0 CAMARDA I 74 (to Gk *Tpo4* 'muse'); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 69; JOKL *IF XXXVI* 101; *Die Sprache* IX 149; PISANI *Saggi* 124; REICHELDT *KZ XLVI* 322; DURIDANOV *Thr.-Dak.* 94 (reconstructs Dac *\*draga*); HIRT *BGDS XXIII* 349 f. (Old Prussian < Germanic); TOPOROV *Pia I* 363 f.; BUGA *RR III* 206 (on Lett *dradzi*); TRAUTMANN *APSpr.* 322; ENDZELIN *KZ XLIV* 65; FRAENKEL 100; PISANI *Saggi* 124; ANTTILA *Schw.* 122; POKORNY I 251; TRUBAGEV *ESSJa 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.

drag f, pl. *draga* 'avalanche'. Borrowed from Slav *\*dorga* 'ravine' (cABEJ



St. I 136) unattested in the meaning 'avalanche'. 0 JOKL *IF* XLIII 47-49 (reconstructs \**de-ra-ge* and connects it with *rashe*); SvANE 81, 161; cABEJ *Etim.* III 299-300.

dragua dra(n)gue m, pl. *dragonj drango* 'dragon'. Another variant is (T) *drangua*. It represents a borrowing from Rom \**drancOnetn*, a modification of Lat *dracOnern* id. (MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1046, 1050: also considers the possibility of borrowing from Italian). 0 STIER *KZ* XI 134 (borrowed from Gk *6p6tcwv* id.); CAMARDA I 82 (to Gk *opiiicov* id.); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 52, Wb. 73 (directly from *dracOnem* or from Ital *dragone*); MIHAESCU *RESEE IV* I-2 22; HAARMANN 123; cABEJ *Etim.* III 300-302 (from Latin).

drang m, pl. *drangje* 'barge-pole, punting-pole; young creature, cub'. From PAIb \**dranga* further to be compared with ON *drangr* 'stone pillar', *drengr* 'thick trunk', Lith *dringa* 'perch, pole', Slav \**drop*, – \**draga* (MANN *Language* XXVI 386; OREL *Zf13alk XXIII* 73). 0 TRAUTMANN *BSIWb.* 59; FRAENKEL 101; cABEJ *Etim.* III 303 (from South Slavic reflexes of \**drygh*).

drap m, pl. *drapa* 'long pole'. From PAIb \**drapa* further related to Gk *opkw* 'to cut off'. 0 BUGGE *BB* XVIII 165 (to Gk *tip6.iti* 'pole'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 14 (to Pol *drab* 'long stick'); FRISK I 417; cABEJ *Etim.* III 304.

draper - drapen m, pl. *drapinj, derpenj, dreper drepen, draperinj* 'sickle'. Borrowed from Gk Dor *oplitcavov* id., cf. the attested form Gk *6pinavov* (BUGGE *BB* XIX 167; THUMB *IF* XXVI 13). 0 CAMARDA I 85 (treats *draper* and Gkoknavov as cognates); MEYER Wb. 73 (from Gk *opercavov*), *Alb. St.* III 26, 72 (related to *opbtavov*), *Gr. Gr.* 40; PERSSON *BB* XIX 167; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII; PEDERSEN *BB* XIX 167; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 107; LA PIANA *Studi* I 94 (related to *507cavov*); cABEJ *St.* I 136 (follows BUGGE and THUMB), *Etim.* III 304-305; HULD 54-55; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/3-4* 350; OLBERG *IBK* XVII 39, *SPhAen* 39; JANSON *Unt.* 40-41; CLACKSON *LR* 112; DEMIRAJ *AE* 142.

dre dre m, pl. *dreere drene* 'deer'. Continues PAIb \**drani*- identical with &pc:wig [for op+ al:wog (LIDEN *Studien* 67-68, 95-96). Further related to Skt *dhrdnati* 'to sound', OHG *treno* 'drone' (SPITZER *MRIWI* 319). For the semantics of this comparison cf. Slav \**bylci*, 'bull'

(and also 'bug') \**bykati* 'to roar, to bellow'. 0 STIER *KZ* VII 160 (to Messap 1301/43ov • %wpov); SCHEFTELOWITZ *BB* XXVIII 297 (to Arm *erinj* 'heifer'); CHARPENTIER *KZ* XL 432; VASMER *ZfslavPh* III 288 (to Thr Likvic); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 135-136; GEORGIEV *Issledovanija* 120 (to a Thracian name Aavtc); MAYRHOFER II 115-116; cABEJ *St.* 1136-137 (to OIr *darn* 'head', cf. Gk *KCcpa* 'head' - icOcc; 'horn' - Lat *cervus* 'deer'), *Etim.* III 305-307; DEMIRAJ *AE* 142-143 (from \**d-ran-* based on IE \**urHn-*).

dredh aor. *drodha* 'to turn, to rotate'. From PAIb \**dredza* continuing IE \**dredh-* closely related to Arm *datnam* 'to turn', *dart* 'curve, turn' < IE \**drgh-* (LIDEN Arm. *Studien* 101-102). Note a derivative of *dredh* - *dridh* 'to shake, to vibrate'. As to *dredhez* 'strawberry', it is identical with *dredhez* 'cord, string' derived from *dredh*. 0 CAMARDA I 74 (to Gk *tpe'w* 'to flee'); MEYER Wb. 74 (secondary connection between *dredhez* and *dredh*), *All. St.* III 18, 29, 72, *IF* V 181 (related to Gk *Taxa* 'to run, to hurry'); JOKL *Studien* 17-18 (to OHG *draen* '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 LIDEN); ACAREAN *HAB* I 639; PISANI *Studi* 129 (*dredh-ez* - to Lat *fragum*); ANTILA *Schw.* 34; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 110; HAMP *Trends* LVII 906; cABEJ *St.* I 137-138 (accepts UDEN' s etymology), 138-139 (connects *dredhez* 'strawberry' with OIr *driss* 'thorn-bush, brier-bush', Gk *Spioc* 'bush'), cABEJ *Etim.* III 308-310; CLACKSON *LR* 122-123; DEMIRAJ *AE* 143-144.

dreg f, pl. *drega* 'scab'. From PAIb \**draga*, an o-vocalism deverbative connected with West Gmc \**targjan* 'to pull, to stir' (Germ *zergen*), Slav \**dhrmati* 'to pull, to tug', Lith *dirginti* 'to move, to irritate'. 0 MEYER Wb. 74 (to *dredhez* 'strawberry'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 107; KLUGE 882; FRAENKEL 96; TRUBA 'CEV *ESSJa* V 221; cABEJ *St.* I 139 (comparisons with IE \**der-* 'to tear' and Skt *da(r)dru-* 'leprosy, eruption', W *tarwyden* 'lichen, eczema' and the like).

drejtđ adj. 'straight, right'. Borrowed from Lat *directum* id. (MIKLOSICX *Rom. Elemente* 21; MEYER Wb. 74, *Alb. St.* V 73). Note the development of the cluster *-ct-*. 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundril3* <sup>2</sup> 11044, 1054; JOKL *RIEB* II 59-60; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 259; Di GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 24-31; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 15; cABEJ *St.* I 139, cABEJ *Earn.* III 312-315; HAARMANN 122; HULD 55; LANDI *Lat.* 121.

drekd f, pl. *dreke* 'lunch, dinner, midday meal'. Connected with *darke* and reflecting PALb *\*drika* related to *darke* (MEYER Wb. 61) and reflecting a zero-grade *\*drlea* close to Bret *dibri* 'lunch', OBret *diprim* 'to eat' (HAMP Anc. IE Dial. 116). However, the development of *\*-i- > -e-* remains unclear. 0 MEYER Gr. Gr. 245; PEDERSEN BB XX 231 (reconstructs *\*drok-*); HIRT Ablaut 126; PORZIG Gliederung 178; CAMAJ Alb. Worth. 114 (suffix *-ice*); LEWIS-PEDERSEN 314; HAMP KZ LXXVII 253; MANN HAED 61 (zero grade in the root); ANTTILA Schw. 29, 100; cABEJ St. I 108, Etim. III 315-316; HULD 48-49; KODDERITZSH Festschr. Mac Eoin 62-63; DEMIRAJ AE 144-145.

dremis aor. *dremita* 'to slumber'. Borrowed from South Slav *\*dremiti* 'to doze, to slumber', cf. Maced *dremit*, SCr *dramiti*. Cf. also a Slavic derivative in *drenke* 'nap'. 0 MEYER Wb. 65 (borrowed from Slav *\*dremati* id.); POLAK ZfBalk I 78 (from SCr *drijemati*); SVANE 253; cABEJ Etim. III 484.

drenje f, pl. *dranja* 'quail'. From PALb *\*dranja*, derivative from *dre* (cABEJ Etim. III 316). 0 CAMARDA II 159 (to Gk Tetpdwv); MEYER Wb. 74 (from Rom *\*tetraonem*, cf. Lat *tetraOnem* 'heath-cock'); SPITZER MRIW I 319-320 (to *dra*).

dreg m, pl. *dreger dreger* 'devil'. Borrowed from the nom. sg. or pl. of Lat *draco* 'dragon' (MIKLOSICH Rom. Elemente 22; MEYER Wb. 73). 0 MEYER-LUBKE Gr. Grundrifi<sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1051; JOKL IF XXX 291; SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 246; TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia 107; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 28; HAARMANN 123; cABEJ St. I 140, Etim. III 316-317 (from Gk 6pOcerv); LANDI Lat. 28, 112, 143-145.

drenjd f 'cornel-cherry', adj. 'healthy, sound'. From PALb *\*draunja*, a derivative of IE *\*dreu* 'tree'. For the evolution of meaning cf. Slav *\*.sb-dorrb* 'healthy' *\*dervo* 'tree' and Lat *rObustus* 'healthy' *robur* 'oak'. 0 MEILLET Etudes I 88; BENVENISTE Word X 259, Inst. I 108-110 (semantic analysis of *\*dreu-*); VASMER II 90; cABEJ St. I 140 (derivation based on Bulg or Maced *dren* 'cornel-cherry'), Etim. III 318.

drinje f, pl. *drinja* 'brushwood'. From PALb *\*dranja* related to *dru* and the Indo-European word for 'tree'. 0 JOKL IF XXXVI 101 n. 1 (from SCr *drijen* 'cornel-cherry'); cABEJ Etim. III 320-321 (from Slavic).

dritd f, pl. *drita* 'light, luster, pupil (of an eye)'. From *\*drikta* based on IE *\*derk-* 'to look' and, in particular, close to OE *torht* 'bright', OHG *zoraht* (MEYER Wb. 74, Alb. St. III 27, 43). 0 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; OLBERG Festschr. Pisani II 688; cABEJ St. I 140-141 (to Lith *zeriu*, *iereti* 'to shine', Slav *\*zbreti* 'to see' and the like), Etim. III 322-323; HULD 55; OREL ZfBalk XXIII 148; DEMIRAJ AE 145.

drithe m/n, pl. *drithera drithna* 'grain'. From PALb *\*dritsa* etymologically connected with Lat *hordeum* 'barley', OHG *gersta* id. < IE *\*Aihrd-* (JOKL IF XXX 302). In Albanian, the development of the voiced Indo-European cluster seems to be surprising. 0 HOLTHAUSEN AEW 351; SPITZER MRIW I 335 (from *\*ghrsko-*); TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia 108; WALDE-HOFMANN 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. Worth. 123; OLBERG Festschr. Pisani II 685; HAMP KZ LXXVI 277; cABEJ BUSHT XV/3 57 (to IE *\*der-* 'to tear'), Etim. III 323-325; HULD 55-56; RASMUSSEN Morph. 91; DEMIRAJ AE 145-146.

drizd f, pl. *driza* 'blackthorn, sloe'. From PALb *\*dridzja* etymologically connected with IE *\*dergh-* 'to hold, to be firm': Skt *drhyati* 'to be firm', Slav *\*dbrfati* 'to hold' < *\*dbrzjati* and, in particular, *\*dbrza* > Russ *dereza* 'kind of thorny plant' (with a secondary *polnoglasie*), see KALUŠKAJA Antic. balk. 3 27. 0 MEYER Wb. 75 (related to *dru*); JOKL IF XXXVI 101, LKUBA 248 (suffix *-ze*); MAYRHOFER II 61-62; VASMER I 502; MANN Hist. gr. 34 (to Oh *driss* 'blackthorn'); TRUBACEV ESSJa V 231; HAMP KZ LXXVI 275; OREL FLHVIII/1-2 38; KLINGENSCHMITT apud DEMIRAJ (to Gk *Spioe* 'bush'); cABEJ Etim. III 325-326 (to *drithe*); DEMIRAJ AE 146.

drobis aor. *drobita* 'to tire'. Borrowed from Slav *\*drobiti* 'to break, to crush' in an otherwise unattested meaning (DESNIČKAJA Slay. zaim. 16). 0 cABEJ Etim. III 326-327 (from Maced *drobi*); SVANE 232.

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

**dromce** f, pl. *dromca* 'crumb, bit'. Borrowed from Slav \**drobbnica* '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.* 182, *Wb.* 75). 0 cABEJ *St.* I 142 (connects *dromce* with *drudhe* and IE \**der-* 'to tear' or \**dhreu-* 'to break'), cABEJ *Etim.* III 329-331.

**dru dr')** m. pl. *drunj*, *drure drun* 'tree; wood (f, pl. *dru*)'. From PAIb \**druwa* etymologically compared with Slav \**drwo* 'wood', Skt *dru-*id., Av *dru-* id., Gk *Spī*; 'tree, oak' (BoPP 541; GILTERDING *Otn.* 22; CAMARDA I 76; MEYER *Wb.* 75). The nasalization in Geg is secondary (cABEJ *St.* I 142-143) and, probably, influenced by the plural forms. The word was borrowed to Rum *druete* 'thick and short tree'. 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* III 27, 72, *Gr. Gr.* 232, 269; BRUGMANN - DELBRUCK II/1 161 (borrowing from Slav \**driwa*); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIV* 291, *Kelt. Gr.* I 144; JOKL *IF XXXVI* 100-102; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 109; MANN *Language XVII* 15 (from IE \**dlno-*); 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 \**druud*); ANTTILA *Schw.* 16; TRUBAeEV *ESSJa V* 141-142; HULD 56; cABEJ *Etim.* III 332-334; DEMIRAJ *AE* 146-147.

**druaj druaj** aor. *druajta*, *drojta*, *drova* 'to be afraid'. From PAIb \**draunja* derived from *dre*, *droe* 'fear' < PAIb \**drawa*. The noun is related to Latv *druvas* 'fear' and, further, to Lith *draucklit*, *drausti* 'to forbid, to deter, to scare off'. 0 CAMARDA I 73 (to Skt *trdsati* 'to be afraid', Gk *TOco* '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 *MRIWI* 371 (to Gk *TapacTow* 'to stir, to frighten'); MANN *Language XXVI* 382 (to Lith *drova* 'self-consciousness, awkwardness' which is, in fact, a Germanic loanword); FRAENKEL 102; ROSETTI *ILR I* 276 (to Rum *droaie* 'band, gang; a lot'); cABEJ *St.* I 143-144 (to E *dread*), *Etim.* III 334-337.

**drudhe** f, pl. *drudhe* 'crumb'. A singularized plural of \**drudhe*. From PAIb \**drudza* related to Lith *drItzgas* 'splinter, fragment', *drititi* 'to become weak'. 0 CAMARDA I 115 (to Gk *opinmo* 'to tear'); MEYER *Wb.* 370 (to *rrudhe* '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. Worth.* 121 (suffix *-dhe*); -\**IROKOV ZFL XXIV II* 14 (to Lith *thrginti* 'to pull'); cABEJ *St.* I 144 (connects *drudhe* with *dromce* and IE \**dhreu-* 'to break'), *Etim.* III 231-233.

**drug** f, pl. *druga* 'spindle, shuttle'. Borrowed from SCr *druga* id. < Slav \**dr9ga* (MEYER *Wb.* 75). 0 SELISeEV *Slav. naselenie* 171, 295; JOKL *Slavia XIII* 313-314 (from NGk *xpoinfa*, *Spoi*y'a 'thread'); BARIC *Hymje* 74, 79; POLAK *ZfBalk I* 81; cABEJ *St.* I 144, *Etim.* III 337-338; S VANE 47, 81.

**drusht r**, pl. *drushta* 'pole, mast'. From PAIb \**drusta* further connected with *dru*.

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

(G) **dry m** 'kind of lock, bolt'. From PAIb \**drana* related to the Indo-European word for 'tree' and, probably, referring to the strength of the lock, cf. Gk *Spoo*v • *iaxupov* (BUGGE *BB XVIII* 165). The closest formal parallels of PAIb \**dritna* are Skt *drtma-* 'bow', Iran \**drana-* 'bow' in Pers *duruna* 'rainbow', Ossetic *cerdyn* (RAMP *KZ LXXVI* 276) and Slav \**drytrz*, 'stick, pole'. 0 BUGGE *BB XVIII* 165 (to OIr *dron* 'hard, strong'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 109 (suggests Skt *drdna-* 'wooden trough' as an exact parallel); MILLER *Oss.* 30; FRISK I 419; MAYRHOFER II 78; cABEJ *St.* 1145, *Etim.* III 339-341; TRUBAeEV *VJa* 1975/1 135, *ESSJa V* 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 148-149.

**drydhet** adj. 'easy to plane (of wood)'. Continues PAIb \**drudza* (with a secondary suffix *-et*) close to Slav \**dryzgati*, \**druzgati* 'to squeeze, to crush'. 0 TRUBAeEV *ESSJa V* 133, 145.

**dryshk m** 'rust'. From PAIb \**drudz(i)ska* derived from \**dritdza* > *chydhet*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 76 (explains the verb *ndryshk* 'to rust' from Rom \**in-russicd* based on *russus* 'rusty'); HAARMANN 131; cABEJ *St.* 1372-373 (a prefixal derivative of IE \**reudh-* 'red').

**dua - due** aor. *desha* 'to love'. From PAIb \**dausna* connected with IE \**geus-* 'to taste', cf. *Sktjati* 'to be fond of', Gk *yEi*oliat and the like (JOKL *IF XXXV II* 101-102, *LKUBA* 127). The diphthongization of the root vowel into *-ua-* may be explained by the original long diphthong in Proto-Albanian \**dausna* (JOKL). The aorist goes back to PAIb \**detda*.

0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20 (from Lat *dehea* 'muse'); 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 &ovum 'to lack, to miss'); ERNOUT-MEILLET 286; MAYRHOFER I 441; FRISK I 302; POKORNY I 399-400; HULD 144; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 151, *Munch. St. Spr.* XL 124; cABEJ *Etim.* III 173-175; OREL *Sprache XXXI* 280, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 (-sh- < \*-s- in *desha* < IE \*geusrp according to the "ruki" rule); DEMIRAJ *AE* 149.

**duaj duej** pl. 'sheaf'. Continues PAIb \*clonja related to Skt *dhana* 'grain, cereals', *dhanyd-* 'grain', Lith *dtiona* 'bread'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 78, *Alb. St.* III 26, 86 (to Gk SEW 'to tie'); JOKL *Sprache IX* 117; SCHMIDT *KZ L* 238; C1MocHowSKI *LP II* 223, 239; POKORNY I 242; CAMAJ *Mb. Worth.* 37; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 145; cABEJ *Etim.* III 341-342 (plural of *done*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 149-150 (to Skt *darnan-* 'band').

**dude** f, pl. *duda* 'gum'. An onomatopoeic formation (cABEJ *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* (BoGDANO). All these particles reflect compounds of *tu* (for the etymology see *ketu*) and *ke* (identical with *ku*) or *e* (PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 120). 0 cABEJ *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 *6oicci* 'to seem, to appear'. 0 CAMARDA I 53 (to Gk *Soiceo.*) 'to see, to observe'); MEYER *Wb.* 76-77 (follows CAMARDA and, alternatively, compares *duket* with Goth *frugkjan* 'to think'); THUMB *IF XXVI* 2 (against comparisons with Gk *SoicE(0)*); JOKL *Studien* 18 (to Lith *2cvake* 'light', Lat *fax* 'torch' and the like), *LKUBA* 53-55; PISANI *Saggi* 118; cABEJ *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 (cABEJ *St.* I 148). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 77 (from Lat *ductus* 'connection', \*'canal'); MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 22; HAARMANN 123; cABEJ *Etim.* III 359; LANDI *Lat.* 83, 112.

**duroj** aor. *durova* 'to be patient'. Borrowed from Lat *durare* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 77). Note, however, that the reflex of Lat *-u-* is irregular. 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrif3*<sup>2</sup> I 1049; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV 11-2* 15; HAARMANN 123; cABEJ *St.* I 148 (from Ital *durare*), *Etim.* III 361-362.

**dushk m**, pl. *dushqe* 'oak'. Another variant of this word is *drushk*. It continues PAIb \*druAa, a derivative of *dru* (DIEFENBACH I 49; MEYER *Wb.* 77). 0 CAMARDA I 50 (to Gk *tgov* '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 *dasa* 'branch of a conifer'); PISANI *KZ LXXI* 62-63 (to Lat *damus* 'smoke' < \*dus-mos and OHG *zasach* 'bushes'); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 117; cABEJ *St.* I 148-149 (follows MEYER), *Etim.* III 363-365; DEMIRAJ *AE* 148, 150-151.

**dy** num. 'MO'. From PAIb \*duwO, fern. \*duwai with a contraction similar to that of *qytet* and *gryke*. Further parallels are reflexes of IE \*d(u)ui(u), fern. \*d(u)aoi (BOPP 511; CAMARDA I 53; MEYER *Alb. St.* II 27, III 26, IV 46). 0 MEYER *Wh.* 78 (thinks of IE \*du and compares with Lith A); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 282 (from IE \*duaie); SKOK *AArbSt II* 307 (from \*dui); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 35 (from \*duui > \*dui); TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 109; MANN *Language XXVIII* 32; cABEJ *St.* I 149-150 (reconstructs \*dui-), *Etim.* III 366-369; HULD 56-57 (compares fern. *dy*: with Slav \*ch,ve); HAMP *Numerals* 905-906; DEMIRAJAE 151-152.

**dyne** m/n 'wax'. From PAIb \*dala related to Gk *rao*; 'juice' (MEYER *Wh.* 78, *Alb. St.* III 18, 76 but reconstructing \*gha-dio-). Both forms, going back to IE \*gheu- 'to pour', appear to reflect \*Rhu-s/o- with a compensatory lengthening. 0 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 *8aX6c* 'burning wood'); PISANI *Saggi* 118 (reconstructs \*ghtii0-); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP II* 230; BARIc *Hymje* 36; FRISK 1123-1124; POLAK *Orbis XVI* 132-133 (same as LA PIANA); cABEJ *St.* I 150-151 (compares *dyll* with IE \*ghel- 'yellow'), *Etim.* III 371-373 (to Gk *06oc* 'burning offering'); HULD 57, *KZ XC* 181; LIUKKONEN *SSF X* 58 (identical with Slav part. \*davi-b 'pressing, squeezing'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 152.

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

*dalle* 'flood, inundation'. 0 cABEJ *St.* I 150 (a variant of *dend*), *Etim.* III 373-375.

**dysh** m, pl. *dyssha* 'two, pair'. A derivative based on *dy* (MEYER *Wb.* 78) and reflecting PALb \**dwis* identical with Skt *dvfb* 'twice', Gk Sic id., Lat *his* id. 0 MAYRHOFER II 86; FRISK I 398-399; WALDE-HOFMANN I 107; cABEJ *Etim.* III 376-377.

## Dh

**dhalle dhallte** f 'buttermilk'. From PALb \**dzala* related to Gk *viaa*, gen. *yOaoncto*; 'milk' (MEYER *Wb.* 83). Apparently, the Albanian form is the result of a deep morphological transformation as far as Gk *yacc* continues \**Wawa*. Note that phonetically \**dzala* < \**klakt-* is similar to \**ara* 'bear' < \**rkto-* (cf. *ari*). Rum *zard* is an Albanian loanword. 0 PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 334; JOKL, *LKUBA* 273 (follows MEYER), *Sprache* IX 153 (to *dele*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 147-148; MANN *Language XVII* 17 (reconstructs \**galakto-*); 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* LXXXVI 276-277 (reconstructs \**g olH-*); OLBERG *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 PALb \**dzō* reflecting IE \**dhghOnt* 'earth': Hitt *tekan*, Tokh A *tkam*, B *kem*, Skt *ksam-*, Gk X0 6v (MEYER *Wb.* 83, *Alb. St.* III 18). 0 GILFERDING *Otm.* 22 (to Gk *yij* 'earth', & I id.); CAMARDA I 46 (same as GILFERDING); MEYER *Wb.* 83 (does not exclude the connection with *yij*); 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 \**dlighOm* less probable), *FLH* IV 137, *KZ* CIII 289-292 (from IE \**dhegHo-*); VAN WINDEKENS I 506-507; SCHINDLER *Sprache* XIII 200; HULD 58

(*dhe* < \**dhoigho-*, to Gk *toixog* 'wall'); OREL *Balcanica* 110-112, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 357; cABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to the first component of *Atil.arciip*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 155-156.

**dhel** aor. *dhela* 'to fondle, to caress, to flatter'. Metathesis of *ledhe* (cABEJ *St.* I 151). Note that its derivatives *dhelatoj* id. and *dhelatar* 'only son' also have their counterparts in unmetathesized *ledhatoj* and *ledhatar*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 84 (treats *dhelatar* as a borrowing from Ital *diletto* 'delight, pleasure'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 114-115.

**dhelprdr dhelpe** f, pl. *dhelpra dhelpe* 'fox'. From PALb \**dzelpina* transformed by a taboo typical of words for 'fox' (MEILLET *BSL* XXVIII 45) from \**welpina*, a derivative connected with Lith *vilpisys* 'wild cat' (STIER *KZ* XI 143-144; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 15) and, further, with other irregular forms: Lat *volpes* 'fox', Gk & X,6rng id. and the like. The development of \**welpind* to \**dzelpina* could be influenced by *dhel* or by *dhe*. 0 CAMARDA I 96 (to Gk *Caomcdc*, *dathni4* 'fox'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 165 (from Lat *volpes* or a modification of C AMARDA s etymology); MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 16 (against BUGGE); JOKL *LKUBA* 297-299 (to IE \**ghel-* 'yellow'); BARIC *AArhSt.* I 214; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 136; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 229; FRAENKEL 1254; WALDE-HOFMANN II 830; FRISK I 83; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 119 (suffix *-p-*); cABEJ *St.* VII 217, 268; DEMIRAJ *AE* 156 (to Gk *yoatirl* 'weasel').

**dhemb** aor. *dhemba* 'to ache'. In Tosk also *dhemb*. From PALb \**dzemba* etymologically identical with Skt *jambhate* 'to snap at', Lith *icembih*, ± *elftbi* 'to cut' and Slav \**zebQ*, \**zcbti* 'to freeze, to feel cold' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 334). 0 BOPP 460 (to Skt *dam-* 'to tame'); MEYER *Wb.* 84-85 (to Lat *gemO* '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 PALb \**dzOrnja*. 0 LIDEN *AfslPh* 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 SelisAk(c, 841..13keic - (lOaXoct., Hes.); XHUVANI *BUSHT* XII 97-99 (analogical influence of *dhjes* and *dhemb* in the secondary form in *dh-*); cABEJ *St.* II 276-277 (to *ye* 'egg'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 157.

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

**dhez** aor. *dheza* 'to set on fire, to burn'. From PAIb *\*dagja* with a sandhial change of the initial *\*d-*, cf. *ndez* id. Further connected with *djeg*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 84 (separates *dhez* from *djeg*); JOKL *LKUBA* 333; CABEJ *St. VII* 200, 235; OREL *FLH VIII/1-2* 38.

**dhemb dhamb** m, pl. *dhembe dhambe* 'tooth'. From PAIb *\*dzamba*, a dialectal Indo-European word for 'tooth' shared by Albanian together with Tokh A *kam* 'tooth', B *keme* id., Latv *zliobs* id., Slav *\*zQin*, id. (MEYER *Wb.* 83, *Alb. St.* III 16, 35, 64). The original meaning seems to be preserved in Gk *y6p* 'peg', *Skt jeimbha-* 'bit, peg'. 0 GILFERDING *Otn.* 22 (to *Skt deointa-* 'looth'); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 264; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 334; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89, *Sprache IX* 123; TAGLIAVINI *almazia* 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.

**dhender dhander** m, pl. *dhendure dhandure* 'bridegroom, son-in-law'. In the auslaut *-rr* is also possible. From PAIb *\*dzanra* with a secondary epenthesis in *\*-nr- > -nd(e)r-*, cf. *enderr*. The plural form in *-ur-* is not clear. The word is etymologically identical with *Skt jard-* 'suitor', Gk *yagl3p6*; 'son-in-law', Lat *gener* id. (SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 247; MANN *Language XXVI* 383, *XXVIII* 33). PAIb *\*-an-* seems to continue IE *\*-ema-* or a similar cluster. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30 (from Lat *gener*); MEYER *Wb.* 85 (to Lith *ie'ntas* 'son-in-law', Slav *\*zqth* id.), *Alb. St.* III 16, 24, *Gr. Gr.* 250; JOKL *LKUBA* 46-48 (to *Skt ja matar-* 'son-in-law', Av *zdrnatar-* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 114 (combines MEYER'S and JOKL'S views); ERNOUT-MEILLET 270; LA PIANA *Studi I* 42 (reconstructs *\*genros*); PISANI *Saggi* 130 (*dhender* as a contamination of *Skt jamatar-* and Lat *gener* 'son-in-law'); FRISK I 287; CHANTRAINE 209; MAYRHOFER I 431; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP II* 228 (from *\*genaRr*); FRAENKEL *ZfslavPh XXIII* 348 (*-err < \*-urr* influenced by *vjeherr*); FRISK I 287; ANTTILA *Schw.* 132-133 (from *\*genH-tr-*); HULD 58-59 (reconstructs IE *\*gomH-ter-*); OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 159-160.

**dhi** f, pl *dhi* 'she-goat'. From PAIb *\*aidzija* corresponding to Gk id. (CAMARDA 75 who also adduces Lacon oica. and Arm *ayc* id.). The Albanian word may be an ancient adjective, cf. Gk *aye(t)o*; of a goat'. 0 Purr *KZ IV* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 85 (compares with *Skt ajd-* 'goat', Lith *oijis* id. or with OHG *ziga*, Lacon Sica • a ), *Alb. St.* III 28, 37; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 320, 335; JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski I* 241, *Sprache IX* 149; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 136; ACAREAN *HAB I* 169-170; BONFANTE *REIE II* 61-63; PORZIG *Gliederung* 181; PISANI *Saggi* 122 (to OHG *ziga*); BARIC *Hymje* 77; JOKL *Symb. gramm.* 241; FRISK I 41-42; HAMP *Laryngeals* 140; HULD 59 (supports PISANI); KARULIS *LEVI* 56 (to Lith *dda* 'skin', Latv *ada* id.), 94 (to Lith *o4's* 'goat', Latv *dzis* id.); OREL *FLH VIII/1-2* 47, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 358; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 38; DEMIRAJ *AE* 160.

**dhjame** f, pl. *dhjamera dhjamna* '(animal) fat, lard, suet, tallow'. The dialectal variant *vjam, vjame* is secondary. From PAIb *\*dzjel-ma*, related to *dhalle*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 86 (to Gk & HA '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 *\*e* vs. Gk -Ti-); PORZIG *Gliederung* 126, 178; FRISK I 381; CHANTRAINE 274; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 55; HULD 59-60; OLBERG *IBK XVII* 47 (borrowed from Late Gk Cijta 'decoc-tion, 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 PAIb *\*dzeda* or *\*dzetja* related to *Skt hadati* id., Gk *xgto* id. (CAMARDA I 96; MEYER *Wb.* 86, *Alb. St.* III 18, 27). As far as neither *\*-0-* 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 *\*ghed-to-*; the latter would regularly yield *\*dzeda*. 0 MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 274; JOKL *Studien* 61; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 335, *Kelt. Gr.* I 160; LA PIANA *Studi I* 55-56 (to Gk Mac( 'dirt'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 172; PISANI *Saggi* 117; CimocHowsKi *LP II* 237; FRISK I 1078-1079; CHANTRAINE 1250; MAYRHOFER III 573; KLINGENSCHMITT *Munch. St. Spr.* XL 109; CABEJ *St. I* 153-154 (to ON *drita* 'to defecate', E *dirt*, Slav *\*driskati* *\*dristati* 'to defecate'); CABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Lat *foria* 'diarrhea'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 161-162 (reconstructs *\*gh(e)detio-*).



**dhjeth** num. 'ten'. A relatively recent derivative in -re based on \**dhjeth* < \**detsa* etymologically connected with IE \**dekm* 'ten': Skt *dds'a*, Gk

Lat *decent* and the like (BOPP 459-460; GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 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-LOBKE *Idg. Anz.* II 184). O MEYER *Alb. St.* III 14, 28 (from \**dektnti* -phonetically impossible as the syllabic \**-m-* 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; SZEMEREN *YI Numerals* 70-71, 112-114; MAYRHOFER H 26; FRISK I 359-360; WALDE-HOFMANN 1327-329; HULD 60; KODDERITZSCH *St. albanica XX/2* 123-124; HAMP *Trends LVII* 901-902, 916-917, *Numerals* 916-918; DEMIRAJ *AE* 162-163.

**dhune** f, pl. *dhune* 'labor pains, shame, disgrace'. From PALb \**edunti* or \**adunti*, further compared with Gk 6•*Siwri* '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). O CAMARDA I 160 (to Gk 43ivvoc 'reproach, insult'); MEYER *Wh.* 87 (compares with *dere*, *dhere* 'titter'); JOKL *Studien* 19-20 (reconstructs \**dus-n-d* and links it to Skt *dus-* 'evil, bad, difficult', *dundti*, (he) burns', Gk *Saito* 'to light up, to kindle'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP II* 251-252; LA PIANA *Studi* I 63 f. (follows CAMARDA); A.AREAN *HAB II* 64; PISANI *Saggi* 118 (to Gk reconstructs \**ghuna*); MAYRHOFER II 49-50; POKORNY I 180; cABEJ *BShkSh* 11/4 34 (to *Latfuscus* 'dark brown', *St.* I 154-155; OLBERG *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 *dOndre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 22; MEYER *Wh.* 87). In Geg the form \**dhunoj* was replaced by Tosk *dhuroj*. The intervocalic Geg -*n-* is, however, preserved in derivatives, such as *dhureti dhuneti* 'present, donation'. Occasionally, the forms with the "correct" *d-* have been attested in dialects. Forms with initial *dh-* may reflect \**addOntire*. O CAMARDA 143 (to Gk *Swpi* οματ 'to make a present'); JOKL *LKUBA* 300; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 22; HAARMANN 123; cABEJ *St.* I 155-156; JANSON *Unt.* 49-50.

## E

**e** conj. 'and, also'. From PALb \**O(d)* (OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 145-146) going back to IE \**ed* \**od*, [abl. sg.](#) of the pronominal stem \**e-l\*o-*, cf. Skt at 'then, and', Av *or*, *dal* id., Lith 'and, but' (if not borrowed from Slavic, SADNIK - AITZETMOLLER *Vgl. Wb. I* 1-2), Slav \**a* and, but'. O MEYER *Wb.* 93 (from Lat *et* 'and' with an inexplicably preserved -*t*); MEYER-LOBKE *Grundr. rom. Phil.* I 1057 (questions the Latin origin of *e*); PUSCARIU *Etym. Wb.* I 565 (< Lat *et*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 111 (follows MEYER); FRAENKEL 514; MAYRHOFER I 72; cABEJ *St.* I 156; MANN *Language XXVI* 380; HAMP *Bono homine donum* 127-131 (*e* < \**ioi*); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 358; HULD 60-61.

ec(i) aor. *eca* 'to go, to run'. Another variant is *ecej*. From \**etes* < PALb \**aitatja* based on a derivative in \**-to-* of IE \**ei-* 'to go' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). O CAMARDA I 95 (to Gk *eigt* 'to go'); MEYER *Wb.* 97 (from Rom \**WO* replacing *itO* 'to go'); BARK *ARSt.* I 18 (to *erdha*); JOKL apud cABEJ *St.* 1158 (related to *hedh*); cABEJ *St.* I 157-158 (reconstructs \**itiO* as a source).

**edh** m, pl. *edha* 'he-goat'. From PALb \**aidza* connected with Gk *aid* 'goat', Arm *aye* id. (TREIMER *ZfRomPh XXXVIII* 408; MANN XXVI 381), cf. *dhi*. O MEYER *Wb.* 98 (borrowed from Lat *haedus* MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrif3* <sup>2</sup> I 1043; AeAREAN *HAB* 1169-170; JAHUKIAN *OAI* 122; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP IV* 201; FRISK I 41-42; CLACKSON *LR* 90; cABEJ I 158 (to Skt *ajd-* 'goat', Lith *oiy's* 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 PALb \**do* < IE \**do* (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 (cABEJ *St.* I 151). The Geg form *ende* may be explained as a different compound including *en-* < IE \**ani* (cf. POKORNY I 39) and *de* < PALb \**do*. O MEYER *Wb.* 83 (derives *dhe* from Turk *de* 'and'); cABEJ *St.* I 158; OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 146 (mistakenly derives *edhe* from IE \**oge* and compares it with Lith *Ogi* where there are no traces of a palatal); BENVENISTE *St. Balt.* III 121 f. (pronominal sources of \**do*); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 78, *Bono homine donum* 127-131 (*dhe* < \**gho*



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

**eel.** adj. 'wild'. Borrowed from Gk *Ocypto*; id. (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 15). 0 GIL' FERDING *Otn.* 25 (from Lat *agrestis*); CAMARDA I 28, 36 (comparison with Gk *gypto*); MEYER *Wb.* 94 (borrowed from Lat *acer* 'sharp, violent'), *Alb. St.* IV 10; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 248; LA PIANA *Studi* I 66 (follows CAMARDA); BARI( *ARSt.* I 15 (reconstructs \**0-eori* 'living in the mountains'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 111-112 (agrees with VASMER); OLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* 11 687 (from Indo-European); cABEJ I 159.

**egjell** adv. 'on an empty stomach'. A compound of a privative particle *e-* < PAIb \**a-* < IE \**ǵt-* and *gjell*; thus, *egjel/* means 'without food' (PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 45). See also *esell*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 94 (connected with *esell*); cABEJ I 159 (to *agull* 'dawn', derivative of *agoj*).

**egjer** f 'Lolium temulentum'. Borrowed from Lat *ebria* f. 'drunk', probably, influenced at some stage by *eger*. For the semantic development cf. the French name of the same plant *ivraie* < Lat *ebriaca* (MEYER *Wb.* 94). 0 JOKL *WuS* XII 78-79 (privative *e-* followed by *gjer* 'soup' which is compared with Lith *soya* 'millet'; thus, the resulting meaning is 'not millet' > 'wild grass'); cABEJ I 159-160 (identifies *egjer* with *eger* or, alternatively, follows JOKL but compares *-gjer* with *grure*).

**eh** aor. *eha* 'to sharpen'. From PAIb \**akska* derived from IE \**ak-* 'sharp': (MEYER *Wb.* 352). 0 POKORNY I 18-22; FRISK I 52; WALDE-HOEMANN I 8.

**ehull m**, pl. *ehuj* 'icicle'. Derivative of *eh* (CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 191-192). However, cf. a similarly looking *akull*. 0 cABEJ I 160 (compound consisting of the prefix *e-* and *hell*); MANN *Comp.* 13 (related to Gk *Cinaog* 'edible acorn').

**elb** m, pl. *elbera elbena* 'barley'. From PAIb \**albi* identical with Gk *Caw* 'kind of grain' (CAMARDA I 60; MEYER *Wb.* 94, *Alb. St.* III 36). 0 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 129; BERNARD *LB* IX/2 86; HAMP *Laryngeals* 132; HULD 61; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; DEMIRAJ *AE* 164-165.

**emdr emen** m, pl. *emra emna* 'name'. From PAIb \**enmen-* or \**inmen-*, etymologically close to Oh *ainm* id., Slav \**jhnic* id., OPrus *emnes* id. and, further, to other continuations of IE \*(*o*)*noHmn* (GIL' FERDING *Otn.* 22; CAMARDA I 41; MEYER *Wb.* 94). 0 MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 114; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 46; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 112 (reconstructs \**enmen*); FRAENKEL *T2* 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; SZEMERENYI *Syncope* 244-245; ANTriLASchw. 126; VAILLANT *Gr. comp.* I 96; HULD 61-62; OLBERG *Unt.* 79; HAMP *AION-L* II 185-190, *Laryngeals* 138; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 68; BEEKES *Sprache* XXXIII 5, *Lar.* 102; cABEJ *St.* VII 272; JANSON *Unt.* 23-26; TRUBAC'EV *ESSJa* VIII 227-228; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; DEMIRAJ *AE* 165.

**mute** f, pl. *emta* 'aunt'. Borrowed from Lat *amita* 'paternal aunt' (MIKLOSLICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 94). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrif*<sup>2</sup> I 1042; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189; MANN *Language* XVII 23; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV* 11-2 12; HAARMAN 110; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 129.

**end m** 'pollen'. From PAIb \**anda* etymologically connected with Skt *dndhas-* 'herb', Gk & vOo; 'flower' (CAMARDA I 55; MEYER *BB* VIII 184). Note a denominative verb *end* 'to blossom' < PAIb \**anda*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 94 (to *ej*); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 30 (to OHG *anado* 'wrath'); MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (to Gk *Cirroliat*), 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; cABEJ 1160-161 (borrowed from or related to Gk *tiv0o*); 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 *iidas* 'vesser', Latv *endas* 'part of sledge', Slav \**Oa* 'fishing rod' - all of these reflecting \**en-dhe-* 'instrument, something applied' with various vocaliza-

tions of the prefix. 0 MEYER *Wh.* 95 (related to *vej*), *Alb. St.* III 24 (to Gk *ttoliat*); 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'. 0 cABEJ *St.* II 161 (to Illyr *Ccv8ivoc*• *nepinato*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 167 (to Dor *ev6Eiv* 'to come' but it is a dialectal form of \**ikeEiv*).

end f, pl. *ene* 'vessel'. Singularized plural of *ane* id., see *an*.

eng m 'deaf and dumb'. From PALb \**anga* etymologically related to Lith *anghs* 'sluggish, lazy, idle', *engti* 'to strangle', Latv *igt* 'to wear off, to languish'. 0 FRAENKEL 10; MANN *Comp.* 25 (to Goth *aggwus* 'narrow' and the like).

engjell m, pl. *engjej* 'angel'. Borrowed from Lat *angelus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wh.* 95). 0 CAMARDA I 13 (to Gk */ire?* oc id.); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 1 1042; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 110; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 117.

enje f 'juniper, yew'. Another variant is *venje* displaying a phonetically secondary initial v-. From PALb \**aignja* related to the Indo-European, and in particular Germanic, word for 'oak': ON *eik*, OHG *eih* (*OREL Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). 0 cABEJ II 281 (to Lat *acus* 'needle', Lith *aštrhs* 'sharp').

enjd ejd f, pl. *enja eja* 'dairy goat'. From PALb \**agnja* connected with Gk *Ocuvo*; 'lamb', Lat *agnus* id. (cABEJ I 162). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 237-238 (to Gk *ovOap* 'udder' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 148; FRISK I 93-94; POKORNY I 9; WALDE-HOFMANN I 23; cABEJ *St.* VII 187; JANSON *Unt.* 79-81.

enjte f, pl. *enjte* 'Thursday'. A morphologically more conservative form is outdated *enjte*, an adjective in *-te*. As other Albanian words of weekdays rendering Latin names, this words seems to translate Lat *lovis 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' (TRE1mER *AArbSt* 132). For the phonetic development cf. *enje*. 0 MEYER *Wh.* 95 ("dunkel"); (STIR *AArbSt* II 31 or 282 (to Etr *ais* 'god' !); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 112-113; MJEDE apud cABEJ I 162 (from Gk *vii* 'the day after tomorrow').

epem refl. 'to bow down, to bend'. Related to *ap jap*, cf. Germ *nachgeben* 'to give way, to stretch' (cABEJ I 162-163). The variant *hepem* has a secondary *h-*. 0 RESTELLI *RIL* LXXXIX - XC 417-418 (to Gk *aicagi36*; 'curved, crooked').

eper adj. 'upper'. From PALb \**eupera*, a secondary analogical ablaut variant of IE \**uperos* id.: Skt *upara-* 'lower', Av *upara-* 'upper', Gk *iinepoc* id. (BART( *ARSt.* 117-18). 0 MEYER *Wh.* 96 (derivative of IE \**epi*), *Alb. St.* III 86; FRISK II 966-967; CHANTRAINE 357; MAYRHOFER 1105; HAMP *Laryngeals* 136 (to Goth *iup*); cABEJ I 163 (prefix *e-* followed by *per*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 167-168.

ere f, pl. *erera erena* 'wind'. From Rom \**er(a)* based on Lat *aer* '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 *ere* being motivated by its meaning. 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* I 1043, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 113 (from Lat *aer*); IVITHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; cABEJ *St.* I 165; HULD 62.

ergjnd argjand m 'silver'. Borrowed from Lat *argentum* id. (GILFERDING *Otm.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER *Wb.* 15). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 1 1044.

ergjez m, pl. *ergjez, ergjeze* 'young louse'. Another variant is *ergjiz*. A derivative in *-ez* based on *arg* id. attested in Italo-Albanian < PALb \**arga* related to Arm *orfil* 'louse' and its more problematic cognates Skt */iksci* 'nit', Lith *erke* 'tick' (MEYER *Wb.* 15; BUGGE *Beitrag* 17). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 99, 329; HERMANN *KZ* XLI 48; PISANI *Saggi* 120; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 136; POKORNY I 335; ANTTILA *Saw.* 106; MAYRHOFER III 100; FRAENKEL 122; cABEJ *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 *ausra* 'dawn', Gk *goic* id. and the like. The verb *err* 'to keep smb. till late in the night'

is a denominative. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 96-97; *Alb. St.* IV; JOKL *Studien* 21 (to Gk *gpe13og* 'darkness of the underworld'); FRISK I 605-606; FRAENKEL 27; *CABEJ St.* 1166-167 (analyzes *err* as consisting of the prefix *e-* and a root identical with *re* 'cloud').

*esull* adv. 'on an empty stomach'. Another variant is *esull*. A compound consisting of a privative *e-* < PAIb \**a-* < IE \**rj-* and the root identical with *sille* (PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 45). 0 CAMARDA I 131 (to Gk *keko*; 'courageous, brave'); MEYER *Wb.* 97 (comparison with *egjell*); *CABEJ St. I* 167 (agrees with PEDERSEN).

*esh m*, pl. *eshe* '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 *ixivo*; id., OHG *igil* id., Lith *d̃ỹs* id., Slav \**di*, id. 0 STIER *KZ XI* 141 (borrowed from Slavic); MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 97 (follows STIER); TRAUTMANN *BSWb* 73; SELIKEV *Slay. naselenie* 199; FRAENKEL 118; KLUGE 324; FRISK I 601; *CABEJ St.* VII 266; TRUBACEV *ESSJa VI* 37; SvANE 142.

*eshke f*, pl. *eshke* 'kidney'. Singularized plural of an earlier form \**eshke* continuing \**alfka*. The latter continues IE \**oid-ska* to be compared with Slav \**jbsto* id. and ON *eista* 'testicle' < \**oidsto-*, derived from IE \**oid-* 'to swell' (PEDERSEN *KZ XXXII* 273). For the semantic development cf. Slav \**pvjbka* 'kidney' from IE \**peu-t-* 'to swell'. As to Alb *veshke*, it is a contamination of *eshke* and *veshje* (OREL *ZfBalk XXIII/1* 74). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 97 (to *eshke*); SCHEFTELOWITZ *KZ LVI* 209 f. (to Lat *inguen* 'groin'); *CABEJ St.* II 283-284; POKORNY I 774; TRUBACEV *ESSJa VIII* 242-243.

*eshke f* 'fungus'. Borrowed from Lat *est* ('food, bait' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 97). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrif3*<sup>2</sup> 11044; HAARMANN 123; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII/1* 74.

*eshth f*, pl. *eshta* 'fiber, muscle fiber'. Etymologically identical with *ashte* as a variant of its singularized plural. 0 *CABEJ St.* VII 192.

*et m* 'thirst'. From PAIb \**alk-ti-* closely related to Lith *dlkti* 'to be hungry', Slav \**olkati* id., OHG *ilgi* 'hunger'. 0 CAMARDA 115 (to Gk *ocieog* 'fire'); MEYER *Wb.* 97 (to IE \**eus-ti-* or to Gk *ati&*) 'to demand, to beg'; TAGLIA-

VINI *Dalmazia* 114; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP III* 161-163 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); FRAENKEL 8; el ACMEP 11 452; *CABEJ St. I* 167-168 (accepts MEYER's view).

*ethe* pl. *lever*. Singularized plural of \**eth*, a derivative in *-th* based on PAIb \**aida*. The latter is etymologically close to Skt *edhas-* 'firewood, fuel', Gk *Ai*; 'fire' and the like (CAMARDA I 77; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP III* 162-163). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 93 (to IE \**eus-* 'to burn'); BARK *ARSt. I* 112 (related to *athet*); MANN *Language XXVI* 381 (to Lat *aestas*); FRISK I 37; MAYRHOFER I 128; PISANI *Saggi* 120 (borrowing from Gk *ai.06*; 'burning'); *CABEJ St. I* 168-169 (follows BARK); FRISK I 37-38; HULD 62; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 168-169.

## E

*ej aj aor. ejta djta* 'to blow, to swell'. From PAIb \**anj* related to Skt *dniti* 'to breathe', Goth *us-anan* 'to blow out' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 5, *Alb. St.* IV 67). 0 CAMARDA I 57 (to Gk *oiSge*), *oiSticco* 'to swell', 111 (to Gk *aw* 'to blow'); JOKL *Studien* 37; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 210 (follows MEYER); POKORNY I 39; MAYRHOFER I 33; FEIST *Goth.* 538; HAMP *Laryngeals* 131; *CABEJ St.* 1171 (follows CAMARDA I 57); OLBERG *KZ LXXXVI* 128; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 256-257; HULD 63; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44 (repeats *CABEJ*'s etymology); DEMIRAJ *AE* 171-172.

- **ambel** adj. 'sweet'. From PAIb \**amla* identical with Skt *amid-* 'sour' (TOMASCHEK *ZOG* 1875, 529). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 10 (agrees with TOMASCHEK); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 69; MAYRHOFER 146; MANN *Language XVII* 19 (reconstructs \**arplos*); *CABEJ St. I* 170 (to *mjalte*), VII 230; DEMIRAJ *AE* 169-170 (against TOMASCHEK on semantic grounds; reconstructs \**Hen-m(e)lit-*).

**en& ande f** 'appetite, desire, wish'. From PAIb \**antes* derived from \**anja* > *ej* (MEYER *Wb.* 5-6) and specifically close to Gk *iirrat* • *aveuot*, avian *itvosic*, Hes. (DEMIRAJ *AE* 170). 0 BARK *ARSt* 119 (reconstructs \**hande* < \**khonti* with further fantastic comparisons); *CABEJ St. I* 170-171 (follows MEYER but, at the same time compares *ende* with Hitt *anza-desire*); MANN *Comp.* 21-22 (comparisons with non-existent Tokharian and Irish forms).

(T) ende f. 'fine flour'. From PAIb *\*anta* derived from *\*anja* > *ej* and, thus, historically identical with *ende* 'desire'. 0 MANN *Language* XVII 22; cABEJ *St.* I 171 (to *end*).

**Šnderr anderr** f, pl. *endrra* • *andrra* 'dream, sleep'. Continues PAIb *\*and(*' with an epenthetic *-d-*. Identical with the Indo-European word for sleep *\*over-* (Gk *Ovap*) *\*onerio-* (Gk *6veipov*, *Ovetpo*; 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. *dhender*. 0 MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 101; BARK *ARSt* 1-2 (to Gk *goapeov*, aor. 'to sleep', Lat *dormia* 'to sleep'); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 133, *LKUBA* 6; MANN *Language* XVII 19; PISANI *Saggi* 121; PORZIG *Gliederung* 179; FRISK II 393; CHANTRAINE 802; POKORNY 1779; ANIMA *Schw.* 127; HAMP *AION-L* 11/2 187; cABEJ *St.* VII 208, 230, *Etim.* IV apud DEMIRAJ (to *nder*); HULD 63; CLACKSON *LR* 236; OREL *FLH VIII/1-2* 39 (on PAIb *\*-rj-* > *-rr*), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; DEMIRAJ *AE* 171 (to Skt *nidrci* '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). 0 TREIMER *KZ* LXV 96 (from IE *\*spel-* 'to break'); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1050; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 125; cABEJ *St.* I 172; LANDI *Lat.* 126.

(G) **faj** aor. *fang* 'to fill, to cram, to surfeit'. From PAIb *\*spanja* related to Gmc *\*spannjan* 'to tighten' with a secondary expressive gemination (ON *spenna* and the like). 0 BARD *ARSt* I 22-23 (to Skt *part:142-`M'* and the like, with *f-* < *\*ph-*); KLUGE 720; cABEJ *St.* I 172 (to dialectal/*engem* 'to eat much').

**fajke** f, pl. *fajka* 'side (of a ship)'. Borrowed from the Dalmatian reflex of Lat *facies* (cABEJ *St.* I 172 - 173). Note a derivative in *fajkoj* 'to polish'. 0 CAMARDA II 70 (treats *fajkoj* as a variant of *ferkoj*); MEYER *Wb.* 103 (follows CAMARDA); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 550.

**fajkua fajkue** m, pl. *fajkonj* 'falcon'. Borrowed from *LatfalcOnem* id. (CAMARDA II 70; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 24; MEYER *Wb.* 98). 0 STIER *KZ* XI 136; MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 137, *LKUBA* 306; MIKAESCURESEE IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 125; cABEJ *St.* 173; LANDI *Lat.* 143, 145.

**fal** aor. a/a 'to give, to present, to offer', refl. 'to set (of the sun)'. From PAIb *\*spala* etymologically connected with Gk *acpalco* 'to overthrow' (CAMARDA I 79). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 98 (borrowed from Slav *\*xvaliti* 'to praise'), *Alb. St.* IV 61; SELISTEV *Slay. naselenie* 192 (follows MEYER); HAMP *LB* XIV/2 15 (follows MEYER); BARK *ARSt* 24, *Hymje* 35 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); FRISK II 827-828; cABEJ *St.* I 173-174 (follows CAMARDA).

**fame** f 'good reputation, rumor'. Borrowed from Lat *fama* '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). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 535; HAARMANN 125; cABEJ *St.* I 174; LANDI *Lat.* 137.

**faqe** f, pl. *faile* 'face, cheek'. As many other feminines of this morphological type, *faqe* seems to continue an earlier *\*fag*. Borrowed from Lat *facies* 'face' (RASK apud HULD 63; GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 26; CAMARDA I 338; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 24; MEYER *Wb.* 98). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1041; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 124-125; HULD 63; LANDI *Lat.* 83-85, 149-150.

**fare** f, pl. *fare, fara* 'seed, semen, kin'. From PAIb *\*spara* < IE *\*spora* closely connected with Gk fem. (mope( 'seed' and further related to *\*sper-* 'to spill, to sow': Gk *csitEipw* id., *ankpi.ta* 'semen, seed' (BARD *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 *fare* (cABEJ *St.* I 175). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 100 (Germanic loanword, cf. *Langobfara* 'descendants, family, kin'); BARIC *ARSt* 24 (*faroj*) from IE *\*spher-* 'to kick with a foot'; TAGLIAYINT *Dalmazia* 114 (follows MEYER), *Origini* 295; POKORNY I 993; FRISK II 762-763; HULD 62-63; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352.

**fake** f, pl. *farka* 'smithy'. Borrowed from *Latfabrica* 'workshop' (MEYER Wb. 99). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifl* <sup>2</sup> 1 1054; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 124; CABO *St.* VII 280; LANDI *Lat.* 94, 111, 118.

**flashqe** f, pl. *flashqe* 'diaper'. A singularized plural of *\*flashqe* also attested as *fashe* 'diaper, stripe'. Borrowed from Lat *fascia* 'band, bandage' (MEYER Wb. 100). 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; cABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAARMANN 125; LANDI *Lat.* 120.

**fat** m, pl *fate* 'fate; bridegroom, husband, friend'. Borrowed from Lat *Punt.* Undoubtedly, *fat* 'fate' is identical with *fat* 'fate' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 25; MEYER Wb. 100) - a widely attested metaphor, cf. Alb *shorte* 'fate; spouse, wife' < Lat *sorte(m)* (cABEJ *St.* I 176-177). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1041; JOKL *Studien* 107, *LKUBA* 15 (*fat* 'bridegroom' borrowed from Goth *\*fadi-* 'master, lord'); BARD *ARSt* 24-25, *Hymje* 71 (arbitrary comparison with Skt *sphdyate* '(he) grows fat, increases'); PUDIC *IX Ling. Cong.* 862; MIFIAES(u *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 [e] in *fe* reflects a contraction of the intermediate *\*fee* (cABEJ *St.* I 177). The verb *fejoj* 'to betroth' is a late derivative of *fe* (cABEJ *St.* I 178). 0 MEYER Wb. 101 (from Ital *fe* id.), 106-107 (*fejoj* borrowed from Ital *fidare* 'to entrust'); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1045 (from Italian); MuiAES00 *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 126; LANDI *Lat.* 46, 133.

**feje** p1. 'nostrils'. A plural form of (*yell*, normally appearing in a phrase *fejjet e hundes* id. (cABEJ *St.* VII 224, 235).

**fele** f, pl. *fela* 'honeycomb'. Borrowed from Rom *\*favalia*, cf. *Italfiale* id. (MEYER Wb. 101). The homonymous *fele* 'piece, slice' is, in fact, a phonetic variant of *thele*. 0 TREIMER KZ LXV 98 (from IE *\*spel-*); cABEJ *St.* VII 235.

*femc* sting (of insects). A phonetic variant of *thimth*, *thimc* (JOKL *IJ XXIV* VII 217). 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* V 76 (to *themboj* 'to bore'); TREIMER KZ LVI 98 (connects *femc* with Lat *spina* 'thorn'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 8144; cABEJ *St.* I 178 (to *feme* 'awn).

**fern& femen** f, pl. *femra femna* 'woman'. Borrowed from *Latfemina* id. (CAMARDA I 122; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 25; MEYER Wb. 101). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 1 1044, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 115; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 126; JANSON *Unt.* 50.

**fend** aor. *fenda* 'to fart'. From PA1b *\*spenda* related to Skt *spandate* 'to shiver', Gk *6cpoc6gco* 'to shiver, to tremble'. 0 FRISK II 825; POKORNY I 989.

**ferr m** 'hell'. Borrowed from Lat *infernum* id. (MEYER Wb. 101). 0 SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 248; MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrij3* <sup>2</sup> 1 1049; MTHAES(u *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 131.

**ferrd** f, pl. *ferra* 'thorn, thorny bush'. From PA1b *\*spernei* derived from IE *\*sper-* 'spear, stick': Lat *spares* 'short spear', Gmc *\*speru-* 'spear' > ON *spkr* (cf. OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 147). Note a derivative *ferret* 'stalk, stem' (cABEJ *St.* I 179). 0 MEYER Wb. 101 (to *ther* 'to cut'), 102 (*ferrel* borrowed from Lat *ferula* 'fennel-giant'); JOKL *LKUBA* 217-218 (follows MEYER); TREIMER KZ LXV 99 (to *Wffern* 'talus, malleolus', Lat *sperma* 'to sever, to separate'); MANN *Language XXVIII* 37; WALDE - HOFMANN II 568; POKORNY I 990-991; ZALIZN' AK *Etimologija* 1964 225.

**fellige** f 'ignominy, shame'. A variant of this word seems to be *fellege* 'sloppy work'. The verb *felliq* 'to make dirty' also belongs here as a denominative. The form *fellige* is an irregular transformation of *fedige* 'tiredness, strain, work' borrowed from Ital (Venetian) *fadiga* id. 0 MEYER Wb. 102 (*fedige* < Venetian *fadiga*; *felliq* < Lat *fornicem* 'brothel'); PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 539; cABEJ *St.* I 180 (to *thelle*).

**remije** m/f, pl. *femije* 'child, family, spouse'. Borrowed from Lat *femina* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 24-25; MEYER Wb. 103). 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* V 76 (from Ital *femina* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 120; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV 11-2 15; cABEJ *St.* VII 280; HAARMANN 125; HULD 64; LANDI *Lat.* 80, 108, 126.

**fendyell** m, pl. *fendyej* 'awl'. A derivative of *fund*. 0 CAMARDA I 201 (to Gk *acp6v8uXoc* 'cervical vertebra'); MEYER Wb. 103 (to Lat *findere* 'to cleave, to split'); cABEJ *St.* I 180 (related to *femc*).

feng — fang m, pl. *fengje fangje* 'virgin land, land difficult to cultivate, lawn, meadow'. Borrowed from *Italfango* 'mud' (1VITKLoSich *Rom. Elemente* 25). 0 JOKL *Balkangerm.* 120-121 (from Goth *waggs* 'paradise' < \*'meadow'); PuDi( *IX Ling. Cong.* 862 (follows JoKt.); cABEJ *St.* I 180-181 (agrees with MIKLOSICH).

fergoj aor. *fergova* 'to roast, to fry'. Borrowed from *LatfrTgere* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 103). 0 MEYER-LCBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* I 1055; SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 260; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV 11-2* 16; HAARMANN 127.

ferkoj aor. *ferkova* 'to rub'. Borrowed from *Latfricare* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 103). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* I 1050; SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 260; cABEJ *St.* VII 198; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 16; HAARMANN 127; HULD 64.

fdrroj aor. *ferrova* 'to grind roughly'. Clearly connected with *ferrate* 'gruel' (borrowed from Rom \**farnata*) and seems to continue Rom \**farnare* related to *Lat farina* 'ground corn, flour'. 0 cABEJ *St.* I 182 (related to *ther*).

fie aor. *fica* 'to make soft'. Derived from an unattested \**fij* < PAIb \**spija* related to Skt *sphdyate* 'to become fat', Slav \**speti* 'to ripen'. 0 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. 0 BART( *ARSt* 25 (to Slav \**paporoth* id.); MANN *Language XXVIII* 40 (to Gk *iuthpi*; id.); FRISK II 611; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV 11-2* 22 (from Latin), 3-4 350 (from Gk *retOtg*); cABEJ *St.* VII 250; HAARMANN 126 (from Rom \**filicaria*).

(G) *fijan* m, pl. *fijane* 'child to be baptized'. A Geg church form of Rom \**filianus* (*Mix.LosicH Rom. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wh.* 104). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* I 1039; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 536; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 15; HAARMANN 126; CABEJ *St.* I 183; LANDI *Lat.* 75, 126, 133.

fik m, pl. *fij* 'fig'. Borrowed from *Latficus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wh.* 104). 0 MEYER-LCBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* I 1044; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia 116*; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV /I-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', *pykti* 'to be angry', Latv *peikt* 'to be spoilt'. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 26 (from *Italficare*); TREIMER *KZ LXV* 100-101 (to Lat *sprca* 'point, top'); FRAENKEL 525; cABEJ *St.* I 183-184 (to Swedish *spink* 'lean man', Norw *spiken* 'dry').

fill m, pl. *fij, fije* 'thread'. Borrowed from *Lat/num* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 104). The verb *fij/voj* 'to begin' is derived from *fill* as it is clear from *ze 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. *offal* (KRISTOFORIDHI 427). 0 MEYER-LCBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* I 1044, 1050, 1053; MANN *Language XXVIII* 39 (to Gk *orciXo*); MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 16; HAARMANN 126; IROKOV *ZFL XXIV/1* 14 (to OHG *spil* 'spear tip'); cABEJ *St.* I 186 (accepts KRISTOFORIDHI's explanation of *-fish*), IV 95-96; LANDI *Lat.* 142.

fink m, pl. *finke*. Recent borrowing from Germ *Fink* id. As to *sfinges* id., it comes from NGk *arcilyog* id. 0 CABE( *St.* I 185 (onomatopoeia or a cognate of Gmc \**finkan* \**finkjan* 'finch').

finje f, pl. *finja* 'soapwater, soap suds'. Historically identical with *thinje* (*CimoCHOw SKI LP* II 233), 0 BUGGE *BB XVIII* 166 (identical with *hie*); TREMER *KZ LXV* 101 (to OHG *spi5* 'spit'); cABEJ *St.* I 185-186 (to

fishkem *fyshkem* refl. 'to wither, to fade'. Based on the adjective *fishket* 'withering, dry'. Goes back to PAIb \**spakka* etymologically related to Lith *piakas, piakas* 'blister, fin, pimple', Latv *pusks* 'tuft'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 468 (together with its variant *veshkem vyshkem*, to Lat *vescus* 'small, weak, feeble'); JOKL *IF XLIV* 35-38; FRAENKEL 680; cABEJ *St.* I 186 (related to *fyell*).

fiShkel0j aor. *fishkellova* 'to whistle'. Belongs to a group of phonetic

variants such as *veshloj*, *feshelloj*, *frushkullij* and the like. All these forms continue Rom *\*fistulare* or *\*fisclare* (MEYER Wb. 112). 0 cABEJ *St. I* 186 (onomatopoeia).

fishnjar m, pl. *fishnjare* 'harpoon'. A more conservative variant is *fishnjar*, itself derived from *fushnje* id. The latter, or more exactly an earlier and unattested *\*fushnje*, was borrowed from Rom *\*fusicinia*, derivative of Lat *fuscina* 'trident' (MEYER Wb. 106, *Alb. St. IV* 60). 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 22; HAARMANN 127; cABEJ *St. I* 201 (on Old Albanian *fushqine* id.).

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

fide f, pl. *ffjale* 'word, speech, tale'. From PAIb *\*spe/Ct* etymologically connected with Goth *spill* 'story, fable', ON *spjall* 'story, speech', OE *spell* id., OHG *spel*, *spell* id. and Arm *araspel* 'fable' (OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 146-148; HULD 64-65). 0 MEYER Wb. 106 (borrowing from Lat *fabella* 'fable, short story, tale'); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrig* 2 1044; SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 252; TREIMER *KZ LXV* 103 (from *\*spelgo*, to *Latflagra* 'to flame, to blaze'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 116 (follows MEYER), *Origini* 190; ACAREAN *HAB I* 253-254; cABEJ *St. VII* 272; HAARMANN 84-85; MANN *Language XXVIII* 39 (on Alb *f* < 1E *\*sp-*); POKORNY I 985; HAARMANN 124; LANDI *Lat.* 50, 107.

flak aor. *flaka* 'to throw, to fling'. From PAIb *\*awa-laka*, derived with a prefix *\*awa-* from IE *\*lek-* *\*lak-* 'to bend, to jump': MHG *lecken* 'to throw back, to spring', Lith *lekiu*, *lekti* 'to fly', Latv *lekt* 'to spring, to jump' and the like (OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 1175). 0 MEYER Wb. 107 (to Lat *flaccus* 'flabby', Ital *fiaccare* 'to weaken'); BARK *ARSt I* 251 (to Gk *cupdcaco* 'to overthrow'); FRAENKEL 353-354; cABEJ *St. I* 186-187 (from *flake*; semantically, cf. Ital dial. *lampare* 'to throw on the ground, to drop' – *lampo* 'lightning' but the direction of derivation is opposite there).

flake f, pi. *flakera flakena* 'flame'. A back formation based on an unattested *\*flakull*. The latter is a borrowing from dialectal Rom *\*flacula* reflected in Ital *fiaccola* id., Rum *flacara* id. and replacing *facula* 'little torch'. 0 MEYER Wb. 107 (borrowed from Rom *\*flaca* metathesized from *\*facia* < *Latfacula*); PUSCARIU *EWR* 53; DESNICKAJA *Sravn.* 231

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

**flame** f 'cold (illness), epilepsy, cholera (of animals)'. Borrowed from Lat nom. sg. *flamen* 'blowing, blast' used metaphorically as Russ *povetrie* 'infection'. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27 (from Lat *flamma*); MEYER Wb. 107 (from *Italflemma* 'phlegm'); LA PIANA *Vocale* 50 (related to *flake*); TREIMER *KZ LXV* 101 (to Germ *flunk* 'nimble, quick'); cABEJ *St. I* 187-188; LANDI *Lat.* 103, 135.

**flas** aor. *fola* '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 PAIb *\*psala*, further related to *fable*. 0 MEYER Wb. 106 (from Latfabuki 'to speak', cf. in particular *Dalmfauilar*); ANTrILA *Schw.* 100; MIHAESCURESEE *IV/1-2* 22; HAARMANN 124; OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 146.

**flashket** adj. 'sluggish, lame'. Phonetic development of *\*plashket* continuing PAIb *\*plakska* identical with Lith *pldkkias* 'flat', Slav *\*plosb*, id. and, in particular, Slav *\*plom* 'flat, bad, evil, poor'. 0 BRUCKNER 419; POKORNY I 831-832.

**flat&** f, pl. *flatra* 'wing'. A singularized plural of *flete*. 0 cABEJ *St. I* 188 ("elementary formation" cognate with *flete*).

**fle fle** aor. *flete*, *ffjeta* 'to sleep'. From PAIb *\*awa-leja* etymologically connected with Slav *\*lek*, *\*lejati* 'to doze, to slumber' (OREL *FLH VIII/1-2* 46). 0 CAMARDA I 108-109 (to Gk (Ada° 'to crush'); MEYER Wb. 107-108 (borrowing from Latf/a 'to blow', with insurmountable difficulties in semantics), *Alb. St. IV* 67; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 544 f. (to Gk *ickivco* 'to lean, to bend' with Alb *f* < *th-* < *\*k-*); BARK *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'AtEVA *Etimologija 1981* 76; CABET *St. I* 188-189 (to Slav *\*lent*, 'laziness', Lith *Wm's* 'quiet').

**flege** f, pl. *flege* 'splinter'. From PAIb *\*awa-laga*, a prefixal derivative of IE *\*legh-* 'to lie' in o-grade, cf. Gk *Lixo*; 'ambush'. Derived from *flege* (as its singularized plural?) is *Heger*, *fregull* 'nostril, door-leaf', probably, reflecting a secondary influence of *flete* on its semantics.



0 JOKE *LKUBA* 149 (*tofluge*); FRISK II 111-112; CABEJ *St.* I 188 ("elementary formation" cognate with *flete and fluge*), OREL FORT. 79

**flete** f, pl. *flea* "wing, leaf". From PAIb *\*avva-lekta*, a prefixal derivative of IE *\*lek-* 'to fly': Lith *lekilt*, *lekti*, Latv *lekt*, OHG *lecken* 'to jump, to kick'. 0 CAMARDA II 192 (*to flutur*); MEYER *Wb.* 108 (borrowed from *Italfoglietta* 'little barrel'); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 1049; TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 117; SKOK *AArhSt* I 226 (borrowed from Lat fem. *foliata* 'leaved, leafy' - but the cluster *-li-* [lj] would yield Alb *-j-*); LA PIANA *Studi* I 104 (*to OHG blot* 'leaf' and the like); FRAENKEL 353-354; CABEJ *St.* I 189-190 ("elementary formation").

**fli fli** f, pl. *fli fli* 'sacrifice'. Identical with *fe/i*, *ferli* 'kind of pastry' (originally baked to celebrate baptism) and borrowed from Rom *\*firigilinum* (MEYER *Wb.* 103). 0 JOKL *Balkangerrn.* 121, *IF XLIV* 30-32 (borrowed from MGk *eiiXoyia* 'wafer, communion bread' - but how to account for the Geg nasal?); CABEJ *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. *flaturalis* 'blowing', cf. *flatara* 'blowing'. 0 CAMARDA I 161 (comparison with Lat *flare* 'to blow'); MIKLOSICH *Wander.* 23 (*to fryj*); MEYER *Wb.* 108 (borrowed from Rom *\*flatuaria*; on the other hand, connected with *fyell*); GIUGLEA *Dacoromania* III 587-589 (borrowed from Gk *\*ipkoniptov* based on (Aotoc 'bark'); SKOK *Glasnik SND* II 302 (borrowed from Rum *fluier* < Rom *\*vivulellus*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 341; ROSETTI *ILR* 1277; CABEJ *St.* I 190-191 (*to Geg f/uer* 'drawee'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 172 (against CABEJ).

**flok** m, pl. *floke* 'hair'. Borrowed from Lat *floccus* 'lock, flock' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 108-109). 0 MEYER-LOME *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 1045, 1054; TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 116-117, *Stratificazione* 84; MIH 'AESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 126; LANDI *Lat.* 103, 139.

**flori flori** m, pl. *f7orinj* 'gold; (pl.) golden coins'. Borrowed from MLat *florinus* 'gold piece' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 109). 0 HAARMANN 126; CABEJ *St.* I 191-192.

**floske** f 'layer (of snow)'. Borrowed from Slav *\*ploska* unknown in

this meaning in South Slavic languages. Cf., however, Bulg fern. sg. *ploska* 'flat' and SCr *ploska* 'flat vessel'.

**flug m** 'swing, zest, zeal'. Continues PAIb *\*awa-luga* that may be connected with IE *\*leug-* 'to break' (see *Huge*) or with *\*leugh-* 'to lie': Goth *liugan*, Slav *\*lgati*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 109 (borrowed from NGk *ipXoyoc* 'flame'); VASMER II 469; POKORNY I 686-687; FEIST *Goth.* 334; CABEJ *St.* I 192 ("elementary formation").

**fluge** f, pl. *fluga* 'shingle'. From PAIb *\*awa-luga*, a prefixal derivative of IE *\*eug-*, cf. Skt *rujciti* 'to break', Lat *lugea* 'to mourn, to deplore' 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 146-150 (*to luge*); TREIMER *KZ LXV* 102 (*to MHG splizen* 'to split'); MAYRHOFER III 64-65; WALDE-HOFMANN I 830-831; POKORNY I 686; CABEJ *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 *\*fluctulare*, a modification of *Latfluctuare* 'to move in waves, to move to and fro' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 109). 0 CAMARDA II 192 (related to *flete*); MEYER *Etym.* 92; CANDREA-HECHT *Romania XXXI* 310-311; CABEJ *St.* VII 244; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 33-39 (opposes the Latin etymology); IoNEscu *LR* 6 (1984) 476-479.

*fladis* aor. *filadita* 'to cool'. Borrowed from Slav *\*xolditi* id., cf., in particular, SCr *hladiti* (*SEL8ftv Slay. naselenie* 193, 306). 0 SvANE 175, 232.

**forbel** f, pl. *forbla* 'peelings, sweepings (of nuts), empty nut-shell'. Other variants are *formel* and *forle*. Borrowed from Lat *formella* 'small form' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). 0 CAMARDA II 64 (compares *forme?* with Gk *ipoptioc* 'basket'); MEYER *Wb.* 110 (derives *forbel* from *\*vorbel* < Rom *\*orbulus* and *formel* from Ital *forfore* 'scabs'); CABEJ *St.* 192-193 ("of unclear origin").

**forte** adj. 'strong'. Borrowed from Lat *fortis* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27; CAMARDA I 167). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 110 (from Ital *forte* id.); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrij3* <sup>2</sup> 1045; TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 117; CABEJ *St.* VII 281.

foshnje 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 *\*ftosh*, the latter being a borrowing from *Latfetus*, to *fetus* 'offspring'. 0 MEYER Wb. 100 (related to *fashqe*); BARD ARSt 23-24 (to Skt *phanas-* loam'); CABEJ St. VII 184.

fqinja Tn/f, *pilqinje* 'neighbor'. Borrowed from Rom *\*vicinius* based on Lat *vicfnus* id. (CAMARDA I 92; MIKLOSICH Rom. *Elemente* 71; MEYER Wb. 107). 0 MEYER-LUBKE Gr. *Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1048; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 157.

koll8 f, pl. *fqolla* 'flax ready for spinning; first combings of flax'. Another variant of this word is *fjolle*. Borrowed from MGk (paxtokri; 'handkerchief, napkin' (MEYER Wb. 107). 0 MEYER Wb. 106 (separates *fjolle* as a continuation of Rom *\*filedlum*); MEYER-LUBKE Gr. *Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1045; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 125; CABEJ St. I 193.

frac m, pl. *fracra fragna* 'biting cold, frost'. Singularized form of the original *\*frak* continuing PALb *\*awa-raka*, a prefixal formation etymologically related to Lith *raku*, *rakti* 'to peck open, to lance', Latv *rakt* 'to dig'. 0 JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 248 (reconstructs *\*ve-rak-fo-* related to OIr *diorain* 'to sprinkle'); SGGJa I 55; FRAENKEL 694; CABEJ 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*).

frasher frashdn m, pl. *frashera frashna* 'ash-tree'. Borrowed from Lat *fraxinus* id. (MIKLOSICH Rom. *Elemente* 28; MEYER Wb. 111). 0 MEYER-LUBKE Gr. *Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1048; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 16; CABEJ St. VII 244; HAARMANN 127; JANSON Unt. 51; LANDI Lat. 102, 124.

frashuall frashuell m 'haricot'. Borrowed from Lat *phaseolus* 'kind of bean' (CABEJ St. 1175) with a secondary epenthetic *-r-* (MEYER-LUBKE Gr. *Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1045). In Tosk the NGk (pcaloat id. was adapted as *fasul*. 0 HAARMANN 142; LANDI Lat. 78, 85, 93.

fre fre m, pl. *frere frena*, *frenj* 'bridle; grape-stalk; comb'. Borrowed from Lat *frenum* id. (MIKLOSICH Rom. *Elemente* 28; MEYER Wb. i 11). 0 MEYER-LUBKE Gr. *Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1044; MIHAESCU RESEE IV 11-2 16;

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

(G) fruer m 'February'. Borrowed from *Latfebruarius* id. (MIKLOSICH Rom. *Elemente* 25; MEYER Wb. 109). 0 MEYER-LUBKE Gr. *Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1054; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 125; CABEJ St. I 194-195; LANDI Lat. 28, 75-76, 127, 157.

frushkull m, pl. *frushkuj* 'whip'. A transformation of the original *\*fustull* borrowed from Rom *\*fustulum*, cf. Lat *fustis* 'knobbed stick, cudgel, club'. The variant *fshikull* is explained by the influence of *fshike*. 0 MEYER Wb. 112 (identifies this word with *frushkull* 'whistle'); TREIMER KZ LVI 104 (connects *frushkull* with Ital *frusta* 'whip'); CABEJ St. I 195 (onomatopoeia), 199.

frushkull f, pl. *frushkulla* 'whistle'. Another variant is *frushull*. A radical phonetic transformation of the original Lat *fistula* 'pipe, tube' (MEYER Wb. 112). 0 CABEJ St. I 195 (onomatopoeia).

fruth froth m 'measles'. Deminutive or collective in *-th* based on PALb *\*spruga* related to Skt *sphitirjati* 'to thunder, to rumble', Gk mpapay&l.toct 'to burst with a noise', Lith *sprdgstu*, *sprdgti* 'to break, to crack up' (MANN Language XVII 13). 0 MEYER Wb. 154 (related to *hurthe*), Alb. St. III 32; BARK ARSt, I 29; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 242; FRAENKEL 882-883; FRISK II 828; MAYRHOFER III 545-546; TICHY *Onom.* 177-181; CABEJ St. I 195 (*f-ruth* related to IE *\*reudh-* 'red').

fryj fryj aor. *fryva*, *fryjta fryna* 'to blow'. Continues PALb *\*sprugnja* etymologically connected with Lith *spragstu*, *sprfigti* 'to escape, to get out', Slav *\*prygati* 'to jump, to spring'. The noun *fryme* 'breath' is derived from *fryj*. 0 CAMARDA I 112 (to Gk nvico 'to blow'); BARK ARSt. I 26 (reconstructs *\*sphrugnio*, to Gk cscpapa\*I.tai 'to burst with a noise'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 98; LA PIANA *Studi* I 94; MANN Language XVII 15 (to Gk anotipw), XXVIII 37; FRAENKEL 883; CABEJ St. I 195-196; VASMER III 390-391; HULD 65.

fryt m, pl. *fryte* 'fruit'. Borrowed from *Latfractus* id. (MIKLOSICH Rom. *Elemente* 28; MEYER Wb. 112) through the intermediary stage of early Alb *\*frajt*. 0 MEYER-LUBKE Gr. *Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1054; SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 259; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 127; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 39-41; LANDI Lat. 121, 148.

(G) fshaj aor. *fshana* 'to sigh'. Other (secondary) variants are *mshilj* and *shaj*. Goes back to PAIb \**puSanja* related to Lith *pšskinti* 'to puff', *puške'nti* 'to splash', Slav \**pyxati* 'to blow, to puff' and the like. 0 MEYER Wb. 356 (to *psheretij*); XHUVANI BISHk 111/4 95-97 (to *shemoj*); CIMOCHOWSKI LP II 321-322 (analyzes *-shaj* as a prefixal form of \**and-* 'to breathe, to blow'); FRAENKEL 680; VASMER III 421; HAMP LP XXVIII 78 (follows CIMOCHOWSKI but thinks *sh-* < \**ups-*, compares *fshaj* with OIr *osnad* 'sigh' < IE \**hupstxanH-*); cABEJ St. I 196 (from *ofshe* 'ouch!').

fshat m, pl. *Matra fshatna* 'village'. Borrowed from Lat *fossatum* 'ditch', \*'surrounded by a ditch' > 'camp' continued in Rum. *Fat* 'village', cf. also NGk (popooatov 'army' (LACEA *Dacoromania* I 253-255; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch. T 17*). 0 MEYER Wb. 112-113 (from Rom \**massattim* based on late Lat *massa* 'country estate'); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1041, 1049; GIUGLEA *Dacoromania* II 642 (reconstructs Rom \**fiAdtutn*); BARD ARSt I 76-77, *Hymje* 66 (derives (*shat* from IE \**ambhi-sed-*, cf. Slay. \**beseda* 'conversation, feast' < \*'sitting around'); TREIMER *Slavia* III 456 (to Gk *Ocat*; 'mud'?!); JOKE 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 *Mat* from IE \**ambhi-sek-ti-* around'); SANDFELD 71 n. 1.; BOJAN *CL XV II* 73-79; ROSETTI *RRL* 1 (1972) 91, *Etudes* 217; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 30; HAARMANN 126; cABEJ St. I 196-198 (links *f-shat* to *shatoj*); LANDI *Lat.* 40-42, 128, 140.

fshah mshef aor. *fshaha mshefa* 'to hide'. In Geg, there exist also variants *mcel*, *cef*. This prefixal verb continues PAIb \**skepska* etymologically connected with Gk *κεκρυφαίνω* 'to cover, to shield, to screen' (JOKL *IF* XXX 192-195). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 250; FRISK II 724; cABEJ St. I 198 (follows JOKL).

fshij meshij aor. *fshiva meshiva* 'to brush, to sweep'. A prefixal verb derived of the root attested in *shij*. 0 MEYER Wb. 114 (to OHG *bes(a)mo* 'broom'); TREIMER KZ LXV 78; MANN *Language* XXVI 388 (to Gk 4i)(o); PISANI *Saggi* 124 (to Slav \**met()* 'to sweep'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 173.

fshika f, pl. *fshika* 'blister, bubble, bladder, bruise'. Another variant is *pshike*. Borrowed from Lat *vesica* 'bladder' MTHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21). 0 HAARMANN 156-157.

ftek aor. *fteka* 'to think over, to consider'. A prefixal 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 *ventildre* in its metaphoric meanings: 'to set in motion, to bring forward'. 0 JOKL *IF* XLIII 63-64 (to *shjtjell*); cABEJ St. I 199 (metathesis of *ftilloj* id. related to *fill*).

ftoh ftof aor. *ftoha ftofa* 'to cool, to make cold'. The verb goes back to PAIb \**uwa-taja* (with privative/negative \**awa-*). As to \**taja*, it is identical with Slav \**taj*, *o*, \**tajati* 'to melt', Osset *tajyn* id. and other reflexes of IE \**td-*. Note that Osset *dajyn* 'to wet' < Iran \**ava-td-* forms a full correspondence of *ftoh*. Adjective *ftohet* 'cold' and noun *ftohte* 'cold, frost' are late derivatives (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 45-46). 0 CAMARDA I 63 (to Gk *irt6660*) 'to shrink (from)'); MEYER Wb. 113 (secondary verbal stem based *oriftofte* < \**ve-top-te*, to IE \**tep-* 'to warm': Skt *tciputi* 'to make warm, to heat', Lat *teped* 'be warm' and the like); PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 325 (inchoative \**-sk-* > *-h-*), *Kelt. Gr.* 1 92; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 103, LKUBA 126 (*f-* < \**au-* in *ftoh*), *Melanges Pedersen* 143; TREIMER KZ LXV 79; VASMER IV 30-31; POKORNY 11053-1054; HULD 65; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 358-359; ABAEV III 223; DEMIRAJ *AE* 173-174 (against OREL; suggests a metathesis of \**ipo-* > \**pto-* > \**fto-*).

ftoj aor. *ftova* 'to invite'. Borrowed from Lat *invitare* id. (MEYER Wb. 113). 0 MmikeEscu *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 131.

ftua ftue m, pl. *ftonj* 'quince'. Borrowed from Rom \**cotOneum* id., namely, 'Cydonian apple' (CAMARDA II 63; MEYER Wb. 113). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20 (from *cydonium*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* I 1046, 1050, 1054; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 120; Di GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 42-45; LAND! *Lat.* 120-121.

ftuje f, pl. *Nit'* 'one year old she-goat'. Other variants are *ftule*, *vetule*. Borrowed from Rom \**vitulea*, cf. Lat *vitulus* 'calf, foal' (MEYER Wb. 113). 0 PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 536; WEIGAND 21 (derived from *vjet*); GRAUR *SCL* VII/3-4 276-277 (borrowed from Rum *vatui* 'one year old male kid' which continues the substratum word \**wet-* 'year'); cABEJ 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). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif*<sup>2</sup> I 1046; MIHAESCU *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 *fuldre* 'to prop up, to support, to make strong' (MEYER *Wb.* 114). 0 BARD *ARSt* 25 (to Latv *speks* 'strength').

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

furke f, pl. *furka* 'distaff, fork'. Borrowed from Lat *furca* 'fork' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28-29; MEYER *Wh.* 114). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 120, *Origini* 190, 239; CimocHowsKi *LP* IV 190; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; ROHLFS *Spr.* 117; HAARMANN 127.

**furr** m, pl. *furre* 'oven'. Another variant is *furre*. Borrowed from Lat *furnus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 114). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif*<sup>2</sup> I 1049; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 127; LANDI *Lat.* 114.

furrik m, pl. *furriqe*, *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 *Latfornicem* 'arch, vault'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 115 (uncertain comparison with *furr*); JOKL *AARhSt* I 39-41 (to *fare*); cABEJ *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 *put5* 'to trim, to prune', Tokh A, B *putk-* 'to divide'. 0 CAMARDA I 132 (to Gk (pimp at 'to grow'); TREIMER *KZ LXV* 107 (to Lith *spdudyti* 'to smooth with, to mash'); WALDE-HOFMANN II 393-394; VAN WINDEKENS I 397.

**fushe** f, pl. *fusha* 'plain, open field, meadow'. Borrowed from *Latfossa* 'ditch, trench, gutter', also 'furrow', and originally describing an irrigated plot of land. Note that *fushate* 'campaign' was formed already in Albanian, probably, as a calque of Ital *eampagna* 'country, campaign'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 115 (borrowed from *Latpsum* 'pouring, poured'); BARI

*ARSt.* I 23 (reconstructs *\*plthyjam!*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 120-121; cABEJ *St.* VII 238, 277.

**fyej** aor. *feva* 'to offend, to insult, to make a mistake'. Identical with *fejej* 'to make a mistake' derived from *faj* (CABEJ *St.* I 201).

**fyell fyll** m, pl. *jyej*, *fej*, *fyje* 'flute'. Goes back to Palb *\*spali-* etymologically related to Gk *critactiov* 'cave, cavern' < \*'hollow'. 0 MEYER *Wh.* 108 (to *flojere*), *Alb. St.* V 76; BARD *ARSt* I 21-22 (to Gk *9vadicw* 'to blow', Lat *pustula* 'bubble, blister'); TREIMER *KZ LXV* 103 (to Lith *plict3i* 'rush, reed'); SKOK *Glasnik SND* II 297-299 (borrowed from Rom *\*vivula* 'viola'); FRISK II 765-766; cABEJ *St.* I 201-202 (from IE *\*spel-* 'to split').

**fyl** adj. 'hollow'. Akin to *fyell* (CABEJ *St.* 1202-203). Note *fycke* 'hollow, stupid' and *fyrbe* 'hollow' < *\*fylbe* derived from *fyl*. It is possible that *fvshite* 'thoroughly baked (of bread)' and *fyshter* 'Forsythia' also belong here (ibid.).

**fytm** 'throat, gullet'. From Palb *\*sputa* etymologically related to Lat *spun* 'to spit', *sputum* 'spittle', Gk *τctiw* 'to spit' and the like (BARI *ARSt* I 25). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 115 (borrowed from Lat *futis* 'vessel, pitcher'); TREIMER *KZ LXV* 112 (to Skt *sphavayati* '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; cABEJ *St.* VII 217, 258.

fytyre f, pl. *fytyra* 'face'. Borrowed from *Latfactura* 'formation, creature' (MEYER *Wb.* 116). 0 MIKLOSICH *ROM. Elemente* 305 (from Lat *facies* 'face'); BARIeAArbSt I 144; MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrif*<sup>2</sup> I 1055 (from Ital *fattura* 'magic'); TAGLIAVINI *St. albanesi* III - IV 222, *Dalmazia* 116 (follows MEYER-LOBKE); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 125; Di GIOVINE *Gruppo -et-* 45-49; cABEJ *St.* I 203 (agrees with MEYER); LANDI *Lat.* 68, 121.

## G

**gabonje** f, pl. *gabonja* 'eagle'. A suffixal formation in *-onje* based on *\*gabe*, related to *shkabe* id. The latter consists of the prefix *sh-* and

the same stein (JoKL *LKUBA* 244, 304). The source is PAIb *\*gaba* that seems to go back to a cultural *Wanderwort* also attested in Lat *capys*, *capus* 'bird of prey' (ibid.). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 140.

**gape** f, pl. *gaca* 'heat, hot ashes'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav *\*garbca*, diminutive of *\*garb* 'ash, fire'. 0 JOKL *Studien* 21 (from IE *\*glor-ti-a*, to *\*guher-* 'to be hot'), ZONF X 186; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 48; cABEJ *St.* VII 234; DEMIRAJ *AE* 174-175 (borrowed from Turk *garra* 'shining' or *kor*).

**gagac** m, pl. *gagace* 'stammerer'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav *\*gagacYb* derived from *\*gagati* 'to cackle, to shout', cf. in particular South Slavic reflexes: Maced *gaga*, SCr *gagati*.

**gajge** f, pl. *gajga* 'kind of nut'. Borrowed from a diminutive Slav *\*galbka* derived from *\*gal'a* 'lump, pebble'.

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

**gak** m, pl. *geqe* 'boar'. From PAIb *\*gauka*, a derivative of IE *\*eau-* 'dung, excrements', similar to Maced *youicv* (leg. *yoirrotv*)- by (Hes.) 0 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; cABEJ *St.* I 203-204 (related to *hakoc*).

**galamsh** m, pl. *galamsha* 'lame person'. A prefixal derivative of *lemsh* (MEYER *Wb.* 119, 243). 0 VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 80-81 (from *\*gYou-* + *lam-sh*); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 107 (prefix *ga-*); cABEJ *St.* I 204.

**gale** 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*. 0 SELISEv *Slay. naselenie* 198; SVANE 146.

**ggind** 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. *garnule* 'heap'. A singularized plural of *garimie* id. going back to PAIb *\*gamula* and etymologically identical with Lith *gamulas* 'bale, lump', Slav *\*gomola* id. The metathetized form *magule* was borrowed to Rum *magurd*. 0 CIHAC I 152 (Rum *magus* from Lat *macula* = *maculum* 'bag'); MEYER *Wb.* 118-119 (to Slav *\*mogyla* 'tomb, hill'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 18-19 (to Slav *\*mogQ* 'I can'); SCHWARZ *AfslPh* XLI 139 (borrowed from early Proto-Slavic *\*magula*); VALEK *CMA/Z* 14 (to Pre-Rom *ma-* and Slav *\*gora* 'mountain'); aAHMATOV *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 VSJa* 40; TRUBAeEV *ESSJa* VII 18-19; OREL *OLA* 1981 301-306 (a suffixal derivative of IE *\*dhRham* 'earth').

**gand m** 'accident, vice, defect'. From PAIb *\*ganda* further connected with Lith *gafidas* 'rumor', *gafidinti* 'to frighten', Latv *gafidet* 'to spoil'. 0 HELBIG 61, 121 (connected with *genjej* 'to deceive', of Italian origin); FRAENKEL 138-139; cABEJ *St.* I 204 (identical with *gane*, participle of *gas*, cf. *ngas*); AJETI *ZfBalkV* 12 142-143 (*gandoj* from SCr *ganuti*).

**gangull** adv. 'whole; poached (of egg)'. Goes back to PAIb *\*gangula*, a suffixal derivative of *\*ganga* connected with Lith *gdnga* 'movement', *gdngyitis* 'to move'. 0 MANN *Language* XXVI 382 (to Gk *Toraoc*); FRAENKEL 134.

**garbe** f, pl. *gat-be* 'flower-pot'. A singularized plural of the original *garbe* going back to PAIb *\*gar(i)ba*. As the Slavic word for 'pot' *tomb* derived from the name of 'oven' *\*g7,rtm* and further from IE *\*Ozer-* 'to burn', the Albanian lexeme is derived from the same Indo-European root. 0 TRUBACEV *ESSJa* VII 210-211, *Rem. term.* 190-201.

**garbe** f, pl. *garha* 'notch, nick'. Goes back to PAIb *\*garha* etymologically related to OIr *gerbach* 'wrinkled', ON *korpnā* 'to get wrinkled',

OPrus \**garbis* 'mountain', Slav \**gsrbs* 'hump' and the like (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). 0 TRAUTMANN *BSIWb.* 78; FRAENKEL 135; SLAWSKI *SEP I* 256.

**gardh** m, pl. *gardhe, gjerdhe* 'fence'. Continues PAIb \**garda* related to Goth *gards* 'house', Lith *gafdas* 'fence', Slav \**gordb* 'town, fence' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 119-120, *Alb. St.* III 9, 72). Geg *gardhen* 'croze' is derived from *gardh*. Rum *gard* is an early Albanian loanword. 0 WEIGAND *BA IV* 26-27 (borrowed from Slav \**gords*); SKOK *Slavia III* 115 (follows WEIGAND); FEIST *Goth.* 197-198; SELIKEV *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; TRUBATeV *ESSJa VII* 37-38; cABEJ *St. I* 205; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 147; MURATI *Probleme* 130; DEMIRAJ *AE* 175.

**Bare** f, pl. *gara* 'competition, race'. Continues PAIb \**gara* probably connected with Gk *xaipui* 'to rejoice' and its derivatives, cf. in particular Gk *gale* 'joy of battle; battle, fight'. Together with *xocipco*, *gare* belongs to IE \**Vier-* 'to wish, to feel inclination'. 0 POKORNY I 440-441; FRISK II 1062-1064.

**gargull** adv. 'full'. From PAIb \**garg-ula* related to Lith *gafgalas, gargolas* 'thickening, knotted thread, thread' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). 0 FRAENKEL 134.

**gargull** m, pl. *garguj* 'starling'. A more rare variant is *garbull*. The source of this loanword is Rom \**galbulus* 'blackbird' (MEYER *Wb.* 119). 0 MTHAESCu *RESEE IV/1-2* 26 (from Lat *galgulus*); HAARMANN 128; cABEJ *St. I* 206.

**garris** aor. *garrita* 'to neigh'. Borrowed from an expressive verb, Slav \**gavbriti* \**gavbrati* 'to tease, to spoil', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *gavr'a*, SCr *gavrati*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 119 (borrowed from. Lat *garrire* 'to chatter'); HAARMANN 128; TZITZILIS *LB XXX/2* 102; cABEJ *St. I* 206 (onomatopoeia); TRUBATeV *ESSJa VI* 112-113.

**gashtelle** f, pl. *gashtelle* 'knee-cap'. A suffixal derivative of *gashte* id.

that may be identified with *gashte* 'whetstone'. 0 CABEJ *St. VII* 244 (to *shjtjell*).

**gashte** f, pl. *gashta* 'whetstone'. From PAIb \**galsta*, a suffixal derivative related to Lith *galas* 'end', Latv *gals* id. A similar motivation in a word for 'whetstone' may be traced in Lith *bud* 'fungus; whetstone'. On the other hand, it is extremely tempting to compare *gashte* with Lith *gakisti* 'to sharpen', *galdstuvos* 'whetstone', Latv *galuoda* '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. 0 BOLA I 324; FRAENKEL 130; cABEJ *St. VII* 195, 244.

**gate** f, pl. *gata* 'heron'. From PAIb \**gara* continuing \**ghitcl*, a derivational variant of IE \**ghan-s-* 'goose', cf. Gmc \**ganta* < IE \* 0 MEYER *Wb.* 121 (borrowed from Rom \**ganta* 'stork, wild goose' > Fr *fame*, Prov *ganta* with serious phonetic and dialectal complications); PISANI *Saggi* 123; POKORNY 1412-413; MTHAESCu *RESEE IV 11-2* 31 (from Rom \**catta*); cABEJ *St. VII* 195; HAARMANN 116.

**gatuaj gatuej** 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* < \**podskova, -ua-* < \*-60u- (MIKLOSICII *Slav. Elemente* 19; JOKL *IF XLIX* 277) renders Slav \*-ova- with a bilabial v fu] (OREL *LB XXIX/4* 70). Rum *gata* 'ready' was borrowed from Albanian. 0 CAMARDA 1130 (to Gk *&yak* 'good, fine'); MEYER *Wb.* 121 (treats *gat* and Slav \**gotovs* '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; cABEJ *St. VII* 198; TRUBACEV *ESSJa VII* 70-72; OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 152.

**gath** m, pl. *gathe* '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 *Klitzchen* and E *catkin*.

**gavea** f, pl. *gavra* 'hole'. From PAIb \**ga-wara*, a prefixal derivative related to *varr* (MEYER *Wb.* 37). 0 CABEJ *St. VII* 184.

**gaz** m, pl. *gaze* 'joy, laughter'. From Lat *gaudium* 'joy' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 120). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1052;

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

gdhe gdhe m, pl. *gdhenj* 'gnarl, knot'. Another variant in Tosk is *gdhe*. From PAIb \**ga-daina*, a prefixal formation based on an adjective in \*-*no-* that belongs to the same root as Skt *ddyate* 'to divide', Gk *ocdopat* id. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 471 (links *gdhe* to *gdhend* and, further, to *vgje*); cABEJ *St.* I 207 (connects *gdhe* with *gdhend*); OLBERG 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* 0 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 1341-342; MAYRHOFER II 20-21; POKORNY I 175-176; cABEJ *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). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 546; cABEJ *St.* VII 242 (from \**ditnja*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 176.

gege m, pl. *gege* 'Geg, North Albanian'. An onomatopoeia of babbling, indistinct speech as contrasted to *shqipe*. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 193, 249.

gem m 'branch'. Together with *gemb* id., a phonetic variant of *gjemb* (*JOKE Studien* 26-28). The adjective *gemte* 'crooked' is derived from *gem*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 122 (from Ital *gambo* 'stem, stalk'); cABEJ *St.* I 207 (agrees with JOKL).

ger m, pl. *gera* 'squirrel'. From PAIb \**gaura* related to Lith *gaaras* 'hair, down, tuft of hair', Latv *gauri* 'pubic hair', Mk *gtiaire* 'hair' and describing the squirrel as 'furry'. 0 FRAENKEL 140; POKORNY I 397-398.

gelbaze f, pl. *gelbaza* 'liver illness of sheep caused by worms'. Another variant is *kelbaze*. Borrowed from Slav \**k7,lbasa* 'stuffed gut, sausage', a derivative of \*/(7,7,7, '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(e)*. Rum *galbeazei, calbeazei* is borrowed from Albanian. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 222 (to *yelb*); POGHIRC *1st. limb. rom.* II 338; ROSETTI *ILR* I 274; DESNICKAJA *Slay. jaz.* VIII 155 (to *kalb*); cABEJ *St.* VII 224, 233.

geloj aor. *gelova* '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 *galati* 'to drip, to drop, to ooze'. 0 KLUGE 574; MAYRHOFER I 329; POKORNY I 471-472.

galltis aor. *gelltita* 'to swallow'. Borrowed from Slav \**gthati \*ghltiti* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *ghltam* 'to swallow', SCr *gutati* 'to swallow', *gutiti* 'to squeeze', Slovene *goltiti* 'to swallow' (SVANE 254).

germ aor. *gerita* 'to creak'. An onomatopoeia of uncertain origin.

garbe f, pl. *gerba* 'hump'. Borrowed from Slav \**g7,rba* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 123), cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *ghrba*, SCr *grba*. 0 SELIG 'CEV *Slay. naselenie* 188, 195; SVANE 184.

gerbule f 'mange, scab, lepra'. From PAIb \**garb-uli-*. Derived from *garbe* 'notch, nick' and thus formally identical with Lith *garbitlis* 'hairlock'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 125 (to *gervish*); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 95 (derivative of *kalb*); FRAENKEL 154; cABEJ *St.* I 208 (agrees with LA PIANA).

gerc m 'convulsion, cramp'. Borrowed from Slav \**ghre'h* id., a variant of \**khre'l*, cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *grvc*, SCr *gay*. (MEYER *Wb.* 125). 0 MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 20; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 124; SVANE 184, 232.

gercak m 'jug, pitcher'. Another variant is *kercak*. Borrowed from Slav \**Ichre'agz*, 'clay vessel, pitcher', cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *krveagv*, Bulg *khre'ag*, SCr *krcag* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 190). 0 SELISC'EV *Slay. naselenie* 153; POLAK *ZfBalk* I 78; SVANE 74.

gdrdalle f 'old horse'. Derivative based on Slav \**ghrdh* 'ugly, bad; proud', cf. *gerditet*.



gerditet refl. 'to feel sickened, to be sick'. Borrowed from Slav \**ghrditi* 'to be proud', in some languages also - `to feel bad, to be sick' as in SCr *grditi*, Slovene *grdeti se* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 123). 0 SELISC' EV *Slav. naselenie* 191, 289; SVANE 182, 232.

gerdhate f, pl. *gerdhata* 'barren, rugged mountain chain'. As well as *gerdhele* 'boulder, clod' and *gerdhet* 'cellar', a derivative of *gardh*. 0 cABEJ *St.* I 208 (divides *gerdhet* into a prefix *ge(r)-* and a root *dhe* 'earth').

gerdhij aor. *gerdhiva* `to scratch'. Continues PALb \**grad-Tnja*, a denominative verb with \**grad-* < \**ghrudh-* related to OE *grindan* 'to grind', Lith *grendfiu*, *gresti* 'to scrape, to scratch'. 0 FRAENKEL 167; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 137-138.

gerfej 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 *ypcupEiov* 'record-office, registry'. 0 cABEJ *St.* I 208 (prefix *ger-* followed by *-fej*, plural of *fyell*).

gergalle f, pl. *gergalle* 'rocky area'. A singularized plural of \**gergalle* further related to *gargull* and continuing PALb \**garg-ala*.

gergas aor. *gergita* 'to irritate, to incite'. Borrowed from SCr *grgati* `to tinket, to putter, to pick (teeth or nose)'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 123 (onomatopoeia); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 125; cABEJ *St.* VII 242.

(G) &hand f, pl. *gerhane* 'card, hackle'. Another form is *kerhane*. Singularized plural of *kreher krahen* 'comb' (cABEJ *St.* I 208). Note the voicing of the initial *k-* as in many other examples.

&has aor. *gerhita* `to snore'. Borrowed from Slav \**Icbrxati* `to cough, to expectorate', represented in South Slavic by SCr *krhati* (MEYER *Wb.* 123-124, *Alb. St.* IV 103). 0 LA PIANA *Studi* I 70 (reconstructs \**gri-khak-io*), *St. Varia* 32-33 (from \**gher-ghark-io*, to Skt *gharghara-* 'thundering, ringing'); cABEJ *St.* I 208-209 (onomatopoeia or a cognate of *grahme*); SVANE 261.

gerk m, pl. *gerqe* 'Greek'. A parallel form of singular is *Org*. Borrowed from Slav \**gr bleb* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *gr-bk*, SCr *grk* (MEYER

*Wb.* 124). The feminine form *gerqinje* goes back to Slav \**grbkyni* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20). Cf. also *grek*. 0 SEIACEV *Slav. naselenie* 197; cABEJ *St.* I 213.

gerlac m 'windpipe'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav \**ghrdlacv.b* or directly derived from Slav \**g-brdlo* 'throat' (MEYER *Wb.* 124).

&las aor. *gerlata* `to bend'. Of obscure origin.

gerlice f 'turtle dove'. Borrowed from Slav \**gbrdlica* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *ghrlica*, SCr *grlica* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 125).

germadhe f, pl. *germadha* 'ruin'. A relatively early borrowing from Slav \**gromada* 'heap, mass', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *gramada*, *gramada*, SCr *gramada* (MEYER *Wb.* 124). 0 MANN *Language XVII* 12; SVANE 52.

germis aor. *germita* `to pick, to gnaw'. A denominative based on *grime*.

germoj aor. *germova* `to dig'. A denominative verb derived from *germe* 'letter' in its otherwise unattested meaning 'line, scratch' so that the original meaning of *germoj* would be `to scratch lines'. If so, *germe* must be considered a borrowing from ancient Greek rather than a loan from NGk 7p6m.ta the only meaning of which is 'letter' and which is reflected in Albanian as *grame*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 125 (to *gervish*), 128 (*germe* < NGk ypOwta); cABEJ *St.* VII 254-255.

germuq adv. 'crooked'. An expressive derivative of *germoj*.

gershas aor. *grisha* `to invite'. A variant of *grish*, aor. *grisha* id. Originally, from PALb \**grisa*, a zero grade of IE \**eer-*: Skt *gpjçiti* `to call, to invoke', Lith *girds*, *girti* `to praise' (Iola *IF XXXVI* 133). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 124 (to Lith *gaiVas* `sound'), *Alb. St.* III 7, 72; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 44; FRAENKEL 154; MAYRHOFER I 343; POKORNY I 478; cABEJ *St.* VII 201, 224; HAMP apud SCHRIJVER *BC* 143 (to Celt \**bardos* 'bard' < \**barsdo-* < \**ers-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 180.

gerdhet m, pi. *gersheta* 'plait'. A parallel form is *kershet*. The source of this word is Gk *Icopaarc6c* 'tasseled (hair)', cf. also *icopersonflp* 'barber'.

0 MEYER *Wh.* 124 (to Ital *grisola* 'wicker-work'); cABEJ *St.* I 209-210 (divides the word into *ge(r)*- and *-shet*, the latter to be compared with *shate*).

gdirsherd gdrshand f, pl. *gershere gershane* 'scissors'. Borrowed from Rom *\*carsania*, an irregular phonetic transformation of *\*caesania*, cf. Ital *cesoie* id. < Rom *\*(w)saria*. 0 CAMARDA I 66 (to IE *\*kers-* 'to cut'); MEYER *Wh.* 124 (reconstructs Rom *\*carpsaria* as a source); JOKL *LKUBA* 155-157 (to IE *\*sker-* 'to cut'); cABEJ *St.* VII 258.

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

gdrthas aor. *gerthita* 'to cry, to shout'. A variant of *kercas*, with the dialectal substitution *-th-* > *-c-* and the voicing of the anlaut. 0 CABO *St.* VII 258.

gerthel f, pl. *gerthela* 'crab, crayfish'. From PAIb *\*karts-ila* with a secondary voicing of the anlaut. Related to Skt *karka-* 'crab', Gk *Kapicivo*; 'crab, crayfish', Lat *cancer* id. 0 MAYRHOFER 1169; FRISK I 789-780; WALDE-HOFMANN I 151; POKORNY I 531.

gdrvish aor. *gervisha* 'to scratch'. Another variant is *gervisht*. As other derivatives in *-ish(t)*, this is a secondary formation based on *\*gervij*. The source of the latter remains unclear. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 125 (from Slav *\*grebg* 'to rake up').

gerresd f, pl. *gerresa* 'scraper'. From PAIb *\*garatja*, a suffixal derivative of an unattested u-grade noun *\*gara* based on *grij* (MEYER *Wh.* 130). Borrowed to Rum *gresie*. 0 JOKL *Studien* 9-10 (suffix *-ese*), 23-24 (related to OHG *krazzein* 'to scratch'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3342; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278.

genic aor. *gerrica* 'to scratch with nails'. A denominative verb connected with *gerrese*.

gdrryej gerryj aor. *gerreva* 'to scrape, to scour'. A denominative verb connected with *gerrese*. 0 JOKL *Studien* 23-24 (from *\*gred-*, cf. OHG *krazzon* 'to scratch'); MANN *Language* XVII 15, XXVIII 35 (to Gk

XpaiVO.)); cABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to various forms in *gerr-lker-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 177-178 (prefix *ge-*).

**gdshtalle** f 'splint, piece of wood'. A parallel form is *keshtalle*. Goes back to PAIb *\*ka-stalna*, a prefixal derivative related to *shtjell* (cABEJ *St.* I 210-211).

gdshenje f, pl. *geshtenja* 'chestnut'. Together with a parallel form *keshtenje*, borrowed from Lat *castanea* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 12; MEYER *Wb.* 191). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1042, 1048; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; cABEJ *St.* VII 279; HAARMANN 115; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 81, 97.

gdzof m, pl. *gezofe* 'fur, pelt'. Borrowed from Gk *yccosarco*; '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 *yavxaapog*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 125; JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 585 (borrowed from an ancient Balkan language to Albanian and Greek), JOKL *Beitrag*e (< *\*Ou-di-apos* 'bovine'); FRISK I 202.

gezhoje f, pl. *gezhoja* 'nut shell'. A singularized plural of *gezholle* which is a metathetic form of *zhgoll zhguall*. The latter is a prefixal derivative of *guall* (cABEJ *St.* I 211). 0 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'.

gilce f, pl. *gilca* 'sinew'. Other variants are *gi/ze kilze* 'groin, hollow of knee or elbow'. The word is derived from an unattested *\*kite* going back to PAIb *\*kid(*' and identical with Lith 'thickening, swelling', Slav *\*kyla* id. 0 FRAENKEL 306; TRUBAftV *ESSJa* XIII 262-263.

**gisht** m, pl. *gishta, gishtera gishtna, gishterinj* 'finger, thumb'. The Greek-Albanian and South Tosk form *glisht* leads to the reconstruction of PAIb *\*glista*. Related to Lith *gelti* 'to prick, to sting', *galas* 'end, tip' and

the like (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIX 393; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 125).0 BOPP 498 (to Skt *angu,shd-* 'thumb'); MEYER *Wb.* 141 (follows BOPP); BRUGMANN *IF* XI 285-286 n. 1 (to Gk (321/4,4tdca) 'to feel hens to see if they are fat'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 167 (to Skt 'finger, thumb'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 547 (to Slav \**gz,rsth* 'handful'), *Kelt. Gr.* I 79 (to Arm *ciwt* 'twig, finger'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 123, *Stratificazione* 88-89; PISANI *Saggi* 132; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 124; OREL *Zffialk* XXIII 147, *Etimologija* 1986-1987 222-224 (reconstructs \**glista* but connects it with *ngjis*); cABEJ *St.* VII 200; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; DEMIRAJ *AE* 178-179 (to W *bys*, OCor *bis, bes* 'finger').

glase f, pl. *glasa* 'bird's droppings'. Borrowed from Rom \**galliatia*, a derivative of Lat *gallus* 'rooster', cf. Rum *gainat* 'fowl's droppings' <\**gallinatia* (MEYER *Wb.* 122). 0 PUSCARIU *EWR* 60; MatAESCURESEE *IV/1-2* 16 (from Lat *gallmacea*); LANDI *Lat.* 137-138.

gledhe f, pl. *gledha* 'caress'. From PAIb \**glada*, a substantivized adjective related to Lat *glaber* 'smooth', OHG *glat* 'shining, even, smooth', Lith *gloclus* 'smooth', Slav \**glachki*, id., \**gladiti* 'to caress'. 0 FRAENKEL 158; WALDE-HOFMANN 1603; POKORNY I 432; TRUBACEV *ESSJa* VI 114-116.

glepe f, pl. *glepa* 'matter from eyes, rheum (in eyes)'. Also attested as *gelepe*. From PAIb \**ka-laipa*, derived from IE \**leip-* 'to smear with fat' (JOKL *LKUBA* 314). For the development of the prefix \**ka-* see *gloq*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 125 (thinks of OHG *chleben* 'to glue'), *Alb. St.* III 31; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to MHG *klepe*); POKORNY I 670-671; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 101 (adduces a dubious variant *gelepe*); OLBERG *IF* LXXIII 214 (against CAMAJ); OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 427; cABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to *Iyej*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 176-177 (to Gk *Xoitos* 'shell, scale').

eine f 'clay'. Borrowed from Slav \**glina* 'clay', cf. in particular South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *glina*, SCr *glina* (JOKL *Studien* 109). 0 SELISTEV *Slay. naselenie* 173, 308; SVANE 169.

g,liqe pl. 'knee tendons'. A suffixal derivative going back to \**geliqe* and further connected with *gilce*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 126 (borrowed from Slav \**kl'uka* 'stick, cane').

glister f, pl. *glistra* 'rainworm'. Derived from \**g/iste* 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 *geluq*. Goes back to PAIb \**ka-laukja*, 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 *loge* (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 427). 0 POKORNY 1687-690.

**g,llanik** m, pl. *gllanike* 'hearth stone'. Borrowed from Slav \**golvbnilcL* derived from \**golvn'a* 'charred log, charcoal', cf. Bulg *glavn'a*, SCr *glavnja* (JOKL *Studien* 108, *LKUBA* 315). 0 VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 19-20 (from Bulg *klanik* 'space between the fireplace and the wall'); BARB *AarbSt I* 216 (agrees with JOKL); SELI8GEV *Slay. naselenie* 149, 307; KRISTOFORI 64; cABEJ *St.* I 211-212 (supports VASMER); SVANE 56.

gllavine f, pl. *gllavina* 'wheel hub'. Borrowed from Slav \**golovina* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *glavina*, SCr *glavina* (DESNICKAJA *Slay. zaim. 11*). 0 SVANE 35.

**gobelle** f, pl. *gobella* 'deep place (in water)'. Together with *gobete* 'hollow', derived from \**gobe* continuing PAIb \**gauba*, further etymologically connected with Lith *gaabti* 'to cover, to wrap', Slav \**gbbnvti* 'to bend'. 0 FRAENKEL 140; TRUBACEV *ESSJa* VII 188-189.

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

**goce** f, pl. *goca* 'oyster'. Other variants are *guace*, *guaske*, *guaze* describing any shell. A derivative of *guall* (cABEJ *St.* I 212).

**godas** aor. *godita* 'to strike, to beat'. Borrowed from Slav \**goditi* used in a meaning unattested in South Slavic (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 126). 0 SVANE 229, 232.

**godine** 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). 0 MLADENOV *At.* 77; REITER *ZfBalk VIII* 1-2 125-129.

**gogel** f, pl. *gogla* 'ball, acorn'. A descriptive stem. 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* V 78 (to *goge*, an expressive word denoting Wlach'); JOKL *Studien* 24-25 (to OHG *chliuwa* 'ball', Lat *galla* 'gall-nut' and the like); DEMIRAJ *AE* 179 (reduplicated stem related to Arm *kalin* 'acorn', Gk I3Ocavoc id.).

**gogesij** aor. *gogesiva*, *gogesita* 'to yawn'. An expressive formation (MEYER *Wb.* 126). 0 DEMIRAJ *AE* 179 (to Gk )(Ocala° 'to yawn').

**goje** f, pl. *gOje* 'mouth'. As immediately clear from the variant *gole* preserving *-l-*, this element of the basic vocabulary is an Italian loanword from *Bola* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 126). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 31 (from Lat *gula*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 123.

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

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

**gomild** f, pl. *gomila* 'heap of stones, stone hill'. Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *gomila* id., SCr *gomila* id., metathesis of Slav *\*mogyla* (*Mix-LosicH Slay. Elemente* 19).

**gop m** 'vagina, vulva'. From PALb *\*gaupa* related to Gk Toni 'cave', ON *kofi* id. (VASMER *Alb. WortPrsch.* 21). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 89; FRISK I 335; POKORNY I 395-396.

**gorrice** f, pl. *gorrica* 'wild pear'. Borrowed from Slav *\*gorbnica*, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *gornica* (MEYER *Wb.* 127). 0 SELIK'EV *Slay. naselenie* 164, 309; SVANE 125.

**gose** f, pl. *gosa* 'water-hole'. Continues PALb *\*gatja* formally close to Slav *\*gatbl\*gatb* 'dam, pool' and Skt 'passage, way'. 0 TRUBA2CEV *ESSJa* VI 108-109.

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

Bulg *gost'a*, SCr *gostiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 127). 0 SELIK'EV *Slay. naselenie* 183, 191; MLADENOV *At.* 77; MANN *Language* XVII 12; SVANE 212, 233.

**gozhde** f, pl. *gozhde*, *gozhda* 'nail'. Borrowed from Slav *\*gvozch* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *gvozđ*, dialectal *gozd*, SCr *gvozđ* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 128). 0 SEIACEV *Slay. naselenie* 172; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 124; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 12; SVANE 30, 88, 229.

**gozhup** m, pl. *gozhupa* 'lambskin waistcoat'. Borrowed from Bulg dial. *kofťf*, *kufuf* 'leather-coat, fur-coat', Maced *kofuv* id. continuing Slav *\*kohtx7*.

**grabe** f, pl. *graba* 'erosion, hollowing out'. From PALb *\*graba* etymologically related to OHG *grab* 'grave', Slav *\*groin*, id. and other derivatives of IE *\*ghrebh-* 'to dig' (MANN *Language* XXVI 380). 0 POKORNY I 455-456; TRUBAC'EV *ESSJa* VII 133-134.

**grabis** aor. *grahita* 'to steal, to rob'. Borrowed from Slav *\*grabiti* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *grab'a*, SCr *grabiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 128). 0 BOPP *Gr. comp.* I 66 (related to Slav *\*grabiti*); JOKL *IF* XLIX 295; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 124; SELL *EV Slay. naselenie* 178, 191; MLADENOV *Ist.* 77; SVANE 233.

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

**gradine** f, pl. *gradina* 'garden'. Borrowed from Slav *\*gordina*, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *gradina*, SCr *gradina*. (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 128). 0 SELIK'EV *Slay. naselenie* 151; SVANE 58.

**grah graf** aor. *graha grafa* 'to spur on, to call, to roar'. From PALb *\*graska* etymologically related to Skt *grndti* 'to call, to invoke', Lith *girti* 'to praise'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 128 (to Goth *hrops* 'call' and the like); FRAENKEL 154; MAYRHOFER I 343; POKORNY I 478; CABEJ *St.* VII 200-201.

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

rowed from Rom *\*grarna* (> Spanish *grama*) replacing Lat *gramen* 'grass' (MEYER *Wb.* 128). 0 MIHAESCU RESEE IV/ 1-2 23; HAARMANN 128; LANDI *Lat.* 103, 147.

**grashine** f, pl. *grashina* 'vetch, sweet pea'. Borrowed from Slav *\*godina* 'pea', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *grabna* (JOKL LKUBA 185). SELIC'EV *Slay. naselenie* 162, 326; SvANE 104.

**grath** m, pl. *grathe* 'tooth, prong (of a device), bristle'. A deminutive derived from PALb *\*grata*, an o-grade noun related to *kerb*.

**grave** f, pl. *grava* 'cave, den, lair'. From PALb *\*grava* etymologically identical with Lith *griova*, Latv *grava*, *grava* 'ravine, precipitous valley', OPrus *grawmus* 'side' further connected with Lith griuti 'to decline, to collapse', Latv *grfit* id. (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkein* 261). 0 TRAUTMANN *APSpr.* 342; FRAENKEL 171.

**grazhd** m, pl. *grazhde* 'manger'. Borrowed from South-Eastern Slavic, cf. Bulg *graid* id. < Slav *\*gordji*, (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 129). 0 MLADENOV *1st.* 77.

**grebash** m, pl. *grebasha* 'rake'. Borrowed from Slav *\*grebash*, a derivative based on *\*grehv*, *\*grebti* 'to rake'. 0 TRUBAC'EV *ESSJa* VII 109-110.

**grehull** m, pl. *grehuj* 'thicket'. Derived from *greb*, a variant of *kerb*.

**grek** m, pl. *greke* 'Greek'. Borrowed from Lat *graecus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 124 (from Ital *greco*); SELISC'EV *Slay. naselenie* 197 (agrees with MEYER); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3*<sup>1</sup> 1043; MILETI6 *Sp. BAN XVI/9* 35-42 (from West Macedonian with \*7, > [d]); MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 128; cABEJ *St.* I 213 (follows MEYER-LOBKE); LANDI *Lat.* 71, 140.

**grelle** f, pl. *grella* 'deep place'. Continues PALb *\*gritld* with a secondary *e* < *\*i* based on the analogy with *i* < *\*e* in singularized plurals. PALb *\*gritla* is formally identical with Lith *gurklys* 'crop', OPrus *gurcle* 'throat', Slav *\*ghrdlo* id., cf. also *\*ferdlo* 'river-bed; opening'. Together with Balto-Slavic, the Proto-Albanian word reflects IE *\*0-Ilom* (OREL *Fort.* 79). 0 POKORNY I 475; TRUBAC'EV *ESSJa* VII 204-205.

**grep** m, pl. *grepa* 'hook, fish-hook'. A more archaic form of the word is preserved in its variant *gerjepe*. It continues PALb *\*ga-repa* related to *rjep*. Note *grerenc* < *\*grepc* id. as one of derivatives of *grep*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 129 (borrowed from Ital *grappa* 'hook'); SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 242; POGHIRC *1st. limb. rom.* II 3342; ROSETTI ILR I 277; cABEJ *St.* I 218 (on *grremc* as derived from *grem grep*).

**grere grenze** f, pl. *grera*, *grerez*, *grenez*, *grenza* 'wasp, hornet'. From PALb *\*graisna* < *\*grisna* that, despite its voiced anlaut, must be equated with Lat *crabrd* 'hornet', OHG *horna3* id., Lith *šiduo* id., Slav *\*shdenr*, id. 0 CAMARDA I 346 (to Skt *gar-* 'to swallow'); JOKL LKUBA 89 (singularized plural in Geg); KLUGE 316; MANN *Language* XXVI 32 (to Gk (3povrn), *Language* XXVIII 35; FRAENKEL 988; WALDE-HOFMANN I 283-284; POKORNY I 576; VASMER IV 432; cABEJ *St.* VII 258.

**greth** m 'flax-combings'. Derived from *kerb* (MEYER *Wb.* 204).

**gremerate** f 'beestings, clots of curdled milk'. Borrowed from Lat *glomeratum*, participle of *glomerare* 'to wind into a ball, to gather into a round heap', with assimilation of *liquida*. Borrowed to NGk ypauEvoira with a dissimilation of sonorants. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 130 (from Rom *\*cremoratum*), Alb. *St.* V 78-79 (goes back to Lat *glomus* 'ball'); PASCU *RE* 56 (from Arum *\*grumurata*); cABEJ *St.* VII 204, 258.

**grifshd** f, pl. *grifsha* 'jay, magpie'. Borrowed from Rom *\*gripsa* based on Lat *gryps* 'griffin'. The form *grizhel* 'magpie' seems to be a form of *grifshe*. 0 CAMARDA II 71 (from Gk *γίγυς* 'griffin'); MEYER *Wb.* 130 (from Friul *gripp* 'kind of bird' or Ital *griva* 'thrush'); cABEJ *St.* I 214-215 (related to *krip* 'hair', *krife*).

**grifshe** f, pl. *grifsha* 'arbutus, wild strawberry-tree'. A metaphoric use of *grifshe* 'mane' for a bushy tree. Other variants are *krifshe* and *kripce*. 0 cABEJ *St.* I 291-292 (to *krife*).

**grifshe** f, pl. *grifsha* 'mane'. Derived from *\*grife* id., a variant of *krife*.

**grigj** m, pl. *grigje* 'flock, herd'. Another variant is fern. *grigje*. Borrowed from Lat *gregem* id. (GIL FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente*

31; MEYER *Wb.* 130). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 11043, 1052: JoKL *IF* XXXVI 132-134; MIHAEScu *RESEE IV II-2* 23; HAARMANN 129; CABEJ *St.* I 215; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 85, 103.

**grip** aor. *griha* 'to sharpen'. From PAIb *\*greiska* etymologically related to Gk *xpiw* 'to rub, to anoint, to prick', Lith *grieru, grieti* 'to scoop cream from milk, to take hold of'. 0 MEYER *Wh.* 130 (identified with *grij*); FRAENKEL 168; FRISK II 1120; POKORNY 1457; CABEJ *St.* I 215-216.

**grij grij** aor. *griva, grijta* 'to cut into pieces, to gnaw, to eat away'. From PAIb *\*grinja* etymologically related to IE *\*Or-* 'to swallow': Skt *girdti*, Arm *eker*, Lat *vora*, Lith *geriit, gerti* 'to drink', Slav *\*ierti* (MEYER *Wb.* 130, *Alb. St.* III 8). Another derivative of the same root is preserved in *gris* 'to wear out, to tear'. 0 JOKL *Studien* 23-24 (to *gerryej*), *Slavia XIII* 321; LA PIANA *Studi* 166 (to *grure*); MAYRHOFER I 335; FRAENKEL 148-149; POKORNY 1474-476; WALDE-HOFMANN II 836; AFCVTH II 62-63; CABO *St.* I 216 (to Gk *xovSpoc* 'granule, lump (of salt)' and OE *grindan* 'to grind').

**grill m** 'lumpy soil, waste land, slate'. Borrowed from Lat *gracilis* 'poor (of soil)'.

grime f, pl. *grima* 'crumb, bit'. From PAIb *\*grima* derived from *grij*. 0 MANN *Language XXVI* 387 (to Lat *grumus* 'heap').

**grinde** f, pl. *grinda* 'quarrel'. A suffixal derivative of *grij* reflecting PAIb *\*grin-ta*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 131 (borrowed from Ital *grinta* 'wrath').

**gromesij** aor. *gromesita, gromesiva* 'to belch'. The Geg variant *gropesij* is phonetically closer to its source - *gropoj* 'to dig out', *grope* (CABEJ *St.* I 216-217). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 131 (based on Slav *\*gromi*, 'thunder'); MANN *Language XXVIII* 36 (to Latv *gremens* 'heartburn'); HAMP *LB XIV/2* 15 (follows MEYER).

grope f, pl. *gropa* 'pit, hole, grave'. Borrowed from OHG *cropa* (FRIEDWAGNER *ZfromPhil XXXIX* 234), probably via Rum *groapii* id. 0 CAMARDA 150 (to Gk *Kfroiirco* 'to hide'); MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 20 (from Slav *\*grobz*, 'grave'); MEYER *Wb.* 131 (same as MIKLOSICH); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 342; ROSETTI *ILR* 278; HAMP *LB XIV/2* 14 (early Slavic loanword); CABO *St.* VII 230; MuRATT *Probleme* 130.

groshe f, pl. *groshe* 'bean, lentil'. Borrowed from Slav *\*god!*, an adjective derived from *\*gorx7*, 'pea' (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wh.* 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 *groshe*. 0 SELISTEv *Slay. naselenie* 162, 326 (follows MEYER); JOKL *LKUBA* 184 (also agrees with MEYER), *Slavia XIII* 307-309 (related to ON *grautr* 'grits', Latv *grads* 'grain, corn'); CABEJ *St.* I 217-218 (etymologically connected with Slav *\*gorx%*).

grozhel f, pl. *grozhla* 'vetch'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav *\*grozdbl*, a derivative of *\*grozdt*, 'cluster'.

**grua grue** f, pl. *gra* 'woman, wife'. From PAIb *\*grawa* related to Gk *ypccii*; 'old woman' (CAMARDA I 39, 65; HAMP *KZ LXXVI* 276). The latter is further connected with IE *\*gera-* 'to become old'. 0 MEYER *Wh.* 132 (from IE *\*than-*, to *\*ten-* 'woman, wife' but *\*-n-* would be preserved in Geg); BRUGMANN *IF IX* 372 (on the derivational structure of *ypccii*); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 155; BARD *ARSt 71*; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 126, *Stratificazione* 115-116; LA PIANA *Studi I* 20; BARIG *Hymje* 49; MANN *Language XXVI* 382; FRISK I 324; POKORNY I 390-391; KODDERITZSCH *Festschr. Schmidt* 67-76; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 264; OLBERG *Festschr. Pisani 11* 685; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 381; HOLD 66; CABO apud DEMIRAJ (borrowed from *ypaiig*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 180-181.

**grumbull** m, pl. *grumbuj* 'heap, crowd'. Another variant is *grumull*. Continues PAIb *\*grumbula* etymologically comparable with Lith *gruff:bulls* 'hump, uneven place' and its cognates connected with *grliblas* 'uneven place, hillock' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 261). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 31 (from Lat *grumulus*); MEYER *Wb.* 132 (from Ital *grumolo* 'cabbage-stump'); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1049 (from Lat *gramu/us* 'little hill, hillock'); MANN *Language XXVIII* 31 (to Lith *gritmulas*); FRAENKEL 172-173.

**grurC grime** m/n 'wheat'. From PAIb *\*grund*, singularized pl. neut. going back to IE *\*Onom* 'grain' (CAMARDA 185; LA PIANA *Studi I* 66, 94): Lat *granum*, OIr *grdn*, Goth *kaurn*, Lith *firnis*, Slav *\*zbrno* (an adjective in *\*-no-* the meaning of which is clear from Skt *jarnd-*, *jirod-* 'old, decayed, withered'). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30 (borrowed from *Latgranum*); MEYER *Wb.* 133, *Alb. St.* III 8, IV 105 (agrees

with MIKLOSICH); MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrif3*<sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1054 (follows MEYER); BARB *AarbSt.* II 414 (links *grure* to Lith *grūdas* 'grain, wheat', Latv *grailds* id., OHG *gritz* 'groats'); MANN *Language* XVII 13; MAYRHOFER 1439, 443; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 8; FEIST *Goth.* 309-310; WALDE-HOFMANN I 618-619; VASMER II 95-96; FRAENKEL 1314; POKORNY I 391; ULBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 684; HAMP KZ LXXVI 278-279; cABEJ *St.* I 218-219; OREL *Koll. Ig. Ges.* 351 (\*-/H- > > -ru- after labials and labiovelars); JANSON *Unt.* 83-84.

**grusht** m, pl. *grushte, grushta* 'fist'. Early borrowing from (South-Eastern) Slav \**gmsth* 'handful, hand' (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 20; MEYER Wb. 133). 0 BARI( *ARSt* 32-33 (related to Slav \**g7,rsth*); JOKL *LKUBA* 33; SELISCEV *Slay. naselenie* 143; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 126; MANN *Language* XVII 13; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 14.

**gryke** f, pl. *gryka* 'throat'. From PALb \**griwika* related to IE \* 'neck': Skt *grivci*, Av *griva*, Latv *griva* 'river mouth', Slav \**griva* 'mane' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 438). 0 CAMARDA 65 (correctly links *gryke* to IE \**Or-* 'to swallow, to eat'); MEYER Wb. 133 (compares, without certainty, with Slav \**k7,rla* 'neck', ON *kverk* 'throat' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 89; MANN *Language* XVII 15-16; MAYRHOFER I 353-354; POKORNY I 475; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 114 (suffix *-ke*); TRUBAEV *ESSJa* VII 129-130; cABEJ *St.* VII 257.

**grrykd** f, pl. *grryqe* 'cool wind'. A derivative of *gerryej*: a cool wind described as a scratching one.

**guall** m, pl. *guaj* 'shell, skull'. From PALb \**gala*, a long-grade derivative related to the dialectal Indo-European word for 'head' (and, originally, also 'tumor'): Arm *glux* < \**gholu-*, Lith *golva*, Slav \**golva*. 0 ACAREAN *HAB* 1565-566; FRAENKEL 131-132; TRUBAEV *ESSJa* VI 221-222; POKORNY I 350; cABEJ *St.* VII 236.

**gugd** f, pl. *guga* 'baby shirt'. An expressive word.

**gul** adj. 'hornless'. Attested only in halo-Albanian. From PALb \**gula* further related to OHG *kalo* 'naked, bald', Slav \**goth* 'naked', \**guliti* 'to skin'. 0 MEYER Wb. 209 (to ON *kolla* 'hornless animal'); TRUBAEV *ESSJa* VII 15; DEMIRAJ *AE* 181.

**gulgoj** aor. *gulcova* 'to worry, to disturb'. Another form is *kukoj*. Borrowed from Rom \**colluctiare*, cf. Lat *colluctari* 'to struggle, to contend'. 0 MEYER Wb. 209 (uncertain comparison with NGk *icot6* 'to risk').

**gulm** m, pl. *gulma* 'worry'. A derivative of *gulcoj* continuing \**gulcm*.

**gulto** aor. *gultova* 'to get rid off'. Borrowed from Lat *colluctari* 'to struggle, to contend'. Cf. *gulcoj*.

**guile** f, pl. *guna* 'goatskin coat with hood'. Borrowed from MGk *yoiwa* 'fur' (MEYER Wb. 134-135). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 31 (from MLat *gunna*); MEYER-LuBKE *Gr. Grundrif3*<sup>2</sup> I 1046 (from Rom \**gunna*); MtHAEscu RESEE IV/1-2 23; ZALIZN AK VSJa 39; HAARMANN 129; ZOJZI *St. albanica* III 319-337; LANDI *Lat.* 101.

**gunge** f, pl. *gunga* 'bump, swelling'. From PALb \**gunga* etymologically connected with Lith *guga* 'hump, hillock', *gunga* id. (MANN *Language* XXVIII 34). 0 FRAENKEL 174-175; cABEJ *St.* I 219-220.

**gur** m, pl. *gure* 'stone, rock'. From PALb \**gura* continuing the zero-grade of IE \**gYer-* 'mountain': Skt *girl-*, Av *gairi-*, Lith *giria* 'wood', Latv *dziria* id., Slav \**gora* 'mountain, wood' (CAMARDA I 50; MEYER Wb. 135 with much uncertainty). 0 PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 318-319 (follows MEYER and reconstructs \**goer-*); ; 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; TRUBACEV *ESSJa* VII 29-31; HULD 66-67; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144; WATKINS *Dragon* 164 (from IE \**g':rH-u-*); DEMTRAJ *AE* 181.

**gurmac** m, pl. *gurmace* 'small round stone'. Derived from \**germ* based on *gur*.

**gurmaz** m 'gullet'. A derivative of *kurm* with a secondary voicing of the anlaut *k-*. Borrowed to Rum *grumaz*. 0 PUSCARIU *EWB* 63-64; PASCURE 56; POGHIRC *1st. limb. rom.* II 343; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278; KALU2SKAJA - OREL *SBJa Kontakty* 17-22 (comparison with Gk I36cποεπov throat').



gushe f, pl. *gusha* 'throat'. Borrowed from Rum *gusd* id. (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 127). 0 MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 20 (from Slavic); MEYER *Wh.* 135-136; PUSCARIU *EWR* 64; MEYER-LUBKE *ZfromPhil* XV 242; BARIC *ARSt.* 1 106-107 (from 1E *\*gursja*, related to *gryke*); *Pu5cARiu EWR I* 64; POGHIRC *1st. 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). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> 11046; MIH'AESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 12; HAARMAN 112; LANDI *Lat.* 91, 177.

gushterice f, pl. *gushterica* 'lizard'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *gufterica* id., SCr *gušterica* (cABEJ *St.* I' 220).

Bute f 'gout'. Borrowed from Rom *\*gutta* 'drop' used as a name of the disease, cf. Rum *gutd* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 31). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 136 (from SCr *guta* id.); PUSCARIU *EWR* 65; MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> 1 1046 (same as MIKLOSICH); MIHAESCURESEE IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 129; cABEJ *St. I* 220 (follows MEYER-LUBKE; 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*, *gelaj* require the reconstruction of PA1b *\*ga-lanja* < *\*ga-lab-nja*, a denominative verb based on *\*lab-* etymologically identical with Lith *lāhas* 'good', Latv *labs* id. (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 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*. 0 CAMARDA I 336 (to Gk TA-cci)cs(co 'to shine', an obvious derivative of yXortimic 'shining'); MEYER *Wb.* 137 (related to *qas*), *Alb. Studien* V 79 (to Gk 136XXo3 'to launch, to reach', Skt *gdlati* '(he) drops, falls down'); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 331; JOKL apud CARD *St.* I 221 (compares with Germ *glanzen* 'to shine'); PISANI *Saggi* 125; FRAENKEL 327; CABEJ *St.* I 221 (reconstructs *\*galaig-* 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 PA1b *\*janja* related to IE 'to go, to walk').

gjak m, pl. *gjaqe*, *gjakra gjakna* 'blood'. From PA1b *\*saka* related to Gk (ink Lith *sakal* 'resin', Slav *\*solcL* 'juice' and the like continuing an Indo-European word for 'juice' *\*sole*<sup>o</sup>. (MEYER *Wb.* 136, *Alb. St.* III 4, 43; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 285). 0 CAMARDA I 38 (to Gk iX<sup>o</sup>p 'blood'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 128 (reconstructs *\*5-* 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'); cABEJ *St.* VII 200, 254; HULD 67; KORTLANDTSSGL X 219; DEMIRAJ *AE* 181-182.

gjalm m, pl. *gjalma*, *gjalmiter*, *gjelmiter* 'rope, lace'. From PA1b *\*salpna*, connected with Slav *\*solpiti* 'to stick out', Lith *is selpineti* 'to get divided'. 0 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 *LUA XIX/6* 12-14 (to Gk *iaut*; 'chain'); LA PIANA *Studi I* 58 (agrees with PETERSSON but treats *-mit-* in *gjelmiter* as a separate root); cABEJ *St.* I 222 (to Lat *gloms* 'ball' and the like); ANIKIN *Etimologija* 1982 65-70.

gjalpe m/n 'butter'. Continues PA1b *\*selpa* identical with Gk g213C0; • gX.atov, (neap, eiarivvia (Hes.), Skt *sarpfs-* 'clarified butter', OHG *salba* 'ointment' (CAMARDA I 93; MEYER *Wb.* 137, *Alb. St.* III 31, 43). 0 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; cABEJ *St.* VII 253; HULD *KZ CVII* 169 (s-stem); DEMIRAJ *AE* 182.

gjalle adj. 'alive'. Reflects PA1b *\*salwa* etymologically close to Skt *sdrva-* 'complete, whole', Gk aoc 'whole', Lat *salvus* 'healthy', Tokh A *salu* 'completely' (MEYER *Wh.* 137, *Alb. St.* HI 43, 75). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 544, *Kelt. Gr.* I 53; JOKL *Sprache IX* 122; LA PIANA *Studi I* 78 (to Lat *vivus*); 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.

gjarkez pl. 'peritoneum'. A dialectal plural form of @irk.

gjarper gjarpdn m, pl. *gjarpinj*, *gjarpinj*, *gjarpanj*, *gjarperinj* *gjarpininj* 'snake'. From PA1b *\*serpena* etymologically related to Lat *serpens* 'snake, serpens', *serpa* 'to crawl' and, further, to IE *\*serp-* 'to crawl' (GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 21; CAMARDA I 79; MEYER *Wb.* 137, *Alb. St.* III 31, 43, 72). There is no connection between *gjarper* and *shtepinj* 'vermin, reptiles' (see *shtrep*) despite the widely accepted opinion. 0 STIER *KZ* XI 235; JoKt, *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; cABEJ *St.* VII 268; HULD 67-68; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279; JANSON *Unt.* 26; DEMIRAJ *AE* 183-184.

gjashte num. 'six'. From PA1b *\*se.fti-*, a derivative in *\*-ti-* close to collectives like Skt *sasti-* 'six tens' (JUCQUOIS *Le Museon* LXXVIII 440) or to Slav *\*S'estb* 'six', and further related to IE *\*s(u)eks-* 'six': Skt

**Gk Lat** *sex* (BoPP 459, 512; GCFERDING *Otm.* 21; CAMARDA I 36; MEYER *Wb.* 138, *Alb. St.* II 56-57, III 43). 0 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.

glate adj. 'long'. Dialectal *glate* reflects the older form of the anlaut. From PA1b *\*dlata* continuing IE *\*dlngh-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). 0 MEYER *Wh.* 137 (compares with Slav *\*setbra*, '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 *\*-0-*); 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.

gjaze f 'riverside forest'. From PA1b *\*sedja*, a derivative of IE *\*sed-* 'to sit, to be settled', cf. in particular Slav *\*sadz*, 'garden, grove' derived from the same root. 0 VASMER III 543-544; POKORNY 1884-887.

gjedh m, pl. *gjedha* 'cattle'. From PA1b *\*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 apoPata 'cattle, sheep', Hitt *ijant-* 'ram' and the like. 0 PISANI *Saggi* 125; POKORNY I 887; cABEJ *St.* I 223 (to IE *\*eau-* 'cattle' and in particular to Slav *\*govedo*); BENVENISTE *Inst.* I 37-45; OREL *IF* XLIII 104-105 (from IE *\*erndhos* connected with IE *\*Om-* 'to go'; however, the development of the umlauticized *\*a* to *-je-* is dubious), *Fort.* 79.

gjej gjej aor. *gjeta* 'to find'. From PA1b *\*gadnja* < *\*ghnd-* etymologically related to Gk *xavEicevw*, aor. *gxaSov* 'to seize, to grasp', Lat *pre-hen&* id., ON *geta id.* (MEYER *BB* VIII 187, *Wh.* 140, *Alb. St.* III 10). The full grade is represented in refl. *gjendem*, *gjindem* 'to be present'. 0 CAMARDA 1285 (to Gk *7i(y)vogsat* 'to be born'); JOKL *Balkangerm.* 105-106, *Sprache* IX 123; BARK *AarbSt.* II 383; LOEWE *KZ* XXXIX 312 (from Goth *higitan*); 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; cABEJ *St.* I 223-224 (related to Slav *\*goditi* 'to satisfy, to correspond, to be fit'); KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 232 (from *\*H-ajelo*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 185-186.

gjel id, pl. *gjela* 'rooster'. Borrowed from Lat *gallus* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 138). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrift*<sup>2</sup> I 1042; JOKL *IF* XXX 205; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 129; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 128; cABEJ *St.* I 224; LANDI *Lat.* 28-29, 128, 138.

gjelber gjelben adj. 'green'. Borrowed from Lat *galbinus* 'greenish-yellow' (MIKLOSIC *Rom. Elemente* 29). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrift*<sup>2</sup> I 1042; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 128; LANDI *Lat.* 49,

gjelle f, pl. *gjelle* 'food; life'. A singularized plural of *gjalle* (CAMARDA I 108). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 138 (borrowed from SCr *jelo* 'mean; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 45; cABEJ *St.* VII 201, 217.

gjellez f 'salt'. Another variant is *gjillese* 'salt, taste'. Although the comparison with IE *\*sali-* 'salt' could be tempting, connection with *gjelle* is much more probable. Thus, 'salt' is treated as a 'taste' of food.

**gjem m** 'bridle'. From PAIb *\*jama* identical with Skt *ydma-* 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). 0 POKORNY I 505; MAYRHOFER III 2-3; OREL *Etnogenez* 34-36; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350.

**gjemb m**, pl. *gjemba* 'thorn'. A Greek-Albanian form *glemb* preserves the original anlaut *gl-*. Goes back to PAIb *\*glamba*, comparable with Slav *\*glob-ok7*, 'deep' < *\*hollowed*, *\*glQb7*, 'trunk, stump, cabbage-stump', cf. also Gk *\*ape* 'to scrape up' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 262). Rum *ghimpe* 'thorn' was borrowed from Albanian. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 140 (to Lith *ge'mbe* 'nail used to hang clothes' - impossible in view of the initial *gl-*), *Alb. St.* III 8, 36, 64; JOKL *Studien* 26-28 (to Lith *geliit*, *gelti* 'to stick'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 547 (against MEYER); PISANI *Saggi* 123; POKORNY I 367; FRISK I 311; ROSETTI *ILR* 1 277; cABEJ *St.* VII 231; TRUIVtEV *ESSJa* VI 141-143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 186-187.

**gjep m**, pl. *gjepa* 'spool'. A phonetic variant of *djep*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 138 (to *gjemb* and *qep*).

**gjer prep.** 'till'. Other variants are *deri*, *ndjer*, *ngjer*. From PAIb *\*(a)jeri* identical with Gk *ijpt* < 'early' further related to Gmc *\*airiz* 'before, ere' (Goth *air*, **ON** *dr*) and Av *ayar* 'day' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 43). 0 JOKE *Studien* 59-60 (to *nder*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 101; MANN *Language* XXVI 383 (to Lat *fere* 'near'); FRISK I 643; FEIST *Goth.* 24-25; BARTHOLOMAE 157; cABEJ *St.* VII 187; KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 175; DEMIRAJ *AE* 288-289 (to Gk *uexpt* 'tar').

**gjer m**, pl. *gjera* 'dormouse'. Borrowed from Lat *glirern* id., with the long *4-* treated as a short one (MEYER *Wb.* 138-139). 0 TRUBAtEV *Slay. jaz. XI 11* (related to Lat *glis* and the like); LANDI *Lat.* 83, 104.

**gjerb** aor. *gjerha* 'to gulp, to drink'. From PAIb *\*serba* connected with Lat *sorbet*, 'to sup up, to suck in', Gk *rioyko* id., Lith *surbilt*, *surbti* id., Slav *\*st,rbati* 'to gulp, to sup up' (MEYER *Wb.* 139, *Alb. St.* III 36,

43, 72). 0 MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 237, 299; ERNOUT-MEILLET 636; MANN *Language* XXVIII 31 (reconstructs *\*5* 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-ef-5*), *KZ* CVII 169; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 273; ANTTILA *Saw.* 27; DEMIRAJ *AE* 187.

**gjere & rid** adj. 'broad, wide'. There also exists Tosk *gjere*. From PAIb *\*saina*, a zero-grade derivative in *\*no-* based on IE *\*sei-* 'long, late', cf. OE *sic* 'long, wide', Goth *seikus* 'late', OIr *sith* 'long', Lat *serus* 'late' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 28). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 128; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 292; FEIST *Goth.* 415-416; VENDRYES [S1 120-121; WALDE-HOFMANN II 526-527; POKORNY 1890-891; cABEJ *St.* VII 258; HULD 68-69; JANSON *Unt.* 28.

**gjesh** aor. *gjesha* 'to knead'. From PAIb *\*jesja* identical with Skt *ydsyati* 'to boil', Gk *dew* 'to boil, to cook' (MEYER *Wb.* 139, *Alb. St.* III 39, 61). 0 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; OLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 129; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 38; cABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Germ *kneten* 'to knead'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 300.

**gjeshter** f, pl. *gjeshtra* 'broom'. Borrowed from Rom *\*genistra* (cf. Ital *ginestra* id.) based on Lat *genista*, *genesta* 'broom-plant, broom'. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 237.

**gjeti** adv. 'elsewhere'. A number of parallel forms exist, e.g. *gjetiu*, *gjetke*, *ngjeti*, *njeti* and the like. A fossilized form of aorist of *gjej* with various other elements including *ke*, acc. of *kush*, and *u*, reflective pronoun. 0 CAMARDA I 307 (to *tjeter*); cABEJ *St.* I 225-226 (treats *njeti* as an older form and links it to Skt *anyd-* 'other').

**gjetkez** f, pl. *gjetkeza* 'goose-coop'. Identical with OAIb *gjetheke* 'stall, pen' (BARDHI) continuing *\*gjerdhke*, a deminutive of *gardh* (cABEJ *St.* I 226).

**gjeth m**, pl. *gjeth* 'foliage, green leaves'. From PAIb *\*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 *\*gvozd* 'wood, forest' (JOKL *IF* XXX 199-204, *LKUBA* 130, 221). Note the development of the initial cluster *\*guo-* > *\*ga-* in Albanian. The form *gjeshk* 'dry leaves' is derived from *gjeth*. 0 CAMARDA I 72 (compares with Gk *laicSog* 'branch'); MEYER *Wb.* 138 (develops CAMARDA's etymology); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXII' 547; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 130; LA PIANA *Varia* 103-104; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 230; PISANI *Saggi* 125; XHUVANI *BUSH* T 111/3 93 (connected with *gath*); VASMER I 263; POKORNY I 480; TRUBACEV *ESSJa* VII 185-186; OLBERG *St. Bonfante* 562; cABEJ *St.* 1226-227 (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 *\*jezditi* 'to ride' with the initial *j-* substituted by Alb *gj-*, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *jazd'a*, SCr *jezditi* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 262).

*gje gja* f, pl. *gjera gjana* 'thing'. From PALb *\*san(s)* going back to the participle of IE *\*es-* 'to be', *\*sont-s-*: Skt *sant-*, Gk *eiiv* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 139). 0 MAYRHOFER III 425-426; FRISK I 463-464; POKORNY I 341; cABEJ *St.* VII 201, 212; HULD 69; JANSON *Unt.* 27-28; DEMIRAJ *AE* 188.

*gjelperd gjylpand* f, pt. *gjelpera gjylpana* 'needle'. Goes back to *\*salpand* further connected with *gjalm* and its cognates. The Geg vocalism in *gjylpane* is secondary. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 143 (borrowed from Rom *\*acricula pani*); BARK *ARSt.* I 34 (to IE *\*eel-* 'to stick, to prick'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 131-132; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (from *\*sauil-patno-* 'eye-thread').

*gjemoj* aor. *gjemova* 'to resound, to rumble, to thunder, to shout'. As the variant *gjemoj* shows, there was *gl-* in the anlaut. Borrowed from Lat *c/arneire* 'to cry, to shout', with the voicing of the initial group *cl-*. The noun *gjeme* 'thunder, shout, illness' is a deverbative. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30 (from Lat *gemere* 'to cry, to shout'); MEYER *Wb.* 139-140 (same as MIKLOSICH); MIHAESCURESEE *IV/I-2* 16; HAARMANN 128.

*gjemoj* aor. *gjemova* 'to run after, to hurry after'. A dialectal form of

*gjurmoj*, derivative of *gjurme*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 140 (to *gjuaj*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3 z 1* 1048, 1052.

*gjarntoj* aor. *gjemtova* 'to collect bit by bit, to gather'. Borrowed from Lat *collimitare* 'to draw boundaries', *\*`* to unite'.

*gjdnddr gjanddr* f, pl. *gjendra gjandra* 'gland'. Borrowed from Lat *glandula* 'gland of the throat' with the dissimilation of *liquida* (HELBIG 120; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 22). Tosk variants *Blender* and *grendel* reflect the anlaut *gl-* and thus exclude the Italian etymology. Rum *ghindura* id. continues the same Lat *glandula*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 140 (from Ital *ghiandola* 'gland'); MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1042, 1050, 1054 (follows MEYER); PUWARIU *EWR* 62; SKOK *ZfromPhil* XLIV 332-334 (from Rum *ghindura*, Arum *glindurii* id.); JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 605 (from Rom *\*glandura*); MANN *Language* XVII 23; HAARMANN 128; cABEJ *St.* I 227 (follows JOKL); LANDI *Lat.* 47, 145-146.

(T) *gjer m* 'soup'. Corresponds to Geg *gjane* 'mudbed, alluvium'. Goes back to PALb *\*jausna* related to Skt neut. *yils* 'soup' (cf. in particular [gen.sg. yasnd12](#)), Lat *jiis* id., Lith *jae* 'fish soup' (if not from Prussian, cf. B 1GA I 478-479), OPrus *iuse* 'soup' and the like (CAMARDA I 80). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 308 (to Lat *jentare* '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 1507; HAMP *Laryngeals* 134; KARALIUNAS *Bal-tistica* I 116; cABEJ *St.* I 227-228 (derivative of *gje*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 183 (borrowed from Slav *\*glen'h*

*gji gji* m, pl. *gji gji* 'breast, chest'. From PALb *\*sina* identical with Lat *sinus* 'curve, fold' (MEYER *Wb.* 140, *Alb. St.* III 67). 0 lima *IF* L 45; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 130, *Stratificazione* 89; WALDE-HOFMANN II 546; cABEJ *St.* VII 252.

*gjije* f 'stable, house'. A singularized plural of a form attested in Geg as *gje* 'stable, pen'. Goes back to *\*saina* identical with the Baltic word for 'wall': Lith *siena*, Latv *siena* further derived from IE *\*sei-* 'to bind' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 262). 0 PISANI *Saggi* 129; FRAENKEL 782-783; POKORNY I 891-892; cABEJ *St.* 1228 (important lexical material but no etymology).

**gjinde** pl. 'people'. Borrowed from Lat *gentem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30; CAMARDA I 42; MEYER Wb. 141). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* 2 I 1044, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 131; MiHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 128; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 83, 116, 146.

**gjithe** adj. 'all'. The dialectal variant *gjidhe* (cf. also *one* < *gjidhe*) seems to be a direct continuation of PAIb *\*semzda*, with the cluster *\*-em-* reflected as *-i-*, cf. *mish*. The Proto-Albanian form goes back to IE *\*semgho-*, a suffix derivative of IE *\*sem-* 'one' attested in Arm *ez* < *\*sem-Rho-* (PEDERSEN KZ XXXIX 414). IE *\*sem-* is also attested alone in the same meaning, in Dalmatian Alb *gji* [dli] 'all' (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 130), with *-i* as in *nje nji*. 0 MEYER Wb. 140 (comparison with Germ *ganz* 'all' and Kurd *gi, gi.f* id.); FAY *IF* XXXII 330-332 (to Germ *ganz*); ACAREAN *HAB* II 4-5; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (to Gk *iox*); 'strength'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 106 (from *\*g-li-sht*); POKORNY I 902-903; OLBERG *Gedenkschr. Brandenstein* 111; cABEJ *St.* VII 217; HULD 69-70; DEMIRAJ *AE* 188-189 (from *\*siH-ko-*, to Gk Lk).

**gjize gjize** f 'goat cheese'. A derivative of an unattested *\*gjin-* (CABEJ *St.* 1 228-229). 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 PAIb *\*sina* identical with Oh *sin* 'chain', ON *sin* 'sinew', OHG *senawa*, Av *hinu-* 'band' and further related to IE *\*.se(i)-* 'to bind'. 0 JOto. *Studien* 28, LKUBA 89 (to Lat *serum* 'watery part of curdled milk'), *Sprache* IX 153; BARte *AarbSt* 1 158 (comparison with *urdhe*); LIDEN KZ LXI 1-4 (to Lith *gains* 'rancid, bitter'), AASF XXVII 115-117; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 148; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33; PISANI *Saggi* 102 (to Gk *leaven*); VASMER KZ L 247 (to Ir *seig* 'milk'); MINSHALL *Language* XXXII 628; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 124 (suffix *-ze*); POKORNY I 891-892; VENDRYES [S] 112-113; OREL *Etimologija* 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).

**gjobe** f, pl. *globa* 'fine, penalty'. Borrowed from Slav *\*globa* having the same meaning in its South Slavic forms, Bulg *globa* and SCr *globa* (MIKLOSTAI *Slay. Elenzente* 19; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 296). 0 SELIKEY *Slay. 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 deminutive of *?Jon* historically identical with *gjon* 'night-owl' and going back to the Latin proper name *Joannes* > *Gjon*. 0 MEYER Wb. 141 (on *gjon* < *Jaannes*).

**gjolle** f, pl. *gjolle* 'clearing or pasture where salt is strewn for sheep; patch of ground for sowing'. From PAIb *\*sala* based on IE *\*sal-* 'salt': Gk 6X; id., Lat *sal* and the like (HAMP *GjA* VI 45). The Albanian *a/-* stem may well replace the Indo-European athematic stem with a long vowel in nom. sg. (OREL *IF* XCIII 106, *ZfBalk* XXIII 144). 0 JOKL *Studien* 29 (to OE *selma* 'bed', Lith *suolas* 'tench'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 148; MANN *Language* XXVI 383 (to Ir *s/o/*, Lith *sekla*); FRISK I 78-79; WALDE-HOFMANN II 465-466; POKORNY I 878-879; DEMIRAJ *AE* 190.

**gjor8** adj. 'poor, miserable, wretched'. A suffixal derivative of *gjuaj*. Thus, the original meaning of the adjective is 'chased, persecuted'. 0 HAHN 30 (to *djeg*); MEYER Wb. 141 (from Turk *kiir* 'blind'); JOKL *Studien* 109, *IF* XXXVII 113 (borrowed from Slav *\*gor'e* 'grief'); SELIKEY *Slay. naselenie* 193, 324; XHUVANI *KLetr* 1/6 6 (related to *djerr*); cABEJ *St.* 1229 (agrees with XHUVANI).

**gju gju m**, pl. *gjunje, gjunj* 'knee'. Dialectal forms preserve the initial cluster *gl-*. Goes back to PAIb *\*gluna* dissimilated from *\*g(an)nuna*. The latter is a secondary n-derivative based on IE *\*gem-* 'knee': Hitt *genu*, Skt *jdnu-*, Gk *yOru*, Lat *genu* and the like (CAMARDA I 39). As to the phonetics of *gju*, it is close to OIr *gltiin* id. < *\*glano-* with a similar dissimilation of sonants (MEYER Wb. 142, *Alb. St.* III 9, 67). 0 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 *yilyXwog* 'joie'); 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); cABEJ *St.* VII 229, 231; HULD 70; OLBERG *Studi Pisani* II 685; BORGEAUD *RRL* XX 4; JANSON *Unt.* 28-29; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 263; KODDERITZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 62; DEMIRAJ *AE* 190-191.

**gjuaj gjuaj** aor. *gjova, gjuajta gjojta, gjojta* 'to hunt'. Goes back to PAIb *\*jagnja* based on the noun *\*jaga* > *gjah* 'hunt, hunting'. Further

etymological connection is OHO *jagon* 'to hunt' (HAMP *Laryngeals* 134). 0 CAMARDA I 122 (to Gk 814ri[tat `to seek']; MEYER *Wb.* 136 (to Slav \**ienv*, \**gmati* 'to drive away', Lith gems, *gititi* 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 *sagiO* 'to feel, to suspect', Oh *saigim* 'to go towards, to seek').

*gjuhe* f, pl. *gjuhe* 'tongue, language'. Dialectal forms reflect the *initial gl-*: Cham *gluhe*, Calabr *gruiE*. From PA1b \**glusd*, further connected with the Indo-European dialectal word for 'sound' \**golso-*: ON *kall* 'shout', Lith *galsas* 'echo', Slav \**gols7*, 'voice'. PA1b \*-u/- (> Alb -u/-, -/u-) seems to go back to \*4- 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. 0 CAMARDA 26 (connection with Gk *yAcixscsa* 'tongue, language'); MEYER *Wb.* 142 (to *gjuaj* 'to call, a secondary variant of *quaj* id.); BARK *ARSt.* 35 (to the Indo-European word for 'tongue', with *gjuhe* < \**gl'undh(yd)* < \**dlonghyd*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 89-90; LA PIANA 94 (compares with Gk *yAlima*); PISANI *Saggi* 102, *IF* LXI 146 (borrowed from Gk *ykikace*); POKORNY I 350; FRAENKEL 131; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 34 (reconstructs \**dinghua*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 132 (borrowed from Gk 72■Locsot), *Stratificazione* 89-90; TRUBAT'EV *ESSJa* VI 219-220; cABEJ *St.* VII 193, 268; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 427-429 (to IE \**geld-* – \**gwela-* 'to swallow'); HULD 71 (from \**ghnud-sk-!*).

**gjume m** 'sleep'. From PA1b \**supna* identical with a nominal derivative of TE \**syep-* 'to sleep' - \**sup-no-*: Gk *tintvo*; 'sleep', Slav \**situ*. id. (MEYER *Wb.* 142, *Alb. St.* III 32). In other Indo-European languages another ablaut variant \**suep-no-* is represented. 0 CAMARDA I 55 (to Gk *icth[ta* 'deep sleep'); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 94; JOKL *Reallex. 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.

**gjurme** f, pl. *gjurme*, *gjurma* 'trace'. From PA1b \**surma*, a zero-grade variant of IE \**sor-mo-* reflected in Skt *surma-* 'flow', Gk *op ti* 'assault, attack', further connected with IE \**ser-* 'to flow' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 262). 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* II 59 (borrowed from Romance

via NGk *yofopila* id.), *Wb.* 142 (uncertain link to Ital *orma* 'footmark', Rum *urma* id.); BARK *ARSt* 103 (to Lat *serpd* 'to crawl'); MAYRHOFER III 471; FRISK II 419; POKORNY I 909-910; cABEJ *St.* VII 216, 227.

**gjuvenge** f 'harlot'. Borrowed from Lat adj. fem. *juvenca* 'young', also 'young cow' (MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16). 0 HAARMANN 131; cABEJ *St.* 1229.

**gjykoj** aor. *gjykova* 'to judge, to try'. Borrowed from Lat *fflicicare* id. (CAMARDA I 99; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 142-143). As to *gjyq* 'trial, court', it continues Lat *judicium* id. (cABEJ *St.* I 229-230). 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 74; MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifl*<sup>2</sup> I 1046-1048; MmAESCUCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 131; LANDI *Lat.* 101, 109, 112.

**gjymte** adj. 'defective, incomplete, cripple, stunted'. Borrowed from Rom \**junctus* 'joined' or secondarily derived from *gjymtyre*. 0 OREL *RRL* XXXI/1 3 (comparison with *gjysme*).

**gjymtyre** f, pl. *gjymtyre* 'joint, limb'. Borrowed from Lat *junetara* 'junction, joint' (MIKLOSIČ *Rom. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 143). Note the East Romance treatment of Lat *-nkt-* > \**-npt-* > *-mt-*. 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1046, 1049; MTHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; CABEJ *St.* VII 267; HAARMANN 131; Di GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 49-50; LANDI *Lat.* 69, 89, 101, 121.

*gjysme* f, pl. *gjysma* 'half'. A metathesis from a widespread dialectal form *gjym(e)se*. The latter represents a formation in *-ese* < \**-atja* derived from \**gjym* < PA1b \**jami-* or \**jama*, to be further compared with Latv *jumis* 'double fruit' (with an unexpected *-u-* reminiscent of the unclear Alb *-y-* < \**-a-*) and other continuants of IE Skt *yamd-* 'duplicate; twin', Mir *emon* 'twins', Lat *im-ago* 'imitation, copy' (HAMPNumerals 920; OREL *RRL* XXXIII 3-4, *FLH* VIII/1-2 43). Rum *jumatate* was borrowed from Proto-Albanian. 0 CAMARDA 1 93 (to Gk *iutav*; 'half' with unsurmountable phonetic difficulties); MEYER *BB* VIII 192 (to Lat *semi-* 'half'), *Wb.* 143 (follows CAMARDA but treats *gjysme* as a Greek loanword with *gj-* filling hiatus in o *iji.ttcyuc*); SPITZER *MRIW* I 322 (from \**iumos* 'bound together'); BARK *ARSt.* 35-36 (supports MEYER *BB*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3244; ROSETTE *ILR* I 278;



MAYRHOFER III 8; WALDE-HOFMANN I 680; POKORNY I 505; IVANOV *Bsl. Etnojaz.* 81.

**gjysh** m, pl. *gjyshe, gjysher gjyshen* 'grandfather'. From PAIb *\*susa* identical with Skt *sasci* 'progenitor' further derived from IE *\*seu-* 'to give birth' (WIEDEMANN *BB XXVII* 243). Borrowed to Rum *ghiu* 'old man'. 0 CAMARDA I 72 (from *\*gelysh*, related to Gk *yaXwc* 'sister-in-law'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 5 (from Rom *\*avrisius*); MEYER *Wh.* 143; BUGGE *BB XVIII* 176 (from Rom *\*aviusius*); 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 *mai-* *naImot*, Hes.); ROSETTIILR I 277; NEROZ-NAK *Paleob.* 198 (to Hitt *buljbas*, *Lyc xuga* 'grandfather'); OREL *Sprache XXXI* 280, *ZfBalk XXIII* 147; cABEJ *St.* VII 258; HULD *KZ CVII* 168; LIUKKONEN *SSF X* 58 (from *\*sauisia-* related to Lith *scivas* 'own'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 192-193.

## H

**ha** aor *hengra hangra* 'to eat'. Reflects PAIb *\*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. *\*edd* < IE *\*edam* (PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 341). Pretonic *\*-d-* > *-h-*, *-o-* is regular (OREL *SBJa Kont.* 22-23), as well as the apheresis. The nti-participle *ngrene ngrane* is derived from IE *\*eer(a)-* 'to swallow' (BoPP *Alb.* 82). The aorist *hengra hangra* is a secondary formation based on the original *\*ngra* and contaminated with the paradigm of *ha* (OREL *Etimologija* 1982 154), cf., typologically, ME *geode* contaminated from *gan* 'to go' and *Code* 'went' (KONECKAJA *Suppl.* 421-423). 0 CAMARDA 132 (compares with Gk *xaivo* 'to yawn, to gape'); MEYER *Wh.* 144 (from IE *\*(s)khed-*, Skt *khddati* 'to eat, to devour'), *Alb. St.* III 59; BRUGMANN *Grundrif* 3 I 759 (from *\*ghz-*, cf. Skt *ghas-* 'to eat'); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 341 (compares *hengra hangra* with Arm 1 sg. aor. *eker* '(1) ate' and analyzes *he-* as a continuation of the augment *\*e-*); JOKL *Melanges Pedersen* 139-142; BARK *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. Worth.* 47; KUNGEN-

SCHMITT *Verhum* 279-280; cABEJ *St.* I 306; BADER *BSL LXXI/1* 97 (archaic thematic formations of *\*ed-*); OREL *Etimologija* 1982 151-156, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 359; IVANOV *Slav.* 92-93, 185 (to Tokh A, B *s'wa-* 'to eat'); HULD 72 (to Lat *avere* 'to enjoy, to be well'); KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; cABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (*ngrene* - to OE *grindan* 'to grind'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 297-298.

**habit** aor. *hahita* '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). 0 SELIKEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 191; OREL *Etimologija* 1983 133; SVANE 234.

**hajme** adj. 'thin, lean'. Another derivative of the same root is *hajthem* id. Both forms are based on *hale* (cABEJ *St.* I 231).

**hakdl** f 'fish bone'. Metathesis from *\*halke*, a deminutive of *hale*. 0 cABEJ *St.* I 231 (to *hokoc*).

**hakrri** f 'readiness for copulation (of pigs)'. From *\*harkrri*, derived from *\*hark*, see *hokoc*. From *hakrri* the verb *hakerrohem* 'to threaten, to frighten' is derived (cABEJ *St.* I 231-232).

**hale** f, pl. *hala* 'fish bone, splinter; pine'. From PAIb *\*skald* etymologically related to Lith *skala* '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). 0 JoxL *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 *OcA,co* 'to grind'); HULD 151 (to Lat *alnus* 'alder'); OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 148 (same as HULD, to Lith *alksnis* 'alder'); cABEJ *St.* I 233 (reconstructs *\*skolna*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 193-194 (to *elb*).

**halbe** f 'scab on the bark'. From PAIb *\*skalba* close to Latv *skalbs* 'sharp, shrill' with a further link to IE *\*skel-* 'to split', see *hale*. 0 POKORNY I 923-926; cABEJ *St.* I 233 (to *hale* and *helm*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 65.

**hall** m, pl. *halle* 'trouble, misery, plight, sorrow'. From PAIb *\*skalna* connected with Gmc *\*skallaz* 'thin, dry, shallow' (E *shallow* and the like) - *\*xallaz* 'weak, tired' (MHG *hel, hellec*). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 145 (from



Turk *hal* 'state, situation'); BARIC *ARSt* 26 (to Skt *khild-*); ONIONS 816; OREL *IF XLIII* 107-108 (from *\*edolos* based on IE *\*ed-* 'to eat').

**hamull** f, pl. *hamulla* 'stubble-field'. A derivative in *-u//* based on *ha*. Thus, the stubble-field is described as 'eaten up'.

**hap** aor. *hapa* 'to open'. From PALb *\*skapa* connected with IE *\*skēp-* 'to cut, to split, to dig' (MEYER *Wb.* 146, *Alb. St.* III 31, 59). Note *hape* 'step' derived from *hap*. 0 POKORNY I 366-368; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 72; cABEJ *St.* VII 200; HAMP *Laryngeals* 125 (to Hitt *apa* 'afterwards').

**harabel** m, pl. *harabela* 'sparrow'. Borrowed from Slav *\*vorbbblb* id., a form unattested in South Slavic where we only find *\*vorbbcb* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 17). 0 S VANE 144.

**hart** m, pl. *harca* 'rocky landscape'. A nominal derivative of *harr* (CABEJ *St.* I 233).

**hardhel** f, pl. *hardhla* 'lizard'. Other variants are *hardhje*, *hardhice*, *hardhuce*, *hardhushke*. The source of all these derivatives must have been *\*hardhe*. Since other words for 'lizard' are safely etymologized as 'diggers' (cf. Slav *\*age'erb* id., *\*gušeer7*, id.), *hardhe* continues PALb *\*skarda* to be further compared with Lith *skerdziu*, *skērsti* 'to slaughter, to prick', Latv *słftzu*, *flsp-st* 'to split', and with the o-vocalism Lith *skardits* 'steep', Latv *skardit* 'to divide'. 0 STIER *KZ XI* 223 (to Gk *xapSoiiv • Vi*)ov Ottotov KpOKO8EIA,U)); MEYER *Wb.* 147 (a transformation of Lat *lacerta* id.); JOKL *IF XXXVII* 110 n. 1 (related to Slav *\*a.Weri*, id.); SCHUCHARDT *ZfromPhil XLI* 700-701 (to *Aragfardacho*); SPITZER *IF XXXIX* 105-106; BARK *ARSt.* 26 (to Gk *ksxcpc5*; 'kind of fish'), *AArbSt.* III 217; MLADENOV *RFV LXXI* 454-458; PETERSSON *LUA XVI/3* 40-41 (to Gk *icopSaoc* 'triton'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 239, *Stratificazione 137*; FRAENKEL 797, 803; VASMER IV 572 (follows JOKL); TRUBAC'EV *ESSJa 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 *\*xocpoc24w*, a derivative of *xccpgw* 'to do something agreeable'. 0 CABEJ *St.* I 234 (derivative of *harle*, variant of *harrje*).

**harmeshor** m, pl. *harmeshore* 'stallion, stud-horse'. Borrowed from Rom *\*armessarius*, also preserved in Rum *armasar*, a phonetic variant of Lat *admissarius* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 148). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3* I 1042; PUCARIU *EWB 11*; MTHAEScU *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 PALb *\*skarima*. The latter is based on IE *\*sker-* 'to cut', cf. *harr* (CABEJ *St.* I 234-235). Note *harmoc* 'crumbled plaster; stone-pine' and Geg *hartine* 'kind of pine' also belonging to this root (CABEJ *St.* I 235). 0 POKORNY I 938-947.

**harr** aor. *harra* 'to weed, to cut down'. From PALb *\*skarna*, a denominative related to IE *\*sker-* 'to cut', cf. Goth *us-skarjan* 'to tear out', Lith *skiriit*, *skirti* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 148, *Alb. St.* III 59, 73). 0 CAMARDA I 36-37 (to Gk *xapticaaw* 'to sharpen'); BUGGE *BB XVIII* 167 (to Lat *saria* 'to hoe'); LEWY *ZfslavPh* I 416 (the same); JOKL *LKUBA* 156; BARK *ARSt* 27 (from IE *\*sker-*); FEIST *Goth.* 534; FRAENKEL 808; POKORNY I 938-947; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 43; CABEJ *St.* VII 224; HAMP *Laryngeals* 129-130 (to Hitt *arnumi* 'to bring'); OLBERG *KZ LXXXVI* 126; DEMIRAJ *AE* 196-197.

**harrje** f, pl. *harrje* 'midge'. Historically identical with *harle* 'kind of mite'. A deminutive of *\*harr*, *herr* 'small creature'. 0 CABEJ *St.* I 234 (to *harr*).

**harroj** aor. *harrova* 'to forget'. Borrowed from Lat *aberrare* 'to forget (for a time)'. Note prothetic *h-*. 0 CABEJ *St.* VII 224.

**harrok** m, pl. *harroke* 'te-goat'. A suffixal derivative of unattested *\*harr* related to Lith *skerys* 'ram', Latv *sleris* id., further connected with Gk (*maim* 'to spring, to dance'). 0 FRAENKEL 801-802; FRISK II 714-715; POKORNY I 934.

**hedh** aor. *hodha* 'to throw, to shoot'. Another variant is *hjedh*. From PALb *\*skeuda* connected with ON *skjota*, OHG *scio5an* and other continuants of Gmc *\*skiutan* 'to shoot' < IE *\*skeud-* 'to throw, to shoot' (MEYER *Wb.* 150, *Alb. St.* III 28, 59). 0 LIDEN *Studien* 43; SPITZER *IF XXXIX* 111; BEIGA II 200; BARK *ARSt* 27 (to Lith *s'ciuju* 'to shoot');

PISANI *Saggi* 122; CImOcHoWSKI *LP* II 251; POKORNY I 955-956; HAMP *Laryngeals* 129 (to Gk Ciyo), *St. Whatmough* 88, *Etimologija* 1971 268-269 (reconstructs \*skeud-), *St. albanica* X/2 86-88; OLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 126 (against HAMP *Laryngeals*); cABEJ *St. VII* 219, 250; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352 (metathesis of IE \*sk- > PAIb \*ks-); HULD 72-73; DEMIRAJ *AE* 197-198 (reconstructs \*skedho-).

**hedhe** f, pl. *hedhe* 'dandruff'. Singularized plural of \*hedh(e), derivative of *hedh*. For the semantics cf. Russ *syp* 'rash' related to *sypat* 'to throw, to drop'.

**heje f** 'food supply (for a year)'. From PAIb \*skalja identical with Lith *at-skala* 'supply, stock' etymologized as a derivative of *skala* 'stick of firewood', see *hale*. 0 FRAENKEL 792.

**hejze** f, pl. *hejza* 'water-shed'. Derived from *heje* 'spear', see *hell* (GAzuLLI 173-174). 0 cABEJ *St. I* 237.

**heka** f 'agony'. From PAIb \*skaka etymologically connected with Lith *kikti* 'to jump, to dance', Slav \*skok7, 'jump', Oh' *sce'n* 'horror' < \*skeno-. 0 PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* 1125; FRAENKEL 1021-1022; VASMER III 645; POKORNY I 922-923; VENDRYES [S] 40-41.

**hekur** m, pl. *hekura* 'iron'. Plausibly borrowed from Gk &xyvpa 'anchor' (JOKL apud cABEJ *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 PAIb \*akura. However, *-nk-* should yield Alb *-ng-*. 0 CAMARDA 90 (comparison with Gk *xakko*; 'copper'); MEYER *Wb.* 150 (compares with Skt *siticati* 'to pour out, to sprinkle'), *Alb. St.* III 5, 43; PISANI *Saggi* 120 (to Arm *erkat*); *Iv ANOV SBJa Antic.* 21 (a farfetched hypothesis close to that of CAMARDA); MIHAESCU 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) 0 MEYER *Wb.* 107 (compares with OHG *scelmo* 'pestilence, epidemic', *scelmo* id.), *Alb. St.* III 59, 64; JOKE

*Erf Idg.* 142 (to Thr *amickpm* 'sword'); ; BARK *ARSt* 27; LA PIANA *Studi* 194 (to Gk *xiikilio*; • (papithico;, Hes.); cABEJ *St. I* 236-237 (to *hell*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 198 (compared with Skt *ala-* 'poison% borrowed to Greek as *xOckivo*);).

**hell** m, pl. *helle, heje, hej* 'spear, spit'. Another form of the same word, *heje*, is derived from plural. From PAIb \*skOla identical with Gk *akOk.oc* 'pointed stake, thorn' (Jom. *IF* XXXVI 124). Further related to IE \*skel- 'to cut, to split' (MEYER *Wb.* 151). 0 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; cABEJ *St. I* 237; DEMIRAJ *AE* 199.

**hep** m, pl. *hepa* 'furrow, scratch'. From PAIb \*skapa etymologically connected with *hap* (cABEJ *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 PAIb \*skalkja, a causative identical with Gk \*Okk6o.) < \*solkeio based on *alai* 'to draw' (CAMARDA I 81; MEYER *Wb.* 150-151). The initial *h-* in Albanian is irregular (Hum 73) so that an assimilative development \*salkja > \*skalkja must be reconstructed. 0 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 ,g<sup>1</sup>-1(03); PISANI *Saggi* 120; PORZIG *Namen* 236 f. (Greek data for the reconstruction of \*O7.,,xEo), *Gliederung* 172; FRISK 1497-498; CHANTRAINE 340; POKORNY I 901; cABEJ *St. VII* 227; HAMP *Laryngeals* 132 (suggests \*Huolkeio); HULD 73 (groundless comparison with OE *ealh* 'temple, sanctuary').

**herdhe** pl. 'testicles'. From PAIb \*ardzai related to IE \*orgh- \*rghi-id.: Av dual. *arazi*, Gk *Opxtc*, Arm *orjile*, Mlr *uirgge* id. (CAMARDA I 42; MEYER *Wb.* 151, *Alb. St.* III 18, 72, 86). The initial *h-* is a secondary prothetic consonant. 0 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 \*Hrghlia); cABEJ *St. VII* 238, 251; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; OLBERG *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 *s(drdhas-* 'herd, crowd', W *cordd* 'crowd' < \**kordho-*, Goth *hairda* 'herd', Slav \**jerda* id. (MEYER Wb. 151). These forms reflect a root with the alternation of \**k-* \**ċ-* in the anlaut. In Albanian, the initial \**sk-* must be reconstructed. 0 BARK 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; TRUBAGEV *ESSJa* IV 60-63.

**here** f, pl. *here* 'time, moment of time, hour'. Borrowed from Lat *Nora* 'hour' (MEYER Wb. 151). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 113; MANN *Language* XXVI 387; cABEJ *St.* VII 200, 280; HAARMANN 129.

**hermoj** aor. *hermova* 'to dig'. Initial *h-* is due to prothesis. Borrowed from Rom \**exrimari* 'to hoe, to dig out', cf. Lat *rimari* 'to hoe'.

**herr** m, pl. *herra* 'dwarf'. From PAIb \**skarna* derived from IE \**sker-* 'to cut', see *harr* (cABEJ *St.* I 238).

**hesht** aor. *heshta* 'to stay silent'. Derived from the interjection *hesht* 'hush' (MEYER Wb. 151). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 113; cABEJ *St.* VII 220.

**heshte** f, pl. *heshta* 'spear'. A derivative in *-shte* based on *hell* (JOKL *IF* XXXVI 124, *LKUBA* 214, 330). 0 MEYER Wb. 151 (from Lat *hasta* id.); cABEJ *Sr.* I 238 (follows JoKL).

**hetoj** aor. *hetova* 'to search, to inquire, to discover'. The initial *h-* is prothetic. Borrowed from Lat *edictare* 'to announce'. 0 MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Lith *skaitjti*); cABEJ *St.* VII 273.

**he - he** adv. 'now', interj. 'well'. From PAIb \**skainai*, dative-locative of a noun related to Goth *skeinan*, OHG *skrnan* 'to shine', with a semantic development similar to that of *E in a twinkling*. 0 FEIST *Goth.* 431; KLUGE 640.

**heperhd heperhe** adv. 'just, actually, in fact'. A univerbation of *he per he*, a sequence including the adverb *he*.

**hand - have** f *hena hana* 'moon'. From PAIb \**ksancla* further corn-

pared with Skt *cdndati* '(he) shines, is bright', *candrd-* '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'. 0 SCHEFTELOWITZ *KZ LVI* 208 (to Av *sand-* 'to be visible'); GUNTERT *Ablaut* 91-92; BARK ARSt 27 (to Skt *chandati*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 69-70 (reconstructs \**skand-*); HASDEU *EMR* II 37; ERNOUT-MEILLET 92; MAYRHOFER I 372-373; POKORNY I 526; cABEJ *St.* IV 57 (on the development of *-nd-* > *-n-*); HULD 74; SCHRUEVER *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 - hi m** 'ash'. From PAIb \**skina*, a form with *s mobile* related to Lat *cinis* 'dust, ash' (MEYER Wb. 152, *Alb. St.* III 59, 67). 0 BARK ARSt 27-28; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 132 (reconstructs \**skino-*); WALDEHOFMANN I 217-218; HAMP *Laryngeals* 126 (to Skt *edhas-* 'firewood'); HAMP *Laryngeals* 126 (groundless reconstruction of \**Hidh-*); cABEJ *St.* VII 210; OLBERG *KZ LXXXVI* 124; HULD 74.

**hidhet** adj. 'bitter, sad'. Derived from *hidhem* 'to jump, to overflow, to walk over', reflexive of *hedh*. The verb *hidheroj hidhenonj* 'to sadden' has the same source. 0 MEYER Wb. 157 (to Pol *jfdza* 'fury' and the like), *Alb. St.* III 16; JOKL *Studien* 29-30 (to Gk *callo* 'to burn'); BARK ARSt. I 28; LOEWENTHAL *WuS* XI 60 (to ail; 'goat'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 134; HAMP *Laryngeals* 127 (to *hi*); cABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Lat *scinclO* 'to split'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 200-201.

**hidhes** in, pl. *hidhes* 'stinging nettle'. Related to *hidhet* (cABEJ *St.* I 238). 0 MEYER Wb. 152 (uncertain connection with Gk *kvi6n* id.); BARIC ARSt 28; JOKL *Studien* 29-30 (to Gk *caw* 'to burn').

**hije** f, pl. *hije* 'shadow'. Singularized plural of an archaic *he* going back to PAIb \**skija*. This form is connected with IE \**ski-*: Skt *chdyci* id., Gk *maxi* id. (CAMARDA I 71; MEYER Wb. 149-150, *Alb. St.* III 59). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 60-63; PISANI *Saggi* 119 (separates *hije* from *he*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; JUCQUOIS *Le Muse'on* LXXXVIII 439; HAMP *Laryngeals* 131; FRISK II 730-731; CHANTRAINE 1017; MAYRHOFER I 407; POKORNY I 917-918; cABEJ *St.* In 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.

hikerr f, pl. *hikrra* 'sour milk; buckwheat'. This form, with a secondary prothetic *h-*, goes back to PAIb *\*eikra*, an r-derivative of *ik, ike j*. For the semantic development of the Albanian word cf. Germ *gerinnen* 'to coagulate' < *rinnen* 'to run'.

hime pl. 'bran'. From PAIb *\*skeidma*, a morphological innovation based on IE *\*skeid-men-*, further connected with Goth *skaidan* 'to divide', Lith *sktedi.n, skiesti* 'to make thin' and, in particular, with Lith *skiemuti* 'opening used to insert the shuttle' < *\*skeid-men-*. 0 KLUGE 641; FRAENKEL 805-806; POKORNY I 921; FEIST *Goth.* 427; cABEJ *St.* I 239 (identical with *imte*).

himte adj. 'grey'. Derived from *hi*.

hinge! f, pl. *hingla* 'girth'. Borrowed from Rom *\*hinnicula*, derivative of Lat *hinnus* 'mule',

hingelloj aor. *hingellova* 'to whinny, to neigh'. Borrowed from Rom *\*hinniculdre*, an expressive form based on Lat *hinnire*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 151-152 (connected with Lat *hinnire* 'to whinny, to neigh'); CABEJ *St.* VII 221.

hinje interj. 'behold, now, there'. A sequence of two interjections: *hi* identical with *he* and *nje*, a form of *njoh* (CAMARDA II 156; MEYER *Wb.* 314). 0 cABEJ *St.* I 239 (follows CAMARDA but also compares *hinje* with *inj*).

hip(ej) hypi aor. *hipa hypa* 'to go up'. From PAIb *\*skripa*. If *s* mobile can be suggested here, the verb with its unusual long grade could be compared with Lith *kitpti* 'to rise', Latv *kupt* 'to gather, to build up'. 0 BARK *ARSt.* 17 (to IE *\*upo* 'over, up'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 135; FRAENKEL 314; POKORNY I 591; HAMP *Laryngeals* 127-128 (to Skt *dpa* 'up, hither'), *St. Whatmough* 88, *SCL* XXVIII/1 74.

hir m, pl. *hire* 'grace, favor, mercy'. From PAIb *\*skira* etymologically connected with Goth *skeirs* 'clear', Slav *\*kir-z*, 'clean' (MEYER *Wh.* 152, *Alb. St.* III 59, 71). 0 CAMARDA 170 (identifies *hir* with *xlipt*; 'favor, grace'); MIKLOSICH *Bulg. Siebenb.* 123 (from Gk *xecpte*); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 167 (to Gk *aicipov* 'white parasol born by a priestess'); 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; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (borrowed from Gk *vipte*); CABEJ *St.* I 239-240 (singularized plural of *\*her* which, in its turn, is an umlauticized form of *\*har*; the latter comes from Gk *ripte*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 201-202 (possibility of *hir* borrowed from Gk *iEpo*; 'holy').

hirre r 'whey'. From PAIb *\*ksird* to be compared with Skt *ksird-* 'milk', Osset *cex.fir* id. (PEDERSEN *IF* V 45; *KZ* XXXVI 277). Note that Alb *-rr-* seems to reflect an intervocalic *\*-r-*. 0 CAMARDA I 47 (to Gk *Opog* id., Skt *sard-* 'flowing'); MEYER *Wh.* 152 (to Slav *\*syn.* 'cheese' - phonetically impossible), *Alb. St.* III 43 (to Lat *serum*); BARIC *ARSt* 28 (to Lith *kartiis* 'bitter'), *AArhSt* I/1-2 145-146; JOKL *LKUBA* 273 (follows PEDERSEN); LIDEN *KZ* LXI 9-10 (to ON *skyr* 'sour milk' < Gmc *\*skurjan*); PORZIG *Gliederung* 132; PISANI *Saggi* 132 (follows LIDEN); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 148-149; MAYRHOFER I 290; MILLER *Osset.* 15; HUBSCHMID *XII LFR* II 978 (connected with Mantuan *scaron* id. borrowed from Messap *\*skar-*); CABEJ *St.* VII 234; HAMP *LB* XXIV/4 49 (links *hirre* to *urdhe* and reconstructs *\*skerHind*); HULD 75; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144; DEMIRAJ *AE* 202-203.

hisell M hisell m, pl. *hisella hisella* 'burning nettle'. Goes back to *\*hithell*, 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. 0 cABEJ *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* (cABEJ *St.* I 240). 0 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. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 152 (to Gk *nail* id.).

hjedhet adj. 'slim, long and thin'. Derived from *hjedh*, a phonetic variant of *hedh*. Note also *hjedhe* 'chaff' coming from the same source.

hjekes m, pl. *hjekes* '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 *bake* (CABEJ *St.* I 240).

**hoje** f, pl. *hoje* 'honeycomb'. A singularized plural of *huall* (CABEJ *St.* I 240). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 146 (to *hale*).

**hoke** f 'joke, jest'. An onomatopoeia imitating laughter. 0 LA PIANA *Studi* 195 (borrowed from Lat *focus* 'jest, joke'); cABEJ *St.* I 240 (identifies *hoke* with *oke* 'measure of weight', from Turkish).

**hokog** in 'uncastrated boar'. Other variants are *hakoc*, *harkoc*. A suffixal derivative of *\*hark* - *\*hork* imitating pig's grunting. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 153 (to Pers *xuk* 'pig'); cABEJ *St.* I 232 (related to *harr*).

**holle** adj. 'thin, fine, slender, slim'. From PAIb *\*skala* further compared with IE *\*skel-* 'to cut': Lith *skeliu*, *skati* 'to split, to divide', Mir *scdilim* 'to let go' and the like (JOKL *IF XXXVII* 99). 0 LEWY *ZfslavPh* I 416 (to Slav *\*xo/iti*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 210 (follows JOKL); BARK *ARSt* 72 (to Gk *aicaoc* 'picket, stake'), *Hymje* 34; FRAENKEL 800; HAMP *Laryngeals* 130 (to Gk *Oak°* 'to grind'); OLBERG/CZ *LXXXVI* 126 (against HAMP); VENDRYES [S] 28-29; POKORNY I 924-925; cABEJ *St.* VII 199, 227; HULD 75-76; CLACKSON *LR* 219; DEMIRAJ *AE* 203 (to Gk *oti*)A,O; '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 *hora* 'whore', OHG *huora* id. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 153 (borrowed from Turk *hor* 'bad, small'); KLUGE 321; cABEJ *St.* VII 234; OREL *Orpheus* VI 65.

**hu htl** 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 Oh *sce* 'hawthorn', Lith *skuja* 'pine-needle', Latv *skuja* id., Slav *\*xvoja* id. (PEDERSEN *Zb. Jagie* 218). 0 BARK *ARSt.* I 29; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 83-84 (to Gk *Wcov*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 90; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 15; VENDRYES [5] 37; FRAENKEL 821; POKORNY I 958;

TRUBAtEV *ESSJa* 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 4vo<sub>c</sub>, Dor *evcoc* 'stranger, guest' (MEYER *Wb.* 154, *Alb. St.* III 59-60). 0 CAMARDA II 204 (to Lat *hostis* 'stranger, foreigner, guest'); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 124; PEDERSEN *IF* V 59; BARK *ARSt* 29 (based on *ha*, cf. Lat *hostis* - Skt *ghdsati* '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; cABEJ *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 *\*skala* further related to *holle* (CABEJ *St.* I 241).

**hudher** f, pl. *hudhra* 'garlic'. A more archaic phonetic form is represented by the variant *hurthe* continuing PAIb *\*skurda*, etymologically connected with Gk *αῖβο*Sov id. (CAMARDA I 50; MEYER *Wb.* 154, *Alb. St.* III 28, 59, 72). 0 MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 160, 331; BARK *ARSt* 29; JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 78-80, *LKUBA* 230, *Sprache* IX 121; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 273; FRISK II 738; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 30, 121; CHANTRAINE 1021; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 344; HAMP *LB XX* 116-117 (reconstructs o-grade); cABEJ *St.* VII 237; DEMIRAJ *AE* 204-205.

**hudheroj** aor. *hudherova* 'to throw, to fling'. Derived from *hudh-*, a morphological variant of *hedh*. 0 cABEJ *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 *hulmetoj* is phonetically closer to the source which is Rom *\*inventare* based on Lat *invenire* '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?).

huh f, pl. *holli* 'furrow'. Another variant is *holli*. A derivative of *holle* (CABEJ *St.* I 241). 0 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 *skumbli*, *skithi* '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*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 154 (connects *humb* with *hup*); BARIE *ARSt* 36-37 (*hup* to Lat *sap* 'to upset, to overturn'); PISANI *Saggi* 124; FRAENKEL 820; POKORNY I 955; HAMP *Laryngeals* 128 (to *hipej*), *SCLXXV11111* 75; FEIST *Goth.* 9; CABEJ *St.* VII 217, 232; OREL *IF* XCIII 109 (compares with *hup* and reconstructs *\*skupa* *\*skumpa* further connected with Slav *\*eupati* to pinch, to tear, to break'), *TBK* 192.

**hunde** f, pl. *hunde* 'nose'. Goes back to PAIb *\*skun-ta* derived from *\*skuna* > *hu* (MEYER *Wb.* 152-153). The verb *hundohem* 'to sneer, to turn up nose' is derived from *hunde* (CAMARDA II 143-144). 0 SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 16; BARK *ARSt* 103 (to Lat *sentia* 'to feel'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 276, *Stratificazione* 90; OLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 127 (accepts MEYER's etymology); HULD 76 (fantastic comparison with IE *\*nas-* 'nose'); CABEJ *St.* I 240 (on *hundohem*); OREL *Etimologija* 1985 180 (against HULD).

**hupte** aor. 'stale (of bread); forming a hard crust (of snow)'. Derivative of *hup*, see *humb*.

**hurb6** f, pl. *hurba* 'swallow, mouthful'. Another variant is *hurp* which also functions as a verb 'to swallow'. From PAIb *\*skurba* etymologically linked to Lith *skerbiu*, *skefbi* 'to cut deep', Latv *šļifba* 'fissure, slot', Slav *\*S'ehrba* id. 0 FRAENKEL 801, 807; VASMER IV 503-504; CABEJ *St.* I 242 (onomatopoeia).

**hurdhe** f, pl. *hurdhe* 'ivy'. The parallel form is *urdhe*. A singularized plural going back to PAIb *\*wurda* connected with other reflexes of IE *\*urdho-*: OE *word* 'thorn-bush', Lat *rubus* 'bramble-bush'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 154 (to Skt *pfs'ni-* 'spotted'); WALDE-HOFMANN II 445-446; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 405; CABEJ *St.* VII 236.

hurdh8 f, pl. *hurtha* 'pond, pool'. Another variant is *urdhe*. Continues PAIb *\*wurda*, a derivative in *\*-dh-* further related to Slav *\*virl*, 'whirlpool', *\*variti* 'to cook', Lith *verdu*, *Virti* id. 0 JOKL *Studien* 30-

31 (to Skt *vcir-* water'); PISANI *Saggi* 119; FRAENKEL 1263; VASMER I 275; POKORNY I 1166; CABEJ *St.* VII 236-237; DEMIRAJ *AE* 205.

(G) **but** adj. 'vain, empty'. The initial *h-* is prothetic. From PAIb *\*uta*, an adjective in *\*-to-* based on IE *\*eua-* : *\*to-* 'empty', cf. similar formations in *\*-no-*: Skt *rola-* 'missing', Lat *vanus* 'empty' and the like. 0 JOKL *Studien* 31 (to Gk *afitn* 'vain, empty'); WALDE-HOFMANN II 731-732; CHANTRAINE 382; POKORNY I 345; KOPEC'NY *ESSJI* 262; HAMP *Laryngeals* 126; OLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 124 (onomatopoeia); KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; CABEJ *St.* VII 227; DEMIRAJ *AE* 205.

**hute** f, pl. 'vulture, owl'. Another variant is *ute*. Borrowed from MGk *jrco*; 'horned owl'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 460 (borrowed from Lat *Otus* 'horned owl' < Gk *j.to*); MIHAESCURESEE IV/1-2 31 (from Lat *Otus*); CABEJ *St.* VII 227.

**hutloj** aor. *hutlova* 'to deceive'. Together *hutrroh* 'to be astonished', derived from unattested nouns *\*hutel* and *\*huterr* (cf. *hutrroje* 'silly old woman'), both of them based on *hutoj*.

**hutoj** aor. *hutova* 'to astonish, to daze'. Derived from *hute* figuratively denoting 'fool, dolt' (MANN *HAEW* 164). 0 HAMP *Laryngeals* 126 (to Geg *hut*); CABEJ *St.* VII 206, 227.

**hyj** m, pl. *hyja*, *hyj* 'god'. Singularized plural of *yll*, *hyll* 'star' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 438) coined by BOGDANI (CABEJ apud DEMIRAJ). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 150 (connects *hyj* with *hije*); KRISTOFORIDHI 135, 139 (same as MEYER); JOKL *LKUBA* 64-65 (reconstructs *\*hye* continuing IE *\*skeini-*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (to ON *skuggi* < IE *\*skuni-*); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 88.; DEMIRAJ *AE* 205.

**hyj** *hyj* aor. *hyra hyna* 'to enter'. The anlaut *h-* is prothetic. Goes back to a denominative PAIb *\*eiwinja* or *\*eiwanja* based on *\*eiwi-eiwa*, related to IE *\*ei-* 'to go, to walk' and etymologically close to Skt *eva-* 'speedy', Lith *at-eivis*, *at-eiva* 'newcomer, stranger', *pe'r-eiva* 'tramp, vagrant'. 0 BARW' *ARSt.* I 17-18 (reconstructs *\*sapnia*, further to Lat *sub* 'under' and the like); FRAENKEL 119; MAYRHOFER I 129; POKORNY 1293-297; HAMP *Laryngeals* 125-126 (to Skt *ava-* 'off'); CABEJ *St.* I 242 (connects *hyj* with *-y-*, reflecting a contraction of *\*-oi-* < *\*-odi-*, to IE *\*sed-* 'to go').

## I

ije f, pl. *ije* 'hip, side'. Borrowed from Lat pl. *ilia* 'groin, flank' (CAMARDA I 70-71; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 158). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif*<sup>3</sup> I 1044, 1050; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 130; cABEJ *St. I* 243; LANDI *Lat.* 126.

ikdj aor. *ikena* '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' (cABEJ *St. I* 243). Similarly to Slav *\*jbdQ* '(I) go' based on *\*idhi*, an old imperative of *\*ei-* (Polly *ANov IORJaS* XXIV/2 349-350), Albanian present forms *ik*, *ikej* are derived from the imperative *ik* which can be compared with Lith *eiki* '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). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 158; BRUGMANN *IF* XXIX 404-412; LAPIANA *Studi alb.* I 193 (compares *ik* with Gk 'ficto 'to come'); BUGA *RFV* LVII 240 (on Lith *eiki*); POKORNY I 293-294; cABEJ *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 *Slay. Elemente* 21). 0 SELIKEV *Slay. naselenie* 170; SVANE 149.

ilqe f, pl. *ilqe* 'holm-oak'. A singularized plural of *\*age* borrowed from Lat *ilicem* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 158). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif*<sup>3</sup> 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*.

imshte f, pl. *imshta* 'oak grove'. Another variant is *ipshte*. Derived from *ime*, *imte* (CABEJ *St. I* 244).

hind adj. 'tiny, small'. Another variant is *ime*. Reflects PAIb *\*Tma* continuing *\*is-mos*, cf. Skt *isdh* 'little, a little, slightly', Lith *fsas* 'short', Latv *iss* id. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 158 (to IE *\*em-* 'to seize'); FRAENKEL 187; MAYRHOFER I 96; POKORNY I 299-300; CABEJ *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* (CABEJ *St. I* 244). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 159 (to IE *\*eni* 'in'), Alb. *St.* III 66; HAMP *Laryngeals* 136; DEMIRAJ *AE* 207.

ire adj. 'dun'. Related to *err*, with *i-* resulting from the paradigmatic alternation *e*  $\bar{z}$  in nouns. 0 CABEJ *St. I* 244-245 (links *ire* to *iremadh* 'heroic' but the latter is a compound of *ire* 'heroism' and *madh*).

ire f. 'wrath, heroism'. Borrowed from Lat *Tra* 'wrath'.

Trig m, pl. *iriqe*, *iriqa* 'hedgehog'. Borrowed from Lat *ericius* id. (STIER *KZ* XI 141; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 159). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif*<sup>2</sup> I 1048; MIHAESGU *RESEE* IV 11-2 15; cABEJ *St.* VII 254; LANDI *Lat.* 84, 112, 139.

isker f, pl. *iskra* 'spark'. Borrowed from Slav *\*jbskra* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *iskra*, SCr *iskra* (MEYER *Wb.* 159). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 135; SVANE 57.

ishull m, pl. *ishuj* 'island'. Borrowed from Lat *insula* id. (cABEJ *St. I* 245). As to *ishull* 'sunny place', it is the same word influenced by the analogy with *shulle*. 0 XHUVANIKLEtr II 14 (etymological connection between *ishull* 'sunny place' and *shulle*).

ith prep. 'behind'. From PAIb *\*its*, a form of IE *\*Ohs* '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 (*\*jLz*) and Baltic (OPrus *is*, Lith *is*, dial. Latv *iz*). Cf. normal vocalism of the same root in *jashte*. 0 MEYER *BB* XIV 53; PISANI *Saggi* 125; I 98 f.; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVIII 421 (*\*i-* as the original vowel in this root); (ARSTIEN *Festschr. Vasmer* 213; ENDZELIN *LatyS". predl.* I 98; FRAENKEL 188; WALDE - HOFMANN 1423 (reject the connection between *ith* and *\*Ohs*); PISANI *Saggi* 125; POKORNY I 292-293; POLAR apud KOPECNV *ESSJ* I 82; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 359.



IN/8 f, pl. *iva* 'embroidery pattern'. Borrowed from Slav *\*iva* in the same meaning as represented by Bulg *iva* and SCr *iva* (DESMCKAJA *Slay. zaim.* 11). 0 cABEJ *St.* I 245-246; SVANE 99.

izbe f. 'cellar'. Borrowed from Slav *\*istbba* 'house, cellar' attested in South Slavic in Bulg *izba* and SCr *izba* (SELikEv *Slay. naselenie* 149). 0 SVANE 54.

## J

ja interj. 'behold, here, now'. A shortened form of *javo*, *javua* id., an early borrowing from Slav *\*av Lim* 'manifest, obvious' in its adverbial function, with *-o*, *-ua* continuing *\*-btrb*. For South Slavic continuants of *\*avbtrb* cf. Bulg *javen*, SCr *javan*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 160 (uncertain connection with Slav *\*aviti sg* 'to appear'); cABEJ *St.* I 246 (from NGk *yuic* in *yt6*, 86g id.); OREL *Orpheus* VI 65.

jalcd interj. 'come'. An isolated imperative form in *-k* (cf. *Ik*) based on IE *\*ja-* 'to go'. 0 BUGGE *BB XVIII* 191 (compound consisting of *ja* and pronominal *ke-*); POKORNY I 296; cABEJ *St.* I 247 (transformation of the phrase *eja ketu* 'come here').

jam aor. *qeshe* 'to be'. From PALb *\*es-mi* further connected with IE *\*es-* id. and identical with Skt *cismi*, Gk *cipi* (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 *\*keel-* 'to turn, to revolve' (CAMARDA I 45), cf. Gmc *\*werdan* 'to become' in its connection with IE *\*yert-* 'to turn, to revolve'. 0 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 *kint* 'to become'), *Saggi* 103; MAYRHOFER I 67; FRISK I 463-464; POKORNY I 340-342; HAMP *Festschr. Beeler* 337-346 (derives 3 sg. *eshte dsht* from *\*en esti* to be compared with Gk *vecyci.*); cABEJ *St.* I 247-248; KLINGENSCHMITT *Munch. St. Spr.* XL 113; OREL *Lingv. issled.* II 31-33 (nasalization in 3 sg. *eshte dsht* < PALb *\*ensti* explained by the influence of 3 pl. */tine* < *\*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. *dhashe* 'to give'. A parallel form is *ap*. Geg *nap* results from PALb *\*en-apa* while *j-* in *jap* is explained as filling hiatus (PEDERSEN *Festskr. 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-* *\*ep-* 'to seize, to take': Skt *apndti* '(he) reaches, overtakes', Gk *to fasten, to bind*', Lat *aprsor* '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 *\*do-* 'to give'. The aorist *dhashe* < PALb *\*e-das-a* is based on the zero grade of IE *\*do-* 'to give' (CAMARDA 173, 127; MEYER *Alb. St.* III 14). 0 CAMARDA 173, 127 (*jap* compared with Gk *iaircco* 'to send, to drive on'; *dhashe* derived from *\*do-*); JOKL *Studien* 32, *LKUBA* 26, *IF XLIII* 51-52, *Sprache IX* 118 (augment in *dhashe*); 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. Worth.* 30; cABEJ *St.* VII 195; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82, *Minch. St. Spr.* XL 4 (< IE *\*epi-d(o)H-ja*, cf. Gk *bct8i8cotti* 'to give freely'); HULD 150; KORTLANDT *Arm-1E* 42 (reconstructs *\*dodHs-* as the source of *dhashe*); KLINGENSCHMITT *Miinch. St. Spr.* XL 123 (reconstruction of the aoristic paradigm); OREL *Etimologija* 1982 154 (parallelism of *dhashe* < *\*e-clas-m* and Slav *\*dax-b*; 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.

jarge f, pl. *jarga* 'spit, phlegm'. From PALb *\*erg('* related to Av *arazant-* 'bad', OHG *arg* 'bad, evil', Lith *arzus* 'lusty'. 0 POKORNY 1338; cABEJ *St.* VII 212, 243.

jaricke f, pl. *jaricka* 'pullet, chick'. Another variant is *jaricke*. Borrowed from Bulg *jarieka*. 0 PoLAK *ZfBalk* I 78 (derived from Slav *\*jarica* 'one year old creature'); SVANE 140.

jarind f 'ripe fruit'. Borrowed from Slav *\*jarina* 'harvest', cf. in South Slavic continuants: SCr *jarina* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 21). 0 SELikEV *Slay. naselenie* 160.

farm m 'yoke'. Borrowed from Slav *\*arbm-b* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *jarbm.h*, Bulg *jarem*, SCr *jaram* (MEYER *Wb.* 161). 0 SELISIEV *Slay. naselenie* 156; SVANE 28.

jasht adv. 'outside'. From PAIb *\*e(k)gta* derived from IE *\*egh-s* 'out': Gk Lat *ex* and the like (CAMARDA 136, 87; CARD *St.* 1248-249). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 24 (from Lat *extra*); MEYER *Wb.* 161 (from Rom *\*extus* parallel to Lat *intus*), *Alb. St.* IV 49; LA PIANA *Studi* 185 (reconstructs *\*eghs-to-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 133 (follows MEYER); MANN *Language* XXVI 383; FRISK I 527; WALDE-HOFMANN I 423; CARD *St.* VII 232, 257; 1-10LD 77.

jave f, pl. *jaVe* 'week'. Borrowed from Lat *hebdomas* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 162) treated as a nominative in *-a*. The group *-bdm-* yields Alb *-v-*. 0 SKOK *AARBSt.* 11 343 n. 3; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 133; MIHAESCur *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 129; HAMP *GjA* XVII (8) 121-129.

jaz m, pl. *jaza* 'mill-stream'. Borrowed from Slav *\*en*. 'dam, weir', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *jaz*, SCr *jaz* (DESNICKAJA *Slay. zaimstv.* 11). 0 SVANE 44.

je f. 'permission'. A phonetic variant of *leje*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 162 (to Skt *yos-* 'welfare, happiness' and the like), *Alb. St.* III 40, 63; PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 253 (against MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 32 (to Skt *dvi-lavorable*); ERNOUT-MEILLET 330; CABO *St.* I 249 (*je* as a variant of the particle *le* semantically misinterpreted by MEYER).

jeh m. 'echo'. A scholarly borrowing from Lat *echo* id. Used as a basis for the formation of *jehoj* 'to echo' and *jehone* 'echo'. 0 CABEJ *St.* I 249 (Greecisized Ital *eco* id.).

jerm m 'delirium, absent-mindedness'. Goes back to PAIb *\*erma* etymologically identical with Lith *efmas* 'monster', Latv *ermis* 'wonderful apparition', *ermi* 'wonders, miracles'. 0 JOKL *Studien* 32; FRAENKEL 122; POKORNY I 58; DURIDANOV *Trakite* 56, 75 (to Thr *\*ermas*); CABO *St.* I 250, VII 205, 247; DEMIRAJ *AE* 208.

jes aor. *feta* 'to remain'. From PAIb *\*etja*, a denominative of *jete*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 163 (suggests IE *\*et-* or *\*ed-* but without any meaning); BARK *ARSt* I 76 (to IE *\*sed-* 'to sit'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 134, 186; XHUVANI *KLetr* 5; CABEJ *St.* I 250-251 (to Phryg MOD, 3 sg. opt. let him be').

jete f, pl. *jete* 'life'. Goes back to PAIb *\*eta*, related to the isolated group of Gk *Eie6s* 'true, real', ?*tee. cariefi*, Otveli (Hes.), r 'clicco 'to test'. 0 CAMARDA I 122 (to *jes*); MEYER *Wb.* 163 (from Rom *\*aeta* > Arum *eta* 'world, life', a back-formation of Lat *aetas* 'age'), *Alb. St.* IV 12; MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 11043, 1056; PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 156 (follows CAMARDA); BARI6 *AARBSt.* I 216; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 23 (reconstructs IE *\*aiyota* > MW *oed* 'world'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 133-134; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 242; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 9; CABEJ *St.* I 251-252; FRISK 1578-581; 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 *\*ezer*, 'lake' (CARET *St.* I 252). 0 MANN *Comp.* 7 (to Gk *aeaX.og* 'soot').

jo part 'no'. Borrowed from Germ *ja* via Slavic languages of Austro-Hungary (FRIEDRICH *IF* LX 164). 0 BARK *ARSt* 37 (from IE *\*eneu*: Goth *inu* 'without', Skt *ano* 'me'); CABEJ *St.* VII 227.

jOrie f, pl. *jona* 'echo'. Phonetic transformation of *jehone*, see *jeh*. 0 CABO *St.* I 249 (secondary attraction of *jone* and *jehone*).

josh aor. *josha* 'to curl, to fondle, to caress'. From PAIb *\*jdudsja* etymologically connected with IE *\*jeudh-*: Skt *yddhyate* 'to fight, to struggle', Tokh A *yutk-* 'to take care of, to trouble about', Lith *judinti* 'to excite, to arouse' (OREL *FLH* VIII 44). 0 FRAENKEL 195-196; POKORNY I 511; MAYRHOFER III 19-20; VAN WINDEKENS I 612; CABEJ *St.* I 252-253 (identifies *josh* with *osh* 'skimming', from Turkish *hos* 'pleasant'); KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 (against OREL).

joshe f, pl. *osha* 'grandmother'. Originally an element of the nursery vocabulary, this word is based on *josh* and identical with *joshe* 'caress' (DEMIRAJ *AE* 209). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 163 (to *gjysh*); BARK *ARSt* I 37-38 (same etymology); JOKL *LKUBA* 37-39 (to *\*at-sia* derived from *ate*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 115; CABO *St.* I 253; DEMIRAJ *AE* 209.

jU pron. 'you'. From PAIb *\*ju* identical with Lith *jas* id., Goth *jus* id., Gk i.)*gei*; id., Skt acc. *yustn.cin* id. (BoPP 464; CAMARDA I 95; MEYER *Wb.* 163, *Alb. St.* III 40), with the short vowel generalized from the oblique stem. 0 GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 21; MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 291; PEDERSEN

*Festschr. Thomsen* 252-253 (eliminates the hiatus *j-* and reconstructs *\*u* < *\*yes*), *KZ* XXXVI 103; *JOKL IF* XLIX 275; *TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia* 135 (follows PEDERSEN); *MANN Language* XXVIII 38 (reconstructs *\*jas*); *MANN Language* XXVIII 38; *PISANI Saggi* 132 (agrees with MEYER); *MINSHALL Language* XXII 627; *MAYRIIOFER* III 24; *FEIST Goth.* 305; *FRAENKEL* 199; *FRISK* II 963-964; *POKORNY* I 513-514; *HOLD* 78-79, *JIES* VII 203-207 (rejects MEYER's etymology because of the short vocalism reflected in Albanian, and reconstructs *ju* < *\*yes*); *OREL FLH VIII/1-2* 43; *KORTLANDT SSSL* XXIII 174 (cliticized form of IE *\*fuH*); *DEMIRAJ AE* 209 (from *\*usm-* present in oblique cases based on *\*yes*).

*jud* m 'mythological monster'. Borrowed from Slav *\*juch*, *\*juda* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *juda*. 0 *LAMBERTZ Alb. Marchen* 26 n. 8 (links *jud* with the name of Judas); *cABEJ St.* I 253 (agrees with *LAMBERTZ*).

*jug* m 'South, Southern wind'. Borrowed from Slav *\*jugg*, id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *jug*, *SCr jug* (*MEYER Wb.* 164). 0 *TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia* 135; *SELISCEV Slay. naselenie* 197; *SVANE* 175.

## K

*ka* m, pl. *qe* 'ox'. From PAIb *\*kaxa* going back to *\*koso-*, a nominal derivative of IE *\*kes-* 'to scratch, to cut'; cf. Slav *\*voh*, 'ox' *\*valiti* 'to throw down' > 'to castrate' (*OREL LB* XXVIII/4 52-53). 0 *BOPP* 491 (from IE *\*eau-*); *STIER KZ* XI 150 (same as *BOPP*, adduces Venet *ceva* 'cow'); *GIL'FERDING Otm.* 22 (same as *STIER*); *MEYER Wb.* 164 (compares *ka* with Lith *karve* '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* 1585; *SGGJa* I 58; *HAMP St. Whatmough* 86, *Munch. St. Spr.* 59; *cABEJ St.* VII 201; *OLBERGFestschr. Pisani* 11 684; *OREL Balcanica* 114 (a substratum loanword reflecting IE *\*gwou-* 'bull'), *LB* XXVIII/4 52-53, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360; *TRUBAT'EV* 2iv. 43-44, *ESSJa* XI 108; *TOPOROV PJa* IV 47 (repeats MEYER'S etymology); *DEMIRAJ AE* 210 (to Gk 'deer's calf').

*kabisht* m, pl. *kabishta* 'earwig'. A derivative in *-shte* based on an unattested *\*kab* continuing PAIb *\*kaba*. The latter is related to Lith *kabeti*

'to hang', *kaba* 'crooked tree' and the like. 0 *FRAENKEL* 200-201; *POKORNY* I 918.

*kacabu kacabil* pl. *kacabunj* 'beetle, stagfly'. A compound consisting of *kaca* and *bu* < PAIb *\*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 kacard* m 'stagbeetle, grasshopper'. A compound of *kaca* (see *kacabu*) and *die* 'deer'. 0 *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 *mite*. For the meaning of the latter cf. dialectal *mitez* 'roe' (*cABEJ St.* I 254). 0 *MEYER Wb.* 182 (*kacamite* '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*.

*kacarrum* aor. *kacarruma* 'core of corn-cob, corn-cob'. A compound of *kaca* (see *kacabu*) and *rrum*.

*kacek* m, pl. *kaceke* 'wineskin'. Back-formation based on *kaciq* (*cABEJ St.* I 254).

*kace* f, pl. *kace* 'butt, barrel, bin'. Borrowed from Slav *\*kadhca* 'barrel', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kaca*, *SCr kaca* (*SELWEV Slay. naselenie* 154). 0 *SVANE* 68.

*kaciq* m, pl. *kaciq* 'kid, wineskin'. Borrowed from NGk *istt-raixt* id. (*MEYER Wb.* 185). 0 *cABEJ St.* I 254 (related to *kec*).

*kag* m, pl. *kec*, *kecer kecen* 'weaver'. Borrowed from Slav *\*ti,kaet*, id., cf. South Slavic continuants in Bulg *tvkae* (*MIKLosIch Slay. Elemente* 35; *MEYER Wb.* 182). 0 *SELIKEV Slay. naselenie* 171.

**kacel** adj. 'lame'. A prefixal derivative based on *cal*. The prefix *ka-* has also a variant *ke-* (see below).

**kacile** f, pl. 'basket, hand-basket'. Another, and more archaic, variant is *kashile*. Borrowed from Lat *quasillum* 'small basket' (cABEJ *St. I* 254-255). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 202 (borrowed from Slav *\*kaul'a* 'basket'); KRISTOFORIDHI 147 (to Gk *IcUatc* 'bag, pouch'); MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 24; HAARMANN 145; LANDI *Lat.* 85, 104, 110.

**kacorr m** 'leveret'. A phonetic variant of *kafshor kafshuar*, derivative of *kafshe*. For the source of cf. *kacile*.

**kacorre** f, pl. *kacorre* 'hut, hovel'. A phonetic variant of *kashtore* 'straw hut', derivative of *kashte* (cABEJ *St. I* 254).

**kacube** f, pl. *kacisha* 'bush'. An early Slavic loanword, from *\*kocubvl\***kocuba* 'crest, tuft' (OREL *Etimologija 1983* 138-139). See *kacubel*. 0 HAAS *LB I* 37, 46 (to Skt *kakubh-* 'peak, summit'); MANN *Language XXVI* 386-387 (to Gk *ta66yg(3oc)*); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 105 (prefix *ka-*); VARBOT *Etimologija 1968* 68; cABEJ *St. I* 256-257; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360.

*kacubel* m 'kind of a small bird'. An early Slavic loanword from *\*kocs'ubejbl\***koeubelb* 'lark' attested only in Ukr *koeubej* and derived from *\*koe'ubil\***kocYuba* 'crest, tuft' (VARBOT *Etimologija 1968* 68). Cf. also such Albanian derivatives as *kacybet* 'vulture' (MEYER *Wb.* 183: erroneously compares with Slav *\*kobbch* 'kind of bird'). 0 OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360.

**kacul m** 'shock (of hair or feather), crest; penis (of infants)'. Borrowed from Slav *\*kaulsl\***kaeuth*, a prefixal derivative of *\*juh*, 'hornless; piece of wood; penis', cf. **Bulg** *kaeul* (DESNICKAJA *Slay. zaimstv.* 13). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 183 (*kacul* 'penis' borrowed from Ital *cazzo* id.); SVANE 147.

**kacule** f, pl. *kacule* 'hood'. Phonetically developed from *\*kashule*. Borrowed from Lat *casula* 'hue, later 'hooded coat'. 0 MOUTSOS *ZfBalk XIX/1* 48-65 (from NGk *iccacsoiika* 'hood, cap').

**kacup** m, pl. *kacupe* 'skin (for wine or oil)'. A masculine form of *kacube* with the unvoicing of the auslaut *-b*.

**kacurrel** adj. 'frizzy, curly'. A derivative of *\*kacurre*, an early borrowing from Slav *\*kaura* 'hummock', otherwise unattested in South Slavic.

**kade** f, pl. *kade* 'barrel'. A singularized plural of *\*kade* borrowed from Slav *\*kada* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: **Bulg** *kada*, **SCr** *kada* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 164). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8 (from Lat *cadus*); MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrif3<sup>2</sup> I* 1041; SELISCIV *Slay. naselenie* 154; cABEJ *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* (*SELISStEv Slay. naselenie* 186). 0 SVANE 209, 234.

**kadoriqe** f, pl. *kadoriqe* (bot.) 'layer, runner'. A singularized plural of *\*kadorik* borrowed from MGk *icoctiiipo* id. (cABEJ *St. I* 256).

**kadh m** 'sty'. Another variant is *kath*. From PA1b *\*kadza* related to Lith *katit*, *kati* 'to swell' *keleti* 'to widen, to spread'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 165; FRAENKEL 248-249; cABEJ *St.* 1271 (deminutive of *ka*).

**kadh** f, pl. *kadha* 'pruning-knife, billhook with long handle'. From PA1b *\*kada* etymologically connected with IE *\*(s)ke(n)d-*: Skt *skhadate* 'to split', Gk *cricEoavvviit* 'to scatter, to disperse' and their cognates. 0 FRISK II 721; MAYRHOFER III 507; POKORNY 1919.

*kafke* f, pl. *kafka* 'skull'. Borrowed from MGk *Kaincoc* 'kind of dish or bowl, patera' (MEYER *Wb.* 165-166). 0 CAMARDA I 54 (to MGk *icocincaXov* 'dish, skull').

**kafshe** f, pl. *kafshe* '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 *\*kashe* (HULD 79). 0 MEYER *Neugriech. St.* III 29 (with insurmountable semantic obstacles, from Lat *capsa* 'chest, box'); JOKL *LKUBA* 19 (from Lat *capsa*); MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 22; cABEJ

*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-LCBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* I 1055). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 176 (from Rom *\*capsdre* based on *Lat capere* 'to take'); MEYER-LCBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1052 (from Rom *\*capticire* 'to grasp'); JOKL *LKUBA* 19 n. 1 (to Gk *icOurco* 'to snap, to snatch', Slav *\*xapati* 'to seize, to grasp'); MIHAESKURESEE *IV* 11-2 21; HAARMANN 115; cABEJ *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.* 0 CAMARDA I 66-67 (to Gk *ap* 'in some way, to some place'); MEYER *Wb.* 304 (to Gk *lona* 'clown'), *Alb. St.* III 4; VON BLANKENSTEIN *IF XXI* 112 (follows MEYER); CABEJ *St.* VII 201.

**kake** f 'excrements'. A usual *Kinderwort* (MEYER *Wb.* 166). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8 (from *Lat cacare* 'to defecate').

**kakerdhi** f, pl. *kakerdhi* 'dung (of sheep or goat)'. A modified sequence consisting of *kake* and *dhi*. 0 MANN *Language XXVI* 386-387 (*kaker-* to Gk *minpo*);).

**kakerdhice** f, pl. *kakerdhica* 'lizard'. Based on *kakerdhi*, a compound consisting of *kake* and *rdhi* (to *hardhi*), cf. a similar formation in *hardhje*. Other compounds of the same type are *kakezorre*, *kakerdhok* 'frog (to *kake* and *zorre*)' and *kakezog* 'blindworm' - to *kake* and *zog*, i.e. a creature excreting its children: the blindworm is viviparous. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 147 (variant of *hardhje*), 166-167 (on *kakezog* and *kakezorre*); SCHMIDT *KZ L* 242-243 (borrowed from Gk *xpoicaetXo*; 'crocodile').

**kakole** f, pl. *kakole* 'hip bone'. A phonetic variant of *kokall* 'bone' borrowed from NGk *x6xxcak.ov* id.

**kakrruk m, pl.** 'stone-fruit, hard nut'. A suffixal derivative of *kokerr* with a dialectal change of the unstressed *-a-* > *-a-* (*MURATI Probleme* 79). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 195 (to Slav *\*orem* 'nut').

**kalakie** adv. 'piggyback'. A compound of of an expressive prefix *kala(n)-* (see *kalaveshi*) and *kic*.

**kalaman kalamit** m, pl. *kalamaj*, *kalamane* 'child (till the age of 8-9)'. A compound of of an expressive prefix *kala(n)-* (see *kalavesh*) and *\*man*, derivative of *maj*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 170 (to Slav *\*kale* 'dirt', *\*kal'avi* 'dirty'); BARI6 *ARSt. I* 94-95; cABEJ *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*.

**kalaqafd** adv. 'piggyback'. A compound of of an expressive prefix *kala(n)-* (see *kalavesh*) and *qafe*.

**kalavesh** m, pl. *kalavesh* 'grape'. A compound consisting of an expressive prefix *kala(n)-* (cf. *kalamend*, *kalange'rc* 'cramp' - *gerc* id.) and *vesh*, cf. *vesh rrush* 'grape' (cABEJ *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 *\*Pei-* 'to turn'. 0 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*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 221-222 (to *qelb*); BARI6 *ARSt. I* 53 (reconstructs IE *\*golbh-* and compares *kalb* with Slav *\*iely* 'tumor'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 137; cABEJ *St.* VII 203, 284.

**kaleed** 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 *lehte*.

**kalesh** adj. 'hairy'. A prefixal derivative of *lesh* (MEYER *Wb.* 170). 0 CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 104.

**kale** m, pl. *kual, kuaj* 'horse'. Borrowed from Lat *caballus* id. (STIER KZ XI 146; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 7; MEYER *Wh.* 167). 0 CAMARDA I 66 (to Gk *icoc*(367LXric 'working horse'); GIL FERDING *Otm.* 22 (to Skt *khdra-* 'donkey'); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1050; PISANI AAL VIII 345 (back formation of pl. *kuaj* borrowed from Slav *\*kon'b*); TAGLI-AVINI *Origini* 190; MIHAESCU *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. *kolihe*. 0 OREL *Sov. slay.* 1985/5 79-84.

**kalibobe** f, pl. *kaliboba* 'kite, nettle-tree'. Borrowed from Slav *\*kalibolm*, a compound of *\*kaliti* 'to make dirty' and *\*bob''*, 'bean' unattested in South Slavic.

**kaliboc** adv. 'on one's back'. A compound of an expressive prefix *kali-* (a variant of *kala-*, see *kalavesh*) and *hose*. 0 XHUVANI - cABEJ *BShkSh* 1956/4 74 (on *kali-*).

**kalihum** adv. 'downwards, over and over'. A compound of an expressive prefix *kali-* (see *kaliboc*) and *hum* < *humb* (cABEJ *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* (DESNICKA-JA *Slay. zaim.* 16). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 155, 386 (from NGk *aicaXgco* 'to carve'); cABEJ *St.* I 258; SVANE 234.

**kalivac** adv. 'in a group of three on a stem (of fruit and the like)'. Derivative in *-c* of *kalivare* (cABEJ *St.* I 258).

**kalivare** adv. 'trickling down'. A compound of an expressive prefix *kali-* (see *kaliboc*) and *var* (cABEJ *St.* I 258-259).

**kaloj** aor. *kalova* 'to pass, to go past'. Borrowed from Rom *\*coallare* < Lat *coambul ore* 'to go with'.

**kalptoj** aor. *kalptova* 'to fill with tow, to plug, to caulk'. A denominative based on a Turkish loanword *kallp, kallep* 'form, model'.

**m** *kali&* adj. 'blue, sky blue'. From Rom *\*calthinus* 'yellow, yellowish',

based on Lat *caltha* 'Calendula officinalis', cf. *calthula* 'yellow robe' (MEYER *Wb.* 170-171). 0 OREL *Balkanica* 113-114 (from a substratum reflex of IE *\*ghel-* 'yellow'); HAARMAN 114; cABEJ *St.* VII 218.

**kall** aor. *kalla* 'to insert, to thrust, to place, to incite, to set on fire'. From PAIb *\*kalna*, a denominative based on *\*kala*. The latter continues IE *\*kvolo-* and must be related to *sjell* (JOKL *LKUBA* 266 n. 1). 0 CAMARDA I 149 (to Gk 'to urge, to drive on'); MEYER *Wb.* 168 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb. St.* III 3; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 329; PISANI *Saggi* 123; cABEJ *St.* I 259 (follows JOKL); JANSON *Unt.* 161; HULD 106-107; DEMIRAJ *AE* 210-211.

**kalla** p1. 'slander, calumny'. Literally, 'incitation'. Derivative of *kall* (CAMARDA II 67; MEYER *Wh.* 168). 0 CABO *St.* I 259 (to *kalli*).

**kallez** aor. *kallezova* 'to slander, to tell stories'. Derived from an unattested *\*kallez*, a collective form of *kalla*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 168 (to *kall*); cABEJ *St.* 1260-261 (identifies this verb with *kallez* 'to put ears of corn together', derived from *kallez* 'ear of corn').

**kalli** m, pl. *kallin j, kalleza* 'ear of grain'. An archaic variant *kall* 'straw, chaff' is attested in Italo-Albanian. From PAIb *\*kalsa* related to Slav *\*kolyz*, 'ear of grain' (MEYER *BB* XIV 53; *Wb.* 168). 0 PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 544; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 124, *Sprache* IX 151; TREIMER KZ LXV 79; PISANI *Saggi* 123; cABEJ *St.* I 270; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; TRUBAŦEV *ESSJa* X 152-153; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 203; DEMIRAJ *AE* 211-212 (to Slav *\*koh*, 'picket, stake').

**kallm** m, pl. *kallma* 'reed, straw'. Borrowed from Lat *calamus* 'reed, cane' (cABEJ *St.* I 261). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 168-169 (together with *kallam* 'reed' borrowed from NGk *icaXeci*.tt id.); MEYER-LT3BKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1042; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 113; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 138-139.

**kam** aor. *pata* 'to have'. From PAIb *\*kapmi*, an athematic verb based on IE *\*kap-* 'to seize, to grasp', cf. Lat *capiO* 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). 0 CAMARDA I 69 (to Gk *gxco* 'to possess, to have'); MEYER *Wb.* 171 (to Goth *haban* and Lat *habeo* '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 1159-160, II 350-351; POKORNY I 408, 842; FEIST *Goth.* 229; CAMAJ *Beitr. SOE* 41-44 (from *\*ke-am*, to *\*es-* 'to be'); HULD 167; JANSON *Unt.* 149-151; cABEJ *St.* III 130, VII 253; HAMP *KZ LXXVII* 252; KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 230; HULD 143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 212, 313-314 (*pashe* treated as a denominative derived from *\*poti-*).

**kamare** f 'cobweb'. A metaphoric usage of *kamare* 'vault' borrowed from NGk *iccupipa id.* 0 MEYER *Wb.* 171-172 (borrowed from Lat *cammarus* 'sea-crab, lobster' or Gk *ical.tRapoc id.*); cABEJ *St.* I 263 (follows MEYER).

**kander** f, pl. *kandra* 'jar, vessel'. Borrowed from Lat *cantharus* 'large drinking vessel, tankard, pot' (LANDI *Lat.* 116, 145). 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/3-4* 350 (from Gk *icetveapoc*); cABEJ *St.* I 264 (borrowed directly from Gk *toiveapo*; 'drinking cup').

**kanderr** f, pl. *kandrra* 'insect'. Borrowed from Lat *cantharis* 'beetle, worm'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 173 (to Ital *canterella* 'Spanish fly'); MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/3-4* 350 (from Greek); cABEJ *St.* 263-264 (from Gk *Kay-eapog* 'beetle, scarab').

**kane** f 'reed, rush'. Borrowed from Lat *canna* 'reed, cane' (MEYER *VW* 173-174), with the geminate preventing rhotacism in Tosk. 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif*<sup>2</sup> I 1041, 1051; HAARMAN 114.

**kangjel m 'song'**. Borrowed from Rom *\*canticellum* reflected in Rum *cantecel id.* (MEYER *Wb.* 187). Cf. *kenge*. 0 cABEJ *St.* I 264 (Albanian derivative in *-el-* based on *kenge*).

**kanushe** f, pl. *kanusha* 'stork'. Borrowed from Rom *\*canosus*, derivative of Lat *canus* 'white' MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 21; cABEJ *St.* I 265). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 174 (from Ital *cicogna* 'stork'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 24 (to SCr *kanja* 'vulture' and the like); SELISCEV *Slay. nase-lenie* 198; HELBIG 90 (follows MEYER); HAARMAN 114; LAND! *Lat.* 63, 110, 114.

**kap** aor. *kapa* 'to seize, to grasp'. From PAIb *\*kapa* connected with IE *\*kap-* 'to seize': Gk *kocturo* to 'snap', Lat *capio* 'to seize, to take', Goth *haban* 'to hold, to have' and the like (JoxL *Studien* 34). See *kam.* 0 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; cABEJ *St.* VII 254; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; DEMIRAJ *AE* 212-213.

**kapase** f, pl. *kapasa* 'oil-barrel'. Borrowed from NGk *icamicra id.* (cABEJ *St.* I 265). 0 JOKL *Studien* 33-34 (to *kap*); cABEJ *St.* VII 206, 266; DEMIRAJ *AE* 213.

**kape** f, pl. *kape* 'armful of corn; shock, pile'. From PAIb *\*kapa* identical with Gk *icalm* 'manger, crib', further related to *kap* (KRISTOFORIDHI 141). 0 MANN *Language XXVI* 387 (to Slav *\*kupb*, Lith *kaupas*); FRISK I 783-784; cABEJ *St.* IV 73.

**kapercej** aor. *kaperceva* 'to cross, to jump over'. A prefixal derivative of *ece j*, *\*ka-per-ece j*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 175 (from Rom *\*capitiare*).

**kaperdij** aor. *kaperdiva* 'to swallow'. A prefixal derivative in *ka-* based on *perdu*. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 242, 244.

**kaperdhij** aor. *kaperdhiva* 'to overturn, to subjugate'. A prefixal derivative in *ka-* based on *perdhe*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 175 (from Ital *capovolgere* 'to turn upside down').

**kaperthej** aor. *kapertheva* 'to entangle, to entwine'. A prefixal derivative in *ka-per-* based on *thyej*.

**kapine** f 'bramble, blackberry'. A recent loanword from Maced *kapina* 'blackberry' with *-a-* < *\*-p-*. 0 cABEJ *St.* I 266 (from Bulg *kapina 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 *Slay. zaim.* 16). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 176 (based on NGk *idnco*; 'toil, suffering'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 24; JOKL *Studien* 34 (to *gem*); cABEJ *St.* I 266 (to *kap*); SVANE 247; DEMIRAJ *AE* 213.



**kapruall kapruell** m, pl. *kaproj, kaprej, kaprenj* 'roebuck'. Borrowed from Lat *capreolus* id. with an innovative penultimate stress (STIER *KZ* XI 136; MEYER *Wb.* 176). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> 1 1045, 1047; MIHAEScU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; cABEJ *St.* VII 239; HAARMANN 115; LANDI *Lat.* 78-80, 118.

**kapt** m, pl. *kapte* 'irrigation ditch'. A parallel form *kapte* 'lee-side of mountain' also belongs here. An adjective in *\*-to-* based on *kap* (cABEJ *St.* I 266). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 175 (to *kaptoj*).

**kaptoj** aor. *kaptova* 'to cross, to pass through'. A more conservative form is *kapertoj*. A phonetic variant of *kapercej*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 175 (from Ital *capitare* 'to arrive, to turn up'); cABEJ *St.* I 266-267 (derivative of *kap*).

**kapth** m, pl. *kaptha* 'path, mountain path'. A derivative in *-th* based on an unattested *\*kap* continuing PAIb *\*kapa*. The latter is related to Lith *kapas* 'grave', *kopa* 'dune', Latv *kapa* 'dune' continuing IE *\*(s)kep-*. 0 FRAENKEL 217; POKORNY I 932.

**kapua kapue** m, pl. *kaonj* 'rooster'. Borrowed from Lat *capOnem* 'capon' (MEYER *Wb.* 176). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 11 (from Ital *capone* id.); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> 1 1046, 1047 (same as MIKLOSICH); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; cABEJ *St.* VII 254; HAARMANN 115; LANDI *Lat.* 143-145.

**kaq** adv. 'SO, so much, so many'. For the structure of this adverb see *aq*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 167 (related to *aq*).

**kar m** 'penis'. Borrowed from Gypsy *kar* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 176). 0 TREIMER *MRIW* 1 366; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 141.

**karabobe** f, pl. *karabobe* 'lote, nettle tree'. Variant of *kalibobe* (MANN *HAED* 185).

**karabush** m, pl. *karabusha* 'corn-cob'. A prefixal derivative of *rabush*. 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 141 (from Turk *kara had* 'black head'); cABEJ *St.* VII 244.

**karavela** f, pl. *karavela* 'small round bread'. Another variant is *kravele*. A singularized plural of the original *\*karavale* borrowed from Slav *\*korvajb* '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'. 0 SELISeEv *Slay. naselenie* 155; cABEJ *St.* I 268; SVANE 92.

**karba** f 'vulture'. From PAIb *\*kar(i)ba* related to Lith *kdrti* 'to hang' and its cognates, cf. the semantic development of Slav *\*kobhci*, 'vulture' - to Lith *kabeti* 'to hang'. In both cases, the basis of the semantic motivation is the well-known hunting position of the vulture "hanging" in the sky. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 178 (to Bulg *kraguj*, SCr *kraguj* 'hawk'); JOKL *LKUBA* 304 (to *shkabe*, with an unorganic *-r-*); FRAENKEL I 224-225; TRUBACEV *ESSJa* X 101-102 (on the etymology of *\*kobbcB*).

**karkalec** m, pl. *karkaleca, karkalece* 'grasshopper'. A transformation of Bulg *skakalec* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 178), probably, under the influence of *karkal* 'excrements' and similar descriptive forms.

**karkashine** f, pl. *karkashina* 'lean sickly sheep; pottage of pulse and grain'. Derived from SCr *karkas'a* 'carcass'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 179 (the word for pottage - from SCr adj. fern. *kokošinja* 'belonging or related to hen').

**karkas** aor. *karkata* 'to quack'. Borrowed from Slav *\*kwkati* 'to caw, to croak, to quack', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kbrkam*, SCr *krkati*. 0 TRUBACEV *ESSJa* XIII 216.

**karma** f, pl. *karma* 'rock'. From PAIb *\*karpna* further related to *karpe* (*Jota, Studien* 35). 0 cABEJ *St.* 1269.

**karpa** f, pl. *karpa* 'rock'. From PAIb *\*karpa* related to Lith *kerpU*, 'to cut', Latv *cirpt* 'to shear, to clip', ON *harfr* 'harrow' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 34-35). 0 KRISTOFORIDHI 144 (related to the name of the Carpathian mountains, Kapncirn; Opog); 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. Worth.* 119 (suffix *-pe*); CABO *St.* I 268-269, IV 74; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; DEMIRAJ *AE* 213.

karsh m, pl. *kersh* 'rocky area'. A parallel form is *kershe*. Continues PAIb *\*kar-usa*, a derivative of IE *\*(s)ker-* 'to cut', semantically similar to *karpe*. 0 MEYER *Wh.* 207 (from SCr *krs* id.); POKORNY I 938-947; CABO *St.* I 269.

kart f 'measure of grain'. Borrowed from Lat *quarta* 'fourth part' (CABEJ *St.* I 269-270). 0 MTHAEScu *RESEE IV 11-2* 14; HAARMANN 144; LANDI *Lat.* 134.

karthi f, pl. *karthi* 'dry firewood'. The same root is represented in *karthe* 'laburnum, golden rain'. A derivative in *-th-* based on *\*kare* from PAIb *\*kara* etymologically identical with Slav *\*kora* 'bark', Lith *kerh*, *kerti* 'to become separated' and further with IE *\*(s)ker-* 'to cut'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 178 (from NGk ic6p(poc 'brushwood')); FRAENKEL 245; POKORNY I 938-947; TRUBACEV *ESSJa 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. *karraveshe* 'stick'. A variant of *kalavesh*.

karrem m, pl. *karrema* 'rainworm'. A prefixal derivative of *rrime*.

karre f, pl. *karra* 'cart'. Borrowed from Lat *carrum* 'two-wheeled wagon' (MEYER *Wh.* 180). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1044; HAARMANN 115; LANDI *Lat.* 46, 128, 139.

karrige f, pl. *karriga* 'chair'. Borrowed from Lat *quadriga* 'set of four' (here, of four legs). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 12 (from Ital *cadrega*, *carega* 'chair'); MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1047 (from Ital Venet *carega* 'chair'); CABEJ *St.* VII 280.

karroqe f, pl. *karroqe* 'bushel, milk-can'. A parallel form is *krroqe* 'measure made of bark, bucket'. Borrowed from Gmc *\*krrik-* 'jug', cf. OHG *krache*, OE *truce*. 0 MEYER *Wh.* 180 (uncertain comparison with Germanic and Celtic names of vessels); BUGA III 721; KLUGE 407; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 61.

karrup m, pl. *karrupa* 'fish-trap'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*korup'h* attested in Bulg *korup* (BER 648). 0 KLEPIKOVA *Sb. Beratej-na* 419-427.

karrute f, pl. *karruta* 'fermenter'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*koryto* 'trough', see *korite* (*SELISCEv Slay. naselenie* 78, 142). 0 SVANE 67.

kasnec m, pl. *kasnece*, *kasneca* 'herald'. Borrowed from Slav *\*kaznecb* id., cf. SCr *kaznac* (JOKE *LKUBA* 56-58). 0 SELLTu'Ev *Slay. naselenie* 179, 286; SVANE 193.

kastravec m, pl. *kastravece*, *kastraveca* 'cucumber'. Borrowed, with a metathesis, from Slav *\*kostrovhcb* id, cf. Bulg *krastavec*, *krastavica*, SCr *krastavac* (MEYER *Wb.* 180). 0 SELISCEV *Slay. naselenie* 162, 286; CABEJ *St.* VII 244; SVANE 106.

kashdr f, pl. *kashra* 'reed, rush'. From *\*kashter* related to *kashte* (CABEJ *St.* I 270).

kashnjet m, pl. *kashnjete* 'chestnut grove'. Borrowed from Lat *castanetum* id. See *geshtenje*.

kashte f 'straw'. From PAIb *\*kalsta*, derivative of *kalli* (JOKL *IF XXXVI* 124, *LKUBA* 214, 274). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 180 (to Gk Kocrrai- icpteai or & Kocrcir xptaii map& Kunpiotc, Hes.); TREIMER *MRIW 1* 366-367 (borrowed from Gypsy *kart* 'wood'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 26-27 (to Slav *\*kostb* 'bone'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 143; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 104 (prefix *k-* and equivalent of Slav *\*ostb*); HAMP *St. albanica X/2* 87-88, *Etimologija 1971* 270-271; OREL *Sprache XXXI* 283; CABEJ *St.* VII 236; KORTLANDT *SSGL X* 221; DEMIRAJ *AE* 213-214.

kashtup m, pl. *kashtupe* 'skin of corn-cob'. A derivative in *-up* based on *kashte*.

kater num. 'four'. From PAIb *\*katur(a)* etymologically related to IE *\*retur-* *\*retuer-* id.: Skt *catvra-*, Gk *T6acapE,*, Lat *quattuor* and the like (CAMARDA I 169; GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 22; MEYER *BB VIII* 185). The vocalism of the second syllable is generalized according to the form of accusative *\*return*. The vowel in the first syllable presents serious

difficulties. It may be explained by reduction similar to that of Lat *quattuor* (MANN *Language XVII* 17; HULD 79) and Slav *\*e'byre* co-existing with *\*e'etyre* (but cf. TRUBACEV *ESS/a* IV 97). 0 MEYER Wb. 181 (from Lat *quattuor*); MEYER-LIAKE *Gr. Grundriff* <sup>2</sup> 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; cABEJ *St.* VII 228, 244; LANDI *Lat.* 75, 79; HAMP *Numerals* 907-910.

**katua katue** m, pl. *katonj* 'stable, basement, cellar'. Borrowed from NGk *kocrthyt* < *icourthyetov* id. (MEYER *Wh.* 183). 0 OREL *Suhst.* 12 (from Iran *\*xata-* 'basemene').

**katund** m, pl. *katunde* 'village'. A prefixal derivative of *tund* representing a calque of Slav *\*kolyba* 'hut' as based on *\*kolybati* 'to tremble, to shake' (cf. OREL *Soy. slay.* 1985/5 79-84). From Albanian, the word - originally, a name of a but - was borrowed to other Balkan languages. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 10 (from Ital *cantone*); MEYER Wb. 183; BRUCKNER *KZ XLVIII* 168; JOKL *IF XXXIII* 421-424 (from *ka-* and *tund* < *\*tuto-*, 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; cABEJ *St.* VII 200, 230; MOUTSOS *KZ LXXXVIII* 59-73 (from MGk *icocroiliva* 'suppellex, impedimenta, aedes in qua quis habitat'); MURATI *Probleme* 81; DEMIRAJ *AE* 214-215.

**kazhup** m, pl. *kazhupe* 'peasant coat'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*kottx7*, 'coat made of skin', cf. *gozhup*.

**ke** prep. 'to, at'. From PAIb *\*1(5* continuing the pronominal form *\*Poi* or *\*Verd* (MEYER *Wh.* 218, *Alb. St.* III 2). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 326 (analogical formation based on *ku*); cABEJ *St.* I 272 (agrees with PEDERSEN).

**kedh** m, pl. *kedhe, kedha* 'kid'. Other variants are *kec* and *kec*. An umlauticized form of PAIb *\*kadza* related to Slav *\*koza* 'she-goat' (*Alb. St.* III 4, 16; CIMOCHOWSKI *LII* 231). 0 POTT *KZ IV* 70 (to Lat *hoedus*); MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 21 (from SCr *keca* 'sound used to call goats'); MEYER *Wh.* 185 (borrowed from Gmc *\*kidjaz* 'kid' or Turk *kiiel* 'goat');

TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 137-138; MLADENOV *Ist.* 192; PISANI *Saggi* 130; TRUBA •CEV *ESSJa* XII 19-21; MURATI *Probleme* 131.

**kern m** 'incense'. Another form is *qem*. From PAIb *\*kapna* etymologically identical with Gk *xanvOc* 'smoke' and its cognates reflecting **IE** *\*kuep-* (*JOKL Studien* 37, *IF XLIV* 14). 0 MEYER *Wh.* 222 (from *\*kedmo-* and to Slav *\*cs'adi*, 'fumes, smoke'); BARK *ARSt.* I 31; FRISK I 781-782; POKORNY I 596-597; cABEJ *St.* I 272-273 (borrowed from Gk *laujtictqta* 'incense' or Lat *thymiama* id.); DEMIRAJ *AE* 215-216.

**kep** aor. *kepa* 'to hew'. The basic deverbative is *kep* 'quarry; tip, point'. Continues the umlauticized PAIb *\*kapa* etymologically related to Gk *KOTETCO* 'to hit, to hew', Lith *kapih, kapti* 'to hew' and the like (MEYER *Wh.* 185, *Alb. St.* III 4, 31). 0 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; cABEJ *St.* I 272-273 (dialectal form of *qep*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 216.

**keq** adj. 'bad, evil'. From PAIb *\*kakja* related to Gk *kotico*; 'bad' (BOPP 490; CAMARDA I 43; MEYER Wb. 184-185, *Alb. St.* III 3). The disyllabic *keiq, keeq* seems to be an artefact going back to KAVALLIOTIS. 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* V 85 (borrowing from Rom *\*cadOcus*), *Gr. Gr.* 258; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 327; JOKE *Studien* 35-36 (divides *keeq* > *keq* into a prefix *ke-* and the root *-eq* compared with Latv *igns* 'sour', Lat *aeger* 'ill, sick'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 145 (rejects JOKL's etymology for phonetic reasons); Cwo *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 *ke + eq* = Latv *igns*); OLBERG *Festschr. Bonfante* 565; cABEJ *St.* I 273-274 (borrowing from Gk *iccoc6*; > Alb *\*kak*, pl. *\*qeq* with the consequent analogical transformation into *keq*); HULD 79-80; DEMIRAJ *AE* 216-217.

**kerrme** f, pl. *kerrma* 'thorn-bush'. The umlauticized form of *karrme*, variant of *karme*.

**kerrnjoj** aor. *kerrnjova* 'to purr (of cat)'. As it becomes obvious from *kerrmez* 'purr', the verb continues an earlier form *\*kerrmnjoj* which, therefore, is a loanword from Lat *carminare* 'to sing, to make verses'.

**kethr** m, pl. *ketra* 'squirrel, dormouse'. Other variants are *keterr, kiter*

and *kiterr*. From PAIb *\*kdk-ter* related to Lith *\*kuokas* 'dance' (reconstructed from *kuokine* 'dancing party') and Slav *\*skakati* 'to jump, to spring'. At an early stage, borrowed to dialectal South Slavic *\*katerb*, attested in Bulg *katerica* 'squirrel' (OREL *Etimologtja* 1980 60-61). 0 FRAENKEL 311-312; POKORNY I 922-923; cABEJ *St. I* 274 (derivative of SCr *kita* 'tuft, cluster', Bulg *kita* id.); GEORGIEV *Vi,prosi* 41-42 (Bulg *katerica* from Thracian, with the ultimate reconstruction of *\*skcik-ter-*); STANG *LS* 86; *BER* 271-272 (agrees with GEORGIEV); GINDIN, KALUZSKAJA, OREL *Blssl.* 251; MURATI *Probleme* 83.

**kezd** f 'woman's head-dress, bonnet, hair-net'. Another variant is *kese*. Derivative in *-ze* of an unattested PAIb *\*kaxa* 'plaited hair' etymologically related to Slav *\*kosa* id., ON *haddr* 'woman's hair' and the like. 0 CAMARDA I 114 (to Gk *xaiti* 'long hair'); cABEJ *St. I* 274 (from *\*kreze*, derivative of *krye*); TRUBAftV *ESSJa* XI 131-133.

**kelboqe** f, pl. *kelboqe* 'sputum'. A suffixal derivative of *kalb* (cABEJ *St. I* 275).

**kelt:pre** f 'lime'. Borrowed from Lat fem. adj. *calcaria* 'pertaining to lime' (MitLosicij *Rom. Elemente* 8; MEYER *Wb.* 186). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1047, 1048; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 114; LANDI *Lat.* 46, 81, 111-112.

(G) **kelshejt m** 'communion cup, chalice'. Borrowed from Lat *calicem sanctum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 221) both parts of which are preserved in *qelq* and *shenjte*. 0 cABEJ *St. I* 272 (believes the compound to be formed in Albanian rather than in Latin).

**kelthas** aor. *kelthita*, *klitha* 'to cry'. Together with *kelcas* 'to make noise', this form reflects a strong secondary influence of *kerças*. However, originally, these verbs go back to a different source, Slav *\*klicati* 'to shout, to call'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 189 (identifies *kelcas* with *kerças*); ANTILA *Schw.* 100.

**kelysh** m, pl. *kelyshe*, *kelysha* 'young of animal, cub'. A derivative in *-ysh* of an unattested *\*kul* related to Gk *ic•62aot • cicacc4*. 11Xeiot, Hes. further connected with *crici*A,4 'young dog, cub' (cABEJ apud DEMIRAJ). 0 STIER *KZ* XI 145 (borrowed from Lat *catulus* 'cub'); MEYER *Wb.* 186 (to Lith *kale* 'dog, bitch' or W *colwyn* 'young dog, cub'); JOKL

*LKUBA* 259-264 (prefix *ke-* followed by *lysh* < *\*ludh-sjo-*, to IE *\*leudh-* 'to grow'); TREIMER *MRIW* I 357-358 (to Lat *lutum* 'dirt'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 149; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 105 (prefix *ke-*); FRISK II 741; MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* XXV/2 154-156 (from MGk *KouXoinci(ov)* 'puppy, young dog'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 218- 219.

**Ulla%** aor. *kellita*, *kalla* 'to put into, to insert, to dig, to instigate'. Derivative of *kall*. Note various deverbatives based on /*Alas*, such as *keilec* 'case' and *kellef* id. 0 cABEJ *St. VII* 257.

ken m, p1. *kellqe* 'hip bone'. Borrowed from East South Slavic continuants of *\*kaki*, 'hip': Bulg *O,/k*, Maced *kolk*, *kidk*.

**kambe kambe** f, pl. *kembe kamhe* 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. 0 CAMARDA I 55 (compares with Gk *icocuril* 'bend'); MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1042; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 138; MANN *Language* XVII 19 (from IE *\*kampa*, cf. CAMARDA); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 114; OREL *Balcanica* 114-115; COROMINAS *DEC* II 645-646; ROBLES *Spr.* 93-94 (borrowed from Gk 'foot joint of a horse'); cABEJ *St. VII* 279; HULD 80 ("the direction of borrowing is uncertain"); LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 115.

**Umbord kembone** f, pl. *kembore*, *kembora kembone*, *kembona* 'bell'. Borrowed from Rom *\*campona*, a secondary variant of Lat *campana* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 9; MEYER *Wb.* 186: directly from *campana*). 0 CAMARDA I 57 (to Gk *i614311* 'drinking vessel'); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1042; JOKE *Litteris* IV 197 (from Dalm *canpuone*), *Slavia* XIII 287.

**kemishe** t, pl. *kemishe* 'shirt'. Borrowed from Lat *camisia* 'linen shirt, night-gown' (MiKLosicH *Rom. Elemente* 9; MEYER *Wh.* 187). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1047; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 114.

**kenaq** aor. *kenaq* 'to please, to satisfy'. From PAIb *\*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 *nds'ati* 'to reach' and the like. Note the development of IE *\*-14-* > Alb *-q-* that seems to be phonetically regular.

0 JOKL *Studien* 36 (to Lith *ndkti* 'to become ripe', Latv *neikt* 'to come'); WEIGAND 36 (prefixal derivative of *ende*); KLUGE 248; MAYRHOFER II 145; PoKORNY I 316-318; FEIST *Goth.* 194; cABEJ *St.* I 275 (supports WEIGAND); DEMIRAJ *AE* 219.

**kend kand** m, pl. *kende - kande* 'corner, angle'. An early borrowing from Slav \**Orb* id. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 174 (from Ital *canto* id.); MANN *Language* XVII 19 (to Gk *icavek*).

**kend** pron. 'somebody'. From PA1b \**kan tan*, a sequence of two pronouns continuing IE \**leo-* and \**to-* in acc. sg. See *kush*. 0 JOKL *AARBSt.* 135 (related to *ke*, acc. sg. of *kush*); cABEJ *St.* I 275-276 (follows JOKL).

**kendell kandell** aor. *kendella- kandella* 'to make red-hot, to revive'. A denominative of *kendelle* (MANN *HAED* 193). 0 JOKL *Studien* 40 (analyzes a dialectal variant *knell* as a prefixal form related to Goth *ganisan* 'to be healthy'); cABEJ *St.* I 276 (repeats MANN' s explanation); DEMIRAJ *AE* 219.

**kendell8 kandelle** f, pl. *kendella kandella* 'lamp'. Borrowed from Lat *candela* 'wax-light, tallow-candle' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 10). 0 MEYER-LOME *Gr. Grundrij3*<sup>2</sup> I 1044; 11411-iiEscuRESEE IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 114; cABEJ *St.* I 276; LANDI *Lat.* 81, 116.

**ken& kand** f 'pleasure, appetite'. A prefixal derivative from *ende* (MEYER *Alb. St.* V 85). The verb *kenditem* 'to be sated' is derived from *kende* as well as *kendis* 'to deceive', literally, 'to satiate somebody (with lies)'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 187 (*kendis* 'to deceive' - to Turk *ki namak* 'to torment' or to *genjej*); JOKL *Studien* 33 (to *gdhij*).

**kandirr** aor. *kendirra* 'to choke, to suffocate'. A prefixal derivative of *djerr*: *ke-n-dirr*.

**k8ndoj** aor. *kendova* 'to sing'. Borrowed from Lat *cantare* id. (GIL' FERDING *Om.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 10; MEYER *Wb.* 187). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrijfi* I 1047, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 139; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMANN 115; HULD 80; LANDI *Lat.* 40, 155.

**kenete** f, pl. *keneta* 'marsh, valley'. Borrowed from Lat *cannetum* 'reeds, thicket of rushes'.

**keng8 kange** f, pl. *kenge kange* 'song'. Borrowed from Lat *canticum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 187). As to *kengjele kangjele* id., it continues Rom \**canticella*. 0 MEYER-LOME *Gr. Grundrij3*<sup>2</sup> 11042; MANN *Language* XVII 23; cABEJ *St.* VII 236; MIFIXESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 115.

**kepuce** f, pl. *kepuce* 'shoe'. Derived from *kepute* 'sole', see *kepus*. 0 CAMARDA I 67 (from NGk *Itoritoinat* 'slipper'); MEYER *Wb.* 188 (from Turk *papus* 'slipper'); cABEJ *St.* VII 214, 216.

**k8puje** f, pl. *kepuje, kepuja* 'round fruit, drop'. Borrowed from Slav \**kapul'a*, derivative of \**kapati* 'to drip'.

*kepurdhe* f, pl. *kepurdha* 'fungus, mushroom'. Another variant is *kerpudhe*. A derivative in *-dhe* of an unattested \**kepur* related to Lith *kepure* 'cap', Latv *cepure* id. Thus, the mushroom is described as having a cap. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 187 (borrowed from Bulg *peurka* id., SCr *peurka* id.); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 163-165 (prefixal form related to Gk *rcapoaxoc*); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 105 (prefix *ke-*); FRAENKEL 241; NEPOKUPNYJBSS 40 (follows MEYER); cABEJ *St.* VII 221.

**kepus** aor. *keputa* 'to tear off, to pluck'. Another variant is *kerpuc* 'to pinch, to pluck'. From PA1b \**karputja*, a derivative verb based on an adjective in \**-uta* reflected in *kepute* 'sole'. As to PA1b \**karputa*, it is further related to *karpe*. 0 CAMARDA I 56 (to Gk *ithirto*) 'to strike, to hew'; MEYER *Wb.* 187-188 (from Rom \**carputid*, to Lat *carpi*) 'to pick, to pluck'); cABEJ *St.* VII 258.

**kepushe** f, pl. *kepusha* 'tick, cattle-tick'. Other variant, with an unorganic *-r-*, is *kerpushe*. Derivative of *kap* (cABEJ *St.* I 276-277). Borrowed to Rum *ccipusa*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 188 (to SCr *krpelj* 'sheep louse'); Pu5CARIu *Dacoromania* II 594 (from Rum *ccipusa* id. based on *cap* 'head'); JOKL *IJ XXIII* VII 176 (derived from Lat *capere* 'to take'); POGHIRC *1st. limb. rom.* II 338; ROSETTI *ILR* I 274-275; DESNICKAJA *Slay. zaim.* 13 (from Bulg *kapuss'* id.).

**keqyr** aor. *keqyra* 'to look, to observe'. A prefixal derivative of *qyr* (MEYER *Wb.* 230). 0 JOKL *Studien* 22; cABEJ *St.* VII 258.

**kerbac** m 'whip'. Borrowed from Slav \**k-brbaeL*, a derivative of \**lcarbati*

`to scratch, to break', cf. SCr *korbae* (DESNICKAJA *Slay. zaim.* 11). 0 S VANE 48.

kerbe f, pl. *kerba* 'tub, barrel'. From PA1b *\*karba* related to Lat *corbis* 'basket', Lith *kafbas* id., Latv *karba* 'birch bark vessel', Slav *\*korbs* 'basket'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 188 (to SCr *krbulja* 'small basket for berries' and the like); FRAENKEL 220; TRUBACEV *ESSJa* XI 52-54.

**kdrbisht m** 'sacrum, sacral bone'. A derivative of *bisht* with a prefix containing an unorganic *-r-* (cABEJ *St. I* 277). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 123 (to *gerbe*).

**kerc m** 'stump'. Borrowed from Slav *\*Ichrek*, id. (Czech *kre* id., Slovene *kre* 'stubbed area, area cleaned of trees and stumps'). Note Alb *-c-* reflecting Slav *\*-e-*. Alb *kerci* 'shinbone' and *kerce* 'cartilage, gristle' belong to the same root. Cf. also *kercu*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 189; BARK *ARSt* 39 (compares *kerci* with Lith *kdrka* 'pig's foreleg'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 90-91; VASMER II 340; TRUBACEV *ESSJa* XIII 210-211; cABEJ *St. VII* 191; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360.

**karats** aor. *kercita, kercisa* 'to cry, to shout, to rattle, to thunder, to sound'. Borrowed from Slav *\*krieti* 'to cry, to shout' (MEYER *Wb.* 189; JoKL *LKUBA* 93). An early loanword with Alb *-c-* reflecting Slav *\*-e-*. Note that the verb *\*krieti* is not attested in this meaning in South Slavic where we have only SCr *krieti* 'to warn' (Slovene *krieti* 'to shout' could not be the source of the Albanian word). 0 OREL *Etimologija* 1980 61 (connects *kerkas* with *kercej*), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360.

**kercej** aor. *kerceva* 'to dance, to jump; to pour'. Further phonetically developed to *kecej*. This verb is derived from *kerc* '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 *Etimologija* 1982 67-69. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 189 (from Slav *\*skoeiti* 'to jump'); SELIGEV *Slay. naselenie* 192; GEORGIEV *Vsprosi* 41-42 (derives *kercej* from *\*katerj-*), *Trakite* 253-254; OREL *Etimologija* 1980 61 (mistakenly connects *kercej* with *kerkas*), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360.

**kbralloj** aor. *kercellova* 'to grind one's teeth, to crack, to creak'. Based

on *kercyell* 'stem, stalk' which is, in its turn, derived from *kerc*. 0 CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 107 (analyzes *ker-cyell* as a prefixal form); cABEJ *St. VII* 199, 239.

kercEnoj aor. *kercenova* 'to threaten'. A recent derivative of *kercej*. 0 cABEJ *St. I* 277 (identical with *kercellej*).

**kercu - kerc6 m**, pl. *kercunj* 'stump, block, log, root'. Derived from *kerc* (JOKL *LKUBA* 264). Used in semi-pagan Christian rites (ToPORov *Etimologija* 1974 3 f.; ROSETTI *Rom. slay.* 1960 65-70; ZOJZI *BUSHt* 1949 49 f.), *kercu* as a name of a sacral log was borrowed into Slav *\*koreuns* 'Christmas day, winter solstice' from where it was passed on to Rum *craciun* 'Christmas; ritual bread baked at Christmas' (DESNICKAJA *Slay. jaz.* 1978 169-171). 0 MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 23 (from Slavic); cABEJ *St. I* 277-278 (reconstructs *\*kortjo-*); VAILLANT *JF XXIV/1-2* 72-76 (*kercu* < Rum *craciun* < Lat *quartum jejanium*); MLADENOV 256 (Rum *craciun* < Lat *calationem*); DENSIJIANU *Hist. I* 262 f. (Rum *crciciun* < Lat *creatiOnem*); PUWARIU *EWR* 35-36; SCHUCHARDT *AfslPh* IX 526 (Rum *craciun* < Lat *Christi jejanium*); MELICH *MNr* XXXVII 177 f. (Slav *\*koreuns* from *\*korks* 'leg', *\*koreiti* 'to walk'); PREOBRAZHENSKIJ I 361 (Slav *\*koreuns* from *\*koreiti* 'to walk' as a calque of Lat *adventus*); ROSETTI *Etudes* 204-206; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 106 (prefix *ker-*); ROHLFS *Spr.* 191-196; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 361.

**kercep m**, pl. *kercepe* 'stump, log, branch'. A derivative of *kerc*. 0 cABEJ *St. I* 278 (reconstructs the original sg. *\*kercep* and explains it as a prefixal derivative of *cape*).

**kerdhokull f**, pl. *kerdhokulla* 'hip bone'. See *krrokull*.

**kerkoj** aor. *kerkova* 'to look for, to seek'. Borrowed from Rom *\*circare* id. with the assimilation of velars in the original *\*qerkoj* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 188). 0 MEYER-LOME *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1048, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 158-159; cABEJ *St. VII* 253; HAARMANN 117.

**kerlesh** aor. *kerlesha* 'to stand on end (of hair)', refl. *kerleshem* 'to quarrel'. A derivative of *lesh* with a prefix *ke(r)-* (CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 104). Cf. also *ngerleshem* 'to bristle, to stand on end (of hair)'.

kerme f 'carcass, carrion, cadaver'. From PAIb *\*karp-nd*, related to Skt *kfp-* 'shape, beautiful appearance', Lat *corpus* 'body', OHG *href* 'belly, body' (GILFERDING *Otm.* 22). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 188 (to a Turkish loanword *kerdis* 'to butcher'); KRISTOFORIDHI 154 (from NGk 'cadaver'); MAYRHOFER I 260; WALDE-HOFMANN I 277-278; POKORNY I 620; CABEJ *St.* I 278 (from Bulg *kmma* 'forage, fodder'?!), IV 76.

kermill m, pl. *kermij* 'snail, slug'. Other variants are *kermi* and *kerminj*. Connected with *krimb* (GILFERDING *Otm.* 22) as its singularized plural (CimOCHOwSRI *LP* III 165-168). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 182 (to Portugese *caramujo* 'sea snail' and other Romance names of snail), 525 (to Otkpauaa 'snail', Hes.); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 27 (from late Lat *ceramida* id.); BARK *A ArbSt.* I 214 (agrees with VASMER); CABEJ *St.* I 278-279 (follows CimOCHOwSKT).

kernac adj. 'miserly'. A derivative based on Slav *\*kz,m7.*, 'hornless, broken', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *krm*, SCr *krn*.

kerp kanp m, pl. *kerpe kanpe* 'hemp'. Borrowed from Rom *\*cannapis* (> Ital *canape*, Rum *cancipd*) for Lat *cannabis* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 174). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 9 (from Ital *canape*); MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrif3* <sup>2</sup> I 1039; JOKL *LKUBA* 232, *IF* XLIV 39; MIHAESCURESEE IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 114; JANSON *Unt.* 51-52; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 83.

kdrpe f 'stain, patch, spot'. Borrowed from Slav *\*lcarpa* 'patch', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *Icbrpa*, SCr *krpa* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 24; MEYER *Wb.* 189). Derived from here is *kerpu* 'to revive, to refresh, to patch'.

kerqabe f 'peg on animal's neck preventing it from passing through hedges'. A derivative based on *\*kerk*, loanword from Slav *\*Icbrkl*, 'neck', cf. Bulg *kmk*, SCr *krk*. 0 CABEJ *St.* I 278 (deals with a secondary phonetic variant *kercabe* which he compares with *kercep*).

Urged f, pl. *keraela* 'large knife worn at the belt'. A variant of *kurqel* 'dagger' (CABEJ *St.* 279-280) borrowed from Ital *coltello* 'knife', dial. *cortello*. 0 WEIGAND 36 (from Lat *circellus* 'small ring'); SKOK *Zb. Rektar* 429-432 (follows WEIGAND).

kershendella pl. 'Christmas'. Borrowed from Lat *Christy natale* (PETERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 539) or *Christy natalia* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *WI?*. 189). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3* <sup>2</sup> I 1043; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 159; HAARMANN 117; CABEJ *St.* I 280; LANDI *Lat.* 49, 85, 146.

kershnjet m 'kind of tree, arbutus'. A derivative of *krifshe* id. (CABEJ *St.* I 280).

kdrtole f, pl. *kertole* 'big bone'. A lexicalized variant of *kertolle kartoile* 'potato, lump' borrowed from Germ *Kartoffel*. 0 CABEJ *St.* VII 279.

kertyl aor. *kertyla* 'to fill up, to satiate'. A prefixal derivative of an untested *\*tyl* reflecting PAIb *\*ta/a*. The latter is related to Lith *tulas* 'many', Gk *ταο*; 'corn' and the like. 0 FRAENKEL 1136-1137; FRISK II 942-943; POKORNY I 1081.

kerth adj. 'crosswise, askew'. Other derivatives of the same root are *kerthiz* 'navel' and *kerthi* '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 *cruce* 'cross'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 188 (*kerthiz* as a deminutive of Lat *corana* 'circle, arch'); HAARMANN 120; LANDI *Lat.* 88, 99.

kertimdezem refl. 'to blush'. A compound of *kerth* and *ndez*. 0 CABEJ *St.* I 280-281 (identifies the first component as a prefix *ker-*).

kerVeShern refl. 'to grin, to pull faces'. A compound of the prefix *ker-* 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*. 0 CABEJ *St.* I 281 (identifies the second part with *vesh* 'ear').

kerr m 'donkey, ass, foal', adj 'grey'. From PAIb *\*kara* identical with Skt *khdra-* 'donkey', Av *xarO* id., Scyth *\*xara*, *Oset xcerceg* id. (OREL, *Etimologija* 1986-1987 220-222). The Indo-Iranian unvoiced aspirate seems to correspond to PAIb *\*k-*. Note derivatives: *kerrif* 'foal', *kris* id. and *kic* id. 0 PISANI *Saggi* 132; BARTHOLOMAE 532; MAYRHOFER II 302-303; ABAEV *Skif.* 309; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350-361.



kerrabe f, pl. *kerraba* 'hook, staff'. A suffixal derivative of an unattested PAIb *\*kara* further related to *karthi*. 0 MEYER Wb. 129 (to *prep*).

kerris aor. *kerrita* 'to grunt (of pigs), to gurgle'. A descriptive stem imitating corresponding sounds.

ken% f 'sloppy mud, slime'. Another variant is *kerle*. From PAIb *\*kar-ila* related to ON *hqrr* 'snivel', OHG *horo* 'excrement', Gk *xopi4a* 'snivel'. A derivative *kerrnjote* 'mucus from nose, snivel' also belongs here. 0 FRISK I 924; POKORNY I 573.

kerrus aor. *kerrusa* 'to bend'. From PAIb *\*karnutja*, based on a nominal derivative in *\*-ut-* further connected with Gk *KuptOg* 'curved, bent', Lat *curvus* id. (CAMARDA I 178; MEYER Wb. 190). The original nominal form is represented by *krrute* 'hunch-backed old woman'. 0 SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 248 (to Lat *curvy* id.); MANN *Language XXVIII* 33 (to ON *hnjdPa* < *\*kneudha*); FRISK II 55; WALDE-HOFMANN I 317-318; POKORNY I 309, 935; cABEJ St. VII 258; DEMIRAJ AE 220 (to ON *hverfa* 'to turn').

kdrute f, pl. *kerruta* 'ewe with horns'. Borrowed from Lat fern. adj. *cornata* 'horned' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18; MEYER Wb. 190, *Alb. St.* III 73). 0 CAMARDA I 178 (to Gk *xepcctiac* 'horned one'); KRISTO-FORIDHI 155 (to Gk *icupc6*; 'curved, crooked'); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grund-* I 1049; BARD *AArhSt I/1-2* 148 (from *\*ko-kru-to-* 'horned'); PASCU *RE* 40 (from Rumanian); KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 75 (from Arumanian); cABEJ St. IV 76; HAARMANN 120; LANDI *Lat.* 88, 99, 114.

kesen impers. 'to ache (of the stomach), to have griping pains'. Based on PAIb *\*kanaa* < *\*kankja* related to Lith *kenkiii*, *keiikti* 'to damage, to harm', ON *ha* 'to torment' < Gmc *\*xanxOn* and the like (BARD *ARSt.* I 39-40). 0 MEYER Wb. 190 (from Turk *kt smak* 'to pinch'); FRAENKEL 240; POKORNY I 565; CABEJ St. I 281 (dialectal form of *kecej kercej*).

kesule f, pl. *kesula* 'bonnet, cap'. Borrowed from Rum *caciula* 'cap', with *-ci-* > PAIb *\*-tf-* > *-s-*. The Rumanian word itself goes back to Alb *kacule*. 0 MEYER Wb. 190-191 (from Lat *casula* 'hooded coat' via Gk *xacsobka* 'thick coat'); PUSCARIU *EWR* 21; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 338; ROSETTI *ILR* I 274; MOUTSOS *ZfBalk XIX/1* 48-65 (from NGk *icacsobka*).

keshete pl. 'bran'. A prefixal derivative of *shete* (CAMARDA I 70).

keshill m, pl. *keshilla* 'council'. Borrowed from Lat *consilium* id. (CAMARDA I 80; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 17; MEYER Wb. 208-209). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* I 1049, 1053; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 22; HAARMANN 119; LANDI *Lat.* 87, 99, 117.

keshtalle f, pl. *keshtalla* 'splint (in medicine)'. From PAIb *\*ka-stala*, a derivative related to Goth *sto/s* 'chair', Lith *sta las* 'table', Slav *\*stole* 'table, pole'. 0 VASMER III 764-765; FRAENKEL 893; KLUGE 761; FEIST *Goth.* 455-456.

kdshter kdshten adj. 'Christian'. Borrowed from Lat *christianus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 13). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* I 1042; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 14; HAARMANN 117.

keshtjellid f, pl. *keshtjella* 'castle, fort'. Borrowed from Lat *castellum* id. (CABEJ St. I 281-282). 0 MEYER Wb. 191 (from Ital *castello* id.); MIHAESCU *RESEE IV 11-2* 22; HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 50, 81.

keshyre f, pl. *keshyre* 'mountain path, path in the ravine'. Borrowed from Lat *clausara*, *clasura* 'lock, bar, bolt; castle, fort' (CABEJ St. 282). 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 29; HAARMANN 117; LANDI *Lat.* 68, 103, 110.

katu adv. 'here'. From PAIb *\*ka tu* including a pronominal stem *\*ka* < IE *\*kb-* and adverbial *\*tu*, cf. Skt to 'now, but' (BoPP 496-497; VASMER *Alb. Wororsch.* 5-6). While the prevailing form for 'there' is *aty*, certain dialects preserve *atu* (*ELEzovIC AArhSt.* II 249). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 161; MAYRHOFER I 507; cABEJ St. 282; HULD 80-81.

kic aor. *kica* 'to bite'. A descriptive stem.

kij aor. *kiva* 'to prune, to trim'. Another variant is *kiej*. From *\*keinj* < PAIb *\*kadinja*, a denominative verb related to *kadhe* (CABEJ St. I 282-283). Derived from *kij* is *kize* 'pruning-hook'. 0 MEYER Wb. 226 (from Lat *incidere* 'to cut'); BARK *ARSt.* 140 (to *shqyej*, from *\*klednjO*); MET' *ZfBalkV 12* 139-140 (to Slav *\*kyjb* 'stick').

'dice 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' (cABEJ *St.* I 283-284). Cf. also *kish* 'if only' from 3 sg. imperf. *kish*, form of *kam*.

kishe f, pl. *kisha* 'church'. Another variant is *gishe*. Borrowed from Lat *ecclesia* id. (MIKLoSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 228). 0 CAMARDA I 46 (to late Gk EKKXrπia id.); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> 1 1044, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 146; cABEJ *St.* VII 230, 279; HAARMANN 123; LANDI *Lat.* 81, 119, 125.

kite 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' (cABEJ *St.* I 284). 0 SVANE 103.

kith m 'veil of mist'. A derivative of *kite*.

klecke f, pl. *klecka* 'splinter, piece of wood'. Borrowed from Slav *\*kleebka* id., cf. Bulg *klecka*, SCr *klecka* (*SEL8CEv Slay. naselenie* 172, 308). 0 SVANE 81.

klekd f, pl. *kleka* 'kind of mountain pine'. From PAIb *\*klaka* related to Slav *\*klob*, 'tuft, tow'. 0 VASMER II 252.

klabe 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 *klape* 'fetter, chain' (*BER* 419). Note a derivative *klabez* 'door-bolt'. 0 TRUBACEV *ESSJa* IX 184.

kllane f 'last day of the year, New Year eve, first snow'. Other variants are *kullana*, *kollane*, *kellane*, *kllande*. Borrowed from Rom *\*calandae*, a form of Lat *calandae* 'first day of a month' attested in Romance and borrowed to Celtic (cABEJ *St.* I 296-297). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8; MEYER *Wb.* 196 (from Slav *\*kolecla* 'New Year day'); MEYER-LUBKE *REW* 115; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV* 11-2 27; HAARMAN 113; LANDI *Lat.* 98, 116.

**kllap8** f, pl. *kllapa* 'puddle'. From *\*ke-llape* further related to *llap*. As to *kllape* id., it continues *\*kllapce*. 0 cABEJ *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 *klapati* (SVANE 222).

**kllashe** f, pl. *kllasha* 'cape of sheep and goat wool'. Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *kla,fn'a* 'woolen shawl', SCr *klanje* 'kind of cloth'.

**kllocis** aor. *kllocita* '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*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 191 (adduces various Balkan forms but is uncertain of the actual source of the Albanian verb); VASMER *Alb. WorOeorsch.* 31 (from Bulg *kloea* 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.

**kmes8** f, pl. *kmesa* 'billhook, sickle'. Another form is *kamese*. Derived from *kame*. 0 JOKL *Studien* 9 (to *kep*, suffix *-ese*); HULD 145, 154 (reconstructs *\*Hekmn-tiell*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 220-221 (crossing of *kize* id. and *kame*).

k068 f 'theft, augury, deception, disaster'. Borrowed from Slav *\*kobb*, *\*koba* id., cf. Bulg *koba*, SCr *kob*, *koba* (*MEYER Wb.* 193, but treats *kobe* 'theft' as an Italian loanword). 0 KRISTOFORIDHI 149, 493; VASMER *Alb. Wororsch.* 32; SELISCEV *Slay. naselenie* 185; SVANE 222, 236.

**koc m**, pl. *koca*, *kocinj* 'bone, skull'. Borrowed from Slav *\*kostb* id. with a metathesis in the consonantal cluster *\*-st-* > *-ts-* (*SELMEv Slay. naselenie* 195). The Slavic deminutive *\*kostila* id. is the source of Alb *kocke* id., *koske* id. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 202-203 (from Ital *coccio* 'cracked pot'); cABEJ *St.* VII 203.

koce f, pl. *koca* 'black goat; girl from 8 to 10 years old'. An allegro

form of Slav \**kozblīca* '(young) she-goat', cf. CS *kozblīca*, SCr *kozlica*.

**koce** f, pl. *koca* 'rush-trap for fish'. Borrowed from Slav \**kotbch* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *koce*, SCr *kolac*.

**koc m** 'penis'. Another form is pl. *kocet* 'testicles'. Borrowed from Bulg *koe* 'ram'. 0 MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 22 (from Slav \**koeanl.* 'head of cabbage'); SELMEV *Slay. naselenie* 162, 194; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 149 (to *koke*); OREL *Etimologija* 1983 140-141.

**koder** f, pl. *kodra* 'hill, angular stone, corner'. Borrowed from Rom \**codrum* < Lat *quadrum* 'square' on which also Rum *codru* 'forest' is based (SCHUCHARDT *Vokalismus II* 510). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 193 (compares *koder* 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'); PUSCARIU *EWR* 34; TAGLIAVINI *RivAlb II* 185 (repeats PEDERSEN's etymology); SKOK *AfslavPhil XXXVIII* 83-84 (agrees with SCHUCHARDT); BARIC *ARSt. I* 40 (to Lat *castrum* 'castle, fort'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom. II* 340; MIHAESCURESEE *IV/1-2* 29-30; HAMP *SCL XXXI* 664 (from early Rumanian); PICCILLO *RLiR XLV* 146-157 (from Rumanian); CABEJ *St. I* 284-285 (follows SCHUCHARDT).

**kofshe** f, pl. *kofshe* 'hip, thigh'. Borrowed from Lat *coxes* 'hip' (CAMARDA *I* 65; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 193). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrij3 I* 1045; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 246, 366; HAARMANN 120; LANDI *Lat.* 99, 124, 134.

**kOhe** f, pl. *kOhe* 'time'. From PALb \**kaxa* etymologically related to Slav \**easy* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 194, *Alb. St.* III 3). 0 PEDERSEN *BB XX* 279, *KZ XXXVI* 279; JOKL *Melanges 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 \**keska*), *REIE IV* 6; ECKERT *ZfSlaw VIII* 890; OLBERG *Festschr. Bonfante* 567; HAMP *StFil XXVII (V)* 3 68 (reconstructs \**keska* or \**keksa*), *St. albanica X/2* 86-87, *Etimologija* 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 *kohe* < \**kesua*).

**koj** aor. *kova* 'to feed (children or animals)'. A phonetic variant of *mekoj*. 0 CAMARDA *II* 73 (to Gk *icov* 'to hasten'); CABEJ *St. VII* 244.

**koke** f, pl. *koke, koka* 'head, bulb, berry, grain'. Borrowed from Lat *cocum* 'berry' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 15; WEIGAND 37). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 165 (from Rom \**coca*, Lat *cauca* 'kind of dish, bowl'), 194 (on *koke* 'berry, grain'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 149; MIHAESCURESEE *IV/1-2* 14; HAARMANN 117; CABEJ *St. I* 285-286 (agrees with WEIGAND).

**kokdr** f, pl. *kokrra* 'berry, grain'. Derived from *koke* (*JUG, ArRom XXIV* 29). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 195 (from Ital *coccola* 'globular fruit (of plants)'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 149 (to *koke*); CABEJ *St. I* 286-287 (agrees with JOKL).

**koleslikd** f, pl. *koleshka* 'cart'. An early borrowing from Slav \**koles7,ka* 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* (*SELMEV Slay. naselenie* 165). 0 OREL *Sov. slay.* 1985/5 79-84; SVANE 52.

**kOlille** adj. 'pretty, winsome'. From PALb \**kalima*, a suffixal derivative of **IE** \**kal-*: Skt *kalyd-* 'healthy', Gk Horn *iciaA..Oc* 'beautiful'. The long vowel in Proto-Albanian remains unclear. 0 FRISK *I* 766-767; POKORNY *I* 524; CABEJ *St. VII* 202.

**koll m** 'plow-beam'. Borrowed from Slav \**koli*, 'pole', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kol*, SCr *kolac*.

**kolle** f 'cough'. From PALb \**kasla* identical with Slav \**kagb* id., Lith *kosulys* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 195, *Alb. St.* III 2, 63). These forms are derived from **IE** \**Vas-* 'to cough'. 0 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 *SSGL X* 220; DEMIRAJ *AE* 222.

**kom** m 'mane'. Another variant is *kome*. Borrowed from Lat *coma* 'hair' (JOKL *Studien* 110). 0 BARIC *ARSt.* I 40-41 (from \*(s)*kep-no-*, related to Germ *Schaf* 'sheep'); MIHAESCURESEE *IV/1-2* 26; HAARMANN 118; cABEJ *St. I* 287 (agrees with JOKL).

**kongjill** m, pl. *kongjij* 'charcoal'. A variant of *thengjil* with a different prefix \**k-*. 0 cABEJ *St. VII* 254.

**koper** f, pl. *kopra* 'fennel'. Borrowed from Slav \**koprĭ*, id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *koybr*, SCr *kopar* (*SELISCEv Slay. naselenie* 162, 287). 0 SVANE 109.

**kopicd** f, pl. *kopica* 'moth'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav \**kopica* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 198).

**kopil** m, pl. *kopile*, *kopila* lad, chap, bastard'. Borrowed from Slav \**kopyl7*, 'shoot, sprout, bastard', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *kopil*, *kopile*, SCr *kopil*. Rum *copil* is of the same origin. 0 CAMARDA I 162 (to Gk x67cog 'toil and trouble'); MEYER *Wb.* 198 (from Rom \**copt/is* 'son born from *cOpa*, tavern-keeper'); VASMER *IORJaS LXXXVI* 96 (from Gk iconaXec 'girl'); (MTIR *WuS V* 220 (prefix *ko-* and *-pil* related to *pjell*); JOKL *LKUBA* 6, 14, 311 (follows CgTiR), *IJb XXIII* 227 (from Modern Greek); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 116-117; SCHUTZ *WS/ 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 *gcebul* 'child'); TRUBACEV *Etimologija* 1979 129-130, 177; cABEJ *St. VII* 230.

**kopsht** m, pl. *kopshte*, *kopshtinj*, *qipshite* 'garden'. A derivative in *-sht* based on PAIb \**kapa* identical with Gk *iciirco*; id., OHG *huoba* 'plot of land' (MEYER *Wb.* 198-199, *Alb. St.* III 4, 31). 0 JOKL *Sprache IX* 118; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 153; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 123; PISANI *Saggi* 127; FRISK I 842; KLUGE 318; POKORNY I 529; cABEJ *St. III* 275-276; DEMIRAJ *AE* 222.

**koqe** f, pl. *koqe* 'corn, berry'. A singularized plural of *koke* (CAMARDA I 112; cABEJ *St. I* 287-288). The latter is the source of Rum *coaceiza*. 0 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-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1045 (the same explanation); SKOK *ZfromPhil XLVIII* 398-400 (from Rom \**cocceum*); ROSETTI *ILR I* 276; cABEJ *St. VII* 238.

**korb** m, pl. *korbe*, *korba* 'raven'. Borrowed from Lat *corms* id. (STIER *KZ XI* 136; GIL' FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 200). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1054; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 14; cABEJ *St. VII* 268; HAARMANN 120; LANDI *Lat.* 139-140.

**korbull** f, pl. *korbulla* 'keg, cask, wooden pail'. Borrowed from Lat *corbula* 'little basket'.

**kordhd** f, pl. *kordha* 'gut string'. Borrowed from Lat *chorda* 'gut, catgut' (Mu4AEscu *RESEE IV/1-2* 14; HAARMANN 119).

**kordhe** f, pl. *kordha* 'sword'. Borrowed from Slavic, cf. CS *koricia* id., SCr *korda* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 199). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1052 (from Romance); MURATI *Probleme* 131.

**kord** f, pl. *kora* 'crust, bark'. Borrowed from Slav \**kora* 'bark', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *kora*, SCr *kora* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 22; MEYER *Wb.* 199). 0 SELL CEV *Slay. naselenie* 173; SVANE 94, 121.

**kore** f, pl. *kore* 'chicory'. Borrowed from Lat *cichoreum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 201). 0 MnIAESCuRESEE *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 *Slay. Elemente* 22; MEYER *Wb.* 200). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 153-154; SELISCEv *Slay. naselenie* 191; SVANE 236.

**koritd** f, pl. *korita* 'trough'. Borrowed from Slav \**koryto* id., cf. Bulg *korito*, SCr *korito* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 22-23; MEYER *Wb.* 200). 0 SELWEV *Slay. naselenie* 142, 170-171; cABEJ *St. VII* 254; SVANE 67.

**korp** m, pl, *korpe* 'body'. Borrowed from Lat nom. *corpus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18; MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1045). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 84.

korsem adv. 'perhaps, as if'. Another variant is *korse*. A univertated phrase *kur se* (CABEJ *St.* I 288-289). 0 BARK *ARSt.* I 89 (from \**kosrem* based on \**kose* < IE \**kci-lee*).

kort8 f 'quarter of a slaughtered animal; liquid measure'. Borrowed from Lat *quarta* 'fourth part, quarter' (CABEJ *St.* I 289). Cf. *karte*.

korube f, pl. *korube* 'beehive'. Borrowed from Slav \**koruba* 'hollow trunk, beehive', cf. Bulg *koruba*, SCr *koruba* (*SEE1SEv Slay. nasele-nie* 167). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 170 (connected with *kolibe*); CABEJ *St.* I 289 (agrees with SELISOEV); SVANE 159.

korr aor. *korr* 'to reap, to harvest'. Goes back to PAIb \**kasra*. Related to Lith *kasit*, *kašti* 'to dig', Slav \**kosa* 'scythe' (MEYER *Wb.* 200). The name of July *korrik* as well as *korriqe* 'measure of grain' are derived from *korr*. 0 PEDERSEN *IF* V 46 (follows MEYER); JOKL *IF* XXXVII 100-102 (to IE \**skeer-* 'to cut'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 153; PISANI *RIL* CXII 12 (from Ital *corre* < *cogliere* 'to reap'); FRAENKEL 226-227; POKORNY I 585; TRUBA 'CEV *ESSJa* XI 133-135; OLBERG *Festschr. Bon-fante* 567; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280; CABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (from IE \**ker-no*); 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 *peshe* structurally similar to *korrozji* id., a compound of *korr* and *zi*.

.korrovesh m, pl. *korroveshe* 'jug with a handle; grape', adj. 'without ears'. A compound of *korr* and *vesh*.

kos m 'yogurt, clotted curds'. Borrowed from Slav \**kvasi*, 'sour substance', cf. in South Slavic: OCS *kvam*, Bulg *kvav*, SCr *kvav* (MEYER *Wb.* 201). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 149; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 14.

kose f, pl. *kosa* 'scythe'. Borrowed from Slav \**kosa* id., cf. South Slavic: Bulg *kosa*, SCr *kosa* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wh.* 201). 0 SELICEV *Slay. naselenie* 157; SVANE 236.

kose f, pl. *kosa* 'plait'. Borrowed from Slav \**kosa* id., cf. South Slavic: Bulg *kosa*, SCr *kosa* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 201). 0 SVANE 181.

kosis aor. *kosita* 'to mow'. Borrowed from Slav \**kositi* id., cf. South Slavic: Bulg *kos'a*, SCr *kositi* (MEYER *Wb.* 201). 0 SELMEV *Slay. naselenie* 157; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 155; SVANE 236.

kosore f, pl. *kosore* 'small scythe'. Borrowed from South Slavic \**kosori* 'scythe, pruning knife': Bulg *kosor*, SCr *kosor* (SVANE 33).

kosh m, pl. *kosha*, *koshe* 'basket'. Borrowed from Slav \**kosk*. id.: Bulg *kos*, SCr *kos* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 201-202). 0 SELMEV *Slay. naselenie* 151, 154; SVANE 67, 159.

koshez f, pl. *kosheza* 'bot-fly'. Another form is *koshas* < \**kosbaz*. A collective form of \**kosb* borrowed from Lat *cossus* 'kind of larva' (CANDREA *GS* III 430). 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 120; CABEJ *St.* I 289; LAND! *Lat.* 138.

kot m, pl. *kota* 'useless, vain'. From PAIb \**kakta* related to Lith *koktits* 'disgusting'. The latter is further explained as a derivative of *kdks* 'which', Slav \**kaki*, 'how'. 0 CAMARDA I 132 (to Gk *icor()*; 'rancor'); MEYER *Wb.* 202 (to *kot* 'darkness' and Gk (171(6cog id.)); FRAENKEL 280; TRUBACEV *ESSJa* IX 118-119.

kot m 'darkness'. From PAIb \**kata* further related to Oh *scdth* 'shadow' < \**skeato-*, Gk (Ticorog 'darkness' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 202). 0 FRISK II 739-740; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 19; VENDRYES [S] 36; POKORNY I 957.

kovac m, pl. *kovace* 'smith'. Borrowed from Slav \**kovaeb* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *kovac*, SCr *kovac* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 203). 0 SELISCEV *Slay. naselenie* 172, 181; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 156; CABEJ *St.* VII 268; SVANE 87, 197.

kozgup m, pl. *kozgupe* 'shepherd's fur jacket'. A variant of *kazgup*.

krah m, pl *krahe* 'arm, shoulder, side'. Borrowed from Slav \**krajb* 'end,

side, extremity'. For the semantic development cf. Bulg *krajnik* 'arm, leg', *kraifte* id. (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46). Note the development of *-j* > *-h-* characteristic of early loanwords from Slavic. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 203 (comparison with Lith *kdrka* 'shin, shank' and Slav *\*korkŭ*, id., morphologically difficult), *Alb. St.* III 6, 71; LIDEN *Studien* 92, *Arm. St.* 43 (comparison with Skt *kisku-* 'forearm'); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 251 (derives *krah* from *\*krok-ska*); SCHEFTELOWITZ *KZ* LVI 209 (reconstructs *\*kar-ska* and compares *krah* with Skt *kard-* 'hand, elephant's trunk'); BARK *AArbSt.* II 384-385; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 18; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 156 (agrees with WIEDEMANN), *Stratificazione* 91; PISANI *Saggi* 126 (follows LIDEN); POKORNY I 945-946; cABEJ *St.* VII 207, 210, cABEJ 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 *cras* 'shank').

**kraheror krahnuer** m, pl. *kraherore krahnuere* 'breast, chest'. Derived from *krah* (CAMARDA II 66; MEYER *Wb.* 203). 0 WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 250 (to *kreher*); WEIGAND *Grammatik* 55 (follows WIEDEMANN); JOKL *LKUBA* 154 (agrees with WEIGAND); cABEJ *St.* I 290 (supports CAMARDA).

**krabine** f, pl. *krahina* 'region, area'. An early loanword from Slav *\*krajina* id.: OCS *kraina*, Maced *kraina*, SCr *kraina* id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 175). 0 SELISCEV *Slay. naselenie* 178, 324; cABEJ *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.

**hap** m, pl. *krep* 'carp'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *krap* id., SCr *krap* id. (MIKLOSTCH *Slay. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 204). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 11 (from Lat *carpia* or Ital *carpa*).

**hap m** 'collar-bone'. From PAIb *\*krapa* related to W *crapp* 'strong' < *\*krapnos*, ON *hriefa* 'to tolerate, to bear with', Slav *\*krepill*, 'strong, firm' continuing IE *\*krep-* 'strong'. The same root is found in *krape* 'ovary'. 0 POKORNY I 620; TRUBAteV *ESSJa* XII 135-138.

**bat m** 'back'. Borrowed from Lat *cratis (spinae)* 'spine'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 204 (from SCr *hrbat* id.).

**kredh** aor. *krodha* 'to plunge, to immerse, to steep, to smother, to bespatter'. From PAIb *\*krada* identical with Slav *\*krade*, *\*krasti* 'to steal', refl. *\*kraj sc*, *\*krasti, sc* '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 *kraju*, *krat* 'to gather, to collect') are uncertain. The aorist in *-o-* must be secondary as it is, normally, characteristic of presents in *-e-* < PAIb *\*-e-*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 204 (to Slav *\*grezneti* 'to sink', phonetically improbable), *Alb. St.* III 8, 17, 71; PISANI *Saggi* 124; VASMER II 364; TRUBAeEV *ESSJa* XII 103-105.

**kreh kref** aor. *krepa krefa* 'to comb'. From PAIb *\*krebska* related (with an irregular unvoicing of the anlaut) to Lith *grebti* 'to rake', Slav *\*grebe*, *\*grebti* 'to row, to rake' (MEYER *Wb.* 204-205, *Alb. St.* III 8, 71). Derived from *kreh are kreher krehen* 'comb', a singularised plural of *\*krah*, and *krese* 'curry-comb'. 0 FRAENKEL 165-166; POKORNY I 455-456; cABEJ *St.* I 290 (on *kreher*); TRUBAeEV *ESSJa* VII 109-100.

**krej** aor. *kreva* 'to pull out'. From PAIb *\*krebja* connected with *kreh kref* (MEYER *Wb.* 205).

**kreke** f, pl. 'maple'. Borrowed from Lat (*acer*) *Creticum* '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. *cerebellare* 'cap'. Metathesized in *klere* 'curly, fizzy'.

**kremte** f, pl. *kremte* 'holiday'. A singularized plural of a less usual *kremte*. In dialects, a form without suffix *kreme* is attested. A suffixal form in *-m-* based on *krye*.

**krep** m, pl. *krepa* 'rock'. An umlauticized form of PAIb *\*krapa* related to *krap*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 205 (to Ital *greppo* 'steep, rocky bank' and the like); JOKL *Studien* 35 (to *karpe*); cABEJ *St.* I 268-269; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 150; DEMIRAJ *AE* 225 (reconstructs *\*krHp-* or *\*krop-*).

**krepull adj.** 'inebriated'. Borrowed from Rom *\*crapulus*, cf. Lat

*crapula* 'excessive wine-drinking, inebriation' (cABEJ *St.* I 290-291, with an alternative link to Ital *crepare* 'to burst, to split').

**kreshke** f 'foliage'. A suffixal derivative in *-shke* of *krend* (attested also as *krend*). As to *kreshk* 'fish scale', it also belongs here. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19 (from Ital *crusca*); JOKL *LKUBA* 166 (to *kreshte*).

**kreshme** pl. 'fast'. Borrowed from Lat *quadragesima* 'Lent, fast of forty days', cf. Ital *quaresima* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53; MEYER *Wb.* 205). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1051 (from Ital *quaresima*); HAARMANN 144.

**kreshnik** m, pl. *kreshnike* 'hero, knight'. Borrowed from SCr *krajišnik* 'inhabitant of a border region' (SCHMAUS apud cABEJ *St.* I 291). 0 JOKL *Balkangerm.* 116 (to *kreshte*).

**kreshpe** f, pl. *kreshpa* 'sheep with long and rough wool'. From Lat fem. adj. *crispa* 'curled, crisp, uneven'. The verb *kreshperoj* 'to anger' is based on the same Latin adjective in its different meanings - 'quivering, tremulous'. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 205 (on *kreshperoj*); HAARMANN 120.

**kreshte** f 'mane, rooster's comb'. Borrowed from Lat *crista* 'rooster's comb, crest of a helmet' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 205). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif* <sup>3</sup> I 1054; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/ I-2 14; HAARMANN 120; LANDI *Lat.* 57, 102, 119.

**krend krande** m, pl. *krende 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). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 204 (to Oh *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 *xpavov*); POKORNY I 865; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 261; OREL *IF* XCIII 111 (to IE *\*sker-* 'to cut'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 225.

**kri kri** f, pl. *kri kri* 'woodworm, moth'. From PAIb *\*kriwi-* continuing a dialectal Indo-European form *\*kl•ui-*: Slav *\*ebrvb* 'worm' (OREL *FLHVIII/1-2* 46-47). Nazalisation in Geg is secondary. 0 TRAUT-

MANN *BSIWB.* 134; VASMER IV 335-336; TRUBACEV *ESSJa* IV 171-172.

**krife** f, pl. *krife* 'mane'. Borrowed, with the irregular unvoicing of both voiced consonants, of Slav *\*griva* id. (DESNIKAJA *Slay. zaim.* 13). The influence of *krine* 'mane' borrowed from Romance cannot be excluded. 0 HAMP *KZ CVI/2* 305-306.

**krikloj** aor. *krikilova* 'to creak (of wheels)'. Borrowed from Rom *\*cariculdre* based on Lat *carrus* 'wagon'.

**krimb krym** m, pl. *krimba, kerminj kryma* 'worm'. Reflects PAIb *\*krim-* connected with IE *\*fermi-* id.: Skt Lith *kirmis* and the like (STIER *KZ* XI 247; GILFERDING *Otm.* 22; CAMARDA I 62; MEYER *Wb.* 206). Geg *-y-* remains unexplained: could it be a rare case of *u*-umlaut suggesting PAIb *\*krimu-*? 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* III 4, 64; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* 143; JOKL *LKUBA* 23, 191-192, 318, *Sprache* IX 120; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 160; MAYRHOFER I 261-262; FRAENKEL 257; PISANI *Saggi* 132; BARK *Hymje* 36; POKORNY I 649; cABEJ *St.* VII 227, *Etim.* II 323; HULD 82; OREL *IF* XLIII 116, *ZfBalk* XXIII 148, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 (irregular *-ry-*, *-ri-* < IE *\*-r-*); KODDERITZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 64; DEMIRAJ *AE* 225-226.

**kripe** — **hype** f, pl. *kripera krypna* 'salt'. From PAIb *\*krupa* connected with ON *hrufa* 'scab', Lith *krauplts* 'rough', *kraupis* 'scab', Latv *kraipis* 'frail, brittle', Slav *\*krupa* 'groats' (MEYER *Alb. St.* 111 4, 31, 71; PISANI *Saggi* 124). 0 MEYER *Wh.* 206 (borrowing from Slav *\*krupa*); Mladenov *Ist.* 220; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 161 (follows MEYER); FRAENKEL 290; POKORNY I 623; OREL *IF* XLIII 106; TRUBACEV *ESSJa* XIII 43-45.

**Krisht** m 'Christ'. Borrowed from Lat *Christus* while *krishtere krishtene* 'Christian' goes back to Lat *christianus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wh.* 191). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 158.

**Noce** f, pl. *kroca* 'dogrose'. A derivative in *-ce* from *krome*.

**krodhe** f, pl. *krodha* 'bread crust'. Borrowed from Lat fern. adj. *\*crilda* < *crada* 'cruJe, rough'.

**krodhe** f, pl. *krodha* 'beehive'. Goes back to PAIb *\*krada* related to Goth



*hrot* 'roof', Slav *\*krada* 'heap, pile'. 0 POKORNY I 617-618; FEIST *Goth.* 270-271; TRUBACEV *ESSJa* XI 58-60.

**kromd** f, pl. *kroma* 'scabies; dogrose'. Derived from *kruaj*. Another derivative from the same source is *croje* 'scab'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 130 (to *grij*).

**krongjill m**, pl. *krongjij* 'icicle'. Borrowed from Rom *\*corniculus* based on Lat *cornū*, 'horn'.

**krua - hue** m, pl. *kronj*, *croje* 'spring, fountain'. From PAIb *\*krana* < *\*krasna* with compensatory lengthening of the vowel. Related to Gk *icpiivn* id., OE *hra?n* 'wave' < Gmc *\*xrazno* (CAMARDA I 50; MEYER *BB* VIII 185, *Wb.* 207). 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* III 4, 71; TORP *IF* V 204; THUMB *IF* XXVI 3-14 (borrowed from Greek); PETERSSON *IF* XXIV 50 (from *\*krenuo-*); HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 146; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 92 (prefix *k-* and root *-rua* identical to that of *perrua*); BARD *ARSt.* I 81-82 (to *krye* and Skt *khndati* 'to dig'); RIBEZZO *RivAlb* II 137 n. 3 (agrees with THUMB); MANN *Language* XXVI 381; PISANI *Saggi* 120; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 107 (prefix *k-*); FRISK II 16; OLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 685; cABEJ *St.* I 292-293.

**kruaj kruej** aor. *krova* 'to scratch'. From PAIb *\*krabnja* with a long grade of ablaut, further connected with *kreh*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 130 (to *grij*); JOKL *Studien* 23-25 (same identification with *grij*), *IF* XXXVII 99; MANN *Language* XVII 19, XXVI 381 (to Gk *KvOcco*, Lith *knoju*); cABEJ *StF* III/1 26; DEMIRAJ *AE* 226.

**krunde** pl. 'bran'. Another form is *grunde*. Derivative of *kruaj kruej*. 0 MEYER *Wh.* 132-133 (explains *grunde* in connection with OE *grindan* 'to grind'), *Alb. St.* III 8; JOKL *Studien* 23 (reconstructs zero grade *-un-* < *\*-0-*); TREIMER *MRIW* I 358 (to Slav *\*krupa* 'groats'); cABEJ *St.* I 293 (to Gk *icpiveo* 'to separate').

**krup** aor. *krupa* 'to loathe'. From PAIb *\*krupa* etymologically related to Lith *kraupits* 'easily scared', *krupits* id., *kriipti* 'to scare'. 0 FRAENKEL 291.

**krushk m, pl.** *krushq* 'bride's man, unmarried relative'. A metathesis of *\*kushk(e)r*, borrowed from Lat *consocer* > Rum *cuscru* (MEYER *Wb.* 207). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundriif* I 1039, 1045; Pti-

CARTU *EWR* 41; MIEIAEscu *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189; HAARMANN 119; LANDI *Lat.* 61, 117-118.

**krybe** f, pl. *krybe* 'oakum, tow'. From PAIb *\*kraha*, a derivative in *\*-b-*, connected with Gk *Kpincrcō* 'to hide' (where old *\*-bh-* may be alleged), Lith *krđuti* 'to pile up', Slav *\*kryti* 'to cover, to hide'. 0 FRAENKEL 291; SCHWYZER I 333 (on the nature of the labial in *xpinclō*); FRISK II 29-30; POKORNY I 617; TRUBACEV *ESSJa* 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. *krere krene* 'head'. From PAIb *\*kranja* < *\*krasnja* with a compensatory lengthening of the root vowel. Etymologically identical with Gk *xpaviov* 'skull, head' (MANN *Language* XXVIII 33) and further related to IE *\*keras-* 'head' (GILFERDING *Otm.* 23). The word for 'head' is the source of *kryej* 'to finish'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 206 (borrowed from Lat *cerebrum* 'head, brain'); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundriif*<sup>2</sup> 1054; TREIMER *MRIW* I 360 (reconstructs *\*kreunom* connected with Slav *\*krufiti* 'to destroy, to grind'); BARIC *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; OLBERG *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). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundriif*<sup>2</sup> I 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 198; MIHAESCURESEE IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 121; LANDI *Lat.* 68, 83, 146.

**krriile** f, pl. *krriila* 'crane'. Other forms are *korriile*, *kurriile* and *kojrrile*. Borrowed from Gmc *\*kran-ila*, a deminutive of *\*kranaz* id.: OHG *krano*, OE *cran*. 0 KLUGE 399-400; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 59; ZALIZN'AK *Etimologija* 1964 179; MulaEscu *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 129 (from Rom *\*gruilla*).

**krrok** aor. *krroka* 'to caw'. A descriptive stem similar to Lat *crOciO* id.

**krrokull** f, pi. *krrokulla* 'hip bone, joint, knuckle'. An allegro form of *kerdhokull* id. The latter is a derivative of *\*kerdhok* 'round object' preserved as a singularized plural in *kerdhoq* 'eye-ball'. As to *\*kerdhok*, it reflects a suffixal derivative based on the unvoiced variant of *gardh*.

**krrokull** f, pl. *krrokulla* 'saffron'. Borrowed from Rom *\*croctlum*, diminutive of Lat *crocum* id.

**kshete** f, pl. *kshete* 'nymph, mermaid'. Identical with *kshete* 'plait', a variant of *gershete*.

**kthej** aor. *ktheva* 'to turn'. A prefixal derivative of *thyej*. 0 CAMARDA I 101 (to Gk *κτίζω* 'to set outside'); MEYER *Wb.* 185 (from Lat *convertere* 'to turn round'); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifl* 2 1 1054; JOKL *Studien* 94 (follows MEYER); cABEJ *St.* VII 258.

**ktheter** 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 *thjeshte*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 184 (to Italo-Alb *ffeyonem* 'to clear up'); BUGGE *BB XVIII* 191 (from *\*kthej diell*); JOKE, *Studien* 37-38 (to IE *\*skei-* attested in *hije*); cABEJ *St.* I 294 (to *fill*).

**ku** pron. 'where'. From PA1b *\*ku* identical with Skt *kṭiha* id., Slav *\*la-* id., Lith *kur* id. and the like, originating from IE *\*IA-*, a variant of the pronominal stem *\*kb-*. 0 CAMARDA 167 (to IE *\*Vo-*); 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; cABEJ *St.* VII 232, 254; HULD 83-84; DETVIRA I *AE* 226-227.

**kuar kuer m** 'measure, order, free time'. Borrowed from Lat *chorus* 'dance in a ring, harmony, harmonious motion'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 333 (*perkuar* 'moderate' based on *\*perkoj* < Lat *parcere* 'to spare'); cABEJ *St.* I 294-296 (to *korr*, IE *\*sker-* 'to cut').

**kup m** 'dog'. Borrowed from South Slavic *\*kuec* 'dog, cub', cf. Bulg

*kuje*, SCr *ktde*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 218-219 (various Slavic and Romance parallels); BCGA II 220; MACHEK *ZfslavPh XXI* 154 (onomatopoeia); MUR ATI *Prohlema* 131.

**kuceder** f, pl. *kucedra* 'dragon (with many heads)'. Another variant is *kulsheder*. Borrowed from Lat *chersydrus* 'kind of snake' (MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 31; HAARMANN 116). 0 CAMARDA 1192 (compound of *kulish* 'whelp, young' or *kuc*. and gen. of *iiSpa* 'hydra'); MEYER *Wb.* 219 (from Lat *excetra* 'snake, serpent'); PoLAK *EBTch V* 29-30.

**kuhet** refl. 'to redden (of skin)'. Derived from *kuq*.

**kujtoj** aor. *kujtova* 'to remember, to think'. Borrowed from Lat *cogitare* (CAMARDA I 99; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elernente* 15; MEYER *Wb.* 194). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifl* 3 2 11049; BARIC *ARSt.* I 41-42 (to OIr *ciall* 'reason'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 162, *Origini* 190; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV 11-2* 14; HAARMANN 117.

**kuk** adv. 'alone'. From PA1b *\*kuka* continuing IE *\*lett-leo-* '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 *icotiucoupov* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 211).

**kukute** f 'fennel'. Borrowed from Lat *cicata* id. (MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifl* 2 I 1048) 0 HAARMANN 121.

**klikZoj** aor. *kukzova* 'to bend, to arch over'. Based on *\*kukez*, a suffixal derivative of *\*kuke* borrowed from *\*kuka* 'hook', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kuka*, SCr *kuka*.

**kulac m, pt.** *kulace, kulec* 'pancake'. Borrowed from Slav *\*kola b* 'round bread', cf. South Slavic continuants: Buig *kolas*, SCr *kolacv* (MIKLOSICH

*Slay. Elemente* 22). 0 SELICEV *Slay. naselenie* 155, 303; HAMP *LB XIV/2* 14; SVANE 93.

**kular** m, pl. *kulare* 'curved piece of wood, ox-collar'. Borrowed from Lat *collidre* 'collar' (MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrill*<sup>2</sup> 1 1049) 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 14; HAARMANN 118; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 88, 99.

**kulbe** f, pl. *kulpa* 'kind of freshwater fish'. Another form is *kuhel*. Early Slavic loanword: note Alb -u- rendering Slav -7,-. The source is (South) Slav \*k.7,1ba (Pol *kielb*, Rus *kolba*), see MEYER *Wb.* 212; OREL *Etinwlogija* 1983 143. 0 MIKLOSICH *EW* 154 (the Slavic and Albanian words are genetically related); BERNEKER I 659; VASMER II 286; OREL *ktimologija* 1983 143; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 22; HAARMANN 117; cABEJ *St.* I 296 (from Rom \*cuplea); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 361.

**kule** f 'hernia'. An early borrowing from Slav \*kyla id., with \*-y- rendered as Alb -u-. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 212-213 (from Lat *adieuus* 'leather sack'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 34; SvANE 182.

**kulm** m, p1. *kulme* 'ridge, peak; wave'. Borrowed from Lat nom. *culmen* id. (MEYER *Wh.* 213). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19 (from Lat *culmus*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif*<sup>3</sup> I 1046; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 15; DODBIBA *St. Leks.* 244 (to Gk 'hill', Lat *columen* 'top'); HAARMANN 121; LANDI *Lat.* 147.

**kulmak** m, p1. *kulmake* 'rush, reed'. Derived from the archaic *kulm* 'sheaf', borrowed from Lat *culmus* 'stalk, stem, straw' (MEYER *Wb.* 213).

**kulper kulpen** m, p1. *kulpra kulpna* 'ivy, clematis'. A parallel form is Geg *kurpen*. These variants represent a singularized plural of a less usual *kulp*. From PAIb \**kulpa* etymologically related to Lith *lalpa* Latv *cilpa* id. (MANN *Language XVII* 14). Borrowed to Rum *curpen*. 0 BARD *ARSt.* I 42 (to Gmc \**rwurbana* 'twined, twisted' and Lat *cucurbita* 'gourd'); JOKL *LKUBA* 229-232 (to IE \**kuel-* 'to turn'); FRAENKEL 253-254; POKORNY I 926; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 340; RosErri *ILR* I 276; OREL *Zfl3alk XXIII* 148; cABEJ *St.* III 214 (to *per-kul*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 227.

**kulte** f 'water melon, gourd'. Borrowed from Rom \**cucu/bio*, a variant

of Lat *cucurbita* 'gourd' (MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 15; cABEJ *St.* I 296) 0 LANDI *Lat.* 114.

lcUR& f, p1. *kultra* 'pillow, cushion'. Borrowed from Lat *culcitra* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 213) 0 HAARMANN 121.

**kulloj** aor. *kullova* 'to sieve, to sift, to filter'. Borrowed from Lat *cOldre* 'to filter, to strain' (MEYER *Wb.* 212). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif*<sup>3</sup> I 1049; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV 11-2* 14; HAARMANN 117.

**kulloshter** f 'beestings'. Borrowed from Lat *colostra* id. (MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 14; HAARMANN 118). 0 KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 116 (from Italian).

**kullos** aor. *kullota* 'to put out to pasture, to graze'. A derivative of *kulloj*. 0 CAMARDA I 295 (to Gk *riou-Ko w`to tend cattle*); MEYER *Wb.* 212 (from Lat *colere* 'to cultivate'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 163 (against MEYER).

**kullumbri** f, p1. *kullumbri* 'blackthorn, sloe; turtle dove'. A derivative of \**kullumbe* borrowed from Lat *columba* 'dove', the plant being called after the bird as Rum *porumb* 'maize, corn' after *palumbes* 'dove' (MEYER *Wh.* 212). 0 PUKARIU *EWR* 119; SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 249 (from Lat *palumbes*); HAARMANN 118.

**kullusme** f, p1. *kullusma* 'thicket'. A metathesis from \**kullumese* (cf. *gjysme*) borrowed from Rom \**columnatia*, cf. Lat *columnatiO* '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 *Lana*) was borrowed as *kume*. 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, p1. *kumaharqe* 'dragonfly, damselfly'. A recent compound of *kume* 'godmother' (see *kum*) and *hark*. 0 CBEJ *St.* I 297 (a form with two prefixes \**ke-me-* based on *harle*).

**kumb** m, pl. *kumbe* 'tone, sound'. Together with *kumboj* 'to sound', a back-formation based on *kembore* (MEYER *Wb.* 186).

kumbull f, pl. *kumbulla* 'plum tree'. Other variants are *kunzull* and *kumell*. Borrowed from Gk *voicK4iikov* id. (MEYER *Wh.* 213). 0 SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 249 (from Rom *\*columhula*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 163; MANN *Language* XXVIII 31; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; CABE. *St.* I 297 (borrowed from Doric).

kumerd 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). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1048.

kumt m 'news, announcement'. Borrowed from Lat *commonitus*, participle of *commonere* 'to remind, to put in mind'. From *kumt* the verb *kuminj* 'to announce' is derived. 0 CABEJ *St.* I 297-298 (from Lat *computare* 'to sum up, to reckon'); HAARMANN 118.

hunter m, pl. *kumter* 'godfather'. Borrowed from Lat *compater* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 16; MEYER *Wb.* 214). 0 MEYER-LIMKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1048; HAARMANN 118; CABEJ *St.* I 298-299 (based on fem. *kumeter* borrowed from Lat *commdter* 'godmother'); LANDI *Lat.* 41, 115, 143.

kunat m, pl. *kuneter kuneten* 'brother-in-law'. Borrowed from Lat *cognatus* 'kinsman, blood relation'. The feminine form *cognata* is reflected as Alb *kunate* (CAMARDA I 158; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 15; MEYER *Wb.* 214). Note a derivative *kunatoll* 'brother-in-law (wife's brother)' that may continue Rom *\*cognateolus*. 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1041, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189; MIHAESCU *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*. 0 WEIGAND 41 (to Lat *unde* 'whence'); JOKL *A ArbSt* I 35-36 (*acc. sg.* of *\*leo-* and a pronominal *\*to-*); CABEJ *St.* I 299-300 (phonetic transformation of *ku*).

kunder prep. 'against'. Borrowed from Lat *contra* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 214). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1048; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV 11-2 14; HAARMANN 119.

ktmdoj aor. *kundova* 'to hesitate'. Borrowed from Lat *cunctart* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 214). 0 HAARMANN 121; Di GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 52-54 (against MEYER).

kungoj aor. *kungova* 'to communicate'. Borrowed from Lat *communicare* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 16; MEYER *Wh.* 214). As to *kunge* 'altar (of the Orthodox church)', it is a back-formation derived from the verb. 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 163; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14, 22; HAARMANN 119; CABEJ *St.* I 300 (*kunge* borrowed from Lat *concha* 'shell-fish, mussel, \*vault'); LANDI *Lat.* 117.

kungull m, pl. *kunguj* 'marrow, pumpkin, bottle'. From PAIb *\*kunkula* identical with Lith *kunkulas* 'bubble' (MANN *Language* XXVI 387). 0 MEYER *Wh.* 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 *cunear* 'to wedge'. 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1046; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 121; LANDI *Lat.* 138.

kup m 'heap, pile'. Borrowed from Slav *\*kup7*, id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *kup*, SCr *kup*. 0 MEYER *Wh.* 215 (from Rom *\*cuppus* 'kind of vessel'); SVANE 43.

kupe f, pl. *kupa* 'glass, bowl'. Borrowed from Lat *cuppa* 'tub' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 215). 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 121; LANDI *Lat.* 100.

kuptoj aor. *kuptova* 'to understand'. Borrowed from Lat *computare* 'to sum up, to reckon' (MEYER *Wb.* 215). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1048; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 250; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 118; CABEJ *St.* I 300-301 (derived from *kap*).

kuq adj. 'red'. Borrowed from Rom *\*cocceus*, cf. Lat *coccineus* 'scarlet' (MEYER *Wb.* 210). 0 BOPP 490 (to Skt *s'tici-* 'fiery, bright'); CAMARDA 1164 (compares with NGk *iducivoc* 'red'); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1045; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 249; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 162; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 117; HULD 84.

kur adv. 'when'. From PA1b *\*kur* formally identical with Arm *ur*, Lith *kur* "where", Latv *kilf* id. (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 34), derived from IE *\*lot-* (see *ku*). 0 SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 250 (from Lat *qua hOrti* 'at what hour, when', with an irregular development of the inlaut vocalism); MEYER *Wh.* 215 (accepts SCHUCHARDT's etymology); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 317, *Kelt. Gr.* I 127; MEILLET *MSL* X 259, XX 92; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 164 (follows VASMER); AeAREAN *HAB* III 613-614; PISANI *Saggi* 123; FRAENKEL 314; POKORNY I 647-648; KOPENY *ESSJ* I 324 (on *-r*); HULD 84; HAARMANN 144; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280; DEMIRAJ *AE* 227-228.

**kurore lamore** f, pl. *kurora kunora* 'crown'. Borrowed from Lat *corona* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1046, 1048; ERNOUT-MEILLET 144; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV 11-2 14; cABEJ *St.* VII 277; HAARMANN 120; JANSON *Unt.* 52-53; LANDI *Lat.* 63, 88.

**kursej** aor. *kurseva* 'to spare'. Derived from *\*kart* 'short' borrowed from Lat *curtus* id. 0 CAMARDA I 101 (to Lat *curtus*); MEYER *Wh.* 216 (from Rom *\*curtiare*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1051; HAARMANN 122.

**kart** m, pl. *kurte* 'yard'. Borrowed from Lat *cortem* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 216). 0 GIUGLEA *Dacoromania* III 472 (from NGk *icaUpTti* id.); MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1045; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 122; cABEJ *St.* I 301 (on Old Alb *kurte* id. preserving the gender of Lat *cortem*).

**kurth** m, pl. *kurthe* 'snare, trap'. Derivative in *-th* of *kurp kulp*, cf. *kulper*. Somehow connected with Rum *cursit* id. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 216 (from Turk *kurs* 'disk'); BARK *ARSt* 42 (to OHG *hurt* 'wicker-work'); MANN *Language* XVII 14 (to Lat *cratis*, Goth *haurds*); ROSETTI *ILR* I 276; cABEJ *St.* VII 237.

kurve f, pl. *kurva* 'whore, prostitute'. Borrowed from Slav *\*kury*, gen. *\*kurbve* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *kurva*, SCr *kurva* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 24; MEYER *Wh.* 216). 0 SELIKEV *Slay. naselenie* 194; SVANE 200.

**kurre** adv. 'never, ever'. Goes back to PA1b *\*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). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 215

(identifies with *kur*); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 145; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 164; HAMPHSyn. 177; cABEJ *St.* I 302 (phonetic variant of *kur*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 228.

**kurriz** m 'spine, backbone, hump'. A derivative in *-iz* based on PA1b *\*kurna* < *\*krnos* related to Lith *keras* 'stump', *kirna* 'pointed end of a trunk, bush', Slav *\*korenb* 'root'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 190 (to *kerrus*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 92; FRAENKEL 241; POKORNY i 573; TRUBAC'EV *ESSJa* XI 62-66.

**kush** pron. 'who'. From PA1b *\*ku,s'a* going back to an Indo-European pronominal compound *\*lea-so-* consisting of *\*OI-*, a morphological variant of *\*leo-* id., and demonstrative *\*so-*. The Albanian form is, thus, quite close to Tokh A *kus* id., B *kuse* id. < (MEILLET *Idg. Jb.* I 13; OREL *LB* XXXI 1 57-58). Note *-sh-* < *\*-s-* explained by the "ruki" rule (OREL *Die Sprache* XXXI/2 114). As to acc. *Ice - kit* it continues PA1b *\*kam* < IE *\*Pom* (MEYER *Wb.* 217, *Alb. St.* III 2, 88). 0 BOPP 463 (to IE *\*Vo-*); GICFERDING *Otm.* 22; CAMARDA I 212 (to IE *\*leo-*); MEYER *Wb.* 217-218 (*kush* treated as a borrowing from Lat *quis* with some reserve); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 317 (related to IE *Kelt. Gr.* I 128; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 165; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (follows MEILLET); VAN WINDEKENS I 246; POKORNY 1647-648; cABEJ *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 *\*IA-srp*).

**kusheri kusheri** m, pl. *kusherinj* 'cousin'. Borrowed from Lat *consobrinus* id. (CAMARDA I 120; MEYER *Wb.* 218). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1049; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189; MniAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 119.

**kusht** m, pl. *kushte* 'vow, bet, boundary, condition'. Back-formation of *kushtoj* 'to cost' continuing MLat *constare* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 17; MEYER I4/b. 217). 0 cABEJ *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 *\*conscriptare*, cf. Lat *conscribere* 'to enroll (of troops)'. 0 WEIGAND *BA* I 257 (to *kusht*); LAMBERTZ *Volkspoesie* 247 (divides into *kush trim*

`who is brave?'); cABEJ *St. I* 303-304 (agrees with LAMBERTZ).

**kushull m** 'consul'. Borrowed from Lat *consulem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 17). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1046.

**kut m**, pl. *kut* 'measure of length'. Borrowed from Lat *cubitus* 'cubit' (Mixtosicx *Rom. Elemente* 19). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1046; MtHAEscu *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 121; LANDI *Lat.* 138, 141.

**kutd f**, pl. *kuta* 'young dog, cub'. Borrowed from Slav *\*kute* id. attested in East Slavic (SEUSCEv *Slay. naselenie* 198). Cf. *kuc*.

**kutendoj aor.** *kutendova* 'to thank'. Borrowed from Lat *contentare* id. (MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1049) 0 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*. 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1039, 1044, 1048; JOKL *Idg.Jb.* XI 190 (*kuvise* as a deverbative of *\*kuvij* borrowed from Lat *\*convenire*); TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 190; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; HAARMANN 119; cABEJ *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-ja*, based on a pronominal element *\*ka-* and a demonstrative, see *ai*, *ajo*. 0 PEDERSEN *Pron.* 315; HULD 84-85 (to *ko-*); KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 (from *\*ku-i*, with *\*-i* < IE *\*elom*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 217-218.

**kyc m**, pl. 'key'. Other forms are *klyc* and *qyc*. Borrowed from Slav *\*lei'ucv.i* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg SCr *kljui* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 193). 0 JOKL *Slavia* XIII 296; SELISCEV *Slay. naselenie* 144, 150, 308; HAMS *LB* XIV/2 12; SvANE 84.

## L

**lab m**, pl. *labe*, *leber leben* 'Lab, inhabitant of Laberia'. Back-formation based on *Laberi* 'Laberia' borrowed from an unattested South

Slavic *\*labanhja* < *\*olbanbja* rendering the native pre-Albanian name of the country: *Albania*, 'AX[3avia. 0 DESNICKAJA *VEI* 194 (directly from ancient *\*arb-l\*alb-*); cABEJ *St.* VII 193.

**labdrgoj aor.** *labergova* 'to undo, to untie'. A phonetic variant of the same word is represented in *laberkoj* 'to reduce, to diminish, to wear out'. A derivative of an unattested *\*laperke* based on *laper* (CABEJ *St.* I 304).

**labic m** 'ghost, bogey', adj. 'importunate, rotten'. From *\*lamic*, a derivative of *larnje* 'bogey' (from NGk *kagia*, cf. MEYER *Wb.* 231). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 230 (from Ital *\*larviccio*, based on Lat *larva* 'specter, shade'); JOKL *LKUBA* 77-78 (from Slav *\*Vubie.b* 'lover').

**labrik m** 'sea-wolf'. Borrowed from Gk *Xticl3ptxoc* id. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34 (from Lat *labrax*); MEYER *Wb.* 233 (from Rom *\*labracum* < Gk *Xtic(3poc4* id.); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; OREL *Orpheus* VI 65.

lace f 'gusset, inlet; white goat'. Continues *\*laree*, a phonetic variant of *larez* id., a derivative of */are* (cABEJ *St.* I 304-305). 0 BARDHI apud cABEJ *ibid.* (to IE *\*leuk-* 'white').

**lackd f**, pl. *lacka* 'household goods'. One of the rhyming words appearing together with *placke* 'thing, booty' (of Modern Greek or late Slavic origin, cf. MEYER *Wb.* 344): *me lacke e me placke* 'bag and baggage', *placke e racke* id.

ladut m, pl. 'rogue, rascal'. Probably, borrowed from an unattested Bulg *\*/gati* 'liar' derived from Slav *\*17,gati* 'to lie'.

**lafatd f**, pl. *lafata* 'Judas tree'. Another phonetic variant is *lajthate*. A form *lofate* is also attested. Derived from *lajthi*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 248 (from Ital *siliquastro* 'Judas tree').

**lafshd f**, pl. *lafsha* 'crest (of bird), comb'. Borrowed from Lat *lava* (*cutis*) 'loose (skin)' (MEYER *Wb.* 234). 0 KRISTOFORIDHI 197 (to *lape*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3*<sup>2</sup> I 1055; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 84 (deminutive of */ape*); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV 11-2 31; HAARMANN 133; cABEJ *St.* IV 77-78.

lag aor. *laga* 'to wet, to soak, to bathe, to wash'. From PAIb *\*lauga* to be further compared with *legate*. 0 GIL FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Skt /r- 'to melt'); CAMARDA 140 (to Gk Xoi)u) 'to wash'); MEYER *Wb.* 235 (from Slav *\*volga* VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 1 37 (related to Slav *\*volga*); BARIC *ARSt* I 45-46; SELIGE *EV Slay. naselenie* 159 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 166; MANN *Language XVII* 17 (same as VASMER); POLAK *ZfBalk I* 83; cABEJ *St.* I 319-320; HAMP apud DEMIRAJ (to Lith *liggas* 'swamp'); OREL *Linguistica XXIV* 429-430; DEMIRAJ *AE* 229-230.

lagatere 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 A.45xoc 'ambush, place for lying in wait', Slav *\*logy* 'den, narrow valley' and other continuants of IE *\*loghos*, a deverbative of *\*legh-* 'to lie' (JOKLRIEB 58-60). 0 POKORNY I 658-659; FRISK II 110-112; POLAK *Zfl3alki* 79 (borrowed from Gk Lixoc); cABEJ *St.* I 305 (agrees with JOKL, adduces sg. *lag* 'band, horde'); TRUBATEV *ESSJa* XV 248-250; DEMIRAJ *AE* 230.

**laj laj** aor. *lava* 'to wash'. Originates from PAIb *\*launja* related to Gk A,oi)co id., Lat *lava* id. (PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht IX* 211, 215). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35 (borrowed from Lat *lavare*); MEYER *Wb.* 235 (agrees with MIKLOSICH); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 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 *Verbum* 117, *Munch. St. Spr.* 109; HAMPALION-L II (XIII) 186 (follows PEDERSEN); cABEJ *St.* VII 211, 247; HULD 85 (if borrowed, Lat *lavare* would yield *\*/evoj* or *\*loj*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 230-231.

**lajke** f, pl. *lajke* 'caress; flattery'. From *\*larke* further related to *lare*. Semantically, the development is identical with that of *laroj* 'to speckle, to spot' and 'to flatter' (cABEJ *St.* I 305-306). 0 CAMARDA I 37 (to Gk Aaticsgo.) 'to wench'); MEYER *Wb.* 235 (borrowed from or related to Slav *\*laska* 'caress'); **Jon.** *LKUBA* 204-205 (to Gk A..acncto 'to shout' and its cognates); cABEJ *St.* VII 207, 276; DEMIRAJ *AE* 231 (to *laj*).

**lajle** f, pl. *lajle* 'ornamentation, decorations'. A contamination of *lajke* and *lale*. 0 cABEJ *St.* I 306 (related to *fare*).

lajthii f, pl. *lajthi* 'hazel-tree, hazel-nut'. In Borgo Erizzo, *lakthi* is attested (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 166-167). Based on *lakh* *\*laqth* 'loop, noose', derivative in *-th* of *lak* (cABEJ *St.* 130). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 234 (to Slav *\*leska* 'hazel-nut', Lith *lazda* id.); BARK *ARSt* 44 (to Skt *vleska-sling*); JOKL *LKUBA* 203-205 (supports MEYER and reconstructs an earlier *\*ladh* with an epenthetic *-j*); PORZIG *Gliederung* 176; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 109 (from *\*l-al-thi*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 231-232.

**lak m**, pl. *leq, kqe* 'trap, snare, rope, bow (of a musical instrument), pass (in the mountains), bend, curve'. From PAIb *\*laka* 'bend, curve' connected with IE *\*iek-* *\*lak-*, see *flak* (OREL *ZfBalk XXIII/1* 75). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34 (from Lat *laqueus* 'noose, snare'); MEYER *Wb.* 235 (from Rom *\*laquus*, cf. Lat *laqueus*); MEYER-LCBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 11041; JOKL *IF XXXVI* 160; DESNICKAJA *Gr. str.* 9; POKORNY I 674; cABEJ *St.* VII 207, 227.

lake f 'defile, valley'. Borrowed from Gmc *\*lakaz* 'brook, river, swamp', cf. OHG *lahha*, OE *lacu* and the like. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34 (from Lat *lacus*); MEYER *Wb.* 235 (from Ital *lacca* 'deep bottom', itself from Germanic); KLUGE 416.

faker **laken** f, pl. *lakra lakna* 'cabbage, greens'. Borrowed from Gk Xlicxavov 'greens' (THUMB *IF XXVI* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 236). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 208; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 166; OLBERG *SPhAen* 41; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/3-4* 350; JANSON *Unt.* 41.

**lakmi** f, pl. 'greed, avarice'. Derived from *\*lakem* 'greedy' borrowed from Slav *\*o/koms* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *lakom*, SCR *lakom* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 24; MEYER *Wb.* 236). As a result of erroneous segmentation of *\*lak-em*, a new form *lakut* 'greedy, glutton' was produced. 0 MLADENOV *Ist.* 77.

lakshte r 'dew'. Derivative in *-sht(e)* 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 \*/*auk-ura* > *lekure* '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. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 236 (to Gk X£E0 'to peel'), *Alb. St.* III 3; JOKL *Studien* 46, n. 1 (compares *lekure* with Gk Xoticic 'tear, break, crack', Slav \*/(WQ, \**Witi* 'to split'), 51 (prefix *le-* in *lekure*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 166 (agrees with JOKL), *Stratificazione* 92-93; ERNOUT-MEILLET 335; TRUBACEV *Remesl. term.* 165-166; POKORNY I 687-689; HULD 86; OREL *Zj73alk* XXIII 145, *Orpheus* VI 66; DEMIRAJ *AE* 232-233, 240-241 (dialectal form of *lakuriq*, further related to *lekure* and based on IE \**skew-* 'to cover').

tale f, pl. *lale* 'ornamentation, decorations'. A result of assimilation of *liquida* in the plural form of *lar*.

laid m 'uncle, father' (used as a title). Represents a *Lallwort* widespread in the Balkans, cf. NGk 'grandfather' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 236; TAGLIAVINI *Dalrnazia* 167, *Stratificazione* 117). From this stem *lalush* 'to fondle, to caress' is derived.

land& f, pl. *landra* 'tendril (of plants); oleander'. Borrowed from MLat *lorandrum*, a transformation of Lat *rhododendron* (OREL *Orpheus* VI 66).

lank m, pl. *lanoke* 'robber, thief'. Another variant is *landok*. Borrowed from Slav \*/*eiri,k7*, 'lazy person, idler', cf. Bulg *lenk'o*. 0 cABEJ *St.* I 307 (derivative of *lende* with the original meaning 'woodcutter').

lap aor. *lapa* 'to slurp, to lap up'. From PAIb \**lapa*, an onomatopoeia relate to Gk A,Curro 'to lick', Lith *lapth* 'to swallow greedily, Slav \**lopati* 'to eat greedily' and the like (CAMARDA I 127; MEYER *Wb.* 237, *Alb. St.* III 31). Among derivatives, note *lepij* 'to lick' and *lepis* 'index' (literally, the licked finger). 0 SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 253 (equal to Friul *lapa* 'to lick'); FRISK II 85, 92; POKORNY 1677; FRAENKEL 339-340; TRUBACEV *ESSJa* XVI 45-46; DEMIRAJ *AE* 242 (influenced by *pij*, form of *pi*).

laparos aor. *laparosa* 'to make dirty'. Together with Bulg *lapardos-vain* id. borrowed from a Modern Greek formation based on Gk *kaltap6*;

'soft'. 0 JOKL *Studien* 47-48 (to *laperdhi*), *LKUBA* 90; DEMIRAJ *AE* 233 (new formation in *-os* based on *laper* 'cloth').

lape f, pl. *lapa* 'hard piece of meat or skin; peritoneum; leaf'. Continues PAIb \**lapa* related to Lith *liipas* 'leaf', Gk kg:mac 'shell, husk, bark' and the like. Derived from *lape* are *lapete* 'peritoneum (of a slaughtered animal); triangular patch of cloth' and *laper* 'peritoneum, dewlap', adj. 'foul, evil, bad'. As to *Labe* 'bark', it is a secondary dialectal variant of /*ape*, cf. cABEJ *St.* I 307. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 237 (to Lith *ldpas* 'spot' and its cognates); JOKL *Stud.* 44 (*labe* to Lith *Itiobas* 'bark'), *LKUBA* 88-89; MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Slav \**lupl*, 'scale', ON *lauf* 'leaf'), XXVI 386 (/abe to Gk X,0116c 'pod'); FRAENKEL 339-340; FRISK II 105-107; CHANTRATNE 632; POKORNY I 678; cABEJ *St.* VII 208, 230; OREL *ZjBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 229, 233.

lap8rdhi f, pl. *laperdhi* 'dewlap; obscenity, dirty joke'. Derivative of *laper*, cf. *lape* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 234). 0 VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 36 (to Skt *lopati* '(he) whispers', Slav \**lepetz*, '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 PAIb \**lapitja* related to Gk Xanapeoc 'weak', Xcurge.) 'to weaken' (Joxl. *Studien* 48). 0 FRISK II 84-85; cABEJ *St.* I 307 (from Gk 13A,6orro) 'to disable, to weaken'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 234.

laps aor *lapsa* 'to wish, to want'. From PAIb \**laubitja* related to Skt *ltibhyati* 'to wish', Slav \**l'ubiti* 'to love' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 48). 0 MAYRHOFER III 107-108; POKORNY 1683-684; cABEJ *St.* I 308 (identical with *laps* 'to exhaust, to wary'); TRUBACEV *ESSJa* XV 174-176.

lapush adj. 'big-eared'. Borrowed from Slav \**laptda* 'plant with big leaves', cf. SCr *laptda* 'kind of oak'. The Albanian usage is obviously metaphorical.

lar m 'laurel'. Borrowed from Lat *laurus* id. (MucLosicii *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 237). From *lar* a deminutive *larth* 'holly' as well as *larez* 'wild vine' and *larushk* id. are derived. 0 MEYER-

LUBKE *Gr. Grundrift*<sup>2</sup> I 1047; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17 (*larushk* from Lat *labrusea*); HAARMANN 132; LANDI *Lat.* 72, 110, 140.

lara pi. 'menstruation; rinse water'. Substantivized form of *lare* - *lane*, participle of *laj*.

laracoj aor. *laracova* 'to variegate'. Together with *laraman* 'motley, spotted' and *laragan* id. derived from *lare*.

**lardh m** 'fat bacon'. Borrowed from Lat *laridum*, *lardum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 238). 0 MEYER-LUBICE *Gr. Grundrift*<sup>2</sup> I 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 169.

Tare f, pl. *lara* 'white spot', adj. 'spotted, motley'. From PALb *\*laura*, derivative in *-r-* based on *laj*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 238 (to *laros*, cf. *laroj*).

**larg** adv. '*far* (away)'. Borrowed from Lat *largus* 'big, large' (GICFERDING *Otm.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34; MEYER 10. 238). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrift*<sup>2</sup> I 1042, 1050; HASDEU *EMR* 1583; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 169; MIHAESCU *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 */are*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 238 (borrowed from NGk *kEpoivo* 'to dirty'); BARK *AArbSt* 1 153 (*laroj* 'to flatter' to Slav *\*laskati*); JOKL *LI X VII* 67 (united *laroj* 'to speckle' and *laroj* 'to flatter' by comparing it to Gk *itoticilaw* 'to speckle, to paint, to flatter'); CABEJ *St.* I 308 (follows JOKL).

larte **nalte** adj. 'high'. Based on the adverbial Lat *in altum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 297). 0 MEYER *BB XIV* 54, *Wb.* 238 (rejects his earlier explanation); JOKL *LKUBA* 228 (from PALb *\*laudra*, to IE *\*leudh-* 'to grow'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 34 (on prothetic 1-), 201; BARK *AArbSt* I/1-2 147-148 (< *\*tla-ro-*, to Lat *to//o*); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; CABEJ *St.* VII 246; HAARMANN 130; LANDI *Lat.* 49.

lashte adj. 'old; early, premature (of fruit)'. A parallel form is *lashe*. An adjective in *-re* going back to PALb *\*lauga* related to Goth *laus*

'empty, loosen', with further connection with Gk *Xvw* '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. 0 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 68 I-682; FEIST *Goth.* 325; HAARMANN 132; LIUKKONEN *SSF X* 56 (to Lith *ilgas* 'long'); CABEJ *St.* I 308-309 (derivative of *lag*); OREL *Orpheus VI* 66.

**late** f, pl. *lata* 'small axe'. From PALb *\*lapta* related to *lape* (*JoKL Studien* 47, *LKUBA* 88) and reflecting a derivation close to (thematic) Slav *\*lopata* 'spade', Lith *ldpeta* id. and (athematic) OPrus *lopto* (*DEMIRAJ AE* 234). On the semantic link between 'leaf' and 'spade' see TRUBAčEV *ESSJa XVI* 43. 0 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).

**latyre** f, pl. *latyra* 'rinse water'. Borrowed from Rom *\*avatara* from Lat *lavare* 'to wash' (MEYER *Wb.* 237).

**lavare** f, pl. *lavare* 'noose, hangman's rope'. Singularized plural of *lavar* 'dog-collar'. A prefixal form of *var* (*cABEJ St.* 1309). The corresponding verb is *lavirem* 'to hang down'.

**lavij** aor. *lavita* 'to become mad'. Another variant is *tavern* id. Historically identical with *lavos* 'to wound, to injure' from NGk *Xce136vco* id. (*cABEJ St.* 1309). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 239 (on *lavos*); BARK *ARSt I* 108.

**lavire** f, pl. *lavire* 'filthy rags; whore; brook, rill; ridge (of a hill)'. Derivative of *lavirem*, see *lavare* (*cABEJ St.* I 310).

**lbardh** aor. *lbardha* 'to make white'. A prefixal derivative of *bardh*.

**le** part. Accompanies verb in jussive. Goes back to PALb *\*laide* identical with the Baltic particle of optative and permissive: Lith *lai*, Latv *lai*, *lei*, OPrus *-lai*. It coincides with the old unattested imperative as well as with 2 sg. pres. of *le* (*CAMARDA I* 255; PEKMEZI 76-77). 0 FRAENKEL 329; CABEJ *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). 0 S VANE 254.

**leber** f 'mastitis; leprosy'. Identical with *leper* (cABEJ St. I 315).

**lecke** f, pl. *lecka* 'rag, scrap of cloth'. Derived from *lese* 'cleaning-rag' (cABEJ St. I 310). 0 MEYER Wb. 373 (to *rrecke*).

**lecis** aor. *lecita* 'to proclaim, to announce'. Borrowed from Slav \**Mt*/id., cf. South Slavic continuants: CS *Witi*, Maced *lief*, SCr *h?iti* (MIK-LOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 25; MEYER Wb. 242). The reasons for which the vowel of the first syllable is reflected as Alb -i- are not clear. 0 SELI EV *Slay. naselenie* 180; SVANE 247.

**ledh m** 'mud, alluvium, clay; wall, earth mound; river mouth, balk'. 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'. 0 TRAUTMANN *APSpr.* 367-368; JOKL *IF XXX* 206 (to OE *liste* 'edge'); ENDZELINS *DI IV/2* 248 (follows MEYER); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP II* 251; MANN *Language XXVIII* 36 (to Gk *Mini*); PORZIG *Gliederung* 176; PISANI *Saggi* 123; BARK *AarbSt I/1-2* 148 (to Latv */eza*, ON *ldgr*); POKORNY I 662; DURIDANOV *TD* 94 (reconstructs Dac \**laid-*); cABEJ St. VII 216; OREL *Sprache XXXI* 282 (follows JOKL); KORTLANDT *SSGL X* 220 (repeats JOKL, and OREL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 235.

**ledhe** f, pl. *ledha* 'caress, fondling'. If the underlying meaning was 'to touch', *ledhe* is related to *ledh* exactly as Lith *laitas* 'sill' is connected with *liesti* 'to touch' (JEGERS *KZ LXXX* 87-88). The Baltic forms, moreover, are cognates of OPrus *laydis*, see *ledh*. 0 FRAENKEL 334.

**leh** m, pl. *lehe* 'plot of land, patch of land'. Borrowed from Slav \**lexa* id., cf. in South Slavic: OCS *lexa*, Bulg *lexa*, SCr *lijeha*, *leha* (MIK-LOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 25; MEYER Wb. 240). 0 SELI EV *Slay. naselenie* 158, 305; SVANE 38.

**leh lef** aor. *leha lefa* 'to bark'. Goes back to PAIb \**laja*, a zero grade form related to Skt *rciyati* id., Lith *ldju*, *ldti*, Slav \**lajati* and

the like (MEYER Wh. 240). 0 CAMARDA I 65 (to Gk *Xmc60* 'to sound'); JOKL *IF XXXVI* 151; ERNOUT-MEILLET 344; PISANI *Saggi* 130; MANN *Language XXVIII* 34 (to Gk 2■61;mo); FRAENKEL 387; MAYRHOFER III 55; POKORNY I 650; TRUBACEV *ESSJa XIV* 21; DEMIRAJ *AE* 235.

**lehte** adj. 'light'. A more archaic variant is *leh*. Continues PAIb \**lega* < IE \**leg*"h- or \**lager* < IE \**NO-* etymologically connected with Skt *raghti-* 'hastening', *laghti-* 'light', Gk *Xiaksi*g id., Lat *levis* id. and the like (Wm:T. 462, 490; GIL FERDING *Otm.* 23; CAMARDA I 134; MEYER Wh. 239-240). 0 VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 38 (from Lat *levis* id.); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 69; BART6 *ARSt* I 108 (*leh* < \**lev* < *WO*; TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 170; MAYRHOFER III 31-32; FRISK 1484-485; WALDE-HOFMANN 1788-789; POKORNY I 660-661; MIHAESCu *RESEE IV/1-* 2 17; HAARMANN 133 (follows VASMER); cABEJ 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 *le* and, outside Albanian, to Lith *leisti* '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 *leisti* - 'to let, to send, to let rise'. 0 MEYER Wb. 241 (hesitantly suggests a borrowing from Lat *levare* '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 *libert* 'children' < \**leidheroi*, not \**leudheroi*); SCHMIDT *KZ LVII* 17; PISANI *Saggi* 120 (from \**lei-n-*); FRAENKEL 351-352; cABEJ St. I 311-313 (to IE \**leg*h- 'to lie', cf. in particular Gk *X6xoc*, *Xoxeia* 'child-birth'); POKORNY I 666; OLBERG *Unt.* 28; JANSON *Unt.* 29-30; CLACKSON *LR* 227; DEMIRAJ *AE* 235-237 (to Lat *ala* 'to feed', Bret *ala* 'to give birth'); OREL *Orpheus VI* 66.

**leke** f 'sinciput, top of the head'. From PAIb \**laka* etymologically connected with *lak* (OREL *ZfBalk XXIII/1* 75).

le18 f, pl. *lela* 'dirty woman, slut'. Borrowed from Slav \**Pea* 'aunt', cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *le'l'a*, Bulg *le'l'a*, SCr *lje'lja* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 25).

**lemacak m**, pl. *lemarake* 'glutton'. Another variant is *lemacak*. Expressive derivatives based on /emce.

**lemcd f** 'uterus (of animals)'. A morphological variant in -ze is represented by /emze 'female sexual organ'. Both words are based on /eme, a participle of *lej* (GAZULU 234). As to *klemze* id., it is a prefixal derivative of /emze (GAZULLI 204). 0 cABEJ *St.* I 313.

lemeri f, pl. *lemeri* 'fear, terror'. Prefixal derivative of (t)merr.

**lend m**, pl. *lende* 'acorn'. From PAIb \**lenta* compared with the Indo-European word for 'lentil' \**lent-*: Lat *lens*, *lentis*, OHG *linsi*, Slav \*/ctja (cABEJ *St.* I 313-314). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30 (from Lat *glande(m)* 'acorn' but how to explain Lat *gl-* > Alb *l-*?); MEYER *Wb.* 243 (follows MIKLOSICH); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3* 2 11054; SCHMIDT *KZ LVII* 22 (compares with *lend*); MANN *Language XVII* 20-21 (to Gk 1362t,avoc id.); VASMER II 553-554; WALDE-HOFMANN I 783; POKORNY I 677; FRIEDRICH *Trees* 131-132 (same as MANN); MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 16 (from Latin); TRUBAIEV *ESSJa XV* 63-65; OREL *IF XLIII* 111 -113 (unconvincing comparison with *lej*).

**lenicd 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). 0 CAMARDA I 173 (to Lat *lenire* 'to make soft, to alleviate'); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3* 2 I 1048; cABEJ *St.* I 314 (derived from *leh*, *lehte*).

**leper f** 'leprosy'. Borrowed from Lat *lepra* id. (cABEJ *St.* I 315). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 241 (from NGk kkpcc id.).

**leptyrC f** 'muddy place'. Borrowed from Rom \**lippitara*, cf. Lat *lippitudo* 'blearedness, rheum'.

**lepur m**, pl. *lepra*, *lepuj* 'hare'. Borrowed from Lat *leporem* id. (STIER *KZ XI* 139; GILFERDING *OM.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 241). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifl* 2 I 1043, 1049; JOKL *LKUBA* 9; MiliAescu RESEE IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 133; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 83, 144-145.

**lerd f**, pl. *Jere* 'dirt, mud'. From PAIb \**laura* etymologically identical with Lith /afire 'dirty person', further related to \**leu-* reflected in /um. 0 CAMARDA I 146 (to OXEpOv ickpov, Hes.); MEYER *Wb.* 238 (to *laroj*, Okep6v); JOKL *LKUBA* 67 (derivative in -re of *lyej*), *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86; LAMBERTZ *KZ LIII* 12 (follows MEYER); FRAENKEL 346-347; cABEJ *St.* I 315 (agrees with JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 237 (dialectal form of *lyre*, cf. *lyej*).

**lent f**, pl. *lera* 'heap of stones, pebble bank'. Continues PAIb \*/aurci related to Gk 2.cc6pa 'alley, pass between rocks' (JOKL, *RIEB I* 43-46). 0 FRISK II 91; PISANI *Saggi* 85; POKORNY I 683; GINDIN *JaDN* 164; PoLAK *ZfBalk I* 79 (borrowed from Xoci)pa); OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 237-238 (originally Geg).

**lerth m** 'ivy'. Another variant is *lerdh*. Diminutive in -th of *lar*.

**lest f**, pl. *lesa* 'harrow, wicker-work, frame'. Borrowed from Slav \**lesa* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *lesa*, SCr *lješa* (*SELTSCEN Slay. nasele-nie* 156). A parallel form *leshe* id. belongs to an earlier layer of Slavic loanwords. 0 SVANE 31.

**lesd f**, pl. *lesa* 'cleaning rag, cloth'. A derivative of *lyej* (cABEJ *St.* I 315).

**lesker f**, pl. *leskra* 'scale (of fish), shred, slate, thin metal shavings'. A derivative of \**lesk* borrowed from Slav \**listz,k7*, 'small leaf', cf. South Slavic continuants: Maced *listok*, SCr *listak*. 0 cABEJ *St.* I 316 (from SCr *liska* 'metal plate'); SVANE 149.

**lesh m**, pl. *leshra* *leshna* 'wool, fleece, hair'. From PAIb \**lai.fā* etymologically connected with the Balto-Slavic word for 'foliage': Lith *lailfkas* 'leaf', Latv *laiska* 'leaf on a linen stalk; stalk', Slav \**lisrh* 'leaf'. 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* I (to Slav \*vols7, 'hair'); *Wb.* 241 (comparison with Gmc \**fleusaz* 'fleece'), *Alb. St.* III 24, 38, 61; JOKL *Studien* 49 f. (to

Skt 'sickle', Gk Xalov id.), *Slavia* XIII 292 (borrowed from Slav \**Iesa*); KRISTOFORIDHI 205 (to Gk Aicxvn 'down, fleece, frizzy hair'); BARK ARSt 45 (to Gk oidto; 'curly'), *Hymje* 26 (same as KRISTOFORIDHI); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 38-39 (to ON *vloh* 'hair', Gk Xaxvn, same as KRISTOFORIDHI); RIBEZZO *Riv. indo-gr.-it.* I 16 (to Gk Moto; 'hairy, covered with hair'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 92; PISANI *Saggi* 122 (agrees with MEYER *Wb.*); PUDIC *IX Ling. Cong.* 862 (follows MEYER); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 331; cABEJ *St.* I 315-316, IV 78; FRAENKEL 333-334; VASMER 500-501; POKORNY 1681; NEROZNAK *Paleob.* 198 (borrowed from Slav \**vo/sI.*); TRUBA<sup>t</sup>EV *ESS./a* XV 143-144 (Slavic and Baltic words derived from IE \**lei-* 'to spring up [of plants]'); HULD 85-86 (to OS *w/Oh* 'fringe'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 238-239 (to Lat *vellus* 'woe').

**leshko m, pl.** *leshko* 'credulous, gullible'. This homonym of *leshko* 'hairy one' (to *lesh*) is borrowed from Bulg *lea*<sup>o</sup>, *hzko*, adv. 'lightly', cf. *leeok* 'light'.

**leshnje f** 'moss'. Derivative of *lesh*.

**lez m, pl.** *leza, leze* 'wart, mole, pimple, birthmark'. Another morphological variant is */eze*. There exists a dialectal form */emze* that reflects the original structure of the word and allows to identify it with *lemze - lemce* and, in the long run, with *lej* (*JOKL ArRom* XXIV 31). For the semantics cf. E *birthmark*. 0 cABEJ *St.* I 316-317 (to *lyej*).

le - la aor. *lashe* 'to let'. From PA1b \**laidna*, a present in \*-*nelo-* replacing a more archaic \**laida* (see *lej*). Related to IE \**leid-* attested in Baltic and Germanic: Lith */eisti* id., Latv *lalst* id., Goth *letan* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 242, *Alb. St.* III 28, 65, IV 24). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 252, *Sprache* IX 118; PISANI *Saggi* 130; FRAENKEL 351-352; POKORNY I 666; FEIST *Goth.* 329-330; cABEJ *St.* I 317 (to Lat */enis* 'soft, smooth' - semantically difficult); DESNICKAJA *Sravn.* 227; OREL *IF* XLIII 113; HULD 155; JANSON *Unt.* 81 (on part. *lene*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 239.

**lebarke f** 'dysentery'. A prefixal derivative of *bark* (MEYER *Wb.* 242). 0 JOKL *Studien* 51; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 109.

**lebyr** aor. *lebyra* 'to dazzle, to maze, to confuse'. A prefixal deriva-

tive of *byr*. 0 cABEJ *St.* I 317-318 (reconstructs two prefixes *le-* and *b-*); MURATI *Probleme* 86-87 (to *lyej*).

**Wore f, pl.** *lefora* 'rind, peel, scale of fish'. A dialectal phonetic variant of */evore* (cABEJ *St.* I 318).

**lefos m, pl.** *lefose* 'glutton'. From \**lepues* 'lapping', see *lap*. The feminine form *lefose* is attested in a different meaning - 'woman or animal with hanging breasts'.

**lefyt m, pl.** *leβta* 'pipe, tube'. A prefixal derivative of *fyt* (MEYER *Wb.* 115). 0 CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 109; cABEJ *St.* VII 242.

**legate f, pl.** *legata* 'marsh'. Cf. also */engate* under the influence of *leng lang*. From PA1b \**leugata* connected with Illyr Vt.(); Amiyeov iccao4EvoV (Strabo 7.43), Lith *lift' gas* id., Slav \**luZ'a* 'pool' (MEYER *Wb.* 242). 0 MEYER *Alb. Studien* IV 52 (to Gk X4t(po; 'mucus'); BARIK 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; cABEJ *St.* I 319-320; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 429-430; DEMIRAJ *AE* 239-240 (to *lag, lage*).

**lekore f, pl.** *lekore* 'chicory'. A prefixal derivative of *kore* id., probably influenced by */ekure*.

**lekoster f** 'bast'. A prefixal derivative of unattested \**koster* 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) **lekue m, pl.** *lekonj* 'water lily'. Borrowed from Lat (*lilium*) *Laconem* 'Spartan (lily)'.  
 (G) **lekue m, pl.** *lekonj* 'water lily'. Borrowed from Lat (*lilium*) *Laconem* 'Spartan (lily)'.

**lekund aor.** *lekunda* 'to rock, to swing, to sway, to shake'. A prefixal derivative of an unattested \**kund*, a nasal present reflecting PA1b \**kunda* and related to Gmc \**xutan* 'to swing': MHG *hutzen*. 0 BUGA *RFV* LXV 317 (compares Germanic forms with Lith *kuzdeti* 'to tremble', *adulti* 'to pull hair or beard'); POKORNY I 956-957; cABEJ *St.* VII 269.

**lamq** aor. *lekuqa* 'to tinge red, to dye red'. A prefixal derivative of *kuq* (CAMAJ Alb. *Worth.* 101).

**lekure** f, pl. *tekure* 'skin, hide'. Derived from *lakur*. 0 TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 92-93; ERNOUT-MEILLET 335; CAMAJ Alb. *Worth.* 102, 108 (prefix /e-); DEMIRAJ AE 240-241.

**lemaqe** f, pl. *lemaqe* 'expanse of rubble, stoneslide, pile of stones'. A singularized plural of \*/entak, a derivative in -ak of *leme*.

**lemashk** m, pl. *lemashqe* 'mud, scum, moss, fur on tongue'. Another variant is /emyshk 'moss, fur on tongue'. A prefixal derivative from *myshk*.

**lemaze** f, pl. *teMaza* 'thin skin, shell'. A prefixal derivative of *maze* (CAMAJ Alb. *Worth.* 108).

**lemehem** refl. 'to put on make-up'. A reflexive form of *letoj* 'to smooth, to polish'. 0 cABEJ St. 1318 (derived from *lyem*, participle of *lyej*).

**lemekem** refl. 'to become wet; to faint'. A prefixal denominative (CAMAJ Alb. *Worth.* 110) of an unattested \*/mek 'wet' continuing PALb \*/maka and connected with *make*. 0 cABEJ St. VII 242.

**leme** — **lame** f, pl. *leme* – *lame*, *lemenj* *lamenj*, *lemenj* *lamenj* 'threshing-floor, wine-press'. There also exists a more archaic masculine form /em – lam. From PALb \*/lama etymologically identical with OHG *lam* 'lame', Slav \*/oml. 'breaking; crow-bar; broken branches', reflecting \*/lomos further derived from IE \*/lem- 'to break' (MEYER Wb. 243, Alb. St. III 64). 0 SCHMIDT KZ LVII 17 (to *lej*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 167-168 (follows MEYER); PISANI *Saggi* 124; POKORNY I 674; cABEJ St. I 318-319 (to Lith *Loma* 'pit, hole'); OREL *Zfl3alk* XXIII 145; TRUBACEV *ESSJa* XVI 25-27; DEMIRAJ AE 241 (to Gk aXwii 'threshing-floor').

**letoj** aor. *lemova* 'to file, to polish'. Borrowed from Lat *limare* id. (MEYER Wb. 243). 0 cABEJ St. VII 184.

**lemoshe** f, pl *lemosha* 'alms, charity'. Borrowed from Germanic, cf. OHG *alamuosa* id., OS *alemasa* id. Based on *lemoshe* is *lemoshter*

'crumb, speck, offering to the dead enclosed in coffin with corpse'. 0 KLUGE 15; OREL *Orpheus* VI 66.

**lemsh lamsh** m, pl. *lemshe 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 PALb \*/lemesja and is formally identical with Latv *lemesis* 'sharp edge of the plow', Slav \*/lemegb 'plowshare', with a parallel form with a voiced auslaut in Lith *lemths* 'wooden part of plough to which the ploughshare is fixed', Slav \*/lemth, 'plowshare'. The resulting IE \*/lemesfo- is a derivative of \*/lem- 'to break', cf. *leme*. 0 MEYER Wb. 243 (from Rom \*/glemus, cf. Lat *glomus* 'ball, clue of yarn, thread'); MEYER-IXBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 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 *MRIWI* 324 (-sh explained as the ending of locative!); SCHMIDT KZ LVII 20 (to Oh *loman* 'cord'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 168; FR AENKEL 354; cABEJ St. I 319 (from IE \*/o/o-m- based on \*/uel- 'to turn'); TRUBACEV *ESSJa* XIV 108-110; OREL *Orpheus* VI 66.

**lemuq** adv. 'in a heap, piled up', m 'pile'. Another variant is *lemur*. A variant of *lemaqe*. 0 cABEJ St. VII 255.

**len& — lam%** f, pl. *lende lande* 'wood, timber, material'. Goes back to PALb \*/lento etymologically related to Gmc \*/len& 'linden' (OHG *linta*, OE *lind*), Lith *lento* 'board', Slav \*/Qt-t, 'bast' (MEYER Alb. *Studien* IV 117; VASMER Alb. *Wortforsch.* 36). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 152, *Reallex. Vorges.* I 93; MANN *Language* XVII 20; HOLTSHAUSEN AEW 203; FRAENKEL 357-358; VASMER II 536; ZALIZN' AK *Etimologija* 1964 217; cABEJ St. VII 277; TRUBACEV *ESSJa* XVI 150-151; HULD 87; CLACKSON *LR* 135, 227.

**lendine** f, pl. *lendina* 'unfilled land, fallow field, grassland'. Borrowed from Slav \*/ledina id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *ledina*, SCr *ledina* (*SEL Ev Slay. naselenie* 187). 0 SVANE 166.

**lendoj lendoj** aor. *lendova lendova* 'to irritate, to make sore, to hurt'. Borrowed from Lat *lentare* 'to make flexible, to bend'. 0

MEYER *Alb. St.* V 92 (to *linda*); cABEJ *St.* I 319 (from Lat *laedere* 'to hurt, to wound').

**leng lang m, p1.** *lengje langje* 'juice, liquid, broth'. From PA1b *\*langa* obviously connected with *lag* and *legate* but reflecting an unexpected nasal infix. Morphologically not clear. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 244 (to Slav *\*slgknoti* 'to become wet'); cABEJ *St.* I 319-320; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 429-430.

**lengate** f, pl. *lengate* 'illness, sickness, ailment'. Another variant is *ligate* 'liver phthisis (in sheep)'. From PA1b *\*ligata* derived from *\*liga* > *lig*. The inlaut *-en-* has appeared under the influence of *lengoj*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 244 (to *lengoj*).

**lengoj** aor. *lengova* 'to weaken, to languish'. Borrowed from Lat *languere* 'to be faint, languid' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 244). Note a nominal derivative *lengjyre* 'typhus'. 0 MEYER-LOME *Gr. Grundrifi* I 1047; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; HAARMANN 132.

**lengor** adj. 'pliant, supple'. Derived from *lengoj* (MEYER *Wb.* 244). 0 JOKL *Studien* 50 (to Lith *letikti* 'to bend'); cABEJ *St.* I 320 (to *leng*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 242.

**lenur Inuer** aor. *lenura Inora* 'to card, to comb (flax)'. A prefixal derivative of *near*, a variant of *mvar*. 0 MEYER *Wh.* 244 (from Rom *\*lanarius* 'worker in wool').

**lepec m** 'old ox or cow; ailing person'. Derivative of *lope* (MEYER *Wb.* 248). 0 cABEJ *St.* I 320 (to *lape*).

**lepiske** f, pl. *lepidka* 'scale (of fish)'. A prefixal derivative of *pick*.

**lepitke** f, pl. */ePitka* 'slipper'. A derivative of */ape* with a Slavic suffix. A homonymic *lepitke* 'blade (of knife)' is borrowed from Bulg *lepidka*, diminutive of *lepida* id., itself a Modern Greek loanword (*BER* 364). 0 MANN *HAED* 241 (explains *lepitke* 'blade' directly from Greek).

lepize f, p1. *lepiza* 'shelf, rack'. As well as *lepoze* 'roof', related to *lape* LKUBA 86-95).

**lepjeW** f, pl. */epjeta* 'orach, dock'. Borrowed from Gk *Atinocoov* id. (THUMB *IF* XXVI 14-16) or, rather, from an unattested *\*7<itice0ov.0* MEYER *Wh.* 241 (from Lat *lapathum* id.), *Alb. St.* V 92; JOKL *LKUBA* 119 (agrees with THUMB); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 132; cABEJ *St.* I 320 (Albanian and Greek forms derived from the same Mediterranean source).

**leplunge** f, pl. *leplunga* 'webbing for tying cradle to mother's back, cheese-cloth used as a strainer'. A secondary phonetic variant of *naplunge*. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 254.

ldpushe f, p1. *lepusha* 'mullein; broad-leafed plant'. Derived from *lape*.

**leroj** aor. *ierOva* 'to cultivate, to till'. Borrowed from Lat *labarare* 'to labor, to take pains'.

**lerushke larushke m** *lerushq larushq* 'wild vine, kind of grape, clematis'. Borrowed from Lat *labrusea* 'wild vine' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 244). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* 2 1 1049; HAARMANN 132.

**leshoj** aor. *leshova* 'to let, to leave, to free'. Borrowed from Lat *lassare* 'to render faint, to tire, \*to let' (MEYER *Wb.* 244). 0 CAMARDA I 86 (to Gk *Xicooliat* 'to beg, to pray'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35 (from Ital *lasciare* 'to let'); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* 2 I 1047 (agrees with MIKLOSICH); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; cABEJ *St.* VII 228, 243; HAARMANN 132.

Teti **leti** adj 'Italian, Latin, Catholic'. Borrowed from Lat *Latinus* 'Latin' (IVIIKLosicH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 238-239). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* 2 11044, 1047; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 169-170; MIHAESCU *RESEE* TV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 132; cABEJ *St.* I 309.

**Ware** f, pl. *levare* 'waterfall'. Another variant is *livare*. A prefixal derivative of *var* (*CARD St.* I 310) structurally close to *ujvare* id. < *uje* *wire* 'hanging water'. For the original meaning of *levare* cf. a derivative *livarze* 'catkin' < *\*'hanging'*.



**levere** f 'cloth, rag, laundry'. A singularized plural of *\*levar*, the latter being a prefixal derivative of *var*, cf. *levare* (cABEJ *St. I* 309-310). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 244 (with a metathesis, from Lat *velarium* 'covering, screen'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 109.

**levirem levyrem** refl. 'to beg, to beseech'. A semantic development of an older *levyrem* 'to scratch oneself (as a sign of grief)', the latter being based on *le'vyr* 'to scratch, to lacerate', a prefixal derivative of *var*, *vjerr*.

**leviz** aor. *leviza* 'to move, to stir'. Related to *luaj* from which it is derived with an unusual suffix *-iz* < PAIb *\*-idja*.

**levore** f, pl. *levore* 'peel, skin; rag'. A formation parallel to *levere* but with a different vocalism (cABEJ *St. I* 321). 0 CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 108 (prefix *le-*).

**levorzoj** aor. *levorzova* 'to peel'. Based on */evorze levorxe* 'peel, skin', derived from *levore*.

**levozhge** f, pl. *levozhga* 'hard shell, peel, skin'. Other variants are *levezhge*, *levexhge*, *levoxhge*. Derivative in *-ke* or *-shke* of */evorxe*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 476 (borrowed from Slav *\*luska* *\*l'uska* 'peel, shell'); cABEJ *St. I* 321 (derived directly from *levore*).

m, pl. *linj* 'flax, linen'. Borrowed from Lat *linum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 244-245). 0 CAMARDA *II* 161 (compares *li* with Gk *Xivov* id., Lat *linum* id.); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrift*<sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1056; JOKL *LKUBA* 256; MANN *Language XXVI* 384 (same as CAMARDA); MIHAESCURESEE *IV/1-2* 17; HAARMANN 133; JANSON *UM.* 53.

**lice** 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 PAIb *\*ldza* etymologically close to Lat *ligare* id. (CAMARDA *I* 42; MEYER *Wb.* 245, *Alb. St. III* 17). 0 BARK *ARSt* 43-44 (to Lat *volvo* 'to roll'); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia 173* (agrees with MEYER); CIMOGHOWSKI

*LP II* 230; ERNOUT-MEILLET 358; MANN *Language XXVI* 384; PISANI *Saggi* 129; JUCQUOIS *Le Museon LXXVIII* 448; HAMP *IF LXVI* 53; cABEJ *St. VII* 254; HULD 86-87; DEMIRAJ *AE* 242-243.

**lifqer** m, pl. *lifgere* 'waterfall'. Another form is *lifqar*. Borrowed from Rom *\*lavcarum* < Lat *lavacrum* 'bath'. The vowel of the first syllable results from the development of the unstressed *-e-* to *-i-*. 0 XHUVANI *KLeTr 115* 9 (from Lat *liquor* 'liquid'); cABEJ *St. I* 321-322 (related to *levare*); OREL *Orpheus VI* 67.

**lig** adj. 'bad, ill'. Reflects PAIb *\*liga* while *lige* 'illness' goes back to PAIb *\*liga*. Further connected with Gk *Okiyog* 'small, few', Xoty6c 'destruction, death', Lith *liga* 'illness', Latv *liga* id. (CAMARDA *I* 66 on Xoty6g; MEYER *Wb.* 245, *Alb. St. III* 7). The related adjective *ligshte* 'ailing' is identical with Lith *ligiistas* 'ill' (DESNICKAJA *Sravn.* 203). 0 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; cABEJ *St. VII* 199; HULD 87; OREL *Zffialk XXIII* 149; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 164; DEMIRAJ *AE* 243.

**ligj** m, pl *ligje* 'law'. Other morphological variants of sg. are *ligje* and *ligje*. The word is borrowed from Lat *lege(m)* id. (CAMARDA *II* 69; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 245). Note Alb *-i-* < Lat *-e-* (explained by the Sicilian dialectal mediation in MEYER-1\_1113KE *Gr. Grundriji*<sup>2</sup> 11044). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 43 (*ligj* vs. *zakon*), WuS *XII* 83; JIROKOV *ZFL XXIV/1* 15 (related to Lith *lyglts* 'equal', OPrus *ligan* 'court'); TOPOROV *SBJa Etnokul't.* 25 (follows 8iRoKOV); cABEJ *St. VII* 266; HAARMANN 133; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 361-362; LANDI *Lat.* 53, 85.

*ligje* p1. 'mourning, dirge'. Historically identical with *ligi*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 245 (from Rom *\*elegium* instead of Lat *elogium*); MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrift*<sup>2</sup> I 1044.

**hie** f, pl. *lija* 'smallpox'. Borrowed from Slav *\*ixō* 'evil'. 0 MANN *Language XXVI* 384 (to Lat *lira* 'furrow').

**lik** m 'level'. Borrowed from Slav \*/k7, 'face, surface', cf. Bulg *lik*, SCr *lik* (cABEJ *St.* I 322). 0 SVANE 126.

**likardhd** f 'chickenpox'. Probably, from \**lekurdhe*, a suffixal derivative of *lekure*. As to the unexpected *-a-* in *likardhe* it could be explained by the analogy with the dialectal *likar* 'doctor' of Serbo-Croatian origin. 0 cABEJ *St.* IV 369 (to Russ kor"chickenpox"); RUSAKOV *Lls* 1980 173.

**likogjone** pl. 'sacrum, loins, lumbar regions'. An adaptation of the unattested Slavic compound \**ledvo-gon73* 'place from where hips begin', based on \**lcdva* 'hip, kidney, loin'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 245 (to Gk *ctox6ivri* 'part between the pudenda and the anus'); cABEJ *St.* VII 195.

**likoq m** 'animal with one testicle'. A prefixal derivative of *koqe* one of the meanings of which is 'testicles'.

**liktyre** f 'rope for binding a bundle of wood; band, bandage'. Another variant is *lyktyre*. Borrowed from Lat *ligatura* 'band, bunch' (MtHAEscu RESEE IV/1-2 17). 0 HAARMANN 133; cABEJ *St.* I 327-328.

**lil** m, pl. *lila* Borrowed from Lat *lilium* id. (MiKEoSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35).

**lile** f, pl. *lila* 'small iron ring, loop-ring, link'. From PA1b \**Leila* related to Lith *leilas* 'thin, supple, flexible' and, further, to *Haas* 'big', Latv */ie/s* id. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 246 (to the non-existent Lith */e/es* 'hand-cuffs'); FRAENKEL 329; POKORNY I 662.

**lime** f, pl. *lima* 'file'. Borrowed from Lat *lima* id. (MIKEoSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 246). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> 11044; MIHAEScu RESEE IV/1-2 23; cABEJ *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). 0 PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 12; Jam.. *Studien* 63; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 33-35; PISANI *Saggi* 120; cABEJ *St.* VII 205, 217; DEMIRAJ *AE* 243-244.

**ling** m 'hurry, haste'. From PA1b \**linga*, a substantivized nasal present related to Skt *rejate* 'to spring', Goth *laikan* 'to jump', Lith *ldigyti*

'to run (unattached)'. For forms with a nasal infix cf. Lith *linguoti* 'to swing'. 0 MEYER *Wh.* 246 (*ling* 'trotting' from Turk *link* 'trot'); FEIST *Goth.* 319-320; FRAENKEL 330-331; MAYRHOFER III 72; POKORNY I 667.

**liege** f, pl. *linga* 'small bell'. From PA1b \**linga* etymologically identical with Lith *tinge* 'flexible pole; bend', Latv *lingo* 'loop'. 0 FRAENKEL 331; POKORNY I 676; cABEJ *St.* I 322 (onomatopoeia).

**linje** f, pl. *linja* 'linen shirt; linen'. Borrowed from Lat *lineum* 'linen garment' (MEYER *Wh.* 245). The homonymic */inje* 'line' either goes back to Lat *Linea* 'thread, line' or to its continuations in Romance. 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> 11044; MIHAEScu RESEE IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 133.

**lipe** f, pl. *lipa* 'lime-tree'. Borrowed from Slav \**lipa* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *lipa*, SCr *lipa* (cABEJ *St.* I 322). 0 SVANE 126.

**liq m** 'woof, weft'. A singularized plural of \**lik* going back to PA1b \**lika*. A nominal deverbative of IE 'to leave, to remain': Skt *rinakti* 'to Lat *lingua* id., OHG *khan* and the like. 0 MAYRHOFER III 59; WALDE-HOFMANN I 808-810; POKORNY I 669-670; OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

**liroj** aor. *lirova* 'to free'. Borrowed from Lat *liberare* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 247). Cf. also *lire* 'free'. 0 MEYER-LCERE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> 11044, 1053; MIHAEScu RESEE IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 133.

**lis** m, pl. *lisa* 'oak, high tree'. A borrowing from Slav \**fen*, 'wood, forest, tree' (MEYER *Wb.* 247). The Slavic dialect from which the word was borrowed must have had a narrow \**e* > Alb *i*, i.e. it may be identified as "ikayski" Serbo-Croatian (JoKE *LKUBA* 177). 0 BARK ARSt 48 (to Gk *liXaoc* 'holy grove'), *AarbSt* 1/1-2 205-206; HuE6 87 (compares */is* with *lende* and *lende* as a parallel of *vise - vend*).

**lise** t, pl. *lisa* 'woof, weft'. Goes back to PA1b \**litša* continuing \**leiria* and related to *liq*. 0 cABEJ *St.* I 322 (borrowed from Bulg *lesa* 'fishing-line, rope, plaiting'); OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

**lisme** 1, pi *lisma* 'slate, fragile earth, stony field, clay'. From PA1b

*\*ithma*. A derivative of *liq, lise*. The original meaning of the word might be 'remaining (earth), remainders'.

*loc m* 'dear, darling'. As demonstrated by the derivative *locke* 'pupil (of the eye)', also used metaphorically as a synonym of */oc*, the original meaning of the latter must have been 'pupil'. It is, therefore, a continuation of PAIb *\*latja*, derivationally connected with *lot*. Another derivative of */oc* is *Joke* 'dear' (addressed to mother).

**lodroj** aor. *lodrova* 'to spring, to dance, to play'. Derived from *lode*, 'game, play' based on */oz* (SPITZER *MRIW* I 326). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 175.

**lodh** aor. *lodha* 'to tire, to weary'. From PAIb *\*lada* related to Goth *letan* 'to let', Gk *kriSEiv* • *xorctav*, Keicgrodvat (Hes.) and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 242, *Alb. St.* III 28). 0 CAMARDA 1124 (to Gk '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 *\*log-L* 'ravine, low place' (SELMEV *Slay. naselenie* 75, 187). Note that in these meanings the word is not attested in South Slavic where it usually stands for 'lying' or 'den'. 0 SVANE 167.

**logori** f, pl. *logori* 'wailing, mourning, dirge'. Assimilated from *\*logori*. Borrowed from Lat *allegoria* 'allegory'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 245 (to *ligje*); KRISTOFORIDHI 211 (related to Gk *kOyoc* used to denote 'dirge'); JOKL *WuS* XII 88 (from NGk *Rupokoyeo* 'to mourn'); cABEJ *St.* I 322 (identical with *llogaris* 'to count', of Modern Greek origin), IV 78.

1\* adj. 'unstable'. Literally, 'playful'. Derived from *loje* 'play' < *\*ioe* related to */oz*.

**lopate** f, pl. *lopata* 'shovel, oar'. Borrowed from Slav *\*lopata* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *lopata*, Bulg *lopata*, SCr *lopata* (MIK-LOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 245). The derivative *lopatez* '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'. 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 176; SELISEV *Slay. naselenie* 169, 303; POLAK *Zfbalk* I 81 (from SCr *lopata*); HAMP *LB* XIV/2 12; cABEJ *St.* VII 254; SVANE 76.

**lope** f, pl. *lope* 'cow'. Continues PAIb *\*lapel* related to Latv *luips* 'cattle' (ENDZELIN *KZ* XLIV 62). 0 STIER *KZ* XI 206; MEYER *Wb.* 248 (parallels with Alpine words for 'cow'); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr. II* 22 (to Celt *\*lapego-* 'calf': OIr *ldeg*, 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; cABEJ *Glotta* XXV 51; HAMP *RomPh* XII 153; SCHRIJVER *BC* 309; DEMTRAJ *AE* 245.

*loge* f, pl. *loge* 'penis; testicles'. A singularized plural going back to a paradigm sg. *\*lok* - pl. *loge*. From PAIb *\*lauka* closely related to Lith *liauka* 'gland' further based on IE *\*leuk-* 'to shine; shining, white' (cABEJ *St.* I 322-323). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 248 (compares with SCr *lokanja* 'belly', Bulg Gypsy *lokath* 'penis'); PEDERSEN *St. Balt.* IV 152 (on Lith *liatika*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 93; FRAENKEL 361-362; POKORNY I 687-690; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 427.

**lorze** 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'.

**bosh** adj. 'tearful'. Continues *\*lot-sh*, derived from *lot*.

*lot* m, pl. *lot* 'tear'. From PAIb *\*/a(i)ta*, an adjective in *\*-to-* based on IE *\*/(si-* 'to pour, to flow' (BARI *A ArbSt I* 148-150). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 249 (from Lat *fletus* 'weeping, wailing'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 176 (agrees with BARK); POKORNY I 664-665; cABEJ *St.* VII 258.

10Z aor. *lojta* 'to move, to shake, to play'. From PAIb *\*ladja*, a denominative verb based on . The latter is etymologically identical with Slav *\*lades* 'order, peace' from which a similar verb *\*laditi* 'to make order, to make peace' is derived. 0 CAMARDA I 50 (related to *luaj*); MEYER *Wb.* 248 (related to Lith *paloda* 'lack of restraint, licentiousness' and separated from *luaj*); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 152 (connects */oz* with *luaj*); JOKL *Studien* 75, *LKUBA* 224; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 177; cABEJ *St.* I 323-324 (to OIr *luaid* 'to move'); TRUBAFV *ESSJa* XIV 9-12.

laze f, pl. *loze* 'tendrils (of a plant)'. A singularized plural of a less widespread *laze* id. Borrowed from Slav \**loza* 'vine, tendril', cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *loza*, Bulg *loza*, SCr *loza* (*SELiStEY Slay. naselenie* 164). 0 SVANE 118.

Iter m 'altar'. Borrowed from Lat *altdrium* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2). 0 MEYER-LOME *Gr. Grundriff* <sup>2</sup> 11040, 1043; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; cABEJ *St.* VII 280; HAARMAN 110; LANDI *Lat.* 27, 38, 115.

luaj luej aor. *lojta luejta* 'to move, to shake, to play'. From PA1b \**liddnja*, a denominative verb closely connected with /oz (CAMARDA I 50). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 248 (borrowed from Lat *Indere* 'to play'); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 250; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; cABEJ *St.* VII 227; HAARMANN 133.

luan lui m, pl. *luaj luanj, luane* 'lion'. Borrowed from Lat *leonem* id. (STIER *KZ* XI 141-142; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 249). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundriff* <sup>3</sup> I 1046; JOKL *LKUBA* 89, *IF* L 49-52 (from Slav \**Lirr*, id.); MANN *Language* XXVI 384 (related to Gk A.ecov id.); cABEJ *St.* I 324 (follows MEYER).

*lubenice* f, pl. *lubenica* 'water-melon'. Borrowed from Slav \**lubenica* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *lubenica*, SCr *lubenica* (*MTKLosich Slay. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 249). 0 SELISftV *Slay. naselenie* 162, 304; SVANE 106.

lubi f, pl. *lubi* 'ogress, dragon-woman with seven heads'. Another variant is *lavgj*. Note also *lavgji* 'voracity, greed' representing a metaphoric usage of this word. It seems probable that *lubi* is a back-formation based on *lavgat*, see *lugat*. 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 72-74 (to Slav \**l'ubiti* 'to love').

*lute* f, pl. *luca* 'mud, mire'. Important parallel forms are *jute*, *juci* and *juzi*. Borrowed from Lat *lutea* 'muddy' (MEYER *Wb.* 251). 0 CAMARDA I 88 (connected with Lat *lutum* 'mud'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37 (borrowed from *lutum*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundriff* <sup>2</sup> I 1050; FRAENKEL 198-199; KRISTOFORIDHI 143 (to //we); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 133; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 44 (to Lith *judra*

'swamp, marsh; podzol (a kind of soil)'); KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 (against OREL).

lufte f, pl. *lufta, luftera luftna* 'fight, war'. Borrowed from Lat *ludo* 'wrestling' > Rum *luptit* '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 *luftoj, luftoj* 'to fight' corresponds to Lat *luctari* id. 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundriff* <sup>2</sup> I 1046, 1049, 1054; PUSCARIU *EWR* 86; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 145, 366; cABEJ *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 *luge* 'spoon' with which it continues PA1b \**luga* \**luga* etymologically connected with Slav \**li,ga* 'spoon, blade', \**Li'ica* id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 143-145, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 93). Both Albanian and Slavic forms are based on IE \**leugh-* 'to break', cf. Skt *rujdti* 'to break'. Note *lugate* 'oar' derived from *luge* under the structural influence of *lopate* and *lukth* 'stomach' based on *lug* (MEYER *Wb.* 250). 0 MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 250 (*luge* borrowed from Slavic); MEYER *IF* II 368-369, *Wb.* 250 (*lug* treated as a Turkish loan, from *oluk, uluk* 'channel'; for *luge* follows MIKLOSICH); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 101; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 177; MANN *Language* XVII 14; MAYRHOFER III 64; POKORNY 1686; HAMP *SCL* XXVII/2 183; cABEJ *St.* VII 201, apud DEMIRAJ (to OE *long* 'vessel'); TRUBACEV *ESSJa* XVI 257-260; DEMIRAJ *AE* 245-246.

*lugat* m, pl. *luget, lugeter* 'bogey, vampire'. Another variant is *lavgat*. 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 peccatus* 'false wolf'. 0 POLAK *EBTch* V 34-35.

*luhas* aor. *luhata* 'to rock, to sway, to swing'. Borrowed from Slav \**i'uxati* 'to strike', cf. in South Slavic - Bulg *l'uxam* 'to strike at a short stick while playing chelik'.

*luker* f. 'sheep'. Borrowed from Lat *lucrum* 'gain, profit, wealth' (JOKL *LKUBA* 257-259). 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; cABEJ *St.* I 324 (agrees with JOKL); HAARMANN 133; LANDI *Lat.* 118.

**lule** f, pl. *lule* 'flower'. Singularized plural of < PAIb *\*hula*, an ancient Balkan loanword from an oriental source, probably, from Copt *hreri*, *hleli* 'lily' < Eg *Ora* id. The same source is postulated for Gk *A.*, *Eiplov* id., Lat */ilium* id. 0 MEYER Wb. 250 (from Lat */ilium* with *i* > *u* after *l-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalrnazia* 178 (questions MEYER's explanation); MANN *Language* XVII 16; FRISK II 100-101; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 109 (prefix *l-*); cABEJ *St.* VII 203, 254; HULD 87-88.

**lum** adj. 'blessed, happy, lucky, fortunate'. From PAIb *\*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'. 0 FEIST *Goth.* 333; POKORNY I 683-684; cABEJ *St.* I 325 (to *lus*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 247-248.

**lumak** m, pl. 'bud, shoot; lichen, moss'. Another form is *lemek*. A suffixal derivative of an unattested *\*um* continuing PAIb *\*lubna*. The latter is an adjective in *\*-no-* based on IE *\*leubh-* 'to peel, to skin', cf. Lith *luba* 'board (of a ceiling)', Latv *luba* 'bark, board', OPrus *lubbo* 'board', Slav *\*/7,b7*, 'forehead, skull'. 0 MEYER Wb. 251 (from Lat *limacem* 'snail'), *Alb. St.* IV 94; BARICARSt I 48-50 (a prefixal derivative of *make*); POKORNY I 690; FRAENKEL 388; cABEJ *St.* I 325-326 (from *fume*); TRUBACEV *ESSJa* XVI 225-228; OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

**lume** m, pi. *lumenj* 'river'. From PAIb *\*luma* etymologically identical with Gk *7 vpa* 'dirt', and further related to IE *\*leu(a)-* 'dirt'. 0 CAMARDA I 38 (to Gk ?voice 'to wash'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27 (borrowed from Lat *flumen* 'river'); MEYER Wb. 251 (follows MIKLOSICH); JOKL *Studien* 51-52 (to IE *\*lei-* 'to pour'); FRISK II 144-145; POKORNY I 681; cABEJ *St.* VII 227, 258; HULD 88 (to IE *\*(s)leub-* 'to be slick, wet'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 246-247.

**hinder** f, pl. *lundra* 'boat, barge, ferry'. Borrowed from Rom *\*hinter*, cf. Rum *luntre* (*MIKLosicti Rom. Elemente* 36; MEYER Wb. 251). 0 PUCARIU *EWB* 86; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 133; LANDI *Lat.* 116, 129.

**lunder** f, pl. *lundra* 'otter'. Borrowed from Rom *\*lunter* id. (MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1046).

**lungd** f, pl. *lunga* 'swelling, tumor'. From PAIb *\*lunka*, a derivative of IE 'to bend' with a nasal infix, similar to that of OPrus *lunkis* 'angle', Lith *lulikanas* 'supple'. Latv *links* id. 0 MEYER Wb. 252 (to *bule*, *bulunge*); BCGA *RR* I 369; JOKL *Studien* 53 (to Skt *rdga-* 'pain, illness'); FRAENKEL 390; POKORNY I 681-682; cABEJ *BUSHt* XV/4 76-77 (follows MEYER), apud DEMIRAJ (Lat *volvO* 'to roll'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 248 (to *leng*).

**lupesh m** 'glutton'. Derivative of *llup* (PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 153). 0 cABEJ *St.* I 326 (from a non-existent Bulg *lupef* 'thief').

**lugerbull f, pl.** *higerbulla* 'werewolf'. Other variants are *ruqerbull*, *riqebull*. Borrowed from Rom *\*lupus cervulus*, cf. a more usual Romance *\*lupus cervarius* as in Fr *loup-cervier* id. (LA PTANA *Prefisso* 21). 0 cABEJ *St.* I 326 (a prefixal derivative of *qelb*).

**lucierd f** 'lamp, lantern'. Borrowed from Lat *lucerna* id. (Mn(LOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37; MEYER Wb. 250, *Alb. St.* IV 80). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1049; MIKLESURESEE IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 133; cABEJ *St.* I 326 (adduces Old Albanian data); LANDI *Lat.* 89, 112-114.

**luroj** aor. *lurova* 'to howl, to wail'. A phono-morphological variant of *u/enj*.

**lurtoj** aor. *lurtova* 'to cajole, to flatter, to caress'. A phonetic modification of *\*laretoj*, to *laroj* (CABEJ *St.* I 326-327).

**lus** aor. *luta* 'to pray, to invoke, to beg'. From PAIb *\*lugtja* related to Lith *legate* 'to ask, to pray', Latv *līdzu*, *liigt* 'to ask, to invite', OHG */ockan* 'to lure, to entice' (TREIMERMRIW I 377-378), further related to IE *\*leugh-* 'to lie, to cheat'. 0 CAMARDA I 53 (to Gk *Xiacrogott* 'to beg, to pray'); MEYER Wb. 251 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb. St.* III 25; BARICARSt I 50-51 (to IE *\*leubh-* 'to love, to wish'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 177; MANN *Language* XXVIII 31 (to Slav *\*/utiti* 'to be fierce, to be violent'); KLUGE 444; FRAENKEL 389; POKORNY I 686-687; JOKL *Die Sprache* IX/2 150 (agrees with TREIMER).

**luspe** f, pl. *luspa* 'scale (of fish)'. Borrowed from Slav *\*luspa* 'scale, shell', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *luspa*, SCr *ljuspa* (cABEJ *St.* I 327). 0 SVANE 119, 237.

lush m, pl. *lushe* 'berserk; carrion'. Back-formation based on fern. *lushe* 'bitch; berserk woman'. As far as the latter has a parallel form *lute* 'bitch, glutton', *lushe* must be explained as resulting from \**lut-she* based on an unattested \**lute*, borrowed from Slav \**rut7*, 'angry, wild, violent' (in particular, of animals).

luzund f 'swarm (in particular, of bees)'. From \**luazme luezme*, derivative of /oz. 0 cABEJ St. VII 195.

luzhi f 'flood'. Based on \**luzhe* borrowed from Slav \**luZ'a* 'pool', cf. in South Slavic: OCS *luza*, SCr *lth'a* (cABEJ St. 1327). 0 XHUVANI *Shkendija* II1/4 5 (related to *legate*); SvANE 170.

lyc adv. 'in a mess, in a muddle, out of joint'. Derived with an adverbial marker *-c* 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 \**elaiwa* borrowed from Gk 2t,txt(F)ov 'oil'. Note *lyre* 'fat' derived from *lyej*. 0 CAMARDA I 242 (to Gk OckEigno 'to oil'); MEYER Wb. 251-252 (borrowed from Lat *lino* 'to daub, to besmear' or related to IE \**lei-* 'to flow, to pour'); BARK ARSt 1 50 (to IE \**leip-* 'fat', thus repeating CAMARDA's etymology); JOKL LKUBA 67; TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 177; cABEJ St. 1327 (to IE \**lei-* 'to flow, to pour').

lylyver m, pl. *lylyvere* 'rainbow'. A phonetic variant of *yllber*.

lym m, pl. *lyme* 'mud, alluvium'. Borrowed from Gk kol.tot 'dirt', cf. /um. 0 JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86 (to *lere*); cABEJ St. VII 225; cABEJ 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 PAIb \**leipa* related to Gk Xincopoct 'to be eager, to long for', Lith *liepiti*, *liepti* 'to order'. 0 MEYER Wb. 247 (to *lipsem* 'to miss', itself a Modern Greek loanword); BARIG ARSt 150-51 (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 /ere 'dirt'.

lyrdhdz f, pl. /yrdheza 'wart'. Apparently, from \**lyr-th-ez*, a derivative of *lyre*. Cf. *lyth*.

lyshtdr f, pl. *lyshtra* 'flotsam, alluvium; crowd'. Borrowed from Lat *Irtstrum* 'slough, bog, morass, puddle; house of ill-repute, debauchery'. 0 cABEJ St. I 328 (to *lyej*).

lyth m, pl. *lytha*, *lythe* 'wart, corn'. A derivative in *-th* of *lyej* (cABEJ St. I 328).

## LI

llabic m, pl. *Habice* 'bogey, vampire; glutton'. From \**ubic*, derivative of *lubi*.

Race f, pl. *llaca* 'ladder'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav \**lzhca* related to \**laziti* 'to climb'. 0 OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

llalld f, pl. *llalla* 'wet-nurse; moth'. An onomatopoeia. In its second meaning *llalle* may be a calque of Slav \**baba* 'woman, grandmother; butterfly, moth'.

Hap aor. *llapa* 'to lap up' (of animals). From PAIb \**lapa* compared with Gk Vatic!) 'to gulp, to drink greedily', Lith *lapenti* 'to swallow food' (of pigs), Slav \**lopati* 'to eat up' (CAMARDA 127; MEYER Wb. 237). 0 FRAENKEL 340; FRISK II 85; POKORNY I 651; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 429.

llapd f, pl. *llapa* 'tongue, language'. From PAIb \**lapa* connected with the verb *llap*. 0 MEYER Wb. 237; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 429.

llapush adj. long-eared'. An early borrowing from an unattested Slav \**lop(o)uh* id., cf. \**lopourb* id.

llapushd f, pl. *llapusha* 'broad-leafed cabbage, covering leaf of maize'. Borrowed from Slav \**lopuh*, derivative of \**lopux7*, 'burdock, broad-

leafed plant', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *lopux*, SCr *lopuh*. 0 SVANE 112; OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

llaskonja f 'twig, shoot'. A derivative in *-onje* of *\*laske* borrowed from Slav *\*lomka*, deminutive of *\*loza* 'vine'. Another form of *\*laske* is attested as *llashke* 'shoot'.

flazure f 'agitation, noise, swarm'. Borrowed, with dissimilation of liquids, from Slav *\*orzon*, 'ravage, destruction', cf. SCr *razoriti*.

118njez f '**mud**, silt'. A derivative from PAIb *\*s/inja* related to Lith *slienias* 'saliva, mucus, slime', Slav *\*slina* 'saliva'. 0 FRAENKEL 826; VASMER III 672; OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

Here - Hand f, p1. *here Mane*, //era - liana 'forearm, ell'. From PAIb *\*alena* related to Gk *daiuv* 'elbow', Lat *ulna*, OHG *elina* and the like (MEYER Wb. 233). 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* III 76 (borrowed from Rom *\*ulnana*); PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 44, *Kelt. Gr.* II 59; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 93; MANN *Language XXVIII* 37; FRISK 1146-1147; WALDEHOFMANN II 812; POKORNY I 307; HULD KZ XCIX 247 (from Gk thXivri); HAMP *AION-L* II 185-187; JANSON *Unt.* 30; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 249-250.

Hoc m 'mud, mire, sludge'. Derived from *llohe*. 0 cABEJ *St.* I 328 (from Bulg *loaa* 'mud').

**Rohe** f 'rain with snow, snow broth, dampness'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*/ojr*, *\*anything liquid* (SEAWsKi V 259) > 'fat, lard; flooded area; crater, funnel' (OREL *FLHVIII/1-2* 46). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 233 (compares with Slav *\*loky* 'pool, pit'); SVANE 173; KORTLANDT *SSGL XXIII* 174 (against OREL).

**llokme** f, pl. *llokma* 'lump, chunk'. Another variant is *llomke*. Borrowed from Turk *lokma* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 233). 0 cABEJ *St.* I 328 (from Bulg dial. *lomka* id.).

**born m** 'mud, sludge, sediment'. Derived from *llohe*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 233 (from the non-existent Slav *\*loml*, 'swamp'); MANN *Language XXVIII* 36.

**llomi** aor. *llomita* 'to pound, to crush'. Borrowed from Slav *\*/omiti* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *lom'a*, SCr */omiti* (DESNIČKA-JA *Slav. zaim.* 16). 0 SELISTEV *Slav. naselenie* 188; SVANE 91, 237.

*llomotis* aor. *llomaita* 'to brawl, to chatter'. Borrowed from Slav *\*/omotiti* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *lomot'a*, SCr */omotiti*.

**lloske** 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 *\*loia* *\*loll*, id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *lofa*, SCr */aa*,

HOZ m, pl. *lloze* 'bolt, bar'. Another variant is *loz*. Derived from the verb *loz*.

**llubatd** f 'sediment'. A derivative from *ihithe* as well as *llubureline* id.

**lluke** f, p1. *lluka* 'lime-tree'. An early Slavic loanword, from *\*lyko* 'bast' and, in particular, 'lime-tree bast'. 0 OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

**nuke** f, pl. *lluka* 'foul egg'. From PAIb *\*/uket* related to */ere* and derived from IE *\*leu(a)*- 'dirt'. 0 POKORNY I 681.

*llup* aor. *pupa* 'to gulp down, to swallow'. Continues PAIb *\*lupa* etymologically connected with Skt *lumpdti* 'to break, to injure', Lith *lupti* 'to peel', Latv *lupt* 'to peel; to eat', Slav *\*lupiti* 'to peel' (hesitantly - MEYER *Wb.* 233). 0 FRAENKEL 391-392; POKORNY I 690-691; MAYRHOFER III 108-109; TRUBAC'EV *ESSJa XVI* 183-184.

**llurbd** f 'sediment, mud'. Continues PAIb *\*lur(i)ba* derived from *\*lur-a*, a form related to */ere*.

## M

**mace** f, pl. *maca* 'cat'. Borrowed from Slav *\*maca* id., cf. South

Slavic forms: Bulg *maca*, SCr *maca* (*Mnaosicx Slay. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 263). Derived from *mace* is *macke* 'cat; bush (on wheel)'. 0 SELISCEV *Slay. naselenie* 166; SVANE 138.

**macolle** f, pl. *macolla* 'mallet'. Dissimilated from *\*malolle*, borrowed from Lat *malleolus* id.

**macukd** f 'shepherd's staff'. A lexicalized phonetic variant of *matuke*.

**mace** f, pl. *maca* 'hard soil'. Borrowed from Slav *\*maca* 'swamp, marsh' (Czech *mciea*) unattested in South Slavic.

**madh** adj. 'big, large'. From PALb *\*madza* related to Hitt *mekkiš* id., Skt *mandnt-* 'great, large', Gk *Oyu*; id., Lat *magnus* id. and the like (BOPP 489, 491; GILFERDING *Otn.* 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 *-ii-* < *-dh-*. 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* III 18, 63, 81, *Gr. Gr.* 277; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 535; JOKL *IF* XLIV 57; PUSCARIU *EWB* -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 Museon* LXXVIII 448; HULD 88-89; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; DEMIRAJ *StF* XXVI/3, 95-96 (reconstructs *\*magfos*), *AE* 250-251.

**magar** m, pl. *magare* 'donkey'. Another variant is *magjar*. As it is clear from *margac* id., the original form of *magar* was *\*margar*, with the dissimilation of sonorants. Both words are derivatives of an unattested *\*marge*. The latter appears to be a borrowing from Gmc *\*marxjo*, 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. 0 CAMARDA II 73 (from *gomar*); MEYER *Wb.* 253 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); BARK *ARSt* 54 (prefix *ma-* + *krri0*; KLUGE 454; IL'INSKLTRodna *ree* VII 9-10 (to IE *\*ma-* - *\*meg-* 'to bellow'); SKOK *AArbSt* IV 124-132; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 345; ZALIZN AK *Etimologija* 1964 180; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 218; cABEJ *St. I* 329 (prefixal derivative of Old Alb *gare* 'she-ass'), *Etim.* 14-15.

**mahajer** f 'fallow'. A compound *mah ajer* 'feeds the air', cf. for the semantic motivation Russ *pole pod parom* 'fallow' = 'field under the vapor'. 0 JOKL *Glotta* XXI 121-124 (from Rom *\*majarium*, cf. Ital *maggiatico* id.); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; cABEJ *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'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 254 (from *\*maxati*). 0 SVANE 250.

**maj maj** 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 *medas-* 'fat, marrow' (DEMIRAJ *AE* 251-252). 0 CAMARDA I 37 (to IE *\*megh-* 'big'); MEYER *Wb.* 259 (to Lat *mando* 'to chew'), *Mb. St.* III 28, 63; JOKL *Studien* 54, *LKUBA* 183 (to Skt *mddati* 'to boil'); KLUGE 465; MAYRHOFER II 683-684; POKORNY I 694.

**maj m** 'May'. Borrowed from Lat *Majus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 38; MEYER *Wb.* 255). 0 HAARMANN 134.

**maj m**, pl. *maja* 'hammer'. Borrowed from Lat *malleus* id. (MTKLosiCH *Rom. Elemente* 38; MEYER *Wb.* 255). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 536 (uncertain of Latin origins of the word); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 1050 (from Ital *maglio* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 180; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; cABEJ *St. I* 330; HAARMANN 134.

**majere** f 'terraced land'. Derived from *mak*. 0 cABEJ *St. I* 329 (from Rom *\*majarium* 'fallow' reconstructed by JOKL for *mahajer*).

**maid** f, pl. *maja* 'tip, top, point, peak, summit'. Another form is *male*. From PALb *\*maid*, a feminine form of *mal* (MEYER *Wb.* 255). Derived from *mak* is *rnajos* 'to fill to the brim'. 0 CAMARDA II 69-70 (from IE *\*meg h-* 'big'); MEYER *Alb. St.* III 63 (to Lat *mons* 'mountain'); JOKL *LKUBA* 162-163 (from *\*mo/ia*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 542; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 88-189; HULD 89; DEMIRAJ *AE* 252-253.

**majme** adj. 'fat'. Derived from *maj* 'to feed, to fatten' (CAMARDA I



37; MEYER Wb. 259). 0 GRIENBERGER *Got.* 156-157 (to Goth *mats* 'food', Skt *mcidati* 'to boil', MIT *mat* 'pig').

**majte majte** adj. 'left'. Borrowed from Rom *\*manctus*, based on Lat *mancus* 'maimed, infirm', cf. also Ital *manta* 'left hand' (MEYER Wb. 273). Cf. *mengjer*. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 203.

**makar** adv. 'at least'. The word is also used as an interjection. Based on MGk *gocicapt* < *gocicaptov*, neut. 'blessed' (FILIPOVA-BAJROVA *Gr. zaemki* 122). The same word is attested in other Balkan languages. 0 MIKLOSICH *EWb* 181 (from Turk *meyer tut*, however, only' < Pers *meger*); MEYER Wb. 255 (follows MIKLOSICH); SKOK II 359 (from NPers *ma* 'not' and *agar* < Iran *\*hakaram* 'unless, maybe').

**make** f, pl. *maka* 'glue, scum, skin (on the milk or other liquids)'. Goes back to PAIb *\*maka* related to Lith *makenti* 'to walk through a swamp', Slav *\*mokrir*, 'wet', *\*moknQti* 'to become wet' (MEYER Wb. 255). 0 POKORNY I 698; FRAENKEL 399-340; TRUBACEV *ESSJa* XIX 70-71; DEMIRAJ *AE* 253-254.

**makerr m 'stagnant green on ponds'. A derivative of make** (DEMIRAJ *AE* 254) reflecting PAIb *\*makra*, an exact correspondence of Slav *\*mokrr*, 'wet'. From *\*makra* other forms are derived: *makrohem* 'to get covered with a film (of liquids)' and *makrose* 'stagnant green on ponds'. 0 OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

**makth makth m** 'kind of clover'. A parallel form is *mokth*. Derived from *mak* 'opium poppy'. The latter is borrowed from Slav *\*mala*, 'poppy'. 0 OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

**makth math m** 'place where the cattle gives birth to their young'. Based on an unattested *\*mak - mak* derived from *maj*. 0 TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 138.

**makth makth m 'bogey, nightmare'. Other variants are mangth, mankth.** A secondary formation based on *ankth* with an expressive prefix *m-*. 0 DEMIRAJ *AE* 254.

**makth ninth m** 'leveret'. Derived from *mang*. 0 JOKL *IF XLIII* 57-60 (related to Goth *magus* 'youth' and continuing 1E *\*maghu-*); *BARit*

*ARSt.* 16 -17; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 138 (agrees with JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 254.

**makush m, pl. makushe** 'ostrich'. Derived from *makut*.

**makut** adj. 'greedy, gluttonous'. Suffixal form in *-ut* based on an unattested *\*mak - mak* derived from *maj*. Cf. also *makth*. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 195.

**mal m, pl. male** 'mountain'. From PAIb *\*mala* identical with Lith *mala* 'land', Latv *mala* 'bank, shore' (PM, *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 PAIb *\*malja* > *maje* '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'. 0 GIL' FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Skt *maru-* 'mountain'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 543; JOKL *ZONF* X 198-200; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 181, *Origini* 149; KRAHE *Balkan-ill.* 53-55; KRETSCHMER *Glotta* XIV 90; MUHLENBACH - ENDZELIN II 556; MAYER II 73-74; LA PIANA *Studi* 1112 (to Skt *mardhnd-* 'top, summit', OE *molda* 'forehead'); MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387, XXVIII 36 (to rare Ir *mot* '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 *\*malitiare*, cf. Lat *malitia* 'badness, spite' (MEYER Wb. 256). 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; cABEJ *St.* I 330 (euphemistic use of *malcoj*); HAARMANN 134.

**mall m** 'homesickness, longing, affection'. Borrowed from Lat *malum* 'evil, misfortune' (MEYER Wb. 256). 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; cABEJ *St.* VII 255; HAARMANN 134; LANDI *Lat.* 142.

**mallese** f, pl. *mallese* 'pasture, meadow'. A variant of *mballese*, see *mballoj*.

**mallengjej** aor. *mallengjeva* '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). 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 233.

malkoj aor. *malkova* 'to curse, to excommunicate'. Another form is *malkoj*. Borrowed from Lat *maledtcere* id. (MIRLOSICX *Rom. Elemente* 38; MEYER *Wb.* 256). 0 CAMARDA I 105 (to Gk gotA,ocick 'soft, gentle'); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1047, 1050; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; cABEJ *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 *mrdd-* id. and the like. 0 POKORNY I 718; WALDE-HOFMANN II 103-104; MAYRHOFER II 676; OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

manna f, pl. *mamica* 'wet-nurse, midwife'. Borrowed from Slav *\*mamica* 'mother', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *mamica*, SCr *mamica* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 25). 0 SVANE 190.

mamuz m, pl. *mamuza*, *mamuze*, *mamuze* '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) *men*, (G) *mand*. From PAIb *\*manta*. The same word is attested in Dael.tavtEia 'blackberry', Diosc. 4.37, *mantra*, App. Herb. 87 (POTT KZ XIV; MEYER *Wb.* 257). 0 WEIGAND *BA II* 213, III 236; BERTOLDI *Glotta* XXI 258-260 (Dac i.tavteicc to Gk (3Octoc 'blackberry'); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 88; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; PISANI *Saggi* 124; cABEJ *St.* I 330-331 (quotes *mani* 'strawberry' of the Alpine Romance).

mandile f, pl. *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 *mangut* id. with a recently added suffix *-et* and the adverb *mangut* 'less, missing, short' go back to the same source. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 38 (*mangut* from Ital *manco* 'maimed'); MANN *HAED* 262 (metaphorical usage of *mange* 'flax-breaker', see *menge*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 182; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV 11-2 17; cABEJ *St.* I 331 (to IE *\*men-* 'little'); LANDI *Lat.* 48.

maraj m 'fennel'. Other variants are *meraje* 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 *marar*. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 39 (from Lat *marathum* or Gk go:if:m.0ov); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk *\*I.tecpaOptov*); ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; cABEJ *St.* VII 280; HULD *KZ* XCIX 247.

marauzhge f, pl. *marauzhga* 'horse-fly'. Borrowed from an unattested Bulg *\*maravuşka*, diminutive of dialectal *marave* 'ant' (DESNICK-AJA *Slay. zaim.* 13). 0 OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

mardhe f 'chill, frost, ice'. Goes back to PAIb *\*mardza* etymologically identical with Slav *\*morm* 'frost' (MEYER *Wb.* 260, *Alb. St. III* 17, 63, 72). Both forms continue IE *\*mergh-* 'to rot, to soak'. The verbs *mardh* 'to chill, to freeze' and *merdhij* id. are deverbatives. 0 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; TRUBACEV *ESSJa* XX 10-14; DEMIRAJ *AE* 256.

mare f, pl. *mare* 'bearberry, strawberry-tree'. Borrowed from Lat *marum* 'cat-thyme, kind of sage'.

marend f, pl. *marena* 'marsh rosemary'. Borrowed from Slav *\*marena* 'plant *Rubia tinctorum*' attested in West and East Slavic.

margac m, pl. Matgace 'ass, donkey'. A derivative of *\*rnarge*, see *magar*. 0 KONITZA *Albania VIII/Ser.* 9 52 (from Rom *\*marcatum* *\*mercatum* 'market').

(G) margjenuer m 'ledge of a rock serving as a cover'. A suffixal derivative of *\*margjen* borrowed from Lat *marginem* 'edge, brink' (cABEJ *St.* I 332).

marmur m 'marble'. Borrowed from Lat *marmurem* id. (MEYER-LOEWE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1049). 0 cABEJ *St.* I 332.

mars m 'March'. Borrowed from Lat *Martius* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 261). 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; cABEJ *St.* VII 215; HAARMANN 135.

martē f, pl. *marta* 'Tuesday'. Borrowed from Lat *Martis (dies)* '(day

of) Mars, Tuesday' (MEYER Wb. 261). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40 (from Ital *mart* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 183 (supports MEYER); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17.

martese f, pl. *martesa* 'marriage'. Borrowed from Rom \**maritatio* id. (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 308). 0 GIL'FERDTNG *Otm.* 23 (to Lith *mart* 'sister-in-law'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 183.

martoj aor, *martova* 'to marry'. Borrowed from Lat *marikire* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 39; MEYER Wb. 261). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1047, 1050; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 308; JOKL *LKUBA* 13-15 (to IE \**merT* 'young woman'); SKOK *AarbSt.* I 210 (derived from IE \**meri* 'young woman'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 183 (questions JOKL's etymology); cABEJ *St.* VII 266; HAARMANN 135; DEMIRAJ *AE* 256-257.

marr aor. *mora* 'to take, to grasp'. From PAIb \**marna*, a deverbative based on the heteroclytic word for 'hand' preserved in Gk garb Lat *manus* (NEISSER *BB* XIX 121-122). 0 MEYER Wb. 261 (to Skt *maciti* 'to touch'); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 231 (to Gk *Opnuo* 'to grasp, to seize'); JOKL *Studien* 53-54 (agrees with NEISSER); LA PIANA *Studi* I 94 (to Gk *Reipol.tat* '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 *Ocpvvin* 'to take' and reconstructs \*(*s*)*med-HernO*), *Norw. J.Ling.* XXIII 13-14, *Sprache* XXX 157; HULD 89-90; DEMIRAJ *AE* 257-258 (to Skt *prd-mrna*, imper. 'to pack').

marry adj. 'mad, foolish, crazy'. Literally, 'dim, murky'. See *marrte*. 0 GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 23 (to Skt *mard-* 'stupid'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (to Hitt *madas*).

manta 'murky, cloudy, dim, dull'. A suffixal derivative of PAIb \**marsa* related to Slav \**mom*, 'dusk, fog'. 0 TRUBACEV *ESSJa* XIX 222; OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

mas aor. *mata* 'to measure'. From PAIb \**matja*, a denominative verb based on an adjective in \*-*to-*, \**ma-ta-* further related to IE \**me-* id.: Skt *mbnoti*, Tokh A *me-* and the like (CAMARDA I 35; MEYER *BB* VIII 190, *Wb.* 262-263, *Alb. St. III* 24, 63, 81). 0 PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* II

575; JOKL *Sprache* IX 118-119; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 184; PISANI *Saggi* 123; POKORNY 1703-704; cABEJ *StF* I (XIX)/3 41; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 44; MAYRHOFER II 638; VAN WINDEKENS I 295-296; HULD 95; DEMTRAJ *AE* 258.

mashe f 'gum, paste, glue'. Borrowed from Lat *mass*(' 'lump, mass, adhering stuff').

(G) mashers f 'barn, hayloft, cowshed'. A singularized plural of \**mashe* borrowed from Lat nom. *mansiO* 'place of abode, dwelling'. 0 cABEJ *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). 0 MEYER-LOME *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1042, 1049; JoKL *LKUBA* 143; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 184; MIHAESCU *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 *femina* 'female'. Thus, Lat *masculus et fenzina* > Alb *mashkull e fewer* 'hook and eyelet'. 0 OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

mashterk m, pl. *mashterq* 'big wooden platter, dish'. Another variant is *mashter*. Borrowed from Rom \**magistericus*, literally, 'master's (dish)'. 0 cABEJ *St.* I 332-333 (from SCr *masur* 'wooden platter').

mashurke 1, pl. *mashurka* 'green bean, pod'. Derived from *mashe*.

mat m 'bank, shore'. Continues PAIb \**mata* < \**mrto-* related to Lat *nuns* 'mountain' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 1 39-40). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 314-315 (borrowed from Gk *kicceog* 'sand, sandy soil'); BAR16 *Lingv. stud.* 17 (agrees with VASMER); WALDE-HOFMANN II 108-109; POKORNY I 726; cABEJ *St.* I 333-334 (related to OIr *math* 'sand').

make f, pl. *matka* 'queen-bee'. Borrowed from Slav \**mat7,ka* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *matka*, SCr *matka* (JOKL *LKUBA* 286-287). 0 SELI *EV Slay. naselenie* 167; SVANE 158.

matuke f 'mattock, hoe'. An early borrowing from Slav \**motyka* id.

(MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 263). 0 SELMEV *Slay. nase-lenie* 78, 142; SvANE 76.

mazatore f, pl. *mazatore* 'one year old heifer'. Derived from *mezat*, see *mez*.

maze f, pl. *maza* 'cream, skin on the milk'. The same word is attested as *madh*, *maze* 'corn skilly with cream'. Borrowed from Slav \**mazb* \**mazi*, 'fat, ointment', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *maz*', SCr *maz*. 0 JOKL *Studien* 54 (to *maj*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 149; CIMO-CHOWSKI *LP* II 251; DEMIRAJ *AE* 250 (*madh-* to Skt *medas-* 'lat'); cABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Goth *mats* 'food, meal'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 258-259 (related to Slav \**mazb*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

**mbaj** aor. *mbajta* 'to hold, to carry'. From PAIb \**en-barnja*, a causative derived from \**hera* > *bie* (MEYER *Wb.* 35). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 196 (reconstructs \**bhoreig* but Italo-Albanian forms preserve *-nj*), *IF* XXXVII 103-105; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 187; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82; cABEJ *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. *mbolla* 'to bung'. A prefixal derivative of *balle*. 0 MEYER *Wh.* 264 (to Gk it.t.136cUto 'to throw in, to put in').

mballoj aor. *mballova* 'to turn out to graze'. The noun *mballese* 'meadow, pasture' is derived from *mballoj*. From an earlier \**mbelloj* reflecting a loan from Lat *ambulare* 'to walk (around)'.

**mbar** aor. *mbara* 'to bring (back)'. From PAIb \**en-tiara*, further related to *mbaj* and *hie* (BoPP 540; CAMARDA I 135; MEYER *Wb.* 35). 0 JOKL *IF* XXXVII 104; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 185; cABEJ *St.* I 54-55.

**mbare** adj. 'right, good, favorable'. A tabooistically used Lat *impar* 'uneven, unequal'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 35 (to *mbar*); cABEJ *St.* VII 230.

**mbareshtoj** aor. *mbareshtova* 'to arrange, to dispose, to administer'. Another variant caused by the analogical influence of *shtroj* is *mbareshtroj*. Goes back to the phrase *mbare shtoj* (cABEJ *St.* I 334). 0 JOKL *ZfromPhil* XLI 233 (from Lat *ministrare* 'to take care of, to

manage'); MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 136; JANSON *Unt.* 54.

**mbaroj** aor. *mbarova* 'to finish, to end, to complete'. A prefixal derivative of *pare*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 35 (to *mbar*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 185 (agrees with MEYER); CABEJ *St.* VII 230.

**mbars** aor. *mbarsa* 'to make pregnant, to fecundate'. Derived from the adjective *mbarre*, *barse* 'pregnant'. The latter continues PAIb \**en-bartja* related to IE \**bher-* 'to give birth' (MEYER *Wb.* 28). 0 POKORNY I 128-132 (presented together with \**bher-* 'to bear'); cABEJ *St.* I 334-335; MANN *Comp.* 72 (*barse* identical with Illyr [*equal bardia* 'pregnant [mare]']).

**mbart** aor. *mharta* 'to bear, to carry (back)'. Continues PAIb \**en-barta* based on an adjective in \**-to-* and related to *mbar*.

**mbarre** f 'shame'. Another phonetic variant is *marre*. The original meaning was 'burden'. Derived from *mbar*.

mbas prep. 'after', adv. 'behind'. A prefixal variant of *pus* id. These forms continue PAIb \**en-apa-th* from \**en apo k"id*, cf. *pa*. 0 MEYER *Wh.* 322-323 (to *Sktpa.fccit* 'after, behind'); HAMP *KZ* LXXV/ 1-2 23.

mbare adv. 'perhaps, maybe'. From *mha(j) se* (MEYER *Wb.* 264). 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 193, 247.

**mbasi** conj. 'since'. As clear from a variant *mbassi*, continues a sequence *mbas si*.

**mbath** aor. *mhatha* 'to put on (shoes)'. From PAIb \**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-uo* 'to draw out, to pull off', Lith *aunit*, *anti*, Slav \**uti*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 264 (from Rom \**bassus* 'lower part, underwear'); BARK *ARSt.* 54-55 (from IE \**ambhi-oudho*, derivative of the above \**eu-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 186; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 18-20 (to IE \**aktedh-*); AtAREAN *HAB* I 76; FRAENKEL 27; WALDE-HOFMANN 1434-436; POKORNY I 346; VASMER III 109; cABEJ *St.* I 335-336 (to Slav \**bam* 'barefooted', Lith *basas* 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). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 186.

**mbes8** f, pl. *mbesa* 'niece, granddaughter'. Borrowed from Lat *nepotia* id. known only in Dalmatia, > ODalm *nepoca* (MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrift* 2<sup>I</sup> 1040; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 117-118). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 264-265 (phonetically incredible comparison with Lith *mak/* 'sister-in-law'); BuGGE *BB XVIII* 180 (from Rom *\*neptia*); PEDERSEN *BB XX* 232 (reconstructs IE *\*nepOtid*), *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-METLLET 438; HULD 90; OREL *Zffialk XXIII* 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 259.

**mbe** prep. 'at, in'. Another variant is *me*. From the atonic form of PAIb *\*amhi* continuing IE *\*ambhi*: Gk *Ow*{ 'about, around', Goth *bi*, OIr *imm-* < Celt *\*mbi* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 265, *Alb. St.* III 35, 64). 0 BOPP 499 (to Skt *dpi*); CAMARDA I 170 (to Gk *E7ci* 'upon'); FEIST *Goth.* 87-88; FRISK I 98; POKORNY I 34; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 95; HAMP *Laryngeals* 130, *Erin XXVIII* 145; MANN *Language XVII* 22; OLBERG *KZ LXXXVI* 128; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 45; DEMIRAJ *ZfBalk XXIX* 64-67, *AE* 260-261.

**mbeltoj** aor. *mbeltova* 'to plant'. Borrowed from Rom *\*implantare* 'to plant', cf. *Latplantare* id. 0 KRISTOFORIDHI 227 (derived from *balte*); cABEJ *St.* IV 79, VII 230.

**mberdhe** adv. 'on the ground'. A compound of *mbe* and *dhe* with an epenthetic *-r-*.

**mberthej** aor. *mbertheva* 'to fasten, to button'. A prefixal derivative of *birth* (see *birk*). For the semantic development cf. Germ *knopfen* 'to button' - *Knopf* 'button, knob, bud'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 265 (from Lat *inverters* 'to turn upside down'); cABEJ *St.* I 336-337 (phonetic transformation of *mbath*).

**mberrij mberrij** aor. *mberrita mberrina* 'to arrive'. Another variant is *merrij*. Derived from *arrij* (MEYER *Wb.* 17). 0 cABEJ *St.* I 337 (related to *mbar*).

**mbeshel** aor. *mbeshela* 'to shut, to close, to lock'. Other variants are *inbece/* and *mbershel*. A prefixal derivative of *ce/* (JOKL *Studien* 55).

**mbeshtet** aor. *mbeshteta* 'to stand, to prop'. From PAIb *\*ambhi-stata* based on an adjective *\*stata* identical with IE *\*st(h)atos* 'standing', cf. Skt *Gk* mark id., Lat *status* id. (Iola *LKUBA* 250). 0 FRISK I 739; MAYRHOFER III 526-527; WALDE-HOFMANN II 596-599; POKORNY T 1006; DEMIRAJ *AE* 259.

**mbi** adv. 'on, upon'. Originally, an adverb. From a tonic form of PAIb *'ambi*, cf. *mbe*.

**mbiatu** adv. 'immediately, at once'. A Calabrian phonetic variant of *mbi ato* 'on this' > 'at once' (cABEJ *St.* I 337). 0 CAMARDA II 153 (*rmbi* + Ital *atto* 'act'); MEYER *Wh.* 265 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology).

**mbij mbij** aor. *mbiva* 'to thrive, to grow, to shoot'. From PAIb *\*enbunja* related to IE *\*bheu-* : *\*bhit-* 'to grow, to be' (CAMARDA I 48; MEYER *Wh.* 36-37, *BB VIII* 189). 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* III 35; JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 504 (to IE *\*bher-* 'to bring'); POKORNY I 146-150; cABEJ *St.* I 66 (to IE *\*bhei-* 'to beat, to strike'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 100-101 (follows cABEJ).

**mbjell** aor. *mbolla* 'to sow'. A prefixal derivative of *pjell* (MEYER *Wb.* 342). 0 PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 124; cABEJ *St.* VII 242.

**mblate** f, pl. *mblata* 'shewbread'. Borrowed from Lat *(i)Hata* id. (MEYER *Wh.* 38), with a non-etymological nasal in the anlaut. 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 292; cABEJ *St.* I 337-338.

**mbledh** aor. *mblodha* 'to gather, to collect'. Continues PAIb *\*ambiledza*, a prefixal verb related to Gk *k6io..*) id., Lat *Lego* 'to read, \*to gather' (MEYER *Wh.* 265, *Alb. St.* III 17). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 335; BARK *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; IROKOV *ZFL XXIV/1* 15 (to Goth *lisan* 'to gather'); KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 28; cABEJ *St.* VII 243; HULD 145, 156; DEMIRAJ *AE* 261-262.

**mbloj** aor. *mhlova* 'to fill'. Borrowed from Lat *implere* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 265). 0 CAMARDA 1 125 (related to *plote*); LAMBERTZ LVII 71 (**follows** CAMARDA); MANN *Language* XXVI 383; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 254-255; cABEJ *St.* I 338.

**mbloj** aor. *mhlova* 'to betroth'. **Historically identical with *mbloj* 'to fill'**.

**mbrapa** adv. '**behind, back**', prep. '**behind**'. Together with *prapa* id. continues **PAIb** *\*(en)-per-apa*, cf. *per* and *pa* (CAMARDA **I 61**; MEYER *Wb.* 351). 0 JOKL *MRIW* I 302; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 188.

**mbraz** adj. '**empty, void**'. Results from the recombination of *mbrazem* < *\*(m)brazen*, borrowed from Slav *\*porzdbnl*, id., cf. Bulg *prazen*, SCr *prazan* (MEYER *Wb.* 266). 0 SELISCEv *Slay. naselenie* 193, 323-325; HAMP *LB XIV/2 15*.

**mbrej** aor. *mbrejta* 'to harness, to yoke'. Another variant is *mbreh*. From **PAIb** *\*en-breunja*, further related to *brez* (MEYER *Wb.* **46**). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* **188**.

**mbrenda** adv., prep. 'inside, **within**'. Variant of *brenda*.

**mores** aor. *mbreta* 'to bruise, to beat'. A prefixal derivative of *pres*.

**mbret** m, pl. *mbreter mbreten* '**king**'. Borrowed from Rom *\*imperatus* for Lat *imperator* 'emperor'. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 266 (directly from *imperator*); MEYER-LOME *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> **I 1043**; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* **191**, 256; RosErn *RRL XXV11/6 495*; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; cABEJ *St.* VII 239, 280; HAARMANN **130**; LANDI *Lat.* **145**.

**mbrema mbrama** adv. '**in the evening**'. From **PAIb** *\*en-prama* the second element of which is identical with Gk *np6gog* 'foremost man', Gothfram 'from', *OHGfram* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 266, *Mb. St.* **HI 64, 72**). 0 FEIST *Goth.* **164**; MANN *Language* XVII 20; FRISK I 11 600; POKORNY I 814.

**mbrodh** aor. *mbrodha* 'to help, to do good'. A suffixal derivative of *prodh* 'to produce', a back-formation of *prodhoj*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 266 (continuation of Ital *prode* 'brave, valiant'); MANN *Comp.* 4 (from IE *\*en-pro-ago*).

**mbroj** aor. *mbrojta* 'to defend, to protect'. Borrowed from Rom *imparare* id. (HAARMANN 140).

**mbruj mbruej** aor. *mhrujta* 'to knead'. From **PAIb** *\*brunja* related to *brume* (MEYER *Wb.* 266) and, further, to Lat *ferved* 'to boil' (JOKE *LKUBA 263*). Derived from *mbruj* is *mbrus* '**to stuff full**'. 0 MANN *Language* XVII 15 (to OE *beorm* 'harm', *Latfermentum*); PISANI *Saggi* 126; DEMIRAJ *AE 111*.

**mbufas** aor. *mbufata* 'to inflate, to swell'. A prefixal derivative of *\*hufas* borrowed from Slav *\*huxati* 'to beat, to swell' (cABEJ *St.* I 338). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 54 (to Ital *buffare* 'to blow').

**mbulim m** 'source; burial, grave'. Deverbative of *mbuloj*. 0 cABEJ *St.* I 339-340 (to *bu/e*).

*mbuloj* aor. *mhulova* 'to cover, to bury'. Another variant is *mbloj*. Borrowed from Rom *\*manipulare* 'to dig in handfuls', cf. **Lat** *manipulus* 'handful'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 267 (from Rom *\*invelare* 'to cover'); MEYER-LOME *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 11049; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 538 (agrees with MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 187; HAARMANN 131; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 172; cABEJ *St.* I 339-340 (identical with *mbloj*).

**mbuloj** aor. *mbulova* 'to seal'. Attested only in BUZUKU. Based on *\*bule* borrowed from **MLat** *bully* 'seal' (cABEJ *St.* **I 340**). 0 HELBIG 84 (from Ital *bolla* id.).

**mburr** aor. *mburra* 'to praise'. Denominative of *burre* (MEYER *Wb.* 55). 0 MANN *Comp.* 126 (to Lat *fur0* 'to rage').

*mbush* aor. *mbusha* '**to fill**'. Continues **PAIb** *\*en-buss* related to Gk *11uv&o* < *\*13va-v4(o)* 'to fill up' and its cognates (CAMARDA **I 52**; MEYER *Wb.* 267, *Alb. St.* III 32, 61, 80). 0 LA PIANA *Studi* I 91; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (**to** Gk (Aim)); FRISK I 276-277; CHANTRAINE 202; POKORNY I 101; DEMIRAJ *AE* 262 (reconstructs a nasal present for Proto-Albanian).

*mbutoj* aor. *mbtztova* 'to seal, to bung'. Denominative based on *but* 'barrel, tub'.

mbyll aor. *mbylla* 'to shut, to fasten'. Continues PAIb *\*ambi-wela*, originally, *\*`to encircle'*, related to Skt *valati* 'to turn', Gk *eiAeca* 'to roll tight up, to close', Oh *fluid* 'to bend' and the like (HAMP *Evidence* 139-140). 0 OLBERG KZ LXXXVI 130; FRISK 1457-458; MAYRHOFER III 161; POKORNY I 1140-1143; cABEJ *St.* VII 230, 233.

mbys aor. *mbyta* 'to strangle, to drown, to kill'. From PAIb *\*ambiwitja* with the regular development of *> -y-*. Further related to Skt *vydthate* 'to sway, to rock', Goth *vviPon* 'to pour'. 0 JOKL *Studien* 56 (to Lat *confutare* 'to suppress, to restrain', ON *bauta* 'to strike'); POKORNY I 1178; CimoCHOWSKI *St. IE* 130; cABEJ *St.* VII 233, 254; HULD 90-91; OLBERG KZ LXXXVI 130; HAMP *Laryngeals* 139 (derived from IE *\*yed-* *\*ud-* 'water', cf. also *zhys* 'to dive'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 262-263 (derived from *pi*).

me m 'insufficiency, lack', adj. 'insufficient, scanty, not full'. From PAIb *\*mane* etymologically close to Gk *Om*) • [tticpov. 'AllowilvEc (Hes.), h.tavog 'thin' and Arm *manr* 'small, thin' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 430). The form *mete* 'insufficient' is derived from *me* after the fall of the final nasal. Related to *me* is *mej meJ* 'to reduce, to diminish'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 273 (comparisons with Lat *minud* 'to lessen', Ital *meno* 'less' or Slav *\*mbab* 'small(er)'); MEILLET *MSL* VIII 164; KRISTOFORIDHI 227 (to *mangut, mungoj*); ACAREAN *HAB* III 257; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (*mej* < IE *\*Mt\**); FRISK II 171-172; POKORNY I 728-729; NEROZ-NAK *Paleob.* 199 (to IE *\*(s)meik-* 'small'); cABEJ *St.* IV 79.

me prep. 'with'. From PAIb *\*me(t)* etymologically connected with Goth *mik* id., Gk *pita* 'in the middle, between' (MANN *Language* XXVIII 32). 0 CAMARDA I 314 (identifies *me* with NGk 0); MEYER *Wb.* 268 (borrowed from NGk TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 188 (against MEYER)); FEIST *Goth.* 364; FRISK II 216; POKORNY 1702; HAMP *Laryngeals* 140, *NTS* XXIII 13 (follows MANN); HULD 91.

mecke f, pl. *rnecka* 'she-bear'. Borrowed from one of South Slavic tabooistic names for bear: Bulg *meeka*, SCr *meeka*. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 184.

mefshite adj. 'slow, sluggish'. A suffixal derivative of *mehem*.

meh mef aor. *meha mefa* 'to soak'. From PAIb *\*rneu-ska* related to Latv *maat* 'to dive', Slav *\*myti* 'to wash' and other continuants of

IE *\*ineu-* *\*mete-* 'wet'. 0 VASMER III 26; POKORNY I 741-742; OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

mehem refl. 'to fail'. Goes back to PAIb *\*nuija* related to OHG *muoan* 'to work diligently', Gk *j16*.)AK 'toil (of war)', Slav *\*rnajati* 'to work slowly'. 0 FRISK II 282; POKORNY I 746; BER 702; TRUBAftV *ESSJa* XVII 132-134; OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

mekem refl. 'to gasp, to choke'. Related to *meket* 'wet' (JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 508) according to a semantic universal linking words for 'being silent' and 'melting'. 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* III 4, 63 (to Slav *\*mbleati* 'to be silent'); PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 549; TRUBACEV *PIE.Ia* 100-105 (examples of this semantic development); ANIKIN 67-78 (semantic parallels); DEMIRAJ *AE* 264 (expressive word).

meket adj. 'wet'. Cf. also the verb *mek* 'to make wet'. Continues PAIb *\*maka* related to *make* (cABEJ apud DEMIRAJ). 0 JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 508 (to Lith *tninkau* 'to knead'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LPV* 193; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 110; DEMIRAJ *AE* 263-264 (borrowed from SCr *mek*, Bulg *mek*).

meksh in, pl. *meksha* 'buffalo-calf'. Another variant is *meshk* 'bull-calf'. From *\*megsh* continuing PAIb *\*magusva* related to Oh *maug* 'slave', Goth *magus* 'youth' (from IE *\*maghu-* : *\*maghos*). 0 FEIST *Goth.* 339; POKORNY I 696; cABEJ *St.* I 340 (related to *meket*).

mel m 'millet'. Borrowed from Lat *indium* id. (MIKLOSICH *Ram. Elezente* 523; MEYER 14/b. 268). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 189; MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAAR-MANN 136.

mend f 'clay, loess'. Borrowed from Slav *\*melt* *\*m* 'chalk, loess', cf. Bulg *mel*, SCr *mel*.

MeMee m, pl. *memece, memeca* 'deaf-mute, dumb'. Borrowed, with assimilation of nasals, from Slav *\*nembcb* 'stranger, mute person', cf. Bulg *nemec*, SCr *nemac, nuemac* (MEYER *Wb.* 269). Such assimilation is, in fact, attested in Bulg dial. *memkin'a* < *nemkin'a* 'kind of haricot', originally, 'Germ woman', fem. of *\*nembeh*. 0 SCHULZE *Kl. Schr.* 214; SELISCEV *Slay. naselenie* 195-286; SVANE 185.

**memzi** adv. 'hardly, scarcely'. Another variant is *mezi*. Based on *mem*, a participial form of *mej mej* 'to reduce, to diminish', see *me*.

**menati** adv. 'early in the morning'. A lexicalized phrase *me nate* with an adverbial marker.

**mencem** adj. 'clever, intelligent'. A derivative in *-sheen* of *mend* (JOKL LKUBA 106).

**mend** pi. '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'. 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3*<sup>2</sup> 11044, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 189; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (from IE *\*motis*), XXVIII 32 (from Latin); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; cABEJ *St.* VII 255; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 55, 83-85, 116.

**mender** f, pl. *mendra* 'mint' A suffixal derivative based on *\*mende* borrowed from Lat *menta* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 41; MEYER *Alb. St.* I 55). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 272 (from Ital *menta* id.); MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1044; JOKL LKUBA 232; cABEJ *St.* I 340 (from Gk *givel* id.); LANDI *Lat.* 55, 135.

**mendull** f 'almond'. Borrowed from Rom *\*amendula*, cf. Ital dial. *ammen-nola* < *\*amendula* (cABEJ *St.* I 341). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 485 (from Ital Venet *mandola* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 258-259 (follows MIKLOSICH); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 189-190; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 110 (from Lat *amyndala*).

(G) **meraje** f 'winter pasture'. A derivative of *mera* 'pasture', of Turkish origin (cABEJ *St.* I 341). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 259-260 (from Lat *hibernalis* 'wintry'); JOKL LKUBA 265 (from Rom *\*invernalia*); MIHAESCU *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*.

**mere** f 'fear'. A phonetic variant of *tmerr* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 190).

**mere** f 'measure'. Borrowed from Slav *\*mera* id., cf. in South Slavic:

Bulg *m'ara*, dial. *mera*, SCr *mera*, *mjera* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 270). 0 SEL8CEV *Slay. naselenie* 182; SVANE 89.

**mere** f 'scent, fragrance'. Borrowed from Lat *myrrha* 'myrrh' > Rom *\*mirra*.

**merimange** f 'spider'. Other variants are *merimage*, *miremartge*, *milimange*, *milingone* and *merimajke*. Tabooistic transformations of *merming* id. borrowed from NGk *wuppfyyt* 'ant, midget' (MEYER *Alb. St.* I 77). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 274-275 (compound the first element of which is compared with Slav *\*pagki*, 'spider'); KRISTOFORIDHI 220, 234 (to Gk (ti)ppri); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk Dor *troppt4* 'min'; cABEJ *St.* 1341-342 (follows MiHAESCU).

**meshe** 'skin (of onion), milk-skin, film'. Goes back to PAIb *\*matsa* related to *make* and reflecting IE *\*mok7-*. Thus, Albanian seems to reflect a labiovelar in this root.

**mesnik** m 'meat pasty'. Borrowed from Bulg *mesnik* id. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 270 (to Slav *\*rims*<sup>o</sup> 'meat').

**meshe** f, pl. *meshe* 'mass'. Borrowed from Lat *missa* id. (CAMARDA I 86; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 42; MEYER *Wb.* 270). 0 MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 26 (from Slavic); MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifl*<sup>2</sup> I 1045; JOKL LKUBA 22; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; cABEJ *St.* VII 209; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 56.

**meshnohem** refl. 'to become senile, to dote, to be childish'. A prefixal derivative (in *me-* < *mbe-*) of *\*shenoj* borrowed from Lat *senere* 'to be old'.

**metale** f, pl. *metale* 'snow-drift'. Borrowed from Slav *\*metadlo* 'heap', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *metalo*, SCr *metalo*. 0 CABO *St.* I 342 (from Bulgarian). 0 SVANE 174.

(O) **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 *gc.r6c0.* id. From MGk *gerktov* 'priory, farm', *metoq* 'stable' has been borrowed. 0 cABEJ *St.* I 342 (borrowed from MGk *pEuixtov* 'priory', later -



mete t, pl. *meta* 'swallow, mouthful'. A deverbative based on Slav \**metati* 'to throw' (depicting a swallow as a 'throw' of food into the mouth).

mezhle f, pl. *mezhdá* 'baulk, strip of land between fields'. Reflects a Bulgarian continuant of Slav \**medja* 'boundary' > *meida*. Another regional loanword, *megje* id., reflects a Serbo-Croatian continuant of the same provenance, SCr *medja* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26).

me - ma adv. 'more'. Continues PAIb \**mai* from IE \**maies* with a secondary nasalization. Related to Goth *maiza* id., Oscan *mail* id. 0 MEYER Wb. 271 (borrowed from Lat *magis* id.); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 86-88 (< IE \**mdison-*); MANN *Language* XVII 23 (same as MEYER); KLUGE 470; FEIST *Goth.* 342; POKORNY I 704.

megashter f, pl. *megashtra* 'sage'. Another variant is *mugashter*. Borrowed from Rom \**medicaster* reflected in Ital *medicastro* (JOKL *LKUBA* 211-213). 0 MniAEscu *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; cABEJ *St.* I 342; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 82, 109, 136.

mekat m, pl *mekate* 'sin'. Borrowed from Lat *peccatum* id. (MixEosicii *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. 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3* <sup>2</sup> I 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 180; MniAEscu *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; cABEJ *St.* I 343; HAARMANN 141.

mekeq aor. *mekeqa* 'to anger'. A prefixal derivative of *keq*.

mekemb mekamb aor. *mekemba mekamba* 'to set up, to erect'. A prefixal denominative of *kembe*.

mekoj aor. *mekova* 'to feed'. Borrowed from Lat *medicare* 'to heal, to cure' (MEYER Wb. 282). 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; cABEJ *St.* VII 184, 244; HAARMANN 135.

mekrese r, pl. *mekresa* 'tombstone'. Together with its morphological variant *mekrejce* 'baulk', reflects a prefixal derivative of *krye*.

meltoj aor. *melcova* 'to sweeten'. Other variants are *embefroj ambelcoj*. Derivative of *embel* (MANN *HAED* 279; cABEJ *St.* I 343). 0 MEYER Wb. 281-282 (from Rom \**mellitiane* based on Lat *mellitus* 'of honey, related to honey'); JOKL *LKUBA* 212, 287-288 (derivative of *mjalte* in *-esoj*); PEDERSEN *Philologica* 11 111 (agrees with JOKL).

melci f, pl. *melci* 'lung, liver'. Also used in phrases *melci e bardhe* 'lung' and *melci e zeze* 'liver' and, originally, representing a word for spleen borrowed from Ital *milza* id. (MEYER Wb. 271-272). 0 HAMP *Festschr. Kahane* 310-318, *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 95.

melmej aor. *melmeva* 'to add fat and oil to food'. Based on *majme* even though the origin of *-I-* is not clear.

meltoj aor. *meltova* 'to graft, to wed (of plants)'. Borrowed from Lat *maritCtre* 'to marry', also used in the sense of *meltoj*.

menage f, pl. *mellaga* 'marsh mallow'. Another variant is *mullage*. From the original \**mellake*, with an unexplained sonorization of the auslaut. Borrowed from Gk *uak6xri* id. (MEYER Wb. 271). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 193 (considers *g < x* to be strange); cABEJ *St.* I 343-344 (from the same pre-Indo-European source as Lat *malva* 'mallow' and Gk *prahxri* id.); cABEJ *St.* VII 208; HULD *KZ XCIX* 247.

mellenje f, pl. *mellenja* 'blackbird'. There exist also phonetic variants *mellenje*, *mellinje* and the like. Continues PAIb \**melanja* from IE fem. adj. \**meld\** 'black' > Gk *pikoctva* id., cf. also Skt *malina-*, fem. *malini* 'dirty, unclean, Latv *twins* 'black' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 42-43; cABEJ *St.* I 344). 0 CAMARDA 145 (borrowing from Gk *gaatvcc*); 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-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3* <sup>2</sup> I 1048; WEIGAND 58 (from Rom \**merlOnia*, cf. Rum *merloi* < Rom \**merlanius*); JOKL *LKUBA* 193-194; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 138; POKORNY I 720-721; MAYRHOFER II 598; FRISK II 198-199; cABEJ *St. Pisani* I 176-177, *St. III* 259; JANSON *Unt.* 205; OREL *ZfBa/k XXIII* 149, *Koll. Mg. Ges.* 362; DEMIRAJ *AE* 264-265 (to OHG *amusla*, *amsala* 'thrust').

melleze f, pl. *melleza* 'kind of elm; blackbird'. Another variant is *mulleze*.

A derivative in *-ze* of *mellenje* (V ASmER Alb. St. I 42; JOKL LKUBA 193-194). 0 cABEJ *Festschr. Pisani* I 176-177, St. 1345; DEMIRAJ *AE* 280-281.

**melle mull'** m, pl. *mellenj mullanj* `grief. From PALb *\*melana* 'black', the masculine form of the adjective represented in *mellenje* (MEYER *Wb.* 283). 0 MEYER *Wh.* 285 (from Ital *malanno* `misfortune'); JOKL LKUBA 195 (follows MEYER *Wh.* 283); MANN *HAED* 298 (figurative use of *me//e* `swelling').

**melle mull'** m, pl. *Mellenj mullanj* 'swelling, lump'. Derived from *mu//e* (cABEJ St. 1345-346). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 53 (from Rom *\*bullana*, to *bulla* `bubble'); BARK *AarbSt* I 145 (prefixal formation with *-lld* being related to *lunge*); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236 (related to *bule*); TREIMER *Slavia* III 545 (connected with *mall* 'property, goods', a Turkish loan-word).

**melluge** f, pl. *melluga* 'scale; scar, mark'. Related to *melle*.

**Maine** f, pl. *Mema* 'mother'. A typical example of a nursery word reflecting an earlier *\*mama*. 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* III 63 (related to Gk *i.teg.tiloc*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 117; ERNOUT-MEILLET 381; cABEJ St. VII 21; DEMIRAJ *AE* 265.

**mend** m, pl. *mende* 'moment'. Borrowed from Lat *momentum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 274).

**mend** aor. *menda* 'to suckle, to feed'. Continues PALb *\*manzda*, a nasal present further related to *maj*. 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* III 64 (to Gk *jiac6c*); TOMASCHEK *BB* lx 101; KRETSCHMER *Glotta* XVI 182; LA PIANA *Studi* I 113; MANN *Language* XVII 20 (to Lat *mentum*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 265 (related to *meme*).

**mendafsh** m, pl. *mendafshra mendafshna* 'silk'. Borrowed from Lat *metaxa* 'raw silk' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40; MEYER *Wb.* 272) or from MGk 1.thc4a id. (CAMARDA I 45), in both cases, through an intermediary stage of Rom *\*mentaxa*. 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1050; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 135, 140.

**mange - mange** f, pi. *Menge -- mange* 'armful, sleeve'. Borrowed from

Lat *manicae* 'sleeve' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 39; MEYER *Wb.* 272). Note a derivative *mengore* 'short jacket, fur-coat'. 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 11042; MANN *Language* XVII 23; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 135; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 111.

**manger mangel** l, pl. *mengra mangna* 'oil-press, press, roller'. Borrowed from Gk *j.tayyavov* 'axis of a pulley, bolt' (THUMB *IF* XXVI 9) or, rather, from MGk *wiyyccvov* 'machine, contrivance'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 272 (from NGk *wityyavov* 'press'); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 250, XLIV 24-27; MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1042, 1050; MANN *Language* XVII 23; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; cABEJ St. I 346 (a Geg variant *mange* resulting from the decomposition of *mangel*); OLBERG *SPhAen* 42; JANSON *Unt.* 42.

**mengoj** aor. *mengova* 'to rise early'. Borrowed from Lat *manicare* 'to come in the morning', derivative of *mane* 'morning' (MEYER *Wb.* 272-273). 0 CAMARDA 1141 (to Lat *mane*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 11039, 1047; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV 11-2 26; cABEJ St. VII 184; HAARMANN 135.

(T) **mengjer** adj. 'left'. Borrowed from Rom *\*mancinus*, cf. Lat *mancus* 'maimed, infirm' (MEYER *Wb.* 273). 0 HAARMANN 134; ROHLFS *Spr.* 161; cABEJ St. VII 203.

**mengji mangji** f, pl. *mengji mangji* 'sorcery, witchcraft; medicine'. Borrowed from Lat *magic* 'magic, sorcery' (MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrij3* <sup>2</sup> I 1050) influenced by the popular etymology linking it to *mengjer*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 253 (from Gki *tayeia* `sorcery'); JOKL *IF* XLIV 24-27 (from Gk *ithravov* 'charm, drug'); cABEJ St. 1346-347 (derived from *mjek*).

**menoj** aor. *menova* 'to halt, to be late'. Phonetic variant of *venoj* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 274, *IF* VI 105), see *vone*. 0 CAMARDA 144, 61 (to *vone*); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 39 (from Lat *manere* 'to stay, to remain'); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1047 (agrees with MIKLOSICH); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 287; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 134.

**menjane** adv. 'at the side'. A univerbation of *me nj(e) ane*. From it, a verb *menjanoj* 'to avert' is derived.

menje f 'manna; drizzle'. From Rom \**mannia*, cf. Lat *manna* 'manna'.

menjill m, pl. *menjille* 'vigil; fast'. Borrowed from Rom \**vingilia*, cf. Lat *vigilia* 'vigil' (MEYER Wb. 273-274) with the further assimilation to Rom \**mingilia*. 0 MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 23 (from Lat *mane vigil*); HAARMANN 157.

mdnjolle f, pl. *menjolla* 'sapling, shrub, shoot'. Borrowed from Lat *malleolus* 'mallet-shoot' with a dissimilation of sonorants (MEYER Wb. 274). 0 PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 542; cABEJ St. I 347 (from Ital Venet *magliolo* id.); HAARMANN 134.

merehem refl. 'to be fascinated, to be charmed'. Borrowed from Lat *ngrari* 'to wonder, to be astonished'.

Mergqj aor. *mergova* 'to exile, to drive away'. Borrowed from Lat *mergere* 'to thrust, to push' (MEYER Wb. 274). 0 MEYER-LUBKE Gr. *Grundrifi zI* 1039; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 28; HAARMANN 136; HAMP SCL XXVIII 1 73-74.

mergjyze mergjize f, pl. *mergjyze mergjize* 'marigold, narcissus'. Based on a compound of *mer-* < *Maria* and *gji*, 'Mary's breast'.

meri math f, pl. *meri meni* 'hate, wrath'. Borrowed from Lat *mania* 'madness' (MEYER Wb. 273). Note, however, that an alternative source could be Gk *gotvicx* with its stress corresponding to that of the Albanian word. 0 HAARMANN 134; JANSON Unt. 54-55.

merkosh in, pl. *merkosha* 'man lying in wife's bed after childbirth and receiving visitors; lover'. Borrowed from Rom \**maricOsus* 'husband-like', based on Lat *mas* 'male'. For the formation cf. *bellicOsus* 'warlike'. 0 JOKE LKUBA 10-13 (related to Skt *nirya-* 'young man, lover' and the like); cABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (borrowed from a poorly attested Bulg *m7,rkuš* 'miserable, broken'); DEMIRAJ AE 267-268 (derived from Turk *merakI* 'hypochondriac'); OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

narkure f, pl. *merkura* 'Wednesday'. Borrowed from Lat *Mercurii* (*dies*), cf. MIKLOSICH Rom. *Elemente* 516. 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 190; cABEJ St. I 347; HAARMANN 136.

merlacet refl. 'to eat greedily'. An expressive verb of onomatopoeic character.

mermeris aor. *merrnerita* 'to murmur, to mutter'. Borrowed from Slav \**nrbrmwati* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *mmmor'a*, SCr *mrmrati*.

merqinje f 'jujube, kind of brier'. Borrowed from Rom \**myrTernia* based on Lat *myrrca* 'tamarisk, kind of shrub' (MEYER Wb. 274). 0 HAARMANN 137.

mershe f 'corpse, carrion'. From PAIb \**merusa* based on IE \**mer-* 'to die': Skt *mriyate*, Lith *mifti*, Slav \**merti* and the like. 0 FRAENKEL 457-459; MAYRHOFER II 696-697; POKORNY I 735; TRUBAC'EV ESSJa XVIII 101-102.

marshine f, pl. *mershina* 'wineskin'. Borrowed, with an epenthetical -r-, from Slav \**mefina* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *mdina*, SCr *mjefina*, *mdina* (MIKLOSICH Slay. *Elemente* 26; MEYER Wb. 275). 0 cABEJ St. VII 185; SVANE 68.

meru mini m, pl. *merure merun* 'handle'. Borrowed, with a metathesis, from Rom \**manurus*. The latter is a derivative of Lat *manus* 'hand'. 0 MEYER Wb. 275 (from \**manObrium* or *manfibrium* 'handle'); MEYER-LUBKE Gr. *Grundri/3* 2 I 1054.

merzej aor. *merzeva* 'to rest at noon (of animals)'. Borrowed from Lat *meridiare* 'to take a mid-day nap' (MEYER Wb. 274). 0 MEYER-LDBKE Gr. *Grundrifi* 2 I 1052; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 136.

merzis aor. *mertzita* 'to bore, to hate'. Borrowed from Slav \**mbrziti* 'to hate', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *mrwi*, SCr *mrziti* (MIKLOSICH Slay. *Elemente* 27; MEYER Wb. 275). 0 SELISCEv Slay. *nasenlenie* 191; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 198; SVANE 237.

mesoj aor. *mesova* 'to teach, to train'. Borrowed from Rom \**inviticIre* id. > Rum *Inveta*, Prov *envezar* and the like (MEYER 14/b. 276, Alb. St. IV 81). 0 MEYER-LUBKE Gr. *Grundrifi* 2 I 1051; PUSCARIU EWR 78; PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 538; VASMER Alb. *Wortforsch.* 43 (from

Gk u.avecivw 'to learn'); cABEJ *St. I* 347-348 (a prefixal derivative of *pesoj*).

mesyj aor. *mesyta* 'to attack'. A prefixal derivative of *sy*, cf. Germ *ins Auge fassen* (MEYER *Wb.* 276; cABEJ *St. I* 348). 0 WEIGAND *BA I* 259 (from *mbe syj*); JoKL *Melanges Pedersen* 149-150 (related to *qoj*); OLBERG *IBK XIV* 109; DEMIRAJ *AE* 357-358.

meshere f 'small piece of cheese'. Borrowed from Rom *\*mensara* for Lat *mensara* 'measure'. 0 cABEJ *St. I* 349 (identical with *mueshire*).

meshike f 'bubble, blister, bladder'. Borrowed, with an irregular change of the anlaut, from Lat *vestca* 'bladder' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 276-277). 0 MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 26 (from Slavic); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> *I* 1044, 1053.

meshire f 'pity, mercy'. Borrowed from Lat *miseria* 'wretchedness'. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 42; MEYER *Wb.* 277 (based on an unattested *\*mesh(i)roj* borrowed from Lat *miserere* 'to feel pity'); MHIAEscu *RESEE IV/1-2* 18; CABEJ *St. VII* 224; HAARMANN 136.

meshkenje f, p1. *meshkenja* 'cadaver, carrion'. Derived from *mershe*.

meshoj aor. *meshova* 'to be heavy, to bear down'. Another variant is *peshoj*. Borrowed from Lat *pensare* 'to weigh' > Rom *\*pesare* (MEYER *Wb.* 336). 0 PISANI *Saggi* 124.

meshgerre f, p1. *rmeshqerra* 'heifer'. A prefixal derivative of *shqerra* (MEYER *Wb.* 417).

meshteker meshteken f, p1. *meshtekra meshtekna* 'birch'. Borrowed from Lat *masticinus* 'related to the mastic-tree' (> Rum *masteacan* 'birch'). 0 MTHAEscu *RESEE IV/1-2* 29; cABEJ *St. I* 349 (from Gk *UvSpov gotatixtvov* 'mastic-tree').

meshtekohem refl. 'to become wild, to rave, to rage'. Borrowed from Lat *masticare* 'to chew', with an unusual semantic development partly reflected by Rum *mesteca* 'to chew, to mix' (MEYER *M.* 277) 0 PUSCARIU *EWR* 91; MIEAEscu *RESEE IV/1-2* 17; HAARMANN 135.

metrik m 'disease of cattle, tumor, gangrene of intestines'. Borrowed from Rom *\*matricus* based on Lat *matrix* 'womb' MIEAEscu *RESEE IV/1-2* 17). 0 cABEJ *St. I* 349; HAARMANN 135.

mez maz m, p1. *meza maza* 'foal'. From PAIb *\*mandja* related to *mend* '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 *mlnz* 'foal' was borrowed while Ital *manzo* 'ox' and other forms go back to Messapic. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 39 (from Ital *manzo* 'tame ox'); TOMASCHEK *BB IX* 101; KRETSCHMER *Einleitung* 266; PUSCARIU *EWR* 94; CHARPENTIER *KZ XL* 436 (to Lat *mandus*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 184, *Stratificazione* 138; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* 1 87; ERNOUT-MEILLET 384; PORZIG *Gliederung* 150; PISANI *Saggi* 127; SCHMIDT *KZ LVII* 33; POGHIRC *1st. limb. rom.* II 332; ROSETTI *ILR I* 279; POKORNY I 729; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 79; cABEJ *Glotta XXV* 51-52; *St. VII* 204, 212; JANSON *Unt.* 27; DEMIRAJ *AE* 267.

mi mi m, p1. *minj* 'mouse'. From PAIb *\*mu(s)* related to IE *\*mas* id.: Skt Gk Lat *mas* and the like (MEYER *BB VIII* 190, *Wb.* 278). The nasalization in Geg is secondary. 0 STIER *KZ XI* 139 (borrowed from Greek); MEYER *A/b. 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 *Zfflalk XXIII* 149; DEMIRAJ *KZ CVI* 100-103, *AE* 267-268.

mice f, p1. *mica* 'cat'. A word of onomatopoeic origin represented in Romance: Rum *mija*, Ital *micio*. 0 MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 25 (from SCr *mica* id. - but there is no such word); MEYER *Wb.* 263 (follows MIKLOSICH); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 192.

mider f, p1. *midra* 'raspberry'. Another variant is *miter*. A figurative use of *miter* 'womb, uterus', of Modern Greek origin.

miell m, p1. *miellra miellna* 'flour'. Continues PAIb *\*melwa* closely related to OHG *melo* id., ON *m/9/* id., Slav *\*melvo* 'grain for grinding' and continuing IE *\*melvo-*, further - to *\*mel-* 'to grind' (MEYER *Wb.* 282, *Alb. St.* III 64, 75). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 191; KLUGE 470;

MANN *Language* XXVIII 36; PISANI *Saggi* 122; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 9; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 145; TRUBACEV *ESSJa* XVIII 92-93; POKORNY 1716-718; DEMIRAJ *AE* 268.

mih mif aor. *miha mifa* 'to dig, to hoe'. From PAIb *\*mik-ska* related to Skt *nilmiksati* 'to mix', Gk *j.ticyco* < *\*i.tiyaicco* id. (with a voiced velar), Lat *misceO* id., OHG *miskan* id. and the like. 0 FRISK II 192-193; MAYRHOFER II 632-633; WALDE-HOFMANN II 95-96; POKORNY I 714; COP 2A IV 294-295; HAMP *Sprache* XI 139 (< *IE\*(s)mi(d)-sk-*); CABEJ *St.* VII 254.

mije f, pl. *mije, mifa, mijera* 'thousand'. A phonetically more archaic variant is *mile*. Borrowed from Lat *milia* id. (CAMARDA 1171; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 41; MEYER *Wb.* 278). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1050; MIHAESCuRESEE IV/1-2 18; CABEJ *St.* VII 193; HAARMANN 136; HAMP *Numerals* 920.

mik m, pl. *miq* 'friend'. Borrowed from Lat *amicus* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 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'. 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1049; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 192, *Origini* 209; MIHAESCu RESEE IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 110; HULD 92 (on the apheresis of the pretonic vowel); CABEJ *St.* VII 257; LANDI *Lat.* 59, 136.

milak m, pl. *milake* 'leveret'. Borrowed from SCr *milak* 'dear one'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 278 (to *milor* 'young ram', of Rumanian origin); PASCURE 65 (suffixal derivative of *\*mel* borrowed from Rum *mel* 'lamb'); MIHAESCu RESEE IV/3-4 350 (from Gk u.OL,A,4 'boy'); CABEJ *St.* I 350 (follows MIHAESCu).

milinger f 'blight on leaves'. A suffixal derivative of *\*milinge* borrowed from Slav *\*melin7,ka* 'crumb, pinch', otherwise unattested in South Slavic. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 279 (comparison with SCr *medljika* 'mildew'); SCHUCHARDT *ZfromPhil* XI 489-490 (from Gk-Rom *melandrya*).

mill m, pl. *mille* 'sheath'. From PAIb *\*meila* 'fastening (of a knife)' related to Skt 'to fasten', Oh *-tuidmen* id. and the like. 0 POKORNY I 709; CABEJ *St.* VII 233.

mire adj. 'good'. From PAIb *\*mira* forming a separate isogloss with Slav *\*mires* 'peace' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 43-44; as to OLith *mieras*, it was borrowed from Slavic despite VASMER II 626). Further connections are OPrus *mils* 'nice', Lith *meints* 'dear', Slav *\*mil7*, 'nice, pleasant' (MEYER *Wb.* 279, *Alb. St.* III 64, 78) and other continuations of IE *\*mei-* — *\*mT-* 'mild, weak, nice'. 0 GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 23 (to Skt 'friend'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 541; JOKL *LKUBA* 228 (on suffixes *\*-/-* *\*-r-* in this stem); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 192; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387 (from Lat *mintis* 'wonderful, amazing'); PISANI *Saggi* 125 (follows VASMER); HOLUB-KOPEbNY 224 (follow VASMER); FRAENKEL 449; POKORNY I 711-712; POGHTRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 345; HULD 92 (confused account of JOKL's analysis); CABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Gk *βμvptis* 'emery'); OREL *Koll. Idg, Ges.* 362; DEMIRAJ *AE* 268-269.

mism m, pl. *misa* 'limb, member'. Continues PAIb *\*mitja* related to Lith *mlklas* 'supple', *mitres* id. (for the semantics, cf. Germ *gelenkig* as a usual translation of */Midas*), Latv *mikls* id., *mitrs* id., *mikat* 'to knead'. 0 FRAENKEL 447-448, 452.

miske f, pl. *miska* 'turkey'. Unclear.

misur m, pl. *rnisure* 'deep plate'. Derivative of an unattested *\*mise* borrowed from Slav *\*misa* 'plate', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *misa*, SCr *misa* (MEYER *Wb.* 280). 0 VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 44.

wish min, pl. *mishra mishna* 'flesh, meat'. From PAIb *\*misa* further related to IE *\*memso-* id.: Skt *marilsa-* 'flesh, meat', Arm *mis*, Goth *mimz*, Slav *\*moo* (GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 280, *Alb. St.* III 61, 64, 68). The development of *\*-ern-* to *\*-i-* seems to precede the "ruki" rule. 0 PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 56, *Kelt. Gr.* I 82; JOKL *LKUBA* 326; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 192, *Stratificazione* 93; LA PIANA *Studi* I 113-114; BARIC *Hymje* 39; ACAREAN *HAB* III 323-324; PISANI *Saggi* 100; ERNOUT-MEILLET 395; MAYRHOFER II 615; FEIST *Goth.* 361; POKORNY I 725-726; TRUBACEV *ESSJa* XIX 7-11; HAMP *BSL* LXVI/1 222; CABEJ *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.

mishkonje f, pl. *mishkonja* 'midge, gnat'. Another variant is *mushkonje*. A feminine derivative of *\*mushke* *\*mushkue* borrowed from Lat

*musca* 'fly'. 0 MEYER Wb. 280-281 (from Rom \**musconia*); MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 137 (from Rom \**musconea*).

mite f, pl. *mita* 'shoot'. Continues PALb \**meita* related to Skt *mea* = 'pillar, post', ON *mei&* 'beam', Lith *mietas* 'post, stake'. 0 FRAENKEL 451; MAYRHOFER II 683; POKORNY I 709; cABEJ St. I 350 (to Gki.titukoc 'hornless').

mite f 'bribe, tip'. Borrowed from Slav \**myto* 'payment', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *mito*, SCr *mito* (MEYER Wb. 281). 0 SELISCEv *Slay. nase-lenie* 181, 299; SVANE 208.

mize f, pl. *miza* 'fly'. A derivative in *-ze* of PALb \**muja* identical with ON *my* id., further connected to Gk *Ruia* id., Lat *musca* id. and the like (CAMARDA I 75; MEYER BB VIII 190, Wb. 281, Alb. St. III 64, 81). 0 BUGGE BB XVIII 168 (derives *mize* from \**mils-* rather than \**mufti*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 193, *Stratificazione* 139; LA PIANA *Studi* I 93, 107; PISANI *Saggi* 131 (to Arm *mill*); ERNOUT-MEILLET 424; FRISK II 265-266; WALDE-HOFMANN II 133; POKORNY I 752; cABEJ St. VII 254, 268; DEMIRAJ AE 270.

MiZOi aor. *mizova* 'to rage, to snarl, to hate'. Borrowed from Rom \**invidiare* id., cf. Lat *invidia* 'envy, jealousy' (MEYER Wb. 268). 0 MEYER-LUBKE Gr. *Grundrif* 2 1 1049; HAARMANN 131.

mizon aor. *mizoi* 'to snow (of light flocks)'. Derived from *mize* (cABEJ St. I 350), a figurative usage widespread both in Romance and Slavic.

mjalcd f, pl. *mjalca* 'bee'. Continues PALb \**melitja* identical with Gk *uatrcua* (\*i.tattja id. (CAMARDA I 79). Cf. *mja/te*. 0 MEYER Wb. 281; JOxL LKUBA 287; FRISK II 200-201; cABEJ St. VII 203.

mjalte m/n/f 'honey'. Continues PALb \**melita* related to Hitt *milit* id., Gk *gat* id., Goth *mail* id. (CAMARDA I 79; MEYER Wb. 281-282, Alb. St. III 64, 78). 0 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; OLBERG *IBK* XVII 38; cABEJ St. VII 230; DEMIRAJ AE 270-271.

mjalloj aor. *mjallova* 'to mew'. Another variant is *mjaulloj*. A verb of onomatopoeic origin.

mjedher f, pl. *mjedhra* 'mulberry; tares'. Other variants are *mjeterr*, *miter* and *mjeder*. Also used in a phrase *mane mjedhera* id. A suffixal derivative of \**mjedh* related to Lith *medis* 'tree', Latv *meis* 'wood', thus defining mulberry as a wood berry. 0 FRAENKEL 423-425; POKORNY I 706-707; cABEJ St. I 350-351 (from \**mer-da* related to OIr *merenn* 'mulberry').

mjegull f, pl. *mjegulla* 'cloud'. Other variants, *mjergull* and *njegull*, are secondary (cABEJ St. I 351). From PALb \**meg(u)la* related to Gk *Opixki* 'fog, mist', Lith *migla* id., Slav \**mbgla* '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. 0 MEYER Wb. 283-284 (borrowing from Lat *nebula* 'cloud' or cognate of Slav \**mbgla* and the like); BRUGMANN - DELBROCK H/1 362; JOKL *Studien* 57-58 (explains *mjergull* by invoking the influence of \**mere-* 'dark', cf. ON *myrkr* 'dim'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 191; MANN *Language* XXVI 385-386; PISANI *Saggi* 128; CIMOCHOWSKI LP IV 202-204 (derived from \**mjerge* with suffix *-u//e*); FRISK II 387; FRAENKEL 451; VASMER II 587-588; POKORNY I 712; HAMP St. *Whatmough* 80; OLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 687; cABEJ St. 1351-352; HULD 93; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; DEMIRAJ AE 271-273 (to Lat *nabes* 'cloud', W *nudd* 'log' and also to *nate*).

mjek m, pl. *mjeke* 'physician, doctor'. Borrowed from Lat *medicus* id. (MmLosicti Rom. *Elemente* 40; MEYER Wb. 282). 0 MEYER-LUBKE Gr. *Grundrif*.1 2 11043, 1052; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 23; cABEJ St. VII 184; HAARIV1ANN 136; LANDI Lat. 51, 109, 137, 139.

mjeker f, pl. *mjekra* 'chin, beard'. From PALb \**smekra* etymologically related to Hitt *zamankur-* 'beard', Skt *s'masru-* id., Arm *mawrule* id., Lith *smakras* 'chin' (MEYER Wb. 282, Alb. St. III 4, 58, 71, 84). 0 BUGGE BB XVIII 169; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 86; JOKE. LKUBA 268; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 191 (follows MEYER), *Stratificazione* 93; AtAREAN HAB III 375; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; PORZIG *Gliederung* 75, 126, 161; FRAENKEL 839; MAYRHOFER III 382; POKORNY I 968; CAMAJ Alb. *Wortb.* 116; OLBERG *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 PA1b *\*melga* identical with Gk *apayo.*) id., Lat *mulgea* id., Lith *melfiu*, *meliti* 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 *mjelog* adduced by CAMARDA is not an artefact. 0 MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 23; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 550, *Kelt. Gr.* I 43; JOKL *LKUBA* 275; BARIe. *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.

**mjellme** t, pl. *mjellme* 'swan'. Derived from *miel*, cf. similar connections of Slav *\*o/bolt*, 'swan' related to Lat *albus* 'white', Gk *Oacot* 'barley flour'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 283 (to Slav *\*beihmo* 'wall-eye, white spot'); VASMER II 470; POGHIRC *LB* VI 98 (follows MEYER).

**mjete** adj. 'unhappy, unfortunate'. Borrowed from Lat *miserem* id. > Rom *\*misrem* (CAMARDA 1133). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 283 (to IE *\*rnelan-* '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*); cABEJ *St.* VII 254, 264, apud DEMIRAJ (to Oh *meirb* 'lifeless'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 274 (to Gk *p,tapoc* 'stained').

**mjeshtak** m, pl. *mjeshtake* 'brother-in-law'. Borrowed from Rom *\*domestiacus*, cf. Lat *domesticus* 'belonging to the house'.

**mjeshter** m, pl. *mjeshter*, *mjeshtera* 'master, builder'. Borrowed from Lat *magister* 'master' (CAMARDA II 204; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 284). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrill* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; MIEAEscuRESEE IV/1-2 17; cABEJ *St.* VII 252; HAARMANN 134; LANDI *Lat.* 56, 136, 139.

**mjet** prep/adv. '(up) to, among, between', m, pl. *mjete* 'means; boundary'. From PA1b *\*meta* related to Gk *get&* Aka 'among', Goth 'with' (JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* 187). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 191-192; cABEJ *St.* VII 187; DEMIRAJ *AE* 274-275.

**mjete** f 'coarse wool, lint, yarn'. Borrowed from Gk *iaito*; 'thread

(of the woof)' with the change of vowel similar to that of *mjegull*. 0 CAMARDA I 44 (to Gk *pitog*); MEYER *Wb.* 284 (from Rom *\*migetta* *\*micetta* > Fr *miette* 'crumb'); cABEJ *St.* I 352 (a prefixal derivative of *jes*).

**mjezdita** f 'noon'. While in the parallel forms *mesdite* and *mesnate* 'midnight' the first element is *mes* 'middle' of Modern Greek origin, in *mjezdite* and *mjeznate* 'midnight' *mjez* continues Lat *medius* 'middle' (MEYER *Wb.* 284). 0 CAMARDA I 89 (*mjez-* to Gk *OcToc* 'middle'); MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrill* <sup>2</sup> 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 *mlyc*. Borrowed from Rom *\*maris lucius* 'sea pike', even though in Albanian the word refers to a sweet water fish. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 284 (a hesitant comparison with Ital *merluzzo* 'cod, hake'), *NGr. St.* III 39; cABEJ *St.* I 352 (from Lat *lucius* 'pike'); Mtl'AEscu *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 133.

(G) **mllef m** 'rancor, wrath'. A derivative in -f (= Tosk -h) of *me//e* (cABEJ *St.* I 352-353).

**rnnere** f 'fear, fright'. A phonetic variant of *tmerr*.

**moc** m, pl. *moca* 'one year old wether'. From PA1b *\*rmatu'sa* derived from *mot*.

**mocoj** aor. *mocova* 'to insult, to offend'. Borrowed from Lat *monstrare* to show, to report, to witness against'.

**modh** m 'bushel'. Borrowed from Lat *modus* 'measure'.

**modhull** f, pl. *modhulla* 'vetch, chickling, chick-pea'. Continues PA1b *\*nzadzula* derivationally close to Lith *mantis* 'small' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335) and further related to Lith *maths* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 284-285, *Alb. St.* III 16, 64, 83). Borrowed to Rum *mazdre*. 0 CAMARDA 1178 (to Gk 1168oc 'kind of plant'); JoKL *LKUBA* 182-186 (to Goth *mats* 'dish, food', OIr *maisse* id.); BARIC *ARSt* 55-56 (to Skt *masa-* 'bean'); TREIMER *Slavia* III 453 (to *mot*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 233;

CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 117 (suffix *-u//*); FRAENKEL 422-423; POGIERC *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.

**mokdr mokdn** f, pl. *mokra mokna* 'millstone'. Borrowed from Gk *l.urixavil* 'device, instrument' (THUMB *IF XXVI* 16). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37 (from Lat *machina* 'machine, instrument'); MEYER *Wb.* 285 (from Latin); BARK *ARSt. I* 19 (follows THUMB); JOKL *Reallex. Vorges. I* 89; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 195 (prefers the Latin etymology); MifiXEscu *RESEE IV/1-2* 31; OLBERG *SPhAen* 42; HAARMANN 134 (from Latin); JANSON *Unt.* 43; LANDI *Lat.* 27, 112.

**mokdr** 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 */are*, a participial form of *lyej*.

**mold** f, pl. *mola* 'moth'. Borrowed from Slav *\*moh*, id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *mol*, SCr *molj*. A parallel form *mo/ice* continues Slav *\*molica* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 285). The verb *molis* 'to eat away (of moth)' is derived from *mole*. 0 SELIKEV *Slay. naselenie* 198; SVANE 154.

**molikd** f, pl. *molika* 'silver fir'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*moldika* 'young tall tree', cf. Bulg *mladika*, SCr *mladika*. 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 196-197, 200 (to *mel/enje* and its cognates); SELIKEV *Slay. naselenie* 164; SVANE 127.

*molis* aor. *molika, molita* 'to make tired, to weaken'. Borrowed from Slav *\*m7,di,/iti* id., cf. CS *mi,diliti*, Slovene *rnedliti*.

**molle** f, pl. *molle* 'apple, apple tree'. Borrowed from Lat *ma/um* id. (GILFERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 38; MEYER *Wb.* 285). 0 CAMARDA I 46 (compares with Gk id.); MifiAEscu *RESEE IV/3-4* 350 (from Gk *uiFiXov*); cABEJ *St.* VII 210, 254; HULD 94 (*molle* described as a cognate of Lat *ma/urn* and Gk

*mollok* m, pl. *molloke* 'boulder, rock, lump'. Derived from *molle*.

**morace** f 'fennel'. Borrowed from South Slavic *\*moraeb* id.: Bulg *moraeb*, SCr *morac*' (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Vvb.* 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 *yore* 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*. 0 CAMARDA I 323 (to Gk *Optic°* 'to see'); MEYER *Wb.* 286.

**more** f 'bogey, nightmare'. Borrowed from Slav *\*mora* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *mora*, SCr *mora* (MEYER *Wb.* 286-287). 0 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*. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 209, 281

**mornica** pl. 'shivering fit'. Borrowed from Slav *\*morbnica* 'shivering; kind of illness', cf. Bulg *mornica*, Slovene *mornica* (SVANE 184).

**morovicd** f 'ant'. Borrowed from South Slavic *\*morvica* id., cf. Bulg *mravica*, SCr *mravica* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 287). Alb *-oro-* seems to reflect an analogical change of *\*morvica* to *\*morovica*, cf. Ukr *muravic'a* and the like. 0 SELIGOEV *Slay. nasele-nie* 198; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 196 (contamination with *morr*).

**morovine** f 'sultriness'. Borrowed from Slav *\*morovina*, deverbative of *\*moriti* 'to destroy' otherwise unknown in South Slavic. 0 SVANE 172.

**mort** m 'death'. Borrowed from Lat *mortem* id. (GILFERDING *Otn.* 25; CAMARDA II 145; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 42; MEYER *Wb.* 287). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrif*<sup>3</sup> 1 1045, 1048; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV* 11-2 18; HAARMANN 137; LANDI *Lat.* 85.

**morth** m 'chilblain'. Derivative of *morr*, cf. a similar semantic relationship in Rum *paducei* 'chilblain' *peiduce/* 'small louse, nit'



(cABEJ *St.* I 353). 0 MEYER *Wh.* 260 (to *mardh*); MURATI *Probleme* 91.

**morn** m, pl. *morra* 'louse'. From PAIb *\*merwa* based on IE *\*mer-* 'to die' as Gk *yOeip* 'louse' is based on *pecipm* 'to destroy' (OREL *Fort.* 79). 0 STIER *KZ* XI 245 (to Lat *mordea* 'to bite' or to NGk *w.opli*); MEYER *Wb.* 287 (follows STIER); JOKL *Studien* 58 (to Skt *marcciyati* 'to endanger'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 196, *Stratificazione* 139; FRISK II 1012-1013; DEMIRAJ *AE* 277.

*mos* adv. 'not' (prohib.). From PAIb *\*mad* connected with IE *\*me* id. (BoPP 497; CAMARDA I 102, 214; MEYER *Wh.* 287). The Indo-European prohibitive *\*me* is directly reflected in a simple form *mo*. The second element may go back to IE *\*lee* 'and' so that *mos* continues *\*me lee* as reflected in Gk *μijtie* 'and not' (OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 149-150). 0 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 *\*eo-* *\*PO*); 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; cABEJ *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.

*moshe* f 'age'. In dialects, a more phonetically archaic form *mote* is preserved. Goes back to PAIb *\*matukt* derived from *\*mati-* > *mot*. Borrowed to Rum *mos*, 'grandfather' after the change of *\*-t(u)š-* to (JOKL *LKUBA* 33: reconstructs *\*met-s/o-*). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 263 (to *mas*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 345; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; cABEJ *St.* I 354; HULD 95; DEMIRAJ *AE* 278.

*mot* m, pl. *mote* 'time, weather, storm, thunderbolt'. Goes back to PAIb *\*mati-* etymologically identical with Skt *mati-* 'measure', Gk !An; id., OE *med* id. derived from TE *\*me-* 'to measure' and, in particular, to Iran *\*matya-* 'day': Sogd *myš*, Yagn *met*, Yazg *mth*, and also Osset *met*, *mit* 'snow' (TRuBAAtEv *Etimologija* 1965 14). Semantically, *mot* is also close to Lith *metas* 'time, year' (GILFERDING *Otm.* 23; MEYER *Wh.* 263, *Alb. St.* III 23, 63, 87) which, however, displays a

short vowel in the root, and to Hisp-Celt *maTu* ('favorable') period of time' reflecting a zero-grade. 0 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); cABEJ *St.* VII 187, 252; HULD 95; ESKA *Botorrita* 75-76; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; DESNICKAJA *Sravn.* 203; DEMIRAJ *AE* 278.

**motet** f, pl. *motra* 'sister'. From PAIb *\*mater* going back to IE *\*mater-* 'mother': Skt *mater-*, Gk [Limp, Lat *mater* and the like (GILFERDING *Otm.* 23; CAMARDA I 72; MEYER *BB* VIII 190 ('mother' > 'elder sister'), *Wb.* 287-288, *Alb. St.* III 24, 64, 72, 82). 0 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; BARIG *Hymje* 38, 71; POKORNY 1700; 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 *Wh.* 287). 0 SELAftV *Slay. naselenie* 171, 306; cABEJ *St.* VII 254; SVANE 46, 252.

**mpij** **mpij** aor. *mpiva mpiva* 'to benumb, to make stiff'. Goes back to PAIb *\*en-paginja* related to Gk *ihyvvin* 'to make firm, to make stiff', Lat *pang6* id., Gothfahan 'to catch' and the like (CAMARDA II 157; MEYER *Wb.* 265). 0 FRISK II 525-526; WALDE-HOFMANN II 245-246; FEIST *Goth.* 134-135; POKORNY I 787; cABEJ *St.* I 354-355 (reconstructs *\*en-paginja*).

**mraz** in, pl. *mraze* 'rain-storm, bitter frost'. Borrowed from Slav *\*morzl* 'cold, frost', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *mraz*, SCr *mraz* (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). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1048; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 536; cABEJ *St.* I 355; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 45, 86, 141-142.

**mret** m, pl. *mreta* 'arbutus, wild strawberry'. Derivative of *mare* id.

**mrezhe** f 'net'. Borrowed from Slav *\*merlea* id., cf. South Slavic: Bulg *mrefa*, SCr *mrefa* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 288). 0 SELMEV *Slay. naselenie* 170; SVANE 153.

**mti mti m** 'churn'. Other variants are *beti*, *pet?*, *muti*, *tpi*. Borrowed from Rom *\*patina* for Lat *patina* 'broad dish, pan'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 295 (based on Slav *\*mesa* 'to sweep' or *\*myth/* 'to stir'); cABEJ *St.* I 355-356 (to *tire* 'barren').

**mu** — **mti** adv. 'just, right, exactly'. Borrowed from Lat *immune* 'freely, absolutely'. 0 CAMARDA I 311 (to *me*); cABEJ *St.* I 356 (to *me* 'more').

**muaj muej** m, pl. *muaj muej* 'month'. From PAIb *\*masnja*, derived from an earlier *\*mesn-*, metathesis of IE *\*mens-* 'moon, month': Skt *mas-*, Gk *tolv*, Lat *mensis*, OIr *mi* and the like. The same metathesis may be supposed for Slav *\*mew*", < *\*mesen-ko-* id. 0 BOPP 467 (direct comparison with reflections of IE *\*mens-*); 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; MAYRHOFFER II 631-632; WALDE-HOFMANN II 71-72; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 24; VENDRYES [M] 46; POKORNY I 731-732; KLINGENSCHMITT *Munch. St. Spr.* XL 127; TRUBAEV *ESSJa XVIII* 192-194; HULD 96 (treats *-j* in *muaj* as a suffix similar to *-i* in *ari*); OREL *Zfl3alk XXIII* 142; DEMIRAJ *AE* 279-280.

**muf** adj. 'unripe'. From PAIb *\*muska* (with *-f* < *-h*) related to IE *\*meu-* 'wee', cf. Latv *math'* 'to plunge, to swim', Slav *\*myti* 'to wash' and, formally, Lat *muscus* 'moss' belonging to the same root. 0 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 PAIb *\*smuga* related to OE *smoca* 'smoke', OIr *mtich* id., Arm *mux* id. (cABEJ *St.* I 356). 0 CAMARDA I 131 (to Gk *iruxo*; 'inside'); MEYER *Wb.* 272-273 (to *mengoij*); BARIE *ARSt.* I 104 (to Gk *axkUg* 'mist, gloom' < IE *\*mgh-*); AeAREAN *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 PAIb *\*mugula* identical with Lith *\*mugulas* on which *mugulioti* 'to move' is based. The latter is further related to *mugditi* 'to go through the mud', *mliginti* 'to touch, to move' and the like. Borrowed to Rum *mugur*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 288 (quotes the non-existent Skt *mugula-* 'bud'); BART6ARSt 54 (prefix *mu-* and a cognate of Gk *fiXototo*; 'sprout, shoot'); JOKL *LKUBA* 267 (suffix *-u//*); FRAENKEL 468; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. room II* 345; ROSETTI *ILR I* 279; IoNITA *SCL XL* 485 (from an unattested Rom *\*mucu/us*); OREL *Orpheus VI* 68.

**muj muej** aor. *mujta*, *mufta* 'to be able, to prevail'. From PAIb *\*mundnja*, a secondary formation based on *mund*.

**mujoj** aor. *mujova* 'to disprove'. Derived from *muj* (cABEJ *St.* I 356). 0 CAMARDA I 47 (to Lat *maniare* 'to defend, to protect').

**mund** f 'stomach'. Borrowed from Rom *\*mula* > OFr *mule* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 289). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 285; MANN *Language XXVIII* 33 (to Skt *mfirdhan-*).

**nulli** — **multi** m, pl. *mullinj* Borrowed from Lat *molinum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 289). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 43 (from Ital *molino* id.); MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrij3*<sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1049; JOKL *IF L* 47; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 199; ERNOUT-MEILLET 411; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 23; HAARMANN 137; JANSON *Unt.* 55; LANDI *Lat.* 88, 137, 158.

**mund** aor. *munda* 'to be able'. Continues PAIb *\*munda*, a nasal present related to Lith *muck* 'possibility', *muddoti* 'to try, to attempt', Skt *mddate y* 'to rejoice, to be merry'. 0 MEYER <sup>1</sup>/*Vb.* 291 (to OHG *muntar*

`fresh', Lith *mundrits* 'cheerful, merry'), *Alb. St.* III 64, 80; JOKL *Studien* 58 (adds Lith *mandrits* 'high-spirited', Slav *\*mQdr7*, 'wise' to MEYER's parallels), *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 91, *IF* XXXIII 127, XXXVI 131; BARK ARSt. I 105; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 198; SCHMIDT KZ LVII 37; LA PIANA *Studi* 123; FRAENKEL 467; CHANTRAINE 664; MAYRHOFER II 693; POKORNY I 741-742; HAMP *Laryngeals* 138 (adduces Lith *isminfts* 'to be able'); cABEJ *St.* I 357-358 (to OHG *magan* 'to be able' or to Gk Aro; 'trouble, distress'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 281-283 (follows cABEJ).

**mungoj** aor. *mungova* 'to lack'. A more archaic variant is *mengoj*. Borrowed from Rom *\*mancare* > Ital *mancare* id. (MEYER Wb. 273). 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 251.

**murg mung** m, pl. *murgj mungj* 'monk'. Borrowed from Lat *monachus* id. (MEYER Wb. 289). 0 MANN *Language* XVII 14; cABEJ *St.* I 358; OLBERG *SPhAen* 49; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 137; JANSON *Unt.* 45-46; LANDI *Lat.* 61, 138-139.

**murg** adj. 'dark, grey'. From PAIb *\*murga* related to Lith *mdrgas* 'multicolored', *mirgtioti* 'to sparkle, to shine', Latv *mirga* 'gleam', *mitrgs* 'fantastic image'. The word for 'mould', *murgjan*, is derived from *murg*. Borrowed to **Rum** *murg* 'brown'. 0 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.

**murge** f 'lees of oil'. Borrowed from Lat *amurga* id. 0 CAMARDA 163 (from Gk &Om id.).

**murmur** adj. 'dark, grey'. Related to *murret*. 0 MEYER *Wh.* 286 (related to *muer mor* id. borrowed from Turk *mor* id.).

**murmuroj** aor. *murmurova* 'to murmur'. Borrowed from Lat *murtnurare* id. (MIREosicx *Rom. Elemente* 43; MEYER *Wb.* 292).

**murtaje** f 'plague'. Another variant is *mortak*. Borrowed from Rom *\*mortdlia*, based on Lat *mortalis* (MEYER *Wh.* 287). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrill* <sup>2</sup> I 1049; HAARMANN 137; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 88, 147.

**murrash** m, pl. *murrashe* 'sparrow'. Identical with *murrash* 'dark, dark grey', cf. *mellenje*.

**murrele** f, pl. *murrela* 'horsefly, gadfly'. Related to *murret*.

**inure** — **murra** m 'North wind'. Borrowed, with an assimilation of the initial *b-*, from Rom *\*borednus*, an adjectival formation of *Boreas* id. (MEYER *Wh.* 42). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1052; cABEJ *St.* I 358-359 (to *murret*).

**murret** adj. 'dark'. A derivative in *-et* based on *\*murr* continuing PAIb *\*mura*. The latter is etymologically related to Lith *mitras* 'mud', *mitrinas* 'dirty', Latv *murit* 'to besmirch' and other reflexes of *\*meu-ro* 'dirt'. 0 FRAENKEL 419; POKORNY I 742.

**murritz** m, pl. *murriza* 'brier, hawthorn, whitethorn'. Since it is also translated as 'Schwarzdorn' by MEYER, *murritz* may be linked to *murret*. 0 SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 250 (connected with Ital *marruca* 'Christ-thorn'); MEYER Wb. 292 (from *\*mburniz-* connected with NGk npouve2a6 'briar'); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 148 (agrees with SCHUCHARDT); TREIMER *Slavia* III 455 (from a compound *\*molle drize*); cABEJ *St.* I 359 (to *morr*).

**mushice** f, pl. *mushica* 'midge'. Another variant is *mush*\*. Borrowed from Slav *\*muhca* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *musica*, SCR *mufica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27). 0 SELMEV *Slav. naselenie* 198; SVANE 155.

**mushk** m, pl. *mushge* 'mule'. Together with Bulg *musk* id., ORuss *mvskv* id. and other Slavic forms (presumably, spreading from the South), *mushk* forms an areal Balkan word for 'mule'. Rum *mu, scoi* id. is derived from *\*muxu* borrowed from Albanian. 0 MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26 (from Slavic); CAMARDA II 158; STIER KZ XI 149; HIRT *IF* XII 225 (to Lat *mulus* id., Gk 1.tuxXO; id.); MEYER Wb. 293-294 (to Lat *ma/us* id. < *\*muslus*; adduces Ital dial. *musso* 'ass'), *Alb. St.* III 64; BARI6ARSt 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*. 0

MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 549 (borrowed from Lat *musculus* 'muscle'); CAMARDA II 158; MEYER *Wb.* 294 (follows MIKLOSICH); BARIC *ARSt* 56 (to Lat *umerus* 'shoulder'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 200; CABEJ *St.* I 359-360; HAARMANN 137.

**mushkdlyer** adj. 'dun, grey-brown, red-brown'. A parallel form is *mushkyl-luar*. Borrowed from Rom *\*muscellarius* 'colored like a mouse', cf. Lat *muscellarium* 'mouse-trap'.

**mushkeri mushkni** f, pl. *mushkeri mushkni* 'lung, liver'. As *meld*, this word may be used in phrases *mushkeri e bardhe* 'lung' and *mushkeri e zeze* 'liver'. Derived from *mushk* 'shoulder'. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 43 (from Lat *musculus*).

**mushkuar mushkuer** 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). 0 CABEJ *St.* I 360 (somehow related to Gk *wiexog* 'young bull').

**mushkull** f 'muscle'. Borrowed from Lat *musculus* id.

**mushllinzd** f, pl. *mushllinza* 'clambering vetch'. A parallel (secondary) form is *bushllize*. Based on *\*mushlli* borrowed from Rom *\*mustelina*. The latter is a derivative of Lat *mustela* 'weasel'. For the semantic development cf. Russ *myS'ij gorosek* 'mouse vetch'. 0 CABEJ *St.* I 360 (from *\*mbeshtellize*, to *mbeshtjell*).

**musht** m 'must, new wine'. Borrowed from Lat *mustum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 43; MEYER *Wh.* 294). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1046, 1053; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 18; HAARMANN 137.

**mushtekohem** refl. 'to settle down'. Borrowed from Rom *\*domesticare* 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*.

lllllt m, pl. *mutra mutna* 'excrement'. Continues PAIb *\*mukta* for-

mally identical with Skt *muktd-* 'released' (MEYER *Wh.* 294, *Alb. St.* III 5, 64). The latter is derived from *muticdti* 'to loose, to free', cf. also Lith *mukti* 'to get free, to flee' and the like. 0 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. (CABEJ *St.* I 360).

**muzg m** 'dusk'. From PAIb *\*muzga* borrowed from to Slav *\*muzga* 'rainy weather'. The position of *muzge* '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 *mvrejtur*, a participle of *mvrej* 'to cloud over'. The latter is a prefixal derivative of *wet*.

**mycd** f, pl. *myca* 'brushwood'. Derivative in *-ce* of *myje*.

**myje** f 'hardwood interior of trees, medulla'. Another variant is *my mi, mi* id. Borrowed from Lat *medulla* id. 0 JOKLLKUBA 195 (related to *mellenje* and based on IE *\*meld-* 'black').

**myk m** 'mould, slime'. Borrowed from Lat *mucus* 'slime' (MEYER *Wb.* 295). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1046; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 18; HAARMANN 137; LANDI *Lat.* 138.

**myk f** 'back edge (of knife)'. From PAIb *\*mato* etymologically related to Gk *pivx6c* 'innermost part', Arm *mxem* 'to put into, to insert'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 360 (identical with *pyke*); FRISK II 279; POKORNY 1745.

**myll m** 'mule'. Borrowed from Lat *mu/us* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 295). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1046; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 24.

**mys** in 'clod (of earth); bread crust'. From PAIb *\*matja*, based on IE *\*meua-* 'wet, dirty, to wash'. For the development of meaning, cf. LGerm

*moder* 'mould', Dutch *modder* 'slime, mud' continuing the same root. 0 POKORNY I 741-743; cABEJ *St.* VII 195.

**myshk** m, pl. *myshqe* 'moss, musk'. Another forms is *mushk*. Borrowed from Lat *muscus* id. (cABEJ *St.* I 360-361). As to *myshnje* 'moss', it is derived from *myshk*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 280 (from Turkish *misk*); SKOK *ZfslavPh* VIII 409 (< \**mus* + *ko-*); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; LANDI *Lat.* 66, 138, 140.

**mzith** m 'ankle'. Derived from an unattested \**zi*. The latter continues PALb \**cliija* etymologically identical with the Indo-European word for 'tendon, bow-string': Skt *jyci*, Av *jya*, Gk 0 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).

**nape** f, pl. *napa* 'cloth, napkin, towel, kerchief'. Borrowed from Rom \**nappa* > Fr *nappe* 'table-cloth' (MEYER *Wb.* 297). 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 254; HAARMANN 138.

**naphmge** f, pl. *naplunga* 'cheese-cloth (used as strainer)'. Borrowed from an unattested Bulg *napl'unka*, cf. *naprunevam* 'to smear (with saliva)', *pl'unka* 'saliva'. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 254; OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

**narte** adj. 'bright, clear'. A derivative of *nartoj* 'to polish, to clean, to make bright'. Borrowed from Rom \**inauritare* replacing Lat *inaurare* 'to cover with gold' 0 OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

**nate** f, pl. *net*, *nete* 'night'. From PALb \**nakti-* corresponding to IE \**nolet-id.*: Skt *ndkt-*, Gk *vu2*, 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 \**nob*", (HAMP KZ LXXVII 254). 0 MEYER *Gr.* 114; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* 1123; 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; OLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* 688; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII 144*, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; DEMIRAJ *AE* 283-284.

**natyre** f 'nature'. Borrowed from Lat *natura* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 298 (from Ital *natura* id.). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrij3* <sup>2</sup> 1 1047; cABEJ *St.* VII 267; HAARMANN 138.

**ndaj** prep. 'among, with; towards'. Based on *ndane* 'near'. The latter is a compound of *nde* and *ane* (MEYER *Wb.* 11). 0 JOKL *Studien* 58-59 (*ndaj* < \**nd-ani* explained as an old locative in a sandhi position).

**ndaj ndaj** aor. *ndava*, *ndajta* 'to divide, to separate'. From PALb \**danja* etymologically related to Skt *ddyate* id., *dciti* 'to cut, to divide', Gk *Sociottat* 'to divide' (CAMARDA 137; MEYER *Wb.* 59). 0 FRISK I 341-342; MAYRHOFER II 20-21, 31; POKORNY I 175.

**ndal** aor. *ndala* 'to stop, to hold up'. Another morphological variant is *ndalaj* id. Originally, an antonym of *dal*, this verb goes back to PALb \**en-dala*, a prefixal form derived from *dal*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 60 (from Slav \**dal' b* '(long) distance'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 202 (against MEYER); KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 239; cABEJ *St.* I 361 (to *W dal*, *Bala* 'to hold')

**ndej ndej** aor. *ndeva*, *ndejta* 'to stretch out, to spread'. Other morphological variants are *nder*, *nder* and *ndeh*. This stem is used as a suppletive aorist stem of *rri*. Continues PALb \**en-tenja* related to Gk *teivw* 'to stretch', iv-Teivm 'to stretch out' and, further, to Skt *tandti*, 'to expand', OHG *denen* 'to stretch' and other reflexes of IE \**ten-* (CAMARDA I 43; MEYER *Wb.* 299-300, *Alb. St.* III 24). 0 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; cABEJ *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'. 0 BOPP 497 (to the non-existent Skt *dar-* 'to respect'); CAMARDA I 81 (to *njeri*); MIKLOSICH

*Rom. Elemente* 31 (borrowed from Lat *honarenz* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 298-299 (continues an unattested *\*ner* borrowed from Lat *honarem* id.); MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* 'I 1046, 1049; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 202-203 (follows MEYER), *Origini* 366; TREIMER *ZfromPhil* XXXVIII 402 (prefixal formation in *nd-*); MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387; cABEJ *St. I* 361-363 (to *enderr*); LANDI *Lat.* 64-65, 101.

**ndes** aor. *ndesa* 'to have troubles', refl. *ndeset* 'to get tangled up (of threads)'. Goes back to PAIb *\*en-dada* reflecting IE *\*dekt* and closely related to the isolated Lith *dakyti* 'to mix up, to put in disorder', *daknyti* id., *dakanoti* id. 0 FRAENKEL 80-81; cABEJ *St.* VII 184; OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

**ndesh** aor. *ndesha* 'to meet'. Continues PAIb *\*en-da-sja* etymologically related to Gk Shot) 'to find' (OREL *Orpheus* VI 69). 0 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 PAIb *\*en-dadija*, a causative formation based on *djeg* and continuing *\*-dogleia* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 323-324). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 333; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 208; LA PIANA *Studi* I 74, *St. Varia* 33; cABEJ *St.* III 124, VII 217, 219; HULD 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 286.

**ndC** prep. 'in, into'. A frequently used parallel form is *ne*; in Old Albanian the initial vowel was still preserved in *ende* (BUZUKU). Goes back to PAIb *\*en-da* composed of IE *\*en* 'in' (cf. Gk *Ev*, Lat *in* and the like) and IE *\*do*: Slav *\*do* 'to', Gmc *\*to* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 299). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 201; MANN *Language* XVII 22; FRISK I 508-509; WALDE-HOFMANN I 687-688; ONIONS 927; POKORNY I 181-183, 311-313; KOPEtNY *ESSJ* 159-66; TRUBAftV *ESSJa* V 37-38; HULD 97-98 (separates *nde* from *ne* and derives the latter from IE *\*eni*).

**nal** prep. 'under, between'. Borrowed from Lat *inter* (MEYER *Wb.* 299). 0 BOPP 500 (related to Lat *inter*); PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* IX 213; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; HAMP *Laryngeals* 136 (reconstructs *\*Henter*); cABEJ *St.* VII 201, 208; DEMIRAJ *AE* 286-287.

**ndergoj** aor. *ndergova* 'to suck'. Borrowed, with a metathesis, from Lat *integrare* 'to restore, to refresh'.

**nddrliq** aor. *nderliqa* 'to tangle up threads; to interlace, to weave'. Another variant is *nderlik* preserving the original form of the auslaut velar. Derived from *liq* (KRISTOFORIDHI 271). The dialectal form *ndreliks* id. < *\*nderliks* is derived from *nderlik* (CABE' *St.* I 364). 0 CAMARDA I 42 (to Gk *Nittaiacro*) 'to roll, to wrap up'); MEYER *Wb.* 301 (follows CAMARDA); cABEJ *St.* IV 80.

**ndertoj** aor. *ndertova* 'to build, to construct'. A derivative of Rom *\*directare*, cf. Lat *directus* 'straight' (MEYER *Wb.* 66). 0 CAMARDA I 123 (derived from *drejt*); WEIGAND 60 (follows CAMARDA); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; cABEJ *St. I* 364-365 (to *trajtoj*).

**nderzej** aor. *nde'rzeva* 'to mate'. A prefixal derivative of *ze*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 300 (borrowed from Slav *\*drazniti* 'to irritate, to arouse'); cABEJ *St.* VII 250.

**nddrroj** aor. *nderrova* 'to change, to alter'. Borrowed from Lat *alterare* id., with an irregular change of the sonorant (MEYER *Wb.* 300, *Alb. St.* IV 15). 0 CAMARDA I 45 (to *tjeter*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 203; HAARMAN 110; cABEJ *St. I* 365 (to Skt *cintara-* 'other' and the like); MANN *Comp.* 27 (same as cABEJ).

**ndashkoj** aor. *ndeshkova* 'to punish'. A prefixal derivative of *\*deshkoj* borrowed from Lat *despicari* 'to despise'. 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; cABEJ *St. I* 365-366 (from Lat *eastigclre* 'to correct, to chastise, to punish'); HAARMANN 116 (same as cABEJ).

**ndic** adv., conj. 'well, at any rate'. Another form is *ndish*. Goes back to *ne dic* 'if you know' (cABEJ *St. I* 366).

**ndicem** adj. 'old, withered, stale'. Another form is *ndishem*. Historically identical with *ndishem* 'sensitive', an adjectival derivative of *ndiej*.

**ndiej** aor. *ndjeva* 'to feel, to perceive, to hear'. A prefixal derivative of *di* (MEYER *Wb.* 66). 0 CAMARDA I 81 (to Gk *yaw* 'to see, to perceive'); MEYER *Alb. Gr.* (to *gjegj*, variant of *degjoj*); JOKL *Studien* 60, *IF* XXXVI 112; BARIe *ARSt.* I 33-34; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 547 (to

*degjem*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 203; cABEJ *St.* I 366-367 (related to Goth *bagkjan* 'to think'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 287-288.

**ndih ndif** aor. *ndiha ndifa* 'to help'. Continues PAIb *\*en-diska* related to Gk & Elam 'to hurry, to drive', Skt *dryati* 'to fly, to soar' and the like. For the semantic development cf. Russ *s-po-spd-estvovat* 'to assist, to help' - 'to hurry'. 0 CAMARDA 1135 (to Gk TEixo; 'wall' or Tian 'luck, fortune'); MEYER *Wb.* 300 (to Goth *freihan* 'to thrive, to flourish'), *Alb. St.* III 6-7; SCHEFTELOWITZ *KZ* LVI 208-209 (to the non-existent Skt *day-* 'to take care'); FRISK I 389-390; cABEJ *St.* I 367-368 (continues IE *\*deik-* 'to show'); MAYRHOFER II 46; POKORNY I 187.

**ndikoj** aor. *ndikova* 'to influence'. Borrowed from Lat *indicare* 'to impose, to inflict'. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 257-258.

**ndjej** aor. *ndjeva* 'to pardon, to forgive'. More archaic forms are *ndejej* and *ndelej*. Borrowed from Lat *indulgere* 'to be indulgent, to concede' (MEYER *Wb.* 299). Note the development of the group *-lg-* as in *mjel*. 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundri* 3<sup>2</sup> 1 1050; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 130.

**ndjek** aor. *ndoqa* 'to follow, to chase, to pursue'. From PAIb *\*en-teka*, a prefix formation related to IE *\*tele-* 'to run, to flow': OIr *techim* 'to flee', Lith *tea, teketi* '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 reelected as *vdjek* 'to pursue' instead of *\*fijek* under the influence of *ndjek*. 0 FRAENKEL 1074-1075; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 291; VENDRYES [T] 40; VASMER IV 37; POKORNY I 1059; PISANI *Saggi* 120 (to Gk *otoiwo*) 'to pursue'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 96; HAMP *Laryngeals* 126 (on *v-* in *vdjek*); cABEJ *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 PAIb *\*en-delna*, a denominative related to the Balto-Slavic word for 'palm (of the hand)': Lith *delna*, Slav *\*dolnb*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 301 (to Lith *delka* 'fishing-rod'); FRAENKEL 87-88; TRUBAEV *ESSJa* V 63-64.

**ndodh** aor. *ndodha* 'to happen, to take place, to occur'. From PAIb

*\*en-tcidza* continuing IE *\*tag-* (or *\*tag-* as implied by Baltic): Gk *raaa.*) 'to arrange, to put in order', Toryil 'ordering, array', Lith *pa-togas* 'comfortable', *su-tdgti* 'to marry'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 301 (to Lat *tango* 'to touch' or to Goth *tekan* id.), *Alb. St.* III 17; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335; BARD *ARSt.* 57-58 (to Lat *eada* 'to fall'); FRISK II 845-846, 859; FRAENKEL 551; POKORNY I 1055; cABEJ *St.* 1369-370 (to Gk TF6XW 'to prepare').

(T) **ndoh**te adj. 'dirty, foul'. Based on *ndoh* 'to make dirty', an inchoative derivative of *ndyj* (MEYER *Wb.* 301; KRISTOFORIDHI 229). 0 JOKL *Studien* 61-62 (to *dhjes*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 290-291.

**ndore** f 'charge, tutelage, patronage'. A back-formation based on *ndoroj* 'to manage, to control, to protect'. A metathesized borrowing from Rom *\*pantOrare* < *\*patronage*, cf. Lat *patranus* 'protector, defender'.

**ndorme** adj. 'unleavened; ordinary'. Derived from *dare* with the original meaning 'handy, easy to make' (cABEJ *St.* I 370). 0 CIMO-CHOWSKI *LP II* 321 (to Skt *tdruna-* 'young, fresh'); cABEJ *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 ndore*. The underlying meaning is '(even) with the protection of'. 0 cABEJ *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* (KoNfrzA apud cABEJ *St.* I 371). WEIGAND *BA* 1260 (from *ne do to ishte*); cABEJ *St.* I 370-371 (from SCr *doista* 'truly'); MURATI *Probleme* 92.

**ndrag** aor. *ndraga* 'to make dirty'. From PAIb *\*en-traga*, a denominative verb related to OHG *drec* 'dirt, dung', ON *brekk* id., Gk *atepucivoc* 'dung' (Hes.) and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 301). 0 KLUGE 141; FRISK II 790; POKORNY 11032.

**ndreq** aor. *ndreqa* 'to put in order, to arrange'. Derived from *ndrey ndrejt*, adv. 'straight, direct', cf. *drejte*.



**ndrikull** f, pl. *ndrikulla* 'godmother; midwife'. Borrowed from Lat *matricula* used in the sense of Rom *\*matrina* id. > Ital *madrina* (MIKLosicH *Rom. Elemente* 40; MEYER *Wh.* 301). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrift* <sup>2</sup> I 1054 (from Lat *nutricula*); HAARMANN 135.

**ndrizd** f, pl. *ndriza* 'band, bandage'. Continues *\*n-dridh-ze* related to *dredh* (JOKL *Studien* 18).

**ndrydh** aor. *ndrydha* 'to press, to squeeze, to twist'. From PA1b *\*en-trada* etymologically connected with Lat *trade*, 'to thrust, to push, to press on', Goth *us-Priutan* '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*). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 301 (from Rom *\*intradO*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 261; WALDE-HOFMANN II 710; FEIST *Goth.* 535-536; POKORNY 11095-1096; cABEJ *St.* I 372 (to *dredh*).

**ndryj** aor. *ndryva ndryna* 'to lock'. Derived from *dry*. MANN *Language* XVII 16 (from *dru*). 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 243.

**ndryqem ndriqem** refl. 'to stretch oneself'. Continues PA1b *\*en-truka* related to W *trychu* 'to cut', OHG *drucken* 'to press', Lith 'to get torn, to come off', Latv *trukts* 'to break, to get torn'. 0 BUGGE *BB* XVIII 181 (from Rom *\*intuberculare*); BARK *ARSt.* I 58 (to Lat *citrus* 'hard' and IE *\*dreu-*); FRAENKEL 1130-1131; POKORNY I 1074; cABEJ *St.* I 372 (a secondary formation based on *ndreq*).

**ndryshkull** m, pl. *ndryshkulla* 'boil, abscess'. Derived from *ndryshke* 'rust', cf. *dryshk*.

**ndryshkull** m, pl. *ndryshkulla* 'kind of large scented plant'. Derived from *dushk dyshk* 'oak' with an epenthetic *-r-*.

**ndryshoj** aor. *ndryshova* 'to differentiate, to differ, to vary'. Based on *ndryshe* 'otherwise', derived from *nderroj*.

**nduk** aor. *nduka* 'to pluck out, to pull out, to tear'. Continues PA1b *\*en-duka* related to Goth *tiuhan* 'to pull', Lat *duco* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 301-302). 0 CAMARDA I 140 (to Gk *SOcicvw* 'to bite');

ERNOUT-MEILLET 186; MANN *Language* XXVI 384; KLUGE 885; FEIST *Goth.* 478-479; WALDE-HOFMANN 1377-378; POKORNY I 220-221; cABEJ *St.* I 373-374; DEMIRAJ *AE* 291.

**ndulkem** refl. 'to ripen'. From PA1b *\*en-tulka* etymologically linked to Lith *telkiu*, *telkti* 'to gather, to bring together', Slav *\*telkti* 'to beat, to pound'. MEYER *Wh.* 313 (derived from Lat *dulcis* 'sweet'); VASMER IV 73-74; FRAENKEL 1078; cABEJ *St.* I 374 (to *tul*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

**ndyj ndyej** aor. *ndyra* 'to make dirty, to soil, to dip, to immerse'. From PA1b *\*en-danja* related to Gk *8io* 'to sink, to cause to sink, to plunge in'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 307 (to OHG *tahhan* 'to immerse'); FRISK I 427-428; POKORNY 1217-218.

**ne** pron. 'we'. From PA1b *\*nO(s)* etymologically related to Skt *nas-*, Av *nO*, Lat *nOs* id. and other continuations of this stem in Indo-European (BOPP 464; GILFERDING *OM.* 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. 0 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 PA1b *\*anal ka* 'to that which' consisting of a dative of a demonstrative comparable with Skt *ana-* 'this', Lith *anas* 'that', Slav *\*orrL* id. and of a relative pronoun *\*kuo-*. 0 FRAENKEL 10; VASMER III 141; MAYRHOFER I 32; POKORNY I 319-321; cABEJ *St.* I 374 (etymologically identical with *te tek*).

**nemak** adj. 'dumb, stuttering'. Derived from *\*nem* borrowed from Slav *\*nenn*. 'dumb', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *n'am*, SCr *nijem*, *nem*.



**nemec** m, pl. *nemeca* 'dumb, stuttering person'. Borrowed from Slav *\*nembeb* id. also denoting Germans, cf. in South Slavic Bulg *nemec*, SCr *nijemac*, *nemac* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 27). The form *nemc* 'German' goes back to the same source. 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 204; SELIKEV *Slay. naselenie* 195, 286.

**nepërke** E pl. *nepërke* 'adder, viper'. A more archaic form is *nepertke*. Borrowed from Slav *\*nepbrth*, attested in Bulg *nepřhtl,k* 'buttercup, yellowgold' (its other name being *fabun'ak* 'related to toads') connected with some other marginal Slavic forms such as *\*jzbzportbkm*. 'miscarried fetus' and *\*vyport717*, id. The original form being the source of *nepërke* described a freshly hatched snake. The Albanian word was borrowed to Rum *napIrcii*. 0 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; CABEJ *St.* VII 195, 204; MOUTSOS *ZfBalk XXXII/2* 204 (borrowed from Rum *ncipircci* continuing Rom *\*natricipertica*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

**neser** adv. 'tomorrow'. From PAIb *\*natkir* continuing *\*noetigr*, an adverbial derivative of *\*nolet-* 'night', cf. W *neithiwr*, *neithwyr* 'last night', Bret *neizcer*, *neiztir* id. (MANN *Hist. Gr.* 204). 0 CAMARDA I 309 (to Gk *iatcpaia* 'the day after tomorrow'); MEYER *Wb.* 303 (to Goth *nelva* 'near' and the like), *Alb. St.* III 13, 65; PEDERSEN *BB XX* 236-237, *KZ XXXVI* 336 (from an earlier *\*nati here* 'at the hour of night'), *Kelt. Gr.* 1123; BARIC *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 oku-* 'swift' and *here*); CABEJ *St.* I 374-375 (from *ne esell here* 'at the time of morning fast'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 292-293.

**neveris** aor. *neverita* 'to desert, to neglect'. Borrowed from Slav *\*ne veriti* 'not to believe' (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 304). 0 SEL8CEV *Slay. naselenie* 192; SvANE 246.

**nevojg** f, pl. *nevoja* 'need'. Borrowed from Slav *\*nevol'a* 'lack of freedom, necessity', cf. South Slavic parallels: Bulg *nevol'a*, SCr *nevolja* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 304). 0 SELIGTEV *Slay. naselenie* 178; SvANE 222

**name** — **name** f, pl. *neme* — *name* 'curse'. From PAIb *\*nama* related to *nem nam* 'to curse' from PAIb *\*nama*. Etymologically connected with Gk *ve.t.o* 'to distribute', Goth *niman* 'to take' and the like, with the semantic shift justified by the development in Greek, cf. *v4teatg* 'wrath' (CAMARDA I 36; MEYER *Wb.* 297, *Alb. St.* III 64-65). 0 FRISK II 302-304; FEIST *Goth.* 375-376; POKORNY I 763; CABEJ *Festschr. Pisani* 1 184; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 293.

**nemeroj** aor. *nemerova* 'to number, to count'. Borrowed from Lat *numerare* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 312, *Alb. St.* IV 19). Other similar forms, such as *numer* 'number', are of Italian or learned Latin origin (CABEJ *St.* I 384). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrif3* I 1046, 1050; MIHAESC *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 138.

**nen** prep. 'under'. A more conservative variant is *nden*. An extended form of *nde* (MEYER *Wb.* 299).

**Ilene** — **nand** f, pl. *ne'na nana* 'mother'. An onomatopoeia comparable with that of SCr *nana* id., Rum *nand* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 297, *Alb. St.* III 65). 0 MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 27 (from Slavic); SCHMIDT *KZ LVII* 18; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 201, *Stratificazione* 118; HULD 98 (traces *nene nane* back to Indo-European); JANSON *Unt.* 97-98; DEMIRAJ *AE* 294.

**neveris** aor. *nenerita* 'to murmur'. An onomatopoeia.

**neng 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* > *neng*? 0 HULD 99.

**nengj m** 'knot'. Borrowed from Rom *\*nodunculus* (MEYER-LOME *Gr. Grundrif3* I 1054).

**ndntd** — **nand** num. 'nine'. The Tosk form is an analogical innovation that has replaced *\*nende*. Continues PAIb *\*neunti-* representing a *ti*-derivative of IE *\*nektu* id.: Skt *nova*, Lat *novem*, Goth *niun* and the like (Bort. 459; MEYER *Wb.* 304, *Alb. St.* III 65). 0 JOKL *Reallex. Vorges.* 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.

neper prep. 'through'. A compound of *ne* and *per*. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 193.

nese conj. 'if'. A lexicalized sequence of *ne* and *se* (cABEJ *St.* I 375).

nga prep. 'out'. Goes back to PALb *\*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 *\*k7*, 'to, towards' (OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 150). A particularly interesting parallel of PALb *\*en-ka* is found in Slav *\*mn-la*, (Czech *venkfi*, 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.* 0 CAMARDA 84; MEYER *Wb.* 304-305 (*ka* < Gk *xatdc* 'down' with an inexplicable loss of the second syllable); POKORNY 1311-312, 612-613; KOPECNY *ESSJ* I 105-106 (on Slavic prepositions); cABEJ *St.* VII 211.

ngac aor. *ngaca* 'to check, to halt'. A denominative based on *\*ngalce* derived from *ngalem*.

ngacmoj aor. *ngacmova* 'to incite, to tease'. A form parallel to *ngallmoj* and based on *\*ngacme*, derivative of *\*ngace* - ultimately, to *ngas*.

ngaj aor. *ngava*, *ngajta* 'to run'. Another variant is *nga(h)*. From PALb *\*en-ganja* related to the reduplicated *Sktjcihati* 'to leave, to abandon', OHG *gan*, *gen* '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*. 0 CAMARDA I 40 (to NGk '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; cABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Lat *quatio* 'to shake'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 295 -296.

ngalem refl. 'to be limping, to be lame, to be paralyzed'. From PALb *\*en-gala*, a denominative based on an unattested *\*gala* 'end, obstacle' related to Lith *galas* 'end', Latv *gals* id., OPrus *gallan* 'death'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 305 (from Ital *incagliare* 'to halt'); HELBIG 23-24 (from Rom *\*incalleare*); (*)STIR Anthropos* VIII 165-168 (to *gul* 'hornless');

FRAENKEL 130; cABEJ *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 *ngalle* 'flowering head of an onion' < *\*sprout, shoot*'. The latter is derived from *\*ngall* 'to sprout, to shoot', a prefixal verb built from *kall* *kalli* (cABEJ *St.* I 376-377 with differences in details). A related form with a different prefix *c-* is *ckalloj* id. (cABEJ *Etim.* III 51). 0 JOKL *Studien* 80 (to *shkal*, *shqelm*).

ngallis aor. *ngallita* 'to annoy, to irritate'. A derivative of *ngas* based on an unattested nominal form *\*ngall(e)*.

ngallmoj aor. *ngallmova* 'to urge, to irritate, to arouse'. Based on *\*ngallme*, a deverbative noun in *-me* related to *\*ngall*, see *ngallis* (cABEJ *St.* I 376). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 305 (from Ital *incalmare* 'to inoculate' or Rom *\*incalamare*); JOKL *LKUBA* 269 (to *akull* and Slav *\*kaliti* 'to temper [iron]'); HAARMANN 130.

ngardhulique f, p1. *ngardhulique* 'goldfinch'. Borrowed, with a secondary *n-* and an additional suffix *-iq-*, from Lat *carduelis* id. 0 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 (cABEJ *St.* I 377).

ngarkoj aor. *ngarkova* 'to load, to charge, to burden'. Borrowed from Rom *\*incaricare* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 11). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 305 (from Ital *incaricare* id.); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>21</sup> 1048 (from Italian); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14, 16; cABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAARMANN 130.

ngarmoj aor. *ngarmova* 'to drive away, to incite, to irritate'. A phonetic variant of *ngallmoj*. Cf. also *ngermoj* id. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 12 (from Ital *angheria* 'oppression, tyranny'); KRISTOFORIDHI 261 (to *germoj*); cABEJ *St.* I 378-379 (agrees with KRISTOFORIDHI).

ngas aor. *ngava* 'to urge, to incite, to annoy'. From PALb *\*en-gatja*, a causative related to *ngaj*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 221 (to *qas*); PEDERSEN *KZ*

XXXVI 331 (borrowed from Slav *\*nukati* 'to urge, to say *nu*'); CABEJ *St.* VII 154, 218.

ngaster f, pl. *ngastru* 'piece, part, section; block, quarter'. Another variant is *ngaser*. Derived from *ngas* (MEYER *Wb.* 221). Note a secondary cluster *-st-* < *-s-*. 0 CABEJ *St.* I 377 (from NGk *ylitatpcc* 'wide part of a jar').

ngasherej aor. *ngashereva* 'to touch, to move, to affect'. Another variant is *ngasheroj*. The Geg form is preserved in *ngashnjej* 'to incite, to rouse'. Built on the basis of Rom *\*incausinare*, cf. Lat *causa* 'cause'.

ngatdroj aor. *ngaterrova* 'to entangle, to complicate'. The antonym is *shkaterroj* 'to undo, to disentangle'. Derived from *ngaterr* 'hair ribbon' < *\*thread*'. The latter is based on *ngas*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 305 (to *ngathet* and/or Ital dial. *ingattiar* 'to entangle'); SPITZER *MRIW* I 325 (from Rom *\*inquaternare*); BARK *ARSt.* 60-61 (to *shtie* and *sbtri*); CABEJ *St.* I 377-378 (back-formation of *shkaterroj* based on *kater*).

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 PAIb *\*en-gada* etymologically related to Slav *\*god* 'time, year' with which it shares the temporal meaning (JOKL *Studien* 62-63). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 305-306 (to Lith *gavits* 'cheerful, merry'), *Alb. St.* III 7, 39; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 46; TRUBACEV *ESSJa* 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*. 0 CABEJ *St.* VII 238-239.

ngeq aor. *ngeqa* 'to become worse, to get bad'. Derived from *keq*.

ngarc m 'cramp, stiffness'. Derived from *kerc*.

ng8rdhej aor. *ngerdheva* 'to mock, to sneer, to mimic'. Another variant is *ngerdhesh*. Derived from *ngrydh*.

ngerhis aor. *ngerhita* 'to snore, to snort'. Another variant is *ngerhas*. A prefixal derivative of *gerhas*.

nerthej aor. *nertheva* 'to press, to encircle'. A prefixal derivative of *ke(ë)thej* with an epenthetic *-r-*. Cf. *kthej*. 0 CABEJ *St.* I 379 (to *gardhe*).

ngarzis aor. *ngarzit* 'to annoy'. A prefixal derivative of an unattested *\*gerzīs* borrowed from Slav *\*groziti* 'to threaten', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *groz'a*, SCr *groziti*.

ngij ngij aor. *ngiva ngina* 'to sate, to suckle'. Dialectal forms preserve and *gj-*. From PAIb *\*gleinja* related to Lith *glieju*, *glieti* 'to smear', OHG *klenan* id. and the like. 0 BARK *ARSt.* I 62 (from *\*ni-erno-* 'swallowed down'); FRAENKEL 157; POKORNY I 362-363; CABEJ *St.* VII 201.

ngojoj aor. *ngojova* 'to mention; to slander'. Derived from *goje* 'mouth'.

ngolaj aor. *ngolova* 'to try, to taste'. Historically identical with *ngojoj*. Derived from *go/e*, a phonetically archaic variant of *goje*.

ngollar m 'sodomite; sodomite sexual act'. Derived from *golle* on the basis of an intermediate verb *\*(n)golloj*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 306 (from Slav *\*gQzlarb*, to *\*ggz7*, 'anus, bottom'); BARK *ARSt.* 61 (prefix *n-* followed by a cognate of Gk

*ngop* aor. *ngopa* 'to sate, to cram'. Related to *gop* 'greedy, gluttonous'. The latter continues PAIb *\*gapa* probably related to IE *\*ǵp-l\*gebh-* 'to eat'. A parallel form *ngos* 'to sate' goes back to *\*en-gaptja* (CIMOCHOWSKI LV 194). 0 POKORNY I 382; CABEJ *St.* I 379 (*ngos* borrowed from NGk *\*anthva*) 'to choke').

ngordh aor. *ngordha* 'to die (of animals), to stiffen, to become erected (of penis)'. A synonymic form is *kordh*. Continues PAIb *\*kar(i)da* going back to IE *\*ker dbe-* 'to take a root', hence - 'to stiffen' and, finally, 'to die'. For the first component cf. Lith *keras* 'root', Slav *\*korem*, id. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 306 (from Rom *\*incordare*, cf. *kordhe*); KRISTOFORIDHI 265 (to NGk *icop86vouoct* 'to show off'); FRAENKEL 241; POKORNY I 572-573; TRUBACEV *ESSJa* XI 62-65; CABEJ *St.* IV 80, VII 184.

**ngrate** adj. 'wretched, miserable, unhappy'. Borrowed from Lat *ingratus* id. (MEYER Wb. 306). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1041; HAARMANN 131.

**ngre** aor. *ngrit a, ngreja ngreja* 'to lift, to raise'. A parallel form is *ngreh ngref* reflecting an inchoative in *\*-sk-*. Continues PAIb *\*en-gradā* and *\*en-gradska* related to Lat *gradior* 'to step, to walk', Goth acc. *grid* 'step', OIr *in-grenn-* 'to pursue', Slav *\*grcdp, \*gresti* 'to walk'. 0 CAMARDA I 56 (to Gk *z yEipco* '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; TRUBACEV *ESSJa* VII 123-124; DEMIRAJ *AE* 296-297 (to Lat *crescti* 'to grow').

**ngrij ngrij** aor. *ngriwa ngrina* 'to freeze'. From PAIb *\*en-kreinja*, a denominative verb related to Lith *krena* 'film, thin skin (on milk)', Latv *kriena* id. For the semantics cf. another Baltic cognate - Lith *kryga* 'floating pieces of ice'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 306-307 (to Gk *iOyoS* 'frost'); JOKL *Studien* 63-64 (to Slav *\*ebrstv7*, 'hard, dry'); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 245 (to Frioul *criure* 'cold'); FRAENKEL 297; POKORNY I 618; cABEJ *St.* VII 243.

**ngroh ngrof** aor. *ngroha ngrofa* 'to warm'. From PAIb *\*en-graja* etymologically identical with Slav *\*grek, \*greti* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 307, *Alb. St.* III 8, 71; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46), continuing IE *\*eher-* 'to burn'. 0 PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 321, 324-325, *Kelt. Gr.* I 108; PISANI *Saggi* 125 (follows MEYER); VASMER 1456 (*ngroh* from *\*en-gresko*); POKORNY 1493-495; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 48; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 77; cABEJ *St.* VII 217, apud DEMIRAJ (to Lith *kdrkas* 'warm'); HULD 98 (on *sk-*formations in Albanian), *KZ* CVII 169; DEMIRAJ *AE* 298.

**ngrydh ngridh** aor. *ngrydha ngridha* 'to work up, to foment, to ferment', refl. 'to be in heat (of horses)'. From PAIb *\*en-krada* etymologically related to Lith *grtigiū,* 'to stamp, to punch', Latv *grast* id. 0 MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to Slav *\*sbrditi sg* 'to get angry'); FRAENKEL 173-174; POKORNY I 460-462; OLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* 11 684 (to Skt *edhyati* 'to wish').

**ngrys** aor. *ngrysa* 'to darken'. Goes back to PAIb *\*en-kratja* further

connected with Slav *\*kryti* 'to cover', Lith *krduju, krauti* 'to pile'. 0 JOKL *Studien* 64 (to Lat *creper* 'dusky, dark'); BARK *Glasnik SND* II 167-170 (to Gk *yv69o*; 'darkness, gloom'); FRAENKEL 291; POKORNY I 616-617; cABEJ *St.* I 379-380 (to IE *\*kers-* 'black'); TRUBACEV *ESSJa* 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*. 0 WEIGAND 62 (denominative based on *kunj* 'peg, wedge'); cABEJ *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 *kidti* 'to thresh', Latv *knit* 'to strike' and further connected with IE *\*kel(a)-* 'to strike' (MEYER *Wb.* 307, *Alb. St.* III 4). 0 TAGLIANTINI *Dalmazia* 206; MANN *Language* XVII 14; FRAENKEL 211; POKORNY 1545-546; cABEJ *St.* VII 243.

**ngulmoj** aor. *ngulmova* 'to insist'. Derived from *ngulme* 'insistence', a deverbative of *ngul*.

**nguq** 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 *yooc* 'lamentation', Latv *gaura* 'chatter', Lith *gduti* 'to howl' and the like. 0 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'.

**ngurroj** aor. *ngurrova* 'to hesitate, to faker, to stop'. From late Lat *incurrere* 'to commit (a fault)', see WEIGAND *BA* I 259. 0 cABEJ *St.* I 380-381 (to *gur* and *nguroj*).

**ngus** aor. *nguta* 'to urge, to force'. From PAIb *\*en-kutja* related to Lith

*kđuti* 'to strike', Slav \**kovati* 'to forge', Lat *radō* 'to strike', OHG *houwan* id. 0 VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 46-47; BOGA 11 153; FRAENKEL 232; WALDE-HOFMANN I 300-301; POKORNY I 535; OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

**ngush** aor. *ngusha* 'to annoy, to irritate'. Continues PAIb \**en-kuth* related to Lith /*add* 'to move', Latv *kustinat* 'to move, to touch'. 0 FRAENKEL 321-322.

**ngush** aor. *ngusha* 'to embrace, to neck'. Derived from *gush*.

**ngushte** adj. 'narrow'. Borrowed from Lat *angustus* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; CAMARDA II 61; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 307). 0 MEYER-Lt7BKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 11046; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 206; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 12; cABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAARMAN 111; HULD 98.

**ngushulloj** aor. *ngushullova* 'to comfort, to give consolation'. Another variant is *ngushelloj ngushellonj*. Based on an unattested \**kushulloj* borrowed from Lat [consoldre. id.](#) (MEYER *Wb.* 307) 0 HAARMAN 119.

**ngjalđ** f, pl. *ngjala* 'eel'. A back-formation of \**ngje/e* understood as an umlauticized plural. The latter is borrowed from Lat *anguilla* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 15; MEYER *Wb.* 308). 0 CAMARDA I 36 (to Gk *eykekuc* id.); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 232, *KZ* XXXVI 283; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 110; cABEJ *St.* I 381-382 (from Illyr \**engella* related to Lat *anguilla*).

**ngjat** adv. 'near'. Derived from *giate*, cf. Ital *lungo* 'along, beside', Fr *le long de* 'along' and similar coinages (cABEJ *St.* I 382-383). 0 CAMARDA I 323 (to *ngas*); MEYER *Wb.* 220 (to *qas*); WEIGAND *BA* I 254 (to *ngjis*).

**ngjelmet** adj. 'salty, briny'. Another variant is *ngjelbet* < *ngjelmet*. The source of this word is PAIb \**en-salma* related to 1E \**sal-* 'salt': Gk 64, Lat *sal*, OIr *salann*, Arm *al* and the like (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 285). 0 JOKL *Studien* 64-65, *LKUBA* 231; AeAREAN *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 PAIb \**en-salima*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 298-299.

**ngjesh** aor. *ngjesha* 'to gird'. From PAIb \**en-jđuk* etymologically connected with Av *vcivhayeiti* id., Gk *cthvput* id., Lith *jtiošti* id., Slav \**jasati* 'to tear clothes' < \*'to tear into bands', \**po-jass* 'belt' (MEYER *Wb.* 308, *Alb. St.* III 39, 61). The development of PAIb \**-s-* to *-sh* is explained by the "ruki" rule rather than by derivation of *-sh-* from \**-sj-*. 0 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 *DIES* III/4 294-320; cABEJ *St.* VII 219; HULD 99, *KZ* CVII 169; OLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 129; OREL *FLH* VIII 11-2 38, *IF* XCIII 103; DEMIRAJ *AE* 299-300.

**ngjesh** aor. *ngjesha* 'to knead'. Derived from *gjesh*.

**ngjdroj** aor. *ngjerova* 'to try, to sample, to taste'. The corresponding Geg form is *gjinonj*. Borrowed from Lat *jejanare* 'to fast', with the further semantic development from 'not eat' to 'taste only'. The meaning 'to fast' is preserved by Geg *ngjinoj*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 308 (to *gjer*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

**ngjeroj** aor. *ngjerova* 'to encircle; to jump over, to wade through'. Another variant is *gjeroj*. 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 *gjere*. 0 SCHMIDT *KZ* L 241-242 (to Skt *sira* '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). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 308 (to Gk *idpxvoc* 'hoarseness' or E *hoarse*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 329 (to Gk *ickpxvoc*); cABEJ *St.* I 383 (to *shqerr*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 300-301.

**ngjis** aor. *ngjita* 'to stick to'. Continues PAIb \**en-gleitja* related to Lith *glijl4*, *glieti* 'to smear', *gliθs* 'sticky', Gk **yXot6**; 'sticky stuff' and similar (MEYER *Wb.* 309). 0 CAMARDA 1135 (to Gk *gyiceigat* 'to press upon'); BARK *ARSt* 62-63 (to Skt *sdjati*); FRAENKEL 157; FRISK I 312-313; POKORNY I 363; cABEJ *St.* VII 219, 243.

**ngjizem** refl. 'to clot, to curdle'. Derived from *gjize*.

**ngjok** aor. *ngjoka* 'to knock'. Derived from *qok* (cABEJ *St.* I 383). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 192 (derived from *kloke* '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). 0 CAMARDA I 67 (to Gk x w 'to pour'); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; cABEJ *St.* VII 225; HAARMANN 156.

**nine** 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 *nine* is *ninu//e* 'lullaby'.

**nip** m, pl. *nipa, niper* 'nephew, grandson'. Borrowed from Lat *nepos* 'grandson' (MIREOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 310). A rare case of a Latin loanword based not on the oblique stem *nepOtem* but on the restructured nom. sg. *\*nepos*. The vocalism of *nip* may reflect a relatively late borrowing from Dalm Lat *nepo* < Lat *nepos*. 0 CAMARDA I 200 (treats *nip* and Lat *nepos* as cognates); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 99 (from IE *\*nepOt-*), *Kelt. Gr.* I 92; BARTOLI *Dalm* II 414; JOKL *LKUBA* 15-28; SKOK *AArbSt.* 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 PAIb *\*neitfa* going back to IE *\*neiVjo* and related to Lith *su-nikti* 'to set upon, to attack', Slav *\*niknQti* 'to rise, to grow'. If this comparison is accepted, the dubious Greek parallel in wilco; 'quarrel, struggle' should be dropped. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 310 (from Gk *hcivicsa* 'to set off, to start out' - not without doubt); LAMBERTZ - PEKMEZI *Lesebuch* 107 (follow MEYER); BARIARSt 63 (to Gk > 'rcyicEiv'); FRAENKEL 503; FRISK II 297; VASMER III 74-75; cABEJ *St.* VII 258; OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

**nocke** f, pl. *nocka* 'knuckle, joint'. There exists a close form *nine* id. Unclear.

**nofke** f, pl. *nofka* 'nickname'. Borrowed from an unattested South Slavic

*\*nov.bka* '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' (cABEJ *St.* I 383-384), with a semantic evolution opposite to that of *buke*, cf. Ital dial. *gnoffele* 'jaw' of the same origin. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 310-311 (compares *nofull* with Ital *ganascia* 'jaw, jowl'; similarity with *offula* is accidental); BARD *AArbSt.* 1 150-151 (compound of *no-* related to Lat *gena* 'face, cheek' and of *-full* compared with Slav *\*jel'usth* 'jaw'); TREIMER *KZ LXV* 114 (to Skt *snapayati* 'to make wash'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 93-94.

**noker** adj. 'small, tiny'. Derivative of *\*noke* borrowed from Lat *innocuus* 'harmless, innocent'. 0 CAMARDA 1137 (to Gk *gtxp6*; id.); MEYER *Wb.* 311 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology).

**noshter** f, pl. *noshtra* 'sprout, young plant, sapling'. Borrowed from Rom *\*novaster* > Ital dial. *novastro* id. (JoRL *IF* XXXVI 98-100, *LKUBA* 212-213). 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 138; LANDI *Lat.* 129, 136.

**notoj** aor. *notova* 'to swim'. Borrowed from Rom *\*notare* replacing classical Lat *natare* id. (MIRLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 43-44; MEYER *Wb.* 311). 0 MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (from IE *\*sne-* id.); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 138.

110Zike f 'knife worn at the belt'. An early loanword from Slav *\*noiikw* unattested in South Slavic, a diminutive of *\*noft*, 'knife' (MEYER *Wb.* 311). Note a peculiar substitution of Slav 0 SVANE 85.

**nu** adv. 'when'. Continues PAIb *\*nu* etymologically identical with IE *\*nu* 'now': Skt *nu*, Gk *vuv*, Goth *nu*, OHG *nu* and the like. 0 FRISK II 325; KLUGE 515-516; FEIST *Goth.* 380; MAYRHOFER II 175; POKORNY 1770.

**nuhar** m, pl. *nuhare* 'lair of young deer'. Derivative of *nuhas*, cf. also its derivative *nuhuris* 'to track (of hounds)'. 0 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 *njuss'iti* id. (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). 0 SVANE 257.

nuk adv. 'not'. From PALb *\*nuka* composed of *\*nu* < IE *\*ne* colored under the influence of the following labiovelar and *\*ka* < *\*eo-*, 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'. 0 BOPP 490 (analyzes *nuk* as *ne* + an element identical with Gk *ovx`nor*); CAMARDA I 312 (follows BOPP); MEYER *Wb.* 304 (from Lat *nunquam* 'never' - phonetically impossible as Lat *-nqu-* may not yield *-k-*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3* I 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 207; MANN *Language* XXVI 385 (to Lat *nee*); CLACKSON *LR* 158; cABEJ *St.* VII 258; HULD 99-100.

nule f 'grandmother'. Borrowed from Rom *\*anulla* based on Lat *anus* 'old woman' (JoKL *LKUBA* 40-41). 0 BARD *AarbSt. II* 413 (against JOKL in view of the unrhottacized *n-*); TREIMER *Slavia* III 45 (agrees with BARD); cABEJ *St.* I 384 (from *nutlet* 'grandmother' based on *nun* 'grandfather, godfather' < NGk *vouvoc* 'godfather').

nulls f 'gum'. Borrowed from Lat *alveolum* in its later meaning as a word for a dental alveole. The Albanian form implies an earlier *\*lulle* with dissimilation of sonorants.

(G) nus m. 'thread, string'. Continues PALb *\*snutja* related to Skt *sncivan-* 'band, sinew' and other continuants of IE *\*snA-* 'to turn, to spin' (JOKL *Studien* 65), cf. in particular Skt *snuta-* 'of sinew'. 0 POKORNY 1977; DEMIRAJ *AE* 302 (to *nyej*).

nuse f, pl. *nuse* 'bride, young woman, younger daughter-in-law'. Singularized plural of *\*nuse*. Borrowed from Rom *\*naptia*, a local variant of Lat *nupta* 'married woman, wife, bride'; for the formation cf. *naptiae* 'wedding' (MEYER *Wb.* 312). 0 GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 23 (to Skt *snusci* '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 *\*nusja*), *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 *\*nuka*); JOKL *LKUBA* 14, *Balkangerm.* 132; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 207-208, *Stratificazione* 119 (reconstructs *\*snusie*); ERNOUT-MEILLET 452; SZEMERENYI *Syncope* 319; CHANTRAINE 760; PoLAK *Orbis* XVI 137-138 (to Mingr *nosa, nis* 'daughter-in-law'); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 89; cABEJ *St.* VII 258; HULD 100 (derives *nuse* from IE *\*nubh-tja*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 302-303 (to dialectal Rom *\*nunta* 'bride', *\*nuntiae* 'marriage').

nxeh aor. *nxeha* 'to heat, to warm'. Another variant is *nxej*. Continues PALb *\*en-dzerska* related to *zjarr* (MEYER *Wb.* 485). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 84 (to *dhez*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 308; cABEJ *St.* VII 217, 239.

exit aor. *nxita* 'to urge, to stimulate, to hurry'. There also exists *zit* id. From PALb *\*clicita* related to IE *\*gi-* 'to live': Skt *jivati*, Lat *vivo* and similar (MANN *Language* XXVIII 36). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 302 (to Skt *dryad* 'to fly, to soar'), 485 (from SCr *zatka*); JOKL *Melanges Pederesen* 150-151 (to *nxeh* and *ndez*); MAYRHOFER I 439; WALDE-HOFMANN II 808-810; POKORNY I 467-469; cABEJ *St.* I 385-386, II 327 (prefixal derivative of *cys*); HAMP *SGI* 89 (from *\*giuVt-*, semantically cf. E *quick*).

nxjerr aor. *nxorra* 'to pull out, to draw out'. A prefixal derivative of *cjerr* (CAMARDA I 43). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 70 (derived from *djerr*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 325 (derived from *bie*); HAMP *Sprache* XXX/2 157 (follows PEDERSEN), *Munch. St. Spr.* XLI 52; cABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (agrees with MEYER); DEMIRAJ *AE* 303-304 (to *ngre*).

nyc adj. 'hard, strong; gnarled'. Derived from *nyell*.

nyell m, pl. *nyej* 'ankle, gnarl, knot'. Borrowed from Lat *nOdulus* 'little knot'.

nyje f, pl. *nyje, neje* 'knot'. Singularized plural (originally, *nye*) of *ne* borrowed from Lat *nOculus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 302). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3* 2 11046; JOKL *Studien* 60 (on *-y-*), *LKUBA* 64-65; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387, XXVIII 32; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV* 11-2 18; cABEJ *St.* VII 272, 276; HAARMANN 138; LANDI *Lat.* 64-65.

nytdroj aor. *nyterova* 'to murmur, to whisper'. Borrowed, with a dis-



similation of sonorants, from Lat *reiterare* 'to repeat'. 0 CABO *St. I* 386 (onomatopoeia).

## Nj

**njegull** f 'fog, mist'. A dialectal phonetic variant of *mjegull* (cABEJ *St. I* 386). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 283-284 (from Lat *nebula* 'log'); JOKL *Studien* 57.

**njuh njef** aor. *njeha njefa* 'to count, to consider'. From PAIb *\*nemska* further connected with IE *\*nem-* 'to divide, to take, to arrange, to count', cf. Gk *v61.to* 'to divide', Goth *niman* 'to take', Lat *numerus* 'member, element, number' and *nummus* 'coin, money' (OREL *IF XLIII* 113-114). 0 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 302-304; POKORNY 1763-764.

**njeri** m, pl. *njerez* 'man, person, human being'. A more archaic form of sg. *njer* is preserved in Geg dialects. Goes back to PAIb *\*nera* further connected with Skt *ndr-* 'man', Gk *siviip* id., Arm *ayr* id. (BoPP 461-462; GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 23; CAMARDA I 186; MEYER *Wb.* 313, *Alb. St. III* 66, 71). Note a rare plural in *-ez* < *\*-adja* (JOKL *LKUBA* 89). 0 PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht IX* 242; JOKL *Studien* 102; MAREAN *HAB I* 173-174; FRISK 1107-108; 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 *Zfl3alk XXIII* 142; DEMIRAJ *AE* 304-305.

**njerke** f, pl. *njerka* 'stepmother'. Borrowed from Lat *noverca* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 313). The masculine form *njerki* is built on the basis of *njerke* (cABEJ *St. I* 386). 0 MEYER-LIAKE *Gr. Grundrij3*<sup>2</sup> 11043, 1048; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 18; HAARMANN 138.

**njethet** refl. 'to fertilize, to be fertile, to grow, to bud'. From *\*ngjethet*, derivative of *gjethe*.

**nje nji** num. 'one'. From PAIb *\*ainja*, a derivative of IE *\*oi-no-* id.: Lat *anus*, Goth *ains*, OPrus *ains* and the like (CAMARDA I 169). 0 MEYER

*Wb.* 313-314 (prefers an erroneous comparison with Skt *anyd-* 'other', Gk *Ev tot* 'some'), *Alb. St.* III 66; BARB *ARSt* 64-65 (from *\*n-sem-*); HAMP *Anc. IE* 113 (follows MEYER and connects *nje* 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. *\*smieH*); OREL *FLH VIII/1-2* 39; HAMP *Numerals* 903-904; CLACKSON *LR* 175.

**njice** f, pl. *njica* 'big fishing net'. From *\*ngjice*, derived from *ngjis* in view of the expression (*peshku*) *ngjis* '(the fish) sticks to the net' = 'gets into the net' (cABEJ *St. I* 386-387).

**njile** f, pl. *njila* 'tench'. A dialectal form of *ngjale* (cABEJ *St. I* 387).

**njuh njof** aor. *njoha njofa, njova* 'to know'. From PAIb *\*gnaska* related to IE *\*gena-* *\*gna-* id., cf. particularly, Gk *tytvthaia.o.*, Epidaur Lat (*g*)*nasco* (GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 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 *cnðwan* id. < *\*gne-u-* (OREL *Zfflalk XXII/1* 82-83). 0 ASCOLI *KZ XVII* 351; BARIe *ARSt* 65-66; FRISK I 308-309; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 339 (reconstructs *\*gne-sk-*), *Kelt. Gr.* II 547; LINDEMAN *IF LXXI* 283 (to ON *knd, knegum* < Gmc *\*kne-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; ANTTILA *Schw.* 71; cABEJ *St. VII* 239; HULD 101-102 (clumsy reconstruction of a causative *\*gnoH-eskoH*); KLINGENSCHMITT *Munch. St. Spr.* XL 130; OREL *IF XCIII* 113; DEMIRAJ *AE* 305-306 (similar vocalism in Hitt *gana-* 'to know').

**njolle** f, pl. *njolla* 'spot, mark, stain'. Dialects preserve a more archaic form *ngjolle*. From PAIb *\*en-sala* related to ON *sQlr* 'dirty', Oh *sal* 'dirt' (JOKL *Studien* 65-66). 0 VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 47 (to *njuh*); VENDRYES [S] 16; POKORNY I 879; cABEJ *St. I* 387 (to *ngjeyj*).

**ngjome ngjome, nglome** adj. 'wet'. The verb *ngjom* 'to make wet' is derived from the adjective. Based on PAIb *\*glaima* related to OE *cldm* 'clay', Lith *gle'imes* 'slime' and other continuants of IE *\*g/ei-* (JOKL *Studien* 66). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 315 (borrowed from Lat *ungua* 'to spread, to smear'); POKORNY I 364; cABEJ *St. I* 387-388 (verbal adjective of



*ngjyej*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 306-307 (to Goth *hnasqus* 'soft, fine' or to OHG *naz*

## O

**oborr** m, pl. *oborre* 'yard, court'. Borrowed from Slav *\*obvorb* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *obor*, SCr *obor* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 314). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 210; SELISTEV *Slay. 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 *afshe*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 3 (to *afe* 'breath').

**ofshe** f, pl. *ofsha* 'curse'. Derived from *ofsh*. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 220.

**ograj8** 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-*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 315 (to SCr *ograda* 'fence, yard'); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 305-306 (from Chakavian *ograja*); ; SELIKEV *Slay. naselenie* 159; RUSAKOV *Lk* 1982 195; SVANE 58.

**oker** f 'kind of grain, Einkorn'. Borrowed from Gk *Clixpog* 'birds' pease, *Lathyrus Ochrus*' (cABEJ *St.* I 389) or, rather, from substantivized thXPOS 'pale-yellow'. 0 MitaEsCu *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk *siagov*).

**°kite** f 'frost or snow (on tree branches)'. Borrowed from Slav *\*ob(-b)kytb* id., cf. SCr *okit* id. (DESNICKAJA *Slay. zaim.* 14).

**okoll** adv. 'around'. Borrowed from Slav *\*okolb* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *okol*, SCr *oko, okolo* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 22; MEYER *Wb.* 315). 0 BERNEKER I 548; SELIKEV *Slay. naselenie* 197, 303; cABEJ *St.* I 389 (local borrowing from Serbo-Croatian); SVANE 271.

**opine** f, pl. *opinga* 'sandal'. Other variants are *opange, openge*. Borrowed from Slav *\*ob(b)pbn7.17*, 'sandal, shoe', cf. SCr *opanak* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 315). 0 SELIGTEV *Slay. nase-*

*lenie* 175-176; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 13; cABEJ *St.* VII 216; FLORESCU *REF* IX/6 594 (on the Dacian origin of this type of sandals); SVANE 100.

**orendi** p1. 'equipment, utensils'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*orQdbje* id. (CABEJ *St.* I 389). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 316 (from Ital *arredo* 'fittings, furnishings'); SELIKEV *Slay. naselenie* 173, 192; SVANE 65.

**orok m** 'time, term, limit, appointment'. Borrowed from Slav *\*ob(7.)rokv* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *obrok*, SCr *obrok*. Note that *oroqe* 'wish' is a singularized plural of *orok*. 0 SVANE 176.

**orrl m** 'eagle, buzzard'. Borrowed from Slav *\*orbh*, id., cf. Bulg *orel*, SCr *orao* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 316). 0 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'.

**osht8** f, pl. *oshta* 'pole, drawbar'. Borrowed from Slav *\*ojiSte* id.: Bulg *othe*, SCr *ojike* (MEYER *Wb.* 316). 0 SVANE 29.

**otave** f 'second crop of hay'. Borrowed from Slav *\*otava* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *otava*, SCr *otava* (DESNICKAJA *Slay. zaim.* 11). 0 SVANE 41.

## P

**pa** prep. 'without', conj. 'before, then', particle 'let' (in imperative). From PAIb *\*apa* reflecting IE *\*apo*: Skt *dpa* 'away, off', Gk &no 'from', Goth of 'from' and, in particular, Lith *pa-* (prefix), Slav *\*po* 'on, along' (BoPP 500; CAMARDA I 320; MEYER *Wb.* 317, *Alb. St.* III 30). 0 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; cABEJ *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

Slav *\*padati* 'to fall', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *pada*, SCr *padati* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 317). 0 SELIKEY *Slay. nase-lenie* 181, 294; JOKL *Slavia XIII* 303 (from Slav *\*pQditi*); SVANE 238.

pagezqj aor. *pagezova* 'to baptise'. A parallel form is *pakezqj*. Borrowed from Lat *baptizare* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 317, *Alb. St.* IV 25). The unusual development of *\*bapt-* > *\*pagt-* is a combination of a dissimilation and shift of voicedness. 0 CAMARDA 1139 (to Gk (3ouctgco id.); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 6 (from Italian); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 538; MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrif3*<sup>2</sup> 11055; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 212; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 13; HAARMAN 112; cABEJ *St.* II 5-6.

pah m 'scab, dust'. From PALb *\*pauja* connected with IE *\*peu-* 'to blow up' and, in particular, with Arm *hogi* 'breath' < IE *\*poktfo-* (OREL *FLH V111/1-2* 45). 0 KRISTOFORIDHI 304 (to Gk rc6xvi 'frost'); AeAREAN *HAB III* 107-108; POKORNY I 847; cABEJ *St.* IV 80.

paje f 'side, party, dowry'. Also attested as *pale*. Historically identical with *pale* 'pair'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 318 (in the meaning 'dowry', borrowed from Lat *pallium* 'cover, coverlet'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 212 (*paje* 'dowry' from Ital *patio* 'prize, reward'); HAARMANN 140.

pajt prep. 'thanks to'. Borrowed from Lat abl. *pactO*, cf. *hoc pacto* 'this way', *alio pacto* 'otherwise' and the like. 0 cABEJ *St.* II 6 (from *\*per and- to* 'from the side of').

pajtoj aor. *pajtova* 'to appease, to reconcile, to hire, to engage'. Other variants are *paqoj*, *paqtoj*. Borrowed from Rom *\*pactare* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 45; MEYER *Wb.* 319) in which derivatives of Lat *pax* 'peace' and *paciscor* 'to make a bargain' have converged (CAMARDA I 105). 0 GIL' FERDING *Otm.* 26; MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifl*<sup>2</sup> 1 1054; JOKL *LKUBA* 324 (on *-jt-* < Lat *-ct-*), *RIEB II* 64 (Albanian derivative in *-toj* of *paq*); DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 56-60; cABEJ *St.* II 6-7 (follows JOKL *RIEB*); HAARMANN 139; LANDI *Lat.* 83-85.

pak adv. 'a little, few'. Borrowed from Lat *paucus* 'few, little' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 48; CAMARDA I 53; MEYER *Wb.* 318). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> 1 1047; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 212; MANN *Language XXVI* 382; MIHAESCURESEE IV/1-2 24; HULD 102; HAARMANN 59, 141; LANDI *Lat.* 72.

pake f, pl. *pake* 'side of ham, buttock'. Borrowed from West Gmc *\*bakkon* 'ham, flitch' (Frankish *bako*, OHG *bahho*), derivative of Gmc *\*bakan* 'back' (cABEJ *St.* II 7).

palavi f, pl. *palavi* 'obscenity; pus'. Two historically unrelated homonyms of which one *palavi* 'pus' is a compound of *pa-* 'not' and *laj*, cf. *palare* 'unwashed' (MEYER *Wb.* 237) and another *palavi* 'obscenity' continues NGk itaX, CcPpa 'talking big', of Romance origin. 0 cABEJ *St.* II 8 (treats both words as one compound *pa-lay-* 'dirty, unwashed').

Rice f 'marrow, pith'. Note that the same word appears as *pa/se* and *palez* (JOKL *LKUBA* 115, 284). Derived from *pale* 'pair; fold'. Semantically, an important *tertium comparationis* is found in Slavic parallels of *pale* - 'half' and *\*poll*, 'hollow', since *palce* designates a substance with which hollow spaces in a bone or a plant are filled (OREL *Linguistica XXIV* 430-431). 0 VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 47-48; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 213.

pale part. 'even so, anyway' (in request or indirect speech). A sequence of two particles, *pa* and *le* (KRISTOFORIDHI 299). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 319 (to Slav *\*le*); cABEJ *St.* II 8 (follows KRISTOFORIDHI).

pale f, pl. *pale* 'pair; fold; group, class, party'. Goes back to PALb *\*paid* further related to Slav *\*poll*. 'half; hollow', Lat *palam* 'evidently, manifestly', Hitt *paltti-* 'wide' (JOKL *Studien* 66-67, 83; OREL *Linguistica XXIV* 431). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 320 (to Gk icaoptat 'to turn' but the Greek word belongs to IE *\*leel-*), *Alb. St.* III 30; JOKL *Studien* 83 (compares with *shpall* 'to declare' but this verb is a phonetic variant of *shperrall*, derived from *perralle* < Lat *parabola*); MANN *Language XVII* 18 (to Gk St-icX6oc); POKORNY I 803-805, 985-986; WALDE-HOFMANN II 237; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 24 (from Lat *pa/a*); HULD 143, 147 (from *\*polteH*); OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 308-309 (to ON *fel* 'fold').

palnje f, pl. *palnja* 'maple'. Other variants are *panje*, *penje*. Borrowed from Rom *\*pldtania* derived from Lat *platanus* 'plane-tree', with a metathesis in the first syllable. As shown by an Albanian loanword in Rum *paltin* 'maple' < *\*palten*, the form *platanus* was also borrowed.

0 MEYER *Wb.* 332 (from SCr *panj* 'stump'); PUSCARIU *EWB* 109; JOKL *LKUBA* 188-190 (to Lat *palpare* 'to stroke, to pat'); cABEJ *St.* II 9 (cognate of Gk *iaCcravoc*, Lat *platanus*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 309-310.

**pall** aor. *palla* 'to bray, to bellow'. A variant of *perrall* 'to jest, to trifle' with compensatory long [a:] reflecting the fall of an intervocalic consonant. For the phonetic development cf. *shpall*. 0 CAMARDA I 240 (to Lat *palam* 'evidently, manifestly'); JOKL *Studien* 83-84 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); cABEJ *St.* II 9-10 (adds non-existent Tokh *pal-* 'to celebrate').

**pale** f, pl. *papa* 'pole, club, washing-stick, sword, mallet'. Borrowed from Lat *pala* 'spade, shovel' (MEYER *Wh.* 319-320). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* I 1042; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 111.

**pane** f 'rest, quiet'. In a phrase *bej palle* 'to rest, to be quiet'. Borrowed from Gk *noctia* 'rest, pause'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 320 (from NGk *Icc62tAx*).

**pam** particle. A synonym of *pa*, it is a compound of *pa* and *me* (cABEJ *St.* 11 10).

**pameta** adv. 'again'. A parallel form is *pameta*. A compound of *pa* and *meta* 'again', from NGk *gEta* 'afterwards' (CAMARDA I 310; MEYER *Wb.* 270). 0 LAMBERTZ *KZ* LIII 295; cABEJ *St.* 1110.

**pandere** f 'apron, embroidered sash'. Borrowed from Rom *\*panticarium* based on Lat *pantex* 'paunch', cf. a semantically different but formally close Rum *pIntecaraie* 'diarrhea' (MEYER *Wb.* 320). 0 cABEJ *St.* 11 10-11 (borrowed from Ital dial. *bandiera bandera* 'flag').

**paq m** 'peace'. Borrowed from Lat *pacem* id. (CAMARDA I 305; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 48; MEYER *Wh.* 318-319). 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 47, V 97; MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* I 1041, 1048, 1051; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; cABEJ *St.* II 11; HAARMANN 139.

**paqyll** adj. 'dull, limited, stupid'. Derived from *pak*. 0 cABEJ *St.* II 11 (a prefixal derivative in *pa-* < *\*po-* of *gull, gullet*).

**par m**, pl. *par* 'pair'. Borrowed from Lat *parem* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 321).

0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* I 11042; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 140.

**para** adv., prep. 'before'. A parallel form is *pare*. From PAIb *\*para* related to IE *\*per-* 'before, forward': *OHGfuri*, *Latprae* and the like (CAMARDA I 303; MEYER *Wb.* 321-322). This word appears as a first element in such compounds as *paravesh* 'slap in the face' (cABEJ *St.* II 12), *pardje* 'the day before yesterday' (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 214) and the like. 0 BOPP 503 (to *pare*); PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* 213; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 107-108; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 214; WALDE-HOFMANN II 351; POKORNY I 812; WATKINS *IER* 49-50; cABEJ *St.* III 193; HAMP *Numerals* 904-905 (reconstructs IE *\*prH-uo-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 310.

**pare** f, pl. *pare* 'fish scale'. A singularized plural of *\*par* continuing PAIb *\*para*, a deverbative related to Lith *perili*, *pefti* 'to strike', Slav *\*pore*, *\*perti* 'to press'. 0 FRAENKEL 578; VASMER III 240; POKORNY I 818-819.

**pare** adj. 'first'. From PAIb *\*para* etymologically identical with and derived from the adverb *para* (CAMARDA I 303). The adjective *parme* 'front' is derived from *pare*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 321-322 (connection with *para* and Indo-European words for 'first': Lith *pirmas* and the like), *Alb. St.* III 30, 71; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544; Joxi, *IF* XXXVII 108 (to Skt *pdruva-* id.), *Sprache* IX 141; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 214; PORZIG *Gliederung* 186; MANN *Language* XVII 18; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82, *BSL* LXVI 223, *LB* XXIV/3 48; OLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 133; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 68; HULD 68; DEMIRAJ *AE* 311.

**parmende V parmende** f, pl. *parmenda parmenda* 'plow'. Borrowed from Rom *\*peramentum*, cf. Lat *perarare* 'to plow through, to scratch' (MEYER *Wb.* 322). 0 JOKL *IF* XXXVI 155, *LKUBA* 136 (agrees with MEYER); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 30; HAARMANN 111; cABEJ *St.* II 12 (from Rom *\*paramentum* or Lat *appamentum* 'preparation').

**parzem** f, pl. *parzma* 'breast'. A parallel form, *parmez*, reflects the original structure of the word, a derivative in *-ez* of *parme*, cf. *pare* (cABEJ *St.* II 12-13). 0 MEYER *Wh.* 322 (to Slav *\*pbrsi* 'trease'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 48 (from Lat *parma* 'kind of shield'); SKOK *RIEB* I 298

(against MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 215-216 (follows MEYER), *Stratificazione* 94; cABEJ *St.* VII 187, 204.

**parriz** m 'paradise'. Borrowed from Lat *paradisus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Lat. Elemente* 593). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 322 (from hal *paradiso* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 214-215 (follows MIKLOSICH); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; cABEJ *St.* II 13-14 (loss of the intervocalic *-d-* as characteristic of Latin loanwords); HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 109.

**pas** adv., prep. 'after, behind'. A parallel form is *mbar*. Goes back to PAIb *\*(en) apa tš7* continuing IE *\*(en) apo rid*. For the etymology of components see *pa* and *ce*. 0 BOPP 500 (to Skt *paśeel-* 'back, posterior'); GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 21 (same as BOPP); MEYER *Wb.* 322-323 (same as BOPP), *Alb. St.* III 13, 30; PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 250, *KZ* XXXVI 311 (to *pa* and *-s* as in *mos*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 184; LA PIANA *Studi* I 33; ERNOUT-MEILLET 527; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387 (to Gk *mutt* 'against, towards'), XXVIII 32; RAMP *KZ* LXXV 23 (to Lith *paskui* 'behind'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 311-312.

**pash** m, pl. *pash* 'fathom, pace, outstretched arms'. Borrowed from Lat *passus* 'step, pace' (Milaosicx *Rom. Elemente* 47; MEYER *Wb.* 323). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* I 1041; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 139, 148-149.

**pashke** f, pl. *pashke* 'Easter'. Borrowed from Lat *Pasqua* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 47; MEYER *Wb.* 324). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 216; IVITHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 120, 147.

**pashnik** m, pl. *pashnike* 'cloth, cover, towel'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav *\*pašniki...* 0 MEYER *Wb.* 323 (from Turk *başlık* 'hood'); cABEJ *St.* 11 14 (derived from *parce* segmented from *perparce*).

**pashtrak** m 'pasture rent, pasturage money'. Borrowed from Rom *\*pasturacus* based on Lat *pastura* 'pasture'. 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; cABEJ *St.* II 14-15 (from Rom *\*pastaratieus*); HAARMANN 140.

**pate** f, pl. *paw* 'goose'. A cultural *Wanderwort* attested in Slavic as well as in Romance, cf. Spanish *pata* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 324). 0 GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 23 (to Skt *pata-ga-* 'bird'); MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28

(from Slavic); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 216 (from Slavic); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 244 (from SCr *patok*).

**patkua patkue** m, pl. *patkonj* 'horseshoe'. Borrowed from Slav *\*pochkov7*, id., a morphological variant of the more widespread *\*podikova* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; OREL *LB* XXIX/4 70). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 349-350 (from Slav *\*pochkova*); SELIKEV *Slav. naselenie* 306, 326; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 641 (from Slav *\*pocibkova*); RAMP *LB* XIV/2 13; SVANE 85.

**pe pe** m, pl. *penj, penje, pejna* 'thread'. Borrowed from Lat '*anus* 'thread wound upon the bobbin' (MEYER *Wh.* 331). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* I 1041; JOKL *Zb. Belie* 44; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 218; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (from IE *\*petino-*); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 140.

**pee** adj. 'shortsighted, blind'. Continues PAIb *\*paitsa* (with the preserved affricate as in some other cases) related to ON *feigr* 'close to death', Lith *parkas* 'stupid' from IE 0 POKORNY I 794.

**pece** f, pl. *peca* 'cloth, rag, napkin'. From PAIb *\*paitsa* related to Gk *moticoloc* 'multicolored', OHG *feh* id., Slav *\*phstr7*, id. For the semantic development cf. Slav *\*gun'a* 'cloth' borrowed from Iran *\*gaunya-* 'multicolored'. 0 POKORNY I 795; VASMER III 251.

(G) **pejne** f 'fringe'. Singularized plural of *pe* (MANN *HAED* 358). 0 CANDREA-DENSUIANU 1378 (borrowed from Rom *\*pedinus* > Rum *pedin* 'fringe' > Alb *pedim* id.); cABEJ *St.* 11 16 (repeats MANN'S etymology).

**pejze** f, pl. *pejza* 'muscle, sinew, string'. Derivative of *pe*. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 273.

**pek** m, pl. *peqe* 'worry, concern'. Based on Slav *\*pekti sg* 'to worry, to care' (MEYER *Wb.* 324).

**pelene** f, pl. *pelena* 'diaper'. Borrowed from Slav *\*pelena* 'cover, napkin', cf. South Slavic continuants: *Bulgpelena*, SCr *pelena* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 326). 0 SVANE 96.

**pelt** f, pl. *pela* 'mare'. From PAIb \**pOua* related to Gk *nao*; 'foal', Goth *fula* id. (XYLANDER 279; CAMARDA I 172; MEYER Wb. 326). 0 STIER KZ XI 147; MEYER *Alb. St. III* 88; JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 83 (reconstructs \**palna* with \**-ln-* > *-I-*); TAGLIAVANI *Dalmazia* 218 (agrees with JOKL), *Stratificazione* 139; MANN *Language XXVI* 386-387; BARIC *Hymje* 22; FRISK II 634; CHANTRAINE 961; POKORNY I 843; FEIST *Goth.* 170-171; PORZIG *Gliederung* 150; SCHMIDT *Sybaris* 134; cABEJ *Die Sprache XVIII* 153, *St. II* 16; HULD 102 (beware of the inaccurately summarized literature!); OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 314.

**pelin** m 'wormwood'. Borrowed from Slav \**pelytrb* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *pelin*, SCr *pelin* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 28; MEYER Wb. 326). 0 SELISCEV *Slay. naselenie* 163; SVANE 109.

**pelq** aor. *pelqa* 'to stir up (water)'. Goes back to PAIb \**pelkja* related to Lith *pelketi* 'to become marshy', *pelke* 'marsh, swamp', Latv *peke* 'puddle', *Mat* 'to urinate'. 0 FRAENKEL 567; POKORNY I 805.

**pelle** f, pl. *pella* 'comb'. From PAIb \**petsla*, a derivative in \**-/-* related to Gk *Tcka* 'to comb', Lith *pUti* 'to pull, to pluck', Lat *pecten* 'comb'. 0 FRISK II 492-493; FRAENKEL 580-581; WALDE-HOFMANN II 269-270; POKORNY I 797.

**pellg** m, pl. *pellgje* 'pond, pool, depth'. In Old Albanian the word is preserved as *pelleg* (*BuzuKu*, *Bum*). Borrowed from Gk *naayo*; 'high sea' (OLBERG *SPhAen* 43). 0 CAMARDA I 40 (unspecified connection with Gk *naayoc*); LOEWENTHAL *WuS X* 176 (related to Gk *itaocyo*); MEYER *Alb. Studien I* 24 (related to Lith *pelke* 'marsh, swamp'), Wb. 326 (borrowed from NGk *naayog*); BARD *AArbStar I* 151-152 (from \**pa-leuga* compared with *legate* and Slav \**luM*); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87; PORZIG *Gliederung* 151; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom. II* 337; RosErn *ILR* 273 (related to Rum *hilt* 'marsh'); GINDIN *Form. SN* 60; cABEJ *St. II* 16-17; OREL *RRL XXX/2* 105-106 (agrees with LOEWENTHAL).

**peme** f, pl. *peme* 'fruit-tree, fruit'. Borrowed from Lat *pornum* 'fruit', *pOmus* 'fruit-tree' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER Wb. 326). 0 CAMARDA II 190 (to Gk *itbrca* 'to ripen'); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1039; MANN *Language XXVI* 387;

*MmikEscU RESEE IV/1-2* 19; HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 64.

**pendar** m, pl. *pendare* 'watchman'. An early borrowing from Slav \**pyclarb* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *pidar*, SCr *pudar* (MEYER Wb. 332). 0 SELISCEV *Slay. naselenie* 181, 291; SVANE 197.

**pendd** f, pl. *pende* 'feather; pair (of oxen)'. Borrowed from Lat *pinna*, *penna* 'feather' (CAMARDA II 73; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 48; MEYER Wb. 326). The second meaning 'pair of oxen' seems to be a metaphoric derivative of Lat *penna* 'plumage' or the like. Note *pendull* id. and *penell* derived from *pende* (*r,ABEJ St. II* 17). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1050; SCHMIDT KZ LVII 178 (to Lith *spdndau* 'to stretch'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 218; CANDREA-DENSU-SIANU 199 (*pendull* from Lat *pinnula* 'little plume'); JOKL *LKUBA* 302 n. 1 (*penell* borrowed from Lat *pinnula*); MANN *Language XVII* 20-21, XXVI 386; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 65; MmAEscu *RESEE IV/1-2* 18; HAARMANN 142; LANDI *Lat.* 58, 135; DEMIRAJ *AE* 314-315.

**pendoj** aor. *pendova* 'to repent'. Borrowed from Lat *poenitere* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER Wb. 332). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1048; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 27; HAARMANN 143.

**penez** m, pl. *peneza* 'silver coin (used as ornament)'. Borrowed from Slav \**peneclzt*, 'coin', preserved in South Slavic as Bulg *penez*, SCr *penez* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 28; MEYER Wb. 327). 0 SELIKEV *Slay. naselenie* 176, 182; SVANE 90.

**peng** m, pl. *pengje* 'pledge, pawn'. Borrowed from Lat *pignus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50; MEYER Wb. 327). 0 JOKL *Studien* 68 (to *pende*); SKOK *AArbSt II* 341-344; MEYER-LUBKE *AArbSt III* 205-206; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 113 (suffix -g); MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 24; cABEJ *St. VII* 254; HAARMANN 142; LANDI *Lat.* 125, 130, 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 314.

**penge** f, pl. *penga* 'fettors (for horse)'. Borrowed from Lat *pedica* 'shackle, fetter' with a secondary inlaut nasal (Mnaostai *Rom. Elemente* 48; MEYER Wb. 327). 0 cABEJ *St. VII* 254; HAARMANN 141.

**perndoj** aor. *perendova* 'to set (of the sun)'. A difficult word from which *perendi* 'god' is derived. Borrowed from Lat *parentare* 'to bring

a sacrifice (to the dead), to satisfy' or, rather, from its passive correlate *parentarr*. 0 BOPP 341 (*perendi* < Lat *imperantem*, phonetically difficult, cf. *mbret*); CAMARDA 1341-342 (unsuccessful attempt of segmenting the word as *per-endi*); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 32 (agrees with BOPP); JOKL LKUBA 13 (derives *perendoj* from *ane*); MEYER *Wb.* 328 (parallelism between *dielli perendon* and NGk o ii to; (3aaaci)et leading to the derivation of *perendi* from Lat *imperantem*); PEDERSEN *BB XX* 229 (to Slav *\*peruni*); LOEWENTHAL *ANF XXIX* 99 (same as PEDERSEN); HASDEU *EMR II* 495; HESSELING *Neophilologus V* 165-169 (*dielli perendon* as a calque from Greek); PISANI *IF LXXIX* 152-153, *Saggi* 124; POKORNY I 54; FRAENKEL 635; GINDIN *Onom.* 87; cABEJ *St. II* 17-20; NEROZNAK *BF* 84-87; MOUTSOS *ZfBalk VIII/1-2* 148-160 (same as HESSELING); HAARMANN 130; OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 151-152 (derived from *rende rande*).

pesd pesd num. 'five'. From Palb *\*pentS'e* going back to IE *\*penk'e* 'five': Skt *pañca*, Gk τριπτε, Lat *quinque* and the like (BOPP 512; GILFERDING *Otn.* 24; CAMARDA I 169 without explanation of *-se*; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 307-309). 0 MEYER *Alb. St. II* 47-48, *Wb.* 329 (from *\*penk'lia*), *Alb. St. III* 5, 25, 30; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr. I* 37; JOKL *Realex. Vorgesch. I* 89, *Melanges Pedersen* 157-158, *Sprache IX* 123; SCHMIDT *KZ LVII* 26; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 218-219 (follows PEDERSEN); LA PIANA *Studi* 1 72; PISANI *Saggi* 102; FRISK II 506-507; MANN *Language XXVIII* 32; MAYRHOFER 11 187; WALDE-HOFMANN II 407-408; POKORNY I 808; OLBERG *IBK XIV* 109-110; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 79, *Numerals* 910-911; HULD 102-103 (admits the conflation of *\*penlee* and *\*ptdcli*); KLINGENSCHMITT *Munch. St. Spr.* XL 126, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 227; DEMIRAJ *AE* 315-316.

pestle f, pl. *pesha* 'weight; stone, boulder'. Borrowed from Lat *pensum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 49; MEYER *Wb.* 336). 0 PEDERSEN *IF V* 47 (*peshe* 'stone' - to Skt *pathsti-* 'crumbling soil' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 219; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 18; CABEJ *St. II* 20-21; HAARMANN 141.

peshk m, pl. *peshq, pishq* 'fish'. Borrowed from Lat *piscem* id. (GILFERDING *Otn.* 26; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50; MEYER *Alb. St. IV* 125, *Wb.* 329). In singular, *-k-* (instead of *-q-*) may result from the restructuring of the Albanian paradigm or from a morphological change in Romance. 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1043 (from Italian); TAGLI-

AVINI *Dalmazia* 219; HAARMANN 46; HAMP *KZ LXXVII* 256-257 (*peshk* as an indigenous form!), *JIES I* 512; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 19; CABEJ *St. II* 21-22 (the morphological development and the original paradigm of *peshk*); HULD 103; HAARMANN 142; LANDI *Lat.* 57, 120, 144.

peshkop m, pl. *peshkope* 'bishop of the Orthodox church'. Borrowed from Lat *episcopus* 'bishop'.

pete f, pl. *pete, peta* 'layer (of a flaky pâté); metal plate; flat stone'. From Palb *\*pati-* 'flat object' to be compared with IE *\*pet-* . *\*peta-* 'to stretch': Gk nErsivv.up.i id., Lat *paten* 'to stretch, to be spread' and the like (OREL *Linguistica XXIV* 431-432). One of the derivatives of *pete* is *petull* 'small flat stone' (DESNICKAJA *Slay. jaz. VIII* 153). Note also *pate* 'plectrum' < Palb *\*pata*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 330; POKORNY I 824-825; FRISK II 520; WALDE-HOFMANN II 262.

petk m, pl. *petka* 'clothes, garment'. A parallel form is *petke*. From Palb *\*patika*, derivative of *pete* (CAMARDA 180; OREL *Linguistica XXIV* 431-432). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 330 (related to Goth *paida xtrihv*, Gk (3cciti peasant leather clothes'); JOKL LKUBA 215-216, *RIEB II* 73-75 (derived from *pjete*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 219; TREIMER *KZ LXV* 88-89; XHUVANI *BSbkSb VI/2* 32; POKORNY I 92-93; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 113 (suffix *-ke*); OREL *Balkanica* 114 (with unvoicing from *\*baita*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 316.

pezem m 'inflammation, irritation, sorrow, anger'. Derived from an unattested *\*peze* (cf. *buzem* from *buzē*), itself a form in *-ze* related to *pjek*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 336 (reconstructs *\*per-ze-* to be compared with Slav *\*s7,-met()* 'to sweep away'); KRISTOFORIDH1305 (from Gk *rceiuga* 'persuasion, confidence'); CABEJ *St. II* 22 (follows KRISTOFORIDHI).

pegej pugaj aor. *pegeVa pugana* 'to make dirty, to soil'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*poganiti* id. The adjective *pegere pagan* 'filthy' goes back to Slav *\*poganr*, 'pagan, unclean, filthy' while the Geg form *pegam* 'soiled' is a regular participle of *peganj* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 29). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 46 (from Lat *pc7gannus* 'pagan'); MEYER *Wb.* 331 (follows MIKLOSICH); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1042; THUMB *IF XXVI* 55-57; JOKL LKUBA 132 (from

Balkan Romance); cABEJ *St.* VII 213; HAARMANN 139, 210; LAND! *Lat.* 48, 80.

pelcas aor. *plasa*, *pelcita* 'to burst, to explode'. Derived from *plas*. Preserves an archaic *-c-* < *\*-tj-*. 0 PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 337 (to Germ *platzen*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 324 (from *\*plasas*).

pelhure f, pl. *peElhura* 'cloth, stuff'. Other variants are *plehure*, *plihure*, *pluhure*. Derivative of *plah*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 343 (to *plaf*); JOKL *Studien* 69-70 (follows MEYER and links *plaf* and *pelhure* to *LatplectO* 'to plait'); cABEJ *St.* VII 215, 230; DEMIRAJ *AE* 316.

**pelqej** aor. *pelqeva* 'to please'. Borrowed from Lat *placere* id. (CAMARDA I 55; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50; MEYER *Wb.* 331-332); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 142.

**pelqyer** m, pl. *peNere* 'thumb'. A phonetic variant of *pulqyer*.

**pellas** aor. *palla*, *pellita* 'to bray'. A morphological variant of *pall*.

**pellas m** 'palace'. Borrowed from Lat *palatium* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 46). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 319 (from Ital *palazzo*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3*<sup>21</sup> 1041 (follows MIKLOSICH); CANDREA-DENSUSIANU 1330 (same as MIKLOSICH); JOKL *LKUBA* 93-94 (follows CANDREA-DENSUSIANU); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; cABEJ *St.* II 22-23; HAARMANN 139; LAND! *Lat.* 80, 111, 125.

**pale** f, pl. *pella* 'mulch cow, ewe or goat'. A suffixal derivative of *pjell* (JOKL *LKUBA* 225). Another derivative is *pile pile* 'fertile domestic animal'.

**pellembes pellambe** f, pl. *pellembes pellambe* 'palm (of the hand)'. Borrowed from Gk *naXiip.r1* 'hand, palm' (cABEJ *St.* II 23). The cluster *-mb-* < *\*-m-* is a secondary feature. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 46 (from Lat *palms*); MEYER *Wb.* 331 (borrowing from NGk *nab ipm* id.), *Alb. St.* IV 93; SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 248 (agrees with MIKLOSICH); MANN *Language XVII* 20 (from IE *\*pima*); HULD 103 (agrees with cABEJ).

**/\*numb** m, pl. *pellumba* 'pigeon, dove'. Borrowed from Lat *palumbes*,

*palumbus* 'wood-pigeon' (CAMARDA II 160; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 46; MEYER *Wb.* 331). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3*<sup>2</sup> I 1046, 1050; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 80, 93, 115.

**peqi** m, pl. *peqinj* 'seam, hem'. A parallel form *spelqi* may reflect an earlier *\*pelqi* borrowed from Rom *\*plicinus* 'fold', cf. Lat *plied* 'to fold' (MEYER *Wb.* 331).

**per** prep. 'for'. The reflexes of PAIb *\*peri* and *\*pra* related to *Sktpciri* 'round, about', Gk *it* 'around' and Gk *npō* 'before, forward', Lat *pro* id. correspondingly (BOEE 503-504; GTL'FERDING *Otm.* 23; CAMARDA I 320-321; MEYER *BB VIII* 189, *Alb. St.* III 30) were contaminated with PAIb *\*per* borrowed from Lat *per* 'for' (MEYER *Wb.* 332). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3* I 1057 (from Latin); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89, *IF XXXVII* 106; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 213-214; SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 246; FRISK II 512-513, 596-597; CHANTRAINE 886; MANN *Language XVII* 22; MAYRHOFER II 216-217; WALDE-HOFMANN II 364-365; POKORNY I 811-816; cABEJ *St.* II 23-25 (of Indo-European origin); DEMIRAJ *AE* 316-317.

perbalce f 'contest, tournament'. A suffixal derivative of *perball* 'to face, to defy' similar to *perballje* 'contest'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 332 (to Ital *balzare*); cABEJ *St.* II 25 (to *perbalt* 'to bespatter with mud').

**percelloj** aor. *percellova* 'to roast'. A prefixal derivative from *sjell* with a secondary *c-* < *s-* (CAMARDA I 88). The original meaning must have been 'to roast by rotating on a spit'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 334 (from Slav *\*pbrskati* 'to sprinkle'); cABEJ *St.* II 25 (follows CAMARDA).

**pert** m, pl. *perca* 'uncastrated he-goat'. Borrowed from South Slav *\*web*, cf. Bulg *prbic* SCr *pre'* (MEYER *Wb.* 334). 0 KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 43-44; cABEJ *St.* VII 235.

**perclam** m 'ivy'. Other variants are *percllan* and *berclen*. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *bral'an*, SCr *brlljan* (cABEJ *St.* II 25).

**perdelej** aor. *perdeleva* 'to pity'. Another form is *perdellej*. Borrowed from Rom *\*per-indulgere*, cf. *ndelej* (MEYER *Wb.* 299). 0 LA PIANA *Vocale* 23 (from Lat *perdolere* 'to grieve greatly'); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15 (follows LA PIANA); cABEJ *St.* II 25-26 (Albanian forma-

tion based on Lat *dolere* 'to grieve, to deplore'); HAARMANN 141.

**pergjdroy** aor. *pergjerova* 'to swear'. A prefixal formation based on \**gjeroj* borrowed from Lat *Preire* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 332). 0 MIHAEScu RESEE IV 11-2 17.

**pergjoj** aor. *pergjova* 'to pry, to peep, to spy'. A prefixal derivative of *gjuaj* (CAMARDA I 113; WEIGAND 68). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 332 (from Lat *pervigilare* 'to remain awake, to watch all night'); MIHAEScu RESEE IV/1-2 27; cABEJ *St.* II 25 (based on an erroneous segmentation of *ndegjoj* in which *nde-* is treated as a prefix); HAARMANN 141.

**parkas** aor. *preka, perkita* 'to touch'. Derivative of *prek*.

**perkore pdrkuer** adj. 'temperate, moderate (in food)'. Derived from *kuaj*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 333 (from \**perkoj*, borrowed from Lat *parcere* 'to spare'); cABEJ *St.* VII 258; HAARMANN 140.

**pdrkul** aor. *perkula* 'to bend'. From PALb \**per-kula*, a prefixal derivative of IE \**eel-* 'to turn' in zero grade, cf. *sjell* (JOKL LKUBA 229). 0 MANN *Language* XVII 14; POKORNY I 639-640; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 30, 81; OLBERG *IBK* XIV 113; DEMIRAJ *AE* 317.

**perkund** aor. *perkunda* 'to swing, to sway, to rock (a cradle)'. Another variant is *perkun*. A prefixal derivative of an unattested \**kund*, see *lekund*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 333 (from *kune* 'cradle', an Italian loanword).

**perligj** aor. *perligja* 'to pay off, to avenge, to requite'. A denominative derivative of *ligj* (cABEJ *St.* II 27). 0 JOKL *WuS* XII 83-85 (to Lith *lygits* 'equal' and its cognates).

**Orlin** m, pl. *perlime* 'duty, obligation'. A prefixal deverbative based on /e. 0 XHUVANI *Minerva* 111/27 22 (from \**per-ligjim*, to *ligj*); cABEJ *St.* II 27-28 (to *lyej*).

**pdrmbi** prep. 'over'. Goes back to PALb \**per-ambi*, with the first element identical with *per* and the second representing *mbi*.

*permbys* aor. *permbysa* 'to overturn, to overthrow', adv. 'upside down'. Other variants are *permys*, *permis*, *permbys*. The verb is a secondary

formation based on the adverb whose first part is identical with *permbi*. As a whole, *permbys* goes back to PALb \**per-ambi-uptja*, the third component \**uptja* 'under, lower' connected with Skt *upa* 'toward, near to', Gk into 'under', Goth *of* 'under' and the like. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 268 (identical with *permbys* 'to flood', cf. *mbys*); JOKL *Studien* 56 (follows MEYER); MAYRHOFER 1105; FRISK II 971-972; FEIST *Goth.* 509; POKORNY I 1106-1107; cABEJ *St.* II 28 (to *mys*).

**permend** aor. *permenda* 'to mention, to recall, to nominate'. Derivative of *mend* (WEIGAND *BA* I 260). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 94; cABEJ *St.* II 28 (follows WEIGAND).

**part/idles** aor. *permeieta* 'to break a fast, to season with butter'. Other variants are *permbles*, *perbules*, *burbules*. A denominative based on \**permblete*, the latter unattested form must have been borrowed from Rom \**praeambulatus* 'premature', to Lat *praeambuldre* 'to walk before'. 0 CAMARDA 1339 (to Gk *notpa-μεAlw* 'to disregard, to neglect'); MEYER *Wb.* 333 (from SCr *izmeljati* 'to besmear'); cABEJ *St.* II 28-29 (considers *burbules* to be the original form).

**permjerr** aor. *permorra* 'to urinate'. Goes back to PALb \**per-medzra* related to IE \**meigh-* id.: Skt *mehati*, Gk *Ogeiro*, Lat *mein*, ON *miga* (CAMARDA I 70). Note the irregularities in the development of the root vowel and the consonantal cluster. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 335 (to Skt *mdla-marsati* 'to sprinkle'); BARB *ARSt* 74 (to Skt *madati* 'to be inebriated, to boil'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 49-51; MAYRHOFER II 690; WALDE-HOFMANN II 60-61; FRISK II 385; POKORNY I 713; cABEJ *St.* VII 244.

**perpjete** adj. 'rising, uphill', f 'rise, slope', adv. 'up, uphill'. **Continues** PALb \**pra-peta* compared with Gk *irpoirenj*; 'prominent', Ttponkogott 'to fly forwards' and further connected with Skt *pditati* 'to fly, to soar', Gk *itkoptoct* 'to fly' (CAMARDA I 304; MEYER *Wb.* 333-334, *Alb. St.* III 23, 30, 84). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 548 (adduces dialectal *perpjelta* = *perpjete* as an argument against MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 14, *LKUBA* 164 (repeats PEDERSEN 's arguments); BARK *ARSt* I 75 (to Lith *pulti* 'to fall' and the like); PISANI *Saggi* 119; FRISK II 521-522; MAYRHOFER II 199; POKORNY I 825-826; cABEJ *St.* II 29-30 (explains *perpjelta* as a metathesis of *perpjetele*).



perposh adv. 'below, underneath'. A parallel form is *perposht*. A prefixal derivative of *poshte* (MEYER Wb. 349). 0 PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 290 (-*posh* from loc. sg. \*-*ped-su* 'at the foot'), *Kelt. Gr.* I 50; cABEJ St. VII 243.

pdrpush aor. *perpusha* 'to poke, to stir up'. From \**per-prush*, cf. *prush* (cABEJ St. II 30).

pdrqe11 aor. *pergella* 'to deride, to mock'. Derived from *qell* (cABEJ St. II 30-31). 0 MEYER Wb. 225 (from Lat *percellere* 'to beat down'); PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 538-539 (against MEYER as Lat -//- cannot yield Alb -*ii-*); cABEJ St. VII 188, 258.

pdrqi f, pl. *perqi* 'dowry'. Borrowed from MGk rEpolxiov id. (cABEJ St. II 31). 0 MEYER Wb. 333 (from SCr *pr6ja* id.); JOKE LKUBA 78 (follows MEYER).

perskas aor. *perskita* 'to sprinkle'. Borrowed from Slav \**pri,skati* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *prLskam*, SCr *prskati* (MEYER Wb. 334).

pershesh aor. *pershesha* 'to crumble, to break up, to raze to the ground'. A prefixal denominative of *shesh*. From the verb, the noun *pershesh* 'sop of bread, milk and butter' has been derived. 0 MEYER Wb. 329 (noun *pershesh* - from Turkish *parca* 'piece' and *as* 'soup'), 355 (noun *pshesh* < \**mshesh*, from Slav \**megati* 'to mix'); cABEJ St. II 31-32 (deverbative of *shij*).

pdrshpjetem refl. 'to arrive unexpectedly'. An active form *perspjes* (with dialectal -*s-*) means 'to train, to drill, to rear'. Corrupt forms of \**pershpjejt* based on *shpejt*. 0 JOKL apud CABEJ St. II 31 (from SCr *prispjeti* 'to be on time').

pershtat aor. *pershtata* 'to fit, to adapt'. A denominative prefixal verb based on *shtat*. 0 JOKL LKUBA 250 (to IE \**stha-* 'to stand'); cABEJ St. II 32 (univerbation of *per shtat* 'for stature').

pdrtoj aor. *pertova* 'to be lazy'. Borrowed from Lat *pigritari* 'to be slow, to be sluggish' (MEYER Wb. 334). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1048; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 142.

pdrtyp aor. *pertypa* 'to chew'. Derived from \**typ*, see *typth*. 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* III 59 (to Lat *stipa* 'to squeeze tightly'); JOKL *Studien* 85-86 (to Gk Tpotn&) 'to press (grapes)'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 263; MANN *Language* XXVI 387; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 11; DEMIRAJ *AE* 317-318.

parvdloj aor. *perveiowi* 'to boil down, to boil, to ignite, to kindle'. A phonetic variant of *pravulloj*.

pervjel aor. *pervola* 'to fling out, to let fly, to turn over, to roll up, to cut fleece on sheep's belly'. A prefixal derivative of *vjel* (CABEJ St. II 32), probably, influenced by a partial synonym *pervesh* 'to roll up (sleeves)'.

pdrzhis aor. *perzhita* 'to scorch, to roast, to bake'. Borrowed from Slav \**pbriti* 'to roast', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *prhia*, SCr *pri=iti* id. (MEYER Wb. 334). 0 SELIV'EV *Slay. naselenie* 155; SVANE 238.

perrand f, pl. *perralla* 'tale, story'. Borrowed from Lat *parabola* 'proverb, speech' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 47; MEYER Wb. 350). 0 CAMARDA II 72 (to Gk *napa(3oXii* 'proverb, parable'); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1055; PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 536; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; cABEJ St. II 33; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 72, 80, 130.

perrua parrue m, pl. *perrenj, perronj* 'brook; river-bed'. Early borrowing from Slav \**porovi, \*parov7,*, cf. Pol *pardw* 'ravine', name of a source in Greece 1100Po; (of Slavic origin), see OREL *LB* XXIX/4 70-71. Alb *perrua* was borrowed to Rum *paret*. 0 CAMARDA I 312; MEYER Wb. 335 (reconstructs \**per-ren-* connected with \**re(i)-* 'to flow'); JOKL *Studien* 282-284, LKUBA 277 (explains \**per-ren-* as a formation etymologically close to OHG *rinnan* 'to flow', Slav \**roniti* 'to drop'), *IF* XXXVII 90-91, *ZONF* X 189-190, *Sprache* IX 130; SPITZER *MRIWI* 296; BARLe *AArbSt* I/1-2 152-153 (from IE \**per-srouno-*), *Hymje* 70; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 51 (from Bulg *poroj*); MANN *Language* XXVI 383 (from IE \**per-eio-* 'passage'); GEORGIEV *Festschr. Rosetti* 287-290; POGHIRC *Et. limb. rom.* II 346; ROSETTI *ILI?* I 280; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 52; cABEJ St. VII 217, apud DEMIRAJ (to Gk *iceptito* 'to penetrate, to pierce'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 318.

pdsjoj aor. *peSOVa* 'to suffer, to endure'. Borrowed from Rom \**patiare*,

cf. Lat *patior* id. (MEYER Wb. 335). 0 CAMARDA I 62 (to Lat *patior*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1050 (from Lat *patior*); MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 18; cABEJ *St.* VII 227; HAARMANN 140.

**peshkoj** aor. *peshkova* 'to wash up, to rinse'. Borrowed from Rom \**persicare* 'to dry up', cf. Lat *persiccatus* 'quite dry'. 0 MEYER Wb. 336 (from \**shkepoj* borrowed from Ital *scopare* 'to sweep out'); cABEJ *St.* II 33-34 (from \**pershkoj*, derivative of *shkoj*, 'to go again' > 'to rinse').

**peshtjell** aor. *peshtolla* 'to wrap up'. From \**per-shtjell*, based on *shtjell* (MEYER Wb. 416).

**peshtjere** adv. 'down, low'. An obsolete Old Albanian form representing a deverbative \**per shtjere* based on *shtie*. 0 JOKL *Studien* 59-60 (from \**pod-s-t-ero-* related to *perposh*); cABEJ *St.* VII 201.

**peshperis** aor. *peshperita* 'to whisper, to sigh'. An onomatopoeia connected with the adverb *pesh pesh* 'in whispers'. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 220.

**peshtyj** aor. *peshtyta*, *peshtyva* 'to spit'. A denominative descriptive stem continuing PAIb \**pistunja* and similar to those of Lat *spud* id. and Gk *itti*(o) id. 0 MEYER Wb. 336 (from Rom \**sputire* 'to spit'); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1055 (from Lat *sputare*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 231-232 (questions MEYER's solution in view of the metathesis in Rum *stupi* id.); MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Gk *ItTigo*); FRISK II 617-618; WALDE-HOFMANN II 580-581; POKORNY I 999-1000; cABEJ *St.* VII 258.

**pashtym** aor. *peshtyma* 'to dry wood, to smoke out'. A denominative verb based on the participle of *peshtyj* describing the process of wood-drying as 'spitting out' water.

**pi** aor. *piva* 'to drink, to suck'. From PAIb \**pija* with the regular loss of \*-j- (OREL *FLH* VIII 41-42). Related to IE \**MO-* - \**pi-* 'to drink': Skt 'to drink', Gk *rtivw*, Lat *biho* (BoPP 483; GILFERDING *Otn.* 24; CAMARDA I 17). Note a structural similarity between \**pija* and Slav \**pijo*. Aor. *piva* displays PAIb \*-w- reminiscent of Skt 1 sg. perf. *papdu* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXII 82-83). 0 MEYER Wb. 336, *Alb. St.* III 30, *Gr. Gr.* 105; TOMASCHEK *Thr.* II 18 (participle *pire* -- *pine* < \**pino-*

compared with Thr [?] *itivov* 'beer'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 219-222; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387; KRAUSE *Corolla linguistica* 137-144; POKORNY 1839-840; MAYRHOFER II 252; FRISK II 540-542; CHANTRAINE 905; WALDE-HOFMANN I 103-104; HULD 103; OREL *Koll, Idg. Ges.* 362; cABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (reconstructs PAIb \**ping*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 318-319 (from a reduplication \**pipes-* > PAIb \**pib-*).

**picas** aor. *picata* 'to catch mice'. Derived from the stem *pic-*, cf. *picerr*.

**picerr** adj. 'tiny, small'. Together with *pice* 'little girl', *picel* 'needle-point' and *picak* 'naked', this word is derived from *pic* 'tip, end, top' borrowed from Ital *pizzo* id. (cABEJ *St.* II 34-35). 0 MEYER Wb. 341 (to Ital *picciolo* 'little', *piccino* id.).

**pidh m**, pi. *pidhera* *pidhna*, *pidhe* 'female pudenda'. From PAIb \**p(e)izda* directly related to Slav \**pizda* id. and OPrus *peisda* 'bottom' (MEYER Wb. 336-337, *Alb. St.* III 16, 30). 0 WIEDEMANN *BB* XXX 207-209 (reconstructs \**peighdh-*); JOKL *IF* XXX 198-200; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 94; PISANI *Saggi* 125; POKORNY I 831; HAMP *IJSLP* XI 25-26, *Miinch. St. Spr.* XL 43; HULD 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 319-320.

**pihatem** refl. 'to be tired, to be exhausted'. Borrowed from Slav \**pyxati* (sg) 'to be short of breath', cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *pz,xam*, Slovene *pihati* (DESNICKAJA *Slay. zaim.* 16). 0 SVANE 257.

**pik m** 'spotted woodpecker'. Derived from *pik* 'to fill holes, to pierce'.

**pik** aor. *pika* 'to fill holes, to pierce'. A descriptive stem similar to that of Ital *piccare* 'to prick'. 0 MEYER *Wh.* 337 (from Romance).

**pik** aor. *pika* 'to make bitter'. A metaphorical usage of *pik* 'to fill holes, to pierce' (MEYER Wb. 337).

**pike** f, pt. *pika*, *pike* 'drop'. A descriptive stem similar to Rum *pic* id. The verb *pikoj* 'to sprinkle' is derived from *pike*. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 49 (from *Latpicca*); MEYER *Wh.* 337 (related to *pik* 'to make bitter'); PUSCARIU *EWR* 114; MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1044 (from Rom \**pica*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 221; cABEJ *St.* II 35-36 (derived from *pjek* 'to meet').

pilas pl. 'eyebrows'. Based on sg. *\*pil* borrowed from *Latpilleus* 'felt cap, \*protective hair' (cABEJ *St.* II 35).

pile f, pl. *pila* 'heap, pile, pebble, group of stones used in a game'. Borrowed from Ital *pila* 'pile' (cABEJ *St.* II 36-37). 0 HAARMANN 142 (from Lat *ptla* id.).

pilikuri adv. 'bare, naked'. A derivative with an expressive prefix *pili-* based on *kore*. A fossilized noun *pilikor* 'unconsciousness' is a folk etymology derivative of *pilikuri*. 0 PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 177 (from *per* and *lakur*); cABEJ *St.* II 37 (from *per* and *lakur*).

pilipizgd f, pl. *pilipizga* 'kind of pipe'. A derivative with an expressive prefix *pili-* based on *pizge*.

pilivesd f, pl. *pilivesa* 'dragonfly'. Another variant is *plivoese*. A derivative with an expressive prefix *pili-* based on *ve*, *voe* (cABEJ *St.* II 37).

pille f, pl. *pilla* 'stone trough'. Borrowed from Lat *ptla* 'mortar', in Romance - 'trough', cf. Ital *pila* (*MIHAESCu RESEE* IV/1-2 18; cABEJ *St.* IT 37-38). 0 DEMIRAJ *AE* 320-321.

pille f, pl. *pilla* 'flax comb'. Borrowed from an unattested derivative of Lat *palo* 'to comb' (DEMIRAJ *AE* 320-321). 0 JOKL *Studien* 68-69 (from IE *\*pek-/a* related to Lat *pecta* 'to comb' and the like); OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 145.

pille f, pl. *pilla* 'small stone (for play)'. Borrowed from Lat *pila* 'ball, playing-ball' (MEYER *Wb.* 337). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 538 (against MEYER as *\*pelle* is expected); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 51 (from an Italian dialect); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 221; cABEJ *St.* II 38 (agrees with MEYER).

pinge f, pl. *pinga* 'top'. Goes back to PAIb *\*pinka* related to Lith *pinklas* 'wicker-work', Latv *pinka* 'tuft', *pinkat* 'to tousle'. From *pinge*, *pingul* 'downwards, vertically' and *pingel* 'tip, top, point' are derived. 0 FRAENKEL 594; cABEJ *St.* II 39 (*pingul* from a compound of *per* and *ngul*).

pingroj aor. *pingrova* 'to twitter, to chirp'. Borrowed from Rom *\*pin-nigerare* 'to behave as a bird, to bear feathers', cf. Lat *pinniger* 'leather-bearing'. 0 cABEJ *St.* II 39 (onomatopoeia).

pip m, pl. *pipa* 'sprout, shoot, pipe, tube'. Borrowed from Rom *\*Ma* 'tube, pipe', cf. OFr *pipe*, Spanish *pipa* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 338). 0 HAARMANN 142.

pip aor. *pipa* 'to peep, to chirp'. A descriptive stem similar to Germ *piepen* id., Lat *pipire* id. (cABEJ *St.* II 39-40). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 338 (borrowed from *piptre*); HAARMANN 142.

pir m 'habit, sprite'. A metaphoric usage of *pire* 'prick, thorn', see *pirre*.

pirem refl. 'to bend, to bow'. A dialectal form of *prierem*, see *prier* (*MANN HAED* 387).

pirf f, pl. *pira* 'pore'. Goes back to PAIb *\*pira*, a zero grade form related to Gk *rceipco* 'to bore', Slav *\*perk* id. and the like. Note a derivative *piri* 'funnel'. 0 FRISK II 491-492; VASMER III 240; POKORNY I 816-817; cABEJ *St.* II 40 (*piri* borrowed from Venetian *peiria* or its Greek source).

pirre f, pl. *pirra* 'couch-grass, rye-grass; hedge'. Another variant is *pire* 'prick, thorn'. Borrowed from Slav *\*pyrb* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: SCr *pir* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 222). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 216-217 (*pirre* 'hedge' related to Gk *icEipco* 'to pierce' and its cognates); DEMIRAJ *AE* 321.

pisd f 'cat, tabby-cat'. An onomatopoeia similar to that of Rum *pisci* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 339-340).

piskas aor. *piskata* 'to shout, to cry'. Borrowed from Slav *\*piskati* 'to peep', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *piskati* (MEYER *Wb.* 339). 0 SVANE 261.

pispihlohem refl. 'to dress up, to smarten oneself'. An expressive reduplication of *pihlohem* id., a reflexive form of *pihloj* 'to hackle (flax)', cf. *pille*.

**pisputh m** 'swine, bastard'. A compound of *pis* 'dirty, filthy' (derived from a Modern Greek loanword *pise* 'hell') and *puth*. 0 cABEJ *St.* II 40 (to *purth* and *spurdhis*).

**pish8 f**, pl. *pisha* 'pine'. Continues PALb *\*pi-s-a*, with *\*-s-* > *-sh-* according to the "ruki" rule, related to other Indo-European names of pine with different suffixes: Gk *nituc*, *Latprnus* (from *\*pitsnos* or *\*pissnos*). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 340 (related to Lat *pinus*), *Alb. St.* III 30, 61 (to Gk *receirn* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 32 (reconstructs *\*pit-s-ia*); BARD *ARSt* I 95 (to Lat *picea* id.), *Hymje* 50; FRISK II 545-546; CHANTRAINE 908; WALDE-HOFMANN II 308; POKORNY I 794; FRIEDRICH *Trees* 34; CABEJ *St.* VII 212; HAMP *IF* LXVI 51; HULD 142, *KZ* XCV 303 (from *\*pTt-so-* related to Lat *prnus*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 321-322 (old collective in *\*-s(i)o-*).

**pishkulloj** aor. *pishkullova* 'to whisper'. A parallel form is *pishtelloj*. Borrowed from Rom *\*fistulare* 'to sound like a pipe', cf. *Lat fistula* 'pipe'. Note the irregular substitution of Lat > A1b *p-*.

**pitás pitás** adv. 'numb, numbly (of cold)'. Derived from *pij* 'to benumb', cf. *mpij*.

**pite** f, pl. *pite* 'honeycomb'. Borrowed, with phonetic irregularities, from Lat *pecten* 'comb'. The immediate source must have been Rom *\*pectum* > *\*pejte*.

**pite** f, pl. *pite* 'gruel'. A singularized plural of *\*pite* continuing PALb *\*pate-* further related to *Lith pietus* 'noon meal, lunch', *Sktpitti-* 'feeding', OIr *ith* 'grain, corn' and the like. 0 FRAENKEL 587-588; MAYRHOFER II 278; POKORNY I 794.

**pitt** f, pl. *pita* 'kind of bread, cake'. A Mediterranean cultural *Wanderwort* present in South Slavic (Bulg *pita*, SCr *pita*), Turk *pita*, Hbr *pita* and NGk *rrirroc*, *ICIITOC* as well as in Romance where it seems to continue Rom *\*pieta* (MEYER *Wb.* 340).

**pitèr** adj. 'frequent'. Based on PALb *\*pim(i)ta* related to OIr *eim* 'quick, fast', ON *fimr* id. 0 POKORNY 1795.

**pizge** f, pl. *pizga* 'kind of wind instrument'. Borrowed from Slav *\*piska*, cf. in South Slavic: SCr *piska* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 339). Note the unusual

substitution of Slav *\*-sk-* > *-zg-*, probably, reflecting an early date of borrowing when there were no unvoiced sibilant in the Albanian consonantal system. 0 SELISftV *Slay. naselenie* 193; SVANE 218, 261.

**pizgull** f, pl. *pizgulla* 'piece, splinter'. Derived from *pizge* 'chip, splinter, loop', a phonetic variant of *pisk*.

**pjalm** m 'dust, thin dust, fine flour'. From PA1b *\*pelma* related to Gk *irCcki* 'fine flour', Skt *palala-* 'ground sesame', *Lithpelenai* 'ashes', Latv */mini* id., Slav *\*polmc* 'flame', Lat *pollen* 'dust, fine flour' (SCHMIDT *KZ* L 243, 248). 0 MANN *Language* XXVI 383 (to Osset *fielm* 'fog' < *\*pelmn*); VASMER III 273; FRAENKEL 566-567; WALDE-HOFMANN II 331-332; MAYRHOFER II 232; FRISK II 467; POKORNY I 802; CABEJ *St.* II 40-41.

**pjavice** f, pl. *piavica* 'leech'. Borrowed from Slav *\*pijavica* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *pijavica*, SCr *pijavica* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 29). A parallel form *piskavice* results from an influence of *piskoj* 'to pinch' (MEYER *Wb.* 339). 0 KRISTOFORIDHI 324; JOKL *Studien* 113; SELISCEV *Slay. naselenie* 189; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 220; CABEJ *St.* IV 99; SVANE 157.

**pjek** aor. *poqa* 'to bake, to cook'. Goes back to PA1b *\*peka* etymologically continuing IE *\*pele-* id.: Skt *pdcati*, Gk 1TE66(0), Lat *coquO*, Slav *\*pekQ*, *\*pekti* (GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 21; CAMARDA I 67; MEYER *BB* VIII 185, *Wb.* 341). 0 MEYER *IF* V 181 (on the e-grade in aorist), *Alb. St.* III 3-4, 30; JOKL *Studien* 11; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 129; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 220; ERNOUT-MEILLET 141; LA PIANA *Studi* I 45; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; BARD *Hymje* 20; FRISK II 519-520; CHANTRAINE 890; MAYRHOFER II 185-186; WALDE-HOFMANN I 270-272; POKORNY I 798; HAMP *BSL* LXVI/1 222; KLINGENSCHMITT *Munch. St. Spr.* XL 124; CABEJ *St.* VII 217, 239; HULD 103-104; DEMIRAJ *AE* 322.

**pjek** aor. *poqa* 'to touch, to meet'. From PA1b *\*peka*, related, with an irregular development of IE *\*-k-*, to Gk 7t6cco 'to comb', *Lith pUti* 'to pull, to pluck' and the like. 0 CAMARDA I 113 (to Gk *nhyvul.tt* 'to stick, to fix in'); MEYER *Wb.* 341 (to Gk *nk,Exw* 'to plait'), *Alb. St.* III 4, 32; MANN *Language* XXVIII 35; FRAENKEL 580-581; FRISK II 492-493; POKORNY 1797.

**pjek** f, pl. *pjeke* 'eyelash'. From PALb \**peke*: related to *pjek* 'to touch, to meet' (cABEJ *St.* II 41-42) < \*'to comb', cf. for the semantic development Skt *pdksma-* 'eyelash' derived of the same root (Iota *Studien* 69). 0 MAYRHOFER II 184.

**pjell** aor. *polla* 'to beget, to produce, to bear'. From PALb \**pelna* connected with Lat *pell5* 'to drive, to push' (OREL *Alb.* 64; DEMIRAJ *AE* 323), Gk *nsiUto* 'to poise, to swell, to swing'. Note important derivatives \**en-pelna* > *mbiell* 'to sow' and \**pela* > *pjelle* 'child'. For the semantic development of this root in Albanian cf. Germ *werfen* 'to bear (of animals)' and Slav \**kotiti* 'to roll; to bear (of animals)'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 342 (to Goth *fula* 'foal' and - at the same time - to IE \**peld-* 'to fill'), *Alb. St.* III 30; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 543; FRISK II 469; WALDE-HOFMANN II 276-277; POKORNY I 801; MANN *Language* XXVIII 31; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 39, 99; c ABEI *St.* VII 230; HULD 104 (follows MEYER and reconstructs \**pe10*).

**pjeper pjepen** m, pl. *pjepra pjepna* 'sweet melon'. Borrowed from Rom \**pepinem* id., cf. Lat *peponem* 'kind of large melon, pumpkin' (MIKLOSIC *Rom. Elemente* 48; MEYER *Wb.* 342). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrill*<sup>2</sup> I 1043; THUMB *IF* XXVI 44 (from Greek); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 141; OLBERG *SPhAen* 43.

**pjerdh** aor. *pordha* 'to fart'. From PALb \**perda* etymologically identical with Skt *pdrdate*, Gk *nepoogate* id., OHG *ferzan* id., Lith *perdiu*, *persti* id. and the like (CAMARDA I 43; MEYER *Wb.* 342, *Alb. St.* III 28, 30, 72). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 230-231 (zero grade), *Sprache* IX 130; ERNOUT-MEILLET 493; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 26 (medial form); MANN *Language* XXVI 382; CIMOCHOWSKI LP II 246; FRAENKEL 577; FRISK II 511-512; MAYRHOFER II 225; POKORNY I 819; DEMIRAJ *AE* 323.

**pjergull** f, pl. *pjergulla* 'vine-arbor, pergola'. Borrowed from Lat *pergula* 'shed, booth, vine-arbor' (MEYER *Wh.* 342). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 48 (from Ital *pergola*); MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1043; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 141; LANDI *Lat.* 50, 135, 137.

**pjerk** adj. 'hanging (down)'. A derivative in *-k* from *pjerr*.

**pjerr** aor. *pora, porra* 'to bend, to incline'. Continues PALb \**pera* related

to Lith *periu*, *perti* 'to strike', Slav \**pbre*, \**perti* 'to press'. 0 FRAENKEL 578; VASMER III 240; POKORNY I 819; cABEJ *St.* VII 206, 243.

**pjese** f, pl. *pjese* 'part'. Borrowed from Rom \**petia* id. (Ital *pezza*, Fr *piece*), see MEYER *Wh.* 342. 0 CAMARDA 1112 (comparison with Fr *piece*); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 49 (from Ital *pezza, pezzo*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3*<sup>2</sup> I 1043; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 141; LANDI *Lat.* 53.

**pjeshke** f, pl. *pjeshke, pjeshka* 'peach'. Borrowed from Rom \**pesca* < Lat *persica* id., cf. Ital *pesca* and the like (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 49; MEYER *Wb.* 342, *Alb. St.* IV 102). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 221; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 141; LANDI *Lat.* 53, 114.

**pjetem** refl. 'to be ruptured, to have hernia'. Based on PALb \**peta* 'to be ruptured' < \*'to widen', related to Gk *irEvivvilt* 'to widen', Lat *paten* 'to be open' and the like. This word may be the first element of *pjeteposhte* 'downwards' (for the second element see *poshte*). 0 FRISK II 520-521; WALDE-HOFMANN I 262; POKORNY I 824-825.

**plaf** m, pl. *plafe, pleftenj* 'wool blanket, rug'. A deverbative based on *plah* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 324) and, apparently, of Geg origin. There existed also an older form *plah*. From the Proto-Albanian plural form \**plaskai tai* > \**plaxai tai* the Balkan and Carpathian Slavic \**plamta* 'sack, underskirt' was borrowed. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 343 (to *pelhure*); JOKL *Studien* 69-70 (to Lat *plectO* 'to plait' and its cognates); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 51-52 (to MHG *vlies* 'fleece'); DESNICKAJA *Slay. zaim.* 11 (from Slav \**plam*); cABEJ *St.* VII 230.

**plage** f, pl. *plage* 'wound'. Borrowed from Lat *plaga* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 343 (from early Ital \**plaga* > *piaga*); 0 MEYER-LCBKE *Gr. Grundrif3*<sup>2</sup> I 1041 (from Italian), 1050; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 142; LANDI *Lat.* 103, 113, 134.

**plah plaf** aor. *plaha plafa* 'to cover'. Goes back to PALb \**p(e)laska*, inchoative formation related to Gk *-iceka*; 'skin', Lith *pals* 'linen kerchief', *pleng* 'thin skin, membrane', ON *flail* 'skin' and the like. 0 FRAENKEL 615; FRISK II 499-500; POKORNY I 803; DEMIRAJ *AE* 323-324 (from IE

**plak** m, pl. *pleq* 'old man'. From PAIb \**p(e)laka* < \**pelakos* etymologically close to Lith *psdkas* 'grey' < \**plakos* (SOLTA *Sprache* II 122-124). Further parallels may be grouped under IE \**pela-*, cf. Gk IroA,tog 'grey, grizzled' and the like (BOPP 491; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 224). 0 CAMARDA 146 (compares *plak* with Gk naA,atog 'old, ancient' but the latter has 7E- < \**le-*); MEYER *Wb.* 344 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb. St.* III 31; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 328; PORZIG *Gliederung* 204; FRAENKEL 591; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 115 (suffix *-k*); HAMP *Language* XXXIII 530-531 (interprets *-k-* as a continuant of \**H*); SOLTA *Sprache* 1111 122-126; FRISK II 575-576; POKORNY I 804-805; HULD 104-105; OREL *Zfflalk* XXI 43; DEMIRAJ *AE* 324.

**plang** m 'board, plank'. Borrowed from Lat *planca* 'board, slab'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 344 (from early hal \**planca* > Piem *planca* 'plank').

**plang** m, pl. *plangje* 'property, building site, house, farm', Borrowed from Rom \**planticus* derived from Lat *plant()* 'to set, to plant'. 0 CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 114.

**plas** aor. *plasa* 'to burst, to split'. From PA1b \**platja*, a denominative verb related to Skt *prthi-* 'broad, wide', Gk *rawri*); id., Lith *plattis* id. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 344 (to Lith *plati* 'to tear', Slav \**pleskati* 'to splash'), *Alb. St.* III 13, 32; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 82 (to *plis*); FRAENKEL 606-607; FRISK II 553-554; MAYRHOFER II 333; POKORNY I 833; DEMIRAJ *AE* 324-325.

**pleh pia** m, pl. *plehra plehna* 'sweepings, dung, rubbish'. Derivative of *plah*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 345 (from Slav \**pelva* 'membrane, skin'); SELISStEV *Slay. naselenie* 160 (agrees with MEYER); JOKL *LKUBA* 129, *IF* XLIX 289; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 223.

**pleme** f, pl. *pleme* 'barn, hayloft'. Borrowed from Bulg *plemna* id. < Slav \**pelybna* (MEYER *Wb.* 345). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 315 (follows MEYER).

**pleng m** 'bandage'. Borrowed from Slav \**pel(e)trbka* id., deminutive of \**pelena* 'cover'. 0 VASMER III 228-229.

**pleng m** 'baseness, disgraceful act'. Metaphorically used *pleng* 'heavy object'.

**pleng** m, pl. *plengje* 'heavy object'. A related form is *plenge* 'catapult'. Borrowed from Lat *phalanga, palanga* 'roller or pole for moving heavy objects'.

**plep** m, pl. *plepa* 'poplar'. Borrowed from Rom \**plOpus*, metathesis of Lat *populus* id. (MIKLOSIC *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 345). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifl* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 259; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 223; ERNOUT-MEILLET 522; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 19; HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 64.

**pleq** m 'council, congress'. Singularized plural of *plak* (CABEJ *St.* II 42-43). 0 WEIGAND *BA* I 261 (from Rom \**placium*, cf. Lat *placitum* 'order, opinion').

**plesht** m, pl. *pleshta* 'flea'. From PAIb \**pleusta*, a taboo transformation of IE \**bh/usa*, cf. Lith *blusa*, Slav \**blma*, Gk *wiAla*, Arm /*u* < \**plus-* (MEYER *Wb.* 345, *Alb. St.* III 32, 62). 0 STIER *KZ* XI 244; BUGGE *Beitrag* 11; PEDERSEN *IF* V 33, *KZ* XXXIX 347; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 223, *Stratificazione* 139; AtAREAN *HAB* II 299-300; PISANI *Saggi* 116, 121; TRUBAteV *ESSJa* II 129-131; FRISK II 1140-1141; FRAENKEL 51-52; POKORNY I 102; DEMIRAJ *AE* 325 (reconstructs \**-ou-* in the root).

**plevas** aor. *plevata* 'to swim'. Borrowed from Slav \**plyvati* id., cf. Bulg *plivam*, SCr *plivati* (DESNIKAJA *Slay. zaim.* 16). 0 SVANE 258.

**plevice** f, pl. *plevica* 'barn, hayloft'. Borrowed from Slav \**pelybnica* id.: Bulg *plevnica* (MiK.LoSICH *Slay. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 345). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 315 (follows MEYER); SELISStEV *Slay. naselenie* 151, 160; SVANE 60.

**plendes plandes** m, pl. *plendesa plandes* 'paunch, stomach (particularly, of a ruminant animal)'. Other variants are *blend& blandes, blenx blanx, plenc plane*. Of those, the latter is more archaic as it reflects Venet *panza* 'paunch' influenced by old Venet \**splenza* 'spleen' (HELBIG *JbIRS* X 83). Other forms reflect a secondary interpretation of *p/enc plane* as a deverbative in *-es*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 39 (from Lat *panticem* 'paunch, bowels' and its Romance reflexes); JOKL *LKUBA* 291 (follows HELBIG); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 223; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 18; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 83.

**plim plym m** 'mass, crowd', adv. 'in heaps, in piles'. A deverbative in *-(i)m* based on an unattested verb *\*plyej* continuing PAIb *\*planja* 'to fill'. The latter is related to IE *\*ple-* 'full, to fill', cf. *plote*.

**pliq m**, pl. *pliqe* 'twisted woollen cord'. Borrowed from *Lat plecta* 'border of interwoven lines in relief, \*plait'. Note the development of *-ct-* > *\*-jt-* > *-q-*.

**plis m**, pl. *plisa* 'clod of earth, sod, piece of turf'. Continues PAIb *\*plitja*, a zero grade derivative in *\*-to-* related to *Sktphdlati* 'to burst, to split', *Lat spoliium* 'stripped skin or hide, spoil' and other reflexes of IE *\*(s)pel-* (*Joxt, Studien* 70-71, *LKUBA* 215). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 345 (from NGk *TEXiveoc* 'brick'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 43 (follows MEYER); WALDE-HOFMANN II 577-578; MAYRHOFER II 393; POKORNY I 985-987; cABEJ *LP* VIII 82 (to *plase*); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 82 (same as cABEJ); DEMIRAJ *AE* 325-326.

**plis m**, pl. *plisa* 'felt'. From PAIb *\*p(i)litja* related to *OHGfilz* id., *Lat pellis* id., Gk *rci1o*; id., Slav *\*pb1stb* id. 0 FRISK II 536; VASMER III 318; WALDE-HOFMANN II 275-276; POKORNY I 830.

**plish m**, pl. *plisha* 'kind of reed, Phragmites communis'. Continues PAIb *\*plas-i-* connected with Lith *p(i)corts* 'reed' (cABEJ *St.* II 43). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 32-33, 215-216 (to *plis*), *Slavia* XIII 309 (from *\*(s)phel-* 'to split'; reconstructs *\*plsio* > *plish*); FRAENKEL 628; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 114; JANSON *Unt.* 183; OREL *Sprache XXXI* 285, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 (*-sh-* < *\*-s-* according to the "ruki" rule); DEMIRAJ *AE* 326.

**pine f**, pl. *plita* 'sun-dried brick'. Borrowed from Slav *\*plita* 'plate, slab', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *plita*, SCr *plita* (*SvANE* 63).

**plog m**, pl. *plogje* 'granary, barn, heap'. From PAIb *\*plaga* related to Gk *raacytoc* 'placed sideways, sloping, leaning', *Lat plaga* 'quarter, region' (OREL *Fort.* 79). For the semantic development, cf. Slav *\*kleti*, 'barn' < IE *\*klei-* 'to lean, to be inclined'. 0 JOKL *Studien* 71-72 (from IE *\*ple-g-*, to *\*p/e-* 'full'); FRISK II 547; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 114 (related to *plote*); WALDE-HOFMANN II 314; POKORNY I 832-833; DEMIRAJ *AE* 326 (borrowed from Bulg *blog*).

**ploge** adj. 'lazy'. Historically identical with *plog*, the meaning 'lazy'

developping from 'leaning, lying without moving'. 0 JOKL *Studien* 71 (from *\*pe-lag-*, a prefixal form related to *Lat neglego* 'to slight, to neglect' - but *-e-* of the first syllable left no traces), *LKUBA* 155; CAMAJ *A119. Wortb.* 114, 122; SEILER *KZ CVI* 2 (to Gk *dakycō* 'to take account of'); SZEMERENYI *Syncope* 144-160; BEEKES *Laryngeals* 26; DEMIRAJ *AE* 327.

**ploje f**, pl. *ploje* 'slaughter, carnage'. From *\*ploe* < PAIb *\*plaga* related to Gk *itXi1yf1* 'blow', *Lat plaga* 'blow, slaughter'. 0 WALDE-HOFMANN II 315; FRISK II 561-562; POKORNY I 832.

**plote** adj. 'full'. From PAIb *\*plata* identical with IE *\*p/eto-* 'full' derived from *\*pela-* 'to fill': *Skt pratd-*, *Lat com-pletus* (CAMARDA I 59, 138; MEYER *Wb.* 345, *Alb. St.* III 23, 32). 0 JOKL *Studien* 71, *Sprache IX* 117; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 224; PISANI *Saggi* 99; MANN *Language XVII* 22; WALDE-HOFMANN II 322; POKORNY I 799; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 68; ANTTILA *Schw.* 145; HULD 105; DEMIRAJ *AE* 327-328 (related to *MLat plovum*).

**pluar pluer m**, pl. *plore* 'plowshare; prow'. Borrowed from NGk *TEXoSpīi* 'prow' (cABEJ *St.* II 43-44). 0 MAKUSEV *Vark Univ. Izv.* 1871 122 (from Slav *\*plugarb*); MEYER *Wb.* 346 (adduces *MLat plovum* 'plow' borrowed from Germanic but prefers MAKUSEV' s explanation); (MTIR *A ArbSt.* II 377 (to *OHG pflug* id.); MERINGER *IF XVII* 113 (borrowed from Germ dial. *pflua* 'plow' < *Pflug* id.); SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 255 (follows MEYER); JOKL *LKUBA* 130-141 (suggests a segmentation *\*pe-luar* 'divider'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 229 (against JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 327-328.

**plug m**, pl. *plugje* 'plow'. Borrowed from Slav *\*plugb* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *plug*, SCr *plug* (MEYER *Wb.* 346). 0 SELISftV *Slay. nase-lenie* 15, 156; SvANE 28.

**pluhur pluhun m** 'dust, powder'. A phonetic development of *\*plehur* *\*plehun* derived from *pleh*. 0 CAMARDA I 70 (related to *Lat pulvis* 'dust, powder'); MEYER *Wb.* 346 (from Rom *\*pluverem* < *Lat pulverem* id.); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 1 1053 (same as MEYER); SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 251; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 239, 366; cABEJ *St.* VII 277; HAARMANN 144.

**plumb** m, pl. *plumba* 'lead'. Borrowed from *Latplumbum* id. (CAMARDA I 198; MIKLOSTCH *Rom. Elemente* 50; MEYER *Wb.* 346). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1046, 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 224; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 142; LANDI *Lat.* 115, 141.

**plusk** m 'blizzard; fine flour; dust'. Other variants are *pluske*, *pluske*, *plyske*. Borrowed from Slav *\*pl'uska* 'bubble, hull, husk', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *pl'uska*, SCr *pljuska* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 29). 0 SVANE 174.

**pllajd** f, pl. *pllaja* 'upland, gentle slope'. Borrowed from Rom *\*plagius* id. (Rum *plai*, Ital *piaggia* and the like), cf. JOKL *LKUBA* 174-175.

**pllange** f, pl. *pllanga* 'supporting beam, support, lever; spot, mark'. A more phonetically conservative variant is *pellange* which is a dialectal form of *pellemba peilambe*.

**pllashic8** f, pl. *pnaShiCa* 'whitefish'. Borrowed from Slav *\*plaSica* 'kind of fish', cf. Bulg *pla.Gca*. 0 SVANE 152.

**pllaz** m 'sole of plow'. Borrowed from Slav *\*polzi*, id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *plaz*, SCr *plaz* (SVANE 28).

**pllenoj** aor. *pllenova* 'to make pregnant (of animals)'. A recent derivative of *pile plle* (see '*elle*').

**plloce** f, pl. *plloca* 'flat stone, slab'. Borrowed from Slav *\*plaa* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *ploeil* id., SCr *ploi(a)* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 343).

**plloske** f, pl. *plloska* 'flat wooden bottle, wooden vessel'. Other variants are *pllocke* and *pllocke*. Borrowed from Slav *\*ploska* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *ploska*, SCr *ploska* (MEYER *Wb.* 343). 0 SELISTEV *Slay. naselenie* 154; SVANE 69; MURATI *Probleme* 132.

**pllymaz** f, pl. *pllymeza* 'kind of fishing net'. From *\*per-lym-ez*, see *lym*.

**po por** adv. 'yes; so, well', conj. 'but'. Borrowed from Lat *porro* 'then, moreover; but' (MEYER *Wb.* 346). The loss of the final *-r* seems to be explained by the permanent unstressed position of the conjunction.

The same adverb is used as a particle of progressive forms. 0 CAMARDA I 314 (comparison with Skt *dpara-* 'posterior, later' or with Lat *porro* 'further'); MEYER-LCBKE *Gr. Grundrif3* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 225.

**pobratim** m 'friend, adopted brother'. Other variants are *probatim*, *probotim*, *probatin*. Borrowed from Slav *\*pobratinn*, 'adopted brother', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *pobratim*, SCr *pobratim* (MEYER *Wb.* 354). 0 SELIKEV *Slay. naselenie* 184; JOKL *Slavia XIII* 307; MANN *Language* XVII 12; SVANE 187.

**poc** m, pl. *poce*, *poca* 'pot, vase, vessel'. A cultural term derived from *pot*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 350 (to Fr *pot*, Spanish *pote* 'pot').

**pod** m, pl. 'story, floor, cellar'. Borrowed from Slav *\*podia* 'bottom, ground', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *pod*, SCr *pod* (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 52). 0 SELIKEV *Slay. naselenie* 148; SVANE 55.

**pohoj** aor. *pohova* 'to admit'. A derivative of *po*. 0 CABEJ *St. VII* 273.

**pojak** m, pl. *pojake* 'field guard'. Another variant is *polak*. Borrowed from Slav *\*pol'akl*, 'man related to the field', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *poljak* 'field guard' (MEYER *Wb.* 347). 0 SELIKEV *Slay. naselenie* 181, 302; SVANE 197.

*pojate* f, pl. *pojata* 'cabin, shack, cattle-pen, porch'. Borrowed at an early stage from Slav *\*polata* 'palace, building, tent', cf. OCS *polata*. From Albanian, this word - as a shepherding term - was passed to Rum *poiata* and other Carpathian and Balkan languages. 0 OKDA *Voprosnik* 38; SVANE 63.

*pokrove* f, pl. *pokrova* 'cloth, sheet'. Borrowed from Slav *\*pokrov7*, 'cover', cf. Bulg *pokrov*, SCr *pokrov* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 347). 0 SELISCEV *Slay. naselenie* 174, 325.

**pol** m, pl. *pola* 'fold; door-hinge'. Another variant is *pole*. Borrowed from Slav *\*pola* 'fold', cf. Bulg *pola*, SCr *pola* (MEYER *Wb.* 347). 0 SVANE 49.

**police** f, pl. *polica* 'shelf, ledge'. Borrowed from Slav *\*polica* id., cf.



South Slavic continuants: Bulg *polica*, SCr *polica* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 347). 0 SELIkeV *Slay. naselenie* 149; SVANE 66.

**pone** f, pl. *polla* 'apron'. Historically identical with *pal*.

**ponice** f, pl. *ponica* 'flower pot; oven, stove'. Borrowed from Slav \**podbnica* 'pot, oven', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *podnica*, *ponica* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 347-348). 0 SELIStEv *Slay. naselenie* 149, 153-155; SVANE 72.

**ponis** aor. *ponita* 'to honor, to respect'. Borrowed from Slav \**pombniti* 'to remember', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *pomn'a*, SCr *pomniti*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 347 (from SCr *poniziti se* 'to let oneself down').

**pop** m, pl. *popa* 'Orthodox priest'. Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *pop* id., SCr *pop* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 30).

**popel** f, pl. *popla* 'boulder, pebble'. A descriptive stem similar to that of OE *popel* 'pebble' and the like. 0 CAMARDA II 73 (to Gk *itotapau* 'water bubble'); JOKL *Studien* 72, LKUBA 215 (to IE \*(s)*phel-* 'to split'); CABEJ *St.* VII 222-223; DEMIRAJ *AE* 329.

**popull** m, pl. *popuj* 'people'. Borrowed from Lat *populus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 348). 0 LANDI *Lat.* 107, 130, 145.

**pordhe** f, pl. *pordhe* 'fart'. Continues PAIb \**parda* related to *pjerdh*. 0 CABET *St.* VII 218.

**porend** in, pl. *porenda* 'thorn hedge'. Borrowed from Slav \**porcdb* 'order, row' (DESNICKAJA *Slay. zaim.* 12). 0 SVANE 59.

**porez** m, pl. *poreza* 'tax'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *por'az*, *porez*, SCr *porez* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 348).

**porosit** aor. *porosita* 'to order, to demand'. An early loanword from Slav \**porQeiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 348) with Slav \*-e- > PAIb > -s-. 0 JOKL LKUBA 93; SELIgtEV *Slay. nase-*

*lenie* 181, 293; HAMP *LB XIV/2* 15; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII /1* 68; SVANE 239.

**porte** f, pl. *porta* 'door'. Borrowed from Lat *porta* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 348). 0 MEYER-LCBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* 2 I 1045; MIHAEScu *RESEE IV/1-2* 19; CABO *St.* VII 216; HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 60, 114.

**porriq m** 'leek'. Borrowed from Rom \**porricium* derived from *porrum* id. Another derivative Rom \**porrtnum* is the source of *porri porrf* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 348). 0 HAARMANN 143.

**porrc m** 'honeycomb stomach, reticulum'. Derive from *porr* 'stove, oven' continuing PAIb \**para* related to Gk fut. *rcrnao* 'to burn, to set on fire', Slav \**part.* 'vapor, steam'. 0 POKORNY I 809; FRISK II 538-539; VASMER III 203.

**porris** aor. *porrita* 'to extinguish, to destroy'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. SCr *pobrisati* 'to blur, to efface' (MEYER *Wb.* 349). Note the development of the cluster *-br-* > *-rr-*.

**porropi** f 'devastation, ruin, misadventure'. Other variants are *poropi*, *perupi*. The word is identical with *perrepi* 'precipice, drop', *perrepire* *perrepine* id., deverbatives based on an unattested prefixal \**per-rjep*, cf. *rjep*. 0 XHUVANI apud CABEJ *St.* II 44 (from NGk *Outpketa* 'inconvenience'); CABEJ *St.* II 44 (from NGk *pond* 'inclination, decline').

**ponce** adv. 'especially, separately'. A compound of *posa porsa* 'just, hardly, scarcely' (from *po* and *sa*) and *ce*'. Its synonym *pos* is an allegro form of *posa*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 266 (*pos* from SCr \**po se*, cf. *na po se* 'separate, singular'); CABEJ *St.* II 44 (agrees with MEYER).

**postaf m** 'stone trough'. Borrowed from Slav \**postavb* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *postav*, and in a different meaning SCr *postav* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 349). 0 SELIStEV *Slay. naselenie* 154; SVANE 67.

**postafat** adv. 'on purpose, deliberately'. Based on \**postave* borrowed from Slav \**postava* 'something set'.

**postahe** f, pl. *postahe* 'blanket, quilt used for sitting'. Borrowed from Slav *\*postaja* 'bed cover', cf. SCr *postaje*. The meaning of the word may have been influenced by a Turkism *postiqe* id. 0 MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 349 (from SCr *postav* 'cloth, kerchief'); SELISEV *Slav. naselenie* 174; JOKL *IF* XLIX 288 (follows MEYER); cABEJ *St.* II 45 (on *postiqe*); SVANE 48.

**postas** aor. *postata* 'to weaken, to exhaust'. Borrowed from Slav *\*postati*, cf. Bulg *postan* id. (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16: reconstructs *\*po-ustati*). 0 SVANE 263.

**postat** m, pl. *postate* 'garden plot, bed'. Borrowed from Slav *\*postatb* id., cf. SCr *postat* (MEYER *Wb.* 349). 0 SvANE 59.

**postre poste'** f, pl. *postre postre* 'shelter, porch'. Another variant is *postrehe*. Borrowed from Slav *\*postrexa*, a prefixal derivative of *\*strexa* 'roof' reflected in Albanian *as strehe* (SELiKEV *Slav. naselenie* 148). Cf. SCr *postrefiti* 'to thatch'. 0 SvANE 54.

**posulle** f slip, note, letter'. Other variants are *pusolle*, *pusolle*, *pustull*. An early borrowing from Slav *\*posyla*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 349 (from Slav *\*posvly* 'messenger').

**poshte** adv. 'down, below', prep. 'under'. Borrowed from Lat *post*, *poste* 'behind, back' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 349) with a radical change of meaning corresponding to other similar shifts in the Albanian system of prepositions and adverbs. The adjective *poshter* 'mean; lower' is derived from *poshte*. 0 FERDING *Otn.* 21 (to Skt *paścd-* 'back, posterior'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290 (to *perposh* and, further, to loc. pl. *\*ped-su* 'down, at the feet'), *Kelt. Gr.* I 50, 181; JOKL *Studien* 59-60, *LKUBA* 32-33, *Festschr. Kretschmer* LXXXVIII; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 231; cABEJ *St.* II 45-46 (follows PEDERSEN), III 114; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 142; HAARMANN 143; HAMP *ZfceltPh* XXXIV 20-22; DEMIRAJ *AE* 329-330.

**pot** m, pl. *pota* 'mill-hopper, flour-bin; little boy'. Borrowed from Rom *\*pottus* 'pot' > Fr *pot*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 349 (from Turk *pota* id. of Romance origin).

**potere** f 'noise, din, crash, pursuit of robbers'. Borrowed from South

Slavic *\*poter'a* id., cf. Bulg *potera*, SCr *potera* (MEYER *Wb.* 349).

**potke** f, pl. *potka* 'scarecrow, boundary mark, landmark'. Borrowed from Slav *\*potvka* 'landmark', cf. SCr *polka* 'kind of boundary mark' (SELiKEV *Slav. naselenie* 182). 0 SVANE 206.

**pothuj pothue** adv. 'nearly, almost'. A univerbation of 2 sg. *pc thuaj* 'you say' (MANN *HAED* 397). 0 cABEJ *St.* II 46 (repeats MANN'S explanation).

**pra** adv. 'so, therefore'. Results of an erroneous segmentation or of the allegro reduction of Old Albanian *prashtu* id., *prato* id. (BUZUKU) continuing *\*per ashtu*, *\*per ato*. 0 JOKL *Studien* 80 (to OCS *prose* 'therefore').

**praf** n, 'dust, powder'. Borrowed from Slav *\*porgy* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *prax*, SCr *prate* (SvANE 164, 239).

**prafullime** f, pl. *prafullima* 'spark (thrown out of an engine)'. Deverbative of *prafulloj* 'to toast, to singe' derived from *praf*. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 221.

**prag** m, pl. *pragje* 'threshold'. A parallel form is *prak*. Borrowed from Slav *\*porgy* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *prag*, SCr *prag* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 350). 0 SELiKEV *Slav. naselenie* 148; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 226; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 13; SVANE 53.

**prane** adv. 'alongside, beside, nearby', prep. 'near, by'. Goes back to *per tine*.

**prandaj** conj. 'therefore, thus'. Goes back to *\*per andaj* (CAMARDA I 306; MEYER *Wb.* 11). 0 cABEJ *St.* II 46-47.

**prange** f, pl. *pranga* 'fetter, chain, handcuff'. Borrowed from Gmc *\*pranga* 'constriction, cramping', cf. Germ *Pranger* 'pillory' (MEYER *Wb.* 350-351). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63 (from Ital *spranga* 'bolt'); KLUGE 562-563.

**pranoj** aor. *pranova* 'to admit, to accept'. Derived from *prane* (MEYER *Wb.* 11). 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 202.

**prapa** adv. 'back, backwards, beyond', prep. 'behind'. Another form of the same word explained by accentual modifications in Proto-Albanian is *prape* 'back, again, the other way round'. Continues *\*per apa* *\*per ape*, the second component being historically identical with *pa* (BOPP 502; CAMARDA I 306; MEYER Wb. 351). The Proto-Albanian form must have been *\*per apa* or *\*pra apa*. 0 JOKL MRIW I 302, IF XXXVII 108; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 187-188; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 111; HAMP *Laryngeals* 125 (to *hap*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 330-332.

**praqe** pl. tantum 'stirrups'. Semantically modified plural of *prak*, variant of *prag*.

**praroj** aor. *prarova* 'to gild'. From *\*per-aroj*, denominative of *ar* (MEYER Wb. 14).

**prashis** aor. *prashita* 'to hoe over, to rake over, to cultivate'. Borrowed from Slavic *\*porKti* 'to turn into dust, to cover with dust, to hoe', cf. Bulg *praša*, SCr *praiti* (MEYER Wb. 351). 0 SELIV'Ev *Slay. nasele-nie* 158; SVANE 77, 239.

**pravulloj** aor. *pravullova* 'to boil down, to boil, to wash in hot water'. Continues *\*per-avulloj*, a denominative based on *avull*.

**pre** f, pl. *preja* 'prey, booty, plunder'. Borrowed from Lat *praeda* id. (MEYER Wb. 351). 0 MIH'AESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HA ARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 71.

**pregjim** m 'party on the occasion of child-birth; visit paid to mourners after a death'. Other variants are *pergim*, *pergjim*. A regular deverbative of *pergjoj*. 0 ENDZELIN KZ XLV 230 (to Lith *gimti* 'to give birth', Latv *dzitra* id.); cABEJ *St.* II 47-48 (from MGk *rtparo* *\*vi[ta* 'first birth'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 332 (agrees with cABEJ).

**preh pref** aor. *preba prefa* 'to sharpen'. Continues *\*per-eh*, a prefixal derivative of *eh* (MEYER Wb. 352). 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 239.

**prehaluq** adj. 'emaciated'. A suffixal derivative of *preh*. 0 cABEJ *St.* II 48 (contamination of *preh* and *hale*).

**preher prehen** m 'bosom, lap; apron'. From PAIb *\*prOjena* *\*`front'*,

originally, an adjective built (as Gk *npthioc* 'early') on the basis of the locative Gk *Tcpctii*. 'early, in the morning' = OHG *frui* id. derived from IE *\*pro* 'forward, in front of, before' (OREL *FM* VIII/1-2 45). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 353 (to Slav *\*pręgg* 'to tighten'), *Alb. St.* III 31, 72; cABEJ *St.* II 48 (compares with Lith *springti* 'to choke, to swallow' connected with Slav *\*pręg()*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 95; FRISK II 607-608; POKORNY 1814.

**prej** prep. 'to, towards; from, out of'. In fact, from disyllabic PAIb *\*prei* identical with the locative Gk *npaii* 'early, in the morning' = OHG *frui* id. derived from IE *\*ply*, 'forward, in front of, before', cf. *preher*.

**prek** aor. *preka* 'to touch'. From PAIb *\*praka*, a derivative of an adverbial *\*pra-k-* related to Gk *itpoica* 'forthwith, straightaway', Slav *\*prokt*, 'remainder, remaining' and similar formations of *\*pro* 'forward'. 0 CAMARDA I 242 (analyzes *prek* as *\*pre-k-*); MEYER Wb. 352 (to Gk *npacraw* 'to do, to work'); FRISK II 599; VASMER III 373.

**prell** m 'sunny side'. Borrowed from Gk *napillkto*; 'near the sun'.

**prente prente** f 'Friday'. Other variants are (T) *prempete*, (G) *prende*. Deverbative based on *premtoj* in its unattested meaning 'to forebode, to prepare in advance' and representing a translation of Gk *rcapacsicEml* 'getting ready, preparing; Friday'. 0 MEYER Wb. 266 (to *mbreme*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 227.

**premtoj** aor. *premtova* 'to promise'. Borrowed from Lat *prOmittere* 'to forbade, to promise'. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 52 (from Ital *promettere* 'to promise'); MEYER *Wb.* 352 (same as MIKLOSICH).

**pres** aor. *preva* 'to cut'. From PAIb *\*p(e)retja* related to Lith 'to beat, to thump', Gk *icalw* 'to saw' (CAMARDA I 42; MEYER Wb. 353, *Alb. St.* III 31, 72). 0 Schmiar KZ L 243-244; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 227; FRAENKEL 578; FRISK II 596; POKORNY I 819; HAMP KZ LXXVI 135; HULD 105; DEMIRAJ *AE* 332-333 (to *eh*).

**pres** aor. *prita* 'to wait, to expect'. Continues PAIb *\*pratja* etymologically related to Goth *frakjan* 'to think, to understand', Lith *pranta*, *prasti* 'to get used, to understand'. 0 CAMARDA I 143 (a prefixal verb related to IE *\*es-* 'to be'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 169 (a prefixal verb related

to Lat *etn5* 'to buy, to purchase'); BARB *ARSt* I 90 (to OIr 3 sg. *frith* 'is found'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 228; FRAENKEL 646-647; FEIST *Goth.* 165-166; POKORNY I 845; HAMP *KZ LXXVI* 135 (from IE *\*prkto-*, to *\*prek-* 'to ask').

presh m, pl. *presh* 'leek'. Borrowed from Gk *mpliaov* id. (THUMB *IF XXVI* 19). 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/3-4* 350; CABEJ *St.* VII 278, 281.

preve f, pl. *preva* 'open way, track, ford'. Borrowed from Lat *prīvum* (*iter*) 'private (road, passage)'. 0 CAMARDA I 27 (identical with *treve*); MEYER *Wb.* 353 (repeats CAMARDA's identification); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 52-54; CABEJ *St.* VII 184, 233.

prdj praj aor. *prejta projta* 'to incline, to cling to, to lean; to infect'. The semantic development 'to cling' > 'to infect' is quite frequent, cf. E *to stick*. The original meaning of PAIb *\*per(i)-anja* appears to be 'to incline, to bend to the side'. It is derived from *ane*. 0 CABEJ *St.* II 46 (separates *prej* 'to infect' and connects it with *ej*).

prdj praj aor. *prejta preijta* 'to comfort, to soothe'. Goes back to PAIb *\*prainja* related to Skt *panda* 'to please', *Gothfrijon* 'to love', Slav *\*prijati* id. and the like. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 5 (to *ej*); FEIST *Goth.* 168; MAYRHOFER II 380; VASMER III 369; POKORNY I 844.

prndndverd prandverd f 'spring'. Borrowed from Rom *\*prima vera* (> Ital *primavera*, Rum *primeivard*), cf. MEYER *Wb.* 466. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 52 (from Ital *primavera*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 226; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 19; HAARMANN 144; LANDI *Lat.* 108.

prenjkd f, pl. *prenjka* 'freckle, sunspot'. A derivative in *-ke* of PAIb *\*priknja* related to Skt 'spotted, speckled', Gk *rcEpKv6c* 'dark, spotted', W *erch* 'spotted' and the like. 0 MAYRHOFER II 336; FRISK II 515-516; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 43; POKORNY I 820-821; CABEJ *St.* II 46 (derived from *prej*

prier aor. *prora* 'to incline, to lean, to turn aside'. Goes back to PAIb *\*per(i)-era*, a prefixal verb etymologically related to Hitt *arnumi* 'to move, to shift', Skt *ruoti* 'to arise, to move', Gk *Opvul.tt* 'to stir up', Lat *orior* 'to rise'. 0 CAMARDA I 56-57 (a prefixal verb to be corn-

pared with Gk & Elm 'to raise'); MEYER *Wb.* 354 (a prefixal verb related to Gk *iX6w* 'to drive, to set in motion'); FRISK II 422-424; MAYRHOFER I 122; WALDE-HOFMANN II 222-223; POKORNY I 326-328.

prift m, pl. *prifter, prifterinj priftna, priftinj* 'priest'. Borrowed from Lat *presbyter* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 52; MEYER *Wb.* 353). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; JOKL *Slavia XIII* 287 (on the Dalmatian Latin source); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 228; ERNOUT-MEILLET 534; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 19; HAARMANN 143; HAMP *SCL XXXII/4* 425-428; LANDI *Lat.* 102, 121, 130.

prij prij aor. *prina, privy* 'to lead'. Borrowed from Lat *praeire* 'to lead, to precede' (MEYER *Wb.* 353). 0 HAARMANN 143.

prije f, pl. *prije* 'drainage ditch'. A derivative of *prij*, probably representing a calque of South Slavic *\*vada* 'irrigation ditch' (Bulg *vada*, SCr *vada*) related to *\*vedo*, *\*vesti* 'to lead'. 0 KRISTOFORIDHI 345 (from *\*per-ije*); CABEJ *St.* IV 85.

prije f, pl. *prija* 'onion-bed'. Usually, in a phrase *prije qepesh* id. Borrowed from Lat *porrina* id.

prik m 'slope'. Goes back to *\*prier-k*, a derivative of *prier*.

prik f, pl. *prika* 'dowry'. Derived with the suffix *-ke* from *prij*. 0 SKOK 2A II 103-110 (from Gk *itpoi* 'gift, present').

prill m 'April'. Borrowed from Lat *aprilis* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 353). 0 MITIAESCURESEE IV/1-2 12; HAARMANN 111; LANDI *Lat.* 118, 177.

prime pl. 'folk remedies'. Deverbative of *proj* 'to guard, to defend' (CABEJ *St.* II 48).

pried m, pl. *prinde, prinder prinden* 'father, parent'. Borrowed from Lat *parentem* id. (CAMARDA I 42; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 47; MEYER *Wb.* 353). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1047, 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Origin* 189; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 18; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 116, 143-145.

**pringj** m 'chief, prince'. Borrowed from \**prince(s)* <Lat *princeps* 'chief' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 52; MEYER *Wb.* 353). 0 MEYER-LCBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; HAARMANN 144.

**priqe** pl. 'arthritis'. Another variant is *prig pr1c*. A suffixal derivative of *prij*.

**priskoj** aor. *priskova* 'to besprinkle'. A relatively recent denominative formation based on \**prisk(e)*. The latter was borrowed from Slav \**pryskrb* 'sprinkling' otherwise unattested in South Slavic where its variant \**prz.slcb*, \**prbskati* is attested.

**prish** aor. *prisha* 'to destroy, to spoil, to waste'. From PA1b \**pri,fa* related to Gk *npia* 'to saw' (MEYER *Wb.* 353, *Alb. St.* III 31, 61, 72). 0 JOKL *Studien* 72-73 (adds Germanic parallels: **OHG** *freisa* 'danger, destruction' and the like), *LKUBA* 24; PISANI *Saggi* 119; cABEJ *St.* II 49-50; FRISK II 596 (doubts the validity of the Greek - Albanian comparison); POKORNY I 846; cABEJ *St.* II 49, VII 206, 228; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 (-*sh-* < \**-s-* according to the "ruki" rule); DEMIRAJ *AE* 333-334 (to IE \**per-* 'to strike').

**privoj** aor. *privova* 'to rob'. Borrowed from Lat *privare* id.

**prize** f, pl. *priza* 'gutter'. Derived from *prije*.

**probateshe** f, pl. *probatesha* 'adopted sister'. An innovative feminine in *-eshe* based on the recomposition of *probatin*, see *pobratim*.

**prodhoj** aor. *prodhova* 'to produce'. Borrowed from Lat *prodare* id. (MixtosIcH *Rom. Elemente* 52). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 266 (to *mbrodh*).

**profke** f, pl. *profka* 'splitting fruit; water spray; twaddle, bluff'. Another variant is *procke* 'blunder, slip of the tongue'. From Bulg *proeka* 'wicket-gate' in various metaphoric meanings. 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 9 (to *prej*), *Slavia XIII* 289.

**prog** m, pl. *progje* 'nail'. A secondary fonetic variant of *proke*.

**proj** aor. *prova* 'to guard, to defend; to precede, to anticipate, to take precaution'. Borrowed from Lat *parare* 'to make ready; to defend',

the meaning 'to defend' being typical of Romance languages (Ital *parare*, Fr *parer*), cf. cABEJ *St.* II 48. A noun *proje* meaning at the same time 'defense' and 'booty' is a deverbative. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 369 (to *ruaj* or from Lat *prohibere* 'to hold back, to prevent').

**proke** f, pl. *proka* 'nail, fork'. Borrowed, with an unusual unvoicing of the anlaut, from Rom \**brocca*, \**broccia* 'fork, roasting-spit', cf. Ital dial. *brocca*, Fr *broche* < fern. \**brocca* 'projecting (of teeth)' (MEYER *Wb.* 354).

**prosek** m, pl. *prosiqe* 'hut for cattle to be rounded up'. Together with *proseqe* 'chips, chippings (from pruned tree)' is a Slavic loanword from \**prosekk*, 'kind of axe; opening, cutting (in a forest)', cf. Bulg *prosek*, SCr *prosijek* (cABEJ *St.* II 50). The meaning represented in Albanian is **not** attested in South Slavic. It **has obviously developed from 'section, something cut out'**. 0 SELIKEV *Slay. naselenie* 151 (from Bulg *prosek* 'section in a barn').

**prozhem** m, pl. 'small wood, community forest'. Another, and more phonetically archaic, variant is *proshem*. This word for the \*'nearest forest' > 'community forest' is borrowed from *Latproximus* 'nearest'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 355 (from **South Slav** \**lama* 'forest'); BARK *ARSt* I 75 (from \**kseuma* related to Slav \**siuma*); cABEJ *St.* II 50-51 (borrowed from Slav \**brhsti*, trushwood').

**prozhmoj** aor. *prozhmova* 'to slander, to libel'. As in *prozhem*, a more conservative variant is *proshmoj*. It is borrowed from Lat *proximare* 'to come near, to approach' with a complicated semantic development, presumably: 'to get close' > 'to know intimately' > 'to slander'. 0 CAMARDA I 322 (to Gk \**npo-atpt6w*, cf. *crptom* 'to turn up the nose, to sneer at' - but Greek loanwords are not adapted as verbs in *-oj*); MEYER *Wb.* 355 (from Slav \*,šuml. 'noise'); cABEJ *St.* II 51 (identical with *percmoj* 'to despise' derived from *cmoj*).

**prridh** aor. *prridha* 'to suffocate'. Continues a prefixal verb \**per-ridh* with a root unattested in an unbound form and continuing PA1b \**reida* related to Gk *ipEiSw* 'to prop, to push'. 0 FRISK I 551; POKORNY I 860.

**prroske** f, pl. *prroska* 'brook, mountain stream'. Derivative in *-ske* of *perrua* (JOKL LKUBA 220, 327).

**prush** m 'ember, glowing coal'. From PAIb *\*prtda* etymologically related to Lat *puuna* id. < *\*prusna*, Skt *plosati* 'to burn' (MEYER Wb. 355, Alb. St. III 31, 61). 0 CAMARDA 1 52 (to Gk itvp 'fire'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 231; SCHULZE *Kl. Schr.* 479; POKORNY I 846; MANN *Language* XXVI 388 (to Latv *pirkstis* 'hot ash'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 334-335.

**psheretij** aor. *psheretiva* 'to sigh, to moan'. Other variants are *pshe-retoj* and *psheretis*. Borrowed, with a metathesis in the phonetically complicated anlaut, from Rom *\*suspīrītare*, cf. Lat *suspīrāre* 'to sigh' (MEYER Wb. 356). 0 CABEJ St. VII 221.

**pshikelloj** aor. *pshikellova* 'to beat with a cane'. Another variant is *fshikul-loj*. Derived from *fshikull* 'whip' borrowed from Rom *\*fīstīcula*, cf. Lat *fistula* 'reed, cane'.

**pshoj** aor. *pshova* 'to sigh, to moan'. A back formation of *\*pshire* < Lat *suspīrium* 'sigh', cf. *psheretij*.

**pshurr** aor. *pshurra* 'to urinate'. From *\*per-shurr*, a prefixal derivative of *shurre*.

**pucerr** f, pl. *pucerra* 'blister, pimple'. Together with *puc* 'hair parting' and *pucis* 'to contort (face)', goes back to SCr *pueiti* 'to split'.

**pufke** f, pl. *pufka* 'bubble, blister'. A derivative of *\*pufe puhe* borrowed from SCr *puha* id. The latter is connected with SCr *puhati* 'to blow (up)' which, in its turn, has been borrowed to Albanian as *pupas* id. Finally, *puhi* 'light breeze' also belongs here (MEYER Wb. 356).

**pufte** adj. 'empty, hollow'. Appears only in a context *arre pufte* 'empty nut'. Borrowed from Lat fern. *puncta* 'punctured, having a hole'.

**puk** adj. 'foolish'. Borrowed from Lat *pablicus* 'public; common, ordinary, bad'.

**puke** f 'promenade, public way'. Borrowed from Lat *publica* (*via*) 'public

way' (MinosicH Rom. *Elemente* 53; MEYER Wb. 356). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> 1 1054; HAARMANN 144.

**puleger** f, pl. *pulegra* 'dwarf bustard'. Based on *\*pulege* borrowed from one of Italian or Dalmatian continuations of Rom *\*pullicus*, cf. *pullus* 'young fowl, chick'.

**pulender pulander** f, pl. *pulendra pulandra* 'maize porridge'. Another variant is *pullender pullander*. Based on *\*pullend* borrowed from Lat *polenta* 'peeled barley, pearl-barley'.

**pule** f, pl. *pula* 'hen'. Borrowed from Rom *\*pulla* 'hen' (cf. Fr *poule*), see CAMARDA 1172; MIKLOSICH Rom. *Elemente* 53; MEYER Wb. 356-357. As to *pulke* 'turkey; pullet', it is borrowed from Bulg *pulka* 'pullet'. 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> 11046, 1050, 1054; JOKL LKUBA 219; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 232; MIHAESCURESEE IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 144.

**pulisht** m, pl. *pulishta* 'donkey's colt'. Another variant is *polisht*. Derived from *\*pul* borrowed from Lat *pullus* 'foal' (MEYER Wb. 357).

**pulpe** f, pl. *pulpa* 'calf (of leg)'. Borrowed from Lat *pulpa* 'flesh' (MIKLOSICH Rom. *Elemente* 53; MEYER Wb. 356). 0 MEYER-IXIBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> 1 1046; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 144.

**pulqyer** m, pl. *pukere* 'thumb; dwarf'. Another variant is *pulger*. Borrowed from Lat *pollicaris* 'belonging to a thumb' (MEYER Wb. 357). 0 CAMARDA I 345 (reconstructs Rom *\*pollicer*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1043; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 143; LANDT *Lat.* 39, 83.

**pullender pullander** f 'washing water, lye'. A singularized plural of *\*pulland* borrowed from Lat *perlavāntem* 'washing thoroughly'.

**pullaz** m, pl. *pullaze* 'roof'. A secondary variant of *pe//as* 'palace' (CABEJ II 51-52), with the hypercorrect voicing of the auslaut. 0 MEYER Wb. 356 (variant of *lepoze* 'roof, roof-timbers', cf. *lepize*); JOKL LKUBA 86-88 (follows MEYER).

**punt** f, pl. *pune* 'work, thing'. A participle in *-ne* of an unattested verb

\**puaj* continuing PA1b \**panja*. The latter is related to Gk Tcvol.tat `to strain, to work on' and its deverbative ic6vo; 'work, labor' (HAHN I 251, II 28) with uncertain further links. 0 BUGGE *BB XVIII* 188-189 (borrowed from Gk newoc); MEYER *Wb.* 357, *Alb. St.* III 29, 58 (to Gk onifuoil 'haste, speed'), IV 45 (against BUGGE); JOKL *Studien* 3; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVIII* 200 (follows MEYER); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 23; THUMB *IF XXVI* 81-82 (criticizes BUGGE); SCHMIDT *KZ LVII* 6 (to Slav \**Nditi* 'to push, to press'); BARIe *ARSt* I 86 (from \**oposna*, to Lat *opus* 'work'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 225 (disputes BARICs view); LA PIANA *Studi I* 73; PISANI *Saggi* 103, 121; TREIMER *KZ LXV* 94 (to Lat *pugna* 'to fight'); CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 46; FRISK II 504-506; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 65 (to \**spend-* 'to pull'); KLINGENSCHMITT *Miinch. St. Spr.* XL 102; CABEJ II 52-53 (two possibilities are suggested: HAHN's etymology or comparison with Lat *pondus* `weight'), IV 58; OLBERG *IF LXXIII* 212; HULD 156, 165; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 335-336.

punjashe f. pl. *punjashe* 'purse'. Deminutive of \**punje* borrowed from East Germanic, cf. Goth *puggs* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 357).

pupa f, pl. *pupa* 'breast, teat; tassel, bud'. Borrowed from Rom \**puppa* `teat' (cf. OFr *poupe*, Ital *poppa*), see MEYER *Wb.* 358. Derived from *pupe* is *puperr* 'boil, furuncle' (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 233). 0 DURIDANOV *Trakite* 80 (to Thr \**pupa*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 336.

pupe f, pl. *pupa* 'hoopoe', Borrowed from Lat *upupa* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 357-358). From its derivative *pupeze* id. Rum *pupitza* was borrowed. 0 HAARMANN 156.

pupil f, pl. *pupa* 'stern'. Borrowed from Lat *puppis* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53; MEYER *Wb.* 357). 0 HAARMANN 144.

puprroj aor. *puprrova* 'to hoe over'. Borrowed, with dissimilation of liquids, from Lat *preparare* 'to prepare', in this case - 'to prepare the field (for sowing)'. |

pupurriqem refl. 'to tremble'. An emphatic formation built on the basis of *puprroj*.

puq aor. *pupa* 'to fit together'. From PA1b \**pukja*, a denominative related

to Gk Tel'Aca adv. 'thickly, strongly', nvicvoc 'thick, strong'. 0 FRISK II 622-623; POKORNY I 849.

puroj aor. *purova* `to calm, to pacify, to defend'. Borrowed from Rom \**parare* 'to defend' (JOKL *Studien* 112). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 267 (from Rom \**barrare* 'to bar').

purtekd f, pl. *purteka* 'rod, stick'. Borrowed, with a metathesis of -ru- > -ur-, from one of the South-East continuants of Slav \**prQtbkb* 'rod, bush', cf. Bulg *prbtak*, SCr *prutak* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 31; MEYER *Wb.* 358-359). 0 SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 244 (from Lat *pertica*); CABEJ *St.* VII 244.

purth m 'diarrhea'. Derivative in -th of PA1b \**purwa* related to Lith *pui'vas* 'filth, dirt', Latv *pitrvs* 'swamp, marsh'. 0 FRAENKEL 675.

purse f 'hot ashes'. Borrowed from Slav \**pyr'b* id. (Czech *Hi'*, Pol *perz*). An early loanword with Slav \*-y- rendered as Alb -u- (JOKL *AArbSt I/1-2* 45-46). 0 SELIKEV *Slay. naselenie* 298; JOKL *Slavia XIII* 291; KRISTOFORIDHI 286 (from NGk p6;); SVANE 57; OREL *ZfSlaw XXX/6* 913, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 362.

pus m, pl. *puse, pusa* 'well, fountain'. Borrowed from Lat *puteus* `well' (MEYER *Wb.* 359). 0 MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 31 (from Slavic), *Rom. Elemente* 51 (from Ital *pozso* id.); ; MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3*<sup>2</sup> 1 1046, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 233; MIHAESCURESEE IV/1-2 19; SVANE 144; LANDI *Lat.* 125, 139.

push m 'fluff, down, nap, pile'. Continues PA1b \**puia* < \**puksja* etymologically connected with Skt *pticcha-* 'tail' < \**puksko-*, Slav \**pum* `down' < \**poukso-* (CABEJ II 53, IV 219) going back to IE \**puk-* \**peuk-* 'covered with hair, bushy'. 0 CAMARDA I 345; MEYER *Wb.* 359 (borrowing from Turk *pig* 'to cover; cover'); POKORNY I 849; MAYRHOFER II 298-299; VASMER III 414; ADAMS *JIES XVI/1-2* 71-72; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 (on the "ruki" rule in *push*).

pushke f, pl. *pushke* 'rifle, gun'. Borrowed from Slavic, cf. Bulg *pugka*, SCr *puRa* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 31; MEYER *Wb.* 359). 0 SELIKEV *Slay. naselenie* 172; HAMP *LB XI/1/2* 13; SVANE, 204.

**pushoj** aor. *pushova* 'to have a rest'. Borrowed from Lat *pausare* 'to halt, to rest (in the grave)' (PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom.* II 660) developing the meaning of 'resting' in Romance, cf. Ital *posare*. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51 (from Rai *posare*); MEYER *Wb.* 359 (from Latin or from *Italposare*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif*<sup>2</sup> I 1049; HELBIGJNRS X 127 (agrees with MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 233; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 143.

**pushtet** m, pl. *pushtete* 'power'. Borrowed from Lat *potestatem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 359, *Alb. St.* IV 10). The verb *pushtoj* continues Rom *\*potestare*. The dialectal form of the verb *poshtroj* *poshtroj* results from an erroneous etymological link with *shtraj*. 0 CAMARDA I 178 (to Gk *arp6vvv* 'to spread'); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif*<sup>2</sup> I 1043; WEIGAND *BA* I 261 (*pushtoj* < *\*pushtet-oj*); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 124 (*pushtoj* < Rom *\*expeditare*); cABEJ *St.* II 53-55 (repeats the essence of CAMARDA's etymology: *pushtoj* < *\*per-shtraj*, to *shtraj*); HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 33, 39, 44.

**putt** f, pl. *puta* 'sole'. From PAIb *\*pukta* related to Gk *rim* (adv. 'thickly, strongly', nvcivoc 'thick, strong', cf. *puq*).

**putere putane** f 'whore'. Borrowed from Rom *\*puttana* id., cf. Ital *puttana*. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53 (from Ital *puttana*); MEYER *Wh.* 359 (follows MIKLOSICH).

**puth** aor. *putha* 'to kiss'. From PAIb *\*putsa*, an onomatopoeia similar to many other words for 'kiss' reflecting *bu- pu-* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 233). 0 MEYER *Wh.* 356 (to Gk *rruxacto* 'to cover closely, to protect' so that *puth* 'to kiss' < 'to embrace' similar to Fr *embracer*), *Alb. St.* III 13,31; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 333 (agrees with MEYER); cABEJ *St.* II 55 (follows TAGLIAVINI); HULD 156; DEMIRAJ *AE* 336-337.

**pyes** aor. *pyeta* 'to ask'. From the umlauticized PAIb *\*puta* related to Lat *put* ('to reckon, to ponder', Slav *\*pytati* 'to ask' (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 217). 0 GICFERDING *Otm.* 24 (to *Sktprach-* 'to ask'); CAMARDA I 44 (to Gk *myveavogat* 'to learn'); MEYER *Wh.* 360 (from Rom *\*petit*, based on Lat *pet* ('to demand, to seek'), *Alb. St.* IV 50; DIEFENBACH I 43 (to Lat *pose* ('to ask, to beg')); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif*<sup>2</sup> I

1044; PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht IX I 211* (from *\*per-yes*, related to Skt *pravedayati*); WEIGAND *BA* I 261 (follows MEYER); XHUVANI *KLetr* II 14 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); WALDE-HOFMANN 11 393-394; VASMER III 421; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 256; cABEJ *St.* II 55-57 (from *\*per-v-es* related to Gk *aitkco* 'to ask, to demand').

**pylke** f, pl. *pylka* 'wedge; end of the axe-handle'. Another, more frequent, variant is *pyke*. Borrowed from Lat *pavicula* 'hammer'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 360 (from Rom *\*prlicum*, cf. Lat *pilum* 'pestle').

**pyll** m, pl. *pyje* 'forest'. Borrowed from Balk Rom *\*padulem* (cf. Rum *pcidure id.*) < Lat *paladem* 'swamp' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 46; MEYER *Wh.* 360). 0 CAMARDA I 52 (to Gk 'forest?!'); PUSCARIU *EWB* 108; MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif*<sup>2</sup> I 1039, 1046, 1052; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 92; BARIC *Hymje* 65; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; cABEJ *St.* VII 251; HULD 105; HAARMANN 139; LANDI *Lat.* 69, 144-146.

## Q

**qafe** f, pl. *qafa* 'neck'. Borrowed from Turk *kafa* 'occiput, head' (HULD 106). The substitution Alb *q-* < Turk *k-* is possible (BORETZKY *Turk. Einfluf*<sup>3</sup> I 77). Rum *ceafa* 'neck, occiput' is an Albanian loanword (MEYER *Wb.* 219). 0 CAMARDA I 93 (to Gk *akiv* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 219 (comparison with Lat *collum* 'neck' and the like); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 330 (against MEYER); BARIE *ARSt.* I 31 (to OHG *warb* 'turn, rotation'), *AArbSt* I 146 (from *\*ko-ose(h)u-*, cf. Gk *Ompi*c 'hip'); JOKL *LKUBA* 328 (against BARD *ARSt*); TREIMER *AArbSt* I 32 (borrowed from Lat *capsa* 'box, chest'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 92, *Stratificazione* 95; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 339; ROSETTI *ILR* I 275; *HAMPFestschr. Schmidt* 39 (from *\*keplla*, to Lat *caput* 'head').

qaj **qanj** aor. *qava* 'to cry, to weep'. Tosk and Greco-Albanian forms preserve the initial *kl-*. Goes back to PAIb *\*klaunja* cognate with Gk *lame* < *\*icA, OcFlco* id. (CAMARDA I 79; MEYER *Wb.* 220, *Alb. St.* III 4). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 146; MANN *Language* XXVI 381; FRISK I 865; CHANTRAINE 538; POKORNY I 599; Cimocflowsm *St. IE* 47; OLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 686; HAMP *Laryngeals* 126; KLINGENSCHMITT *Munch. St. Spr.* XL 110, *Verbum* 104; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; cABEJ



*St.* VII 193; HULD 106; JANSON *Unt.* 178; DEMIRAJ *AE* 337-388 (to dial. *klith* 'to cry').

**gape** f, pl. *qapa* 'hobble'. From **PAIb** \**klapa*, a nominal derivative of *qep* (*OREL Linguistica XXIV* 432).

**qark** m, pl. *qarqe* 'circle'. Despite an irregular treatment of the vowel, this is a loanword from Lat *circus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 220, *Alb. St.* II 26-27). A synonym of *qark* - *qarkull* continues Latin diminutive *circulus*. 0 CAMARDA 138 (related to Gk *icpicoc* 'circle, ring'); JOKL *Studien* 42 (supports MEYER); cABEJ *St.* II 57 (agrees with CAMARDA); LANDI *Lat.* 85, 98, 139.

**qarte** adj. 'clear'. Borrowed from Lat *clams* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 15; MEYER *Wb.* 220). 0 CAMARDA I 56; MEYER-LUBICE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1040 (from Ital *chiaro* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 93 (from Italian).

**qartoj** aor, *qartova* 'to quarrel'. From Lat *certare* <sup>2</sup> to compete' (MEYER *Wb.* 220). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1048; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 116.

**qarr** m, pl. *qarra* 'Turkey oak, bitter oak'. Borrowed from Lat *cerrus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 220). 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 98, 138-140.

**qas** aor, *qasa* 'to approach'. From **PAIb** \**ketja* etymologically connected with the isolated Lith *keeit*, *kisti* 'to stretch'. 0 CAMARDA 70; MEYER *Wb.* 220-221 (to Slav \**kasati* *sc* 'to touch'), *Alb. St.* III 6, 13; PISANI *Saggi* 119; FRAENKEL 246 (contamination of \**ked-* and \**plet-* in Lithuanian); cABEJ *St.* VII 184, 231.

**qazhne** f, pl. *qazhna* 'rough white woolen cloth'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav \**tvibna*, fern. 'heavy'.

**qeft** m, pl. *qefte* 'drinking glass'. Borrowed from Lat *captus* \*`container', participle of *capia* 'to contain, to hold'. 0 KRISTOFORIDHI 187 (from Gk *icEboo*; 'hiding place'); cABEJ *St.* II 58-59 (to *sqep*).

**qefull** m, pl. *qefuj* 'mullet'. From MGk *k&pc*(Xoc id. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 244).

**qejs.8** f, pl. *qejsa* 'cuticle'. Another variant is **Geg** *qenez*. Based on **PAIb** \**kenja* 'new skin' < 'new' etymologically related to **Skt** *kanina-* 'young', Gk *icceivoc* 'new' and the like. 0 FRISK I 754; POKORNY I 563-564.

**qek** aor, *qeka* 'to mention, to quote'. Continues **PAIb** \**kaka* or \**keka* related to **Lith** *kankit*, *kakti* 'to seize, to reach', Latv *kacet* 'to grasp', Slav \**jekati* 'to expect, to wait'. 0 FRAENKEL 206; TRUBAC'EV *ESSJa* IV 36.

**gel** m, pl. *qela* 'scab'. Borrowed from Lat *callum* 'corn, hard skin'. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 184.

**qelb** m, pl. *qelbra qelbna* 'pus'. From **PAIb** \**kalba* related to *kalb* (MEYER *Wb.* 221-222). Note a denominative verb *qelb* 'to fill with stench, to make rot'. 0 BARK *ARSt.* I 53 (from IE \**gool-bh-* related to Arm *kel* 'tumor'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 93; MANN *Language XXVIII* 34 (to Gk *icaeyoc*); cABEJ *St.* VII 224-225.

**qele** f, pl. *qela* 'priest's house'. Borrowed from Lat *cella* 'room' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 13) 0 HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 98, 158.

**qelq** m, pl. *qelqe* 'glass'. Borrowed from Lat *calicem* 'bowl, cup' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 9; MEYER *Wb.* 221). 0 CAMARDA I 46 (to Gk *xam4* 'seed-vessel, shell, pod'); MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82; MIHAESCU *RESEE* I\111-2 21; HAARMAN 114; LANDI *Lat.* 85, 111-112.

**qell** aor, *Bella* 'to halt, to hold up, to carry'. From **PAIb** \**kela* etymologically connected with **Skt** *kaldyati* 'to impel', Gk *icekol.tat* 'to drive on' and the like (CAMARDA I 127; MEYER *Wb.* 168). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 329-330; JOKL *IF XXX* 198, *LKUBA* 266 n. 1 (connects *qell* with *sjell* despite the phonetically impossible *q-* < \**P-* before a palatal); FRISK I 817-818; MAYRHOFER I 179; POKORNY 1549; MANN *Language XXVIII* 34 (to Lith *kelti* 'to raise'); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 81; cABEJ *Sprache XVIII* 126 (follows JOKL), *St.* VII 230; HULD 106-107 (recon-

structs *\*leoleja*); JANSON *Unt.* 164; DEMIRAJ *AE* 338-339 (to IE *\*keja-* 'to move').

qem m 'incense'. Singularized plural of *\*kam* borrowed from Gk *icanvOg* 'smoke'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 222 (to Slav *\*e"adl*, 'smoke'); JOKL *Studien* 34 (related to roticvoc < IE *\*kyep-*); CABE! *St.* VII 281.

(pm& f, pl. *qemra* 'snake's coil'. Borrowed from Lat *camera* 'arch, vault'. 0 CAMARDA II 150 (to Gk *icagapa* id.).

qen m, pl. *qen*, *gener* 'dog'. A relatively late loanword from Lat *canem* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 10; MEYER *Wb.* 222) or, rather, from its Balkan continuations (Rum *carne*), reflecting no traces of rhotacism in Tosk. 0 BOPP *Gr. comp.* I 301 (from Indo-European); STIER *KZ* XI 144-145 (reflex of IE *\*kyOn*); CAMARDA I 41 (treats *gen* as a cognate of Lat *canis* and other reflexes of IE *\*kuon*); JOKL *Erf. Idg.* 128; MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1042; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 94; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82 (of Indo-European origin); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMANN 114; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 190; HULD 107; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 98, 144.

qend8r f, pl. *qendra* 'center, middle'. Borrowed from Lat *centrum* id. 0 MANN *Language XVII* 23; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 116; CABEJ *St.* II 59 (on Old Alb *gender* 'punch'); LANDI *Lat.* 54, 81.

qengj m, pl. *gengja*, *shgerra*, *shtjerra* 'lamb'. Borrowed from the metathesized Rom *\*acing(u)lus* < Lat *agniculus* id. (Simi( *AArbSt II* 344-346). The plural form continues PALb *\*sterai* related to Skt *start* 'barren cow', Arm *sterj* 'sterile, barren', Gk *arEipa* id. 0 BUGGE *BB* XVIII 178 (from Rom *\*agnunc(u)lus*); MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 20 (follows BUGGE); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 344-348 (from Lat *agniculus*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 96; AeAREAN *HAB* IV 272; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 105 (prefix *q-* and further comparison with *enje*); CABE! *St.* II 59 (links *gengj* < *\*ken-k-* to Gk *icatv6*; 'new', Skt *kanina-* id.); POKORNY 11031; MAYRHOFER III 512-513; FRISK II 783; HULD 115.

gen& f, pl. *gengja* 'beehive'. Another variant is *gengje*. Continues PALb *\*kenaga* related to Gmc *\*xunagan* 'honey': ON *hunang*, OE *hunig*, OHG *honag*. An Albano-Germanic isogloss reflecting IE *\*k<sub>n</sub>nako-*. 0 POKORNY 1 564 (Germanic from IE *\*lc<sub>n</sub>nako-* 'golden, yellow'); ZALIZN' AK *Etimologija* 141.

qep m, pl. *qepa* 'beak, hammer'. Borrowed from Slav *\*klep7.*, 'sharp point' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 432). Cf. also *qepalle*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 222-223 (to IE *\*skep-* 'to split').

qep aor. *qepa* 'to sew (together), to seize'. From PALb *\*klepa* related to Slav *\*klepati* 'to beat, to knock', cf. in particular Russ *klepat''to join together by riveting'* (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 432-433). 0 CAMARDA I 101 (to Gk *KOCICTO*) 'to swallow, to gulp down'); MEYER *Wb.* 223 (from IE *\*skep-* 'to split'), *Alb. St.* III 6, 31; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 330 (to Lat *capiO* 'to take'); JOKL *LKUBA* 308 (follows PEDERSEN); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 94; TRUBAEV *ESSJa* X 9 (explains *\*klepati* as onomatopoeia).

qepalle f, pl. *qepalla* 'eyelid'. Borrowed from Slav *\*klepadlo* 'hammer, beetle, clapper' (MEYER *Wb.* 223), cf. in particular Maced *klepalo* 'eyelid' (JOKL *LKUBA* 304). 0 CAMARDA 190 (from IE *\*skep-* 'to cover'); SVANE 179, 274.

qep f, pl. *qepe* 'onion'. Borrowed from Lat *cepa* id. (CAMARDA I 78; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8; MEYER *Wb.* 223). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> 11044, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 94; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 53, 81.

qepdr f, pl. *qepra* 'beam, roof-beam'. Borrowed from Lat *copra* 'she-goat, \*roof-beam', cf. Ital *capro* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 11; MEYER *Wb.* 223). 0 CAMARDA 190 (to Gk *csicenn* 'covering, shelter'); MEYER-1,1113KE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> 1 1044; JOKL *LKUBA* 268 (from Rom *\*capreus*); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 115.

qepule f, pl. *qepule* 'bulb (of a plant)'. Borrowed from Lat *cepulla* 'onion', cf. *qepe*. Derived from *qepule* is *qepujke* id.

qer m, pl. *qere* 'round kneading-board'. A Tosk variant of *qe qe*.

qere f letter, scab (on the head). Borrowed from Lat *caries* 'rot' (MEYER *Wh.* 223). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1043; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMANN 115; LANDI *Lat.* 133-134.

germ m, pl. *qerme* 'higher part of the campfire; raised baulk'. Borrowed, with an irregular *q-* < *\*tj-*, from Gk *c4p,oc* 'end. boundary,

limit'. 0 MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 20 (from Latin); cABEJ *St.* II 60 (related to Gk .thplia and Lat *termen* 'boundary'); HAARMANN 153 (from Latin).

qeroj aor. *qerova* 'to ask, to demand'. Other variants are *qeroj* and *giroj*. Borrowed from Lat *quaerere* id. (HAARMANN 144).

qerpe f 'tuft of hair'. Another variant is *cerpe*. A metathesis of *perce*, the latter being of Turkish origin (cABEJ *St.* II 60).

qerse f, pl. 'fallow land'. From PAIb *\*kerktja* related to Slav *\*Ichrcvt*, 'stubbed plot', Latv *klub* 'to become empty (of a turnip)', OPrus *Curche* 'the last sheaf in which a deity hides'. 0 VASMER II 340; MUHLENBACH-ENDZELIN II 322-323; POKORNY I 568.

qershi f, pl. *qershi* 'cherry'. Based on *\*qersh* borrowed from Gk *icepacso*; id. (CAMARDA 156; THUMB *IF* XXVI 29). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 13 (from Lat *cerasus*); MEYER *Wh.* 225 (from Rom *\*cerasium*, cf. *cerasus* id.); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1051; JOKL *LKUBA* 208 (agrees with THUMB); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 98; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 31, IV/3-4 350; cABEJ *St.* VII 230; HAARMANN 116; LAND! *Lat.* 158.

qerthull m, pl. *qerthuj* 'winch, windlass, circle'. From PAIb *\*kerts-ula* continuing IE *\*ker-k-* and related to Gk *xipicoc* 'ring' and Lat *circus* *circulus* (MANN *Language* XXVI 385). 0 CAMARDA I 162 (to *qark*); MEYER *Wb.* 220 (same as CAMARDA); JOKL *Studien* 42 (from IE *\*kert-* 'to turn, to bind'); BARD *ARSt.* I 42; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 118 (suffix *-u//*); FRISK II 19-20; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; WALDEHOFMANN I 220-221; POKORNY I 935; DEMIRAJ AE 339-340 (borrowed from Lat *circellus* 'little ring').

qerr m, pl. *qerre* 'wagon, cart'. Borrowed from Lat *carrus* 'two-wheeled wagon' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 12; MEYER *Wb.* 180). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 94-95; cABEJ *St.* VII 238, 251.

qesas aor. *qesata* 'to cut (branches)'. Borrowed from Slav *\*tesati* 'to cut, to hew', with *q-* rendering prepalatal Slavic *t-*, cf. South Slavic

continuants: Bulg *tesam*, SCr *tesati*. Derived from *qesas is qeser* 'kind of broad axe'.

qesh aor. *qesha* 'to laugh'. From PAIb *\*kaksja* related to similar onomatopoeic verbs in Skt *kdkhati* id., Gk *icaxgto* id. and the like (BARD *ARSt.* I 42-reconstructs *\*kakhja*). 0 CAMARDA 169 (to Gk *piarco*, *xcvive*) 'to yawn, to gape'); MEYER *Wh.* 224 (to Goth *hlahjan* 'to laugh'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 95 (questions BARIe's etymology); PISANI *Saggi* 122; POKORNY I 634; FRISK I 804; MAYRHOFER I 136; cABEJ *St.* VII 201, 221.

(I) qesher f, pl. *qeshra* 'roof plank'. Borrowed from Rom *\*casina* derived from Lat *casa* 'house, hut'.

qete f, pl. *qeta* '(jagged) rock'. From PAIb *\*klaita* directly connected with W *clud* 'heap' and Lith *šlaitas* 'slope'. Cf. also, with a different vocalism, Gk *icAcyri g* 'slope', OHG *hlita* id. and the like (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 433). 0 FRAENKEL 997; cABEJ *LP* VIII 79-80, *St.* II 61 (singularized plural of *qye*); POKORNY I 601-602; FRISK 1873-875.

qete adj. 'quiet'. Borrowed from Lat *quietus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 224). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1051; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 145.

Beth aor. *qetha* 'to cut (hair)'. Goes back to PAIb *\*kaiṣa* related to Skt *kes'a-* 'hair (of the head)', Lith *kdisti* 'to scrape, to shave'. 0 CAMARDA 178 (to Gk *xeipco* 'to cut'); MEYER *Wb.* 221 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb. St.* III 6, 24; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 330; JOKL *LKUBA* 13, 228 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 95; PISANI *Saggi* 102; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 45; FRAENKEL 204-205; MAYRHOFER I 267; POKORNY I 520; cABEJ *Sprache* XVIII 144-145, *St.* VII 229; HULD 147; KORTLANDT *KZ* XCIV 250; DEMIRAJ AE 340-341 (to *qij*).

qeze f, pl. *qeze* 'breadboard, baking plate'. Derived from *ye*.

qe qe m 'round kneading board'. Borrowed from Gk *xecvvoc* 'wicker-work, basket'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 224-225 (from *\*klen-*); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 34-35 (from Rom *\*clavanus* derived from Lat *clava* 'stick, staff' - but Cham *qe* excludes the possibility of the initial *\*kl-*!); cABEJ

St. II 58 (to Bret *kant* 'circle' and its Celtic cognates).

qe qi pron. 'which, that', conj. 'that'. Borrowed from Lat *qua* 'which' and *quia* 'because, that', *quad* 'that' (MEYER Wb. 217-218). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1051; PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht XIX* I 206-208 (from IE \**Vid*); MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 19 (from Lat *quad*); cABEJ *St. II* 61-62 (agrees with PEDERSEN).

011oj aor. *qellova* 'to beat, to hit; to gain, to obtain'. Restored from \**per-qelloj* borrowed from Lat *percellare* 'to beat'. 0 MEYER Wb. 225 (from Rom \**cellare*); LAMBERTZ *KZ LII* 66 (to *qell*); CABEJ *St. II* 62-63 (follows LAMBERTZ).

qemtoj aor. *qemtova* 'to gather'. Borrowed from Rom \**coemptare*, cf. Lat *coemere* 'to buy up'.

qendroj aor. *qendrova* 'to stop, to halt'. Borrowed from Rom \**centrare*, derivative of Lat *centrum* (MEYER Wb. 225) used to denote an immobile object, in particular, the immobile leg of a compass. 0 CAMARDA I 44 (to Gk *ic6cpov* 'goad, point').

qdroj aor. *qerova* 'to clean, to sort out'. Borrowed from Lat *curare* 'to card (linen)'. Hence, 'to sort out'. 0 CAMARDA I 44 (to Gk *icoaw* 'to sweep, to clean'); MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 15 (from Lat *curare*).

qertoj aor. *qertova* 'to blame, to reproach'. Another variant is *qortoj*. See *qartoj*.

qjell m/n, pl. *qiej* 'sky, heaven'. Borrowed from Lat *caelum* id. (RASK apud HULD 107; OILTERDING *Otm.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8; MEYER Wb. 225-226). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 93; MixikEscu *RESEE IV/1-2* 13; HAARMANN 113; LANDI *Lat.* 71-72, 137.

gift m, pl. *qifte* 'kite, kind of vulture'. Borrowed from Lat *accipiter* 'vulture' (MEYER Wb. 226). For the loss of the last syllable cf. *mbret* (JOKE LKUBA 306). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundri/3*<sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1055; MmAEscu *RESEE IV/1-2* 31; cABEJ *St. VII* 184; HAARMAN 110.

qij aor. *qiva* 'to copulate, to have sexual intercourse'. Borrowed from

Lat *coire* id. through the intermediate stage \**keinj*. 0 MEYER *Wl.* 226 (from Lat *inclinare* 'to cause to lean'), *Alb. St.* V 90 (to Lat *scindo* 'to cut, to tear'); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1054 (same as MEYER); JOKL *Zb. Belk* 49; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 95; PISANI *AAL VIII* 345 (to IE \**ken-* 'to rub').

qikel f, pl. *qikla* 'point, spike, peak'. Singularized plural of \**qekel*. From PALb \**kekula* related to Lith *kekulas* 'lump, cluster', Latv *cckuls* 'forelock, cluster'. 0 FRAENKEL 234-235; cABEJ *St. VII* 235.

gime f, pl. *gime* 'hair'. Another form is *qym*. Borrowed from Lat *cyma* 'young shoots (of cabbage)' (MEYER Wb. 226-227). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 16 (from Lat *coma*); CAMARDA I 52 (to Gk *iceOlucc* 'wave, billow'); MiliAEscu *RESEE IV/1-2* 15; cABEJ *St. VII* 205; HAARMANN 122; LANDI *Lat.* 69, 100.

gird num. 'hundred'. Borrowed from Lat *centum* id. (CAMARDA I 37; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 13; MEYER Wb. 227). 0 GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 22 (related to Skt *s'atd-* id.); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 95; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 22; HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 98; HAMP *Numerals* 919.

qingd1 f, pl. *qingla* 'girth, belly-band (of pack animals)'. Another variant is *qengel*. Borrowed from Lat *cingula* id. (CAMARDA I 165; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER Wb. 227) 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 14; HAARMANN 117; LANDI *Lat.* 98, 111, 117.

qipdr f 'copper, bronze'. Borrowed from Lat (*aes*) *cyprium* 'copper' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20; MEYER Wb. 228). 0 CAMARDA I 52 (to Lat *cuprum* id.); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1046; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 22; HAARMANN 121.

qipi f, pl. *qipi* 'stack'. Secondary derivative of PALb \**kupa* related to OPers *kaufa-* 'mountain', OHG *hufo* 'heap', OE *heap* id. and also *houf* id., Lith *kdupas* id., Slav \**kupa* id. (JOKL *Studien* 43). 0 FRAENKEL 231; ONIONS 432; VASMER II 418-419; POKORNY I 591-592; DEMIRAJ *AE* 341 (collective of *kup* id.).

qiqdr f, pl. *qiqra* 'chick-pea'. Borrowed from Lat *cicerem* id. (CAMARDA

68; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER Wb. 226).0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3*<sup>2</sup> 11045, 1051; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 117; LANDI *Lat.* 56, 98, 112.

**gigiriq** m, pl. *qiqiriq* 'ground-nut'. Derived from *qiqer*.

**qiri** m, pl. *qirinj* 'candle'. Borrowed from MGk lanai id. (MEYER Wb. 228).0 CAMARDA I 181; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 96.

**qis** aor. *qita* 'to pull out'. From PALb *\*kitja* derived from an adjective in *\*-to-*, *\*kita*, and further related to Gk law 'to go, to move', Lat *ciea* trans. 'to move' and the like. 0 MEYER Wb. 228 (from Lat *excitare* 'to call out, to bring out'); PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom.* II 668 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 96-97; POKORNY I 538-539; FRISK I 862-863; WALDE-HOFMANN I 213-214.

**(liter** f, pl. *qitra* 'citron'. Borrowed from Lat *citrum*, *citrus* 'citrus (tree)'.  
**qoj** aor. *qova* 'to wake up'. Borrowed from Lat *ciere* 'to move, to agitate'. 0 CAMARDA I 66 (to *gjume*); BARK ARSt I 120 (follows CAMARDA); JOKL *Melanges Pedersen* 147-150 (to Lat *ciere*); CIMOCHOWSKI LP II 221; MANN *Language XXVIII* 34 (related to Lat *ciea*); OLBERG *IBK XIV* 109; CABO *Etim.* III 128-129; JANSON *Unt.* 125-126; DEMIRAJ *AE* 341.

**qok** m, pi. *qoke* 'kind of owl'. Another variant is *quke*. An onomatopoeia.

**qok** aor. *qoka* 'to seize, to touch, to peck'. Another variant is *quk*. An expressive verb. 0 MEYER Wb. 229 (from Slav *\*kl'ukati* 'to peck').

**qoke** f, pl. *qoka* 'broody hen'. Derived from *qok* 'to seize'.

**gore** f, pl. *gore* 'water-hole in the mountains'. Singularized plural of *quar* (CABEJ St. II 63).

**qos** aor. *qosa* 'to end, to finish'. From PALb *\*kla(u)tja* derived from the Indo-European word for 'key': Gk Oak, Lat *c/avis*. Cf. Lith *kliaudyti* 'to stop, to prevent' going back to the same source. 0 CAMARDA I 39

(to Gk *ithagoc* 'order'); FRISK I 867-868; FRAENKEL 274; WALDE-HOFMANN I 229-231; POKORNY I 604-605; CABEJ St. II 63-64 ('expressive shortening' of *quillos*).

**quaj quej** aor. *quajta quejta* 'to call, to give a name'. From PALb *\*klausnja*, a denominative based on TE *\*kleyos* 'glory, word': Skt *s'rtivas-*, Gk *icA,k)c*, Slav *\*slovo* (CAMARDA I 52). 0 MEYER Wb. 230 (to *gjuhe*); JOKL IF XLIX 291, *Studien* 60; BARK ARSt 71 (to *gjuhe*); PEDERSEN IF V 36; PISANI REIE IV 7; MANN *Language XVII* 16, XXVI 383, XXVIII 33; PORZIG *Gliederung* 75; FRISK I 869-870; VASMER III 673; MAYRHOFER III 389-390; CABEJ St. VII 201, 231; HULD 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 342.

**guar - quer** m, pl. *gore* 'prison, cellar, shelter'. Goes back to PALb *\*kla(u)ra* further related to *qos*. 0 JOKL LKUBA 95-97 (to Slav *\*kWh* 'barn' and its cognates); CABEJ St. II 64 (to OIr *claidim* 'to empty', Gk *lactSup6*; 'fragile').

**qudohem** refl. 'to persist, to be obstinate'. Borrowed from Ital *chiudere* 'to shut' (MEYER Wb. 229). 0 CABEJ St. II 64 (to *cudis*).

**quill m** 'porridge'. The original meaning seems to be 'liquid food' as indicated by the denominative *quill* 'to make wet'. From PALb *\*klu-sla* related to Gk *icA,i)co.*) 'to rinse', Lat *c/u0* 'to clean' and the like (MEYER Wb. 228, *Alb. St.* III 4 with the reconstruction *\*kludlo-*). 0 CAMARDA I 69 (to Gk *xuX.6g* 'juice'); FRISK I 876-877; WALDE-HOFMANN I 239-240; POKORNY I 607; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/3-4 350 (borrowed from Gk *x-uX,k*); CABEJ St. II 65 (follows MIHAESCU).

**gumsht m** 'milk, whey'. In dialects (e.g. in Cham), the initial *kl-* is preserved. Borrowed from Latin. Continues Rom *\*clomostrium* <Lat *colostrum* 'colostrum, beestings' (MEYER Wb. 229). 0 JOKL LKUBA 273-276 (to Gk *ickgo*) 'to pour, to wash', Latv *slaukt* 'to milk'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 149; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 105 (from *\*k-lum-*); HAMP *SCelt XIV I XV* 110; CABEJ St. VII 231.

**quploj** aor. *quplova* 'to blunt'. Borrowed from Rom *\*globellare* derived from *\*globellus* 'knot'.

**qurra pl.** 'snot, snivel'. Another variant is *qyrra*. From PAIb *\*klura* etymologically identical with Lith *sliurti* 'to become dirty' and going back to an Indo-European localism *\*kleu-r-*. 0 MEYER Wb. 230 (from Turk *kir* 'dirt, filth'), *Alb. St.* IV 87, V 91; FRAENKEL 1007; cABEJ *St.* II 65 (to Lith *krekti* 'to coagulate, to clot').

**qye m, pl. qej** 'summit, peak'. From PAIb *\*klaina* continuing IE *\*kloino-* 'slanting, skew' > Goth gen. pl. *hlaine* 'hill' (cABEJ *St.* II 61). 0 FEIST *Goth.* 260-261; POKORNY I 600-602; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 433.

**qyl m** 'slime, mud'. From PAIb *\*kala* identical with Lith *ktila* 'out-growth', Slav *\*kyla* id. 0 FRAENKEL 306; POKORNY I 536-537; TRUBACEV *ESSJa* XIII 262-263.

**qyr** aor. *qyra* 'to look'. Another variant is *keqyr* with a prefix *ke-*. Continues PAIb *\*kewira* related to Gk *wee* 'to note', Lat *caved* 'to be aware', Goth *hausjan* 'to hear'. 0 FRISK I 890-891; WALDE-HOFMANN I 186-187; POKORNY I 587.

**qyrd f, pl. qyra** 'rear side (of a knife)'. Together with *Byte* 'blunt side (of an axe)' this form represents a derivative of an unattested verb *\*qyej* 'to blunt' < PAIb *\*kenja*, further connected with IE *\*ken-* 'to scratch, to cut'. For the semantic development cf. Lat *obtusus* 'blunt' *obtundere* 'to beat'. 0 POKORNY I 559-553; BUCK 1070-1071.

**qysh** adv. 'how'. Locative of *ge*.

**qytet m, pl. qytete** 'city'. Borrowed from Lat *civitate(m)* id. (CAMARDA I 53; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER Wb. 229). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1048; MiliAEsCu *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; TAGLI-AVINI *Origini* 190; HAARMANN 117; cABEJ *St.* II 65-66 (on the umlaut in the suffix *-et*); OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 438 (on the evolution of PAIb *\*-Twi-* and Lat *-NO*); LANDI *Lat.* 83, 85, 146.

## R

**rabecke f, pl. rahecka** 'sparrow'. Based on *\*rabeo* borrowed from Slav *\*vorbhcb* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vrahec*, SCr *vrabac* (DESNIC-KAJA *Slay. zaim.* 13). 0 SVANE 145.

**rabush m** 'hard outer scale of onion'. Another variant is *rapush* 'onion-top, flower of onion'. Borrowed from Bulg *rabuS* 'tally, tag'. 0 MANN *HAED* 421 (to *lepush*).

**radis** aor. *radita* 'to prepare, to make ready (of food)'. Borrowed from Slav *\*raditi* 'to settle, to arrange, to make ready', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *rad'a*, SCr *raditi* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 31; MEYER Wb. 360). 0 SVANE 223, 240.

**radhd f, pl. radhe** 'row'. From dialectal NGk *iSci&ex* id., cf. NGk *dtp6coa* (MEYER Wb. 360). 0 CAMARDA II 334; cABEJ *St.* VII 279.

**ragal m** 'kennel'. A Tosk hapax registered by JOKL in a phrase *ragara e šenit* 'dog's kennel'. Early borrowing from Slav *\*rogalb* 'corner', cf. SCr *ragalj* (GINDIN - KALU2SKAJA *SBJa Etnokurt.* 30-32); note Alb *-a-* < Slav *\*-o-*. Semantically, cf. Slav *\*koja* 'house, hut' derived from *\*ko'l*, 'corner' (TRUBACEV *EvZiPhon.* XXXIV 477). 0 JOKL *IF* XLIV 13-15 (connects *ragal* with Rum *argea* 'shed' and ancient Maced *apyekA*, a 'Macedonian baths'); PISANI *REIE* IV 17 (fantastic comparison with Lat *nebula*); HASDEU *EMR* II 309 -310 (Rum *argea* < ancient Balk *\*argella*); TAGLI-AVINI *Origini* 149; CIORANESCU I 36 (Rum *argea* < Turk Chag *arya* 'box'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 328; ROSETTI *ILR* 271-272; cABEJ *St.* II 94; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 362; DEMIRAJ *AE* 342-343.

**range f** 'home work'. From PAIb *\*wranka* with an original meaning \* 'gathering', etymologically identical with Lith *ranka* 'hand', *paranka* 'gathering', *renklt*, *rinkti* 'to gather', Slav *\*rvka* 'hand'. 0 FRAENKEL 697; VASMER III 515; POKORNY 11155; cABEJ *St.* H 67-68 (connected with Ital *rangola* 'preoccupation' or Lat *rancor* 'roe').

**rape f** 'turnip'. Borrowed from Lat *rapa* id. (MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1042). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 232.

(G) **raqite f** 'broom (bush)'. Borrowed from Slav *\*orkyta* id., cf. Bulg *rakita*, SCr *rakita* (MEYER Wb. 361). 0 SELIKEV *Slay. naselenie* 189; SVANE 127.

**rase f, pl. rase** 'case'. A phonetic variant of *rast*, a Turkish loanword, influenced by *ra*, aoristic stem of *bie* (cABEJ *St.* II 68).

rase f, pl. *rasa* 'cassock'. From MGk *1513caov* id. (CABEJ *St.* II 69), probably, via Bulg *rasa*, SCr *rasa*.

rashe f 'kind of woman's shirt'. Borrowed from MLat *rasum* 'kind of cloth' (CABEJ *St.* II 68-69).

rashqel m, pl. *rashqela* 'rake'. Another variant is *rrashqel*. Borrowed from Lat *rastellus* 'little hoe'.

rate adj. 'horizontal'. Derived from *rashe*, aor. of *bie*.

rave t, pl. *rava* 'path (in mountains or snow)'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*my* 'ditch'. 0 BARD *ARSt* I 78 (to Slav *\*noga* 'foot'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 54 (etymologically related to Slav *\*rove*); CABEJ *St.* II 69-70 (metathesis of *vaf re*).

ravge f 'path (in mountains)'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*rov7,k7* 'ditch', cf. *rave*. Derived from *ravge* is *ravgoj* 'to wander, to walk to and fro' (CABEJ *St.* II 70).

re indecl. 'attention'. Used in *ye re* 'to pay attention'. Identical with *roje* 'guard' derived from *ruaj* (CABEJ *St.* II 71-72). The verb *verej* 'to pay attention' is a univerbation of *ye re*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 362 (to Lat *gravis* 'heavy'); WIEDEMANN *BB XXVII* 210 (to Lith *regeti* 'to see'); JOKL *Studien* 75-76, *LKUBA* 207 (follows WIEDEMANN and points to *ruaj* as the closest connection).

re - re f, pl. *re* - *re* 'cloud'. Singularized plural of *\*ri*. Goes back to PALb *\*ring* etymologically identical with Illyr pivos axko; (JOKL *AfslPh XXXI* 238, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86). Further connections are Skt 'to pour, to let flow', Gk Lesb *apiwo* 'to move'. 0 CAMARDA I 92 (to Gk *ailp* 'air'); MEYER *Wb.* 362 (to Gmc *\*raukiz* 'smoke' > OHG *rouh*, ON *reykr* and the like), *Alb.St.* III 37, 90; BARD *ARSt* I 78 (to IE *\*nebh-* 'cloud'); SCHMIDT *KZ L* 244 (to Skt *raja-*); RIBEZZO *RivAlb* I 140 (to Gk *gpEPoc*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 235 (follows MEYER); PISANI *Saggi* 99, 123; POKORNY I 330; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 52 (to *perrua*); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 80 (agrees with JOKL); CABEJ *St.* II 71 (repeats JOKL's etymology but also compares *re* with *err*); HULD 107-108 (links *re* to Lat *ras* 'dew', Lith *rasa* id.); OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 344 (agrees with RIBEZZO).

re f, pl. *reja* 'young woman, daughter-in-law, bride'. Substantivized feminine of *ri*.

red m 'row'. Borrowed from Slav *\*rcch*, id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *red*, SCr *red* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 32). 0 SVANE 224, 241.

regezinj aor. *regeziva* 'to tear (clothes)'. An Old Albanian form (BUZUKU) based on the noun *rragozine* 'rag' (LA PIANA *Studi. Varia* 41). The latter is an early Slavic loanword continuing Slav *\*rogofina* 'bast mat'. 0 CABEJ *St.* II 72 (metathesis of *\*gerzinj* derived from *gris*).

regj m, pl. *regjer* 'king'. Borrowed from Lat *regem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 362 (from Lat *reg(u)lus*); MEYER-LtJBKE *Gr. Grundriji* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; RESULLI *Studi albanesi* III-IV 211-213 (from Old Ital *rege* id.); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; CABEJ *St.* II 72 (agrees with MEYER *Gr. Gr.*); HAARMANN 145; LAND! *Lat.* 83, 96, 145.

regj aor. *regja* 'to tan'. From PALb *\*raugja*, a denominative verb etymologically related to ON *reykr* 'smoke', OHG *rouh* id. The original meaning of the word was 'to smoke'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 362 (from SCr *redjati* 'to put in a row, to set in order'); JOKL *Slavia XIII* 299 (agrees with MEYER); POKORNY I 872; MANN *Language XXVI* 382-383 (to Gk *Oco*); CABEJ *St.* II 73-74 (from IE *\*KO-* related to Gk *pyov* 'work'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 345 (to Lith *rugti* 'to become sour').

rad f 'brook, rivulet'. Another morphonological variant is *reke* (JOKL *LKUBA* 225). Borrowed from Slav *\*reka* 'river', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *reka*, SCr *rijeka*, *reka* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 363). 0 SELMEV *Slay. naselenie* 188, 323; SVANE 172.

rekes m 'giant'. Verbal adjective based on *rrek* (CABEJ *St.* II 74). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 363 (to Slovene *orjak* id.).

rem m 'copper'. Singularized plural of the attested form *ram* id. borrowed from Ital *rame* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54; MEYER *Wb.* 361). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 1 1042; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 29 (follows MIKLOSICH); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 234 (the same); JOKL

*Arch. Rom.* XXIV 35 (from Lat *aeramen* 'bronze or copper shavings'); MIHAESCu RESEE IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 110; cABEJ *St.* II 74-75 (agrees with JoKL).

retnd f, pl. *rema* 'watermill ditch'. Borrowed from NGk *ki.ta* < Gk *l̥eolua* 'ditch, rivulet' (CAMARDA I 53; MEYER Wb. 373). 0 MANN *HAED* 425, 434 (identical with *rremb*); cABEJ *St.* II 75 (agrees with MANN).

rend m, pl. *rende* 'row'. An early loanword from Slav *\*recta* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 32; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21), cf. *red*. The verb *rendis* 'to put in order' reflects Slav *\*rcditi* id. 0 SELIGCEV *Slay. naselenie* 182; SvANE 223, 241.

rend aor. *renda* 'to run, to hurry'. Continues PA1b *\*renta*, a derivative of *\*rena* etymologically related to Goth *rinnan* 'to run', ON *rinna* id. 0 MEYER Wb. 363 (from MGk *kArrat* 'horse-race'); JOKL *LKUBA* 280-281 (derivative in *\*-t-* of *\*ren.*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (to Skt *rarnhati*); FEIST *Goth.* 398-399; POKORNY I 328 (to IE *\*er-* 'to rise').

rendoj aor. *rendova* 'to grate'. Secondary formation based on *rend* 'row'.

reps f 'desert'. Continues an umlauticized PA1b *\*raupa* etymologically related to ON *rauf* 'pit', Lith *rafipti* 'to hollow out' further related to IE *\*reup-* 'to tear, to break'. 0 FRAENKEL 707-708; POKORNY I 870.

repd f, pl. *repa* 'turnip'. Borrowed from Slav *\*repa* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *r'apa*, dial. *repa*, SCr *repa* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 32). 0 SELIGftVSlay. *naselenie* 162; MIITAESCURESEE IV/I-2 24 (from Lat *rapum*); SvANE 108.

repuq adj. 'torn'. A suffixal derivative of *rpjep*.

rese f, pl. *resa* 'envy'. Historically identical with *rese* 'guard' derived from *ruaj* (KRISTOFORIDHI 297), probably, as a calque of Lat *invidia* id. (JoxL *Studien* 76). 0 BORGEAUD RRL 6 (1973) 529-531; cABEJ *St.* II 75, IV 85.

rese f 'structure made of reed and supporting a straw roof'. Identical

cal with *rese* 'guard, envy'. The reed trellis was used to protect the roof from falling. 0 cABEJ *St.* II 75-76 (borrowed from Bulg *resa* 'stamen').

resh aor. *resba* 'to fall (of snow or rain)'. Secondarily restored from the aorist *rashe* of *hie* 'to fall' (JOKL *IF* XLIII 52-55). 0 MEYER Wb. 363 (to Skt *vdr sati* 'to rain' and the like), *Alb. Studien* III 86; JOKL *Studien* 73-74 (to Lith *rasa* 'dew', Slav *\*rosa* id.); BARB *ARSt* 1 79 (to IE *\*sneieh-* 'snow'); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 52; cABEJ *St.* II 76 (agrees with MEYER); HAMP *IF* LXXXVI 191-192; HULD 108; DEMIRAJ *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 72, *AE* 345-346.

reshis aor. *reshita* 'to extinguish'. Borrowed from Slav *\*rHiti* 'to solve' also meaning 'to extinguish' as in SCr *raitī* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 32; MEYER Wb. 363). 0 SEL&EV *Slay. naselenie* 181, 192; SvANE 241.

reshpe f, pl. *reshpe* 'avalanche, rocky precipice'. Another variant is *reshme*. In the anlaut, *rr-* is also possible. Derived from *resh*. 0 MEYER Wb. 364 (from Ital *raspa* 'scraper, rasp').

resht aor. *reshta* 'to keep away; to stop'. Anlaut in *rr-* is also possible. A secondary formation based on *rreshtoj* 'to arrest' borrowed from Rom *\*arrestare* 'to stop, to arrest'. 0 CAMARDA II 159 (to Lat *resistO* 'to stop'); MEYER *Wb.* 364 (from Ital *restare* 'to stop').

rezhdd f, pl. *rezhda* 'ring at goat's throat'. Another variant is *rrezhde*. Etymologically identical with *rezhge*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 373 (to *rrezhde rreshhte* 'bone'); cABEJ *St.* II 76-77 (from SCr *resa* 'ring at goat's throat', Bulg *resa* 'stamen').

rezhge f, pl. *rezhga* 'honeycomb cell'. Borrowed from Slav *\*ra'bka*, unattested derivative of *\*red7,k7*, 'rare'.

rdfyrd f, pl. *refyra* 'knot, outgrowth (on a tree)'. Prefixal derivative of *faj*.

rekosh m 'fat cheese'. A prefixal derivative of *\*kosh* borrowed from Lat *caseus* 'cheese'.



ram& remen m, pl. *remenj* Nalachian; shepherd'. Attested in Greece only. Borrowed from Lat *Romanus* 'Roman' (MEYER *Wb.* 365). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* I 1049; cABEJ *St.* II 77 (from Arum *arumin* 'Arumunian'); PUSCARIU *Etudes* 60 (semantic development of *remer* and *vllah*).

remoj aor. *reMOVa* 'to dig'. Borrowed from Lat *rimari* 'to dig, to hoe' (MEYER *Wb.* 365). 0 MEYER-LIJBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 1049; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251.

rendd – rancid adj. 'heavy'. Continues PAIb *\*raunta* derived from the verbal stem of aor. *rashe* < *\*raida*, see *hie* 'to fall' (cABEJ *St.* II 71). From *rende* the verb *rendoj* 'to be heavy' is derived. 0 CAMARDA I 47 (to Skt *rdmate* '(he) is quiet'); MEYER *Wb.* 365 (borrowing from Lat *grandis* 'large'), *Alb.St.* III 8, IV 25; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 183 (agrees with MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 74 (participle of a verb reflected in Lith *rieju, rieti* 'to stack, to bend'); BARRi *ARSt.* I 86-87 (to Lith *sverih* 'to weigh' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 234-235; MANN *Language* XVII 20 (from *\*erudho-*); cABEJ *St.* II 71 (arguments in favor of BARIC s etymology); HULD 108 (supports JOKL 's etymology).

range f, pl. *renga* 'chime, tinkling (of bells)'. Borrowed from one of the continuants of Gmc *\*xrengaz* 'ring', cf. *\*xrengjan* 'to ring, to tinkle': ON *hringja*, OE *hringan* and the like. 0 HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 174-175; ZALIZN'AK *Etimologija* 132.

rdnkoj aor. *renkova* 'to moan, to groan'. Another variant is *rekoj*. Tosk equivalents of *ankoj*. 0 CAMARDA I 56 (to Gk *fiemo* 'to snore').

rdnxoj aor. *renxova* 'to cause hernia'. Borrowed from Rom *\*hernizare* based on *hernia* 'rupture, hernia'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 365 (to Ital *ernia* 'hernia'); cABEJ *St.* II 78 (phonetic variant of *rrezoj*).

repjtd adj. 'steep'. A variant of *perpjete* in which *re-* seems to represent a phonetic transformation of *per-* (JOKL *IF* XXXVII 95-96, *LKUBA* 244 n. 1). The same is true of *reposh* = *perposh*. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 243.

reit – rand f 'sand'. Borrowed from Lat *arena* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER *Wb.* 366, *Alb. St.* IV 17). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 1044; JOKL *LKUBA* 281; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 234; MANN *Language*

XVII 23; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 111; cABEJ *St.* II 78-79; JANSON *Unt.* 57-58; LANDI *Lat.* 54, 80, 114.

reshird reshind f 'resin; grape juice'. Borrowed from Lat *resina* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 369). 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 244.

rezdgojd f 'arsenic'. Another variant is *rezigoje*. Results from the folk etymology (*rreze* and *goje*) of the original *\*ersinge* borrowed from NGk *Opcseviticov* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 366).

ri adj. 'new, young, recent'. From PAIb *\*rija*, a zero-grade derivative of IE *\*er-* *\*or-* 'to rise, to make move', cf. ON *Qrr* 'quick', OS *aru* id. of a similar origin (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 433-434). 0 CAMARDA I 85 (from *\*neuos* 'new'); MEYER *Wb.* 366 (comparison with *rris*); BUGLE *BB* XVIII 170 (follows CAMARDA); BARI (*ARSt* 79 (from *\*neujos*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 237 (rejects BUGGE' s etymology); POKORNY I 326-332; HULD 108-109.

rig m, pl. *riga* 'king (in cards)'. Borrowed from MGk *Aya*; 'king'.

rigash m, pl. *rigashe* 'turkey'. Derivative of *rig*.

rigd f 'drizzle'. The verb is *rigoj* 'to drizzle'. The latter is borrowed from Lat *rigare* 'to sprinkle, to irrigate'. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55 (from Ital *riga, rigare* 'to make wet'); MEYER *Wb.* 366 (follows MIKLOSICH).

rij **ri** 'to make humid'. Continues PAIb *\*rinja* related to Skt *rinciti* 'to stream, to release', Slav *\*rinvti* 'to flow' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 74-75). Note a deverbative (G) *rite* 'wee'. 0 VASMER III 484; MAYRHOFER III 59-60; POKORNY 1330-331; e+LBERG spud DEMIRAJ (to OHG *reineo* 'stallion'); cABEJ *St.* II 79-80 (to Gk ( )Gaya) 'to sprinkle', Slav *\*roniti* 'to drop, to pour'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 346.

rikd f, pl. *rika* 'duckling, duck'. Cf. also *rikez* 'piglet'. Based on an onomatopoeic verb PAIb *\*rika* denoting quacking or similar sounds and connected with Lith *rikti* 'to cry' and the like. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 366 (*rikez* explained as an onomatopoeia), 369 (to SCr *riaa* 'kind of duck'); FRAENKEL 717, 734; cABEJ *St.* II 80 (onomatopoeia).

**rimte** adj. 'dark blue, blue, azure, green'. A parallel and more archaic form is *rrimte*. Derived from *crime*, cf. OBret *uurm* 'dark (color)', W *gwrn* 'dark blue' as color designations based on the word for 'worm' (OREL *IF XLIII 116*). 0 BARRi *ARSt.* 80 (to OE *nipan* 'to become dark'); cABEJ *St.* II 80 (compares with *remte* 'dark brown, bronze').

**riqe** f, pl. *riqe* 'brier'. Borrowed from Gk *epeixi* id. or NGk *iSEixta* id. (CAMARDA II 159; MEYER *Wb.* 366). 0 HAARMANN 123 (from Lat *erica*); cABEJ *St.* II 81.

**ris m**, pl. *riser - risen* 'lynx'. Borrowed from Slav *\*rysb* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *ris*, SCr *ris*.

**rishte** pl. 'cartilages; kind of dry pastry'. Umlauticized form of *rreshte*.

**rize** f, pl. *riza* 'kerchief'. Borrowed from Slav *\*riza* 'shirt, kerchief', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *riza*, SCr *riza* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 367). 0 SELIGtEV *Slav. naselenie* 174; SVANE 49.

**rjep** aor. *ropa* 'to strip off (skin or bark), to tear off'. A parallel form is *rrjep*. Goes back to PA1b *\*repo* connected with IE *\*rep-*: Gk *ipeartottott* 'to eat', Lat *rapid* 'to seize, to grasp', Lith *re'pti* 'to grasp' and the like (MEYER *BB VIII* 189, *Wb.* 367, *Alb. St.* III 31). 0 CAMARDA 179 (to Gk X&cco 'to peel'); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 167; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 237; SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 251 (borrowed from Lat *rapid*); ERNOUT-MEILLET 564; PISANI *Saggi* 130; FRAENKEL 721-722; FRISK I 552-553; WALDE-HOFMANN 11417; POKORNY I 856; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 19 (borrowed from Lat *rapere*); HAMP *Munch. St. Spr.* XXXVII 61; HULD 150; OREL *FLH VIII/I-2* 40, *Linguistica XXIV* 437; HAARMANN 145 (from Latin); DEMIRAJ *AE* 346-347.

**rob m**, pl. *rob, rober* 'serf, prisoner'. Borrowed from Slav *\*orlyb* id. (MixLosicH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 368). As far as attested South Slavic languages reflect *ra-* (Bulg *rab*, SCr *rab*), the Albanian word continues a form from an extinct dialect. 0 SVANE 192, 241.

**robtis** aor. *robtisa* 'to make work hard, to enslave'. Borrowed from Slav *\*orbotiti* id., cf. *rob*.

**rod m** 'kin, family'. Borrowed from Slav *\*rode* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *rod*, SCr *rod* (*SELISStEv Slav. naselenie* 184). 0 SVANE 186-187.

**rogece pi.-'masked participants of a carnival'. Based on an unattested singular \*rogac borrowed from Slav \*rogaeb 'horned (creature)', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *rogae*, SCr *rogae* (SvANE 214).**

**roge f 'glade, clearing (especially, in the mountains)'. Borrowed from Slav \*rorb 'horn', also used as a geographical term, cf. Bulg *rog*, SCr *rog*. 0 JOKL *ZfOrt X* 188 (to OHG *riuti*); cABEJ *St.* II 81 (derived from *rruaj*).**

**rogovecke** f, pl. *rogoveca* 'acacia'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav *\*rogov bka* 'horned (object)'.

**rois** aor. *roita* 'to swarm (of bees)'. Borrowed from Slav *\*rojiti* (*sc*) id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *roja*, SCr *roiti se* (*JOKL LKUBA* 286). 0 SELISStEv *Slav. naselenie* 167; DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 13; SVANE 241.

**roj m**, pl. *roje* 'swarm of bees'. Borrowed from Slav *\*roj b id.*, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *roj*, SCr *roj*, cf. *rois* (SvANE 158, 241).

**roje** f, pl. *roje, roja* 'guard'. Derived from *ruaj*.

**rojke** f, pl. *rojka* 'tee (in the swarm)'. Borrowed from Slav *\*roj bka* id., attested in South Slavic as a proper name: Bulg *Rojka*, SCr *Rojka*.

**rok m 'term'. Borrowed from Slav \*rolcb 'time, term, year; fate', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *rok*, SCr *rok* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 368). 0 SELISStV *Slav. naselenie* 197.**

**rokez** f 'kind of children game, round dance'. Identical with *rrokez* 'helix' derived from *rroke*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 368 (from NGk *iSoica* 'fork'); cABEJ *St.* II 81 (derived from *rrok*).

**rokomine** f 'shrunk old man'. An expressive formation in *roko-* < *rroko*, cf. *rroke*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 368 (from Ital *rocca del camino* cABEJ *St.* II 81 (derivative of *rrogomis* < *gorromis* 'to throw down').

**ronitem** refl. 'to fall, to crumble'. Borrowed from Slav *\*roniti* 'to drop, to let fall', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *ron'a*, SCr *roniti* (attested in a different meaning - 'to pour'). 0 SVANE 241.

**rose** f, pl. *rosa* 'duck'. From PAIb *\*anatja*, a cognate of Skt *ati-* 'water bird', Gk *vijacsá* 'duck' and other continuations of **IE** *\*(a)natja* (BARK ARSt 80), contaminated with **IE** *\*er(a)-\*or(d)-* 'bird'. Rum *rata* was borrowed from Proto-Albanian. 0 STIER KZ **XI** 148 (to Hung *ruca, re'ce* and Rum *rata*); MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 31 (from Slavic); CAMARDA II 167 (follows STIER); MEYER *Wb.* 368-369 (to *rik* 'duck' and forms adduced by STIER); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 55; SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 244 (from SCr *rata* id.); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 347 (both Albanian and Rumanian words going back to a substratum reflex of **IE** *\*reudh-so-*); MANN *Language* XXVI 381; POKORNY I 41; FRISK II 317-318; MAYRHOFER I 72-73; OREL *RRL* XXX/2 106-107 (PAIb *\*aratja* influenced by the Indo-European word for 'duck').

**rotar m** 'servant'. A secondary phonetic variant of *rrogetar*, derivative of *rroge* (CABEJ *St.* II 82). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 369 (borrowed from a South Slavic continuant of Slav *\*ortarb* 'plowman', SCr *ratar*); SELL tEV *Slay. naselenie* 178, 326 (follows MEYER); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch. I* 55 (the same); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 307-308 (agrees with MEYER).

**roze** aor, *roza* 'knot (in wood)'. Borrowed from NGk *ri6oc* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 369). 0 CAMARDA I 96 (to *rrenje*).

**rozge** f, pl. *rozga* 'kind of thistle'. Another variant is *rrozge*. Borrowed from Slav *\*rozga* 'twig, branch', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *rozga*, SCr *rozga* (JOKL *LKUBA* 220-221). 0 SELIGCEV *Slay. naselenie* 189; CABEJ *St.* II 101-102; SVANE 124.

**ruaj ruej** aor. *ruajta rova* 'to guard, to keep, to observe'. From PAIb *\*ragnja* etymologically connected with ON *raja* 'to take care of', Gk *aptio* 'to assist, to defend'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 369 (borrowed from Slav *\*xorniti* 'to keep'); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 210 (to *ye re* 'to make clear'); JOKL *Studien* 75-76 (to Gk *6p6tcu* 'to see', OHG *wara* 'attention' and the like); BARK ARSt I 88 (follows JOKL); FRISK I 137; POKORNY I 855; CABEJ *St.* II 82-83 (follows JoR.L. and BARIC); DEMTRAJ *AE* 347 (follows WIEDEMANN).

**maze rueze** f, pl. *ruaza rueza* 'glass bead; glass ball (used as an amulet)'. There are also variants in *rr-*. Deverbative of *ruaj ruej* (CAMARDA II 167; JOKL *StFil* 1/3 9-11). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 370 (from *\*prllaze*, to Ital *perla* 'pearl'); CABEJ *St.* VII 201, 225.

**rube** f, pl. *ruba* 'kerchief'. Borrowed from Slav *\*rein*, 'seam, border', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *rbb*, SCr *rub* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 371). Semantically closer is Slovene *rob* 'cloth, shirt'.

**rude** adj. 'short and soft (of wool)'. Borrowed from Slav *\*ruda* 'thick wool', cf. South Slavic: Bulg *ruda*, SCr *ruda* (MEYER *Wb.* 370).

**rudine** f, ph *rudina* 'alpine pasture'. Borrowed from South Slavic *\*rudina* id., cf. Bulg *rudina*, SCr *rudina*.

**rufke** adj. 'soft-boiled (of egg)'. Another form is *rufe*. Derived from *ruffs* 'to sip', a Modern Greek loanword (MEYER *Wb.* 370).

**rugje** adj. 'closely cropped'. Singularized form of the original *\*ruge*. Another variant, with **the unvoiced anlaut, is ruke** 'without shell (of nuts), waste, devastated'. From PAIb *\*ruga* connected with Lith *rugti* 'to become sour' < **IE** *\*reu-g-* 'to tear, to pull'; the latter is derived from *\*reu-*. 0 FRAENKEL 746; POKORNY I 868-869; JEGERS KZ LXXX 141-142; CABEJ *St.* II 83 (from *rruaj*).

**rune** f 'air-hole of a chimney'. Analogical transformation of *nder une* 'between bricks' > *nde rune* (CABEJ *St.* II 84).

**rungaje** f, pl. *rungaja* 'avalanche; river-bed'. Other variants are *rrungaje, rrunga and runga*. Continues PAIb *\*wrunga* connected with Lith *rungtioti* 'to wind, to bend', a secondary ablaut formation based on *zeigtis* 'to be bent' < **IE** *\*yreng-*. 0 FRAENKEL 719, 749; POKORNY I 1154.

**rungoj** aor. *rungova* 'to weed'. Borrowed from Lat *roncare* id. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 371 (from Ital *roncare* id.).

**rure** f 'agonizing doubts'. Derived from *ruaj*.

**rus** adj. 'red-haired, blond'. Borrowed from Slav *\*rum* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *rus*, SCr *rus* (MEYER Wb. 371). 0 SELISCEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 196 (follows MEYER); CAPIDANDCworumania IV 850 (from Arum *arus*); CABEJ *St. II* 84 (from NGk (o)ipzscso; 'red-haired').

**ryej** aor. *reva* 'to suffer'. There are also dialectal forms in *rr-*. From the contracted PALb *\*raudjnja* related to Skt *rdditi* 'to weep, to roar', Lat *rtido* 'to shout, to cry', Lith *rauda* 'weeping', Slav *\*rydati* 'to weep'. 0 FRAENKEL 704; MAYRHOFER III 77; VASMER III 526-527; POKORNY I 867; cABEJ *St. II* 79 (reconstructs *\*uren-*).

**ryj** aor. *ryjta* 'to enter'. A prefixal form continuing *\*re-hyj*, cf. *hyj* (BARK' ARSt I 17). 0 CAMARDA II 61 (to Gk *ipeoviito* 'to seek, to explore'); MANN HAED 431; cABEJ *St. II* 84 (to Lat *rui* 'to rush' and the like).

**rys** aor. *ryta* 'to practice, to exercise'. Continues PALb *\*rutja* related to Lat *ruo* 'to rush down, to fall down', Slav *\*ryti* 'to dig', Lith *rduti* 'to tear, to pull' and the like. 0 XHUVANI *KLetr* 1/6 11 (to *rusem*); VASMER III 531; FRAENKEL 708-709; WALDE-HOFMANN II 453-454; POKORNY I 868; cABEJ *St. II* 84 (to *ryej rieij*).

**ryza** f, pl. *ryza* 'rue'. Derivative in *-ze* of an unattested *\*ryte* borrowed from Lat *rata* id. (cABEJ *St. II* 84-85).

## Rr

**rra** f, pl. *rra* 'belly-worm'. From PALb *\*wraga* related to *OIrfrige* 'vermin, flesh-worm' < *\*urg-* (BART( ARSt. I 88). 0 MEYER Wb. 372 (from Lat *crtnalis* 'related to hair'); PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 538 (against MEYER); WEIGAND BA III 217 (from Lat *reines* 'kidneys'); LA PIANA *Studi* 66 (to Lat *vergo* 'to bend, to turn'); POKORNY I 1152; cABEJ *St. II* 89-90 (to Lat *corrigia* 'shoe-lace' and its cognates).

**rrabe** f, pl. *rrabe* 'rocky desert (with bushes)'. From PALb *\*rauba* related to Goth *raupjan* 'to rip'. 0 FEIST *Goth.* 395; POKORNY I 869.

**rrafes** tn, pl. *rrafes* 'churn-staff'. Deverbative of *rrah rraf*.

**rrafsh** m, pl. *rrafshe* 'plane, flat surface'. Analogically restored from

*rrafshoj* 'to flatten', a verb in *-eshoj* based on a borrowing from Slav *\*oryvrrh* 'even', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *raven*, SCr *ravan* (MEYER Wb. 360). 0 JOKL LKUBA 175-177 (from Slav *\*orves-*, an s-stem of the same root); SELISC'EV *Slav. naselenie* 187; CABEJ *St. II* 85; SVANE 167.

**rrag m** 'apron'. Continues PALb *\*srauga* related to the isolated Lith *srdoga* 'skein, hank; tuft, hairlock', *srauga* id. 0 FRAENKEL 890.

**rragatem** refl. 'to quarrel'. Borrowed from Slav *\*rQgati sc* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *rwaja*, SCr *rugati se*. 0 SVANE 258.

**rrah m, pl. rrah** 'grubbed out land'. Deverbative of *rrah* 'to beat' (cABEJ *St. II* 86). 0 CAMARDA I 132 (to Gk(axis 'lower part of the back'); MEYER Wb. 360 (*rah* 'hill' from NGk (lixt; 'mountain ridge'); BARK ARSt 88 (from *\*keroig-*, as in Arm *ergicanem* 'to tear').

**rrah** aor. *rraha* 'to beat, to strike'. From PALb *\*wragaska* etymologically connected with Gk IScioarn id. reflecting IE *\*nragh-* (CABEJ *St. II* 86). 0 CAMARDA I 92 (to Gk (rlywutt 'to tear up'); MEYER Wb. 371-372 (comparison with Slav *\*raziti* 'to strike' which may be true if Slav *\*r-* goes back to IE *\*ur-*; then, *\*raziti* is close to Gk (afac.o), Alb. *St. III* 73; JOKL LKUBA 49 (follows MEYER); BARK ARSt. I 88; TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia 240; CimocHoWsKI LP III 161; PISANI *Saggi* 127; FRISK II 643-644; CHANTRAINE 829; POKORNY I 1181-1182; HULD 150; KODDERTIZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 66; DEMIRAJ AE 348.

**rraje** f, pl. *rraja* 'path tread in the snow'. Derived from *rrah*.

**mile** adj. 'scanty, scarce, rare'. Borrowed, with a dissimilation of sonorants, from Lat *rdrus* 'rare' or directly from its variant *rallus* (MIK-LOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54). 0 CAMARDA I 76 (to Gk(645to; 'easy, ready'); MEYER Wb. 372 (from Lat *rallus* 'clean cut'), Alb. *St. III* 74; MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 539; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 19; cABEJ *St. II* 87; HAARMANN 145.

**rrangulla** pl. 'rubbish, lumber'. A suffixal derivative of PALb *\*ranka* 'gathering(s)' etymologically connected with Lith *ranka* 'hand', Latv *rifoka* id., Slav *\*rQka* id. - all of them deverbatives based on the verb

`to gather' reflected in Lith *renkir*, *rifikti*. 0 FRAENKEL 697; VASMER III 515.

rranic f, pl. *rranica* 'big piece of bread'. Derived from *rrane* 'grain, bread'. The latter is borrowed from Slav *\*xrana* 'food, grain', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *xrana*, *xranica* SCr *hrana* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 240-241).

rrap m, pl. *rrapa*, *rrepe* 'platan'. From PALb *\*rapa*, a denominative derived from *rjep*, probably as a calque of Gk *ρεκτικτότυπος* id. 0 TOMASCHEK *ZOG XXIV* 529 (to OCS *repina* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 372 (follows TOMASCHEK), A/b, *St. III* 73; WEIGAND 74 (borrowed from Slavic); SELISC'EV *Slay. naselenie* 164 (borrowed from Slav *\*grain*. 'hornbeam'); JOKL *Slavia XIII* 309-310 (etymologically connected with Slav *\*rep bj* 'burdock', ON *raft* 'roof on rafters' < IE *\*rep-*); CABEJ *St. II* 87 (follows JoRL).

rrapama f, pl. *rrapama* 'crash, din'. Another variant is *rropame*. Derived from Slav *\*xrairb* 'noise, wheeze', cf. *rrapatem*.

rrapashyt adj. 'thick set, stumpy'. An expressive derivative of *shyt*.

rrapatem refl. 'to strain oneself, to get tired'. Borrowed from Slav *\*xrapati* 'to bite, to tear, to wheeze', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *xrapam*, dial. *rapam*, SCr *hrapati*, dial. *rapati*.

rrapeloj aor. *rrapellova* 'to make noise'. A parallel form is *rraptoj* id. Related to *rrapame*.

rrape pl. 'rubbish, lumber; house objects'. From PALb *\*raka* connected with Lith *rakti* 'to hollow out, to pick', Latv *rakt* 'to dig'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 361 (from Bulg *rakla* 'box, chest'), 372 (from NGk 156ictoV); FRAENKEL 694; POKORNY I 335.

rras aor. *rrasa* 'to squeeze, to press together'. From PALb *\*wragtja* related to *rrah* (MEYER *Wb.* 372, with a different etymology of *rrah*). 0 JOKL *Studien* 76; CABEJ *St. VII* 234.

rrase f, pl. *rrasa* 'stone plate'. Derived from *rras* (*CusdoctiowsKi LP*

III 158-161). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 66 (to *derrase*); MANN *Language XXVIII* 33; CABEJ *St. II* 87-88.

rraske f, pl. *rraska* 'rennet'. Derived from Geg *rra* id., cf. *rrend*. 0 CABEJ *St. VII* 200.

rrasoll m, pl. *rrasoj* 'pickles'. Another variant is *rasoj*, a singularized plural form. Borrowed from Slav *\*orzsol7*, 'pickles; brine', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *razsol*, SCr *raso* (MTR'EosicH *Slay. Elemente* 31; MEYER *Wb.* 361). 0 SVANE 107.

rrasht m, pl. *rreshtna* 'bone, skull, skeleton, shell'. A parallel form is *rreshte* representing a singularized plural (CABEJ *LP VII* 184). From PALb *\*wraeta*, derivative in *-.Oa* from the verbal stem preserved in *rrah* 'to beat, to strike' (OREL *IF XCIII* 115). For the semantic motivation in this case cf. Gmc *\*bainan* 'bone' **IE** *\*bhei-* 'to beat, to strike', Lith *kaulas* 'bone' *katiti* 'to beat'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 372-373 (from Lat *arista* 'awn, beard, wheat-ear, fishbone'; derives *rrasht* separately as a continuation of Lat *rastus* 'plate'); KRISTOFORIDHI 354; ZALIZ'NAK *Etimologija* 139; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 101 (prefix *rr-*); CABEJ *St. II* 88 (prefix *rr-* + *asht* 'bone'), IV 85-86; DEMIRAJ *AE* 82 (same as CAMAJ and CABEJ).

rrathe f 'kind of fishing-basket'. Connected with *rreth*.

rrazbitem refl. 'to weaken'. Note a secondary variant *rrobitem* influenced by *rrob*. Borrowed from Slav *\*orzbiti* 'to defeat, to break', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *razbija*, SCr *razhiti* (MixLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 31; MEYER *Wb.* 362). 0 SELI'EV *Slay. naselenie* 178; SVANE 253.

rrebe f, pl. *rrebe* 'mood, caprice'. Another variant is *rebe*. From PALb *\*raiba* etymologically connected with Lith *rdibas* 'multicolored, variegated', Latv *raibs* id. 0 MANN *Language XXVIII* 37; FRAENKEL 686-687; POKORNY I 859.

rrebesh m, pl. *rrebeshe* 'shower'. Related to *rribe*.

rrebull m 'thrush (illness)'. From *\*raiba* 'multicolored' attested in *rrebe*.

rreckd f, pl. *rrecka* 'cloth, rag'. Borrowed from deminutive Slav

\**rcsq,ka* 'fringe', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *reska*, SCr *reska*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 373 (from SCr *resa* 'fringe'); cABEJ *St.* VII 253.

**rrege** f, pl. *rrege* 'fallow land'. Continues PALb \**wraga* related to Gk *išayij* 'split, cleft', *iSilyvwt* 'to break, to split' and its cognates. 0 FRISK II 637, 652-653; POKORNY I 1181-1182.

**rregull m 'order'**. Related to *rregull 'rule'*.

**rregull** f, pl. *regulla* 'rule, norm'. Borrowed from Lat *regula* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 362 (from Ital *regola* id.); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* I 1049 (from Latin); cABEJ *St.* VII 202.

**rrej rrej** aor. *errejta* 'to deceive'. From PALb \**arn-enja* further related to Gk *apviogat* 'to lie' (PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 542 n. 2). 0 BARK *ARSt.* I 88 (*rrem* 'lie', a derivative of *rrej*, to Lat *verbum* 'word'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 236; MANN *Language XXVIII* 37 (to OE *wrcene*); FRISK I 145-146; POKORNY I 62; cABEJ *St.* II 90-91 (derived from *re* 'cloud'); DEMIRAJAE 348-349 (from a Romance source related to Lat *erraneus* 'erring').

**rrek** aor. *rreka* 'to strain, to bother'. Continues PALb \**raika* related with Lith *reika* 'need, necessity', *reikti* 'to be necessary' further explained in connection with Lith *riekti* 'to cut, to plow the fallow land'. 0 MANN *Language XXVIII* 37 (to Goth *wrohjan*); FRAENKEL 714.

**rrem** m, pl. *rrema* 'oar'. Borrowed from Lat *remus* id. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 363 (from Ital *remo* id.), *Alb. St.* III 74 (from Gk

**rrem** adj. 'false'. Derived from *rrej*. 0 CAMARDA I 83 (to Lat *error* 'mistake'); MEYER *Wb.* 373-374; BARK *ARSt.* 88-89 (to Gk *dcpvhip,oct* 'to lie'); cABEJ *St.* VII 200.

**rremb rrem** m, pl. *rremba rrema* 'branch'. Other variants are *rrem* and *rremb*. Borrowed from Lat *rcimus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54; MEYER *Alb. St.* I 45, *Wb.* 364-365) with a secondary *-mb* < *-m*. 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* 2 11042; Joxi, *LKUBA* 18-19, 276; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 235-236; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 19; cABEJ *St.* II 91; HAARMANN 145; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 97.

**rrep** m, pl. *rrepa* 'turnip'. Other variants are *rrap* and *r(r)epe*. Borrowed from Lat *rapum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 363 (*rrap* from Ital *rapa* id. while *rrep* - from Slav \**repa* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 232; SELIKEV *Slay. naselenie* 162 (from Slavic); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 236; LANDI *Lat.* 45; cABEJ apud DEMIRAJ *AE* (borrowed from Gk *kicruc*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 349-350 (borrowed from or related to Gk *pane*);).

**rrepta** adj. 'strong, inexorable'. Derived from *rrjep*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 373 (from Turk *rehb* 'fear'); KRISTOFORIDHI 358 (from Lat *rapidus* 'lase'); cABEJ *St.* IV 86, VII 184.

**rreshk** aor. *rreshka* 'to roast'. Borrowed from WGmc \**raustjan* id., cf. OHG *rasten*. Note a derivative *rreshk* 'smell (of food), appetite'. 0 BARK *ARSt.* 88 (to Latv *su-vergt*); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 113 (suffix *-ke*).

**rreshktaq** adj. 'wrinkled (of an elderly person)'. Derived from *rreshk*. Cf. also *rreshket* 'dried, roasted'.

**/Teter rreten** f, pi. *rretra rretna* 'long leather rope, twisted leather lace'. Another variant is *reter reten*. Borrowed from Rom \**retina* 'bridle' attested in Fr *rene* id. (JOKL *RIEB* II 56-59). 0 CAMARDA II 142; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 24; cABEJ *St.* II 91; JANSON *Unt.* 58; HAARMANN 146.

**rreth** m, pl. *rrathe* 'hoop, rim (of wheel); circle'. Deminutive in *-th* of an unattested \**rat* 'wheel', cf. Skt *rdtha-* 'wagon', Lat *rota* 'wheel', OIr *roth*, OHG *rad* and the like (CAMARDA I 323). 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* I 35 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Wb.* 372 (to OHG *chreiz* 'circle'), *Alb. St.* III 8, 28; BARK *ARSt.* I 31 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 235 (agrees with BARIO; MAYRHOFER III 38-39; WALDE-HOFMANN II 443-444; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 2; VENDRYES [R] 45-46; POKORNY I 866; HULD 116 (from \**uroikos*, cf. Gk 'curved, bent'); cABEJ *St.* II 91-93 (accepts CAMARDA's etymology and comments on the *umlaut* in sg.).

**neve** f 'lot'. Borrowed from Lat *rebus*, *dat.-abl. pl. of res* 'thing, circumstance'.

rreze f, pl. *rreze* 'ray, spoke'. Another variant is *rreže*. Singularized plural of *\*rraz* borrowed from Lat *radius* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54). 0 CAMARDA I 96 (to Lat *radLr* 'root'); MEYER Wb. 364 (from Rom pl. *\*radia*), *Alb. St.* IV 14; MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif*<sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1049, 1052; MixikEscu RESEE IV/1-2 19; cABEJ *St.* 11 93; HAARMANN 145; LANDI *Lat.* 45, 85, 97.

rrezg m 'culmination, acme, prime'. Another derivational variant is *rrezm* id. Suffixal derivative of *rreže*.

rrezgull f, pl. *rrezgulla* 'disc, circle'. Derived from *rrezg*.

rrezhde f, pl. *rrezħde* 'unripe mulberry'. Reflects an unattested Bulgarian reflex of Slav *\*redja* fern. 'thin, sparse'.

rrdcok m 'bird's stomach'. Phonetic variant of *rraske*.

rafand f, pl. 'handle'. Derived from *rrefej* in its unattested meaning \*'to carry (away)' continuing the same meaning of Lat *referre*. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 234 (to *rruva* with a secondary *-f*).

rrefangull f, pl. *rrefangulla* 'buttonhole'. Derived from *rrefane* 'handle'. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 237 (variant of *vrangull*).

rrdfatem refl. 'to fork, to bifurcate'. Metathesis of *\*furkatem*, see *furke*.

rrefej aor. *rrefeva* 'to tell, to show'. Borrowed from Lat *referre* 'to tell, to inform' (CAMARDA I 119; MEYER Wb. 373). 0 cABEJ *St.* II 93-94 (prefix *rre-* added to *-fel* borrowed from MGk (paivw 'to show, to make appear')).

rrdfeshk m, pl. *rrdfeshke* 'kind of thistle'. Derived from *rrufe* (JOKL LKUBA 221-222). 0 cABEJ *St.* II 94 (derived from *ferr*: *\*rre-ferr-shke*).

rregalle f, pl. *rregalla* 'pebbly site; deep and narrow ravine'. An early Slavic loanword, from *\*rogalb* 'corner', see *ragal*. 0 JOKL *IF* XLIV 13-15, ZONF X 197 (to *ragal*); cABEJ *St.* II 94-95.

rregjoj aor. *rre'gjova* 'to diminish, to make smaller'. Borrowed from Lat *eradicare* 'to eradicate' with an irregular development of the inlaut

cluster. 0 CAMARDA I 116 (to Lat *raga* 'wrinkle'); MEYER Wb. 373 (borrowed from Rom *\*radiculare*, derivative of Lat *rOdere* 'to bite'); cABEJ *St.* II 95-96 (from *regj*); HAARMANN 146.

rrerkajd adv. 'in torrents, in a stream'. Borrowed from Slav instr. sg. *\*rekok* '(in a) river'.

rreke f, pl. *rreke* 'stream (of rain), mountain brook'. Singularized plural of *\*reke*. Borrowed from Slav *\*reka* 'river', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *reka*, SCr *rijeka*, *reka* (SELIŠfiv *Slav. naselenie* 323). 0 SVANE 172; MURATI *Probleme* 97-99 (derived from *rrjedh*).

rrdkellej aor. *rrdkelleva* 'to roll'. A prefixal derivative of *kellehem* 'to seethe, to boil up'.

rrekuall m 'thistle'. A prefixal derivative in *rre-* < *per-* (JOKL LKUBA 244 n. 1) of *kalli*. 0 MEYER Wb. 364 (from Ital *cardoscolimo* 'kind of wild artichoke'); JOKL *Melanges Pedersen* 143; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 54; cABEJ *St.* VII 239; DEMIRAJ AE 350.

rrarnac adj. 'lefthanded'. Derived from *rrrem*.

rrrembej aor. *rrrembeva* 'to rob, to seize'. Borrowed from Lat *rumpere* 'to tear, to tear away'. 0 CAMARDA I 56 (to Gk pEj.tNum. 'to roam'); MEYER Wb. 374 (from Ital *rubare* 'to steal'); MEYER-LCBKE *Gr. Grund-* 13<sup>2</sup> I 1051.

rrramejte adj. 'steep'. A prefixal derivative of *male*.

rrremeta pl. 'bast shoes'. Borrowed from an unattested Slavic *\*remeta* 'belts, laces', plural form of *\*rem*(' - an analogical formation derived from Slav *\*retry*, *\*reniene* 'belt, lace'.

rrrdmih aor. *rrrdmiha* 'to dig up'. Another variant is *rrremoj*. Borrowed from Lat *lmare* id. (MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 146). 0 CAMARDA I 57 (to Gk *frugog* 'pole of a chariot; trace').

rrrdmiqe f, pl. *rrrdmiqe* 'precipice'. Phonetic variant of *rrremejte*.

rrremuje f 'disorder, confusion; booty'. Continues PALb *\*raimulja* related

to Lith *reiimas* 'multicolored, varied', *rdibas* id., *raibulys* 'speckle'. 0 FRAENKEL 686.

rand - rra m 'rennet'. Derivative of *rend* (JOKE LKUBA 276-282), cf. ME *rennet* - *runnet* 'rennet' derived from *runne* 'to run' as well as Germ *rinnen* 'to run' - *gerinnen* 'to coagulate'. 0 MEYER Wb. 365 (to *rende*); BARK AArbSt. 1 143-144 (follows JOKL); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 93 (to MHG *renne* id.); WEIGAND BA III 217 (to Lat *reties* 'kidneys'); DESNICKAJA *Slay. jaz. VIII* 155 (etymologically identical with OHG *rinnan* 'to run'), *Sravn.* 231; ONIONS 756; cABEJ St. II 96-97 (agrees with JoKL).

rrengjej aor. *rrengjeva* 'to shine'. Another variant is *rrenjej*. Borrowed from Lat *renidere* 'to shine'.

rrenoј aor. *rrenova* 'to destroy, to ruin'. A Geg form borrowed from Rom *\*ruinare* id., cf. Lat *ruina* 'ruin' (MEYER Wb. 374). 0 CAMARDA 1 96 (to *rrenje*); KRISTOFORIDHI 303 (from Ital *ruinare*); MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* 2 I 1049; MIHAESCu RESEE IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 147.

rrenje rranje f, pl. *rrenje rranje* 'root; oak'. From PALb *\*wradnja* etymologically connected with Gk p&Std 'branch', id., Lat *radix* 'root', W *gwraidd* and the like (CAMARDA I 96; SPITZER *MRIW* 1 327). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54 (from Ital *radica*); MEYER Wb. 365-366 (borrowed from Lat *radix*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* 2 I 1042; BARK ARSt. 87-88 (follows SPITZER); JOKL LKUBA 233-234; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 292-293; MANN *Language* XVII 20, XXVIII 37, *Hist. Gr.* 37 (reconstructs *\*yrdni*); FRISK II 637-638; WALDE-HOFMANN II 415; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 15-19; POKORNY I 1167; cABEJ St. II 97-98; HULD 109; BEEKES *Lar.* 104; DEMIRAJ AE 350-351 (old collective).

rrepire f, pl. *rrepira* 'precipice'. Derivative of *rripe*.

rreqasem refl. 'to move away'. A prefixal derivative of *qas*.

rreqebull m, pl. *rreqebuj* 'lynx'. An expressive prefixal formation of *huall*. 0 cABEJ St. VII 243.

rreqethem aor 'to feel feverish, to shiver'. A prefixal derivative of *qeth*. 0 MEYER Wb. 373.

rrequkull I 'small woman, tot'. An expressive prefixal formation of *quk*.

rreshaje pl. 'Pentecost'. Borrowed from Lat *Rasalia* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55; MEYER Wb. 369). 0 PASCU RE 76; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 241; DESNICKAJA *Slay. jaz. IX* 91-93; cABEJ St. VII 244; HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 110, 126.

rreshaje f, pl. 'viper'. A taboo name of a snake etymologically identical with *rreshaje* 'Pentecost'. 0 MEYER Wb. 374 (stem *rresh-*); BARD ARSt. I (to Lat *vorra*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 140.

rreshok m, pl. *rresheke* 'wineskin'. Another variant is *rreshiq* reflecting a singularized plural. Derived from *rrush* (CAMARDA 1179). 0 MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* I 26 (to SCr *mješie* id.); MEYER Alb. St. I 27, Wb. 374 (follows MIKLOSICH); cABEJ St. II 98-99 (to *shakull*).

rreshire rreshine f 'resin'. Borrowed from Lat *resina* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55; MEYER Wb. 369). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* I 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 237; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 19; cABEJ St. II 99; JANSON *Unt.* 59; HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat.* 84, 97, 110.

rreshjell in 'sow-thistle'. Another variant is *rreshyell*. Borrowed from Lat *rasseolus* 'reddish, brown'. 0 MEYER Wb. 369 (from Ital *cardicello*); cABEJ St. VII 195, 239.

rreshkate f 'great misfortune'. Nominal derivative of *rreshkas*.

rreshqas aor. *rreshqata* 'to glide out'. A prefixal derivative of *shqas*, cf. *shkas*.

rrevitem refl. 'to be thrown'. A phonetic variant of *vervis* (CABEJ St. II 99). 0 BARIC ARSt. I 89 (to Germ *werfen* 'to throw').

rrezall m, pl. *rrezaje* 'plant (including its roots)'. Derived from *rreze* (CAMAJ Alb. Worth. 117).



rreze f, pl. *rreza* 'foot (of a mountain or a tree)'. From PAIb *\*wradja* etymologically connected with *rrenje*. 0 CABEJ *St.* VII 210.

rrezoj aor. *rrezova* 'to throw down, to pull down'. Based on *rreze*. 0 CAMARDA I 96 (derived from *rreze*).

rri aor. *ndenja, ndejta* 'to sit, to stand, to stay, to remain'. The suppletive aorist belongs to the paradigm of *ndej*. The form of present goes back to PAIb *\*rina* etymologically close to Skt *moti* 'to arise, to move', Gk *Opvuuct* 'to move up' and related forms. 0 CAMARDA I 45 (to Gk *OiAcco* 'to keep in, to curb'); MEYER *Wb.* 374 (to IE *\*klei* 'to lean, to bend' with impossible phonetic changes), *Alb. St.* IV 59 (evaluates his earlier etymology as ambiguous); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 170-171 (to Lat *nidus* 'nest'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 545 (rejects MEYER's etymology); JOKL *Studien* 76-77 (to Gmc *\*rOwO* 'quiet', Gk id.), *LKUBA* 194 (follows MEYER); BARI( *ARSt.* I 80 (from IE *\*nizd 6*); TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 238; FRISK II 422-424; MAYRHOFER I 122; POKORNY I 326-332; CABEJ *St.* VII 234; HULD 109 (to IE *\*reidh-* 'to ride').

rribe f 'gale, wind, waterfall, torrent'. From PAIb *\*wriba*, a zero-grade formation connected with IE *\*yerb(h)-* 'to turn, to bend' and, as far as the derivational structure is concerned, identical with Slav *\*vt,rba* 'pussy-willow', Lith *virbas* 'rod, birch-rod, twig' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 434, *TBK* 195). For the semantic development of *rrime* cf. E *wind 4-* to *wind*. 0 FRAENKEL 1259; POKORNY I 1153; VASMER I 293.

rrikd f 'turnip'. Borrowed from Rom *\*radica*, cf. Lat *radix* 'root' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54; MEYER *Wb.* 365-366). A parallel form *rrilke* reflects Rom *\*radicula*. 0 MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 32 (from Slavic); CAMARDA I 178 (to Gk *k(ItUc* 'turnip'); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrij3* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; JOKL *LKUBA* 232; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 243; TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 238; SvANE 145.

rriime f, pl. *rrime* 'rainworm'. Singularized plural of PAIb *\*wrima* continuing IE *\*urnto-* 'worm': Lat *vermis* id., Goth *watirms* 'worm, snake', Lith *vaimas* 'insect' (OREL *IF* XCIII 116). 0 FRAENKEL 1201; FEIST *Goth.* 555-556; WALDE-HOFMANN II 760; POKORNY I 1152.

rripd f, pl. *rriipa* 'precipice, stone wall'. Borrowed from Lat *ripa* 'bank, coast' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55; MEYER *Wb.* 367). 0 MEYER-

LUBKE *Gr. GrundrU3* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat.* 97.

nig& rriqdn f, pl. *rriqera rriqna* 'tick'. Borrowed from Lat *ricinus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 374, *Alb. St.* III 74). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrill* <sup>2</sup> I 1049; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 146.

rris aor. *rrita* 'to pull up, to move up, to increase, to grow'. Goes back to *\*writja* etymologically connected with IE *\*tort-* 'to turn': Skt *varitate*, Lat *vertO*. Goth *wairkan* 'to become' and the like. 0 GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24 (to Skt *rdhnoti* 'to grow'); CAMARDA I 52 (same as GIL'FERDING); MEYER *Wb.* 367 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb. St.* III 29; BARI( *ARSt.* I 88 (from *\*urdh5*); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 29 (to Lat *orior*); TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 239; MANN *Language* XXVIII 31 (to Lith *rYtas*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 251; MAYRHOFER III 154-155; WALDE-HOFMANN II 763-765; POKORNY 11156-1157; HAMP *Laryngeals* 137 (same as SCHMIDT, to IE *\*er-* - *\*or-* 'to start moving, to stir'); CABEJ *St.* VII 217, 257; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 433-432 (follows SCHMIDT and HAMP); DEMIRAJ *AE* 351-352 (reconstructs a prefix *\*n-*).

rrisgd f, pl. *rrisga* 'stone splinter'. Somehow connected with *rrase*.

rriske f, pl. *rriska* 'disc, circle'. A suffixal derivative of *rreth*.

rrizhgoj aor. *rrizhgova* 'to creep up (of plants)'. Goes back to *\*rrish-gttj* borrowed from Lat *resurgere* 'to rise (again)'.

rrjedh aor. *rrodha* 'to flow'. From PAIb *\*redza* etymologically related to Lat *rigare* 'to wet, to moisten', ON *raki* 'wetness' (PISANI *Saggi* 130). 0 CAMARDA I 43 (to Gk *pew* 'to flow'); MEYER *Wb.* 374 (to Goth *rign* 'rain' in which, however, -g- continues IE *\*-k-*), *IF* V 195, *Alb. St.* III 18, 73; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 231; MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (compares *rrjedh* with Skt *vrđjati* 'to stride, to go'); WALDE-HOFMANN II 435; POKORNY I 857; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 51 (to *erdha*, see *vij*); JUCQUOIS *Le Museon* LXXVIII 448 (follows MANN); CABEJ *St.* VII 201; HULD 110 (agrees with MEYER); DEMIRAJ *AE* 352-353 (to a poorly attested IE *\*sr-edh-*).

rrjesht m, pl. *rrjeshta* 'row'. Another variant is *rresht*. Borrowed from Lat *regestum* 'list' (MEYER *Wb.* 374, *Alb. St.* IV 19). 0 JOKL *IF* XXXVI

147 (from Lat *restis* 'rope'); BERNARD *LB IX/2 86* (from Turk *rive* 'thread'); MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2 24*; cABEJ *St. II 99-100* (follows JOKL); HAARMANN 145; LANDI *Lat. 53, 145-146*.

**rrjeth** f, pl. 'nee. Another variant is *rret*. Borrowed from Lat *rete* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente 55*; MEYER *Wb. 364*). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2 24*; cABEJ *St. VII 277*; HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat. 54, 86*.

**rroboj** aor. *rrohova* 'to scatter'. Borrowed from one of the continuants of Gmc *\*raubojan* 'to rob, to plunder': OS *raban*, OHG *roubon*, Goth *biraubon*. 0 FEIST *Goth. 94*.

**rrobull** m, pl. *rrobuj* 'mountain pine'. Borrowed from Lat *rabur* 'oak' with a dissimilation of sonorants (MIHAESCU *RESEE IV 11-2 24*; cABEJ *St. II 100*). 0 HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat. 147*.

**rodhe** f, pl. *rrodhe* 'burdock'. Singularized form of *\*rodhe* borrowed from Gk ποσov 'rose'. 0 MEYER *Wb. 367* (from Rom *\*cardella*); BART *ARSt. I 92* (related to Lith *režgīs* 'baskee'); JOKL *LKUBA 219-226* (to *rruaj*); cABEJ *St. II 100-101* (supports JOKL).

**rroge** f, pl. *rroga* 'alpine meadow'. Borrowed from Slav *\*rog7*, 'horn' also denoting 'spur of a mountain' as in Bulg *rog*, SCr *rog*. 0 cABEJ *St. VII 251, 279* (from *rruaj*).

**rrogoz** m, pl. *rrogoza* 'reed mat'. Borrowed from Slav *\*rogom* 'reed', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *rogoz* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente 32*; MEYER *Wb. 368*). 0 JOKL *LKUBA 216*; SELMEV *Slay. naselenie 173, 323*; SvANE 115.

**rroj** aor. *rrova, rrojta* 'to live, to stay'. Continues PALb *\*ranja* identical with Lith *roju, roti* 'to cope, to be ready' further connected with *tied* 'to stack (wood)' and derived from IE *\*rei-*. 0 CAMARDA I 92 (to Gk πWoi.tat 'to move strongly, to dance'); MEYER *Wb. 375* (to Lat *regere* 'to direct'); MANN *Language XVII 12* (from Rom *\*remanare* 'to remain'); FRAENKEL 743-744; POKORNY I 859; cABEJ *St. VII 198, 266*.

**rrojbe** f 'carthamus'. Another variant is *rrolbe* with a secondary *-I-* (cABEJ *St. II 101*). Borrowed from Rum *roibe* 'madder' < Lat *rubia* id. 0 PUŠCARIU *EWB 132*; cABEJ *St. II 101* (from Lat *rubies*); LANDI *Lat. 66, 97*.

**rrok** adj. 'raw'. Derivative originally meaning 'something snatched off', based on the verb *rroke*.

**rrok** aor. *rroka* 'to seize, to snatch, to touch'. Borrowed from Gmc *\*rukējan* 'to move, to remove, to stir, to snatch, to pull, to push': OE *roccian*, OHG *rucchan*, ON *rykēja*. 0 CAMARDA I 39 (to Gk Hyvvilt 'to tear'); BARK *ARSt 89* (to Gk Ebpiaicco 'to break asunder, to rend'); HOLTHAUSEN *AEW 262*.

**rroke** f, pl. *rroke* 'spiral'. Borrowed from Rom *\*rucca* *\*rocca* 'distaff': Ital *rocca, Sp rueca*.

**rrokoll** adv. 'bad, chaotic'. Derived from *rroke* 'to seize'. 0 cABEJ *St. VII 254*.

**rrokopuje** adv. 'bad, evil'. A compound of *rroke* and *-puje*, derived from *pune*.

**rrokotele** pl. 'rubbish'. An expressive formation based on *rroke* 'to seize'.

**rrol** m, pl. *rrola* 'old and unused ox'. From *\*rrozgel*, diminutive of *rrozg*.

**rropak** m, pl. *rropake* 'annex'. Borrowed from South Slavic *\*ropak7*, cf. Bulg *ropa* 'pit, quarry'.

**rropulli** pl. 'intestines, guts; fruit'. An emphatic prefixal formation based on *pulle*.

**rroshponje** f, pl. *rroshponja* 'cave in a river-bank hollowed out by water'. A univerbation of Lat *rasu(m) pane* 'hollowed out behind (the river)'. 0 JOKL *LKUBA 244 n. 1* (derived in *rro-* < *rre-* from *shpoj*).

**note** f, pl. *rrota* 'wheel'. Borrowed from Lat *rota* id. (Mixt, osioiRoni. *Elemente 714*; MEYER *Wb. 375, Alb. St. III 74*). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr.*

*Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> 1 1045, 1050; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 241; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 19; cABEJ *St.* VII 254; HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat.* 97.

**rrotull** f, pl. *rrotulla* 'disc, circle'. Another variant is *rrokull*. Borrowed from Lat *rotula* 'little wheel'. The verb *rrotulloj* 'to turn' is derived from *rrotull*. 0 CAMARDA T 323 (to *rreth*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1045; cABEJ *St.* VII 254.

**rrozg** m, pl. *rrozga* 'old and unused ox'. Borrowed from Slav *\*ro:14bka* 'horned animal, horn', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *roika*,

**rrshim** m 'shower'. From *\*rrebesim*, derivative of *rrebesh*,

**rrua rrue** m 'stream'. Back formation based on *perrua*.

**rruaj rruej** aor. *rruajta, rrova* 'to shave'. From **PAIb** *\*wragnja* related to Gk IST1 *yv* in 'to break, to tear'. 0 CAMARDA I 51 (to Gk *pii.*) 'to pull, to tear'); MEYER *Wl.* 375 (from Lat *radere* 'to scrape'), *Alb. St. III* 74; MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> 1 1049; SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 251; WEIGAND 76 (contamination of Lat *radere* and *radere* 'to bite'); JOKL *LKUBA* 223-224 (related to *radere*); FRISK II 652-653; POKORNY I 1181; cABEJ *St.* II 102 (agrees with JOKL).

**rrudha** f, pl. *rrudha* 'wrinkle'. Continues **PAIb** *\*rudza* etymologically connected with Lat *ruga* id. (CAMARDA I 74). 0 BARD *ARSt.* 90-91 (to Skt *vdrajati* 'to turn, to tear'); WALDE-HOFMANN II 448-449; POKORNY I 870.

**rrufe** f, pl. *rrufe* 'lightning'. Borrowed from Lat *romphaea* 'long sword', adaptation of Gk *f)opApaia* id., with a semantic development similar to that of Ital *saetta* 'arrow, dart' and 'thunderbolt' (MEYER *Wb.* 376). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 237; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 333; OREL *Etimologija* 1980 62-63 (on Bulg *rofeja, a*).

**rruge** f, pl. *rruge* 'street'. Borrowed from **Rom** *\*raga* id. continuing Lat *raga* 'wrinkle' (MEYER *Wh.* 376). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi I* 1047, 1050; cABEJ *St.* VII 198, 217; HuLD 110; LANDI *Lat.* 68, 97.

**rrum** m 'clapper; maize-cob stripped of corns'. Another variant is *rrome*.

From **PAIb** *\*wruhna* identical with Gk *ixicgvoc* 'thorny bush', further connected with Lith *vifhas* 'branch, shoot'. 0 POKORNY 11153.

**rrumbull** adj. 'rolled into a ball'. Borrowed from Rom *\*rombulus* based on Lat *rhombus* 'magic whirligig or wheel', cf. Ital dial. *rummulu, rumbulu* (MEYER *Wh.* 370). 0 CAMARDA II 151 (to Gki)(ittroog 'magic wheel'); LANDI *Lat.* 61.

**rrune** f, pl. *rruna* 'lamb'. Borrowed from Slav *\*runo* 'fleece', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *runo*, SCr *runo*. Note a parallel form *runs* continuing Slav *\*runbcb*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 371 (*runs* from *\*runt-es*).

**rrush** m, pl. *rrush* 'grape'. From **PAIb** *\*ragu,i'a* related to Gk P(it id. (CAMARDA I 87). The feminine form *\*ragtda* is reflected in the name of Illyr *Ragusa - Ragusium* (cABEJ *St.* II 102-103). The form of the latter Tatoi)ra in Const. Porphyrogen. *De adm.* reflects the early Albanian loss of the intervocalic voiced stop before the contraction of vowels (KALLISKAJA *Antic. balk.* 5 19). 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* I 41 (to Pers *raz* 'grape'), *Wh.* 371 (to Slav *\*grozdb* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 241; MANN *Language XXVI* 384 (to Lith *rausit* 'to dig'); FRISK II 642.

**rrushkull** m, pt. *rrushkuj* 'kind of thorny plant'. Borrowed from Rom *\*fftsculus*, derivative of Lat *rascus* 'butcher's-broom' (MEYER *W.* 371). 0 CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 118 (derivative in *-u//*); MIHAESCU RESEE *TV/1-2* 24; HAARMANN 147; LANDI *Lat.* 141.

(G) **Truva** m, pl. *rruvanij* 'vine without grapes'. Another variant is *rrufet*. Somehow related to *rrush*. 0 cABEJ *St.* II 103 (to *rrefane*).

**rruvi** f, pl. *rruvi* 'line'. Metathesis of *verri* 'little furrow' (KRISTOFORIDHI 22), derivative of *ye*. 0 MEYER *Wh.* 376 (from Rom *\*rubescula* based on Lat *ruber* 'red'); KRISTOFORIDHI 364 (to *W/O*; cABEJ *St.* II 103 (*verri* - to *varre*), IV 86.

**rruzull** m 'sphere, globe (of earth)'. Derived from *rruze* (cABEJ *St.* II 103-104).

**rryell** m, pl. *rryey* 'euphorbia'. Borrowed - with a dissimilation of sonorants - from Balkan Rom *\*a/io/um* > Rum *aliol, alior* id. (PEDERSEN

*KZ XXXIII* 539). 0 MEYER *Wh.* 366 (from Rom \**aliellum*); PUWARIU *EWR* 6-7; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 118; cABEJ *St.* II 104 (against both MEYER and PEDERSEN).

**rryeshem adv.** 'slow'. Derived from *ryej*.

**rryle rrille f, pl. rry/a rrila** 'lentil'. Borrowed from Lat *ervilla* id., derivative of *ervum* (MEYER *Wh.* 376). 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 22; HAARMANN 123.

**rryme f, pl. rryma** 'flow (of water)'. From PAIb \**sruma* related to Gk *ficiiga* 'stream', ON *straumr* id., Lith *sraumue* 'fast stream' and other derivatives in \*-*men-* of IE \**sreu-* 'to flow' (MANN *Language XXVI* 385). 0 FRISK II 650-651; FRAENKEL 887; POKORNY I 1003; cABEJ *St.* VII 202, 277.

**rryp rrip m, pl. rrypa rripa** 'belt'. From PAIb \**wripa* with the further development similar to that of *krymb krimb*. Related to Gk *Otirto* 'to sew together, to stitch', Lith *velpti* 'to spin' and the like (MANN *Language XXVIII* 37). 0 HAHN 110 (to *rjep*); CAMARDA II 62 (follows HAHN); MEYER *Wb.* 367 (the same); FRAENKEL 1261; FRISK II 643; POKORNY I 1156; cABEJ *St.* II 104 (the same).

## S

**S'** adv 'not'. Identical with **C**, *ce* (PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 321, 341). 0 BOPP 497 (identical with *-s* in *mos*); CAMARDA I 312; MEYER *Wb.* 376 (from Lat *dis-*); JOKL *A ArbSt I* 37-38; TAGLIAVINI 242; PISANI *Saggi* 110, 154; cABEJ *St.* II 104-105 (follows PEDERSEN).

**sa** pron., adv. 'how'. From PAIb \**tssja* etymologically connected with *se*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 376 (from NGk *csav* 'when, whenever' < ioc *Ccv*); HAMP *Numerals* 836 (from *Via*).

**sabje f, pl. sabje** 'sword'. Other variants are *sable*, *sabje*. Borrowed from the South Slavic word for 'sword': Bulg *sah'a*, SCr *sablja* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 32), itself of questioned Hungarian origin (*szablya* id. derived from *szabni* 'to cut'). See MEYER *Wb.* 376.

**sap f, pl. saja** 'sledge'. In dialects, an older form *sanje* is preserved. Borrowed from Slav \**sani* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *sani*, SCr *sani* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 32). 0 SVANE 35.

**sajoj aor. sajova** 'to devise, to think of'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 377 (from Turk *sajtklt* 'clever, far-sighted').

**sak m** 'net'. Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *sak* id., SCr *sak* 'package of hay', themselves from Rum *sac* 'sack, fishing net' (MEYER *Wb.* 377). PWARIU *EWR* 134.

**sak adv.** 'really, for sure': An allegro form of *sakte* 'exact, precise' of Romance origin. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 377 (from Turk *sahih* 'true, exact').

**sakavice f, pl. sakavica** 'long hook for pulling down branches'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *sakavica* 'axe' < Slav \**sekavica*.

**sake f, pl. saka** 'axe'. Back formation based on *sakavice*. As to *sakice* 'small axe', it was formed in Albanian from *sake*.

**salikoj aor. salikova** 'to carry out the ceremony of burial'. 0 cABEJ *St.* II 105-106 (derived from *psalaj* 'to sing psalms', a Modern Greek loanword).

**samem refl.** 'to have had taste, to get spoiled'. Derived from *same*.

**same f** 'dog's excrements'. Continues PAIb \**tswa(n)-ma*, a derivative in \*-*mo-* of the Indo-European word for 'dog', otherwise unattested in Albanian, cf. Skt *s'va*, Gk *xvcov*, OIr *cd*, Lith *Kai* and the like (OREL *Fort.* 79). For the semantics cf. Slav \**govbno* 'excrements', originally - 'cow's excrements' derived from IE \**eou-* 'cow'. 0 FRAENKEL 1033-1034; FRISK I 58-59; MAYRHOFER III 402-403; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 7; VENDRYES [C] 257; POKORNY 1632-633.

**samte adj.** 'insipid, unflavored, tasteless'. Based on \**same* borrowed from Slav \**saml*, 'self', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *sam*, SCr *sam*. The intermediate meaning must have been 'having a taste of itself or similar.

**sana pl.** 'elves, spirits of mountains'. Borrowed from Slav \**satzb* 'snake, dragon': CS *san'* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 378).

sane f 'hay'. Borrowed from Slav \**seno* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *s'ano*, SCr *sijeno* (*MmLosicH Slay. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 378). The development of Slav \*-e- > -a- is repeated in NGk aavov id. 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 108, *Slavia XIII* 639; SELI8CEV *Slay. naselenie* 160, 295; TAGLIAVINI 243; SVANE 40.

sarke f 'build, frame, figure (of human body)'. Continues PALb \**krka* derived from IE \**Per-* 'to make, to build': Skt *karoti*, Lith *Heti* and the like. 0 POKORNY 1641-642.

se pron. 'what', conj. 'that, than'. From PALb \**tšja* continuing pronominal IE \**kid* (MEYER *Wb.* 383; LA PIANA *Studi* I 127). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 316 (to \**lcue-*); JOKL *Sprache* IX 123; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 243 (from \**sir*); MANN *Language XXVI* 385, *Hist. Gr.* 122 (from \**Pent*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP II* 225; HULD 110-111 (agrees with MANN); cABEJ *St. II* 119; HULD 110; DEMIRAJ *AE* 353-354.

semler pl. 'two peasants using the same pair of oxen or having common cattle'. Another variant is *semler*. Borrowed from Slav \**sfbrb* 'neighbor, comrade, peasant', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *sebar* (*JOKL Slavia XIII* 286, 302, *Zb. Miletie* 121-122). 0 cABEJ *St. II* 106-107; SVANE 192.

send m, pl. *sonde* 'thing'. From PALb \**tsjam tarn* < IE \**Iciom torn*, a sequence of two pronouns in neuter of which the first is related to *se* (*OREL Fort.* 79-80). 0 CAMARDA I 335 (to Skt *sant-* 'existing, being'); MEYER *Wb.* 381 (from Turkish); ASCOLI *Frammenti linguistici* 15 (follows CAMARDA); BARK *ARSt.* I 92 (the same); SPITZER *MRIW* I 322 (to Lat *genus* 'kin'); MANN *Language XVII* 20-21 (from IE \**esljtis*); cABEJ *St. II* 107-108 (from *sen* with a phonetically developed -d; *sen* is then explained as accusative of *se*).

sere f 'tar'. Borrowed from Slav \**sera* 'sulphur', cf. Bulg *s'ara*, SCr *sera*, *sjera* (*MtKLosicH Slay. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 381). 0 SELIKEV *Slay. naselenie* 173.

serrd f, pl. *serra* 'high steep rock'. Borrowed from Ital *serra* 'chain of mountains'.

sett f, pl. *seta* 'sieve'. Back formation of *sie* taken for a plural in -i-. 0 CAMARDA I 46 (to Gk *csheto* 'to sift, to bolt').

semboj aor. *sembova* 'to ache, to be painful'. Connected with *dhemb* (LAMBERTZ *LP VII* 88), this verb continues a prefixal form \**c-dhemboj*. 0 cABEJ *St. II* 108 (phonetic variant of *cernoj*).

Omura — stmtme adj. 'ill, sick'. An analogical formation based on *semun, de* 'illness' < \*'inability', a univerbation of *se mund*, cf. *s'* and *mund* (HAHN 77, 116). 0 CAMARDA I 101, 312 (same as HAHN); MEYER *Wb.* 291 (follows HAHN and CAMARDA); TAGLIAVINI 245; cABEJ *St. II* 108 (semantic parallels in other Balkan languages: NGk *avmutopia*, Arum *niputeare*).

sepatt f, pl. *sepata* 'axe'. Borrowed from the Bulgarian definite form in -Id' -sap7t 'axe-handle'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 382 (indirectly, from Rom \**sappata*); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 55.

sfejke f, pl. *sfejka* 'beet'. Derived from Lat *felicem, filicem* 'fern, weed'.

sfurk m, pl. *sfurq, sfurqe* 'rake; scorpion'. A prefixal form based on \**furke* borrowed from Lat *furca* 'rake, fork' (JOKL *LKUBA* 116).

sfytyrij aor. *sfytyriva* 'to snort'. A prefixal derivative based on *fytyre*.

Si adv. 'how, as'. From PALb \**dei* continuing pronominal IE \**Pei* (PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 317). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 383 (related to IE demonstrative \**ki-*), Alb. *St. III* 12; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 128; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 243-244; HAMP *IF LXVI* 53 (equal to Lat *quei* > *qua* 'how'); MANN *Language XXVI* 385 (from \**Pi*), *Hist. Gr.* 201 (reconstructs \**kV* identical with Lat *quia* 'why'); POKORNY 1646-647; cABEJ *St. VII* 240; HULD 111.

sikunddr conj. 'as'. Another variant is *sindekur*. Compound of *si, nde* and *kur*. 0 CAMARDA I 322 (to Lat *secundum* or Ital *secondo*); MEYER *Wh.* 384 (Ital *secondo* 'according to' influenced by *kunder*); cABEJ *St. VII* 272.

**silly** f, pl. *si//e* 'breakfast'. Derivative of *sjell* (cABEJ *St.* 11 109-110) used to denote delay, cf. *sillet* 'to be late'. Thus, 'breakfast' is treated as a meal delaying the beginning of day's work. 0 PEDERSEN *Philologica* II 114 (from *\*eilet*); *BARiO ARSt.* I 59 (related to Gk *go.*); 'dawn' and the like); CIMOCHOWSKI *ABS* III 41 (from **IE** *\*P(e)la* 'das Herbringen'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 35 (to OE *hvil* 'time, while' and its cognates).

**sine** f, pl. *silla* 'power, force'. Borrowed from Slav *\*sila* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *sila*, SCr *sila* (MEYER *Wb.* 384). 0 SELiKEV *Slay. naselenie* 178, 303; SVANE 224.

(**G**) **simahuer m** 'accomplice'. Borrowed and morphologically adapted from MGk *csiii.tgaxoc* 'comrade-in-arms' (JOKL *IF XLIV* 61-62). 0 cABEJ *St.* II 110.

**simoter** f, pl. *simotra* 'blood sister, colleague, fellow, partner'. Compound of *si* and *moter*. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 273 (neologism).

**siper** adv. 'above', prep. 'over'. Recombination of *persiper* 'up there, above' < *per s'eper* where *s'eper* < *se eper* is the ablative of (1) *eper* (cABEJ *St.* II 110-111). 0 BOPP 499 (combination of *si* and *per*); GILTERDING *Otm.* 26 (from Lat *super*); CAMARDA I 318-319 (to Lat *super* and its cognates); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 65 (from Lat *super*); MEYER *Wb.* 385 (from pronominal *si-* and *-per*, found in *teper*); PEDERSEN *Festskrift Thomsen* 250, *KZ XXXVI* 311 (*-per* compared with *prej*); THUMB *IF XIV* 358 n. 1 (borrowed from Lat *super*).

**sise** f, pl. *sisa* 'breast, bosom, tit'. Borrowed from Slav *\*sisa* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *sisa*, SCr *sisa* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 33). 0 CAMARDA I 78, 88 (compared with *cice*, *thithe* id.); SELI EV *Slay. naselenie* 195; cABEJ *St.* VII 258; SVANE 182.

**site** f, pl. *sita* 'sieve'. Borrowed from Slav *\*sita* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *sito*, SCr *sito* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 385-386). As to the verb *sit* 'to sift', it is borrowed from Slav *\*sejati* id. 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 299; SELiKEV *Slay. naselenie* 154; SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 244; cABEJ *St.* VII 184; SVANE 72.

**sitka** pl. 'bran'. Borrowed from Slav *\*sitska* id., diminutive of *\*sita*, cf. *site*.

**Sad** f 'cane, rush'. Borrowed from Slav *\*siti,ka* id., diminutive of *\*sita* id., cf. SCr *sita*. 0 SVANE 113.

**sivjet** adv. 'this year'. From PA1b *\*tsjei wetei*, [dat.-loc. sg.](#) continuing IE *\*kiei yetei* (BOPP 460; MEYER *Wb.* 383, *Alb. St.* III 12). See *sonte*. 0 CAMARDA I 188; MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 298; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33; CHANTRAINE 1116; HULD 112-113.

**sivone** f 'delicate face'. Used by DE RADA. Unclear. 0 cABEJ *St.* II 111 (from *sine*, accusative of *sy*, with an epenthetic *-vo-*, from an exclamatory *o*).

**sjell** aor. *solla* 'to bring'. Continues PA1b *\*ts'ela* or *\*tʃelna* related to IE Skt *cdрати* 'to move, to walk', Gk *itam* 'to come into existence, to become', Lat *cola* 'to cultivate, to till' (PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 277). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 386 (reconstructs IE *\*kel-*); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 127; BARD *ARSt.* I 66; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 244 (follows PEDERSEN); JOKL *LKUBA* 229, *Die Sprache* IX 123; MANN *Language* XXVI 382, *Language* XXVIII 35; MAYRHOFER I 376; FRISK II 500-501; CHANTRAINE 878; WALDE-HOFMANN 1245-246; POKORNY I 639-640; cABEJ *Die Sprache* XVIII 145, *St.* II 109-100; OLBERG *IBK XIV* 115; HULD 111 (semantic parallel to *sjell* in E *wind*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 354.

**skallua** **skallue** m, pl. *skallonj* 'eye (of a plant), shoot of rice'. Derived from *kalli*.

**skamur skamun** adj. 'poor, needy'. A univerbation of *s' kam*.

**skaj skaj** m, pl. *skanje skaje* 'edge, border'. A prefixal derivative of an unattested *\*kanj* < PA1b *\*kanja* related to Slav *\*kora*, 'edge', Latv *atkan* 'again'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 174 (to *kend*); JOKL *LKUBA* 116 (from Slav *\*kons* 'edge'); SELiEV *Slay. naselenie* 197, 326 (agrees with JOKL); VASMER III 51; cABEJ *St.* II 111 (together with *skanjo* 'chair' borrowed from Ital *scagno* id.); TRUBACEV *ESSJa X* 195-196; POKORNY I 564.

skerdehem refl. 'to get drunk'. A prefixal derivative of *deh*.

skerfyell m, pl. *skerfyej* 'larynx'. A prefixal derivative of *fyell*.

sketerre f 'hell, darkness'. A prefixal derivative of *tern* (cAREJ *St. II* 111).

**sklepe** f 'matter from the eyes, rheum'. Other variants are *skerlepe* and *skerloq*. A prefixal derivative of *glepe*.

**skllupe** f, pl. *skllupe* 'strong bough'. Borrowed from Slav \**skorlupa* 'skin, bark' unattested in South Slavic except for Slovene *skralupa*.

**skopit** aor. *skopita* 'to castrate'. Borrowed from Slav \**skopiti* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *skop'a*, SCr *skopiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 387). 0 SVANE 262.

**skorrating** f 'snow storm'. Another variant is *sllotine*. The form *skorratine* was influenced by *skorre*. Originally, derived from *skllote*.

SkOffe adj. 'exhausted'. Borrowed from Slav \**skon*, 'quick', cf. in South Slavic: OCS *skorL*, Bulg adv. *skoro*, SCr adv. *skoro*.

**skundill** m, pl. *skundtj* 'seam, edge'. Continues an earlier \**skundill*, a suffixal derivative of *skanj*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 174 (from Rom \**candle*); KRISTOFORIDIII 500 (from South Slav *skta* 'seam, fold', cf. *skute*); cABEJ *St. II* 111-112 (follows KRISTOFORIDHI).

**skuq** aor. *skuqa* 'to make red'. Derived from *kuq*.

slog m 'tilled field'. Borrowed from Slav \*.57./*ogi*, used in a meaning close to Bulg *slog* 'boundary, limit, land measure'. 0 SvANE 37.

smilat aor. *smilata* 'to flatter'. Borrowed from South Slavic \**s-bmil'ati* 'to cajole', cf. Bulg *smil'avam*.

sodit aor. *sodita* 'to observe'. Borrowed from Slav \**sQditi* 'to judge', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg SCr *suditi*. An early loanword with \*-Q- rendered as -a- (SvANE 227, 241). 0 cABEJ *St. VII* 184.

sokallas aor. *sokellita* 'to shout, to cry'. A prefixal derivative of *kellas*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 389 (to SCr *sokoliti*).

**sokol** m, pl. *sokola* 'falcon'. Borrowed from Slav \**sokoh*, id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *sokol*, SCr *soko* (STIER KZ XI 137; MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 389). 0 SELISC'EV *Slay. nase-lenie* 198, 304; TAGLIAVINI 245; SVANE 148.

**sonte** adv. 'this night'. From PAIb \**tsja(i)naktcli*, [dat.-loc. sg.](#) continuing IE \**kiai norti-*, cf. Lith *šicTmakt* id. and the like (BOPP 460). 0 CAMARDA I 224; MEYER *Wb.* 298, *Alb. St. III* 12, *Gr. Gr.* 298; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 311 (reconstructs *so-* < \*04); JOKL *Die Sprache* IX 141; TAGLIAVINI 246; MANN *Language* XXVI 379, XXVIII 33; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 38; HULD 112; DEMIRAJ *AE* 283.

**some** f, pl. *sorra* 'crow'. Continues PAIb \**tharsna* corresponding, with a different ablaut grade, to Skt *WO-* 'black, dark', OPrus *kirsnan* 'black', Slav \**ebm-r*, id. (MANN *Language* XXVIII 35). The anlaut affricate of Proto-Albanian is preserved in Rum *cioara* 'crow'. 0 STIER KZ XI 220 (on the connection with Rum *cioarii*); CAMARDA II 44 (of Slavic origin); MEYER *Wb.* 390 (to Slav \**sorka* 'magpie'), *Alb. St. III* 39 (from IE *quorna*); PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 337; JOKL *LKUBA* 93; BARK *ARSt. I* 74; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 140; ERNOUT-MEILLET 143; LA PIANA *Stitch* I 22 (to Lat *cornix* 'crow'); PISANI *Saggi* 130; MAYRHOFER I 264; POKORNY I 583; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom. II* 339; RosErri *ILR* I 275; TRUBACEV *ESS/a IV* 155-157; TOPOROV *P.la* IV 3-7; OLBERG *IBK XIV* 110; HAMP *GjA* VI 43; cABEJ *St. VII* 234, 254; HULD 145; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; KORTLANDT KZ XCIV 249; DEMIRAJ *AE* 355.

**sot** adv. 'today'. From PAIb \**tsja(i) ditai*, [dat.-loc. sg.](#) continuing IE \**kia dui-* (BOPP 513; MEYER *Wb.* 383), cf. *sonte*. From here, *sotme* 'modern' is derived, with its secondary phonetic variant *some*. 0 MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 298; JOKL *IF XLIX* 296; TAGLIAVINI 246; MANN *Language* XXVI 379; HULD KZ XCVIII 103 (*sorme* based on \**sor* < \**kiej+* *HeiHri*, to Av *ayara* 'day'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 283.

Sotin8 f 'empty honeycomb'. Based on \**sot* borrowed from Slavic \**satl*, 'honeycomb', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *s-ht*, SCr *sat*. Note -o- rendering Slavic -7,• (DESNICKAJA *Slay. zaim.* 12). 0 SVANE 159.



**sovajke** f, pl. *sovajka* 'shuttle'. Borrowed from South Slavic \**sovadtbka* id. attested in Bulg *sovalka* (DESNICKAJA *Slay. zaim.* 12).

**sperndrit** aor. *sperndrita* 'to make shine'. A prefixal derivative of *ndrit*.

**spice** f, pl. *spica* 'thorn, splinter'. Borrowed from Slav \**stbpica* 'peg, splinter', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *spica*, SCr *spica* (DESNICKAJA *Slay. zaim.* 12). 0 SVANE 35.

**spikth** m, pl. *spiktha* 'woodpecker'. Identical with *pikth*.

**spith m** 'dropsy'. Derived from *pi*.

**spreth** m, pl. *sprethe* 'cornice, eaves'. Derivative based on PA1b \**praka* continuing IE \**prcl-ko-*: Lat *proceres* 'protruding beams', Bret *a-raok* 'forward'. 0 POKORNY I 815.

**sqap** m, pl. *sqep* 'he-goat'. See *cjap*.

**sqaq** aor. *sqaa* 'to make weak'. Based on \**qaq* continuing PA1b \**kekja* related to Lith *kekos* 'swing', Latv *kekuot* 'to swing'. 0 FRAENKEL 235.

**sqep** m, pl. *sqepa* 'beak'. Derived from *qep*.

**sqeptore** f, pl. *sqeptore* 'woodcock, snipe'. Derived from *sqep* as Ital *beccaccia* from *becco* (cABEJ *St.* II 112-113).

**sqetull** f, pl. *sqetulla* 'armpit'. A relatively late borrowing (with Lat *s-* rendered as *s-*) from Rom \**scetula*, cf. Lat *scutula* 'shoulder-blade' (SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 252). 0 CAMARDA 163 (from Lat *spatula* 'shoulder-blade'); MEYER Wb. 403 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 244; HAMP *AJPhil* LXXXV 186-189 (derives the dialectal variant *sjetull* from IE \**Vele-los*), *Zffialk XXXII* 1 28-33 (to Lat *poples* 'back of the knee'), *StF XXVIII* 81-83; HULD 111-112 (follows HAMP); MESSING *St. Whatmough* 173-178.

**sqime** f, pl. *sqima* 'adornment, decoration'. Borrowed from MGk *aXii.ta* 'form, shape, figure' (CAMARDA I 69; MEYER Wb. 388). 0 cABEJ *St.* II 113.

**sqites m** 'comb'. Nomen agentis in *-es* of *sqis*, a dialectal Greek form of *shqis* (MEYER Wb. 228). 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* V 101 (to *qij*); cABEJ *St.* II 113 (follows MEYER Wb.).

**sqoj** aor. *sqova* 'to wake up'. A prefixal derivative of *qoj*.

**sqote** f, pl. *sqota* 'sleet'. Other variants are *shqote* and *shklote*. The most archaic form is *shqote* where the original Slavic \**s/-* is substituted by \**skl-*. The source is Slav \**slota* id. (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 156-57). 0 cABEJ *St.* II 113-114.

**squfur m** 'sulphur'. Another, and more conservative, form is *shqufur*. Borrowed from Rom \**slufurem* instead of Lat *sulphurem* as in Arum *sclifur* id. (MEYER Wb. 411, *Alb. St.* IV 54). Because of \**sl-* > *shq-*, Slavic mediation cannot be excluded, cf. *sqote*. In this case, the Arumanian form is also a Slavic or an Albanian loanword. 0 VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 56; SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 253; MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundril3* 2 I 1046; HAARMANN 152; cABEJ *St.* II 114.

**sqyt** m, pl. *sqyta* 'shield'. Under the influence of *qyte*, transformed from \**shqyte*. The latter was borrowed from Lat *scaturn* id. 0 MEYER Wb. 388 (from Slav \**S'at7*, id.); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 57.

**stan** m, pl. *stane* 'stall, herd'. Borrowed from Slav \**stan*. 'site, stall', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *stan*, SCr *stan* (*MiKLoSICH Slay. Elemente* 33; MEYER Wb. 391-392). 0 CAMARDA 1160 (to IE \**Sta-*); SELIKEV *Slay. naselenie* 165; SVANE 62.

**Star** m, pl. *stape, stapinj* 'stick, staff'. Borrowed from Slav \**stain*, id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *stap*, SCr *stap* (MEYER Wb. 392). 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 279; SVANE 80.

**stave** f, pl. *stava* 'heap of wood, haystack'. Borrowed from Slav \**stava* id. attested in Bulg *stava* (MEYER Wb. 392). 0 SVANE 42, 61.

**stege** f, pl. *stega* 'bandolier'. Borrowed from Slav \**slava* 'loop, belt', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *st'aga, dial. stega*.

**St\*** f, p1. *steja* 'bedding, saddle cover'. Another variant is *stele*. Bor-



rowed from Slav *\*stel'a* 'bedding, cover', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *stel'a*, SCr *stelja* (MEYER Wb. 392).

**stene** f, pl. *stena* 'wooden wall'. Borrowed from Slav *\*stena* 'wall', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *stena*, SCr *stijena*, *stena*. As to *stenice* 'bug', it is derived from *stene* (MIKLOSICII *Slay. Elemente* 34; MEYER Wb. 392). 0 SEL8GEV *Slay. naselenie* 151; SVANE 53.

**step** in 'rock, peak'. Borrowed from Slav *\*stbpb* 'plateau, steppe', attested in the Balkans in SCr dial. *step* 'hilly countryside' (OREL *Etimologija* 1983 139-140, *Etimologija* 1984 182). 0 MEYER Wb. 427 (from Turk *tepe* 'hill'); JOKL *Balkangerm.* 125 (to *thep*); cABEJ *St.* II 114 (agrees with JOKL).

**stepem** refl. 'to be slow, to stop'. A prefixal derivative based on PALb *\*tapa* related to ON *beffa* 'to stamp, to ram'. 0 MEYER Wb. 392 (to SCr *stepsti* 'to knock together').

**sterre** adj. 'dark, black'. Expressive prefixal derivative of *terr.* 0 MEYER Wb. 392 (from *\*cerre* < SCr *ern* 'black'); JOKL *LKUBA* 113 (follows MEYER); cABEJ *St.* II 114 (identical with *stere* 'cistern' in view of the expressions similar to *dark as in the well*).

**sterditem** refl. 'to meet accidentally'. A prefixal derivative of *di*. The prefix *ster-* is fairly productive and appears in numerous other forms, cf. *sterdhemb* 'fang', *steiflok* 'to tousle (hair)', *stergjysh* 'forefather, great-grandfather' and the like.

**sterkas** aor. *sterkita* 'to sprinkle'. Borrowed from Slav *\*strbkati* *\*strbeati* id., cf. in South Slavic: SCr *strcati*. 0 MEYER Wb. 393 (to Bulg *strb'éka* 'sprinkling device').

**sterqoke** f *sterqoka* 'jackdaw'. A prefixal derivative of *qok* 'kind of owl' (WEIGAND 79). 0 MEYER Wb. 393 (to Slav *\*stbrkb* 'stork'); SEL8GEV *Slay. naselenie* 198; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 613-614 (to *sterklas* 'to sprinkle' and *qokth*); cABEJ *St.* II 115 (agrees with JoxL).

**stervine** f, pl. *stervine* 'corpse'. Borrowed from Slav *\*stbrvina* id. attested in South Slavic: SCr *strvina* (MEYER Wb. 393). 0 SELISCEV *Slay. naselenie* 189, 325; SVANE 133.

**stervis** aor. *stervita* 'to train'. Borrowed from Slav *\*stbrviti* 'to bait, to lure, to train', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *str7,v'a* (SELIS'etv *Slay. naselenie* 196; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 609). 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 201, 213.

**stog** m, pl. *stogje* 'haystack'. Borrowed from Slav *\*stogb* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *stog*, SCr *stog* (DESNICKAJA *Slay. zaim.* 12). 0 SVANE 42.

**stol** m, pl. *stola* 'stool', Borrowed from Slav *\*stoll.* 'table, chair', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *stol*, SCr *sto* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 34). 0 SEL8GEV *Slay. naselenie* 150, 303; SVANE 66.

**stopan** m, pl. *stopane* 'shepherd, chief shepherd, shepher's assistant'. Borrowed from an old Iranism in South Slavic, cf. Bulg *stopan*, SCr dial. *stopanin* (MEYER Wh. 393). 0 TRUBAGEV *Etimologija* 1965 37 (reconstructs Iran *\*asta-pan-* 'house keeper').

**straze** f 'garrison'. A relatively early borrowing from Slav *\*storia* 'guard', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *strata*, SCr *strait*, (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 34; MEYER Wb. 394). 0 SEIAGEV *Slay. naselenie* 143, 180.

**Strehe** f, pl. *strehe* 'eaves (of the roof)'. Borrowed from Slav *\*strati*, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *str'axa*, SCr *streha* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 34; MEYER Wb. 394). 0 SELL GEV *Slay. naselenie* 148, 305; SVANE 54.

**stem\*** f, pl. *streme* 'square measure used to measure plots of land'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *str'ama*.

**stroke** f 'scab, rash'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *stroka*, SCr *stroka* 'illness of sheep'.

**strug** in, pl. *strugje* 'plane (instrument)'. Another variant is *struge*. Borrowed from Slav *\*strugb* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *strug*, SCr *strug* (MIKLOSICX *Slay. Elemente* 34; MEYER Wb. 395). The verb *strugat* 'to plane' is borrowed from Slav *\*strugati* id. The parallel form *strugoj* id. is derived from *strug*. 0 SELIGEV *Slay. naselenie* 172.

**struke** f, pl. *struka* 'ambush'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *stroka*, *struka* 'passage, path'.

strukull m, pl. *strukuj* 'hen-coop'. Derived from *struke*.

strum m 'pool'. Borrowed from Slav *\*strumy* 'brook' unattested in South Slavic except for Slovene *strumen*. ø SVANE 171.

sirup m 'scab'. Borrowed from Slav *\*strupb* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *strup*, SCr *strup* (SVANE 184).

suférine f 'storm, breeze'. Another related form is *fufarine* 'tempest, rain-storm'. Derived from *sufroj* 'to whisper into somebody's ear' borrowed from Ital *soffiare* 'to blow'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 395 (to Ital *zufolare* 'to whistle'); cABEJ *St.* II 115 (onomatopoeia).

Sae f, pl. *suka* 'low hill'. Continues *\*thika* related to Skt *suka-* 'awn of grain; spike of insect', Av *Al-* 'needle'. 0 POKORNY I 626; MAYRHOFER III 363-364.

sukull m *sukuj* 'rag, cloth, lump, snow-flake'. Derived from *suke*. The original meaning of the word must have been 'lump'. 0 JOKL *UngJb* VII 82 (to *cukla* 'combing, flocks'); cABEJ *St.* II 115-116 (borrowed from Slav *\*sulcbno* 'broadcloth').

sulem refl. 'to rush to, to throw oneself upon, to attack'. From PAIb *\*thtla*, a zero-grade of *sjell* (LA PIANA *St. Varia* 26). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 395 (to Slav *\**  'to send'), *Alb. St.* III 12, 77; LIDEN *Arm. Studien* 77-78 (to *Ar* *slanam* 'to run'); JOKL *LKUBA* 59 (follows LIDEN); BARIC *ARSt.* I 94 (to Skt *cydvate* 'to move, to go away'), *AArbSt* II 81 (to *thelleze*); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 58-59; cABEJ *St.* II 116-117 (follows LA PIANA).

sumbull f, pl. *sumbulla* 'round button; bud'. Based on PAIb *\*sumba* continuing IE *\*kumb-*, cf. Gk *icUitPri* 'bowl', Oh *comm* 'vessel'. 0 FRISK II 48; POKORNY 1592 (reconstructs *\*k-* in view of Skt *kumbha-* 'pot' but *-bh-* is irregular); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 348; cABEJ *St.* VII 254.

sundoj aor. *sundova* 'to rule'. Based on *\*sund* borrowed from Slav *\*vdir* 'court, trial', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *svd*, SCr *sud*. 0 MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 396 (directly from *\*sQditi* 'to

judge'); SELISTEV *Slay. naselenie* 180, 291; cABEJ *St.* VII 184; SVANE 227.

sup m, pl. *supe* 'shoulder'. Continues PAIb *\*tsupa* related to Skt Av *supti-* id., MLG *schuft* 'front shoulder-blade (of animals)' (MEYER *Wb.* 396, *Alb. St.* III 12, 31). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 337; JOKL *Melanges Pedersen* 146; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 96; PISANI *Saggi* 132; MAYRHOFER III 357; POKORNY I 627; OLBERG *IBK* XIV 113; HULD 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 355-356.

surme adj. 'dark grey'. Continues PAIb *\*tsurma* < IE *\*krmo-*, identical with Lith *iifmas* 'grey' (JOKL *Melanges Pedersen* 153-155). Cf. *thjerme*. 0 CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 221 (supports JOKL); SOLTA *Die Sprache* II 123 n. 2; FRAENKEL 988-989; cABEJ *St.* II 117 (from SCr *sur* 'grey'); HULD 145; OLBERG *IBK* XIV 113; DEMIRAJ *AE* 356.

sute f, pl. *suta* 'female deer, doe'. Identical with *shute* 'female deer; hornless', *shyte* 'hornless'. Continues PAIb *\*auta* < *\*auktd* borrowed to Rum *ciut* 'hornless', *ciuta* 'female deer' (cABEJ *St.* II 117-118) and Slav *\*ktt7*, 'hornless'. The Albanian word is further related to IE *\*kuk-* in Lith *akos* 'comb', *sake* 'crock', *uketas* 'dented, chipped', Latv *suka* 'brush'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 420; FRAENKEL 1031; POKORNY I 629; VASMER IV 492; HULD *KZ* XCVIII 104 (from *\*Oku* + *peteH* 'swift flying', cf. Gk

*sy* min, pl. *sy* 'eye'. From PAIb *\*adtwi*, a form of dual similar related to Skt *aksī*, Av *afi*, Lith *ak*, Slav *\*oei* (GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 24; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 291, 318-320) but influenced by *\*duwo* 'two'. The dialectal auslaut -y < -i seems to be secondary. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 383 (to Slav *\*sijati* 'to shine' and/or *\*sinb* 'blue'), *Alb. St.* III 12, 79; HIRT *BB* XXIV 263 (to Goth *skeinan* 'to shine'); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 201 (compares with IE *\*kyeid-* 'to shine, to be white'); BARIe *ARSt.* I 109; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 248, *Stratificazione* 95-96; LA PIANA *Studi* 132 (to IE *\*keu-* 'to shine'); MANN *Hist. Gr.* 97 (reconstructs *\*ok7On*); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 17; MAYRHOFER I 16; cABEJ *St.* II 118-120 (to *\*sun-* 'sun' by analogy with OIr *stii/* 'eye'); VASMER III 128-129; HULD 113; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144; KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Spr.* 223 (reconstructs *\*Hk7uyo-iH*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 356-357.

syk adj. 'with black circles around eyes or on the face (of animals)'. Another morphological variant is *sysk*. Derived from *sy* (cABEJ *St.* II 120-121).

## Sh

sha interj. Used in a limited number of contexts such as *sha Zotin* 'by God'. An allegro form of *pasha*, optative of *kam* (KRISTOFORIDHI 382; cABEJ *St.* II 121-122).

shag m, pl. *shegje* 'coarse linen fabric spread on the floor'. Borrowed from Lat *sagum* 'cloak made of coarse fabric' (cABEJ *St.* II 122). 0 LANDI *Lat.* 96, 142.

shagit aor. *shagita* 'to crawl flatwise'. Another variant is *zhagit*. Based on \**shag* borrowed from the Slavic verb 'to step, to walk' attested in Russ *šagat'*, Ukr *fahaty*, Czech *s'ahati* and believed to go back to Slav \**scgati* 'to reach'. 0 BARD *ARSt.* I 97 (to *shes* or to *shellige*); VASMER IV 392-393; cABEJ *St.* II 122, 329 (phonetic variant of *zharg*).

shaj aor. *shava* 'to insult, to offend'. A prefixal form of *enj* with the original meaning 'to blow out' > 'to be indignant'. 0 MEYER *Wh.* 399 (from Rom \**sannari* based on Lat *sauna* 'grimace'), *Alb. St.* V 101; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 255-256 (against MEYER); cABEJ *St.* II 122-123 (to Gk *szsiceoCevvwt* 'to scatter, to disperse'); MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (to Gk *wtaiveo*).

shajke f, pl. *shajka* 'peg, nail'. From \**shajt-ke*, based on *shajtoj*.

shajtoj aor. *shajtova* 'to dash against, to strike, to hit'. Etymologically identical with *shitoj* 'to wound' from which *shire* 'wound' is derived. The verb is borrowed from Lat *sagittare* 'to wound with an arrow' (CAMARDA II 146: to Lat *sagitta* 'arrow'). 0 MitiAEscuRESEE IV/1-2 29; cABEJ *St.* II 123-124.

shake f, pl *shaka* 'dog, bitch'. Borrowed from South-West Iranian \**saka-* < Iran \**spaka-* 'dog' (JOKL *WZKM* XXXIV 30-31), cf. MPers *sak*, Class. Pers *sak*, NPers *sag*, Tadjik *sag* etc. Note *sh-* < Iran \**s-* indicating a borrowing preceding Albanian-Slavic contacts, i.e. before the VI

century C.E. 0 cABEJ *St.* II 124; OREL *LB* XXVII/4 56, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 362; DEMIRAJ *AE* 358.

**shakull** m, pl. *shakuj* 'goatskin'. Borrowed from Lat *sacculus* 'small bag' (CAMARDA I 161; MEYER *Wh.* 377). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1042; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXII 526 (agrees with MEYER); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 117 (derived from *shark*); cABEJ *St.* II 124-125 (follows CAMAJ); LANDI *Lat.* 96, 137-138.

shalakuq aor. *shalakuqa* 'to warm over fire (of hands and feet)'. An expressive prefixal derivative of *kuq*.

shale f, pl. *shala* 'saddle; inner side of thigh, pair of legs'. Borrowed from Lat *sella* 'seat, saddle' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60; MEYER *Wh.* 398). Clearly enough, *shale* 'inner side of the thigh; leg' is historically identical with the word for 'saddle' (CAMARDA II 165). As to *shale* 'Borrago officinalis', it goes back to the same source. 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1044; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXV 283; JOKL *LKUBA* 22; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (to Gk *waXic*); MIHNESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; cABEJ *St.* II 125-126 (separates *shale* as an anatomical term and equates it with Gk *faxaoc* leg (from the hip downwards)); as a plant-name, *shale* is explained from IE \**skel-* 'to cut'; HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lot.* 95.

**shap m** 'disease of the cattle, Apta epizootica'. An early borrowing from Slav \**sairt*, 'glanders'. 0 WEIGAND *BA* III 112 (to Rum *sopirla* lizard); cABEJ *St.* II 127 (from Turk *sab*).

shap m 'alum'. Borrowed from Lat *sapa* 'thick grape juice'.

shapke t, pl. *shapka* 'cap, hat; slipper, old shoe'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *s'apka* id., SCr *S'apka* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 399). 0 SEL1StEv *Slay. naselenie* 174; cABEJ *St.* II 127.

shapke f, pl. *shapka* 'woodcock'. Identical with *shapke* 'cap, hat' (MEYER *Wh.* 399). 0 cABEJ *St.* II 127-128 (related to *sqep*).

shaploj aor. *shaplova* 'to pound earth-clods'. Derived from Rom

\**sappula*, cf. \**sappa* 'hoe': Rum *saps*, Ital *zappa*. 0 PWARIU EWR 135.

**shapoj** aor. *shapova* 'to polish'. Borrowed from Rom \**sappare* 'to hack' based on \**sappa* 'hoe', cf. Rum *sapa*, Ital *zappa*.

**sharanduk** aor. *sharanduka* 'to pinch'. An expressive prefixal derivative of *nduk*.

**sharavaze** f, pl. *sharavaze* 'weed'. A prefixal derivative in *shara-*.

**sharavidhe** f, pl. *sharavidhe* 'mussel'. An expressive prefixal derivative of *vidhe*.

**share** f 'sheep with white spots on the muzzle'. Borrowed from South Slavic \**Sara* id., cf. Bulg *Sara*, SCr *Sara* (cABEJ St. II 129).

**share** pl. 'offense'. An early borrowing from Slav \**sora* reconstructed on the basis of Russ *ssora* 'row' < \**msora* and SCr *osoran* 'rude', Slovene *osoren* < \**ob-sorbn7*., 0 SvANE 137.

**shark m** 'fruit pulp'. Borrowed from Gk (Dig 'flesh', occasionally, 'pulp' (KRISTOFORifilit 384; JOKL IF XLIV 23-24). 0 CAMAJ Alb. Worth. 113 (suffix *-k*); cABEJ St. II 128 (to IE \**sker-* as in Slav \**skora* 'skin, hide'), IV 88.

**shark m** 'woolen cloak; green skin of nuts'. A parallel morphological variant is *sharke*. An early borrowing from Slav \**sorka* 'shirt'. 0 MEYER Wb. 400 (from Rom \**sarica*); BOGA II 314; VASMER III 724-725; STEINHAUSER S/Rev III 284-285 (compares *shark* with Slav \**sorka* and explains both words from Arabic); SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 251 (from Lat *serica*); cABEJ St. II 128-129 (identical with *shark* 'fruit pulp'); HAARMANN 149.

**sharov m**, pl. *sharova* 'big dog, large spotted hound'. Borrowed from Slav adj. neut. \**throw*, 'spotted, multicolored', cf. Bulg *šaro* 'spotted (of dogs)'. 0 cABEJ St. II 129 (to *share*).

**shartoj** aor. *shartoj* 'to cross (of animals), to engraft (of plants)'. Borrowed from Rom \*(*in*)*sertare* based on Lat *serere* 'to sow', cf. Sp *enjer-*

*tar* 'to cross (animals)', Port *enxertar* id. (MEYER Wb. 400). 0 cABEJ St. II 129-130 (from Rom \**insertare* or \**exquartare*); HAARMANN 149.

**sharre** f, pl. *sharra* 'saw'. Borrowed from Lat *serra* id. (MIKLOSICH Rom. Elemente 60; MEYER Wb. 400). 0 MEYER-LUBKE Gr. Grundrif<sup>3</sup> 1 1044; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 249; MtHAESCu RESEE IV/1-2 20; cABEJ St. VII 268; HAARMANN 149; LAND! Lat. 95, 128, 177.

**shat** m, pl. *shata*, *sheter* 'hoe'. Borrowed from Lat *sector* 'cutter'. For the auslaut cf. *mbret*. Note the development of *-ct-* > Alb *-t-*. 0 MEYER Wb. 400 (to Lat *sec()* 'to cut' and the like), Alb. St. III 5, 40; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 282-283 (i-stem); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 256; CAMAJ Alb. Worth. 61 (from IE \**skod-*); cABEJ St. VII 208, 224; DEMIRAJ StF XXVII/2 200-201 (to Lat *sacena* 'kind of hoe [of the pontifex]'), AE 358-359.

**shatorre** f, pl. *shatorre* 'tent'. Borrowed from Slav \**Sathr7*, id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kitw*, SCr *Bator* (CAMARDA II 160).

**she m** 'undrying rivulet'. Derived from *shi*. 0 JOKL WuS XII 63-65 (borrowed from Finno-Ugric, cf. Hung *se'd*, *set* 'brook, rivulet'); cABEJ St. II 130 (follows JOKL).

**shege** f, pl. *shege* 'pomegranate'. Borrowed from an unknown Mediterranean word that may be reconstructed as \**si(l)ka* in view of Gk cri13611 id., csIXOta. atom (Hes.) coming from the same source (CAMARDA II 154). 0 MEYER Wb. 401; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 250-251; FRISK II 702-703; cABEJ St. II 131.

**shejth** m, pl. *shejthe* 'birthmark'. Diminutive of *shenje*. 0 cABEJ St. VII 269.

**sheke** f, pl. *sheka* 'large wooden vessel'. Other variants are *sheke* and *shege*. Back formation based on \**shege* borrowed from Rom \**sicla* 'pail', the source of Ital *secchia* id. (THUMB IF XXVI 10). 0 MIKLOSICH Rom. Elemente 60 (from Ital *secchia* 'pair'); MEYER Wb. 401 (follows MIKLOSICH); JOKL LKUBA 102 n. 1 (follows THUMB); MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 25; cABEJ St. II 131-132 (MGk criTAAx, NGk 'kind of big vessel' go back to the same source); HAARMANN 150; LANDI Lat. 95, 119.

**shekull** m, pl. *shekuj* 'age'. Borrowed from Lat *saeculum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 401). 0 MEYER-LCBKE *Gr. Grundrili* <sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1049; HAARMANN 147; LANDI *Lat.* 71, 142.

**shelg** m, pl. *shelgje* 'willow'. Borrowed from Lat *salix* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 401). 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 147.

**shelke** f, pl. *shelka* 'cover, wrapping'. Identical with *shelqe*.

**shelqe** f, pl. *shelqe* 'wooden vessel for salt; vessel used as a plate by shepherds'. Other variants are *shelke* and *sheke*. Borrowed from Rom *\*salica* 'salt-cellar' (to Lat *sal* 'sale'). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 401 (from Ital *secchia* 'pair'); MEYER-LCBKE *Gr. Grundrif* <sup>3</sup> 11042; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 251; cABEJ *St. II* 132 (variant of *sheke*); LANDI *Lat.* 95, 144.

**shelqeror shelqner m** 'trunk with several branches used as a hanger in front of a shepherd's hut'. Borrowed from Lat *sarcinarius* 'used for packing, loading', reflected in the Rumanian synonym of the Albanian word *seirciner, salciner* (MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; cABEJ *St. II* 132). 0 HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 112-114, 157.

**shemb** aor. *shemba* 'to tear, to destroy'. A prefixal derivative from PAIb *\*ampa*, a nasal present related to Skt *apnoti* 'to reach', Gk *aim* 'to seize, to grasp' and other continuants of IE *\*ap-*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 404 (from Ital *scemare* 'to diminish, to lessen'); POKORNYI 50-51.

**shembell** f, pl. *shembella* 'example, sample'. Another variant is *shemhull*. Borrowed from Lat *exemplum* id. 0 CAMARDA 186 (to Lat *similis* 'similar'); MEYER *Wb.* 404 (*shembell* 'sign' from Lat *symbolum* 'symbol' but this meaning of the Albanian word is dubious); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 536 (agrees with MEYER); cABEJ *St. II* 132-133 (back formation of *shembellej* influenced by Lat *exemplum*).

**shembellej** aor. *shembelleva* 'to resemble'. Borrowed from Lat *simildre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 61; MEYER *Wh.* 404). The noun *shemtyre* is derived from here. 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrip* <sup>2</sup> I 1047 (*shemtyre, shembelltyre* derived from Rom *\*simulatura*); 1050; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; cABEJ *St.* 11 133; HAARMANN 150.

**sheme** f, pl. *sheme* 'swarm (of bees)'. Borrowed from Lat *examen* 'swarm' (JOKL *LKUBA* 286). 0 HAARMANN 124.

**shemer shemer** f, pl. *shemra* 'mistress, concubine, rival'. A morphological transformation of the original Rom *\*sub-marita* or *\*sub-maritica*, cf. Lat *marita* 'married woman'. 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 5-12 (from IE *\*srp-mari* further related to Lat *maritus* 'married'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 119-120; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP VIII* 140; cABEJ *StF* 11/4 49 (early borrowing from Slav *\*sebr7,*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 359-360.

**shenje** f, pl. *shenja* 'sign'. Borrowed from Lat *signum* id. (CAMARDA I 42; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60-61; MEYER *Wb.* 401). 0 MEYER-LCBKE *Gr. Grundriji* <sup>2</sup> I 1045 (from Italian), 1052; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20, 22; cABEJ *St.* VII 250, 267; HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lat.* 56-58.

**shenje** adj. 'saint'. Another phonetic variant is *shenje*. Borrowed from Lat *sanctus* id. (GILFERDTNG *Otn.* 26; CAMARDA I 84; MEYER *Wh.* 404; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 57). 0 MEYER-LCBKE *Gr. Grundrif* <sup>3</sup> I 1042, 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 249, 251; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 62-63; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 121, 142.

**sherbele** f, pl. *sherbela* 'sage (plant)'. With a dissimilation of sonorants, borrowed from Rom *\*salviella* based on Lat *salvia* id. (MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31).

**shermend** m, pl. *shermend* 'shoot, sprout (especially, of vine)'. Borrowed from Lat *sarmentum* 'twig, branch' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 58; MEYER *Wb.* 402). 0 MIHAESCURESEE IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 95, 116, 177.

**sherp** m 'wild celery'. Borrowed from Gk *aiknov-* GIAAptov (Hes.), *csaptov* 'umbelliferous plant' (THUMB *IF XXVI* 17) or from Lat *sirpe* id. (JOKE *LKUBA* 21). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 402 (from Rom *\*silpium* < Gk of *2uptov*); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; cABEJ *St.* II 133-134 (agrees with THUMB).

**shes** aor. *shita* 'to sell'. A prefixal derivative of *-es* attested in *pres.* The original meaning is 'to cut off, to divide, to separate a share'. 0

MEYER *Wb.* 402 (compares *sh-* with E *sell*), *Alb. St.* III 58; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 252; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (from \**eks-ketia*).

shesh m, pl. *shesha* 'plain, plane, flatness, square'. Borrowed from Lat *sessus* 'seat' (MEYER *Wb.* 402). 0 CAMARDA II 161 (to Gk kw; 'equal (in size)'); MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrif3* <sup>2</sup> 11039; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; cABEJ *St.* VII 217; HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lat.* 95.

**shete** pl. 'bran'. Plural of \**shate* borrowed from Lat *sectum*, participle of *seca* 'to cut'. 0 cABEJ *St.* II 134 (related to *shat*).

**shetke** f 'mane'. Borrowed from Slav \**Metl,ka* 'brush, bristle' otherwise unattested in South Slavic except for Slovene *Metka*. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 224.

**shekroj** aor. *shekrova* 'to devote, to dedicate'. Borrowed from Lat *sacrare* id. (MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrift* <sup>2</sup> 11047, 1052). 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24.

**shelboj** aor. *shelbova* 'to save, to deliver'. Borrowed from Lat *salvare* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 403). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrift* <sup>2</sup> 11047, 1052; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 147.

aor. *shelliva* 'to salt'. Borrowed from Lat *sabre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 404). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifl* <sup>2</sup> I 1047, 1052; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 147.

Sh8M0j aor. *shemova* 'to choke, to suffocate'. Borrowed from Lat *exanimari* id.

ShelltOj aor. *shemtova* 'to make ugly, to distort'. Borrowed from Rom \**examputare*, cf. Lat *amputare* 'to cut down, to amputate'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 401 (from Rom \**signitare*); SKOK *AarbSt* II 342 n. 3 (against MEYER); cABEJ *St.* II 134-135 (based on *shenje*).

**shendet** m 'health'. Borrowed from Lat *sanitatem* id. (CAMARDA I 86; MEYER *Wb.* 404). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3* <sup>2</sup> 1 1043, 1047; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 96, 109.

ShandOth adj. 'healthy'. Borrowed from Rom \**sanitasus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 404; MIRLOsicKRom. *Elemente* 57-58). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 249; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 96, 110.

**shendertat** m 'Transfiguration; Trinity'. Borrowed from Lat *sanctam trinitatem* 'holy Trinity' (ZOJZI B1Shk 1949/1 85-86). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 404 (to *shendrit*); KRISTOFORIDHI 391 (from Italian); cABEJ *LP VIII* 116-117 (follows ZOJZI), *St.* II 135 (from *shenj teritat*); HAARMANN 148.

**shendrit** aor. *shendrit* 'to shine'. Prefixal derivative in *shen-* of *ndrit*. 0 CABEJ *St.* VII 254.

**shengjete** f 'best part of hunting trophies'. Prefixal derivative of *gjah*.

**shepulle** f, pl. *shepulla* 'box on the ear'. Derived from *shipke*.

**sherbej** aor. *sherbeva* 'to serve'. Borrowed from Lat *servire* id. (CAMARDA I 86; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60; MEYER *Wb.* 404). 0 GILFERDING *Otm.* 26; MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrift* <sup>2</sup> 11048; JOKL *LKUBA* 78; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; cABEJ *St.* II 135-136; HAARMANN 149.

(T) **sheroj** aor. *sherova* 'to heal'. Borrowed from Lat *sanare* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 405). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifl* <sup>2</sup> I 1047, 1052; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; JANSON *Unt.* 59; HAARMANN 147.

ShesheriS aor. *shesherita* 'to hiss'. Borrowed from Gk o-upiCtu 'to whistle' influenced by Lat *susurrare* 'to hiss' (MEYER *Wb.* 405). 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 252.

**shetit** aor. *shetita* 'to go for a walk'. Another variant is *shetit*. Borrowed from Slav \**ktati* 'to walk', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *Setam*, SCr *sYetati* (MEYER *Wb.* 403). 0 SELIgtEV *Slay. naselenie* 192; SVANE 254.

**shi** m/n, pl. *shira shina* 'rain'. From PALb \**saja*, with an irregular development of the initial \**s-* > *sh-* explained by the dissimilation in the intermediary form \**raja* (OREL *Die Sprache* XXXI/2 282). The

word is connected with IE \*sii- 'rain; to rain': Gk bst, Tokh A *swase*, Tokh B *swese* 'rain', *su-* 'to rain' and, in particular, OPrus *suge* 'rain' = [*safe*] (MEYER *Alb. Studien* III 43, 81, *Wh.* 405; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350). 0 CAMARDA I 72 (to Gk xi6v 'snow'); JOKL *Studien* 77; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 281; LA PIANA *Studi* I 91 f.; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 251-252; PORZIG *Gliederung* 185; PISANI *Saggi* 119; POKORNY I 912; VAN WINDEKENS I 443; HAMP *KZ LXXIV* 128-129; FRISK II 978-979; CHANTRAINE I 164; cABEJ *St.* II 136; HULD 113; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; DEMIRAJ *AE* 360-361.

(G) **shi** m 'occipue. Borrowed from Lat *sinus* 'curve, bend, lap'. 0 MEYER *Wh.* 405 (to Slav \**hja* 'neck'); BARB *ARSt.* I 96 (< IE \**ksi(n)j-*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 96.

shi adv. 'exactly, right'. Borrowed from Lat *sic* 'so, yes'.

**shibe** f 'cold (illness)'. Derivative of *shi*.

**shibOl** f, pl. *shibla* 'bread crumb; splinter'. Based on Slav \**fibati* 'to strike, to hit'. 0 MEYER *Wh.* 405 (from SCr *siba* 'twig').

**shigjete** f, pl. *shigjeta* 'arrow'. Another form is *shegjete*. Borrowed from Lat *sagitta* id. (GILFERDING *Otm.* 26; MEYER *Wh.* 403). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; JOKL *LKUBA* 143 (from Rum *sageatii*); cABEJ *St.* VII 216; HAARMANN 147; LANDI *Lat.* 56-58, 95.

**shij shi** aor. *shiva shina* 'to thresh'. Borrowed from Lat *exigere* 'to drive away, to push out, to throw'. 0 MANN *Language* XXVI 388, XXVIII 40 (to Gk V)vm); cABEJ *St.* VII 204, 228.

Shije f, pl. *shija* 'taste'. A more archaic form is *shile*. Borrowed from Rom \**suavilia*, based on Lat *suavis* 'sweet', cf. Skt *svadati* 'to make palatable' - *svadu-* 'sweet'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 405 (from Gk V, XEoc 'propitious, gracious'); BUCK 1029-1031.

Shiken f, pl. *shikella* 'gall-nut'. Borrowed from Rom \**sicula* <Lat *silicula* 'small pod'.

shikoj aor. *shikova* 'to look, to pay attention'. Other forms are *shukoj* and *shukoj*. Borrowed from the deponential Lat *sequor* 'to follow',

in particular, 'to follow with eyes' - *oculis sequor*. 0 CAMARDA **1141** (to *shoh*); MEYER *Wb.* 405 (from Rom \**sedicare*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 252 (against MEYER); cABEJ *St.* II 137.

shiloj aor. *shilova* 'to saddle'. Derived from *shale*, with an irregular vowel change in the root (JoKi. *LKUBA* 22).

**shilor** m, pl. *shilore* 'burden, load, faggot, breast bone (of cow or pig)'. Derived from *shiloj*. 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 128-129 (-for to *pluar*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 361 (derived from *shul*).

**shipkd** f, pl. *shipka* 'box on the ear'. Borrowed from South Slavic \**filmka* 'blow, ramrod', cf. Bulg

**shiringe** f, pl. *shiringa* 'syringe'. Borrowed from Lat *syringa* id.

**shirk m** 'goatskin, wineskin'. The Greek-Albanian form is *shiq*. A phonetic variant of *rreshek rreshiq* (cABEJ *St.* II 137).

**shise** f, pl. *shise* 'feeling'. Dissimilated from \**shishe*. Borrowed from Lat *sensum* id.

shite f, pl. *shita* 'box on the ear'. Derived from *shipke*.

shite f, pl. *shita* 'illness of sheep'. Borrowed from Lat *sittis* 'weakness'.

shkabe f, pl. *shkaba* 'eagle'. A prefixal formation related to *gabonje* and reflecting PAIb \**iPgaba* (JOKL *LKUBA* 303-306). 0 MEYER *Wh.* 406 (compared with Slav \**koba*, \**kobb*, \**kobbcb* 'falcon'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 140, *Stratificazione* 140-141; TOPOROV *PJa* III 108 (follows MEYER); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352 (follows MEYER).

**shkadhis** aor. *shkadhita* 'to cut (branches)'. Derived from *kadhe* (KRISTOFORIDHI 391). 0 cABEJ *St.* II 137 (agrees with KRISTOFORIDHI), IV 88.

**shkagoj** aor. *shkagova* 'to refuse, to decline'. Borrowed from Lat *excaudic are* 'to uproot, to eradicate'.

**shkak** m, pl. *shkalle* 'reason, cause; noose, snare, trap'. The original meaning must have been close to 'noose, snare, trap' later developed to the abstract notion of 'cause'. Continues PA1b *\*skaka* etymologically related to ON *skaga* 'to protrude', Slav *\*skokti*, 'jump' < 1E *\*skek-* 'to jump, to be agile'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 407 (to *shkarkoj*); VASMER III 645; POKORNY I 922-923; cABEJ *St.* II 138 (from *\*shkark* related to Lat *curvus* 'crooked, curved').

**shkal** m 'rain-storm'. Derived from *shkal* 'to bring down'.

**shkal** aor. *shkala* 'to bring down, to drag, to roll, to charm (of fairies)'. Continues PA1b *\*skala* related to Gk (**wale**) 'to chop', Lith *ske'ti* 'to split', ON *skilja* id. and the like. 0 FRAENKEL 800-801; FRISK II 715-716; POKORNY I 923-927.

**shkalbesoj** aor. *shkalbesova* 'to cut off (rotten parts)'. Derived from *kalb*.

**shkak** m, pl. *shkalca* 'barrow, tray'. Derived from *shkalle* (MEYER *Wb.* 407). 0 cABEJ *St.* II 138 (to *shkel*).

**shkalis** aor. *shkalita* 'to dismount'. Another morphological variant is *shkalos*. Derived from *kale*.

**shkalis** aor. *shkalita* 'to caress, to make weak'. Derived from *shkal*.

**shkalle** f, pl. *shkalle* 'stairs, staircase'. Borrowed from Lat *scalae* 'stairs' (MEYER *Wb.* 406-407; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 58). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 1 1042; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 252; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; cABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAARMANN 148.

**shkalline** f, pl. *shkallma* 'sword'. Borrowed from Gk  $\beta\iota\kappa\omicron\chi\lambda\iota$ . 1.1.1 **id.** (cABEJ *St.* II 138) if not an artificial coinage of FISHTA used in his *Shqypntja i lire*.

**shkalloj** aor. *shkallova* 'to exaggerate, to go mad'. Borrowed from Rom *\*exscalare* 'to escalate' based on Lat *scalae* 'stairs', cf. *shkalle*. From here *shkallaq* 'crazy' is derived. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 407 (from Rom *\*excallare*, to Lat *callis* 'path'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 539 (against

MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 87-88 (to *shkel*); cABEJ *St.* II 139 (derived from *shkalle*).

**shkandull** m, pl. *shkanduj* 'temptation'. Borrowed from Rom *\*scandalum* for Lat *scandalum* id. (MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 1 1048).

**shkapercej** aor. *shkaperceva* 'to cross'. One of several prefixal derivatives in *shka-per-*, in this case - based on *ecej*. Cf. also *shkaperdaj* 'to divide', *shkaperthej* 'to trample down'.

**shkardhe** f 'dog chain; long stick attached to the dog's neck to prevent it from biting its master'. From PA1b *\*is-gardCt*, etymologically connected with *gardhe* and forming full parallel to Slav *\*jhz-gorda* 'fence' (OREL *LB* XXIX/4 67-69). The original meaning of *shkardhe* may be approximated as 'pile-structure, fence', taking into account the derivative *shkardhine* 'structure open from all sides; roof'. The proto-Albanian form was borrowed as Rum *zgardā* 'dog-collar, necklace, collar, willow-loop keeping folding doors shut' (POGIHRC *1st. limb. ram.* II 354; KALUZSKAJA *SBJa Antd.* 136). 0 KALUZSKAJA *Balk. Sredi-ern, 1.* 177-178 (derives *shkardhe* from *\*sker-* 'to cut'); ROSETTI *ILR* I 283; cABEJ *St.* VII 195; TRUBAteV *ESSJa* IX 30.

**shkarkoj** aor. *shkarkova* 'to unload'. Borrowed from Rom *\*discarricare* id. (CAMARDA I 66), cf. Rum *descareca*, Ital *scaricare* and the like. 0 PUSCARIU *EWR* 44.

**shkarpe** f, pl. *shkarpa* 'brushwood'. Borrowed from Gk *amipupog* 'contour; brushwood' (MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 407 (to Rom *\*discarpere* or *\*excarpere* 'to tear off'); cABEJ *St.* VII 243.

**shkarpe** f, pl. *shkarpa* 'honeycomb (without honey)'. Historically, of the same origin as *shkarpe* 'brushwood'. A honeycomb devoid of honey is described as an empty 'contour'. 0 CAMARDA I 173 (divides into *sh-karpe*).

**shkartoj** aor. *shkartova* 'to sort, to grade, to assort (of bad things); refl. 'to be perforated by worms'. Borrowed from Rom *\*excarptare*, a variant of *\*excarptiare* 'to tear off, to pick': Sp *escarzar*, Port *escarcar*.

**shkarth** m, pl. *shkartha* 'servant, slave'. Derived from *\*karth*, cf.



*kerthi* 'tiny; baby' s.v. *kerth*. Semantically, cf. Lith *tafnas* 'servant' Skt *tarnaka-* 'calf', *taruna-* 'young; boy'. 0 FRAENKEL 1060; BUCK *Synonyms* 1334-1335; MAYRHOFER II 483, 485-486; cABEJ *St.* VII 237, 257.

**shkarthi** adv. 'across'. Deived from *kerthi*.

**shkarzej** aor. *shkarzeva* 'to humiliate, to abase', refl. 'to roll in dust (of horses and donkeys)'. Another variant is *shkarztoj*. In all meanings, the Albanian verb is used metaphorically as it comes from Rom *\*excardiare* 'to spin wool'. 0 CAMARDA I 142 (root *skar-*); MEYER *Wb.* 407 (to Slav *\*skaredi*, 'disgusting, monster'); VASMER III 634 (against MEYER).

**shkarravesh** aor. *shkarravesha* 'to divide, to cut into pieces'. An expressive verb.

**shkas** aor. *shkava*, *shkajta*, *shkita* 'to slip, to slide'. Continues PAIb *\*skatja* corresponding to Lat *scatea* 'to stream, to flow out', Lith *skantit*, *skasti* 'to spring, to jump' (BART( *ARSt* 100). 0 CAMARDA I 86 (to Gk aim\* 'left', acct o) 'to be lame'); MEYER *Wh.* 411 (reconstructs *\*skes-*); JOKL *Studien* 82 (to Slav *\*kotiti* 'to roll', *\*kaeati* 'to swing'); CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 44 (same as JOKL); WALDE-HOFMANN II 491; FRAENKEL 798; POKORNY I 950; cABEJ *St.* VII 273.

shkas m, pl. *shkase* 'impulse, motive, incentive'. Derived from *shkas* 'to slip, to slide'.

shkaterr f 'ray, skate'. Based on *\*shkat* borrowed from Lat *squatus* id. (cABEJ *St.* II 139).

shkatatroj aor. *shkaterrova* 'to destroy'. Borrowed from Rom *\*excathedrare* 'to evict, to oust'. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 228 (from *kater*).

**shkath** aor. *shkatha* 'to make skillful'. Based on *\*shkath*, *shkathet* 'agile, quick, skilful'. The latter is derived from *shkak*.

shkazind f, pl. *shkazme* 'slippery slope'. Derived from *shkas* 'to slip, to slide'.

shkel aor. *shkepa* 'to make a step, to walk'. Another variant is *shklas*. Continues PAIb *\*skala* or *\*skalatja* related to Skt *skhllate* 'to stumble, to trip'. Derived from *shkel* is *shkelb* 'step' (JOKL *LKUBA* 283). 0 CAMARDA I 132 (to Gk 'to dig, to hoe'); MEYER *Wb.* 407 (from IE *\*skel-* in its unspecified meaning); JOKL *Studien* 78-79 (to Lith *kulnis* 'heel', Lat *calx* id.); MAYRHOFER III 509 (reconstructs *\*sk(h)er-*); cABEJ *St.* VII 184, 238.

**shkele** m, pl. *shkelca* 'stair'. Singularized plural of *shkalc*.

shkence f, pl. *shkenca* 'science'. Borrowed from Lat *scientia* id.

shkep aor. *shkepa* 'to rip open, to unrip, to tear'. Continues PAIb *\*skaipa* related to ON *skifa* 'to split', OFries *skrvia* 'to divide' and other continuants of *\*skei-p-*. 0 CAMARDA I 152 (to *shkabe* and *shqipe*); POKORNY I 922.

**shkep** aor. *shkepa* 'to resemble'. A parallel form is *shkrep*. A prefixal derivative of *\*krep* continuing PAIb *\*krepa* 'body' related to Skt *instr. sg. kfp-* 'shape, beautiful appearance', Lat *corpus* 'body', OHG *href* 'body, lap' (JoKL *Studien* 80). For the semantic development cf. Goth *galeiks* 'like' *leik* 'body'. 0 PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 327 (original group *shkr-*); WALDE-HOFMANN I 277-278; MAYRHOFER I 260; FEIST *Goth.* 188-189; POKORNY I 620; BUCK *Synonyms* 910-912; cABEJ *St.* II 139-140 (identical with *shkrep*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 361 (identified with *shkep* 'to rip open').

*shkelbaze* f 'spleen inflammation'. Prefixal derivative of *kelbaze*.

ShkethOZe f, pl. *shkelboza* 'bark'. Derivative in *-oze* of *\*shkalbe* continuing PAIb *\*skalba*, connected with ON *skalpr* 'ship', *skelpa* 'grimace' < \*'crack, split', MLG *scholpe* 'mussel'. These forms, in their turn, go back to IE *\*skel-* 'to split, to cut'. 0 POKORNY I 926; MANN *HAED* 480 (identical with *gelvozhde*); cABEJ *St.* II 140 (to *kalb*).

**shkelqar** aor. *shkelqara* 'to polish (of metals)', refl. 'to clear (of weather)'. Derivative of *shkelqej*.

shkelqej aor. *shkelqeva* 'to shine, to polish'. Derived from *qelq* (CAMARDA I 101; MEYER *Wh.* 221). 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 195, 201.

**shkemb shkamb** m, pl. *shkembinj shkambinj, shqembe* 'seat, throne; rock'. Borrowed from Lat *scamnum* 'bench, throne'. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 58; MEYER *Wb.* 408). The meaning 'rock' developed from an earlier \*`slope' < \*`bench', cf. Russ *prilavok* 'bench, slope'. 0 MEYER-LCBKE *Gr. Grundrift* I 1042, 1050; MANN *Language XVII* 20 (of non-Indo-European origin); MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 20; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 105, 115.

**shkembej** aor. *shkembeva* 'to change, to exchange'. Borrowed from Rom \**excambiare* id.: Rum *schimba*, Ital *scambiare* and the like (HAARMANN 124). 0 PUWARIU *EWB* 139.

**shkendije** f, pl. *shkendija* 'spark'. Borrowed from Rom \**scintilia* id. attested in Rum *santeie* instead of a more widely known Lat *scintilla* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 59; CAMARDA I 67: related to Lat *scintilla*). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 408 (derived from *shkendej* 'to sparkle' borrowed from Lat *excandescere* 'to catch fire'); MEYER-LUBKE 580 (phonetical difficulties of the above Romance reconstruction), *Gr. Grundrift* 2 11045, 1048; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 29; cABEJ *St.* VII 254; HAARMANN 124.

**shkepurdh** aor. *shkepurdha* 'to scratch'. An expressive verb derived from *kepurdhe*.

**shkeput** aor. *shkeputa* 'to separate, to tear off'. Derived from *keput*.

**shkerbej** aor. *shkerbeva* 'to imitate'. A hypercorrect derivative of *shkep shkrep* (cABEJ *St.* II 140). From here *shkerba, shkerbe* 'monster' is derived.

**shkerdhec** m, pl. *shkerdheca* 'keg, barrel'. An early borrowing from Slav \**skovordbch* 'pan' otherwise unattested in South Slavic. 0 CAMARDA II 210; MEYER *Wb.* 408 (from Ital *scardasso* 'card, in textile'); cABEJ *St.* VII 239.

**shkermog** aor, *shkermoga* 'to pound, to trample'. Derived from *k erme*.

**shkerpice** f, pl. *shkerpica* 'spark'. Derived from *kerpice*.

shklakonem refl. 'to invade, to burst into'. A phonetic variant of

*shkalkonem* 'to dismount' (cABEJ *St.* II 140) continuing Rom \**excaballicare* based on Lat *caballus* 'horse'. Cf. also *ngalkonem* 'to mount' < Rom \**incaballicare*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 408 (from Ital *scalcare* 'to carve').

Shidepe f, pl. *shklepa* 'matter from eyes, rheum'. Derived from *glepe*.

**shklese** f, pl. *shklesa* 'roof shingle'. Derivative of *shkel*.

**shklluq** aor. *shklluqa* 'to drink at one gulp'. Based on the onomatopoeic \**klluq* 'gulp'.

shkmes aor. *shkmesa* 'to clip, to prune (bushes, trees)'. Derived from *kniese*.

**shkoj** aor. *shkova* 'to go'. A late apocoptation of *shtekoj* attested in Northern dialects and based on *shtek* < *shteg* (*JOKL Studien* 80-82; cABEJ *St.* II 141). From here *shkojez* 'pore' is derived. 0 CAMARDA I 86 (to Gk avia) 'to slit open [to let something escape]'; MEYER *Wb.* 408 (compares with Lat *sequor* 'to follow'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 253 (follows JOKL); BARIC *ARSt.* I 73 (to Goth *skewjan* 'to wander'), *Hymje* 24; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 146 (agrees with BARK); WALDE-HOFMANN II 490; cABEJ *St.* II 141 (accepts JOKL's etymology); HULD 114.

**shkollle** f, pl. *shkolla* 'school'. Borrowed from Lat *schola* id., or as suggested by MEYER *Wb.* 387, from Venet *scola*. 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 255; cABEJ *St.* II 141 (agrees with MEYER).

**shkop** m, pl. *shkopinj, shqep* 'stick, cane'. Continues PA1b \**skapa* further related to Gk axEino;- ickcicoo;-, mcfprtov 'staff' (CAMARDA I 120; MEYER *Wb.* 408), Lat *scapus* 'shaft, stem', OHG *skaft* 'shaft, spear'. 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* III 60 (borrowed from Lat *scapus*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 254 (Latin loanword); PISANI *Saggi* 119; cABEJ *St.* II 141 (borrowed from North-Western Greek); POKORNY I 932; FRISK II 728-729; HULD 114; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352.

**shkopis** aor. *shkopita* 'to castrate'. Borrowed from Slav \**skopiti* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *skop'a*, SCr *skopiti* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 253). Note the anlaut *shk-*. 0 SVANE 136, 262.

shkoq aor. *shkoqa* 'to husk, to hull'. Derived from *koke*. The verb *shkoqis* 'to explain, to clarify' is based on *shkoq*.

shkorse f, pl. *shkorsa* 'rug made of goat wool'. Borrowed from Lat *scortea*, fern. adj. 'made of fur or of hide' (MEYER Wb. 408). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1051; MIFiAEsCu *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lat.* 105.

shkorret m, pl. *shkorrete* 'bush'. Another variant is *shkorre*. Derivative of *shqerr* with a different ablaut grade \*-e-> PAIb 0 HAHN 122 (to *korie* 'verdure, young growth'); MEYER Wh. 199-200 (follows HAHN); JOKE *ZONF* X 188-189 (derivative of *korr*); CABEJ *St.* II 142 (agrees with JOKL).

shkoze f, pl. *shkoza* 'beech'. Derived from *shkoj*. The word describes the beech as a 'walking' tree similar to *bredh*. 0 MEYER Wb. 408 (to Slovene *kozol* 'basket made of bark', Russ *kuzov* 'basket' and the like); JOKL *WUS* XII 71-73 (to Lith *skraoblas* 'red beech'); TREIMER *Slavia* III 453 (to OE *scaga* 'bush'); PORZIG *Gliederung* 176; HULD *KZ* XCV 305-306 (derived from *\*kar-* 'hard'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 362 (to *shkorre*, *shkurre*, *shqerr*).

shkrabe m, pl. *shkraba* 'scrawl'. From PAIb *\*skraba* related to Lat *scrobis* 'pit', OE *screpan* 'to scratch', Lith *skrebeti* 'to rustle', Slav *\*skrebt* 'to scratch' and the like. 0 TRAUTMANN *BSIWb.* 267; VASMER III 656; WALDE-HOFMANN II 500; POKORNY 1943-944

shkrap m, pl. *shkrapa* 'scorpion'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. OCS *skrapii* id., Bulg *skrapl'a* id. (MEYER Wb. 409). 0 CAMARDA II 150 (to Gk uKoprcio; 'scorpion'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 59 (from Lat *scorpi*a id.); MANN *Language* XVII 23 (agrees with CAMARDA); CABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAMP *LB* XXXV/1-2 67.

shkrefetij aor. *shkrefetiva* 'to neigh'. An onomatopoeia. 0 MEYER Wb. 409 (to SCr *krhati* 'to cough, of a horse').

shkreh aor. *shkreha* 'to release (safety device, trigger)'. Derived from *shkrep*. 0 CAMARDA I 69 (to Gk icalcw 'to weave').

shkreheze f 'bird trap'. Derived from *shkreh* (KRISTOFORIDHI 339). CABEJ *St.* II 142 (agrees with KRISTOFORIDHI ), IV 89.

shkrep aor. *shkrepa* 'to strike (fire); to release (trigger)'. Based on *shkrep* 'rock'. As to *shkrep* 'to be sexually attracted', it is an obvious metaphor based on *shkrep* 'to strike (fire)'. Borrowed to Rum *scapara* id. 0 MEYER Wb. 409 (to Rum *scapara* 'to sparkle', NGk *xaparrtio* 'to shine'), *Alb. St.* III 31 (to Gk *cycptirrao*); JOKE *Studien* 80 (to Lat *corpus* 'body'), *Sprache* IX 151 (to Slav *\*kresati* 'to kindle fire'); BARI( *AArbSt* I 144; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 254 (to Lat *crept*)); PISANI *Saggi* 120 (borrowed from Gk *CaTrpOtrure.*) 'to shine'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 333; ROSETTI *ILR* I 281; DEMIRAJ *AE* 362-363.

shkrep m, pl. *shkrepa* 'rock'. Prefixal derivative of *krep* (*JoKL LKUBA* 116). 0 VASMER *ZfslavPh* XIV 60 (from *\*shkrap* borrowed to SCr *s'krapa* 'pebble'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 363-364 (reconstructs *\*krHp-*).

shkrete adj. 'lonely, deserted, empty'. Borrowed from Lat *secretus* 'separate, isolated' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60; MEYER Wb. 409). 0 CAMARDA 1339 (to *krej*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; SANDFELD *LBalk* 74; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 254; MIHAESCE *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMANN 149.

shkrif aor. *shkrifa* 'to hoe, to loosen'. Related to *shkrij* 'to melt', a prefixal derivative of *grij*.

shkruaj shkruaj aor. *shkrova* 'to write'. Borrowed from Lat *scrthere* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 59; MEYER Wb. 409, *Alb. St.* IV 38).

CAMARDA I 101 (to *kruaj* and Lat *scrihere*); JOKL *LKUBA* 223 (follows MEYER), *IF* XLIX 291; TREIMER *MRIW* I 362 (follows CAMARDA); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 254; CABEJ *St.* 11 142-143 (accepts CAMARDA's etymology).

shkrumb In, pl. *shkrumba* 'black ashes, anything burned to ashes'. Continues PAIb *\*is'-kruma* with a non-etymological *-mb* < as obvious from the Albanian loanword in Rumanian - *scrum* id. A zero grade of IE *\*krem-* attested in Lat *cremO* 'to burn' (CABEJ *St.* II 143). 0 MEYER Wh. 409 (from Turk *kurum*); CAPIDAN *DR* II 458 (from Avar); WALDE-HOFMANN I 287; POKORNY 1572; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 348; RosErn

ILRI 281; DESNICKAJA *Slay. jaz. VIII* 154 (to \**kera-* 'to burn'); DURIDANOV *BE XVIII/4-5* 401-406.

shkrydh aor. *shkrydha* 'to comb, to card (of wool)'. Derived from *krvdh*.

shkrreyj aor. *shkrreva* 'to make dirty (of clothes)'. Based on *gerryej*.

shkues m, pl. *shkues* 'matchmaker, father-in-law'. Derived from *shkoj* (KRISTOFORIDHI 398). 0 cABEJ *St. II* 143 (agrees with KRISTOFORIDHI), IV 89.

shkul aor. *shkula* 'to tear out, to pull out, to eradicate'. A zero-grade of IE \**skel-* 'to cut, to split' attested also in *shkul*. 0 CAMARDA I 66 (opposed to *n-gul*); POKORNY I 923-926.

shkulke f 'branch placed in the middle of a meadow and forbidding to use it as a pasture'. Another variant is *shkujke*. An early borrowing from Romance, cf. OSard *iskolka* 'guard of private property', OPort *escolca* id. (BARD *Hymje* 71). 0 cABEJ *St. II* 143-144 (borrowed from Middle Greek or derived from *shkul*).

shkulm m, pl. *shkulma* 'wave'. Prefixal derivative of *kulm* (cABEJ *St. II* 144).

shkume f, pl. *shkume* 'foam'. Another form is *shkumbe*. Borrowed from a Germanic loanword in Rom \**scuma* id. (CAMARDA II 73; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 59; MEYER *Wb.* 409-410). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3 'I* 1050 (from Ital Neapol *Slumme*); HELBIG 59 (from Ital dial. *scuma* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 318; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 255.

shkund aor. *shkunda* 'to shake, to swing'. Continues PA1b \**skunta*, nasal present of IE \**skeut-*: Mlr *scothaid* 'to cut off', Lith *skutli, skusti* 'to, scrape'. Derived from here are *shkundulloj* 'to shake strongly' and *shkundellime* 'earthquake'. 0 CAMARDA I 67 (to Lat *scinda* 'to tear into parts'); MEYER *Wb.* 410 (from Lat *excutare* 'to shake off'); TREIMER *MRIWI* 356 (*sh-kund* to Slav \**kydati* 'to throw'); BARD *AarbSt.*

218 (to Lith *kuteti* 'to shake'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 255; FRAENKEL 823-824; VENDRYES [S] 52; POKORNY I 954.

shkupe f 'warm spring wind'. Derived from *Shkup*, the Albanian name of Skopje (CABEJ *St. II* 144).

shkurt adj. 'short', m 'February'. Borrowed from Gmc \**skurtaz* 'short': OHG *scurz*, OE *sceort*. Of particular interest is *shkurte* 'shirt' from Gmc \**skurta* \**skurti-* id.: ON *skyrta*, MLG *schorte* and the like. 0 CAMARDA II 159 (to Lat *curtus* 'shorn'; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20 (from Lat *curtus* 'shore'); MEYER *Wb.* 409 (from Rom \**excurtus* unattested elsewhere); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3 'I* 1046 (from \**ex-* + *curtus*); TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 190; ERNOUT-MEILLET 160; ONIONS 822; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; HAARMANN 124.

shkurre f, pl. *shkurre* 'bush'. Phonetic variant of *shkorre*, cf. *shkorret* (LA PIANA *St. Varia* 26, 67; cABEJ *St. II* 144-145). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 410 (borrowed from Lat *cornea*, adjective of *cornus* 'cornel'); JOKL *LKUBA* 230, 328 (to Slav \**kmy* 'noon'; BART( *ARSt. I* 103, *AarbSt I* 156 (to OIr *crann* 'tree'); SCHUCHARDT *ZfromPhil* XL 493 (same as BARic)).

shkyc aor. *shkyca* 'to unlock'. Based on *kyc*.

shluk m, pl. *shluqe* 'blister'. Borrowed from Rom \**s/ucus*, metathesized variant of Lat *sucus* 'furrow, wound'.

shlyej aor. *shleva* 'to pay off, to cancel, to cover'. Derived from *lyej*.

shllige f, pl. *shlliga* 'viper'. A parallel form is *shellige*. A tabooistic description derived from *lig* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 359). 0 JOKL *Studien* 77-78 (to OIr *selige* 'turtle'); BARI( *ARSt. I* 97; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 141; LAMBERTZ *Alb. Marchen* 10 n. 2 (to Germ *schleichen* 'to crawl' and the like); cABEJ *St. II* 145.

shllim m 'idea'. Derived from *shllej* 'to resemble', a phonetic variant of *shembellej* (cABEJ *St. II* 146).

shoh shof aor. *pashe* 'to see'. From PA1b \**sakska* with a dissimilation of sibilants. Further connected to IE \**sele-* 'to follow, to see': Skt *sdcate* 'to accompany, to follow', Gk *ε7CORCU*, Lat *sequor*; cf. in particular Goth *sailvan* 'to see' (MEYER *Wb.* 411-412, *Alb. St. III* 7, 43: reconstructs an intermediate \**sieh*) and Hitt *,i:/kuiṣk-*. The aorist

is based on the zero grade of IE *\*pd-* 'to pasture, to guard', cf. MEYER Wb. 323-324 (who, however, combines it with an erroneous comparison with Skt *pds'yati* '(he) sees': *\*-ks-* would have yielded Alb *-h-*), Alb. St. III 25.0 CAMARDA 1140 (to Gk *olio* 'to sow'); BRUGMANN-DELB- BRUCK 11/3 404; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 283 (reconstructs *\*seleska*), Kelt. Gr. II 621; BARD' ARSt. I 95, *Hymje* 90-91; LOEWE KZ XXXIX 312 (borrowed from Goth *sailvan*); ERNOIJT-MEILLET 640; PISANI *Saggi* 131 (follows PEDERSEN), *Shejzat* [XIX] 196-197; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 161 (identifies *shoh* with Skt *sisakti* 'to follow'); MAYRHOFER HI 417-418; FRISK 1544-545; WALDE-HOFMANN II 519-520; FEIST *Goth.* 404-405; POKORNY I 896-898; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 150-151, *Munch. St. Spr.* XL 123 (*pashe* - to Arm *hayi-* 'to look'), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 231; HAMP *IF* XCIII 121; cABEJ St. VII 217; HULD 114-115 (reconstructs a causative *\*soleesk0*); DEMIRAJ AE 312-313 (repeats MEYER's etymology).

**shok** m, pl. *shoke* 'comrade, friend'. Another form is *shoq*. The variant *shok* is a back formation of *shoq* (an analogically motivated singular of pl. *shoq*). Borrowed from Lat *socius* 'comrade, companion' (CAMARDA I 86; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 61; PEDERSEN Alb. *Texte* 195). 0 MEYER Wb. 412 (from Rom *\*socus*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrift* <sup>2</sup> 11045; JOKL *Zb. Belie* <sup>3</sup> 82; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 256; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 150; LANDI *Lat.* 95-96.

**shoke** f, pl. *shoka* 'belt'. Borrowed from Rom *\*soca* 'rope, cable': Ital dial. *soga*, OFr *roue* and the like (MEYER Wb. 412). 0 MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 150.

**shone** f, pl. *sholle* 'sole'. Another form is *shualle*. Borrowed from Lat *so/um* id. (CAMARDA I 50; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 61; MEYER Wb. 412). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrift* <sup>2</sup> 1 1045; JOKL *LKUBA* 65; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 150; LANDI *Lat.* 60, 137-139.

**shoretk** f 'hole of a honeycomb'. From *\*shorteke* continuing Rom *\*sortica* 'outlet', derived from *\*sortire* 'to go out'. 0 cABEJ St. II 146 (borrowed, with a metathesis, from Slav *\*re.fet.hka* 'grating, lattice').

**short** m, pl. *shorte* 'lot'. Borrowed from Lat *sortem* id. (CAMARDA II 159; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 61; MEYER Wb. 412). 0 MEYER-

LUBKE *Gr. Grundrift* <sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1048; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 150; LANDI *Lat.* 83, 146.

**shorr** aor. *shorra* 'to press together, to squeeze'. Continues PA1b *\*sjara* related to Hitt *ishija-* 'to bind', Skt *sydti* 'to bind', Lith *sieti* id. and the like. 0 FRAENKEL 783; MAYRHOFER III 549-550; POKORNY 1891.

**shosh** aor. *shosha* 'to sift'. From PA1b *\*sjasja* related to Gk *fiKco* id., Lith *sijdu, sijoti* id., Slav *\*sejati* id. and the like (MANN *Language* XXVIII 39). 0 MEYER Wb. 385-386 (to Gk *cn* id.), Alb. St. III 41, *Gr. Gr.* 297; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 72; FRAENKEL 784; FRISK I 624; VASMER III 615; POKORNY I 889; HULD 148; DEMIRAJ AE 364-365.

**shote** t, pl. *shota* 'big duck'. From PA1b *\*sjauta* related to W *hwyad* id., OCorn *hoet* id., Bret *houat* id. and continuing, with a metathesis, IE *\*saujeto-*. 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 310-311 (prefixal derivative of IE *\*anat-cluck*); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 55 (Celtic words explained from IE *\*aujetos*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 141; SCHMIDT *KZL* 244-245 (same as JOKL); LEWIS-PEDERSEN 155.

**shpage** f 'revenge'. Derived from *page* 'payment', an Italian loanword.

**Shpaled** f 'sea fish, golden bream, *Chrysophris auratus*'. Another form is *shparze*. Based on *\*shpare* borrowed directly from Gk *anCepoc* 'bream' or via Lat *spares* id. (cABEJ St. II 146).

**shpall** aor. *shpalla* 'to announce, to declare'. From *\*shprall*, based on *pralle*. 0 CAMARDA I 240 (to *pellas*); JOKL *Studien* 83-84 (to Lat *palam* 'openly', Slav *\*polAjb* 'hollow'); cABEJ St. II 9-10; DEMIRAJ AE 365 (to Goth *spillon* 'to tell').

**shpardh** m, pl. *shpardhe* 'oak'. Based on PA1b *\*pardza* identical with ON *forkr* 'stick, pole' continuing IE *\*perk*. An alternative explanation derives *shpardh* from *bardh* (DEMIRAJ AE 365-366), an etymology semantically based on the contrast between the "white" oak and the "red" beech. 0 TREIMER *Slavia* III 453 (from IE *\*perk-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 186-187 (to OHG *sparro* 'beam'); POKORNY I 819-820 (reconstructs *\*perg-* and compares ON *forkr* with Lith *pergas* 'fishing-boat' and Slav *\*porgE*. 'threshold'); CAMAS Alb. *Worth.* 121; OLBERG *IBK*

XVII 46; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282 (to Gk cricopoc 'sowing').

shparger shpargen m, pl. *shpergenj* 'diaper'. A more archaic singular in Geg is *shperga*. Borrowed from Gk anapyavov id. (CAMARDA I 85; DIEFENBACH I 57). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 414 (from NGk \*anotprivt); CABEJ *St.* II 148 (follows DIEFENBACH).

shparte f, pl. *shparta* 'broom (bot.)'. Borrowed from. Lat *spartum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 413). 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 150.

shparr m 'kind of oak'. From PA1b \**spara* borrowed from rather than identical with Lat *sparus* 'short spear' or OHG *sparro* 'beam, girder', ON *spari* id. (JoKL *LKUBA* 186-188). 0 WALDE-HOFMANN II 568; POKORNY I 990-991.

shpat m, pl. *shpate* 'precipice, mountain forest'. Prefixal derivative of \**pat* continuing. PA1b \**pata*. The latter is related to Skt *pdtati* 'to fly, to soar', Gk /aim) 'to fall' and the like (JOKL *LKUBA* 163-164). 0 FRISK II 542-543; MAYRHOFER II 199; POKORNY I 825; CABEJ *St.* II 146-147 (back formation of *shpatull*).

shpate f, pl. *shpata* 'sword'. Borrowed from Lat *spata* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 61; MEYER *Wb.* 413). 0 CAMARDA I 158 (to an unattested Gk anal\* MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1041, 1053; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 150).

shpatull f, pl. *shpatulla* 'shoulder, shoulder-blade'. Borrowed from Rom \**spatula* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 61; MEYER *Wb.* 403). 0 CAMARDA II 158; MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1041; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; CABEJ *St.* VII 244; HAARMANN 150.

shpejte adj. 'quick, fast'. Borrowed from Lat *expeditus* 'easy, expedite, quick' (Mn(LosicH *Rom. Elemente* 24) or restored from Rom \**expeditare*, cf. *shpetoj* (JOKL *RIEB* II 72-73). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 413 (against MIKLOSICH; to Slav \**spexi*. 'hurry'); BARK *ARSt. I* 100-101 (to Gk arce.pxol.tat 'to rush'); CABEJ *St.* II 147-148 (in view of OAlb *shpjerte* of BUZUKU, a postverbal formation of *shpie*).

shpelle f, pl. *shpella* 'cave'. Borrowed from Lat *spelaeum* id. 0 CAMARDA I 46 (to Gk oltiiXectov id.); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62

(from Lat *spelunca*); PISANI *Saggi* 120; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk curnkatov); HULD *KZ* XCIX 250 (follows MIHAESCU); LANDI *Lat.* 176.

shpend m, pl. *shpend*, *shpende* 'bird'. Other forms are *shpes*, *shpeze* and *shpen*. Derived from *pende* as proved by *shpendel* 'down' going back to the same source. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 413 (a prefixal derivative of \**pet-no-*), *Alb. St.* III 30; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 141.

shpene f, pl. *shpene* 'snow-flake'. Related to *shpend* and *shpendel*.

shpenkoj aor. *shpenkova* 'to disembowel (of poultry)'. From \**shpendkoj*, based on *pende*.

shperr aor. *shperra* 'to win (money), to gain'. From PA1b \**sparja* related to Gmc \**sparajan* 'to leave unharmed, to keep': ON *spara*, OHG *sparon*, OE *sparian*. 0 ONIONS 850.

shpeshe adj. 'frequent, thick'. Borrowed from Lat *spissus* 'thick' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63; MEYER *Wb.* 413). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> 11045, 1053; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 256; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 151; LANDI *Lat.* 58.

shpet m, pl. *shpeta* 'garden fence'. Singularized plural of *shpat* (CABEJ *St.* II 148).

shperbehet refl. 'to rot, to to decompose'. Derivative of *bei*. As in many other verbs, the prefix *shper-* borrowed from Lat *super-* is used here.

shperej aor. *shpereva* 'to hope'. Borrowed from Lat *sperare* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62). 0 MEYER-LI3BKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> 11048; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 150.

shpetoj aor. *shpetova* 'to save'. Borrowed from Rom \**expeditare*, frequentative of Lat *expedire* 'to extricate, to disengage' (MEYER *Wb.* 414, *Alb. St.* IV 36). 0 CAMARDA 156 (to Gk imkon.at 'to fly out, to fly away'); JOKL *RIEB* II 71-72 (derived from *pet-ke* as a calque of Lat *ex-cappare* 'to go, to be in a hurry'), *LKUBA* 78; SPITZER *MRIW* I 330 (from Rom \**hospitare* 'to receive as a guest'); HAARMANN 124; CABEJ *St.* II 149 (agrees with JOKL).

**shpie** aor. *shpura, shpum* 'to bring away'. Prefixal derivative of *bie* (MEYER *Wb.* 35). 0 JOKL *Studien* 82-83 (from \*-*perā* related to *pruva*), LKUBA 230; BARD *ARSt.* I 105 (agrees with JOKL); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 257-258; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 63; cABEJ *St.* VII 184, 201; DEMIRAJ *AE* 366-367.

**shpih shpif** aor. *shpiha shpifa* 'to slander, to calumniate'. The initial *sh-* is a prefix as it follows from *kepif* 'to blame' (MEYER *Wb.* 413). Continues PALb *\*peikska* related to OHG *fehan* 'to hate', Lith *peTkti* 'to blame'. 0 FRAENKEL 525; POKORNY I 795.

**shpik** aor. *shpik* 'to drink out, to find out'. Derived from *pik*.

**shpine** f, pl. *shpina* 'back, spine'. Borrowed from Lat *spina* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62; MEYER *Wb.* 414). Note the lack of rhotacism in Tosk. 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1053; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 25; cABEJ *St.* VII 281; HAARMANN 150.

**shpirt** III, pl. *shpirtera shpirtna, shpirte* 'soul, spirit'. Borrowed from Lat *Spiritus* id. (CAMARDA I 53; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62; MEYER *Wb.* 414). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1053; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 257; HAARMANN 151; LANDI *Lat.* 148-149.

**shpirrd** f 'asthma'. Deverbative based on *\*shpirroj* continuing Rom *\*dis-spircire*. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62 (based on Lat *spWre*); MEYER *Wh.* 414 (same as MIKLOSICH).

**shplaj** aor. *shplava* 'to rinse'. Parallel forms are *shpelaj* and *shperlaj*. A prefixal derivative of *laj* (cABEJ *St.* II 149). 0 CAMARDA I 40 (to IE *\*pleu-* 'to swim, to float'); MEYER *Wb.* 237, *Alb. St.* IV 99 (from Rom *\*ex-per-lavare*).

**shpoj** aor. *shpova* 'to drill'. Another form is *shpuaj*. Borrowed from Rom *\*ex-pugere* for *\*ex-pungere* 'to prick out, to strike out' (MEYER *Wb.* 414) or rather, from *\*ex-pagere* 'to pierce'. 0 CAMARDA I 68 (to Gk arctic° 'to pull'); JOKL *IF XXXVII* 12-14, LKUBA 217, 244 (from *\*peria*); BARIE *ARSt.* I 69; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 63; cABEJ *St.* III 154, 179-180, VII 258; DEMIRAJ *AE* 367-368.

**shpor** m, pl. *shpore* 'spur; rooster's breast'. Borrowed from Rom

*\*spora* 'spur' (MEYER *Wb.* 414), a Gothic loanword unattested in Rumanian. The verb *shporoj* 'to pierce' is derived from *shpor* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 368). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62; JOKE *IF XXXVII* 120-123 (*shporoj* to *shpoj*), LKUBA 217, 244; MEYER-LC BKE 616; BARIC *ARSt.* 169.

**shporte** t, pl. *shporta* 'basket'. Borrowed from Lat *sporta* 'basket, sieve' (MEYER *Wb.* 414). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63 (from Ital *sporta* id.); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* 2 i 1045, 1053; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 25; cABEJ *St.* VII 266; HAARMANN 151.

**shporr** aor. *shporra* 'to move away, to drive away'. Based on PALb *\*para* related to Skt *piparti* 'to bring over, to save', Gk *itcpao.*, rEipco 'to penetrate' and the like (CAMARDA II 152: to Gk *itopaa* 'forwards'). 0 JOKL *Studien* 84 (to Goth *fairra* 'far', Skt *pora-* 'ulterior, further'); FRISK II 491; MAYRHOFER II 284; POKORNY I 816-817; CABE.] *St.* VII 234.

**shpreh** aor. *shpreha* 'to express, to speak'. Goes back to PALb *\*iŝ-per-akska*, further connected with *eh* 'to sharpen' < *\*akska* and *prep.* id. < *\*per-akska*, with the semantic development 'to sharpen' > 'to express' similar to that of Slav *\*raziti* 'to strike' - *\*vyraziti* 'to express', Lat *premere* 'to press' - *exprimere* 'to express' (OREL *LB XXVIII/4* 54) 0 JOKE *Festschr. Rozwadomski* I 249-250 (< PALb *\*spregska*, an inchoative in *\*-sic-* connected with OE *sprecan* 'to speak', OS *sprekan* id., OHG *sprehhan* id.); PORZIG *Gliederung* 139 (follows JOKL); PISANI *REIE* IV 7 (from Rom *\*expresso*); POKORNY I 996-997; SGGJa 1100, 111; cABEJ *St.* VII 192; SBJa *Leksikol.* 148, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352; HOLD 98; SCHRIJVER *BC* 172; DEMIRAJ *AE* 368-369 (against OREL).

**shpresoj** aor. *shpresova* 'to hope'. Based on *shprej, shperej* id. borrowed from Lat *sperare* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 414).

**shpretkd shpdnetke** f, pl. *shpretka shpenetka* 'spleen'. Borrowed from Lat *spleneticum* 'related to spleen' (MEYER *Wh.* 413-414). 0 CAMARDA I 85 (to Gk *csit2div* 'spleen'); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 256; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 31; HAARMANN 151.

**shprish** f 'breakfast'. Deverbative based on *shprish* 'to card, to



comb; to have breakfast'. The latter is a prefixal derivative of *prish*.

**shprohe** f 'deadly nightshade, belladonna'. From PALb *\*spreujci* related to MHG *spreejen* 'to be scattered' < Gmc *\*sprewjan*. 0 POKORNY I 994.

shputt f, pl. *shputa* 'foot sole'. Borrowed, with a metathesis, from Slav *\*stQpa*, deverbative of *\*stQpati* 'to step', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *st-bpam*, SCr *stupati*. 0 MEYER Wb. 415 (from Slav *\*stopa* 'sole').

shpuze f 'hot ashes'. Borrowed from Lat *spodium* 'ash' (MEYER Wb. 415) and passed to Rum *spuzd*. 0 MEYER-LURKE Gr. *Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1052; LA PIANA St. *Varia* 33 (identical with Gk *anoyyta* 'sponge'); SCHMIDT KZ L 245 (prefixal derivative of IE *\*peyOr-l\*pun-* 'fire'); MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 29; POGHIRC /St. *limb. ram.* II 349; ROSETTI ILR I 281; HAARMANN 151.

(G) **shqa m** 'Bulgarian'. Borrowed from Lat *sclavus* 'Slav' (MIKLOSICH Rom. *Elemente* 59; MEYER Wb. 410), cf. Rum *cchiau* id. (Pu5CARIU EWR 1547). 0 MIKLOSICH Slay. *Elemente* 33; CAMARDA I 87 (to Gk *Evia* 'hospitality'); PWARIU EWR 139; MEYER-LUBKE Gr. *Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1041; JOKL IF XLIV 37, *Slavia* XIII 295; SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 253; SKOK ZfromPhil LIV 181; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 253; cABEJ St. VII 193; SvANE 148; LANDI Lat. 105, 138.

**shqarr** m, pl. *shqarra* 'marten'. Another variant is *shar*. Continues PALb *\*skera* related to Latv *skara* 'curly fur', Slav *\*skora* 'hide'. The original meaning must have been '(marten) fur'. For the semantic development cf. E *marten* borrowed from OFr *martrine* 'marten fur'. 0 MEYER Wb. 399-400 (borrowed from Slav *\*Axon*. 'pole-cat'); BARK AArbSt. I 153 (to Gk *axwp* 'excrement'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 141; MOHLENBACH-ENDZELIN III 872; VASMER III 650; ONIONS 558; cABEJ St. II 150 (from IE *\*sker-* 'to cut').

**shqeke** f, pl. *shqeke* 'pocket without lining'. Prefixal derivative of *\*qeke* borrowed from Lat fem. *caeca* 'blind; secret, hidden'.

**shqelm** m, pl. *shqelma, shqelme* 'step'. Derived from *shkel*. 0 cABEJ St. VII 241.

**shqem m** 'threshold'. Singularized plural of *shkam shkamh* 'stool, chair, threshold' (cABEJ St. II 150-151). The latter was borrowed from MGk *axaμvov* 'bench'.

**shqeme** f, pl. *shqeme* 'Rhus coriaria, sumach, plant used for tanning'. Singularized plural of *\*sh(e)kam* < *\*sh(e)mak*, a metathesized borrowing from MLat *summacus* id. 0 cABEJ St. II 151 (from Gk *boaximuo*; 'kind of plant *Hyoscyamus niger*').

**shqep** aor. *shqepa* 'to rip, to tear'. The antonym of *qep* built with the prefix *sh-* (CAMARDA 1101; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 432). 0 cABEJ St. VII 219.

**shqepoj** aor. *shqepova* 'to be lame'. Based on *shqep* 'lame' borrowed from Rom *\*scltipus* reflected in Rum *schiop* id. (MEYER Wb. 411). Other Romance languages have *\*cloppus*. 0 PU4CARIU EWR 139; MEYER-LUBKE 159, Gr. *Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1054; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 124 (from Rom *\*excloppus*).

**shqerr** aor. *shqorra* 'to tear (cloth)'. From PALb *\*skera* related to Gk *iceipco* 'to cut off', OIr *scaraim* 'to separate', ON *skera* 'to cut off' and the like (CAMARDA 169, 87; MEYER Wb. 411-412, Mb. St. III 60, 71). From here *shqerre* 'coarse' is derived. 0 Joiu., IF XXX 197, LKUBA 156 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 249-250; BARIC *Hymje* 35 (to Dac *csictcipri* 'kind of thorny plant'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 40; GEORGIEV *Issledovamja* 114 (follows BARIc); CIMOCHOWSKI St. IE 43; FRISK 810-811; VENDRYES [S] 33-34; POKORNY I 938-939; DEMIRAJ AE 369-370.

shqeze f, pl. *shqeza* 'harrow'. Derived from *shqyej*.

shqile f 'rennet'. Dialectal variant of *\*shtile*, derived from *shtjell* (DEMIRAJ AE 370). 0 JOKL LKUBA 282 (prefixal derivative of *gel* 'to bring, to carry').

shqiinte adj. 'unhappy, abandoned, lonely'. Related to *shqimth*.

shqimth m 'dandruff'. Diminutive in *-th* derived from *gime*.



shqind m 'mastic-tree'. Borrowed from Gk axivoc id. (CABEJ *St.* II 151-152) with -x- rendered as \*-k- > -g-. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 411 (from NGk cricivo;, axivoc id.).

shqipe adj. 'Albanian'. Calque of Slav \*slov 'Slays' (from \*s/ovo, \*sluti 'to speak clearly') based on shqipoj 'to speak clearly' (TRLEAeEv *Slay. jaz.* XI 6). The historical and cultural importance of this calque is unprecedented insofar as it reflects a situation of ethnic symbiosis in the area. This situation must have followed the Proto-Albanian period. 0 CAMARDA II 152 (to shqipe 'eagle'); MEYER *Wb.* 411 (shqipe derived from shqipoj); DIEFENBACH *Turk.* 27 (to sqep); TREIMER *IF XXXV* 135-137 (prefixal derivative of qipi 'heap' < \*sem-kapo- 'people, gathering'); SOLMSEN *Eig.* 98; JAKOBSON *IJSL*1959/1-2 271 (\*slov 'Me from \*s/ovo 'word'); POLAK *Slavia LIX* 347-350; TRUBACEV *Etimologija* 1980 12-13 (Slav \*slovene from \*slovQ, \*sluti); CABEJ *LVJSOS IV* 78-96 (shqipoj as a denominative of shqipe).

shqipe shqype f, pl. shqipe shqype 'eagle'. Contamination of shkabe and shqipoj < Lat *excipere* in its original meaning 'to take out, to seize'. The influence of Lat *accipiter* 'bird of prey' cannot be altogether excluded. 0 CAMARDA II 152 (to shkabe); MEYER *Wb.* 276-277 (from Lat *accipiter*); JOKL *LKUBA* 307-308 (prefixal derivative of qep); TAGLI-AVINI *Stratificazione* 141; LANDI *Lat.* 120, 130.

shqipoj aor. shqipova 'to speak clearly, to understand'. Borrowed from Lat *excipere* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 411). 0 CAMARDA 1124-125; HAARMANN 124.

shqirrd f, pl. shqirra 'reed'. Derived from shqerr.

shqis aor. shqita 'to tear, to separate'. Derived from qis. 0 CABEJ *St.* VII 243.

shqitd f, pl. shqita 'slippery place'. Derived from shkas.

shqope f, pl. shqopa 'brier'. With a secondary -q-, borrowed from Lat *scopa* 'twig, branch' (KRISTOFORIDHI 396; WEIGAND *BA II* 224). 0 CABEJ *St.* II 152, IV 88-89.

shquaj shquej aor. shqova 'to discern, to stress, to learn'. Derived from quaj.

shqyej aor. shqyeva 'to tear, to break'. From PAIb \*skanja related to IE \*sken- 'to split' mainly represented by a deverbative adjective \*skento-, cf., for example, Bret *skant* 'scales', ON *skinn* 'hide, skin'. 0 POKORNY I 929.

shqymb aor. shqymba 'to extinguish, to destroy'. Continues PAIb \*skinba, a nasal present related to Goth *af-skiuban* 'to push back, to reject', Lith *sktnbil, skilbti* 'to hurry up', Slav \*skub(2, \*skubati 'to pull, to tear'. 0 FRAENKEL 820; FEIST *Goth.* 9; VASMER III 660; POKORNY 1955.

shqyrtoj aor. shqyrtova 'to examine, to observe'. The original form must have been \*shkrytoj. Borrowed from Lat *scratarr* 'to examine, to find out'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 388 (from Rom \*disquiritare); CABEJ *St.* II 152 (derived from qyr).

shqyt m, pl. shqyta 'shield'. Borrowed from Lat *scratan* id. (MIKLOsicfl *Rom. Elemente* 60). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrijl* 2 I 1046; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV*/1-2 20; CABEJ *St.* VII 216; HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lat.* 105.

shregull f, pl. shregulla 'swing'. Derived from rregull preserving the otherwise unattested meaning of Lat *regula* 'tar, board'.

shtage f, pl. shtaga 'pole, stick'. Continues PAIb \*staga etymologically connected with ON *stjaki* id., Latv *stOa* 'long pole' and the like. 0 POKORNY I 1014.

shtalbdr m 'wooden snare'. Based on PAIb \*stalba, an o-grade form related to ON *stolpi* 'beam, girder', Lith *stulbas* 'post, pole', Slav \*stz/b7, id. reflecting the zero-grade of \*stelb-. 0 VASMER III 765; FRAENKEL 930; POKORNY I 1020.

shtalkd f, pl. shtalka 'frame'. From PAIb \*stalika, nominal derivative based on IE \*stel- attested in various forms such as, for example, Skt *sthala*- Gk atoXii 'equipment', MLG *stale* 'post' and other similar continuants. 0 FRISK II 786-788; MAYRHOFER III 525; POKORNY I 1019-1020

shtalp m 'rennet'. Continues PAIb \*stalpa related to *shtjell* in view

of its derivative *mbe-shtillem* 'to become sour' (JOKL *LKUBA* 282-230).

BUGGE *BB XVIII* 171 (explains dialectal *shtarp* as related to Gk *tp4e*) 'to make sour, of milk'; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 284-285 (to *gjalpe*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 150; cABEJ *St. II* 152-153 (agrees with JOKL).

shtalld f, pl. *shtalla* 'stall'. Borrowed from Lat *stabulum* id. 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 258 (from Ital *stalla*).

shtang adj. 'hard'. From PAIb *\*stanga* related to ON *stinga* 'to put, to stick', Lith *stengiu*, *stengti* 'to be able', *stingti* 'to become hard', Latv *stingt* id. (MANN *Language XXVIII* 39) 0 CAMARDA I 140 (to Gk *GTE70.*) 'to cover'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63 (from Ital *stanga*); FRAENKEL 895-896, 906, *ZfslavPh XXIII* 344 (to OHG *stanga*); POKORNY I 1015.

shtardt adj. 'bitter'. Continues PAIb *\*stara* etymologically related to Gk *u'epEO*; 'tough, hard', ON *starr* 'stiff', Lith *steni* 'to become stiff, to harden' and the like. 0 FRISK II 790-791; FRAENKEL 902-903; POKORNY 1022; MANN *Language XXVI* 381-382 (to Av *stavro* 'strong', Skt *stha-vara-*).

shtat m, pl. *shtatra shtatna* 'figure, image'. Borrowed from Lat *status* 'height, stature' (MEYER *Wb.* 415). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63 (from Ital *stato*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3* <sup>2</sup> 11041; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 258 (against MIKLOSICH); MANN *Language XVII* 18 (from IE *\*sthdtos*); MIHAEScu *RESEE IV/1-2* 27; HAARMANN 151; LANDI *Lat.* 139, 148-149.

shtate num. 'seven'. Goes back to PAIb *\*septati-* from IE *\*septet-ti-*. The latter is derived from IE *\*sepal* 'seven', cf. Skt *saptad-*, Gk *bruic*, Lat *septem* (BoPP 459; CAMARDA I 93; MEYER *Wb.* 415, *Alb. St. III* 33, 59). From the point of view of derivation, *shtate* is close to such abstract formations in *\*-ti-* as Skt *saptatf-* 'seventy, seven tens', cf. BRUGMANN *Gr.* I 722, 971. 0 JOKL *Studien* 48 (on the group *\*-pt- > -t-*), *LKUBA* 315; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 284, *Kelt. Gr.* I 72, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* 1222, 224; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch. I* 39; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 258; LA PIANA *Studi* I 91; PISANI *Saggi* 106; BARIG *Hymje* 35; MAYRHOFER III 431; FRISK I 545; WALDE-HOFMANN II 517-518; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351-352; POKORNY I 909; HAMP *Numerals* 914; HULD 142; KODDERITZSCH *St. albanica XXII/2* 122; DEMIRAJ *AE* 370.

shtazd, shtezd shtazd f, pl. *shtaze*, *shteze shtlize* 'animal'. The original Tosk form is *shteze*. Derivative in *-ze* (MEYER *Wb.* 415) of an unattested *\*shte shta* continuing PAIb *\*stana* from IE *\*stano-*, an adjective in *\*-no-* from IE *\*st(h)a-* 'to stand' (JOKL *LKUBA* 245-247 with a reconstruction of the phonetically difficult full grade in *\*st(h)dno-*). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 415 (from Rom *\*bestana*, based on Lat *bestia* 'animal, beast'); BUGGE *BB XVIII* 186 (from Rom *\*extrana* for Lat *extranea*, fem. 'outside, external, strange'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 142; POKORNY I 1004-1008; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 64, 125 (to *shtie*); cABEJ *St. II* 154-155 (agrees with JOKL); OREL *Zf73alk XXIII* 150 (to OHG *stCai* 'strong, tough'); HULD *KZ XCVI* 152-158 (identical with Lat *quadrupes* 'having four feet'), XCVIII 101 (reconstructs *\*Vet(u)or pdjeH*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 371.

shteg m, pl. *shtigje* 'path, road'. From PAIb *\*staiga* identical with IE *\*stoigho-* 'way': Gk *atoixoc* 'row, line', Goth *staiga* 'way', Latv *staiga* 'walking', *saga* 'path', Slav *\*stbza* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 415, *Alb. St.* III 9, 58). 0 MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 275; PETERSSON *LUA XIX/6* 12; MANN *Language XXVI* 387; LA PIANA *Studi* I 91; PISANI *Saggi* 99; FRISK II 783-785; CHANTRAINE 1049; FEIST *Goth.* 447; POKORNY I 1017-1018; KLINGENSCMITT *Munch. St. Spr.* XL 102; HULD 114; OREL *Sprache XXXI* 282, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352; KORTLANDT *SSGL X* 221; DEMIRAJ *AE* 371-372.

shterd f, pl. *shtera* 'mortar'. Borrowed from Lat neut. *pistorium* 'related to flour-grinding'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 415 (from Rom *\*pistarium* for Lat *pistarium*); HAARMANN 142.

shterpd adj. 'barren, sterile'. A parallel form *shterke* continues *\*shterpke* (JoKL apud TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 259). Borrowed from Gk *cr'th.pupo*; id. (DEMIRAJ *AE* 373). 0 GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 24 (to Skt *stall* 'sterile cow'); HERZOG *ZfromPh XXXVIII* 736 (from Rom *\*exstirpus* 'barren, sterile'); TREIMER *ZfromPh XXXVIII* 391 n. 1 (against HERZOG); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 94; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 259 (to *shtjerre*); DESNICKAJA *Slay. jaz. VIII* 153 (to Lat *sterilis*); HAMP *Munch. St. Spr.* XL 37 (from Gk *cstOyoE*); LAND! *Lat.* 57, 82.

shterrd f, pl. *shterra* 'heifer'. Related to *shjerr* and *shtjerre*, pl. of *gengj*. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 149-150.

**shtet** m, pl. *shtete* 'state'. Historically identical with *shtat*. Singularized plural of \**shtat* borrowed from Lat *status* id.

**shtellunge** f, pl. *shtellunga* 'flock of wool'. Derivative in *-unge* from *shtjell* (PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 196). 0 WEIGAND 85-86 (from *shtellis*); cABEJ *St. II* 155 (follows PEDERSEN).

**shtembe shtamb8** f, pl. *shtemba stamba* 'clay vessel'. Borrowed from Gk *avii.tvog* 'large vessel' (CAMARDA I 83; MANN *Language* XVII 23). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 391, *Alb. St.* IV 109 (from NGk *atal.tva* 'pitcher'); JOKL *ZONF* X 191-192 (from IE \**stha-* 'to stand'); MANN *Language* XVII 23; MIHAESCURESEE IV/3-4 350; cABEJ *St. II* 153-154 (repeats MANN' s etymology).

**shtEmenget** adj. 'left; standing aside'. Prefixal form related to *mangut*. 0 cABEJ *St. VII* 201.

**shtenger** adj. 'squinting'. Based on \**shteng* borrowed from Rom \**stances* 'weak, left': Rum *sting*, Ital *stanco*, OFr *estanc* (MEYER *Wh.* 415). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> i 1042; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 20; HAARMANN 151; LANDI *Lat.* 48.

(G) *shtdpil* m, pl. *shtepanj* 'shepherd producing cheese, cheese-maker'. The Tosk form must have been \**shteper*. Its existence is confirmed by *shtepreshe*. An early borrowing from Slav \**stopatm*, cf. *stopan* (cABEJ *St. II* 155).

**shtepi** f, pl. *shtepi*, *shtepira* 'house'. A morphological adaptation of the metathesized Lat *hospitium* 'lodging, inn, guest-chamber', cf. NGk *anitt* 'house' (CAMARDA I 100; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wh.* 415-416). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1039, 1055; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 256-257, *Origini* 191; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 28; HAARMANN 129; HULD 115; LANDI *Lat.* 158.

**shtepreshe shpnesh8** f, pl. *shtepresha shpnesh* 'female shepherd; (good) housewife'. Another phonetic variant is *shteprese*. Feminine form of *shtepi* semantically influenced by *shtepi* (cABEJ *St. II* 155-156).

*shtdrg* m, pl. *shtergj* 'stork'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *kr-bk*, SCr *krk*. Note the voicing of the auslaut *-k*.

**shteroj** aor. *shterova* 'to run dry, to dry up'. Another variant is *shtroj*. Based on *shter(r)* id. derived from *ter*.

**shtorzim** m, pl. *shterzime* 'labor pains'. From \**shterpezim*, based on *shterpe*.

*shterras* aor. *shterra* 'to diminish, to shrink'. Another variant is *shterroj*. Borrowed from Lat *extenuare* 'to make smaller'.

*shtiak* m, pl. *shtiake* 'miscarriage'. Derived from *shtie*.

**shtiaz** pl. 'sparks'. Postverbal of *shtie* (cABEJ *St. II* 156). 0 THUMB *KZ XXXVI* 186-187, *IF XXVI* 9 (from NGk *icstia* 'fire'); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 195 (dialectal plural of *shtije*).

**shtie** aor. *shtura*, *shtyra*, *shtira*, *shtiva* 'to pour in, to put in, to throw'. From PAlb \**stera* related to Skt *stmciti* 'to spread, to scatter', Gk *crcopvwt* 'to stretch, to spread', Lat *sterno* 'to spread', Slav \**stbry*, \**sterti* id. (JOKL *Studien* 84-85). 0 CAMARDA I 145 (to Gk *cueixeo* 'to walk, to march'); MEYER *Wb.* 416 (to *shtjell*), *Alb. St.* III 58; JOKL *LKUBA* 127; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 259-260; SCHMIDT *KZ LVII* 8 (part. *shtene* < \**standhno-*); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 21 (reconstructs \**steuno-*); FRISK II 802-803; WALDE-HOFMANN II 590-591; MAYRHOFER III 517-518; VASMER III 379; POKORNY I 1030; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 63; HAMP *Munch. St. Spr.* XL 37; cABEJ *St.* VII 227; OLBERG *IBK XIII* 66; DEMIRAJ *AE* 374-375.

*Shtij8* f, pl. *shtija* 'spear, ray'. Borrowed from Lat *hastrie* 'spear' (MEYER *Wb.* 416). Derived from *shtije* is *shtize* 'spear'. 0 KRISTOFORIDHI 413 (to *shtie*); Mula *Escu RESEE IV/1-2* 23; HAARMANN 129; cABEJ *St.* IV 89.

**shtiret** refl. 'to pretend, to simulate'. Derived from *shtie*, cf. refl. *shtihet id.* 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 239.

**shtire** adj. 'weak'. Related to *shtie*, cf. *shtiret*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 416.

**shtjell** aor. *shtolla* 'to throw'. Continues PAIb *\*stela* etymologically connected with Gk *ataA,w* 'to put, to set', OHG *stellen* 'to put', OPrus *stallit* 'to stand' (CAMARDA I 44; MEYER *Wb.* 416, *Alb. St.* III 58, 77). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 543; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 111, *LKUBA* 127; PISANI *Saggi* 119; FRISK II 786-788; ENDZELINS *DI* IV/2 313; POKORNY I 1019-1020; cABEJ *St.* VII 230-231; DEMIRAJ *AE* 376.

**shtjerr** aor. *shtorra* 'to untwist, to untwine'. Derived from *tjerr*.

**shtjerre** f 'lamb, young cow, heifer'. Another variant is *shqerre*. Continues PAIb *\*sterna* or *\*sterja* related to Skt *start*, Gk *aisipa* and the like (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 58). See *qengj*. Borrowed to Rum *stirei* 'sterile (of animals)'. 0 STIER *KZ* XI 209-210; MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 232; JOKL *LKUBA* 156; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 259; LA PIANA *Studi* I 95; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 350; ROSETTI *ILR* 282; HAMP *Munch. St. Spr.* XL 37 (remodelled from pl. *shqerra* and related to *krye*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 376-378.

**shtog** m, pl. *shtogje* 'elder, elder-berry'. From PAIb *\*staga* related to *shtage*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 417 (from Rum *soc* id., with serious doubts); BARD *ARSt* 32; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 147 (from Lat *sabucus*).

**shtoj** aor. *shtova* 'to increase'. Continues PAIb *\*stanja* etymologically connected with Skt *tisthati* 'to stand', Gk *Yo-truit* 'to put', Lat *sto* 'to stand', OHG *stan* id., Lith *stju, stdti* id., Slav *\*stojQ, \*stojati* id. (CAMARDA 1176). 0 PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 79; BARD *ARSt* 69 (to Lat *tutus* 'whole'); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 23; MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (derives *shtoj* from *\*stain*); FRISK I 739; FRAENKEL 914; MAYRHOFER II 526-527; WALDE-HOFMANN II 596-599; VASMER III 769; POKORNY 11004-1005; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 45; KLINGENSCHMITT *Munch. St. Spr.* XL 103, 125; cABEJ *St.* VII 227, 242; DEMIRAJ *AE* 378 (to IE *\*steHy-o-*).

**shtrap m** 'stagnant green on ponds'. From PAIb *\*strapa* related to MHG *straf* 'tight', Lith *par-strapinti* 'to drag oneself back'. 0 FRAENKEL 919-920; POKORNY I 1025.

**shtraper m** 'shepherd's purse'. Derived from *shtrap*. 0 cABEJ *St. II* 156 (to *shterpinj* and *gjarper*).

**shtrapezozj** aor. *shtrapezova* 'to spread'. Derived from *trapeze*.

**shtrat** m, pl. *shtreter shtreten* 'bed; layer'. Borrowed from Lat *stratum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 64; MEYER *Wb.* 417). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundry* 2<sup>2</sup> I 1041; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 260; MANN *Language* XVII 18 (related to Gk *atpatk*); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 152; LANDI *Lat.* 177.

**shtreb** aor. *shtreba* 'to lay eggs (of flies)'. Verbal form connected with *shtrep*.

**shtrege** f 'pile of wood'. From PAIb *\*straga* related to MHG *strac* 'tight', OE *strec* 'hard, strong'. 0 HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 324; POKORNY I 1023 (adduces nonexistent Lith *stregti* 'to harden, to freeze').

**shtrek** m, pl. *shtriqe* 'corpse, carrion'. From PAIb *\*streka* reflecting a noun derived from IE *\*ster-* 'unclean liquid, manure'. Note that a similar semantic evolution is found in ORuss *stbrvi*, 'corpse, dead body' belonging to the same root. The Albanian form seems to represent a case of Schwebelaut if confronted with such derivative of *\*ster-* as Lat *stercus* 'excrements'. Note, however, Celtic forms based on *\*strenk-*: Bret *strotik* id., W *trwnc* id. (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 434-435). 0 WALDE-HOFMANN II 589; POKORNY 11031-1032.

**shtrember** adj. 'crooked, curved'. An earlier form is *shtremb*. Borrowed from Rom *\*strambus* id.: Rum *strimb*, Ital *strambo* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 417). 0 HAARMANN 151-152; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48.

**shtrenjte** adj. 'dear, expensive'. Borrowed from Rom *\*strinctus* 'narrow': Rum *strimt*, Venet *strento*, SItal *strinto* (CAMARDA I 47; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 64; MEYER 14/1. 418). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *MR/W* I 24, *Gr. Grundrill* 2 I 1045, 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 260-261; cABEJ *St.* VII 267; Di GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 63-64; HAARMANN 152.

**shtrep** m, pl. *shtrepa* 'maggot, larva'. There exists a parallel form *shtrebe*. As to pl. tantum *shterpinj* 'reptiles, vermin', it is an obvious derivative (plural) of *shtrep*. Goes back to PAIb *\*straupa* etymologically close to Slav *\*strupy*, 'wound, scab, poison'. Borrowed to Rum *strepede* 'cheese worms'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 137 (connects *shterpinj* with *gjarper* supposing *\*sr-* > *\*str-* in Proto-Albanian); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.*

90, *LKUBA* 283-284; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 284; VASMER III 784-785; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 105; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 349; ROSETTI *ILR I* 281; HULD 147; cABEJ *St. VII* 210; DEMIRAJ *AE* 374.

shtreth m, pl. *shtretha* 'board'. Derivative of *shtrat*.

shtreze f, pl. *shtreze* 'stern (of a ship)'. Singularized plural of \**shter-ez* based on an unattested \**shtere* < PAIb \**steura*. The latter was borrowed from Gmc \**steura* 'steering paddle, rudder, stern', cf. OE *steor*, further related to Gmc \**steurjan* 'to steer'. 0 HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 320.

shtrdngoj aor. *shtrengova* 'to press, to squeeze'. Borrowed from Lat *stringere* 'to stretch, to press, to squeeze' (CAMARDA I 47; MIKLOSICH *Lat. Elemente* 64; MEYER *Wb.* 418). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> 11048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 260; SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 260; DURIDANOV *BE* 4-5 (1968) 401-406; HAARMANN 152.

shtrig8 f, pl. *shtriga* 'witch'. Borrowed from Lat *striga* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 64). 0 MEYER 10. 418 (assumes Slavic mediation); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1045; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 261 (prefers the Latin etymology).

shtrij aor. *shtriva* 'to spread, to stretch'. From PAIb \**strinja* related to Skt *strndti* 'to spread, to scatter', Gk *crropvulit* 'to spread, to stretch', Lat *sterna* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 418, *Alb. St.* III 50, 59). 0 PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 52; JOKL *Studien* 85, *Melanges Pedersen* 150, *Sprache IX* 120; BARK *ARSt.* I 61; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 261; FRISK II 802-803; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 195; MAYRHOFER III 517-518; WALDEHOFMANN II 590-591; cABEJ *Sprache XVIII* 137, *SL VII* 206; HAMP *LB XX* 116; KLINGENSCHMITT *Munch. St. Spr.* XL 124; HULD 115-116; KODDERITZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 65; DEMIRAJ *AE* 378-379.

shtriq aor. *shtriga* 'to stretch (of arms and legs)'. Based on *shtrij*.

shtrofka f, pl. *shtrofka* 'den'. Derived from *shtrohe shtrofe* (OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 353). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 418 (from Slav \**strop.L.* 'roof'); JOKL *LKUBA* 101, *Melanges Pedersen* 150 (to *shtroj*); cABEJ *St. II* 156 (agrees with Jon); DEMIRAJ *AE* 379.

shtrohd shtrofe f, pt. *shtroha shtrofa* 'kennel'. From PAIb \**straja*,

a long-grade form connected with Latv *straja* 'stall covered with straw', Slav \**strojt*, 'construction', and further, with Lat *stria* 'furrow, fold' (OREL *FLH VIII/1-2* 45). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 418 (analyzes Geg *shtrof* as a borrowing from Slav \**stropT*, 'roof'); JOKL *LKUBA* 101; WALDEHOFMANN II 602; VASMER III 780.

shtroj aor. *shtrova* 'to spread'. From PAIb \**stranja*, long grade of the same root as in *shtrij* (MEYER *Wb.* 418). 0 CAMARDA I 139; MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> 11052 (from Lat *sterna* 'to spread'); KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 255-256; cABEJ *St. VII* 193, 241.

shlrose f, pl. *shtroha* 'goat hide (used as a cushion)'. Derived from *shtroj*.

shtrud m 'strawberry'. Phonetic variant of *shtrydh*, cf. also *shtrydhez* id. Derived from *shtrydh* (cABEJ *St. II* 157). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 418 (to Slovene *truskelica* 'garden strawberry' and the like); BARK *ARSt. I* 101 (to Lat *fragum* id.); RADULESCU *JIES III* 385-393 (< IE \**strug*"h-).

shtrungd f, pl. *shtrunga* 'milking enclosure'. Derived from *shtroj* (cABEJ *St. II* 157-158). From Albanian, the term was borrowed by various languages of the Balkans and of the Carpathian area, cf. Rum *strungd*. 0 HAHN 127 (to *shtrengoj*); MEYER 10. 418 (loanword of dubious origin); JOKL *Studien* 89 (from IE \**strug-* as in Lat *string*('to press, to squeeze'); BARK *ARSt. I* 105, *AArbSt I* 154-156 (from \**stn-tronlea* related to G *drangen* 'to press', ON *krangr* 'narrow'); GIUGLEA *DR II* 343-345 (crossing of Gmc \**stanga* 'pole' and Rom \**raga* 'road, street'); MEYER-LUBKE *DR IV* 642-645 (crossing of Rom \**stringa* and \**raga*); SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 246; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 150; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom. II* 334; ROSETTI *ILR I* 281-282.

shtrydh aor. *shtrydha* 'to squeeze out'. Related to *ndrydh*. 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1046 (from Latin); PISANI *Saggi* 122.

shtrrak m, pl. *shtrraqe, shtrriqe* 'partition wall; but used to isolate a sick animal'. Borrowed from Rom \**stemacus* based on Lat *stern*('to spread, to cover'). 0 cABEJ *St. II* 158-159 (identical with *shtrat*).

shtuara adv. 'upright'. Based on *shtuar* OGeg *shtuom*, participle of

*shtoj* (PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 196, *Kelt. Gr.* I 70, 79). 0 JOKL *Studien* 88; CABEI *St.* II 159 (follows PEDERSEN).

*shtund* sh(e)ttmde f, pl. *shtuna shtunda* 'Saturday'. From an earlier form *shetunde* (BUZUKU, BARDHI) continuing Lat *Saturni dies* id. (SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 251; MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3* <sup>2</sup> I 1050). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 405 (from Lat *sabbatum*); SKOK *ZfromPhil* XLIV 332-334 (from Rom *\*sambata* with a metathesis); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 262 (follows SKOK); cABEJ *St.* IV 58, VII 268; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 46, 134, 159.

*shtupd* f 'tow'. Borrowed from Lat *stuppa* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 65). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 395, *Alb. St.* IV 110 (from NGk aTouni id.); SKOK *ZfromPh* XLIV 332-337; MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3* 'I 1046; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 262; MIHAESCIL *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; cABEJ *St.* II 159; HAARMANN 152.

*shture* f, pl. *shtura* 'starling'. Borrowed from Lat *sturnus* id.

*shtyj shtyj* aor. *shtyta, shtyva, shtyra shtyna* 'to push'. From PAIb *\*stadnja* etymologically close to Skt *tundate* 'to push, to strike', Lat *tunda* 'to push', Oh *do-tuit* 'to fall', Goth *stautan* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 418, *Alb. St.* III 28, 59). 0 JOKL *Studien* 3 (agrees with MEYER); SCHMIDT KZ LVII 10-11 (to Lith *stUmti* 'to push'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 261-262; PISANI *Saggi* 123; FEIST *Goth.* 451; MAYRHOFER I 511; WALDEHOFMANN II 616-617; POKORNY I 1033-1034; HULD 116; DEMIRAJ *AE* 379-380.

*shtylle* f, pl. *shtylla* 'post, column'. Borrowed from Gk *ariaoc* id. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 419 (from NGk aTiaog id.); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; cABEJ *St.* VII 281; HAARMANN 151 (from Lat *stilus*).

*shtyp* aor. *shtypa* 'to crush, to squash, to break into pieces'. Derived from *\*typ*, cf. *typh*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 416 (to Lat *stipare* 'to press together'), *Alb. St.* III 59; KRISTOFORIDHI 414 (to Gk *TinCTO*) 'to strike'); WEIGAND 236 (from Slav *\*swat/* 'to step'); JOKL *Studien* 85-87 (from *\*shtryp* related to Gk *tpocithco* 'to tread grapes'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 263.; MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Gk *Timm*); CHANTRAINE 1129; cABEJ *St.* VII 273.

*shtyr shtir* aor. *shtyra shtyra* 'to push; to cross (a river)'. Derived from *shtyj*. 0 JOKL *Studien* 87-88 (to Skt *idrati* 'to cross over').

*shuaj shuej* aor. *shova, shuajta, shohta* 'to extinguish'. Borrowed from Lat *subjugate* 'to subjugate' with the loss of two intervocalic voiced stops. 0 CAMARDA I 86 (to Gk 6(36./rui.tt 'to quench'); MEYER *Wb.* 419 (from Lat *exungere* 'to anoint'); JOKL *LKUBA* 329; BARD *ARSt.* I 327 (follows CAMARDA); MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (to Gk *lifOcco* < *\*lesaja*); cABEJ *St.* VII 217, 257.

*shuguroj* aor. *shugurova* 'to ordain'. Other phonetic variants are *shekroj, shukroj, shugroj*. From Lat *sacrare* 'to sanctify' (MEYER *Wb.* 403). 0 HAARMANN 147.

*shuj* aor. *shojta* 'to be silent'. An onomatopoeia based on *shuj* 'hush!' .

*shuk* aor. *shuka* 'to throw'. Derived from here are *shuk* 'ball' and *shukull* 'mignonette'. A prefixal derivative of PAIb *\*uka* related to IE *\*uek-* 'to bend', cf. in particular Skt *vacydte* 'to fly up'. 0 POKORNY I 1134.

*shul* m, pl. *shule* 'post, pole'. Borrowed from Slav *\*šu/h* *log, trunk*', cf. in South Slavic: Slovene *sulj*, SCr *šuj*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 419 (to Slav *\*sulica* 'spear'), *Alb. St.* III 43 (from *\*sud-lo-*); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 131 (from Lat *insubulum* 'weaver's beam').

*shul* adv. 'one-sided, crooked'. Prefixal derivative of *u/*.

*shullatd* f, pl. *shullata* 'drain, gutter'. Borrowed from Lat fern. *sublata* 'lifted, raised'.

*shulle shulla* m 'sunny spot'. Borrowed from Lat *so/anus (locus)* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 419). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 252; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 150; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 88, 157.

ShUrne adv. 'many, much'. Borrowed from Lat *summus* 'uppermost, highest' (MEYER *Wb.* 419). 0 CAMARDA I 86 (cognate of Lat *summus*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1046, 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 263; JOKL *Arch. Roman.* XXIV 134 (borrowing from the substantive Lat

*summa*); MANN *Hist. Gr.* 196 (from neut. Lat *summum*); HULD 116; HAARMANN 58, 152.

shungulloj aor. *shungullova* 'to shake'. Borrowed from Rom *\*exungulare* for *\*exundulare* 'to seethe'.

shuplake f, pl. *shuplaka* 'palm'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. SCr *supljaca* (MEYER *Wb.* 419-420). 0 CAMARDA II 167 (to Gk *rkflolaco* 'to strike, to hit'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 264, *Stratificazione* 96-97; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252 (to OFr *soufflace* 'slap in the face').

shurdher adj. 'deaf'. Another morphological variant is *shurdhet*. Borrowed from Lat *surdus* id. (MIKLOSTUTT *Rom. Elemente* 65; MEYER *Wb.* 420). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* 11046, 1049; 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 264; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; cABEJ *St.* VII 193; HAARMANN 152.

shurgel m, pl. *shurgela* 'waterfall'. Singularized plural of *\*shurkal* < *\*shurkadel*, a nominal derivative of *\*shurkadoj* borrowed from Lat *super-cadere* 'to fall down (of water)'. 0 cABEJ *St.* II 159-160 (identical with *zurkal* id. and further connected with *rrekaje*).

shurukoj aor, *shurukova* 'to thunder, to make noise'. Borrowed from Rom *\*subraucare* 'to make hoarse', cf. Ital dial. *surrigare*.

shurre f 'urine'. Derived from *shurr* 'to urinate', a prefixal form based on PA1b *\*ura* connected with Skt *vdr* 'water', Tokh A *war*, B *war* id., ON *vari* id. and the like, cf. in particular Lat *urina* 'urine' (JoxL *Studien* 89-90). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 420 (to Gmc *\*suraz* 'sour', Lith *stirus* 'salty'), Alb. *St.* III 43, 73; BARI(, *ARSt* 96-97 (to Skt *kcara-* 'water'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 97; SELISCEV *Slay. naselenie* 195 (to Bulg *šurkam* 'to urinate'); MAYRHOFER III 194; WALDE-HOFMANN II 840; VAN WINDEKENS i 557-558; POKORNY I 80; CAMAJ Alb. *Worth. 4f* (to Gk *cnciap* 'dung'); cABEJ *St.* VII 251; HAMP *Evidence* 139 (to Hitt *šehur* 'urine'); OLBERG *IF* LXXIII 208, *KZ* LXXXVI 131 (treats *shurre* as a *Lallwort*); MURATI *Probleme* 133; DEMIRAJ *AE* 380.

shushalle f, pl. *shushalla* 'peeled corn-cob'. Derived from *\*shush* borrowed from Lat *exossus* 'boneless, devoid of bones'.

shushkel f, pl. *shushkla* 'pod'. Variant of *shikel*.

shushunje f, pl. *shushunja* 'leech'. Borrowed from the metathesize Rom *\*saguisungia* < Lat *sanguisuga* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 420). 0 HAARMANN 148.

shut adj. 'hornless'. Another form is *shyt*. Borrowed from Slav *\*šuth* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *sut*, SCr *sut* (MEYER *Wb.* 420). Rum *ciut* id. goes back to the same source. 0 DENSUSIANU *GS* I 245 (from Iranian); PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom.* II 707 (Rum *ciut* from Albanian); IL'NSKIJ *IORJaS* XX/3 103 (identifies Slav *\*S'utz*, 'hornless' with *\*šuti*, 'clown, stupid' < IE *\*kseu-* 'to cut'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 150; GOL4B *MJ* X 27 (from a Balkan substratum); RUSSu *TD* 203-204 (Rum *ciut* is from Dacian); REICHENKRON *Dakische* 109; POGHIRC *1st. limb. rom.* 340; KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 84-86; DESNICKAJA *Slay. jaz. VIII* 153 (from IE *\*skhed-* 'to split'); DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 67-71 (farfetched Romance etymology from Lat *sectare*); ROSETTI *ILR* I 275; MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* XXV/2 161-165 (from Rumanian).

(T) shutra pl. 'comb (to card linen or wool)'. Based on Lat *satus* 'sewn together'.

## T

tabele f, pl. *tabela* 'table, plate'. Borrowed from Lat *tabella* id.

tag pron. 'the one that, the one which'. The univerbation of *ta*, neut. of *ai*, and *ce* (cABEJ *St.* II 160).

taft m 'stench; scorching heat'. Borrowed from Lat *tactus* 'touch, feeling'. 0 MANN *HAED* 508 (to *aht* 'sigh' and *afsh*); cABEJ *St.* VII 243.

tartar m 'funnel'. Borrowed from Rom *\*traiectarium* id. for Lat *traiecOrium* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 421). 0 JOKL *IF* XXXVII 209 (from Rom *\*transfunditOrium*); BARD *Hymje* 63; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 269; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; Di GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 71-73; cABEJ *St.* II 160-161 (follows MEYER but reconstructs Rom *\*tractarius*); HAARMANN 154.

**taje** f, pl. *taja* 'screw-nut, female screw'. Identical with *taje* 'wet-nurse', *tajiis* 'to feed' (from NGk tocyico id.). 0 MEYER Wb. 422 (*taje* 'wet-nurse' from Turkish).

**tajke** f 'kind of oblong grapes'. Derived from *\*taje* borrowed from Lat *tdlea* 'cut off part, trunk'. 0 cABEJ St. II 162-163 (borrowed from SCr *tamjanika* 'kind of grapes', Bulg *tam'anika* id.).

**take** f, pl. *take* 'small boat'. Borrowed from Turk *taka* 'kind of boat' (cABEJ St. II 163). 0 JOKL LKUBA 161 (from SCr *tak* 'pole, post'); TREIMER *Slavia* III 448 (agrees with JOKL).

**takoj** aor. *takova* 'to reach, to meet, to get'. Borrowed from Rom *\*toccare* 'to touch' which, however, leaves unexplained the root vowel in Albanian. 0 MEYER Wb. 422 (from Ital *toccare* 'to strike, to touch'); cABEJ St. VII 217.

**tald** f 'measure, size'. Borrowed from Rom *\*talia* 'tally': Ital *taglia*, OFr *taille*, Sp *taja* and the like.

**tall** aor. *talla* 'to ridicule, to deride'. From PALb *\*talna*, causative related to Oh *tuilid* 'to sleep', Lith *tylu*, *tilti* 'to become silent', Slav *\*toliti* 'to persuade, to make quiet' and their cognates. 0 FRAENKEL 1095; VASMER IV 71; VENDRYES [T] 170; POKORNY I 1062.

**talld** f 'Sorghum halepense; peeled corn-cob; corn straw'. From PALb *\*tala*, zero-grade connected with Gk *rijA.tc* 'fenugreek', Lith *atdlas* 'first grass emerging after the hay-mowing' (RESELLI *RIL* XCI 475-476). 0 MEYER Wb. 423 (borrowed from Lat *talla* 'skin of onion'); POKORNY I 1055; FRISK II 892-893; FRAENKEL 22; cABEJ St. II 163-164 (borrowed from Lat *talea* 'sprout, shooting'); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 152; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 126.

**tame** f, pl. *tame* 'water-source'. Derived from *ame* with a prefix *t-* continuing PALb *\*at-*. The prefix is etymologically identical with Lith *at-* 'from', Slav *\*ot(s)-* id. 0 XHUVANI - *cABEIBShkSh* 1956/4 99 (recombination of the oblique case form *to ame*); FRAENKEL 20; VASMER III 168; POKORNY 1344-345; cABEJ St. II 164.

tame f 'smell, stench'. As in *tame* 'water-source', a prefixal deriva-

tive of *\*ame*, cf. *amez*. 0 cABEJ St. II 164 (recombination of the oblique case *to ame*).

**tangalld** f, pl. *tangalla* 'big forest'. Derived from PALb *\*tanga* 'thick (forest)' related to ON *fiettr* 'thick', Lith *tdnkus* id. 0 POKORNY 11068; cABEJ St. VII 254, 281.

**tange** f 'resentment, prejudice, damnation'. An early loanword from Slav *\*toga* 'grief'. 0 MANN *Language* XXVI 386 (related to Slav *\*Aga*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 381.

**tapd** f, pl. *tapa* 'cork'. Borrowed from Romance *\*tappum* id., cf. Hal *tappo*, Catal *tap*.

**tarogze** f, pl. *tarogza* 'helmet'. The word seems to be created by FISHTA and representing a derivative in *-ze* based on *tarok*. 0 JOKL *St.Fil.* XVIII/2 5-9 (borrowed from Gk *ewpaicEiov* 'parapet'); MIHAESCH *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; DI GIOVINE *SSL* XXIV 271-291; cABEJ St. II 165 (from Gk *Othp4* 'cuirass').

tarok m, pl. *taroke* 'young bull'. Deminutive of *\*tar*, see *ter*. 0 MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (directly from *\*tauro-*).

**tartallis** aor. *tartallisa* 'to flounder, to roll'. Borrowed from NGk *Taptapico* 'to shiver of cold' (cABEJ St. II 165-166). 0 JoxL *Studien* 90 (to Skt *tarald-* 'moving to and fro').

tarr aor. *tarra* 'to cut (vine)'. An o-grade continuing PALb *\*tara* and related to *tjer*.

**tarrabec** m, pl. *tarrabeca* 'youth, youngster'. Derived from *\*rabec*, cf. *rabেকে*.

**tash** adv. 'now'. Other variants are *tashi*, *tashti*, *ndashti*, *tesh*. Continues *\*to-su*, locative of the pronominal stem *\*to-* (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 5-6). 0 MEYER Wb. 19 (combination of *t-* and *-shtu* attested in *ashtu*); BARIG *AARBSt* I 140 (against VASMER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 265; cABEJ St. II 166 (pronominal *t(a)-* and a second element of dubious origin).



tate m 'father, dad'. A typical *Lallwort* (CAMARDA I 115; MEYER Wb. 424-425) which, however, may be borrowed from Slavic, cf. SCr *tata*, Bulg *tato*. 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* III 23 (from *\*tata*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 1021-102 (from Lat *tata* id.), *Stratificazione* 120; PuSCARIL *EWR* 1718 (influenced by Romance forms); cABEJ *St.* II 166-167 (univerbation of the oblique definite form of *ate* preceded by the article *te*); SvANE 189; MuRATI *Probleme* 103; DEMIRAJ *AE* 382-383.

tatepjete 1, p1. *tatepjeta* 'slope', adv. 'down'. With assimilation of occlusives, continues *\*katepjete*, an antonym of *perpjete*, with *\*kate* < PAIb *\*kata* related to Gk *ictittoc* 'down', OIr *cet-* 'with', Hitt *kata* 'with, below' (CAMARDA I 304). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 333 (*tate-* identical with *let-* in Geg *tetposhte*, cf. *terposhte*); FRISK I 800; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 48; VENDRYES [C] 83-84; cABEJ *St.* II 167 (*tate-* continues a "double article" *te te*).

tatoj aor. *tatova* 'to tax'. Borrowed from *\*taxitare* id. based on Rom *\*taxa*.

tatull f 'stramonium, thorn-apple'. Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *tatul*, *tatula* id., SCr *tatula* id. (WEIGAND 87), a phonetically transformed loanword coming from Lat *datura* id. and influenced by Slav *\*tata* 'father'. 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* V 72 (from Ital *datura* 'thorn-apple'); DIEFENBACH 1259 (to Rum *tatina*); CABEJ *St.* II 167 (from Turk *walla* id.)

te prep. 1.0', adv. 'where, there'. More archaic forms are *tek teke* as well as *teku*. As a preposition, *te(k)* requires nominative and therefore continues PAIb *\*tai ku*, dative reflecting IE *\*toi* 'to that which' (BOPP 501, 504; CAMARDA I 317). 0 MEYER Wb. 425, *Alb. St.* III 23, 88 (*te-* from ablative *\*kid*); JOKL *LKUBA* 26 (agrees with MEYER), WuS XII 64; PEDERSEN *Festskr. Thomsen* 255-256 (form of the pronoun *\*to-* followed by *ku*); TAGLIAVINI 272; SANDFELD *LBalk* 118-119 (similarity between *tek* and Rom *\*iliac* > Rum *la* 'there'); MANN *Language* XXVI 386 (*te-* to Gk *ti* 'then'); HAMP *SCL* XXXIII/6 493, *ZfceltPh* XXXVII 170-172; KOPEC'NĀ ESSJI 257 (to Slovene *to* 'in, into'); CABEJ *St.* II 167-169; DEMIRAJ *AE* 383.

teh m, p1. *teha* 'blade'. A prefixal derivative of *eh* (CABEJ *St.* II 169). 0 MEYER *Wh.* 425 (to Ital *taglio* 'cue'); GEEZER *ZfromPhil* XXXVII

268 (from Rom *\*taliare* 'to cut'); RESTELLI *RIL* XCI 540-541 (to Gk Thaw 'artisan').

tej prep. 'on that side', adv. 'over there'. Continues PAIb *\*tai e* < *\*toi eks* parallel to *tehu*.

tejze f, p1. *tejza* 'sinew'. Derived from *tel* 'wire', of Turkish origin. 0 MEYER TO. 426 (on *tel*).

teka p1. 'whims'. Borrowed from Slav *\*tek7*, 'wish, appetite', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *tek* (MEYER Wb. 426). The verb *tekem* 'to wish' is derived from *teka*.

telatin m 'lacquered leather'. Borrowed from Turk *telatin* 'Russian leather', itself borrowed from Russian (cABEJ *St.* II 170). 0 SELISCEV *Slay. naselenie* 311 (from Russ *tel'atina* 'veal, calf's leather'); MANN *HAED* 512 (agrees with SELISCEV).

tend f, p1. *tenda* 'tent'. Another form is *tende*. Borrowed from Romance *\*tenta* id. (MEYER Wb. 429). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundri/3* 1044; MANN *Language* XVII 20 (from *\*trft-*); HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 55, 116.

tenje f 'moth, wood-engraver'. Borrowed from Lat *tinea* 'moth, worm' (MEYER Wb. 427). 0 STIER *KZ* XI 136 (from Lat *taenia*); MIK-LOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66 (from Latin or from Ital *tigna* id.); MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* 2 11045; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 152-153; LANDI *Lat.* 56, 71.

tepe f 'spelt, Triticum monococcum'. Borrowed from Gk Tivi id. (JOKL *Beitrage*). 0 CABEJ *St.* II 170-171.

teper adv. 'more, very', adj. 'superfluous'. Univerbation of neut. *t(e) eper*, cf. *eper* (XHUVANI *Studime* 63). 0 CAMARDA I 319 (from *te* and *per*); MEYER Wb. 427 (same as CAMARDA); JOKL apud cABEJ *St.* II 171 (from *\*tad uperom*); CABEJ *St.* II 171 (follows XHUVANI).

teposhte f 'slope', adv. 'down, downwards'. Another variant is *terposhte*. A synonym of *tatepjete*, this word is divided into a prefix *ter-* and the adverbial *poshte*. There are numerous other derivatives in *ter-*,

cf. *terfurk* 'pitchfork' to *furke*, *terheq* 'to pull, to draw' to *heq* and the like. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 333 (suggests *tet-* as the first element); HAARMANN 154.

**ter** m, pl. *tere*, *tera* 'bull'. Singularized plural of *\*tar* continuing PAIb *\*taura* related to Gk *Tabpoc* id., Lat *taurus* id., Lith *tartras* id., Slav *\*tur7*, id. (CAMARDA I 53). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 427 (borrowed from Lat *taurus*), *Gr. Gr.* 232; MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (follows CAMARDA); FRAENKEL 1067-1068; FRISK II 860-861; WALDE-HOFMANN II 650-652; VASMER IV 122; POKORNY 11083; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; cABEJ *St.* II 171-172; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; HAARMANN 152; LANDI *Lat.* 72; DEMIRAJ *AE* 384.

**ter** aor. *tera* 'to make dry'. Continues PAIb *\*tarsja*, a causative of *\*ters-* etymologically identical with Skt *tarsciyati* id., Lat *torrea* id., ON *terra* id. (CAMARDA I 43; MEYER *Wb.* 427, *BB* VIII 187) 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* II 23 (doubts the comparison with IE *\*ters-*), *Alb. St.* III 23; FOY *IF* VI 334 (to OIr *tir* 'earth, ground'); BARD *ARSt.* I 96; MAYRHOFER I 525; WALDE-HOFMANN II 694; POKORNY 11078-1079; HAMP *Munch. St. Spr.* XLI 36; cABEJ *St.* II 172-173; HULD 156; DEMIRAJ *AE* 383.

**tett** f 'dry land'. Derived from *ter*, cf. a similar semantic motivation in Lat *terra* id. (cABEJ *St.* II 173-174). From here *terik* 'land' is derived.

**terig** m 'light breeze'. Borrowed from an unattested in its Venetian form, *\*eterigo*. 0 cABEJ *St.* II 174 (identical with *terik*, see *tere*).

**term** m 'foundation, plot of land'. Derived from *tere* (cABEJ *St.* II 174).

**terplote** f, pl. *terplote* 'winnowing shovel'. Prefixal derivative of *plote*' (cABEJ *St.* II 174-175). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 320 (prefixal derivative in *ter-* of *\*plote* borrowed from Italian or Rom *\*palotta*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538.

**terr** m 'darkness'. Continues an oblique case of *err*: *t(e) err* (MEYER *Wb.* 97-99). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrij3*<sup>2</sup> I 1049 (from Lat *tenebrae* 'darkness'); cABEJ *St.* VII 243, 246.

terrtohem refl. 'to knit one's brows in wrath'. Based on *terr*.

**tesh** m 'herpes'. Related to *teshe*.

**tesha** pl. 'belongings, utensils, things'. Continues PAIb *\*taLfa* related to Lith *tiesiu*, *tiesti* 'to make right, to build, to set', *teislis* 'right'. 0 BARD *ARSt.* I 96 (to Gk *TilaCt*)V 'artisan' and other reflexes of IE *\*tekk-*); FRAENKEL 1073-1074, 1089; cABEJ *St.* II 175-176 (from Lat *testa* 'vessel, pot'); LANDI *Lat.* 94, 119.

**teshem** refl. 'to sneeze'. Continues PAIb *\*tecaa* related to Latv *tuset* 'to pant', *tust* id. representing IE *\*teus-*. Derived from *teshem* is *teshtij* id. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 356 (connected with *fshaj* and *psheretij*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 267; PORZIG *Gliederung* 107; cABEJ *St.* II 175 (onomatopoeia).

**teshe** f 'speck of dust, little splinter'. From PAIb *\*taksja* related to IE *\*tekk-*: Skt *taksati* 'to carpenter, to cut', Lat *texa* 'to weave', Lith *ta.Oti* 'to hew' (OREL *Fort.* 80). 0 MAYRHOFER I 468; WALDE-HOFMANN II 678-679; FRAENKEL 1065; POKORNY I 1058-1059; cABEJ *St.* VII 212, 266.

**tete** num. 'eight'. Continues PAIb *\*akta(ti)* related to the Indo-European word for 'eight' *\*oktO(u)*: Skt *astd*, Arm *ut*, Gk *OicrW* and the like (BOPP 512; MEYER *Alb. St.* II 66, *Wb.* 428). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 319-320, *Kelt. Gr.* 1123; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 267; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 259; LA PLANA *Studi* I 81-82; BARIc *Hymje* 43; PISANI *Saggi* 106; FRISK I 374-375; MAYRHOFER I 63; POKORNY I 775; HULD 156; HAMP *Numerals* 914-915; DEMIRAJ *AE* 385.

**teto** f, pl. *teto* 'aunt'. Borrowed (in the form of vocative in *-o*) from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *teta*, SCr *teta* (MEYER *Wb.* 428). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 267.

**ti band** f, pl. *tebana* 'shepherd's hut'. A prefixal derivative of *bane*. Cf. some other derivatives in *te-*: *tCharr* 'to cut (wood)' (cf. *harr*), *teholloj* 'to make thin' (cf. *holle*), *tembell* 'sweetness' (cf. *embel*).

**ti buti** m, pl. **tebuta** 'oak'. Singularized form of (*dru*) *te buta* 'soft wood' (cABEJ *St.* II 176). 0 LAMBERTZ *KZ* Lill 306 (borrowed from NGk *iiiteybt t* 'stump').

**tehu** adv. 'on this side'. From PAIb *\*toi ksu* where the second com-

ponent is equal to Gk 4i)v 'with, at the same time'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 334 (connected with *te*); FRISK II 339; CABEJ *St.* II 176-177 (to *-tu* in *atu*, *ketu*).

**tembel tambel** n/m 'gall-bladder'. Identical with *tembel tambel* 'sweetness', see *embel*. The original meaning of the latter includes such elements as 'sour', 'bitter'. 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 273; DEMIRAJ *AE* 385-386 (to Lat *tama* 'swelling (on the leg)' or to Lith *tur.* 'bile').

**terboj** aor. *terbova* 'to have a dry mouth; to infuriate; to pamper (children)'. Borrowed from Lat *turbare* 'to ruffle, to agitate' (CAMARDA I 195, 203; MEYER *Wb.* 429). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrif* 3<sup>2</sup> 1 1039, 1049; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 155.

**tere - tans** adj. 'whole, all'. Continues PA1b *\*twana* < *\*tyono-* derived from IE *\*tetra-* 'to swell' (SPITZER *MRIW* I 331-332) and morphologically close to Lith *tvinti* 'to rise, to swell (of water)', *Minas* 'flood'. For the semantic development, cf. Lat *tOtus* continuing the same *\*tetra-*. 0 MEYER *Wh.* 429 (from Rom *\*tOtanus* to Lat *totes* 'whole'); MANN *Language XVII* 23; FRAENKEL 1154; WALDE-HOFMANN II 695-696; POKORNY I 1080-1083; CABEJ *St.* VII 258; JANSON *Ott.* 31.

**terfoje** f 'trefoil, shamrock'. Borrowed from Lat *trifolium* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 67 (from Ital *trifoglio* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 429 (follows MIKLOSICH 67); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; CABEJ *St.* II 177 (agrees with MIKLOSICH); HAARMANN 154; LANDI *Lat.* 102, 108, 126.

**terma1** adv. 'downwards'. Another form is *terma*. Prefixal derivative of *mal* (MEYER *Wb.* 255; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 542). 0 CABEJ *St.* II 177.

**termet** m, pl. *termete* 'earthquake'. Another form is *termek*. Borrowed, from Rom *\*terrae mOtus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 427). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66 (from Ital *terremuoto* id.); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif* 3<sup>2</sup> I 1046; MANN *Language XXVI* 386-387; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 64, 128, 159.

termone adv. 'always, ever'. A prefixal form based on *muaj*.

terpi f 'tuberculosis'. Based on an unattested *\*terpis* 'to suffer, to endure, to bear' borrowed from Slav *\*tbtpeti* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *trl.pna*, *mrp'a*, SCr *trpljeti* (MEYER *Wh.* 430). 0 SVANE 183.

**terpjete** adv. 'up, upwards'. Compound consisting of *ter-* and *pjete*, cf. *tatepjete*.

(T) **tersire** f, pl. *tersira* 'rope (made of genista)'. Borrowed from Rum *tcirsinli*, itself from Bulg *trbsina* 'horse-hair' (CAPIDAN *DR* III 885-886). The rhotacism is of analogical origin. 0 PUWARIU *EWR* 158; JOKL *AARBSt* 146 (from Slav *\*toreina* 'band' but then one should expect Rum *ta rand*), *Sb. Miletie* 118-120; SELISTEV *Slay. naselenie* 323 (agrees with JOKL); CABEJ *St.* II 177-178 (from Bulg *trhbsina*); JANSON *Unt.* 65-67.

**tershere tershane** f 'oats'. In Geg there is also a form *trishane*. Borrowed from Rom *\*trimensanum* for Lat *trimense trilicum* (MEYER *Wb.* 430), cf. °hal *tremeste* 'cereal needing three months to ripen' < Lat *trimestris*. 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV 11-2 31; HAARMANN 154.

**terthorte** adj. 'oblique, indirect'. Based on an unattested *\*terthor*. Prefixal derivative in *ter-* (CABEJ *St.* II 178-179) based on *\*thor*. The latter reflects PA1b *\*tsasra* continuing IE *\*fees-ro-*, to Skt *śdsati* 'to slaughter, to cut down', Gk i(cccto 'to split' and the like. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 255 (from Rom *\*transvertOrius*); POKORNY I 586; PISANI *KZ* LXXI 63-64 (from Lat *tortus* 'twisted').

terrkaS aor. *terkata* 'to be out of tune'. Borrowed from Slav *\*t7,rkati* 'to rub, to touch, to stir, to knock', also used as an onomatopoeia, cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *trbkam*, SCr *trkati*.

**tetym tetim m** 'cold season, cold'. Singularized univerbation of *to tyma*, to *tym*, as supported by the following expression: *u diqa se tymi - me deke se timi* 'to die of cold' (CABEJ *St.* 11 179). 0 CAMARDA II 140 (to Gk *trrocivw* 'to stretch'); LAMBERTZ *KZ* LIII 301 (to *tym*); CABEJ *St.* II 179 (*te-* treated as a prefix).

**ti** pon. 'thou'. From PA1b *\*tu* continuing IE *\*ta* id.: Av *ta*, Gk 6v, Lat *ta*, OIr *to* and the like (CAMARDA I 217; MEYER *Wb.* 430, *Alb. St.* III 23). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 282; BARD *ARSt.* I 109; TAGLIAVINI *Dal-*

*mazia* 267; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 71; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; FRISK II 817; WALDE-HOFMANN II 712; BARTHOLOMAE 654-655; POKORNY I 1097-1098; cABEJ *St. II* 179-180; HULD 116; DEMIRAJ *AE* 386-387.

tulle adj. 'such'. Continues PAIb *\*tila* based on the pronominal stem *\*tio-* and similar in its formation to ON 'there' 0 MEYER *Wb.* 425 (to IE *\*to-*); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 200 (to Lat *tiVis* 'such'); POKORNY I 1086-1087; cABEJ *St. II* 181 (analogical formation based on *ti, tij*).

**timer - timen m** 'weft, woof'. Borrowed from Lat *tegminem* 'cover' (WAGNER *ZfromPhil* XXXIX 102). 0 MIHAEScU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; cABEJ *St. II* 181 (explains *timer* as a singularized plural with a secondary *-i-*); HAARMANN 152; LANDI *Lat.* 117, 147.

tine f 'slime, mud'. Borrowed from Slav *\*tina* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *tina*, SCr *tina* (SVANE 169).

**tinez** adj. 'secret'. Continues an earlier noun *\*tejne* borrowed from Slav *\*tajbna* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *tajna*, SCr *tajna* (MEYER *Wb.* 431).

**tinge** f, pl. *tinga* 'tench'. Borrowed from Lat *tinca* id.

**tingelloj** aor. *tingellova* 'to ring, to sound'. Another variant is *tringelloj* 'to knock, to ring' (MEYER *Wb.* 432). Based on *tingull* 'sound, ring' continuing an unattested Rom *\*tinnunculus*, cf. Lat *tinnuncula* 'kestrel', *tinnulus* 'sonorous, resonant'.

**tire** f 'bundle, skein, hank'. Derived from *tjerr*.

**tire - tine** f, pl. *tira tina* 'large wine barrel'. Borrowed from Lat *tina* 'wine vessel' (Mixi.osicH *Rom. Elemente* 66; MEYER *Wb.* 430). The parallel Geg form *ti* seems to reflect Rom *\*tinum* > Ital *tino* id. (cABEJ II 181-182). 0 MEYER-LCBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; JOKL *BA* IV 209 n. 1 (from Latin rather than Ital *tino* id.); MIHAESCIJ *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; JANSON *Unt.* 59; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 141.

**tirk** m, pl. *tirq* 'white felt', pl. *tirq* 'felt gaiters'. Another form is *tire*. Together with Rum *tureac* 'top (of a boot)' (DIEFENBACH I 250; MEYER

*Wb.* 431) borrowed with an East Germanic cognate of OHG *theobroch* 'gaiters': Goth or Gepid *\*kiuhbraks* (*DICULEScU ZfromPh* XLIX 399; JOKL *Balkangerm.* 116-118). 0 KRISTOFORIDHI 424 (to *tjerr*); (MTIR *Anthropos* VIII 169 n. 1 (to Lat *tergum* 'back, spine'); TREIMER *ZfromPh* XXXVIII 392 (to Russ *pereatka* 'glove'); SANDFELD *LBalk* 97; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 265; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 93-94 (to Lat *torqued* 'to turn'); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 113 (suffix *-k*); cABEJ *St. II* 182-183 (follows KRISTOFORIDHI), IV 90-93.

tis m 'yew'. Borrowed from Slav *\*tin*, id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *tis*, SCr *tis* (SELiEv *Slay. naselenie* 164). 0 cABEJ *St. II* 184; SVANE 130.

titull m, pl. *tituj* 'title, ground of right or claim'. Borrowed from Lat *titu/us* id.

**tjegull** f, pl. *tjegulla* 'brick'. Borrowed from Lat *tegula* id. (Mixt.ostai *Rom. Elemente* 65; MEYER *Wb.* 431, *Alb. St.* IV 65). 0 CAMARDA I 161 (to Gk (stir 'cover, roof'); MEYER-LOBKE *MRIW* 125, *Gr. Grandrift* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1049; JOKL *Studien* 105, *LKUBA* 50; TREIMER *MRIW* I 251; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 268; HELBIG 31, 133 (from Ital *tegola* id.); cABEJ *St. II* 184; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 135.

**tjerr** aor. *torra* 'to spin'. Continues PAIb *\*terka* related to Tokh B *kirk-* 'to turn' (only as part. pret.), Lat *torque()* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 431, *Alb. St.* III 23, 84). For the development of the cluster *\*-rk-* < *\*-rle-* cf. *mjel*. 0 CAMARDA I 41 (to Gk *Teipto* 'to rub'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 268; JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 38; PEDERSEN *BB* XX 231, *KZ* XXXIII 542 (reconstructs *\*terknd*); MANN *Language* XXVI 382; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 195-196 (to *turn* and, further, to Gk *TOPvoc* 'tool for drawing a circle'), *St. IE* 44; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 49; WALDE-HOFMANN II 692-693; CHANTRAINE 134; VAN WINDEKENS I 503; POKORNY I 1077; OLBERG *IF* LXXIII 209; cABEJ *St. II* 184-185 (follows CAMARDA and CIMOCHowsx0; DEMIRAJ *AE* 387.

tjeter adj., pl. *tjere* 'other'. In dialects, the original paradigm *jeter, jater*, pl. *tjere* is still preserved. The form *tjeter* result from crasis with the preceding particle *to* and/or analogical influence of plural. Goes back to PAIb *\*etera* (with a mobile stress: sg. *\*etera pl. \*ete'rai*) related to Slav *\*eter7*, 'some, somebody' (MEYER *Wb.* 162, *Alb.St.* III 85). 0

BOPP 489 (to Skt *eintara*- Interior'); CAMARDA I 215 (compares *tjeter* with Gk *gTepo*; 'other' but the latter goes back to *\*sm-tero-*); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 71; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 177; LA PIANA *Studi* I 93 (follows CAMARDA); JOKL *Studien* 93, *IF XXXVI* 115, *LKUBA* 98; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 268; PISANI *Saggi* 131; MANN *Language XXVI* 383; POKORNY I 284; HAMP *Laryngeals* 138; CABEJ *St.* II 185-187; VASMER II 29; HULD 117; DEMIRAJ *AE* 208.

**tkurr** aor. *tkurra* 'to make small, to press together'. Prefixal derivative based on *\*kurr* < PAIb *\*kursa*, a zero-grade etymologically connected with Hitt *kark-*, *karsslia-* 'to cut off', Mİr *corr* 'stunted' and other continuants of IE *\*(s)ker-s-*. 0 VENDRYES [C] 211-212; POKORNY 1945; CABEJ *St.* II 187 (to *korr* and *shkurre*).

**dander** f, pl. *tlandra* 'bundle'. Derived from *lende*.

**tmerr m** 'horror, fright'. Other variants are *mner*, *kmer* and *mer*. Borrowed from Lat *timOrem* id. (MIKLOsJCH *Rom. Elemente* 66; MEYER *Wb.* 431). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundriff* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; JOKL *IF XXXVI* 146; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 190; cABEJ *St.* II 187-189 (to Gmc *\*mason* 'nightmare', Slav *\*mom* id. or to Gk *Optuvcc* 'thought, trouble, uneasiness'); MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 20; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 64-65, 130.

**tocille** f, pl. *tocilla* 'whetstone'. Borrowed from Slav *\*taidlo* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *toei/o*, SCr *toefilo* (SEEikEv *Slav. naselenie* 172). 0 SVANE 72, 242.

tOciS aor. *tOcita* 'to press the juice out of grapes'. Borrowed from Slav *\*toe'iti* 'to secrete, to make flow', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *toefa*, SCr *tocs'iti* (MiKEOsicH *Slav. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 433). 0 SELL ftV *Slav. naselenie* 183; cABEJ *St.* VII 237; SVANE 72, 242.

**tog** m, pl. *tonje* 'heap, pile'. Continues PAIb *\*raga*, a long grade of IE *\*(s)teg-* 'to cover', cf. in particular Gk 'roof', Oİr *tech* 'house' < IE *\*tegos*. The same vowel grade may be attested in Lith *stiegti* 'to thatch (a roof)' if the latter reflects *\*stilgti*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 431; FRAENKEL 904; FRISK II 780-781; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 30; POKORNY I 1013-1014.

**toje** f, pl. *toja* 'lace'. A parallel form is *tonje*. Borrowed from Venet *togna* id. (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 269). 0 ALESSIO apud CABEJ *St.* II 190 (from Rom *\*tonia*).

**tok** aor. *toka* 'to cut (meat), to sharpen (a scythe), to knock'. An onomatopoeia with an original meaning 'to knock'. Similar verbs are also attested in Romance, cf. Ital *toccare* 'to touch, to tap'.

tOke f, pl. *toka* 'earth, land, soil, ground, plot of land, field'. Borrowed from Slav *\*tolcb* 'threshing floor' (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 18). Another widespread variant *troke* is explained by the influence of *trokas*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 432 (considers *toke* 'earth' to be connected with *tokd* 'belt buckle'); JoKL *Studien* 80; MLADENOV 635; cABEJ *St. fil.* 1966/2 84, *St.* II 190 (to *tere*); OREL *Balkanica* 111-112 (improbable explanation from an unknown Indo-European substratum language close to Hittite), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 363; MURATI *Probleme* 133-134.

**tokel** f, pl. *tokla* 'piece'. Derived from *toke* id., of Italian origin. 0 MEYER *Wh.* 432 (on *toke*).

**tone** f 'bald spot; drum membrane'. Continues PAIb *\*tesla* < *\*teks/a* etymologically related to Lat *tela* 'cloth', OHG *dehsala* 'axe', Slav *\*tesla* id. < *\*teksla*, further derived from IE *\*W4-* 'to weave, to hew'. 0 WALDE-HOFMANN II 655; VASMER IV 51; POKORNY 11058-1059.

**tope** f, pl. *topra* 'small axe'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*topor7*, 'axe' (MEYER *Wh.* 432). 0 SELISEEV *Slav. naselenie* 172-173; SVANE 78.

**topil** m 'pit filled with water'. Borrowed from Slav *\*topidlo*, a deverbative of *\*topiti* 'to sink', cf., for example, Bulg *topilo* 'deep pit in the river'. 0 SVANE 59.

**topis** aor. *topita* 'to blunt; to frighten, to discourage'. Borrowed from Slav *\*tupiti* 'to blunt' (MEYER *Wh.* 417), cf. South Slavic reflexes: SCr *tupiti*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 432 (*topis* 'to discourage' from SCr *stupiti* 'to step, to walk'); cABEJ *St.* II 190-191, SVANE 242.

**torishte** f, pl. *torishta* 'sheep enclosure'. Borrowed from Slav *\*torike* 'enclosure', cf. South Slavic forms with the same or close meaning:

Bulg *tor*, *torifte*, SCr *for* (*SEL&ftv Slay. naselenie* 165). 0 SVANE 63, 141.

**tork** m, pl. *torqe* 'beam of the oil-press; wine-press'. An analogical back-formation based on *\*torq*. The latter is borrowed from Ital *torchio* 'press' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 433 (from Lat *torculum* 'wine- or oil-press'); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1046; JOKL *LKUBA* 105, 144; MIHAESCURESEE *IV 11-2* 25; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 142.

**torolec** m, pl. *toroleca* 'cricket'. Derived from *torolis*. The form *torrovan* may be an emphatic transformation of *torolec*. 0 MEYER *Wh.* 433 (to Slav *\*S'CUr7*, 'grasshopper').

**torolinge** f, pl. *torolinga* 'toy pipe, flute'. Derived from *torolis*.

**torte** f, pl. *torta* 'rope'. Borrowed from Lat *tortum* 'rope (for tortures)', cf. Rum *tort* 'yarn, thread' (MEYER *Wb.* 433) 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom, Elemente* 67 (from Latin or from Ital *torta*); PUSCARIU *EWR* 162; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 20; HAARMANN 153-154.

**torua torue** m, pl. *toronj* 'trace; secret path'. Borrowed from Slav pl. *\*torove* 'paths, traces' (JOKL *Slavia XIII* 302). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 433 (derived from *torre*); SVANE 141.

*torte* f 'circle'. Attested in Albanian dialects of Greece. Borrowed from Rom *\*tornum* 'turn', cf. Ital *torno*, Fr *tour*, Prov *torn*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 433 (from Ital *torno*).

**torrløj** aor. *torrlova* 'to deceive'. Derived from *torrle* 'screw', based on *torre*.

tOS1C8 m, pl. *tOske* 'Tosk, North Albanian'. Borrowed from Ital *tosco* 'Tuscan' < Lat *Tascus* 'Etruscan'. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 193.

**totolesh** m, pl. *totoleshe* 'credulous person'. An emphatic derivative of *lesh*.

**tra** pl. *trere*, *trare*, *trenj* 'beam, post'. Borrowed from Lat *trabem* id. (GILFERDING *Otn.* 26; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 67; MEYER *Wh.* 433).

0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1040, 1053; Jom., *LKUBA* 128; TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 271; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 25; HAARMANN 154; LANDI *Lat.* 83, 144-146.

**trage** f, pl. *trage* 'trace'. Borrowed from Slav *\*trap*, id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *trag*, *traga*, SCr *trag* (MEYER *Wb.* 433). 0 SVANE 36.

**trajke** f 'fishing net'. Identical with *tratke* 'big fishing net', a local loanword from SCr *tratka* < Dalm *trakta* (*SKOKZfromPhil* LIV 425). 0 MEYER *Wh.* 433 (< *\*tralke*, derivative in *-ke* borrowed from Rom *\*tragula* 'trawling net'); JOKL *RIEB II* 59 (agrees with SKOK); cABEJ *St. II* 191 (follows MEYER); HAARMANN 153 (from Rom *\*terraticum*), 154 (from Rom *\*tragula*).

**trajste** f, pl. *trajsta* 'sack, knapsack'. Another form is *traste*. Borrowed from Rum *t(r)aistra* id., a Balkan *Wanderwort* (MEYER *Wb.* 434).

**trajte** f, pl. *trajta* 'form, shape'. Borrowed from Lat neut. *tractum*, participle of *traha* 'to draw'. (MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 25; HAARMANN 154). 0 LANDI *Lat.* 102, 121.

**trajtoj** aor. *trajtova* 'to deal with, to treat'. Borrowed from Lat *tractare* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 67; MEYER *Wb.* 434). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1054; cABEJ *St.* VII 187; Di GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 73-74; HAARMANN 154.

**trakullij trakullij** aor. *trakulliva* 'to knock (at the door)'. Other forms are *trakulloj*, *trokulloj*. Borrowed from Rom *\*tradiculare*, a variant of *\*truclicare* 'to push'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 434; MEYER-LUBKE 679 (on Rom *\*truclicare*); cABEJ *St. II* 191 (onomatopoeia).

**Irakullues** m 'talker, windbag'. Derived from *trakullij trakulloj* (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch. I* 60). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 434 (borrowed from SCr *traskalo* 'windbag'); cABEJ *St. II* 191 (agrees with VASMER).

**trangull** m, pl. *tranguj* 'cucumber'. Borrowed from MGk Telpay-youpov id. (MEYER *Wb.* 434).

**trap** m, pl. *trepe* 'pit, grave'. Borrowed from Slav *\*trap*, 'pit', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *trap*, SCr *trap* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente*

35; MEYER *Wb.* 434). 0 CAMARDA I 40 (to Gk TimmOco.) `to drill, to bore'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 60; SELiKEV *Slay. naselenie* 168, 188; SVANE 38.

trap m, pl. *trapa* 'ferry'. From PAIb *\*trapa* identical with Slav *\*tropa* `path' and further related to IE *\*trep-* `to tread' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 60). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 128 (to Lith *trauplis* 'fragile'); VASMER IV 105; POKORNY 11094.

tras aor. *trita* `to pull (a boat to the coast)'. Continues PAIb *\*t(e)ratja*, etymologically related to Skt *tdrati* `to cross over' and its cognates. 0 JOKE apud cABEJ *St.* II 191 (from Rum *tras*, part. of *trage* `to pull'); MAYRHOFER I 480; POKORNY I 1074-1075.

trashe adj. 'thick, fat'. From PAIb *\*trauss'a*. Appears to be connected with Lith *treizs* 'fat, fertile (of soil)', a form based on *trcs'isit* `to rot, to manure' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 435) despite obvious phonetic difficulties: Lith *-g-* must reflect a nasal which, however, may be secondary; thus, it could be derived from *\*treu-s-*, cf. Slav *\*truxa* '(hay) dust', further derived from IE *\*treu-*: Gk *tpi'm* `to destroy, to exhaust', Slav *\*trovQ* `to destroy' and the like. 0 CAMARDA I 71 (to Gk *tpaxlic* `jagged, rugged'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18 (from Lat *crassus* `solid, thick, fat' - Rom *\*grassus*); MEYER *Wb.* 435 (follows MIKLOSICH); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 61; SCHMIDT *KZ* L 245 (to OIr *tren*, ON *firekr*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 269; BUGA II 178; MANN *Language* XVII 18 (to Slav *\*t7,/st7*, 'fat, thick'); FRAENKEL 1112; POKORNY I 1072-1073.

trashdgoj aor. *trashegova* `to inherit'. Borrowed from Lat *transigere* `to reach an accord, to carry out transaction' (MEYER *Wb.* 435).

trath m, pl. *trathe* 'roof plank'. As well as *trazue* 'kind of beam' derived from *tra*.

trazoj aor. *trazova* `to mix'. Another and more archaic form is *tramezozj*. Borrowed from Rom *\*transmediare* > Ital *tramezzare* 'to divide' (MEYER *Wb.* 435). 0 CAMARDA I 40 (to Gk *tapaucco* `to shuffle, to mix'); KRISTOFORIDHI 428 (follows CAMARDA); JOKE *Slavia* XIII 321 (from Slav *\*traZjti* `to seek'); cABEJ *St. II* 192 (from Ital *travasare* `to pour from one vessel into another'), IV 93-94.

tre num., f *tri* 'three'. From PAIb *\*treje* continuing IE *\*treks* id.: Skt *trayah*, Gk *tpieg*, Lat *tres* and the like (GICFERDING *Otm.* 24; CAMARDA I 76; MEYER *WD.* 435, *Alb. St.* II 43, III 24, 63, 72). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIV 291, *Kelt. Gr.* I 132; FRISK II 921-922; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 270; MANN *Language* XXVIII 31; MAYRHOFER I 531; WALDE-HOFMANN II 702-703; POKORNY I 1090-1092; SZEMERENYI *Numerals* 81; HULD 117; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 47; HAMP *Numerals* 906-907; CLACKSON *LR* 209; DEMIRAJ *AE* 387-388.

tredh aor. *trodha* `to castrate'. Continues PAIb *\*treuda* etymologically related to Lat *tradO* 'to push', Goth *us-briutan* `to burden', Slav *\*truth*, 'labor, work' (MEYER *Wb.* 435, *Alb. St.* III 24, 28, 72). 0 PISANI *Saggi* 130; VASMER IV 108; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 243; WALDE-HOFMANN II 710; FEIST *Goth.* 535-536; POKORNY I 1095-1096; HULD 156, 167; DEMIRAJ *AE* 388.

treg m, pl. *tregje* 'market'. Borrowed from early South Slavic *\*trl.gb* (*OCS trbgb*) < Slav *\*tr-hgr*, id. (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 436, *Alb. St.* I 23). 0 DIEFENBACH II 125; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 67 (from Ital *tregua* 'armistice'); JOKE *Studien* 115 (follows MEYER), *Reallex.Vorges.* I 88 (continues *terg-* in the Illyrian place-name *Tergeste*); MLADENOV *Ist.* 356; MILETIC *Sp. BAN* XVI/9, 35-42 (*-e-* reflects West Macedonian [a] < \*7,); ANTTILA *Schw.* 100; cABEJ *St.* II 193 (reconstructs *\*trag* going back to Illyrian).

tregoj aor. *tregova* `to show, to tell, to prove, to declare'. Derived from *treg* as a calque of Gk *ayopeixo* `to talk, to declare' as based on *liyop6*, `market, place' (JOKL *Studien* 115). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 436 (borrowed from Lat *tradere* `to pass, to tell'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538 (against MEYER); cABEJ *St.* II 193-194 (follows RAE).

tremb aor. *tremba* `to frighten'. Continues PAIb *\*trema* related to Tokh A *teirm-* `to get angry', Gk *Tp6tio* `to tremble (of fear)', Lat *trenza* id. (MEYER *BB* VIII 187, *Wb.* 436, *Alb. St.* III 24, 65, 72). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 67 (from Lat *tremere*); PEDERSEN *Knit. Jahresbericht* IX 211; JOKL *Studien* 27, *Festsehr. Kretschmer* 92; MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundri3*<sup>2</sup> J 1050 (follows MIKLOSICH); TREIMER *ZfromPhil* XXXV III 302; KIECKERS *IF* XXIII 364; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 270; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 43; FRISK II 922-923; WALDE-HOFMANN II 701; VAN WINDEKENS I 504; POKORNY I 1092-1093; DEMIRAJ *AE* 388-389.

**treme** f, pl. *treme* 'porch'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *trem*, *tr'am* 'inner porch, outer entrance hall', SCr *trijem*, *trem* 'porch' (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 436).

**trenoj** aor. *trenova* 'to become mad, to become stupid'. Derived from *tra*, pl. *trenj*, cf. Lat *stultus* 'stupid' - *sto/ti* 'shoot, branch, twig', Russ *ostolbenet* 'to be bewildered' - *stolb* 'column, post'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 434 (to Ital *strano* 'strange' or SCr *krenuti* 'to bend, to incline'); cABEJ *St.* II 194 (to *ternoj* 'to change').

**tres** aor. *treta* 'to melt, to loosen, to dissolve'. From PAIb *\*trOtja* etymologically identical with Slav *\*tratjy*, *\*tratiti* 'to spend, to waste' (OREL *FLHVIII/1-2* 37). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 436 (borrowed from Slav *\*tratiti*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; VASMER IV 94-95.

**treve** f, pl. *treva* 'land, area; peace, quiet'. Borrowed from MGk *tpiria* 'truce' < OFr *treve* id. (*JOiu\_Litteris* N 197, *Slavia* XIII 317). 0 CAMARDA I 42 (to Gk *tpi43oc* 'path, way'); MEYER *Wb.* 353 (borrowed from Lat *trivium* 'crossroads'); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 255 (to OFr *triege*); SANDFELD *LBalk* 57; cABEJ *St.* II 194 (follows JOKL).

**trevoj** aor. *trevova* 'to succeed, to prosper'. Derived from *treve* (CAMARDA I 106). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 436 (from Slav *\*terba* 'need, necessity'); CABEJ *St.* II 194 (follows CAMARDA).

**trike** f, pl. *trina* 'twig, branch'. From PAIb *\*treika*, a derivative of *tre*. For the semantic development cf. E *twig*, Slav *\*dvigs* 'branch' < *\*cluigho*-based on *\*duo* 'two'. 0 JOKL *Slavia* XIII 289 (to *trim*); TRUB/CCEV *Etimologija* 1964 4-6; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 114 (from *\*trk-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 389-390.

**trim** in, pl. *trima* 'hero', adj. 'brave, courageous'. From PAIb *\*trima* related to IE *\*trmo-*, cf. Arm (*arm* 'young, fresh, green' and other continuants of IE *\*ter-* 'weak, young'). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 437 (to Gk *Tiny* 'soft, delicate'), *Alb. St.* III 24, 64; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 289; ACAREAN *HAB* II 161; MANN *Language* XXVI 388; POKORNY I 1070-1071; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* III 41; OREL *Koll. ldg. Ges.* 351 (-*ri-* as a reflex of IE *\*-r-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 389.

**trink** adj. 'brand new'. Emerged from the expression *i ri trink* id., a

semi-calque of Venet *novo de trinca*, Ital *nuovo di trinca* id. (cABEJ *St.* II 195). 0 JOKL *Slavia* XIII 290 (< *\*trim-ke*, derived from *trim*).

**triie - trine** f, pl. *trina trina* 'harrow'. Borrowed from Rom *\*trina* 'bundle, lace' > Ital *trina* id. (cABEJ *St.* II 195). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 437 (from Ital *trina*); RESTELLI *RIL* LXXXIX - XC 422 (to Gk *Teipco* 'to rub'), XCII 609 (to *tjerr*); JANSON *Unt.* 59-60.

**frisk** m, pl. *trisqe* 'shoot (of vine)'. Etymologically close to *triske*.

**triske** f, pl. *triska* 'piece of wood, shavings'. Borrowed from Slav *\*treska* 'chip' otherwise unattested in South Slavic. The substitution of Slav *-é-* > Alb *-i-* may reflect an early loanword.

**trische** f, pl. *trische* 'shooting, sprout'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*trbsb* 'grape, stalk', cf. SCr *trs* (PEDERSEN *RomJb* IX I 217). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 437, 526 (to SCr *trs* 'grape, vine'), *Alb. St.* III 24, 61; SCHEPTELOWITZ *KZ* LVI 166 (to Gk *Opivict* • *Cci.miXo*; iv KATD, Hes.); PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahreshericht* IX 217 (borrowed from Slav *\*trsstb* 'cane'); GEORGIEV *Kr.-myk.* I 69 (to Gk *ei*)pao; 'thyrus'); CABEJ *St.* II 195-196 (to Gk *Tpixvoc* 'shooting, twig'), IV 219; DEMIRAJ *AE* 389-390 (to *tre*).

**trishtoj** aor. *trishtova* 'to make sorry'. Derived from *\*trishte* borrowed from Lat *tristis* 'sad' (MEYER *Wb.* 437). 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 154.

**frog** adv. 'straightforwardly'. Based on Gk *won()*; 'direction' with an adverbial suffix *-v*.

**trofte** f, pl. *trofta* 'trout'. Borrowed from Lat *tructa* id. (STIER *KZ* XI 136; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68; MEYER *Wb.* 437 with doubts). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrif3* 2 I 1054; ERNOUT-MEILLET 704; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; Di GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 74-77; HAARMANN 154; LANDI *Lat.* 67, 102, 122.

**trohas** aor. *trohasa* 'to crumble'. Derived from *trohe* 'crumb', borrowed from Slav *\*troxa* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *troxa*, SCr *troha* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 437).

**Croke** f, pl. *troke* 'kind of cow-bell'. From PAIb *\*traka* etymological-



ly related to Skt *tarkti*- 'spindle', Tokh A *tark*- 'earring' and the like. See *tjerr*. 0 MAYRHOFER I 485; VAN WINDEKENS I 492; POKORNY I 1077.

**trokoj** aor. *trokova* 'to make dirty; to destroy'. In both meanings, derived from *troke* 'earth', a variant of *toke*. 0 MEYER *Wh.* 438-439 (to Ital dial. *truth*/ 'to push', *struccare* 'to press, to squeeze out').

**trondit** aor. *trondita* 'to swing'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*trQiti* 'to push', cf. Czech *tratiti*, Pol *twit'* (MEYER *Wb.* 438). 0 SELIS •CEV *Slay. naselenie* 291; SVANE 242.

**troshis** aor. *troshita* 'to crumble, to break'. Borrowed from Slav *\*troSiti* id. (cf. Bulg *tract*, SCr *traiti*), see *trohe* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wh.* 437). 0 SVANE 94, 243.

**tru** m, pl. *tru tru* 'brain'. Continues PAIb *\*taruna* identical with Skt *tdruna*- 'young, tender', Av *tauruna*- 'young', cf. also Gk *tieprly* 'tender', .thpu • Co60Evk, XETCTOV (Hes.) and the like. 0 BARK *ARSt.* I 82 (to Lat *tempus* 'temple'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 97-98; MANN *Language* XVII 14 (from *\*entrno-*); FRISK II 879; MAYRHOFER I 483; POKORNY I 1070.

**truaj truej** aor. *trova* 'to put aside'. Borrowed from Lat *tradere* 'to pass, to give, to transfer' (HAARMANN 154). 0 MEYER *TO.* 369 (connected with *ruaj*); MANN *Language* XXVI 382 (to Skt *trayati*); cABEJ *St.* VII 201, 266.

**truall truall** m, pl. *troje* 'foundation, plot of land, site'. Borrowed from Lat *trtbulum* 'thresher, \*threshing-floor'. The semantic development is similar to that of *toke*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 438 (from Rom *\*terriola*); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 137 (from Lat *terra* 'earth' with an Albanian suffix); cABEJ *St.* II 196-197 (related to *ter/*).

**trubull** adj. 'turbid, troubled (water)'. Borrowed from Romance *\*turbulus* id.: Rum *turbure*, Ital Sicil *trtibbulu*, Fr *trouble* and the like. Cf. *trubulloj*. 0 PUSCARIU *EWR* 166.

**trubulloj** aor. *trubullova* 'to stir, to trouble (water)'. Borrowed from Rom *\*turbulare* id.: Rum *turbura*, Fr *troubler* and the like. 0 MEYER-

LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 11049; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 155.

**truc** m 'crowd'. Derived from *true* (cf. *trys*), for the semantics cf. ON *prQng* 'crowd' — *krængr* 'narrow', *pryngva* 'to press'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 438 (to *trokoj*); BUCK *Synonyms* 929-930.

**trumbd** f, pl. *trumba* 'water-pump; trumpet'. Another variant is *trume*. Borrowed from Rom *\*trumba* *\*trumpa* 'trumpet, (water) pipe': Ital *tromba*, OFr *trompe*, Prov *trompa* and the like. 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68 (from Ital *tromba*); MEYER *Wb.* 438 (follows MIKLOSICH).

**trunid** f, pl. *truma* 'crowd, group'. Metathesis of *turme* under the influence of *true*.

**trumzd** f, pl. *trumza* 'thyme'. Suffixal derivative of *\*trume* < *\*tumre* borrowed from Gk 0013poc 'savory' (MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; cABEJ *St.* II 197).

**trung** m, pl. *trungje* 'trunk'. Borrowed from Lat *truncus* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68; MEYER *Wh.* 438). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* I 1046; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 155; LANDI *Lat.* 102, 137-138.

**trup** m, pl. *trupa* 'corpse'. Borrowed from Slav *\*trup7*, id., cf. South Slavic reflections: Bulg *trup*, SCr *trup* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 438-439). 0 GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24; JOKL *LKUBA* 89; SELICEV *Slay. naselenie* 153, 195; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 271, *Stratificazione* 84; SVANE 178.

**trushkyej** aor. *trushkeva* 'to rob (a church)'. From Rom *\*trumpiscare* 'to cheat', cf. *\*trumpare* id. > Fr *tromper*. Further connection is Lat *trumphare* 'to triumph'.

**tryde** f, pl. *tryela* 'bore, drill'. Other variants are *turjele*, *trujele*. Borrowed from Rom *\*terebellum* id.: Ital *trivello*, Prov *taravela*, Port *travoela* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 452). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68 (from Ital *trivella*); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 260 (from Ital *trivello*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 202; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 50.

**tryeze** f, pl. *tryeza* 'table'. Borrowed from dialectal (North Italian) Romance *\*trabeza* < Gk TpOurc4a id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 117-118: prefers to identify *tryeze* with Gk *opovo*; 'seat, chair'). 0 MEYER Wb. 434 (from NGk TpOureca 'table'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 271.

**trys** aor. *trysa* 'to press, to compress, to squeeze'. Parallel forms are *trus*, *true*. From PALb *\*trutja*, a formation in *\*-tja* based on IE *\*treu-* *\*tru-*; Gk *tpixo* 'to wear out, to exhaust', Lith *trunih*, *trfineti* 'to rot, to go foul'. 0 MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to Lat *track*); FRISK II 938; FRAENKEL 1132; POKORNY I 1026-1027; OREL *IF* XLIII 116-117 (to *tjerr*; PALb *\*trutja* reflects IE part. *\*trato-*).

**tryste** f 'gathering'. Derived from *trys*. 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 124 (to *tryeze*).

**tufe** f, pl. *tufa* 'bunch of flowers, bundle'. Borrowed from Lat *tufa* 'plume (on the helm)' (MEYER Wb. 439), Rom *\*tufa* 'bush, bunch': Rum *tufa*, Span *tufu* and the like. The same word is also used metaphorically to denote a 'crowd', probably, not without influence of *turme*. 0 CAMARDA II 61 (to Gk VolttO) 'to beat, to strike'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68 (from Ital *tuffo*); PUSCARIU *EWB* 165; JOKL *Balkangerm. 110-111* (from Gmc *\*Puba-*); LOEWE *KZ* XXXIX 272-274 (from Gmc *\*brtfa*); TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 309; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 155.

**tufk m** 'pollen'. Derived from *tufe*.

**tul** rn, pl. *tule*, *tula* 'meat, flesh, pulp'. From PALb *\*tula* etymologically connected with Gk *tan* 'swelling', Slav *\*tyll*. 'back side' (CAMARDA I 131; MEYER Wb. 451, *Alb. St.* III 23, 80). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 535, 543; SPITZER *MRIW* 1 332; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 272, *Stratificazione* 98; VASMER IV 131; FRISK II 942; POKORNY I 1081; cABEJ *St.* II 197-198; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 390-391.

**tumba** f, pl. *tumba* 'rock edge; pl. tombs'. Another variant is *tume* 'top of the rock'. Borrowed from Lat *tumba* 'tomb' (MEYER Wb. 452). 0 MtHAESCU *RESEE* IV 11-2 25; HAARMANN 155.

**tumbe** f, pl. *tumba* 'bunch, brush'. An analogical transformation of *tufe*.

**tumullae** m, pl. *tumullaca* 'bubble, bladder'. Derived from *\*tumuli* borrowed from Lat *tumulus* 'hill, heap'.

**tun** rn, pl. *tunj* 'back, rear'. Borrowed from Slav *\*turn.*, 'false, vain, futile', in South Slavic attested in Bulg *tun* (DESNICKAJA *Slay. zaim.* 19). Note *tune* 'butt' belonging to this group. 0 SVANE 79.

**tund** aor. *tunda* 'to move, to stir, to swing'. Continues PALb *\*tunda*, a nasal present identical with Skt *tundate* 'to push, to strike', Lat *tundo* 'to push' (CAMARDA I 74). 0 MEYER Wb. 452; JOKL *Studien* 91 (to Skt *tarhsdyati* 'to draw to and fro'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 37; MAYRHOFER I 511; WALDE-HOFMANN II 716-717; POKORNY I 1033-1034; cABEJ *St.* VII 232.

**turbd t** 'turf'. Borrowed from Rom *\*turbo*: Fr *tourbe*, Ital *torba* (from French).

**turfulloj** aor. *turfullova* 'to snort'. Borrowed from an unattested Rom *\*transflare* or *\*transinflare* 'to blow through'. 0 MEYER Wb. 452 (from Ital *tronfio* 'swollen').

**turi turi** pl. *turinj* 'trunk, muzzle'. Borrowed from Rom *\*utrinum* derived from Lat *uter* 'hose' (MEYER Wb. 452). 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 258.

**turis** aor. *turita* 'to frighten off (animals)'. Borrowed from Slav *\*turiti* 'to drive away, to chase', cf. in South Slavic, in the meaning 'to push, to put, to drop': Bulg *tur'a*, SCR *turiti* (SVANE 247).

**turme** f, pl. *turma* 'crowd, herd'. Borrowed from Lat *turma* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68; MEYER Wb. 453). 0 CAMARDA I 99 (to Ital *torma* id.); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1039, 1046; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 260; MIHAESCU *RESEE* TV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 155.

**turp m** 'shame'. Borrowed from Lat *turpe* id. (GIL'FERDING *Ost.* 26; CAMARDA I 143; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68; MEYER Wb. 453). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 11046; MANN *Language* XVII 14 (related to Lat *turpis*, Goth *kaurban*); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 155; LANDI *Lat.* 84.

**turshej** aor. *tursheva* 'to break, to destroy'. Borrowed from Rom *\*trusare* 'to push, to stir': Prov *truzar*, Engad *triischer* and the like.

**turtull** m, pl. *turtuj* 'turtle-dove'. Borrowed, with a dissimilation of sono-

rants, from Lat *turtur* id. (STIER *KZ* XI 136; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68; MEYER *Wh.* 453). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 11046, 1049; MiliiiEscu *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 155; LANDI *Lat.* 84, 144-146.

turrem refl. 'to rush, to run'. Continues PAIb *\*tura* etymologically connected with Skt *tura-* 'quick, fast', OHG *dweran* 'to turn fast', ON *pyrja* 'to run' (MANN *Language* XXVIII 37). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 453 (to or from Slav *\*turiti* 'to drive away, to chase'); MAYRHOFER I 514; POKORNY 11100; MURATI *Probleme* 134.

turrd f, pl. *turra* 'haystack, pile of logs, tower'. Borrowed from Lat *turrem* 'tower' (WEIGAND 91; cABEJ *St.* II 198). 0 MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (to W *twr* 'pile').

tus aor. *tuta* 'to frighten'. Continues PAIb *\*tutja* based on a deverbative adjective in *\*-to-* and related to ON *keya* 'to melt', OHG *douwen* id. with 'being silent' as an intermediary stage of semantic development. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 453 (from Turk *tutmak* 'to seize'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to Gk *tici4ogat*); TRUBACEV *PIEJa* 100-105 (on the development of meaning); cABEJ *St.* II 198 (related to *tund*).

tutje adv. 'there, on the other side'. Compound of *tu-* and *-tje* (as in *atje*). The first component continues PAIb adverbial *\*tu* preserved in *ketu* (cABEJ *St.* II 199) and related to IE demonstrative *\*to-* (CAMARDA I 317; MEYER *Wb.* 425). The other component goes back to PAIb *\*te* of uncertain origin.

tuturis aor. *tuturita* 'to sing (of swallows)'. An onomatopoeia (MEYER *Wb.* 453).

tym m 'smoke'. Hardly a loanword from Gk 01)0; 'soul, spirit' as far as the latter is unknown in any meaning close to 'smoke'. Rather, continues PAIb *\*eituma* connected with Gmc *\*ectuniaz* 'breath' and further related to Skt *atmdn-* 'blow, breath, soul'. The inlaut -y- in the Albanian word may be secondary. 0 CAMARDA 153 (related to Gk *auptoc*); MEYER *Wh.* 93 (secondary formation based on *tymos* 'to smoke' < CS *tinzijasati* 'to burn incense' < Gk *OpiatOcaa* incense); KRISTOFORID-HI 363 (to IE *\*dhumos*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 272; OREL *Balkanica*

110-111 (from a substratum continuation of IE *\*dhamos*); cABEJ *St.* VII 217, 254; HULD 117.

typth m, pl. *typtha* 'little hammer'. Diminutive of *\*typ* < PAIb *\*tupa* related to Skt *tupdti*, *timpati* 'to harm, to hurt', Gk *rorcuo* 'to strike with a weapon'. 0 FRISK II 945-946; MAYRHOFER 1512-513; POKORNY I 1034.

tyte f, pl. *tyta* 'pipe, tube, barrel', adj. 'empty, unnecessary, futile'. From PAIb *\*rata*, probably related to IE *\*teya-* 'to swell'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 77 (explains *tyte* 'trunk' from *\*dyte*, borrowed from Rom *\*ductus*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to Lith *tilksias*); POKORNY I 1080-1085; OREL *Balkanica* 112-113 (to a substratum continuation of IE *\*dha-to-* derived from *\*dila-* 'to blow').

## Th

thader f 'kind of a double-sided axe'. Continues PAIb *\*tsestra* identical with Skt *,s'astrci-* 'knife, sword'. The auslaut *-der* may be considered to be a regular result of the non-initial *\*-str-*. 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 157-159 (to IE *\*kes-dhro-*, to *\*kes-* 'to cut'); BARIC *Hymje* 10; MAYRHOFER III 319; POKORNY I 586; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 62 (from *\*kontro-*); cABEJ *St.* II 199 (< *\*tharde*, postverbal derivative of *\*thar*, cf. *ther*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 391-392 (to Skt *sits-* 'sharp').

thaj aor. *thava* 'to dry'. From PAIb *\*sausnja*, a derivative of IE *\*sauso-* 'dry': Gk *ectoc*, MHG *ser*, Lith *saasas*, Slav *\*sum* (MEYER *Wb.* 88, *Alb. St.* 111 43, 92). Note the dissimilation of sibilants leading to *\*s-* > *th-*. The adjective *thate* 'dry' is a deverbative derived from an unattested PAIb *\*sausa*. 0 CAMARDA I 76 (to Gk & auk 'thick with leaves, hairy, shaggy'); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 34, *KZ* XXXIII 543, XXXVI 283; JOKL *Studien* 61, *LKUBA* 261; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 300-301; PISANI *Saggi* 102; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP11* 233; FRISK I 188-189; FRAENKEL 766; VASMER III 813; MANN *Language* XXVI 381, *Hist. Gr.* 184 (to Gk *iccarrog* 'burnt, red-hot', inconvincing semantically and inaccurate phonetically); cABEJ *St.* II 199-200 (reconstructs *\*sauknja* and compares *thaj* with 6avic6v • 't)pi:Sv, Hes.); HULD 117-118; OREL *Sprac•he* XXXI 279; DEMIRAJ *AE* 392.

**thane** f, pl. *thana, thane* 'corner. Participle of *thaj* (MEYER Wb. 88 with an alternative comparison with Lat *commis* id.). 0 CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk 06.ivo; 'bush, shrub'); PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 332 (to Oh *congan* 'horn'); BARI( ARSt. 19-10 (from \**korngo-*, cf. Skt *s'rngā-* 'peak', Gk *icpayyoSv* 'small crustacean'); JOKI, apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 277 (to Lith *saunas* 'quick, strong'); FRIEDRICH *Trees* 118 (borrowed from Greek or Thracο-Phrygian); ĆABEJ St. II 200-201 (follows PEDERSEN); HULD KZ XCV 306-307 (from \**sosdh-ncl*, cf. Lat *sorbum* 'service-berry' < \**sosdhom*); JANSON *Unt.* 92-94; DEMIRAJ AE 393 (from Gk *ektvo*);).

**thar** aor. *thara* 'to add ferment to milk'. Historically identical with *ther*. For the semantic development cf. Lith *karats* 'bitter' - *kifsti* 'to cut, to hew', Goth *baitrs* 'bitter' - *beitan* 'to bite', Latv *skabs* 'sour' - Lith *skabiti* 'to cut, to hew'. 0 BUCK *Synonyms* 1033-1035; ĆABEJ St. VII 225, 239.

**thark** m, pl. *tharq, tharqe* 'enclosure (especially, for milking)'. Continues PAIb \**tserka*, a derivative of *thur* < \**tsurja*. Borrowed to Rum *cam* 0 CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk *gpico*; 'fence, enclosure'); MEYER *Alb. St.* III 39 (from IE \**kyorkos*); PETERSSON *Heter.* 134 (same as MEYER); CAPIDAN *DR* II 552 (Rum *\_tare* from Albanian); PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom.* II 691 (Rum *fart* from Lat *circus*); DENSUSIANU *GS* I 245-248 (from Iranian); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114 (suffix *-k*); REICHENKRON *Dakische* 165 (Rum *fare* < Dacian < IE \**serk-*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 351; KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 200-203; ROSETTI *ILR* I 282; ĆABEJ St. VII 199, 204.

**tharm** m 'sour dough, yogurt ferment'. Derived from *thar*. 0 JOKE *WuS* XII 90 (to Lith *kirmas* 'Iye'); ĆABEJ St. VII 202.

**tharte** adj. 'sour'. Another form is *tharbet* from where *tharte* seems to have been derived phonetically. Rum *sarbcid* is borrowed from PAIb \**tsarbata* (for a voiced auslaut cf. also the name of the Beskidy mountains continuing PAIb \**beskai tai*). The source of this word is \**tharbe*, derived from *thar*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 88, *Alb. St.* III 13, 72, 87, V 75 (to Lith *S'cirmas* 'Iye' and its cognates); PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 332 (to Lat *acerbus* id.); JOKL *WuS* XII 90 (to *tharm*); RESTELLI *RIL* XCI 538-539 (to IE \**saro-* 'sour'); PUSCARIU *EW* 136 (together with Rum *sarbcid* - from Rom \**exalbidus*); MANN *Language* XVII 18 (*tharbet* related to Lat *acerbus*); PISANI *Saggi* 122; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II

347; ROSETTI *ILR* I 281; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 120 (suffix *-be* in *tharbe*); ĆABEJ St. II 201-202 (derived from *ther*).

**thashem** adv. 'on an empty stomach'. An adverbial form based on *thaj*.

**thate** adj. 'dry'. Derivative of *thaj* (JOKL *LKUBA* 278). 0 ĆABEJ St. VII 254.

**thec** adj. 'fragile'. Derived from *thyej*.

**thek** aor. *theka* 'to roast, to toast (bread)'. Continues PAIb \**tsaka* from IE \**kuk-* attested also in Greek, both in zero and full grades: idyKet • TCELV04., ratykoOviric • IipiiiEc 'Lep (p613(9 (Hes.), nokuicayx\* 'burning strongly' (Hom.) and the like. Other parallels implying the initial \**k-* (Skt *kanksati* 'to wish, to desire') are semantically too farfetched and should be ignored despite POKORNY I 565. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 88 (from Ital *seccare* 'to dry'), 440 (from Ital *secco* 'dry'); MEYER-LCBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1053 (from Lat *siccare* 'to dry'); BARB *ARSt.* 113 (to *thengjill* and, further, to Skt *s'ocati* 'to shine, to glow'); MAYRHOFER I 194; FRISK I 750-751; MIHAESCū *RESEE* 1V/1-2 20 (from Latin); ĆABEJ St. II 202-203 (to *thaj*).

**theke** f, pl. *theke* 'fringe'. From PAIb \**tsaka* etymologically close to Skt *sdkha* 'branch', Lith *šaksa* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 88). 0 PEDERSEN *IF* V 48 (follows MEYER), *KZ* XXXVI 332, *Kelt. Gr.* I 126; BARK` *ARSt.* 14 (same); LA PIANA *Studi* I 33 (against the comparison with *s'iikha*); FRAENKEL 957-958; MAYRHOFER III 321-322; POKORNY I 523; ĆABEJ *LP* VII 191, VIII 90, *St.* II 203-204 (to *thek*); OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282, *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 393-394.

**theker theken** f, pl. *thekera thekena* 'rye'. Singularized plural of *theke* (CAMARDA I 177-178) 0 MEYER *Wb.* 88 (from Lat *secale* id. with a shift of stress); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1053; PEDERSEN *IF* V 82 (agrees with MEYER); BARB *ARSt* 13-15 (to *thike*); JOKL apud ĆABEJ St. II 204 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 248 (agrees with MEYER); SPITZER *MR/W* I 315 (same).

**thel** m, pl. *theta* 'big nail'. Continues PAIb \**tsala* related to Skt *s'ald-*

`stick, cane', Oh *coil* 'spear', ON *hali* 'point of a pole'. 0 POKORNY I 552-553.

**thelb** m, pl. *thelpinj*, *thalba*, *thelbna* 'kernel (of a nut)'. From PAIb *\*tsalba*, a derivative of IE *\*kel-* 'to cover' from which various words for 'shell' are derived, cf. OHG *hulsa*, OE *hulu*. 0 CAMARDA I 199; MEYER *Wb.* 89 (to Friul *sepe* id.); BARK *ARSt.* I 30 (to *her-thame*); JOKL *LKUBA* 192; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 1; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 177; PISANI *Saggi* 119; cABEJ *St.* II 204 (from IE *\*sphel-* 'to split'); POKORNY I 553-554.

**thelle** adj. 'deep; dark (of color)'. From PAIb *\*tsawila* related to Gk *koiXog* 'hollow' < *\*icelFl<sup>2</sup>-<sub>FS</sub>*; (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332). 0 CAMARDA I 64; MEYER *Wb.* 88 (to Skt *s'anyd-* 'empty'), *Alb. St.* III 13, 90; LA PIANA *Studi* I 71 n. 1 (to Gk *Oavugva* 'foundation'); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 311, *RIEB* 48; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 83; FRISK I 891-892; CHANTRAINE 552; PORZIG *Gliederung* 177; PISANI *Saggi* 119 (follows PEDERSEN); OLBERG *IBK* XIV 115; cABEJ *St.* II 204-206 (*thelle* < dialectal *felle*, to IE *\*sphel-* 'to split'); HuLD 118, *KZ* XCII 297-299 (reconstructs *\*kouH/o-*); KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 39; DEMIRAJ *AE* 394-395.

**thembr** f, pl. *thembra* 'heel'. Continues PAIb *\*tsambra*, a derivative of IE *\*(s)kamb-* 'to bend': Gk (*magi\** 'bent, crooked', Oh *camm* id. 0 CAMARDA I 62 (to Gk *eivap* 'palm'); MEYER *Wb.* 89, *Alb. St.* IV 120 (from Lat *femur* 'thigh'); FRISK II 716-717; MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* 11053; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 298; POKORNY 1918 (reconstructs IE *\*(s)k-*); HAARMANN 126; RUSAKOV *RB* 138; cABEJ *St.* II 206-207 (the original meaning is 'bending').

**thep** m, pl. *thepa* 'peak, point, cog, tooth'. From PAIb *\*tsaipa* etymologically identical with Skt *s'e'pa-* 'tail, penis', Lat *cippus* 'pole' (JOKL *Studien* 20, 117). Borrowed to Rum *leap* & 0 LIDEN XXXIX/2 52-54 (to Arm *sep* 'point, peak'); MAYRHOFER III 374-375; WALDE-HOFMANN I 219-200; POKORNY I 543; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 79; POGHIRC 1st. *limb. rom.* II 352; ROSETTI *ILR* I 282; HAMP *SCL* XXXII 428; cABEJ *St.* II 207-208; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 395-396.

**ther** aor. *theca* 'to slaughter, to pierce'. From PAIb *\*tsera* related to Skt *strcati* 'to smash, to crush', Gk 'death', OIr *do-cer* '(he) fell' (MEYER *Wb.* 89). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332; JOKL *LKUBA* 217-218, *ZONF* X 187; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 80-81 (to *Latferio* 'to strike'); TAGLIA-

VINI *Dalmazia* 115; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to *therre* = *ferre* and Lith *še'rti* 'to eat, to graze'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 41; MAYRHOFER III 371-372; FRISK I 842-843; VENDRYES [C] 237-238; POKORNY I 578; OLBERG *IBK* XIV 111; cABEJ *St.* II 208-210 (to IE *\*kers-* 'bristle'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 396-397.

**theroke** f 'Passerina hirsuta; sweepings'. Derived from *ther* (MEYER *Wb.* 89). 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* V 75 (identical with *throke* 'dung' from Gk (*ppecakov* 'rubbish'); MANN *HAED* 534 (to *therrime*); cABEJ *St.* II 210 (follows MEYER *Wb.*).

**therpele** f 'kind of thorny plant, woody nightshade, sim'. Compound of *ther* and *pele*. 0 cABEJ *St.* II 210-211 (derived from *ther*).

**thes** m, pl. *thase* 'sack'. Continues PAIb *\*tsatja* related to Gk *icotari* 'hole, empty vessel', Lat *catinus* 'bowl' and, probably, to Av *kata-* 'chamber, room', Goth *heNo* id. 0 SCHMIDT *KZ* L 238-240 (from Gk *oCcikoc* id.); LA PIANA *Studi* I 30, 32 (connected with Gk *oeucicoc*); FEIST *Goth.* 254-255; WALDE-HOFMANN I 182; FRISK 1933-934; BARTHOLOMAE 432; POKORNY I 586-587; HAMP *IF* LXVI 25 (from *\*kouti-*, cf. Gk *kin()*; 'hollow', Lat *cutis* 'skin'), *Orbis XXIII* 1 128-129; cABEJ *St.* II 211 (together with *oCocicoc*, borrowed from Semitic).

**theleze** f, pl. *thelleza* 'partridge'. Derived from *thelle* as a color adjective (STIER *KZ* XI. 110; CAMARDA II 30). 0 MEYER *WI.* 89, *Alb. St.* IV 95 (from Rom *\*fulingia* based on Lat *fulica* 'COW'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXII] 535 (< *\*folēng-ze* borrowed from Rom *\*fullinga*); BARK *ARSt.* I 10-12 (from *\*kelonti* jumper); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 240-241 (follows STIER); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 81 (< IE *\*kelonti* = Skt *s'airra-*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 86; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 142; LA PIANA *Studi* I 72; SCHWENTNER *KZ* XLVII 255 (to *thellim* in view of Gk *mepoi4* 'partridge' - *rcip8oRal* 'pedere'); cABEJ *St.* II 211-212.

**thellim** m, pl. *thellime* 'cold wind, tempest, storm, dry frost'. Derived from *thelle*, probably, in its function of a color adjective, with a further semantic development from 'darkness' to 'cold' or 'storm' (gABEJ *St.* II 212-213 with typological parallels). 0 CAMARDA 157 (to Gk *ekil.ti\_ta* 'pressure', OXi(3o) 'to squeeze'); DOZON *Manuel* 92 (to Gk EXE2).ct 'storm'); DIEFENBACH I 55 (agrees with DOZON); KRISTOFORIDHI 127, 459, 470 (follows DOZON and compares *thellim* with *fulloj*); BUGGE

*BB* XVIII 174 (from Lat *follere* 'to bag'); PETERSSON *KZ* XLVII 255 (to Lith *svilpti* 'to whistle'); BARK *ARSt.* I 22 (to *fyell* and *frj*).

**thengjill m**, *pt. thengijj* 'hot ashes'. Continues PAIb *\*tsangila*, with a prefix *\*ts-*, further connected with Lith *angles* id., OPrus *anglis* id., Slav *\*Qgh*, id., Skt *thigara-* id. (GILFERDING *Otm.* 22; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 328). 0 CAMARDA I 64 (to Gk (*piyyog* 'light, shine'); MEYER *Wb.* 90 (from *Latfavilla* 'hot ashes'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538 (against MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 105-106 (from Slav with a prothetic *\*v-* > Alb *f-, th-*); TREIMER *MRIW* 1375 (against JOKL); BARK *ARSt.* I 12-13 (to *\*kenk-* 'to burn'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 298; TRAUTMANN *BSIWB.* 8; CANDREA *GS* III 235 (from Rom *\*focilis* 'fire'); FRAENKEL 10; MAYRHOFER I 21; VASMER IV 146; POKORNY I 779; TOPOROV *PJa* I 87 (against the connection with Lith *angrts* and the like); HAMP *LB* XIV/2 13 (*th-* < *\*f.*), *BLing* 77-78; CABEJ *St.* II 214-215 (explains *thengjill* as a singularized plural).

**thenukel f**, pl. *thenukla* 'dogberry'. Irregular transformation of *\*thenubel* continuing PAIb *\*tsunu-abala-* 'dog's apple' identical with Dac *KtvoOot2m* 'plant Brionia alba' (Diosc. 4. 182) and Lith *hinobuolas* 'dog's pumpkin'. 0 TOMASCHEK *Thr.* I 34; DETSCHEW *Thr. Sprachreste* 362, 373; CABO *St.* VII 230.

**theri theni f**, pl. *theri theni* 'louse'. From PAIb *\*tsanida* related to Gk *xoviS* 'nit', OHG *hniz* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 90, *Alb. St.* III 13, 37). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332, 339, *Kelt. Gr.* I 41; JOKL *Studien* 105, *Sprache* IX 123; BARK *ARSt.* I 12; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 301 (reconstructs IE *\*kenid-*), *Stratificazione* 142; LA PIANA *Studi* I 33-34; ERNOUT-MEILLET 351; MANN *Language* XVII 23, XXVIII 32; PISANI *Saggi* 128; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 243; FRISK I 912-913; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 115; HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 278 (correct reconstruction of *\*-o-* in the first syllable of *\*konid-*); POKORNY I 608; CABEJ *St.* II 215-216 (to *thind* 'sting, thorn'); HULD 118-119; JANSON *Unt.* 31-32; GRIEPENTROG *Wurzelnomina* 474-475; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 39; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; DEMIRAJ *AE* 397.

**therpehem** refl. 'to become impregnated (of goats)'. Other forms are *thuprehem* and also *thuprue*, *thyprue* 'to impregnate'. Derived from *thuper* as many other verbs for *lutuere* based on the word for

'stick'. 0 BARK *ARSt.* I 104 (to *cap*); CABEJ *St.* II 218-219 (from *\*perthehet* based on *\*perth* = *perc*).

thUrras aor. *therrita*, *thirra* 'to call, to name'. Continues PAIb *\*tsira*, with a secondary present in *\*-atja*. An old onomatopoeia. 0 JOKL *Studien* 20-21 (to Lith *šdrka* 'magpie', Slav *\*sorka* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 300 (follows JOKL); CABEJ *St.* II 216-217.

**therrecke f**, pl. *therrecka* 'kind of thistle'. Derived from *\*therrec* based on *ther*.

**therrime f**, pl. *therrime* 'crumb'. Derived from *ther* (CABEJ *St.* II 217-218). The verb *therrmoj* 'to break, to crumb' (borrowed to *Rumfarima* id.) is derived from *therrime*. 0 CAMARDA I 52, 99 (to Gk °Alga 'bit, something broken off'); MEYER *Wb.* 90, *Alb. St.* IV 26 (*therrmoj* from Rom *\*fragminare*); PUSCARIU *ZfromPh* XXVII 739, *EWB* 50 (together with *Rum forima*, from Rom *\*farrimen*); GIUGLEA *DR* III 594-597 (starts from Rom *\*fare ma*); WEIGAND *BA* III 214; REICHENKRON *ZfBalk* III 166 (reconstructs a Dacian source continuing IE *\*(s)per-*); ROSETTI *ILR* 1277.

**thi m**, pl. *thi* 'pig'. From PAIb *\*su(s)* (with dissimilation of sibilants) etymologically related to IE *\*sus* id.: Av *ha*, Gk *vS*, Lat *sus*, OHG *su* (*STIER* *KZ* XI 214; CAMARDA 177; MEYER *Wb.* 90, *Alb. St.* III 43-44, 63). 0 PEDERSEN *IF* V 82, *KZ* XXXVI 282; JOKL *Studien* 77; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 298, *Stratificazione* 143; BARIc *Hymje* 22; ERNOUT-MEILLET 670; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 234; FRISK II 973-974; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 142 (reconstructs *\*k-* in the anlaut); LA PIANA *Studi* I 23; PISANI *Saggi* 102, 222; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 233; WALDE-HOFMANN II 635-637; BARTHOLOMAE 1817; POKORNY I 1038; CABEJ *St.* II 219-220; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 220; HULD 119; DEMIRAJ *AE* 397-398.

**thike f**, pl. *thika*, *thike* 'knife' From PAIb *\*tsikā*, derived from IE *\*kei-* 'to sharpen': Skt *iisati* 'to whet, to sharpen', Arm *sur* 'sharp; knife' and the like. 0 CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk *Ofiye* 'to whet'), 117 (to Lat *sica* 'knife'); MEYER *Wb.* 90, *Alb. St.* III 44 (from Lat *sica*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundri/3* 2 11044, 1053; PEDERSEN *IF* V 82, *KZ* XXXIV 287 (follows MEYER); SPITZER *MRIW* 1293 (same); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 155 (same); BARK *ARSt.* I 13-14 (to Skt *s'ikha* 'tuft of hair, fringe');

AeAREAN *HAB* IV 254-255; MAYRHOFER III 345; LA PIANA *Studi* I 30-31 (against borrowing from Latin for phonetic reasons: Lat *s-* > Alb *sh-*); MANN *Language* XXVI 387; POKORNY I 541-542; cABEJ *St.* II 221-222 (follows BARIE and adduces *theke* as another cognate).

**thin** & adj. 'grey'. Derived from *thij*, see *thinje*.

**thimth** m, pl. *thimtha* 'sting, nipple'. A deminutive of *\*thim* related to *thind* (JOKL *LKUBA* 318-319). The meaning 'nipple' may be secondary, due to the influence of *thithe*. 0 cABEJ *St.* II 223-224).

**thind** m, pl. *thinda* 'beak, nipple'. Derived from the same verbal root as *thike*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 91 (from Lat *findere*); JOKL *LKUBA* 318-319 (to *ther*, *thyej*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 144; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 238; POKORNY I 920; cABEJ *St.* II 222-223 (to *theri*, *thumb*); HAMP-*Munch. St. Spr.* XLIII 47-48 (< IE *\*kent-*).

**thinje** f, pl. *thinja* 'grey hair'. Derived from *thij* 'to go grey' < PA1b *\*tsjnja*, a denominative verb related to Skt *s'yavci-* 'dark brown', Av *syava-* 'black', Slav *\*sivl.* 'dark grey' and the like. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 91, *Alb. St.* III 44 (from Slav *\*sinb* 'dark blue'); WEIGAND 92; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 300 (agrees with MEYER); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 233-234 (to *finje* and *hi*); MAYRHOFER III 384; BARTHOLOMAE 1631; VASMER III 617; POKORNY 1541; cABEJ *St.* II 225-226 (follows CIMOCHOWSKI in his comparison with *finje*); MURATI *Probleme* 135.

**thipd** f 'bread crust'. Identical with *cipe* (KRISTOFORIDHI 129). 0 JOKL *Balkangerm.* 127; cABEJ *St.* II 226.

**thirqe** f, pl. *thirqe* 'chick-pea'. Singularized plural of *\*thirk*, derivative in *\*-ka-* of *thjerre* (*CimoCHowsKi LP* VIII 96). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 91, *Alb. St.* III 44 (from Venet *siserchia* id.); HELBIG 79 (accepts MEYER'S etymology); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 233-234 (from *siserchia* with dissimilation of *s - s*); cABEJ *St.* II 226 (follows CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* VIII).

**thirr** m 'soot'. From PA1b *\*tsirwa* identical with Lith *S'ifvas* 'grey' (*CimoCHowsm ABS* III 42) and continuing the Indo-European root for dark color *\*ker-*. Cf. *surme* and *thjerme*. 0 FRAENKEL 989; POKORNY I 573-574; cABEJ *St.* II 226-227 (to Slav *\*sera* 'sulphur').

**thirravajd** f 'complaint'. Lexicalization of *me thirre vaj* 'to make a complaint, to complain' (cABEJ *St.* II 227).

**thith** m, pl. *thitha* 'joint-pin, sprig'. Another form is *thins*. From *\*thind-th*, deminutive of *thind*.

**thith** aor. *thitha* 'to suck'. Another form is *thethij*. Continues PA1b *\*tsitsa*. An old "descriptive" stem (.10m.. *Balkanogerm.* 127-128, *Slavia XIII* 325). Of the same origin is *thithe* 'nipple' < PA1b *\*tsitsa*. 0 CAMARDA I 37, 77-78 (to Gk *Taw.* 'to put'); MEYER *Wb.* 90, *Alb. St.* III 44, IV 31 (from SCr *sis* 'nipple, bosom'); SELISEV *Slay. naselenie* 195 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 290; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387 (*thithe* to Ir *cioch*, Slav *\*sis*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 234; cABEJ *St.* II 227-228.

**thjerme** adj. 'grey'. From PA1b *\*tserma*, a full grade of the root found in zero grade in *surrne* and etymologically related to Lith *hfmas* 'grey' (JoKi., *Melanges Pedersen* 153-155, *WuS* XII 89-90). 0 CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 221 (follows Mu); POKORNY I 574; cABEJ *St.* II 228-229 (derived from *thjerre*); HULD 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 399.

**thjerrd** f, pl. *thjerra* 'lentil'. Continues PA1b *\*tsera*, a non-reduplicated parallel of Lat *cicer* 'pea', Arm *sisein* id. < IE *\*ki-ker-* (*BARD ARSt.* 115, *AArbSt* II 81-83). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 91, *Alb. St.* IV 118 (from Rom *\*fabarium*, to Lat *faba* 'bean'); WEIGAND 19 (agrees with MEYER); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 81-83; JOKL *LKUBA* 179-181 (to Lith *serti* 'to feed'); AeAREAN *HAB* IV 218; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (agrees with BARIE); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 254; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 1127; WALDE-HOFMANN I 212; POKORNY I 598; cABEJ *St.* II 220-221 (identical with *fier*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 398-399.

**thjeshte** adj. 'simple, easy'. Another form is *fjeshte*. Continues PA1b *\*tseksta*, a derivative in *\*ts-* based on *\*eksta* > *jashte* with the basic meaning 'not outside' = 'easy to reach', for the semantic model cf. OIr *asse* < *\*ad-stafo-* 'standing by' = 'easily attainable' = 'easy', Fr *aise* 'ease' < Lat *adjacens* 'lying near'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 91 (from Lat *festus* 'solemn, festive'); JOKL *Studien* 37-38, *LKUBA* 190, 214 (from IE *\*skai-* 'to shine'); VENDRYES [A] 96; BUCK *Synonyms* 648-650; cABEJ *St.* II 224-225 (derived from *fill*).

**thjeshter** m, pl. *thjeshter* 'stepson'. In Sicilian dialects of Albanian one finds *fjeshter*. Borrowed from *Latfiliaster* id. (MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* 2 1 1043, 1053) phonetically influenced by *thjeshte* (LA PIANA *St. Varia* 51-52); MEYER *Wb.* 91, *Alb. St.* V 75 (from Ital *figliastro* id., Venet *fiaastro* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 48, 211 (same); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HA ARMANN 126; CABEJ *St.* II 229.

**thkollet** adj. 'thin, meager'. A phonetic evolution of *teholloj* 'to become thin' based on *holle* (MANN *HAED* 539); CABEJ *St.* II 229-230 (agrees with MANN).

**thnegel** f, pl. *thnegla* 'ant'. Other forms are *thenegulle*, *thenejegell*. Continues PALb *\*tsangula*, with a prefix *\*ts-*, further connected with Lat *anguis* 'snake', Lith *angis* id., OHG *angar* 'kind of maggot', *engirine* 'larva', Lith *anlatirai* 'maggot'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 89-90 (from Lat *formicula* id.); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 175; SCHUCHARDT *Revue basque* V 106-108 (to Basque *chiugurri*); BARK *ARSt.* I 12 (compound of *theri theni* and *\*goll-* 'thorn, sting'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 142; LA PIANA *Studi* I 79 (from *\*khthonai-guila* 'living on earth'); FRAENKEL 10; WALDE-HOFMANN I 48-49; POKORNY I 43-44; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 119 (suffix *-el*); CABEJ *St.* II 214 (related to *theri theni* as well as to *thind*).

**thorn** aor. *thashe* 'to say'. From athematic PALb *\*tsansmi* etymologically connected with Lat *censet5* 'to assess, to value' and its cognates (MEYER *Wb.* 91, *Alb. St.* III 13, 63). 0 CAMARDA I 46 (to Gk (prgti 'to say')); WACKERNAGEL *IF* XLV 326; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 101, *Sprache* IX 123; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 298-299; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33; LA PIANA *Studi* I 37; PISANI *Saggi* 101, 130; WALDE-HOFMANN I 198-200; POKORNY I 566; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 37; HAMP *Anc. IE* 117 (3 sg. *thote* derived from *\*ke-ti* since *\*fens-ti* would be reflected as *\*thoshte*); OLBERG *IF* LXXIII 208; KLINGENSCHMITT *Munch. St. Spr.* XL 108-109, *Verbum* 151-152, *Koll. Idg. ges.* 230; HULD 119; DEMIRAJ *AE* 399-400.

**thonjeza** pl. 'quotes'. A recent derivative of *thua*.

**thoperc** pl. 'dwarfs (in folklore)'. Other variants are *thopc* and, rarely, *thoperk*. The latter is formed analogically on the basis of the alternation *-k : -q (> c)*. Because of the stress in *thoperc* it must be ana-

lyzed as a compound of *thua* and *pert* (for the meaning cf. *Tom Thumb* and Russian *muZVok-s-nogotok*). BUZUKU has a participle *thoperkuom* 'paralyticus', *thoprekuom* 'hydropicus' which has nothing to do with *thoperk* and reflects a verb *\*the-per-koj* 'to undernourish', with two prefixes, based on *koj*. 0 JOKL *Balkangerm.* 123-125, *Vox Rom.* VI 227 (from Slavic, cf. SCR *coprati* 'to conjure'); MANN *HAED* 92; CABEJ *St.* II 230-231 (from Ital *zoppo*

**thua thue** m, pl. *thoj thonj* Vinger) nail'. Goes back to PALb *\*atsana* derived from IE *\*ak-* 'sharp' and, as far as its structure is concerned, similar with Gk & Kayo; 'thorny fruit', & Knave ('tip, point'. 0 CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk 'min'; MEYER *Wb.* 92 (to Av *spatna-* 'saliva' misinterpreted as 'min, *Alb. St.* III 14, 16; LEWY *IF* XXXII 159 (compares *thua* with Lat *squama* '(fish) scale'); JOKL *LKUBA* 26; BARD *ARSt.* I 10 (derivative of IE *\*ker-* 'horn'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 301, *Stratificazione* 98; FRISK 149, 51; CABEJ *St.* II 231-232 (to Gk KEVTËCO 'to prick'); HULD 120 (to Gmc *\*xanduz* 'hand').

**thuk** m, pl. *thuke* 'mortar'. Derived from *thuk* 'to grind, to press', a verb of onomatopoeic origin. The adjective *thuket* 'robust' also belongs here. 0 CABEJ *St.* VII 235.

**thumb** m, pl. *tumba* 'sting, thorn'. Derived from *thua*. PALb *\*tumba* was borrowed to Rum *clump*. 0 CAMARDA I 78 (to Gk OcoptAic 'heap'); MEYER *Wb.* 92 (to Skt *samba-* 'pole', Gk i(61.41o; 'roll, band'), *Alb. St.* III 14; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332-333 (to *fendyell* and *thnegel*); JOKL *LKUBA* 217-218; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 144; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to Lith *S'urivis* 'ham, leg of pork'); POGHIRC *1st. limb. rom.* II 339; ROSETTI *ILR* I 275; CABEJ *St.* II 233 (agrees with PEDERSEN).

**thumbull** f, pl. *thumbulla* 'button'. Derived from *thumb*. Borrowed to Rum *simbure* 'stone (of a fruit)'. 0 ROSETTI *ILR* I 281; CABEJ *St.* VII 254.

**thunder** f, pl. *thundra* 'hoof'. Derived from *thua*. 0 CAMARDA I 81 (to Gk Nvocp 'palm of the hand').

**thuper** f, pl. *thupra* 'twig, rod'. As far as *th-* < *\*ts-* is impossible before *-u-*, it is a prefix (cf. *thengjill*). The rest of the word continues PALb



\**upera* 'upper' etymologically related to OHG *obaro* id., Lat *super* id. and the like. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 92 (to Hung dial. *supra* id.); POKORNY I 1106.

thur aor. *thura* 'to fence, to enclose, to plait, to weave'. From PALb \**tsurja*, a zero grade form related to Arm *sarik* 'band, rope', Gk *xocipoc* 'row of thrums in the loom'. 0 CAMARDA 177 (to Gk *OupOw* 'to furnish with doors'); MEYER *Wb.* 92 (to Lat *cratis* 'wicker-work', Gk *icti* 'pxri' 'fishing net'); ACAREAN *HAB* IV 188; FRISK I 756; POKORNY I 577-578; CLACKSON *LR* 140.

thuthaq adj. 'lispings'. Pronouncing *s* as *th* (MEYER *Wb.* 92).

theyj aor. *theva* 'to break'. Continues PALb \**tsa(i)nja* derived from IE \**kei-* 'to sharpen': Skt *sisati* 'to sharpen', Arm *sur* 'sharp; knife' and the like. See *thike*. 0 CAMARDA 177 (to Gk *Oixo* 'to rage, to seethe').

## U

U part. of passive. From PALb \**wa* related to IE \**syom*, acc. 'self' with the vowel lost in the unstressed position and \**w* vocalized as *u* (BOPP 480-481) or resulting from the regular development of IE \**syo-* in Albanian. 0 CAMARDA I 217; MEYER *Wb.* 468, *Alb. St.* III 39; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 111, *LKUBA* 74; BARK *ARSt* I 111; JOKL *LKUBA* 74, *IF* L 56; MANN *Language* XXVI 384; POKORNY I 882; HAMP *IF* LXXXI 36-37; KLINGENSCHMITT *Munch. St. Spr.* XL 100; cABEJ *St.* II 234-235; HULD 122; DEMIRAJ *AE* 400.

Ube f, pl. *ubla* 'well, shaft, hillside well'. The original meaning is 'hillside well'. With a secondary voicing of \**-p-* continues PALb \**upela*, a derivative of IE \**upo* 'under'. Morphologically particularly close to Goth *ubils*, originally 'exceeding due limits' < \**upelo-*. 0 ONIONS 332; POKORNY I 1106-1107.

udob adv. 'easy, light'. Borrowed from Slav \**udotn*, id. (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 36). 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 217; SvANE 272.

udhe f, pl. *udhe* 'way'. From PALb \**wada*, an o-grade \**yodha* based on \**yedh-* 'to beat, to break'. For such semantic development cf. Slav

\**trepati* 'to knock, to beat' — OS *thravon* 'to trot' — Slav \**tropa* 'path' and the like (BUCK *Synonyms* 693-694). 0 CAMARDA 150, 108 (comparison with Gk *OSOc* 'road'); MEYER *BB* VIII 191 (compares with Slav \**ulica* 'street'), *Wb.* 455 (derives from IE \**yeah-*), *Alb. St.* III 18, 80; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 189 (borrowed from Gk *JOKL Studien* 92, *LKUBA* 128, 316 (cognate of Lat *veil()* 'to bear, to carry, to convey'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335; DER2AVIN *Jazyk I literatura I* 190-191 (to *ure* and *uje*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 274 (from IE \**yegh-* 'to move, to pull'); LA PIANA *Studi* 160-61; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 231; TISCHLER II 318-319 (etymology of the Hittite word); HAMP *Laryngeals* 138 (to IE \**yedh-* 'to lead'); OLBERG *IBK* XVII 34-35; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 186; cABEJ *StF* IV/1 69, 83 (follows HAMP), *St.* II 237-238 (zero-grade formation of IE \**yedh-* 'to beat, to break'); HULD 120-121; OREL *LB* XXVIII/4 54-55 (close to Hitt *huda-* 'hurry', a zero-grade of IE \**yedh-*), *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 400-401.

udhos m 'sort of cheese'. Originally, participle in *-ues, -os* of Geg *hudh* 'to throw, to pour' (see *hedh*) with the loss of initial *h-*. Semantically, the Balkan-Carpathian technology of cheese production makes such a motivation fairly possible, cf. Slav \**ietica* derived from \**4ti* 'to press, to squeeze' (KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 142-143). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 455 (to Carpathian *urda*); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 245-246; DURIDANOV *LB* XVII 51-62 (from \**urdhos* related to *urdhe*; phonetically difficult); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 363.

ugar m, pl. *ugare* 'land unused for two years'. Borrowed from Slav \**ugare* 'fallow ground', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *ugar*, SCr *ugar* (MEYER *Wb.* 456). 0 SELIVEV *Slay. naselenie* 158; SvANE 36.

ujlr f/n, pl. *ujera ujna* 'water'. From PALb \**udrja* (HAMP *St. Whatmough* 83, *Laryngeals* 138) derived from the Indo-European word for 'water' \**yed-* (GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 24; CAMARDA I 51, 75). For a similar formation cf. Gk *bopiot* 'water-bucket'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 456 (reconstructs \**udnfa* but there are no traces of *unje* in the dialects), *Alb. St.* III 66; LA PIANA 1118 (derives *uje* from \**u/e* < \**ud-l-o-*); SPITZER *MRIW* I 217; BARI (AarbSt. II 86; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 273-274; PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 247, *KZ* XXXIII 285-286, XXXVI 339 (from \**ue* < \**uda* with *-j-* filling hiatus), *Kelt. Gr.* II 19; JOKL *WuS* XII 64; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 274; POKORNY 78-79; FRISK II 957-959; cABEJ

St. II 238-239 (follows PEDERSEN); HULD 121; DEMIRAJ *AE* 401-402 (from PAIb *\*urja*, related to Skt *vcir-* 'water').

APE m, pl. *ujq*, *ujqer* *ujqen* 'wolf'. The archaic form *ulk* is preserved in Chamian. Goes back to PAIb *\*(w)ulka* continuing IE *\*ylleos* id.: Skt Gk Xincō; Lat *lupus*, Goth *wulfs* and the like (STIER KZ XI 143; GIL'FERDING *Om.* 24; MEYER *Wb.* 457, *Alb. St.* III 2, 80). The form *ujkth* 'wolf's hide' is an obvious derivative of *ujk* (MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 99) 0 CAMARDA 126 (metathesis of *kincoc*); MEYER *BB* VIII 191, *Gr. Gr.* 69, 233, 262; PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 549; JOKL *Studien* 92, 119 (*ujkth* - to Lat *vellus* 'fleece, hide'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 274, *Stratificazione* 143; BARK *ARSt.* 145 (agrees with JOKL on *ujkth*), 111, *Hymje* 22; PORZIG *Gliederung* 206; ENDZELIN KZ XLIV 61; MANN *Language* XVII 15; FRISK II 143-144; MAYRHOFER III 240-241; WALDE-HOFMANN I 836-837; FEIST *Goth.* 576; POKORNY I 1178-1179; HAM? *Laryngeals* 138; GINDIN *Form. SN* 61; cABEJ *St.* II 239-240, 242-244; KLINGENSCHMITT *Munch. St. Spr.* XL 124; HULD 121-122; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351; DEMIRAJ *AE* 403.

amid f 'forest'. Borrowed from Slav *\*ukrajr*, attested, in a different meaning, in SCr *ukraj* 'near', Russ *ukraj* (MEYER *Wb.* 456).

111 aor. *ula* 'to lower'. From PAIb *\*wala* related to Gk &(Xco 'to shut in, to press', Lith *valjti* 'to clean', *is-valjti* 'to carry away' (CAMARDA I 54). Forms like *unj* reflect an earlier *\*ulnj* < *\*walnja*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 457-458 (to the non-existent Slav *\*xynQti*); PEDERSEN *IF* V 64, KZ XXXIII 542 (separates *unj* from *ul*); BARK *ARSt.* I 32 (agrees with PEDERSEN and compares *ul* with Slav *\*xylem* 'crooked, weak'); JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 39 (to *yang*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 274; FRAENKEL 1190; FRISK I 456-457; POKORNY 11138; cABEJ *St.* II 240-242 (follows CAMARDA).

ulerij uleri aor. *u/erita* 'to shout, to howl'. Another form is *uleras*. Borrowed from Rom *\*urulare* id. (cf. Rum *urla*, Sard *urulare* and the like) continuing Lat *ululdre* 'to howl, to yell' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 69; MEYER *Wb.* 457). 0 Pu5cAR1u *EWR* 171; cABEJ *St.* II 242 (onomatopoeia).

ulishte f, pl. *ulishta* 'small tub'. Borrowed from Slav *\*ulike*, deriva-

tive of *\*u/L<sub>1</sub>ft*, 'hive; trough', cf. SCr *ulate* (DESNICKAJA *Slay. zaim.* 12). 0 cABEJ *St.* II 242 (derived from *ul*); SVANE 159.

Ulirije aor. *ulmeva* 'to make wet'. Derived from an unattested *\*ulm* continuing PAIb *\*ulg(a)ma* related to OHG *welt* 'wet', Lith *vilgyti* 'to make wet', Latv *vaigums* 'wetness', Slav *\*vblgm.k7*, 'wet'. 0 FRAENKEL 1251; VASMER I 337; POKORNY I 1145 (with mistakes in Lithuanian forms); cABEJ *St.* II 244 (identical with *lCmehem* 'to apply rouge' and *melmej* 'to add butter or oil to food').

ulze f, pl. *ulza* 'kind of maple'. Derived from PAIb *\*ulma* continuing IE *\*/mo-* also reflected in Lat *ulmus* 'elm', cf. also ON *almr* id., Oh *lem* id. (cABEJ *St.* II 244). 0 WALDE-HOFMANN II 811-812; POKORNY I 303.

ullaster f, pl. *ullastra* 'wild olive tree'. Borrowed from Ital *olivastro* 'olive' influenced by *ulli* (cABEJ *St.* II 244-245). The variant *ullashter* may well go back to Lat *oleaster* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 457). 0 WEIGAND 95 (to *ulli*); JOKL *LKUBA* 210-211 (from Rom *\*olivaster*); MIHAESCU *RE'SEE* IV/1-2 24, 31; HAARMANN 139; LANDI *Lat.* 87, 129, 136.

ulli — U111 m, pl. *ullinj* 'olive (tree)'. Borrowed from Lat *olivus* 'olive tree' (cABEJ *St.* II 245) or, less exactly, from *oliva* 'olive' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 457). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3* 1049; PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 536; JOKL *LKUBA* 210; WEIGAND 95; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 274; HAARMANN 138; LANDI *Lat.* 87, 158.

umas aor. *umata* 'to bark'. Derived from an unattested *\*ume* from PAIb *\*wamd* further related to Skt *vdmiti* 'to vomit', Av *yam-* 'to spit', Gk *el.ilo* 'to spit out', Lat *vorned* 'to vomit' and the like. 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 275 (from an uncertain Slavic source); JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 16 (< *\*ulmatid* related to Gk *bbit.o* id.); WALDE-HOFMANN II 835; MAYRHOFER III 146; FRISK I 504-505; POKORNY I 1146; cABEJ *St.* II 246 (onomatopoeia).

(G) umb m 'plowshare'. Other forms are *urn* and *hum*. Borrowed from the nominative of Lat *vomis* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 457). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 23, 135-136; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV 11-2 31; cABEJ *St.* VII 198; HAARMANN 158.

unak m, pl. *unake* 'hearth stone'. Borrowed from Slav *\*junakT*, 'young man, hero', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *junak*, SCr *junak*. The Slavic word can also denote the ritual log at the hearth stone and the hearth-stone itself in the *polaznik* ritual known all over the Balkans.

unazd f, pl. *unaza* 'finger-ring, small iron ring'. Based on *une* < PALb *\*wanda* related to Arm *gind* 'ring', Goth *bi-windan* 'to unwreath' and the like (CABEJ *St.* II 246-247: reconstructs *\*yozda*, IV 57). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 457 (based on the rare *una* borrowed from Rom *\*virana*, cf. Lat *viriae* 'armlets, bracelets'), *Alb. St.* IV 40; BARD *ARSt.* I 78, 102 (to Lat *unguis* 'nail', *ungulus* 'finger-ring'); FEIST *Goth.* 98; POKORNY I 1148.

undyrd f, pl. *undyre* 'fat'. Another form is *yndyre*. Borrowed from Lat *unctura* 'ointment' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 69; MEYER *Wb.* 461). 0 BARD *AArbSt.* I 145; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 20; Di GIOVINE *Gruppo -Ct-* 50-52; CABEJ *St.* II 313; HAARMANN 155; LANDI *Lat.* 69, 121.

und pron. T. A composite consisting of the personal pronoun *u* (attested as such in dialects) and particle *ne* (cf. Gk *vai*, *vij*). The Italo-Albanian form *uth* contains a diminutive suffix *-th* (*DozON* 276). The personal pronoun *u* is identical with *u* 'self' < PALb *\*we* (LA PIANA *St. Varia* 69). It may also result from the allegro change of a sequence *\*edz we* < IE *\*eRhom sue*. In other cases we find IF *\*me-*, cf. acc. *mua mue* < *\*mem* as in Skt *mcim*, OPers *mam*, OPrus *mien* and Slav *\*mg* (JoKt *IF XLIX* 274). 0 BOPP 504-505 (to IE *\*eghom T*); CAMARDA 215-216 (follows BOPP); MEYER *Wb.* 454 (*u* borrowed from Rom *\*eo* < Lat *ego T*), *Alb. St.* I 34; BARD *ARSt.* I 102 (*uth* < *\*udh* identified with *\*Oa*), *Hymje* 17; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 275 (agrees with BART()); quaj, MANN *Language* XXVI 385; PISANI *Saggi* 107, 167; HAMP *RRL XXI* 50 (notes a similar vocalism in Hitt *ugga T*), *St. Whatmough* 78; CABEJ *St.* II 233-234 (agrees with LA PIANA); HULD 122; DEMIRAJ *AE* 400.

und t 'piece of a broken pot'. Used once by BUZUKU. Continues PALb *\*wants* further related to Arm *vandem* 'to destroy', OHG *wund* 'wound', MW *gweint*, praet. '(I) pierced'. 0 MEYER *Wh.* 455 (related to 'nth' 'wooden jug'); BARK *ARSt.* I III (*uth* related to IE *\*yed-* 'water'); LEWIS-PEDERSEN 296; POKORNY I 1108; CABEJ *St.* II 247.

ungroj aor. *ungrova* 'to howl, to whine, to squeak (of animals)'. Borrowed, with a secondary inlaut *r*, from Lat *uncare* 'to roar (of bears)'.

ungj m, pl. *ungjer* 'uncle'. Borrowed from Lat *avunculus* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4; MEYER *Wb.* 457, *Alb. St.* IV 54-55). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. GrundriP 'I* 1049; WEIGAND 96; JOKL *LKUBA* 15, 28; BARK *ARSt.* I 110; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189, 227; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 12; HAARMANN 112; CABEJ *St.* II 247; LANDI *Lat.* 175.

ungji adv. 'completely'. Another form is *unji*. Univerbation of *u ne gji* 'itself in its totality', cf. *u* and *gjithe*. 0 BARI( *ARSt.* I 64 (to *nje*); (MIR *AilrbSt II* 296 (agrees with BARIO; CABEJ *St.* II 247-248 (from *\*n gji* with *n > un*).

ungjill m, pl. *ungij* 'gospel'. Borrowed from Lat *evangelium* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 457) or from Rom *\*evangelum* > Ital *vangelo* (CABEJ *St.* II 248-249). 0 MEYER-LIAKE *Gr. Grundrif3 'I* 1049; WEIGAND 96; HAARMANN 124; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 141-142.

unze f, pl. *unza* 'pen-point, pen'. Phonetic form of *hundese*, derivative of *hunde* (MANN *HAED* 163). 0 CABEJ *St.* II 249.

(G) unze f 'firebrand, smut'. The Tosk form is *urth*. Related to or derived from *ttri* 'hunger'. 0 MANN *Language* XVII 15 (to Lith *ugnis* 'fire').

upeshk m 'bishop'. Borrowed from Lat *episcopus* id. (MnaoSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wh.* 458). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif1 2* I 1045, 1048; Iota *LKUBA* 22; HAARMANN 123; LANDI *Lat.* 57, 119, 139.

upri f 'group of peasants helping another peasant in his farm'. Based on an unattested *\*uper* continuing PALb *\*upera* and related to Av *uparo* 'upper', Gk *iirtEpoC* 'pestle', OHG *obaro* 'upper'. 0 JOKL *Vox Rom.* VI 221 (from *\*vepri*, to *veper*); FRISK II 966-967; POKORNY I 1106; CABEJ *St.* II 249 (borrowed from Slav *\*upirati sc* 'to lean').

urdhe f, pl *urdha* 'sort of white cheese'. There are also variants *urle* and *hurdhe* with a secondary prothetic *h-*. The word reflects PALb *\*wurda*, from an earlier *\*yrda* or *\*yorda*, derived from IE *\*yer-* 'to boil, to burn' (Arm *vat'em* 'to kindle', Lith *virti* 'to cook, to boil', Slav *\*variti* id.). Semantically, it is important for this etymology that *urdhe* is pro-

duced by *boiling* whey (OREL *SBJa Kont.* 211-212). From Albanian *urdhe* was borrowed to other Balkan and Carpathian languages, such as Rum *urda* (KLEPIKOVA 142-144). 0 MLADENOV 654 (derives *urdhe* and other Balkan cognates from Turk *vurmak* 'to beat, to strike'), *Slavia V/I* 56; MACHEK 670 (from Lat *butyrum* 'butter'); PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom.* II 739-740 (to Gk οἰ)ρΟc 'trench'); SIMEONOV *LB XV* 33-35 (to Ossetic *urs* 'white'); BARIE *Lingv. st.* 39 (from IE *\*srdh(2)*); DURIDANOV *LB XVII* 51-59 (from *\*skrdo-*, cf. *hirre* < *\*skrno-*, both treated as derivatives of IE *\*sker-* 'to cut'); CAPIDAN II 470 f. (Arumanian sources of the Albanian word); GIUGLEA *DR III* 587; FRAENKEL 1263; POKORNY I 1166; POGHIRC *1st. limb. rom. II* 352; ROSETTI *ILR I* 282-283; Russu *Etnogeneza* 411-412; KLEPIKOVA *Etimologija* 1966 62-81; HAMP *LB XXIV/3* 47-50 (from *\*skorHda*); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 363.

**urdher urdhen** m, pl. *urdhera urdhna* 'order'. Borrowed from Lat *ardinem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 45; MEYER *Wb.* 458). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrill* 2 11045, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 276-277; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 24; HAARMANN 139.

(T) **urdherate** f, pl. *urdherata* 'servant'. Derived from *urdher, urdheroj* (cABEJ *St.* II 250). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 458.

**urele** f, pl. *urela* 'water-pit'. From PALb *\*urela* related to ON *ur* 'drizzle', OPrus *wurs* 'pool', Gk &v-appog 'devoid of water' and the like. 0 FRISK I 103-104; KRETSCHMER *Glotta* X 51-54; PERSSON *IF XXXV* 199; POKORNY I 80-81.

**ure** f, pi. *ura* 'bridge'. From PALb *\*wara* related to Goth *warjan* 'to prevent, to defend', ON *vvr* 'row of stones', *ver* 'dam', Osc *veru* 'door' and, further, to IE *\*uortom* 'gate' (cABEJ *St.* II 250-251). 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 33; JOKL *Studien* 92-93 (to *udhe*), *LKUBA* 128, 316-317 (against BARIC); BARK I 110-111 (to Gk *y&pupec* 'bridge'); DERZAVIN *Jazyk i literatura* I 190-191 (to Basque *ura* 'water'); ROMANSKI *MPr VII* 1-4 (to Illyr *-ora* in *Vilazora*); MAYER *Illyrier* I 99 (follows ROMANSKI); FEIST *Goth.* 551-552; POKORNY I 1160-1162; DEMIRAJ *AE* 403-404.

**ure** f, pl. *ura* 'burning log'. Continues PALb *\*wara* related to Arm *varem* 'to kindle (fire)', Hitt *uar-* 'to burn' and their cognates. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 458 (from IE *\*eus-* 'to burn'), *Alb. St.* III 63; JOKL *LKUBA* 113-115;

TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 275-276; POKORNY I 1166; JANSON *Unt.* 84-85.

**uri** f 'hunger'. The Tosk form is derived from *\*ur*. From PALb *\*wana*, a nominal derivative of IE *\*uen-* 'to want, to desire', cf. Skt *vdnati, vanati* id., Lat *venus* 'love' (MEYER *Wb.* 455, *Alb. St.* III 80). 0 JOKL apud cABEJ *St.* II 235 (to Skt *and-* 'defective, wanting', Goth *wans* 'defective, faulty'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 273; MANN *Language XVII* 15; MAYRHOFER III 141-142; WALDE-HOFMANN II 752-753; POKORNY I 1146-1147; cABEJ *St.* II 235-237 (agrees with JoKL).

**uri** m, pl. *urinj* 'mole'. Another, and more archaic, variant is *ur*. Derived from *uri* is *urith* id. From PALb *\*wara*, a non-reduplicated form close to Lat *vtverra* 'ferret', Lith *vaiverls* 'pole-cat', *vaivere* 'squirrel' and the like. Another non-reduplicated form is represented in OHG *eihhurno* 'squirrel', OE *dc-weorna* id. 0 STIER *KZ XI* No. 11 (to the second element of Gk *Vv&oupoc*, Hes. 'mole'); CAMARDA I 295 (identical with *burl* 'mole', from *brej*); DIEFENBACH I 48 (to Gk *Opixraw* 'to dig'); LAMBERTZ *KZ LIII* 304 (to Lat *sorex* 'shrew-mouse', Gk 44 'mouse, shrew-mouse'); JOKL *LKUBA* 310; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 143; FRAENKEL 1185; WALDE-HOFMANN II 808; POKORNY I 1166; cABEJ *St.* II 251-252 (to IE *\*tiers-* 'top' or to Lith *itrvas* 'hole, cavern'; *urithe* 'astragalus' based on *urith*).

**uroj** aor. *urova* 'to wish luck, to congratulate, to adore (deity)'. Borrowed from Lat *orare* 'to argue, to plead, to pray' (MIKLOSICH *Ron., Elemente* 45). 0 SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 247 (from Lat *augurare* 'to prophesy, to make auguries'); MEYER *Wb.* 459 (agrees with SCHUCHARDT); MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrij3* I 1049 (accepts both alternatives); JoKL *ZONF X* 190; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 276; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV 11-2* 27; cABEJ *St.* II 252-253; HAARMANN 139.

**urok** m 'aim, intention'. Borrowed from Slav *\*uroka* 'condition, deal', cf. ORuss *urokTb* (MEYER *Wb.* 459). 0 SELISTEV *Slay. naselenie* 197; SVANE 176.

**urte** adj. 'quiet, intelligent'. Based on an unattested *\*ur* continuing PALb *\*wara* related to Lat *verus* 'true', Oh *fir* id., OHG *war* id. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 458 (to *unj*, see *u*); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXII* 551 (against MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 93 (compares *urte* with OHG *war* 'prudent', Gk *Opam* 'to see'), *LKUBA* 194, 228; TREIMER *MRIW* 1353-354 (to Lat *urged*

`to press, to push'); WALDE-HOFMANN II 768-769; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 7, 11; POKORNY 11166; cABEJ *St.* VII 184, 270.

**urtunde** f 'big vessel without handles'. Borrowed from Lat adj. fern. *rotunda* 'round, circular' (CABE.' *St.* II 253). The intermediate form must have been \**rutunde*.

**urth** m 'ivy'. Derived from an unattested \**ur* continuing PAIb \**wara* related to Lith *veriit*, *vent* `to thread', *pa-vare* 'long row' and other reflections of IE \**yer-* `to bind'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 154 (identifies *urth* with *fruth*); BARK 1 29, 102 (to Lat *hedera* 'ivy'); WEIGAND *BA* II 274, 283-284 (to *urdhe*, *udhos*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 79; RIBEZZO *RivAlb* 1140 n. 2 (to Dac *scardian* `aristolochia, kind of plant'); MANN *Language* XVII 15 (to Skt *vrj-* `to twist'); POKORNY I 1150-1551; FRAENKEL 1229-1230; CABE.' *St.* II 253-255 (to IE \**uer-* `to turn').

**urrej** aor. *urreva*, *urrejta* `to hate'. Borrowed from Lat *horrere* 'to be afraid, to be astonished' (MEYERWh. 459). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrift* I 1048; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252; cABEJ *St.* II 255 (univerbation of *ye re* `to pay attention').

**urre** f 'sapwood, laburnum'. From PAIb \**warna* etymologically related to *verr* (cABEJ *St.* II 255-256). 0 GURAKUQI *Illyria* 1/21 8 (to the second element of Lat *alburnum* id.).

**ushqej** aor. *ushqeva* 'to feed'. Based on passive Lat *vescor* `to feed oneself' (MEYER *Wb.* 459). 0 JoKt. *LKUBA* 75; HAARMANN 156.

**usht** m, pl. *ushta* 'ear (of grain)'. Historically identical with *ushte* 'spear' (cABEJ *St.* II 256). Continues PAIb \**u.fta* close to OHG *ort* 'point', ON *oddr* id. and Lith *usdis* 'thistle' (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 62, 80). 0 MEYER *Alb. St. I* (to Slav \**osti*, `awn'), *Wb.* 459 (to Gk •64w 'to increase, to foster', Goth *wahsjan* `to grow, to increase'); BARD *ARSt* I 29-30; FRAENKEL 1172; POKORNY I 1172; CABE.' *LP* VIII 93, *St.* II 256-257; HAMP *ALH* XII 159; DEMIRAJ *AE* 404.

**ushtar** m, pl. *ushtare* 'soldier'. Derived from *ushte*, see *usht*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 459 (from Lat *hostis* 'enemy'); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrift* <sup>2</sup> 1 1049; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 277 (agrees with MEYER); HAARMANN 130 (*ushtri* 'army' from Lat *hoste*).

**ushtoj** aor. *ushtova* 'to sound, to shout'. Borrowed from Lat *Oscitare* `to shout, to open mouth, to yawn'. 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 75 (to *uturif*); cABEJ *St.* II 257 (onomatopoeia).

**ushtoj** aor. *ushtova* 'to try, to probe'. Borrowed from Lat *risitarT* id.

**ushunje ushilj** f 'lard'. Borrowed from Lat *axungia* id. (MIKLOSICII *Rom. Elemente* 4). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 19-20 (from NGk 64o&yr, goi)yyt id.); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrift* <sup>2</sup> I 1052, 1055; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 277; HAARMAN 112; cABEJ *St.* II 257 (from Byz Gk goiner).

**ushunjez** f, pl. *ushunjeza* 'leech'. Another form is *shushunje*. Borrowed from Rom \**sanguisungia*, cf. Lat *sanguisuga* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 420).

**ut m 'owl'**. Another form is *hut*. Borrowed from Lat *Otus* 'horned owl' (MEYER *Wb.* 460). 0 HAARMANN 139.

**uturij uturi** aor. *uturiva* 'to thunder'. Onomatopoeia.

**uthet** adj. 'sour'. An irregular phonetic variant of *athet*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 455-456 (to \**us-* in Lith *usnis* 'thistle'); BARK *ARSt* 111-112

**uthull** f 'vinegar'. Derived from \**uth* `sour', see *utile*. (MEYER *Wb.* 455). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332 ("unclear"); BARK *ARSt* I 111-112 (from IE \**eues-dh-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 267; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 277; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 117 (suffix *-u//*).

**uzdaja** f, pl. *uzdaje* 'hope'. Borrowed from Slavic \**u-ss-daja*, cf. SCR *uzdaja* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 460). 0 SVANE 224, 259.

## V

**va** m/f, pl. *va* 'ford'. Borrowing from Lat *vadum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 461). 0 MEYER A/1). *St.* I 68 (related to Lat *vadum*); MEYER-LUBKE *MRIW* I 28, *Gr. Grundrift* <sup>2</sup> 1 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 285-286; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 243 (Latin loanword); SPITZER *MRIW* 1332 (treats *va* as a cognate of *vadum*); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 105, 137 (admits the possibility of an Indo-European source for *va*), *LKUBA* 209; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252; MANN

*Language* XXVIII 33, XXVI 380 (reconstructs \**yadhom*); cABEJ *St.* II 257-258 (follows SPITZER); HULD 122-123 (loanword); DEMIRAJ *AE* 405.

vadd f, pl. *vada* 'water-pit, irrigation channel'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *vada* id., SCr *vada* id. (DESNICKAJA *Slay. zaim.* 12).

vadis aor. *vadita* 'to water, to irrigate'. Borrowed from Slav \**vaditi* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vad'a* (MEYER *Wb.* 461). 0 SELIKEV *Slay. naselenie* 159; SVANE 39, 243.

vadhe vodhe f, pl. *vadha vodha* 'sorb-apple'. Borrowed from Gk o'fri id. (JOKE *LKUBA* 207-209, 325) with *-dh-* rendering the intervocalic Gk *-t-* 0 BARD *ARSt.* I 112 (to Lat *sorbus* id. < IE \**suordho-*); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; cABEJ *St.* II 258-259 (from Gk Oa id.).

vagelloj aor. *vagellova* 'to be dim, to be weak (of eyes)'. Together with *vagulloj* 'to dawn, to be dim' and *vaget* 'faded, faint, dim' based on Lat *vagus* 'strolling about, rambling'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 4 (to *agoj*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 38 (to Gk OcxXk 'mist'); cABEJ *St.* II 259 (agrees with MEYER).

vaj m, pl. *vaje* 'mourning wail'. Based on the onomatopoeia *vaj* 'alas' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 461). From here *vajtoj* *vojtoj* 'to mourn a dead' is derived. 0 MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (connected with Lat *vae*); MTHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; cABEJ *St.* II 260; HAARMANN 138; DEMIRAJ *AE* 405-406.

vaj voj m/n, pl. *vajra vojna* 'oil'. A more conservative form is *val*. Borrowed from Lat *oleum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 462, MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 575). The anlaut *va- vo-* is typical of loanwords. 0 CAMARDA I 39 (treats *vaj voj* as a cognate of *oleum*); MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundriss* 2 1 1046; JOKE *Studien* 116, *Slavia* XIII 641 (G *vojna* 'odors' borrowed from Slav \**von'a* 'odor'); SELISOEV *Slay. naselenie* 193, 305; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 286; HAARMANN 52; HUED 123; cABEJ *St.* II 299-300 (against JOKE); LANDI *Lat.* 61, 126, 141.

vajc adj. 'tearful'. Derived from *vaj*.

vajzd f, pl. *vajza* 'girl'. Other important variants are *varze, vashe* < \**varshe* and *vaje* < \**varje*. They are based on an unattested \**vare* continuing \**vehare* < PAIb \**swesara*. The latter reflects the Indo-European word for 'sister': Skt *svdsar-*, Arm *leoyr*, Lat *soror* and the like (HAMP *SABBO* 109-110). 0 TREIMER *MRIW* I 46 (to Skt *vardhati* 'to increase' and its cognates), *Slavia* II 455, *KZ LXV* 107-108; BARK *ARSt.* I 113-114 (to Gk *napOivo*; 'maiden', Lat *virgo* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 260-261, 332 (from \**syo-ro-*, to IE \**sue-* 'self, own'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 278, *Stratificazione* 120; MAYRHOFER III 565; WALDEHOFMANN II 563; POKORNY I 1051; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 47; OLBERG *IF LXXIII* 208; cABEJ *St.* II 261-263 (deminutive of *varre*); FEKA *GjJ IV/2*, 88-89; DEMIRAJ *AE* 406-407 (to Lat *virgo* 'maiden').

vak vok aor. *vaka voka* 'to warm slightly, to make lukewarm'. Of uncertain origin. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 462 (from SCr *mlak* 'warm'); BARD *ARSt.* I 112-113 (to ON *vokr* 'wet'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 286-287.

yak m 'into the open, outside'. Borrowed from Rom \**vacus*, cf. Lat *vacuus* 'empty' (MEYER *Wb.* 462).

val m 'valley'. Occurs in the phrase *mal e val* only. Borrowed from Lat *vallis* id. (cABEJ *St.* II 263).

valanic f, pl. *valanica* 'fulling-mill'. Borrowed from South Slavic \**val'anica* (KRISTOFORIDHI 14, 485; SELISGEV *Slay. naselenie* 170). 0 cABEJ *St.* II 264.

valavit aor. *valavita* 'to swing, to sway'. Another form is *valevit*. An expressive derivative of *vale*.

vale f, pl. *vale* 'wave'. From PAIb \**wala* etymologically connected with OHG *wella* id., Lith *vilnis* id., Slav \**vhlna* id., \**val7*, id. (MEYER *BB VIII* 191, *Wb.* 462, *Alb. St.* III 38 with the reconstruction of \**yolia*). PAIb \**wala* seems to reflect a zero grade \**yalia*. 0 MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 36 (from Slav \**vall*); JOKL *LKUBA* 270, 325 (*vale* < \**ualna*, \**ulna*), *Sprache* IX 22; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 543; BUGA II 375; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 286; MANN *Language* XVII 18 (to Lith *vilnris* 'wave'), XXVIII 38; PISANI *Saggi* 126; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 48 (reconstructs \**uolna*); FRAENKEL 1254; VASMER I 268, 339; POKORNY I 1141-1143;

CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 56; cABEJ *StF* IV/2 8, St. II 264-265; HULD 123-124; OREL *Z173alk* XXIII 143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 407-408.

valdt adj. 'boiling hot'. Derived from *vale*. The verb *valoj*, *vloj* 'to boil' is of the same origin (MEYER *Wb.* 462, *Alb. St.* III 38). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 285.

valikd f 'time spent on the work in fields'. Derived from *val*. 0 cABEJ *St.* II 264-265 (derived from *va/e*).

valle f, pl. *valle* 'folk dance in a ring'. Borrowed from NGk *pocAxiCo* 'to dance a folk dance' (M1KLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50; MEYER *NGr. St.* IV 15). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 462 (directly from Italian); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 278; cABEJ *St.* II 265-266 (to Lat *volvo* 'to roll').

valid particle 'maybe (in questions)'. Continues PALb *\*wald* related to Goth *waila* id., OHG *wela*, *wola* continuing IE *\*yel-* 'to wish' (MEYER *Wb.* 462). 0 GICFERDING *Otm.* 21 (to Skt *yard-* 'best'); JOKL *LKUBA* 209, 325; FEIST *Goth.* 543; POKORNY I 1137; CABEJ *St.* II 266.

valle voile f, pl. *valle voile* 'sorb-apple'. Borrowed from Rom *\*yola*, derivative of *vo/are* 'to fly'. 0 HAMP *Strat.* 41-43 (from IE *\*oblu-* 'apple').

vallkua vallkue m, pl. *vallkonj* 'fish trap'. An early borrowing from Slav pl. *\*volkove* 'objects that can be dragged or carried, nets'.

vane f, pl. *vana* 'crease, fold'. Participial form of *vete*. 0 CABEJ *St.* II 266 (derived from *va*).

yang f, pl. *vanga* 'spade'. Historically identical with *veng*— *yang*.

vapd f 'heat'. Borrowed from Rom *\*vapa* or Coital *vapa* 'vapor' (MEYER *Wb.* 463).

var aor. *vara* 'to hang'. A secondary ablaut variant of *vjerr* (CAMARDA I 43; MEYER *Wb.* 475, *Alb. St.* III 58, 84). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290; cABEJ *St.* II 267.

varese f, pl. *varesa* 'chain'. Derived from *var*.

var's& -. vorfdn adj. 'poor'. Borrowed from Lat *orphanus* 'orphan' (MEYER *Wb.* 463). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3* 2 I 1046; SPITZER *MRIW* I 334; JOKL *LKUBA* 208-209; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 247; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 287; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; CABEJ *St.* VII 244; HAARMANN 139; JANSON *Unt.* 61; LANDI *Lat.* 61.

varg m, pl. *vargje* 'row, chain, ring'. Derived from *var* (MEYER *Wb.* 475). Note also *vargan* 'caravan, long row'. 0 PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 288; MANN *Language* XXVI 386 (to Gk *Opxoc* 'row of vines or trees'); CHANTRAINE 831; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114 (suffix -g); OLBERG *IF* LXXIII 209; cABEJ *St.* II 267-268 (agrees with MEYER); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 408-409 (to *vjerr*).

vargdr vdrga m, pl. *vergenj* 'uncastrated ram'. In Task, there is also *verger* id. An innovation based on Lat *virgo* 'virgin' and presumably reflecting Rom *\*virganus* (MEYER *Wb.* 470, *Alb. St.* V 104-105). 0 STIER *KZ* XI No 32 (from Rom *\*virgarius*); cABEJ *St.* II 268-269 (related to (3)liptxot apvec AaKcovEg, Hes.); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 157.

varjesht varresht m 'swath'. A prefixal derivative of *rresht* (CABEJ *St.* II 270).

varr vorr m, pl. *varre vorre* 'grave'. Borrowed from late Rom *\*orna* < Lat *urna* 'cinerary urn' (OREL *Anti(.. balk.* 5 31-32). 0 DIEFENBACH I 55 (to Gk *opko.*) 'to dig up' and/or OE *ear* 'earth of the grave'); MEYER *Wb.* 37 (to *verre*, *hire*), *Alb. St.* V 104 (to IE *\*tier-* 'to wrap'); JOKL *Studien* 94, *IF* XXXVI 125; CABEJ *St.* II 269-270 (follows DIEFENBACH); DEMIRAJ *AE* 409.

varre f, pl. *varre* 'wound'. Secondary formation built on *vras* and based on the analogy with verbs in -as. Cf. *vraje*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 464 (to *vras* and Skt *vrand-* 'wound'), *Alb. St.* III 38, 73; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 63 (to OHG *wern*, *werra* 'varix'); JOKL *LKUBA* 194; SKOK *AArhSt* I 223; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 289; FRISK *Kl. Schr.* 277 (follows MEYER); OLBERG *IBK* XIII 66; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 194; ANTTILA *Schw.* 156; CABEJ *St.* II 270-271; DEMIRAJ *AE* 408.

voter voter f, pl. *vatra votra* 'hearth, fireplace'. Borrowed from

Iranian, cf. Av *atar-* 'fire' (JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* 37-50). The intermediate Iranian form in the Balkans must have been *\*atar-* or *\*otar-*. Rum *vatra* 'hearth, fireplace' is an Albanian loanword. Slavic forms (SCr *vatra* id. and the like) were borrowed from Albanian or Rumanian (JOKE *WZKM* XXXIV 49). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4 (from Lat *atrium*); MEYER *Wb.* 464-465; MLADENOV *REST* IV/2 191-192; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 287-288; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 283-284; BARTHOLOMAE 312-316; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 248 (to Lat *atrium*); VASMER I 279; ZALIZN'AK *VSJa* 40-41; POGHIRC *1st. limb. rom. II* 353; ROSETTI *ILR* I 283; HAMP *Opusc. slavica* 201-210 (looks for an ancient Balkan source), *RRL* 4 (1981) 315, *ALH* XII 153-155; OLBERG *IBK* XVII 45-46; KLEPIKOVA *BJaz.* 149-169; SCHUSTER&WCZIPhonetik XXXII 699-702; HULD 124; DEMIRAJ *AE* 410-412 (Latin influence).

vath vath m, pl. *vathe vathe* 'earring'. Another variant is *veth*. Diminutive of veng yang. 0 TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 151; MAYRHOFER III 154-155; WALDE-HOFMANN II 763-766; FEIST *Goth.* 546-547; POKORNY I 1156-1158.

vathe f, pl. *vathe* 'sheepfold, pen'. Diminutive of an unattested *\*varte* continuing PA1b *\*warta*. The letter is etymologically identical with Tokh B *warto* 'garden', Ir *fert* 'grave mound', OE *weorl5* 'yard' and the like (JOKE *Studien* 94). 0 HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 390; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 5 (to Lat *urbs* 'town'); POKORNY I 1162; OLBERG *IF* LXXIII 209; HAMP *ZfceltPh* XL (1984) 275-276; DEMIRAJ *AE* 412 (connected with IE *\*yes-* 'to live, to stay night').

vazhde f 'trace'. Borrowed from East South Slavic, cf. Bulg *vazdam*, OCS *vaidati* 'to lead' (MEYER *Wb.* 465).

vdes aor. *vdiqua* 'to die'. From *\*awa-takja*, derivative of *\*teka* 'to run away, to go away', cf. *ndjek* (HULD 124-125). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 465 (comparison with SCr *zdeknuti* 'to die, to peg out'); BARD *ARSt.* I 77 (to OHG *touwen* 'to die' - but the source of the latter is IE *\*dhau-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 285 (agrees with BARK); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 25-30 (to Skt *vinakti* 'to separate'); PISANI *Saggi* 123 (follows BARK); CABEJDie *Sprache* XVIII 142 (to OE *deorc* 'dark'), *Etim.* III 206-208.

vdjerr aor. *vdorra* 'to leave'. From *\*awa-derma* 'to leave' < \* to go

away' formed with a prefix on the basis of IE *\*der-* 'to run': Skt *drdti* 'to run, to hasten', Gk aor. *Mi°*, 'to run away' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 437). 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* III 73 (to *djerr*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to Gk *yecipo*); MAYRHOFER III 211; FRISK I 122-123; POKORNY I 204; CABEJ *St.* VII 204.

ve f, pl. *va, veja* 'widow'. From PA1b *\*widewa* related to Skt *vidhcaiva* id., Lat *vidua* id., Goth *widuwo* id. and the like (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; JOKL *LKUBA* 51-53, 90). Phonetically, the borrowing from Lat *vidua* is equally possible (MEYER *Wb.* 465, *Alb. St.* I 73, IV 123). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71 (borrowed from Lat *vidua*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 120-121, 126; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; BARIC *Hymje* 21; FEIST *Goth.* 562; MAYRHOFER III 211; WALDE-HOFMANN II 785-786; POKORNY I 1128; CABEJ *St.* II 272-273 (follows JOKL).

ve vo f, pl. *ve vo* 'egg'. Etymologically relevant is the Old Albanian form *voe* (BUZUKU, BARDHI). Hence, the reconstruction of the contracted Tosk *\*vae* > *ye* Geg *\*voe* > *vo*. The correspondence of anlaut Tosk *va-* Geg *vo-* is typical of (mainly Latin) loanwords. Therefore, *ye - vo* is a borrowing from Lat *Ovum* 'egg' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 45; MEYER *Wb.* 465). 0 BOPP 534 n. 1 (compares with Lat *Ovum*, Gk (4)(5v); CAMARDA I 44, 91 (follows BOPP); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 73, IV 23; MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; JOKL *LKUBA* 51-52, 90, 207 (confronted with difficulties in the explanation of the vocalism, reconstructs *\*eyie*), *IF* XXXVI 109 f.; SPITZER *IF* XXXIX 110; BARK I 81; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 286; CABEJ *St.* II 272 (follows BOPP); HULD 125-126.

vec adv., prep. 'separately, besides'. Derivative of *\*ye*, a form of PA1b *\*awa* 'away, out, un-', cf. *vdes*, *vrap*. 0 MANN *Comp.* 44 (from IE *\*autios*).

veder f, pl. *vedra* 'pail (for milk)'. Borrowed from Slav *\*vedro* cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vedro*, SCr *vjedro*, *vedro* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 465). 0 SELICEV *Slay. naselenie* 153; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 13; SVANE 68.

vege f, pl. *vega* 'handle, tool, instrument'. With other variants (*vjege*, *vegje*), this words continues the attested form *vegel* 'ear (of a vessel), instrument, tool'. The latter is borrowed from Lat *vehiculum* 'vehicle'



(LAMBERTZ apud cABEJ *St.* II 273). 0 CAMARDA I 70 (to Lat *veto* 'to carry'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 549-550; JOKL *LKUBA* 101-104 (to *vange* or to *vig*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 99; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 77-78; cABEJ *St.* II 273-276 (follows JOKL's second etymology), 296-297; DEMIRAJ *AE* 412-413.

**vegoj** aor. *vegova* 'to appear misty, to be indistinct'. Borrowed from Lat *vagart* id. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 465 (from Turkish); cABEJ *St.* II 275 (to *vagelloj*).

vegsh m, pl. *vegsha* 'clay pot'. Derived from *vege* (JOKL *LKUBA* 101-103). 0 cABEJ *St.* II 275.

vehte pron. 'self'. Other widespread variants are *vete* and *vete*. From PAIb *\*swai-ta* derived from *\*swaja*. The latter is identical with IE *\*suoios* 'own': Slav *\*svojk.*, OPrus *swais* (*OREL FLH* 45), further related to IE *\*sue-* (BoPP 478; CAMARDA I 218; MEYER *Wb.* 468). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 468 (*vete* from IE *\*sue-t-*), *BB VIII* 192, *Alb. St.* III 58; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 111, *LKUBA* 41, 261 (reconstructs *\*suoieti*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290 (*vete* < *\*suet-i-* with a locative particle *\*-0*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 280-281; MANN *Language* XXVI 379, 382 (to Gk air\*); TRAUTMANN B, S1Wb. 251; VASMER III 583; PISANI *Saggi* 167; LEUKART *Nomina* 152-153; KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 ("unclear"); *OREL Koll. Idg. Ges.* 354, *Orpheus* VI 17 (against MANN); DEMIRAJ *AE* 416-417.

**vej** aor. *vejta* 'to weave'. From PAIb *\*webnja* connected with Skt *ubhnciti* 'to lace up', OHG *weban* 'to weave', Tokh B *wap-* id. (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 36, 38). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 105; PORZIG *Gliederung* 178, 186; MAYRHOFER I 107; POKORNY I 1114; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 113; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 77; cABEJ *LP* VII 162-163, *St.* VII 184, 228; HULD 143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 413-414 (secondary form in *\*-140*).

**vel** aor. *vela* 'to overeat, to eat too much'. Continues PAIb *\*wala*, a secondary ablaut variant of *vjell* (*HAHN* 7). 0 cABEJ *St.* II 276.

**velenxe** f, pl. *velenxa* 'woolen blanket'. A Balkan word indirectly borrowed to Albanian from Slav *\*val'anica* 'object made of felt' through the mediation of NGk PeXevtaa 'woolen blanket'. 0 MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 36 (from Slavic); MEYER *Wb.* 465 (from Hung *velencze*);

SELIS CEV *Slay. naselenie* 170; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279; DESNICKAJA *Slay. zaim.* 12; SVANE 48.

vem m. pl. *veme* 'larva, grub, caterpillar'. Derived from *ye* 'egg' (cABEJ *St.* II 276-277). The meaning 'caterpillar' appeared under the influence of *dhemje* occasionally confused with *vem* in dialects where *v* and *dh* are interchanged. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 84, *Alb. St.* IV 61 (identifies *vem* with *dhemje*); KRISTOFORIDHI 19, 87.

**vend m**, pl. *vende* 'place'. From PAIb *\*wen-ta*, an adjectival form based on the verb *\*wena* > *ve* (*MEYER Wb.* 469). 0 HAHN I 243 (comparison with the Illyrian place-name *Vendum*); KRETSCHMER *Glotta* XXI 89-90; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 116; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279; MANN *Language* XXVIII 38, *Hist. Gr.* 81 (to IE *\*yes-*); GERCENBERG *Prosodika* 106 (to Illyr OUV&OV, *A-vendius*); cABEJ *St.* II 278-280 (to Gk oi5occ 'ground, earth', Arm *getin* id.); HULD 126.

**venitem** refl. 'to pale, to wane'. Borrowed from Slav *\*vcryti* id., cf. South Slav continuants: Bulg *vena*, SCr *venuti* (*MEYER Wb.* 466). 0 SVANE 251.

**veper** f, pl. *vepra* 'work'. A singularized plural of an unattested *\*vaper* *veper*, cf. *vogel*, pl. *veg/el*. Borrowed from Lat *opera* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 466). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 138; LANDI *Lat.* 60, 130.

**verb& - verb** adj. 'blind'. Borrowed from Lat *orbis* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 45; MEYER *Wb.* 466) with the same phonetic development as in *veper*. 0 MEYER-LQBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 139; LAND! *Lat.* 60-61, 177.

**verdhe** adj. 'yellow'. Borrowed from Lat *viridis* 'green' (GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71; MEYER *Wb.* 466). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1053; JOKL *LKUBA* 14; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 157; LANDI *Lat.* 58.

**vere** f 'summer'. Borrowed from Rom *\*vera* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 466; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 11044;

TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279-280; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; CABEJ *St.* VII 82, 216; HAARMANN 156.

verd — vend f 'wine'. From PAIb *\*waina* cognate with Gk *divri* 'vine', °Ivo; 'wine', Lat *vinum* 'wine', Arm *gini* id., ultimately borrowed from Sem *\*wainu-* id. (CAMARDA I 42, 57; MEYER *Wb.* 465-466, *Alb. St.* III 38, 89). 0 MIKLOSICH *Ram. Elemente* 71 (borrowed from Lat *vinum*); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 321; BUGA III 427; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279; LA PIANA *Prefisso* 48; PISANI *Saggi* 99; MANN *Language* XXVI 387, *Hist. Gr.* 66 (loanword from Doric); FRISK II 364-366; CHANTRAINE 785; WALDE-HOFMANN II 794-795; POKORNY I 1121; CABEJ *St.* II 280-281; HULD 126-127 (borrowed from North-West Greek); JANSON *Unt.* 32-33; DEMIRAJ *AE* 414.

verigd f, pl. *veriga* 'chain ring'. Borrowed from Slav *\*veriga* 'chain', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *veriga*, SCr *veriga* (MEYER *Wh.* 466). 0 SELIKEV *Slay. naselenie* 15, 148; SVANE 86.

verzd f, pl. *verza* 'gill, branchia'. Continues the umlauticized PAIb *\*wardja* etymologically identical with Lith *varle* 'frog' < *\*vara*, Latv *varde*. 0 MEYER *Wh.* 467 (from *\*bbrca*, to Slav *\*bbrlčt*, 'mustache'); WEIGAND 98 (to *vesh*); JOKL *LKUBA* 137-139 (from Rom *\*vertia*, to Lat *vertere* 'to turn'); FRAENKEL 1200; SOMMER *Balt.* 178 (on Lith *-l-* < *\*-d-* in this word); DODBIBA *St. Leks.* 262 (from *\*vesh-ze*, to *vesh*); CABEJ *St.* II 281-282 (follows DODBIBA).

verzome f 'fishing net'. Derived from *verze*. 0 CABEJ *St.* II 282 (identical with *verzop*).

verr m, pl. *verra* 'alder'. Continues PAIb *\*werna* related to Bret *gwern* id., W *gwernen* id., Mİr *fern* id. (DTEFENBACH 150) and Arm *geran* 'beam, timber' (LIDEN *IF* XVIII 485-486). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 255, *Festschr. Kretschmer* 86-88, *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 236; BARD *AarbSt.* II 413; TREIMER *Slavia* III 454 (to Slav *\*avorT*, 'elm', a Germanic loanword in Slavic); MANN *Language* XXVIII 37; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 53; POKORNY I 1169; OLBERG *IF* LXXIII 205; HAMP *IF* LXXXVI 193 (on Bret *gwern*); CABEJ *St.* II 282-283; DEMIRAJ *AE* 414-415.

vend f, pl. *verra* 'hole'. Another form is *vere*. From PAIb *\*wertī* or

*\*werna* connected with Skt *urti-* 'wide', *vdras-* 'space, width', Gk *evpvs* 'wide'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 36 (improbable comparison with *hire*); MAYRHOFER I 110; FRISK I 592-593; POKORNY I 1165; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 364.

ves m, pl. *vese* 'bad habit'. Borrowed from Lat *vitium* 'fault, defect, vice' (MEYER *Wh.* 467). 0 MiufAEscu *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; CABEJ *St.* VII 187; HAARMANN 158; LANDI *Lat.* 58, 125.

vese f 'dew'. DE RADA's variant is *voese*, in Geg one also finds *vose*. The original form must have been *\*vaese voese*. Borrowed from Rom *\*Ovdtium*, a word describing the falling dew as small eggs. 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 262 (from *\*wend-ti-*).

vesh m, pl. *veshe* 'ear'. From PAIb *\*wausi-* further related to IE *\*Ous-* - *\*aus-* id. (CAMARDA I 54), in particular, cf. Lat *auris*, Lith *auris*, Latv *auss* (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 11-12, 61). Another, less possible reconstruction for Proto-Albanian is *\*wousa*; in this case, the immediate parallel is found in Gk (7); id. (HAMP *Laryngeals* 138) but in Greek the long vocalism belongs to nom. sg. of the consonantal stem. In both cases, prothetic *v-* is not quite regular. 0 GIL 'FERDING *Otm.* 21 (to Skt *ghosa-* 'noise'); MEYER *Wb.* 467 (compares with Av *gaa-* 'to hear'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 172 (follows MEYER *Alb. St.* III); PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 254 (*v-* treated as a hiatus-filler); JOKL *WZKM* XXXIV 40; SPITZER *IF* XXXIX 110-111; BUGA II 641; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 280, *Stratificazione* 99; LA PIANA *Studi* I 82; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; FRAENKEL 26; FRISK II 448-449; WALDE-HOFMANN I 85-86; POKORNY I 785; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31 (borrowed from Lat *Os*); HAMP *Laryngeals* 138; HULD 127; KARULIS *LEVI* 90-91; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 73; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280, *ZfBalk* XXIII 144, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 ("ruki" rule in *vesh*); KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 221; DEMIRAJ *AE* 414 (reconstructs dual, cf. *sy*).

vesh m, pl. *veshe* 'vine'. Historically identical with *vesh* 'ear'. 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 213-215 (to Lith *vaisius* 'fruit'); BARD *ARSt* 114-115 (derived from IE *\*uoino-* 'wine'); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 93.

vesh aor. *vesha* 'to put on (clothes), to cover'. From PAIb *\*wesja* etymologically connected with Skt *vdste* 'to wear, to be dressed in', Gk *evvulli* 'to dress', and in particular with causatives attested in Skt *vasdyati*

and Goth *wasjan* id. (OILFERDING *Otn.* 21; BOPP 503-504; MEYER *Wb.* 467, *Alb. St.* III 38, 61). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70 (from Lat *vestrre* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 283; LA PIANA *Studi* I 92; MANN *Language* XXVI 383, XXVIII 39; FRISK I 521-522; MAYRHOFER III 175-176; POKORNY I 1172-1173; HAMP *Laryngeals* 138; HULD 150; DEMIRAJ *AE* 416.

veshel adj. 'fruitful'. Derived from *vesh* 'vine'. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 184.

veshje f, pl. *veshje* 'kidney'. Historically identical with *veshje* 'clothing, clothes, dress', *veshje* is derived from *vesh* 'to cover, to put on' (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 75). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 467-468 (to Hung *vese* id. and Slav *\*peenb* liver'); cABEJ *St.* II 283-284 (connects *veshje* with *eshke*).

veshket vyshket adj. 'faded, withered'. Borrowed from Lat *vescus* 'small, thin, weak' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *WI.* 468). From here the verb *veshk* 'to make withered' is derived. 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* 11045; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 156.

veshqok adj. 'clever, smart'. Derivative of *veshq* identical with *veshel*, with *-shq-* rendering *-s/-* as in *shqa*.

veshtull m, pl. *veshtuj* 'mistletoe'. Based on an unattested *\*vesht*, an irregular continuant of *\*veshk* borrowed from Lat *viscum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 468). 0 MTHAESCu *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; CABEJ *St.* VII 244; HAARMANN 157 (from Rom *\*vistu/um*); HAMP *St. albanica* VIII/2 153-155.

vete — vetem aor. *vajta* 'to go'. The element *-te* in the paradigm of singular is, whatever its source, secondary. The original form of 1 sg. was *\*vem* continuing PAIb *\*wadmi* identical with Arm *gam* '(I) come'. Further cognates are Lat *vada* 'to go, to walk' and ON *va5a* id. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 468 (calque of Rom *\*vaditus sum* with *vet(e)-* borrowed from *\*vaditus*; alternatively, *vete* is related to Lat *vadere*); JOKL *IF* XLIX 292; BARW *ARSt.* I 109 (from *\*edtos esmi*), *Zb. Belie* 187; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 287; WALDE-HOFMANN II 723-724; POKORNY I 1109.

vetetij aor. *vetetiva* 'to sparkle'. Related forms are *vetoj* and *vektoj* 'to

shine'. The original form must have been *\*veg(e)toj* connected etymologically with *vegoj*, *vegulloj*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 470 (from Slav *\*svetiti* 'to shine'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279.

vetilloj aor. *vetillova* 'to crease, to fold'. Derived from *vetull*.

vetull f, pl. *vetulla* 'eyebrow'. Borrowed from Rom *\*vittula* derived from Lat *vitta* 'band', especially denoting a fillet or chaplet worn round the head (SPITZER *MRIWI* 332-333). 0 MEYER *Alb. St.* I 93-94, *Wb.* 469 (to Slav *\*veko* 'eyelid', Lith *voka* id. or to Slav *\*vedja* 'eyebrow'), *Alb. St.* III 5, 38; BARD *ARSt.* I 81 (to IE *\*ok"-t-* derived from 'eye' *\*ole-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 267; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 280, *Stratificazione* 99; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* V 195; HAARMANN 50 (agrees with SPITZER); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; cABEJ *St.* II 284 (follows MEYER's comparison with Slav *\*vedja*); HULD 128 (from *\*okla* with *\*-l4- > -(u)ll*); HAARMANN 158.

veth m, pl. *vethe* 'maggot'. Deminutive of *vem*.

vezulloj aor. *vezullova* 'to shine'. From *\*dhezulloj*, derivative of *dhez* (cABEJ *St.* II 285). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 470 (to *vetetij*).

Ve aor. *vura vuna* 'to put'. Proto-Albanian innovation *\*awena* replacing IE *\*dhe-* (including such idioms as *i ye emrin* 'to give a name' < *\*onomh dhe-*). The verb *\*awena* is a derivative in *\*-no-* based on *\*aye* 'down, off' (Skt *dva* id. and the like) and its original meaning is 'to put down', 'to put aside', just as in. *Latpanere* 'to put'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 469; MANN *Language* XXVIII 38 (< IE *\*yes-* 'to sell'); MAYRHOFER I 56; POKORNY I 72; HAMP *Laryngeals* 128-129 (reconstructs IE *\*Hotta*); cABEJ *St.* II 278 f. (comparison with Arm *getin*); HULD 126 (to Goth *winja* 'pasture'); OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 436 (< IE *\*yes-* 'to stay, to live, to be'; possible only if *\*wena-* < *\*wes-na-* is accepted); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 364.

liana m, pl. *Vellezer vellazen* 'brother'. As plural reflects *-z-* < *\*-dj-*, the Proto-Albanian source of *ve//a* can be reconstructed as *\*swe-lauda*, composite of pronominal *\*swe* (see *u*) and *\*lauda* cognate with OHG *h ut* 'people', Slav *\*l'uch*, id. and the like, from IE *\*leudh-* *LKUBA* 41-46). 0 BOPP 461 (connected with IE *\*bhrater-* 'brother'); MEYER *Wb.* 469-470 (correctly reconstructs *\*swe-* as the first element),

*Alb. St.* III 63 (same as BOPP; adduces 13pec • 686.(poi, i)ne neiwv [sc. likeicov ], Hes.); WIEDEMANN *BB XXVII* 222 (compares with ON *svilar* 'brothers-in-law', Gk (Pollux) *EiMove*; id. thus reconstructing \**suelo-*); SCHMIDT *KZ LVII* 6; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 284-285 (agrees with WIEDEMANN), *Stratificazione* 121 (follows JOKL); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 34 (from \**sue-loghos* "from the same bed"); PISANI *REIE IV* 17-18; VASMER II 545; POKORNY I 684-685; BENVENISTE *Inst.* I 322-323; CHANTRAINE 191; SZEMERENYI *Kinship* 116; HAMP *RRL XXIII* 51, *JIES XVI/1-2* 121-122; KLINGENSCHMITT apud DEMIRAJ (from \**s ye-slougha*); HULD 129 (reconstructs \**auH-m-tla* and compairs *Arena* with Lat *avunculus* 'maternal uncle'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 417.

**vend - vend m**, pl. *vende* 'place'. A coexisting Tosk form is *vend*. From PA1b \**wenta*, derivative of *ye* 'to put' (MEYER *Wb.* 469). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 364.

**veng - yang m**, pl. *vangje* 'hoop, tyre, ring, rim'. The Tosk form is poorly attested. From PA1b \**wenga* related to Skt *vdngati* 'to go, to limp', OHG *winchan* 'to make a sign, to make a motion', Lith *vingis* 'arc' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 463, *Alb. St.* III 7, 38, 66, 87). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 103-104, *ArRom XXIV* 39, *Sprache IX* 130; BOGA II 325, 648; SCHMIDT *KZ LVII* 5; MANN *Language XVII* 20; FRAENKEL 1256-1257; MAYRHOFER III 124; POKORNY I 1148; cABEJ *St.* II 266-267; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 148; DEMIRAJ *AE* 408.

**venger** adj. 'cross-eyed'. Related to *yang*.

**verse verce f** 'age'. The Geg form with its *-c-* < Slav \**-st-* is more conservative. Borrowed from Slav \**vbrsta* 'age, kind, kin', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *yr1,sta* 'age', SCr *vrsta* 'kind, age' (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 470). 0 SELIKEV *Slay. naselenie* 195; SVANE 187.

**versnik m**, pl. *versnike* 'peer'. Borrowed from Slav \**sioibrstbnilcb* id., cf. ORuss *mvbrstbnikh*. Another variant, *veshnik*, may belong to an earlier layer of Slavic loanwords. 0 SETAt'Ev *Slay. naselenie* 195; SVANE 187.

**vershellej** aor. *vershelleva* 'to whistle'. Irregular transformation of Rom \**fistulare*, cf. Lat *fistula* 'pipe'.

**vershoj** aor. *vershova* 'to flood, to overflow'. Borrowed from Lat *versare* 'to turn, to wind', in Romance also 'to pour out' (MEYER *Wb.* 470). 0 MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70 (from Ital *versare*); MIHA *EScu RESEE IV/1-2* 21; cABEJ *St.* II 285 (prefixal derivative in *ver-* based on *ieshof*); HAARMANN 156.

**vertete f**, pl. *verteta* 'truth'. Borrowed from Lat *veritatem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 470). 0 MEYER-LOME *Gr. Grundrif3* <sup>2</sup> 11043; MIENEScu *RESEE IV/1-2* 26; HAARMANN 156; LANDI *Lat.* 33, 39, 145.

**vertit** aor. *vertita* 'to turn'. Borrowed from Slav \**vbrteti* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg SCr *vrjeti* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 470). 0 SELISCEv *Slay. naselenie* 289; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 289; SVANE 249.

**vertyt m** 'physical strength'. Borrowed from Lat *virtatem* 'manhood, strength' (MixtOsiCR *Rom. Elemente* 71; MEYER *Wb.* 470-471). 0 MEYER-LOME *Gr. Grundrif3* <sup>2</sup> I 1048; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 21; HAARMANN 157; LANDI *Lat.* 69, 84.

**vervit** aor. *vervita* 'to hurl, to fling'. Borrowed from Slav \**vbrveti*: Bulg *vrbv'a*, SCr *vrjeti*, *vrvljeti* (MEYER *Wb.* 471). 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 243; SVANE 249.

**verzop m** 'rope used to carry straw'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *verzop* 'tie bundle' (cABEJ *St.* II 282).

**verras** aor. *virra* 'to shout; to bleat'. Secondary formation in *-as* < \**atja* based on PA1b \**wera* further related to Gk *erpo.*) 'to say', Hitt *yeriia-* 'to sound' and the like. 0 CAMARDA I 175 (to *bertas*); MEYER *Wb.* 471, *Alb. St.* III 38, V 105 (follows CAMARDA and compares *verras* with Slav \**verkati* 'to squeak'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 89; FRISK I 469-471; POKORNY I 1162-1163; cABEJ *St.* II 285-286 (same as MEYER).

**verri verri f**, pl. *verri verri* 'winter pasture'. Borrowed from Rom \**hibernnum*, derivative of Lat *hibernum* 'winter' (SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 240-242). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 471 (agrees with SCHUCHARDT); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif3* <sup>2</sup> I 1049; JoKL, *LKUBA* 264-265; WEIGAND 99

(Albanian derivative of *hibernum*); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 129; cABEJ *St.* II 286 (from Rom *\*invernus*?!).

verri f 'little furrow'. Another form is *rruvi*. Derived from *verre* (MEYER *Wb.* 37). 0 JOKL *Studien* 94-95 (to Lat *versus* 'furrow'); cABEJ *St.* II 286-287 (to *varre*).

vesht vesht m, pl. *vreshta vreshta* 'vineyard'. From PALb *\*wainesta* with a mobile stress in the paradigm: sg. *\*wainesta* - pl. *\*wainesta*. Derived from *\*waina* > *vere vene* (MEYER *Wb.* 466; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 549). 0 ; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 126-127, *LKUBA* 274; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 285; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 123; cABEJ *St.* II 280-281; DEMIRAJ *AE* 414.

veshtire adj. 'hard, difficult, bad, evil'. Prefixal derivative of *shtire* (MEYER *Wb.* 416). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 284; cABEJ *St.* II 287.

veshjell aor. *veshtolla* 'to wrap'. A prefixal derivative of *shtjell*.

v8shtroj aor. *veshtrova* 'to see, to watch'. Another variant is *veshtoj*. Borrowed from Lat *visitare* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 471). On the other hand, cf. *vezhgoj*. 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrill* <sup>21</sup> 1051; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 246; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; cABEJ *St.* VII 204, 234; HAARMANN 157-158; HAMP *SCL* XXVIII/1 74-77.

vezhgoj aor. *vezhgova* 'to watch, to observe'. Borrowed from Lat *vestigare* 'to follow, to track' (MEYER *Wb.* 471). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrill* <sup>2</sup> 1049; JOKL *LKUBA* 246; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 157.

vgje vgje m, pl. *vgjenj* 'pine'. Borrowed from Lat *abiegnum* 'related to fir', derivative of *abietem* 'fir' (MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 64, V 105, *Wb.* 471). 0 SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252 (from Lat *abietem* 'fir-tree'); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 57 (from Gk *nei*)icri 'pine'); MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 110; cABEJ *St.* II 287-288.

Vieke f, pl. *vicka* 'hoofbeat, step'. From *\*vith-lce*, derived from *vithe* (cABEJ *St.* II 288).

vic m, pl. *yip, vicera vicna* 'calf'. From PALb *\*vetussa* with *\*-s-* >

\*-§- in accordance with the "ruki" rule (OREL *IJaK* 140-141) and further related to *\*weta* > *vit* (STIER *KZ* XI 207), cf. Skt *vatsd-* 'calf' belonging to the same root (BOPP 461, 513). 0 GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 21; CAMARDA I 200; STIER *KZ* XI No 48; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 72 (from Lat *vit(u)s*); MEYER *Wb.* 475-476; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290 (reconstructs *\*yeteso-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 34, 261 (suggests *\*yetesfo-* as a source of *vic*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 281, *Stratificazione* 143; PORZIG *Gliederung* 159; PISANI *Saggi* 131; MAYRHOFER III 133; SZEMERENYI *Quellen* 94; HAMP *GjA* VII/1 27-30, *BSL* LXVI 222; cABEJ *St.* II 288-290; HULD 129-130; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 354; DEMIRAJ *AE* 417-418.

Vidal f, pl. *vidra* 'otter'. Borrowed from Slav *\*vydra* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *vidra*, SCr *vidra* (*SEIAtEv Slay. naselenie* 189, 299). 0 S VANE 143.

vidh m, pl. *vidha* 'elm'. From PALb *\*wrdza* related to Kurd *viz* id., OE *wlc* id., and, with nasalization, Lith *vinkšna* id., Slav *\*vczl.* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 472, *Alb. St.* III 18, 38). 0 PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 150; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 392; BCGA II 653; PISANI *Saggi* 132; FRAENKEL 1257; VASMER I 374; POKORNY I 1177; FRIEDRICH *Trees* 83.

vig m, pl. *vigj, vigje* 'small bridge, coffin, stretcher on which the dead body is carried'. From PALb *\*sweiga* related to IE *\*syei-* 'to bend' and its derivatives, cf., in particular, ON *sveigr* 'flexible', OHG *sweiga* 'cattle shed' < *\*suei-k-*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 472 (from Lat *vicus* 'street, village'); JOKL *Studien* 96 (to Skt *vayd* 'branch', Slav *\*vetvb* id.), *LKUBA* 149; POKORNY 11041-1042; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 77-78; cABEJ *St.* VII 199, 208; DEMIRAJ *AE* 418.

vigan m, pl. *vigane* 'giant'. A Balkan *Wanderwort* for 'smith', cf. SCr *viganj*, Hung *vihnye* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 472). 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 279.

vigje pl. 'gifts (on marriage or birth); dinner on the third day after child's birth'. Borrowed from Lat *victualia* 'victuals'. The sonorization of the dental may point to the late date of borrowing. 0 JOKL *Studien* 95-96 (from *\*yed-l-*, to Gk *g8vov* 'dowry'); cABEJ *St.* II 290 (plural of *vig*); MURATI *Probleme* 106-107 (from Lat *vigilia*); LANDI *Lat.* 94, 126.

**vigjez** f, pl. *Vigjeza* 'vetch'. Collective form of *\*vigje*, a hypercorrect form of *\*viqe* borrowed from Lat *vicia* id. (MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 26; cABEJ St. II 290). 0 HAARMANN 157; LANDI Lat. 113.

**vij vinj** aor. *erdha* 'to come'. Borrowed from Lat *venire* id. (MEYER Wb. 473). The aorist continues PA1b *\*erdza* etymologically identical with Gk *gpxol.toct* 'to come' (CAMARDA I 240; MEYER Wb. 69, Alb. St. III 18, 86). 0 CAMARDA I 79 (mistakenly equates *vij* with Gk (3aayo.) 'to go' and Lat *venid*); MEYER-L(1131(E Gr. Grundrill<sup>2</sup> I 1043; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 335; MEILLET Arm. II 42; FRISK II 572; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 71; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 97; cABEJ St. I 164 (to Gk *Opvulact* 'to move' and its cognates); HULD 129; HAARMANN 156.

**vije** f, pl. *vija* 'furrow, line, ditch'. Borrowed from Lat *via* 'road, way' (MEYER Wb. 471-472). 0 MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 26; cABEJ St. VII 279; HAARMANN 157; LANDI Lat. 77, 135.

**vikas** aor. *vikata* 'to cry, to shout'. Borrowed from Slav *\*vykati* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *vikam*, SCr *vikati* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 36; MEYER Wb. 472). 0 SEL8EV *Slay. naselenie* 192; SVANE 261.

**vilas** aor. *vilata* 'to cut down (trees)'. Derivative in *-as* < *\*-atja* of *vjel* (cABEJ St. II 291).

**vile** f, pl. *vile* 'bunch (of grapes)'. Derived from *vjel* (MEYER Wh. 475). 0 cABEJ St. II 291.

**virgjer virgjin** f, pl. *virgjera virgjina* 'maiden'. Borrowed from Lat *virginem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71; MEYER Wb. 470). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrill*<sup>3</sup> I 1045; MIHAESCU RESEE IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 157; LANDI Lat. 57, 145-146.

**virua virue** m, pl. *vironj* 'brook, rivulet'. Borrowed from Slav pl. *\*virove* of *\*virb* 'whirlpool, water-pit' (JoxL IF XLIX 280-281). 0 MEYER Wb. 473 (from Slav *\*virb*); cABEJ St. II 292; SVANE 170.

**vise** f, pl. *vise* 'place'. Goes back to PA1b *\*witsjd* < IE *\*yeikid* similar to Gk *oixia* 'dwelling, house'. The development of IE *\*-I4-* to Alb -

*s-* is regular (OREL FLH VIII/1-2 38). Further connected with IE *\*ueik-* 'house'. 0 CAMARDA 131 (rejects the connection with *\*yeiko-*); MEYER BB VIII 186, Wb. 473 (*vise* is treated as a reflex of *\*ueiko-* but this is phonetically impossible as *\*k* > PA1b *\*-ts-* > Alb *-th-*), Alb. St. HI 13, 38; PEDERSEN KZ XXXV 338; JOKL *Studien* 5 (to Lith *vied* 'place'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 32; PISANI *Saggi* 101; FRISK II 360-361; CAMAJ Alb. *Wortb.* 69-70; POKORNY I 1131; CAMAJ Alb. *Wortb.* 69-71; cABEJ LP VIII 127-128, St. II 293-294 (singularized pl. of *vend*); HULD 126 (*-s-* < *\*-d-t-*); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 364; DEMIRAJ AE 419.

**visk** in 'foal of donkey'. Borrowed from Slav *\*viskb* 'shriek', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *visk*, SCr *visak* (BER I 152). 0 MEYER Wb. 473 (from Slav *\*viskati* 'to shriek'); cABEJ St. II 295 (hypocoristic of *Vincenc*).

**vishkelloj** aor. *vishkellova* 'to whistle'. Borrowed from Lat *fistulare* id. (MEYER Wb. 112). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 284.

**vishkull** f, pl. *vishkulla* 'rod, cane'. Borrowed from Rom *\*viscula*, cf. Calabr *vi.fiyu* 'young oak-tree' < Rom *\*viscile*. 0 LANDI Lat. 111, 140.

**vishnje** f, pl. *vishnje* 'kind of cherry'. Borrowed from Slav *\*viSLn'a*, cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg SCr *viss'nja* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 36; MEYER Wb. 473-474). 0 SELIKEV *Slay. naselenie* 164; SVANE 128.

**vishtat** pl. 'standing crop'. Related to *vjeshte* (JOKL LKUBA 213-214).

**vit, vjet** m, pl. *vite, vjet, vjetera* 'year'. From PA1b *\*weta* connected with Hitt *uitt-* id., Gk *gtoc* id. and the like (BOPP 460; CAMARDA I 17; MEYER Wb. 475-476, Alb. St. III 23, 38). 0 MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 35, 269, 320; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 282; LA PIANA *Studi* I 94; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; PISANI *Saggi* 131; FRISK I 583-584; CHANTRAINE 383; POKORNY I 1175; HAMP GJA VII/1 27-29, BSL LXVI 222; HULD 129-130; OREL *Zfbalk* XXIII 146; DEMIRAJ AE 419-420.

**viterk** m 'stepfather'. Borrowed from Lat *vitricus* id. (TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 127-128). 0 cABEJ St. II 295; HAARMANN 158.

**vito** e, pl. *vito* 'dove'. Other forms are *vitua* and *vide*. Based on PA1b

\**weita* related to Skt *wiya-* 'bird', Lat *avis* id. and the like (JOKL *LKUBA* 299-301). 0 STIER *KZ XI* 223 (from an onomatopoeic call); MEYER *Wb.* 474 (same as STIER); 0; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP II* 254; FRAENKEL 1265; MAYRHOFER III 236-237; WALDE-HOFMANN II 713-714; POKORNY I 1123-1124; HAMP *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 101 (a compound containing IE *˘bird*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 420-421.

**vitore** f, pl. *vitore* 'mythical serpent (keeper of the house), fairy, fate; mother of many children'. Borrowed from Lat *victoria* 'victory' (GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 25; SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 252). 0 HAHN 162 (derived from *vit*); MEYER *Wb.* 475; TREIMER *A ArbSt.* I 27-28 (to Lith *vieta* *˘place*); CABEJ *St.* II 295-296 (derived from *vej*).

**vithe** f, pl. *vithe* 'crupper, rump, buttock, haunch'. A diminutive in *-th* based on PAIb *\*wija* 'twisted, woven' derived from IE *\*uei-* 'to twist, to weave': Lat *vied*, Skt *vdyati*, Lith *vYti*, Slav *\*viti*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 472 (compared with *bythe*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 144; MANN *Language XXVIII* 39 (to Gk *iaxicc*); FRAENKEL 1266-1267; VASMER I 322; MAYRHOFER III 147; WALDE-HOFMANN II 786-788; POKORNY 11120-1121; CABEJ *St.* VII 242.

**vjedh** aor. *vodha* 'to steal'. From PAIb *\*wedza* related to Skt *vdhati* *˘to drive*', Lat *vehO* 'to bear, to carry', Goth *gawigan* 'to steal' and other continuants of IE *\*yegh-* (MEYER *Wb.* 474-475, *Alb. St.* III 18, 38). From *vjedh* the word for 'badger', *vjedhull*, is derived (STIER *KZ XI* 140). The latter was borrowed to Rum *viezure*. 0 MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 36, 274; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 335 (to IE *\*yedh-*), *Kelt. Gr.* I 59, 172; JOKL *LKUBA* 322; MANN *Language XXVI* 382; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP II* 251; VASMER 1284 (to IE *\*yedh-* 'to lead'); FEIST *Goth.* 212; WALDE-HOFMANN II 742-743; MAYRHOFER III 177-179; POKORNY I 1118-1120; STANG *Vergl.* 389 (on the long grade in aor. *vodha*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 353; ROSETTI *ILR* I 283; HAMP *Laryngeals* 138, *Die Sprache XIV* 156 (follows VASMER); HULD 130; DEMIRAJ *AE* 421-422.

**vjeherr** f, pl. *vjehrra* 'mother-in-law'. From PAIb *\*swexura* < *\*swesura* with assimilation from the expected *\*swetsura* (BoPP 531; GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 21; JOKL *LKUBA* 46) restructured under the influence of the masculine form *vjeherr* < IE *\*sktekuros* and related to IE *\*syekra-*: Skt *˘mother-in-law*', Lat *socrus* id. and the like. The masculine form *vjeherr* corresponds to Skt *s'vdsrura-* 'father-

in-law', Gk *itcup6c* id. and the like (MEYER *BB VIII* 186, *Wb.* 475, *Alb. St.* III 5, 58). 0 MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 37; BUGGE *BB XVIII* 169; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 290, 339, *Kelt. Gr.* I 75; JOKL *LKUBA* 41-43, *Sprache IX* 127; BARIC *A ArbSt.* II 384-385; JOKL *LKUBA* 46-48; MLADENOV *Ist.* 188; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 282, *Stratificazione* 121; LA PIANA *Studi I* 22-23, 38 (from *\*yeskuro-* < *\*syekuro-*); MANN *Language XXVI* 382; PISANI *Saggi* 103 (reconstructs *\*syeskuros* to account for *-h-*); MAYRHOFER III 400-401; WALDE-HOFMANN II 550-551; FRISK I 478-479; POKORNY I 1043-1044; OLBERG *Festschr. Pisani II* 687; HULD 131 (follows LA PIANA), *IF LXXXIV* 196-199; DEMIRAJ *AE* 422.

**vjej vij** aor. *vjeva, vjeja* 'to need'. A more conservative form is *vejej*. Borrowed from Lat *valere* 'to be able, to be healthy' (MEYER *Wh.* 469). 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 26; HAARMANN 156.

**vjel** aor. *vola* 'to pluck (fruit), to vintage'. From PAIb *\*wela* related to Gk *caw* 'to shut in, to press', Lith *su-vaNti* 'to harvest, to reap' (MEYER *Wb.* 475, *Alb. St.* III 38, 77, V 106). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 190, 214, *Slavia XIII* 318; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 282; RIBEZZO *RivAlb 1/2* 124 n. 2 (to Lat *vend* 'to pluck, to pull'); FRAENKEL 1190; FRISK I 456-457; POKORNY 11138; CABEJ *St.* II 297-298.

**vjell** aor. *voila* 'to vomit'. From PAIb *\*welwa* related to Lat *volvO* 'to turn' and its cognates (MEYER *Wb.* 475, *Alb. St.* III 38). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 283 (to *vjel*); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 57 (to *avull*); WALDE-HOFMANN II 832-834; POKORNY I 1140-1142; OLBERG *IF LXXXIII* 211; HULD 130 (on the semantic evolution of *vjell*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 422-423.

**vjersh8** f, pl. *vjersha* 'poem'. Borrowed from Lat *versus* 'verse' (CAMARDA 198; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 475). 0 MEYER-LOBKE *Gr. Grundrifi*<sup>2</sup> I 1043; WEIGAND 100 (against borrowing from Latin); JOKL *IF XXXVI* 138-139; CABEJ *St.* II 298-299 (secondary feminine form restored from pl. *vjersha*); HAARMANN 156; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 110, 148.

**vjerr** aor. *vorra* 'to hang'. Continues PAIb *\*wera* related to Gk *acipo* *˘to raise up*', Lith *veriii, verti* 'to weigh', *sverilt, sverti* 'to open, to thread' (MEYER *Wh.* 475, *Alb. St.* III 58, 71). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 290; MANN *Language XVII* 18; FRAENKEL 951, 1229; FRISK I 23;

POKORNY I 1150-1151; CABEJ *St.* VII 193; HULD 148; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 43; DEMIRAJ *AE* 423.

**vjeshte** f, pl. *vjeshta* 'autumn'. Derivative in *-shte* from *vjel* (MEYER *Wb.* 475). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 549; .10x1., *IF XXXVI* 123, *LKUBA* 190, 214; CABEJ *St.* II 299; MANN *Comp.* 46 (to IE *\*ayeks-* 'to grow'); MURATI *Probleme* 108-110 (from *\*aiuesia*).

**vjeter** adj. 'old'. Borrowed from Lat *veterem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 476). 0 CAMARDA 1102 (treats *vjeter* as a derivative of *vit*); MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrif*<sup>3</sup> I 1043, 1053; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 64, 157; HULD 131.

**vlag** m 'wetness'. Borrowed from Slav *\*volga* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vlaga* (SELIS<sup>t</sup>Ev *Slay. naselenie* 189).

**vllak** m, pl. *vleq* 'fishing-net; lambskin'. Another form is *vllak*. Borrowed from Slav *\*vo/kh* 'object that can be dragged or carried', cf. Bulg *vlak*, S<sup>Cr</sup> *vlak* 'net' (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 476). 0 SELI<sup>k</sup>EV *Slay. naselenie* 170, 303; SVANE 154.

**vlej** aor. *vleva*, *vlejta* 'to be worth, to cost, to deserve'. Other variants are *vejej* and *vjej*. Borrowed from Lat *valere* 'to be worth, to cost' (MEYER *Wh.* 469). 0 MEYER-1\_1)131(E *Gr. Grundrif*<sup>2</sup> I 1047; JOKL *LKUBA* 65; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 281.

*vloj* aor. *vlova* 'to get engaged'. See *mbloj*. 0 CABEJ *St.* VII 230, 234.

**vllug m** 'prime (of life), peak'. Continues PAIb *\*awa-luga*, a prefixal derivative of IE *\*leug-* 'to bend': Gk *Xing* to id., ON *lykna* 'to bend knees', Lith *llignas* 'flexible' and the like. The original meaning is, therefore, 'turning point'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 478 (to *yrullop*; FRISK II 141; FRAENKEL 388-389; POKORNY I 685-686; CABEJ *St.* VII 234.

*vlladike* m 'archbishop'. From a South Slavic continuant of *\*voldyka* 'lord': Bulg *vladika*, S<sup>Cr</sup> *vladika* (MEYER *Wh.* 476).

*vllah* m, pl. *vllah* 'Arumunian'. Borrowed from Slav *\*yaw*, Walachian, speaker of Romance', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vllax*, S<sup>Cr</sup> *vllah* (MEYER *Wh.* 476). 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 285.

**vllanje** f, pl. *vllanja* 'garden-bed, plot'. In Geg, there exist such variants as *vulla* and *vlla*. Borrowed from Rom *\*villanea*, to Lat fern. *villana* 'related to farming'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 274 (from Rom *\*malleanus*, to Lat *malleolus*); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 540; CABEJ *St.* II 307-308 (to *vale*, *avull*).

**vobekte** adj. 'poor'. A more conservative form is *vobeg*. Singularized plural of *\*vobog* borrowed, with assimilation of vowels, from Slav *\*ubogi*, id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *ubog*, S<sup>Cr</sup> *ubog* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 476). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 7; SELIS<sup>t</sup>EV *Slay. naselenie* 193, 326; SVANE 267.

*voc* m, pl. *voca* 'boy, youth'. Derived from *vogel*, *vogerr*. 0 CABEJ *St.* VII 199-200.

**yoga** f 'steam'. Continues PAIb *\*waga* related to Gk *iryp65* 'wet', ON *vykr* id. 0 MEYER *Wh.* 477 (from Ital *yoga* 'rowing; stroke'); FRISK II 955-956; POKORNY I 1118.

**vogel** adj. 'small', pl. *vegjel*. Within Albanian, another cognate is *vogerr* 'undersized, dwarfed, small'. Both forms continue PAIb *\*weigla*, *\*wagra* related to Lat *vagor* 'to roam around', OIr *fan* 'slope' < *\*yag-no-*. The semantic development is from *\*uag-* 'to be crooked' to 'small'. 0 CAMARDA I 91 (to Gk *Aiyog* 'little', with a metathesis); MEYER *Wb.* 477 (to Slav *\*svelt*. 'fresh'), *Alb. St.* III 58; BUGGE *BB XVIII* 173 (to Norw *yak* 'child'); BARK *ARSt.* I 115 (< *\*ye-* 'not' + *galan-* 'big', cf. Slav *\*goleml*. id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 23; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 286; WALDE-HOFMANN II 726-727; POKORNY I 1120; CABEJ *St.* VII 237; HULD 131-132.

**vokull** f 'circle'. Borrowed from Slav *\*okoh*, 'circle, circumference', cf. *okoll*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 477 (from Ital *bocca* 'mouth').

**volitem** refl. 'to fit'. Borrowed from Slav *\*vo/iti* 'to like, to prefer', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vol'a*, S<sup>Cr</sup> *vollti*. 0 SVANE 250.

*Volhe* f, pl. *vollta* Another variant is *vole*. Borrowed from Slav *\*vol'a* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *vol'a*, S<sup>Cr</sup> *volja* (MEYER *Wb.* 477). 0 SVANE 224, 250.



vond adj. 'late'. From PAIb *\*wanti*, a participle in *\*-nti* related to Skt *vdyati* 'to vanish, to become exhausted', Lith *vojus(i)* 'ailing', Latv *yob* 'meager, weak'. 0 TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 287; LA PTANA *St. Varia* 46-47 (reconstructs Tosk *\*vane* and derives *\*vane* 'vane' from *\*okno-*); MANN *Language XXVI* 381 (to Lat *vanus* 'empty'); FRAENKEL 559; MAYRHOFER III 189-190; POKORNY I 1112; cABEJ *St. II* 300-301 (to *vete*).

vorbe f, pl. *vorba* 'clay pot'. An early borrowing in PAIb *\*wariba* from Slav *\*varbba* 'cooking' (SELIkEv *Slay. naselenie* 153, 172). 0 JOKL *Studien* 97 (to Slav *\*variti* 'to cook', Lith *virti* id.), *Die Sprache* IX 150-151, *Slavia XIII* 301 (against SELL ftV); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 120 (suffix *-be*); CABEJ *St. II* 301-303 (from IE *\*uer-* 'to turn'), III 214; URBUTIS *Kalbotyra* IX 263; MURATI *Probleme* 135; DEMIRAJ *AE* 423-424.

(G) voshter f, pl. *voshtra* 'Ligustrum vulgare'. Borrowed from late Lat *dleaster* (JOKL *LKUBA* 209-211), cf. with a different stress, *ullashter* s.v. *ullaster*. 0 MIHAESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 24; cABEJ *St. II* 303; HAARMANN 138.

vovd f, pl. *vova* 'bogey, scarecrow'. An onomatopoeia, probably of Slavic origin, cf. Russ *vova* id. 0 MEYER Wb. 477 (to Slovene *bavbav* and the like).

vozt aor. *vozita* 'to sail, to steer a course, to travel'. Borrowed from Slav *\*voziti* 'to carry (in a vehicle)' and also 'to row, to paddle', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *voz'a*, SCr *voziti* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 37; MEYER Wb. 477). 0 JOKE *LKUBA* 161; SEL8CEV *Slay. naselenie* 167, 183; SvANE 244.

vrah m, pl. *vrahe* 'pile of sheaves'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *vrax* 'sheaf' (WEIGAND 101). 0 BARD *ARSt* 117. 0 MEYER Wb. 478 (from Turk *orak* 'harvest, crops'); BARD *ARSt*. I 117; SELIk;EV *Slay. naselenie* 160, 305; cABEJ *St. II* 303-304.

vrajd f, pl. *vraja* 'wound'. Derived from *vras*.

vrapp aor. *vrappa* 'to run, to haste'. From PAIb *\*awa-rapes*, derivative with prefix *\*awa-*, in etymological connection with *rjep* 'to strip off

(skin or bark), to tear off' (OREL *Linguistica* 436-438). For the semantic development, cf. Russ *drat* 'to run away' < 'to tear', Gk ESpav '(I) ran away' - Sepca 'to strip off' and the like. 0 CAMARDA I 91 (to Gk *penes* 'to turn the scale, to sink', Lat *rapi* 'to seize and carry off'); MEYER Wb. 478 (to IE *\*uerp-* *\*yrep-*; but IE *\*yr-* yielded Alb *rr-*), *Alb. St.* III 31, 38, 72; TOMASCHEK *MGGW XXIII* 550 (to several Illyrian toponyms derived from *urb-lurp-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 187; BARD *ARSt*. I 91; SCHRIJNEN *KZ XLII* 108 (to Lith *virpeti*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 288; MANN *Language XVII* 18; GINDIN *Form. SN* 62; cABEJ *St. VII* 234; HAMP *MJ XXIII* 285; OREL *Linguistica* 436-438 (alternative etymology: to Lat *reperere* 'to creep', OPrus *ripaiti* 'to follow', Latv *rapt* 'to creep'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 424.

vras aor. *vrava* 'to kill'. From PAIb *\*awa-ruutja*, a prefix derivative based on IE *\*reu-* 'to tear, to destroy': Skt *ruts-* 'broken', Lat *ruo* 'to fall down, to rush down' and the like (OREL *FLH VIII/1-2* 37). 0 MEYER Wb. 464 (to *varre* and Skt *vrava-* 'wound'); JOKE *LKUBA* 194 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINIDA/MaZia 289; WALDE-HOFMANN II 453-454; MAYRHOFER III 63; POKORNY I 868; cABEJ *Sr VII* 234.

vrazhde adj. 'hard, rough, unfriendly'. Borrowed from Bulg *vraida* or CS *vraMa* 'enmity' and transformed into an adjective (SELISftV *Slay. naselenie* 186, 196). 0 MEYER Wb. 478 (related to *vreret vranet*); JOKL *LKUBA* 155 (develops MEYER's etymology), *Slavia XIII* 610 (against SELISE'EV); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 65 (from OCS *vraiq*, 'inimical'); cABEJ *St. II* 304 (derived from *vras*).

vrej aor. *vreja* 'to observe'. Univerbation of *ye re* id. (MEYER Wb. 243, 362). 0 CAMARDA 1145 (to Gk *OpOco*) 'to see'); cABEJ *St. II* 277-278, 304 (follows MEYER).

vrer vener m 'gall, bile'. Borrowed from Lat *venenum* 'poison, poison' (MIKLOSICX *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER Wb. 470). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundri/3* 2 I 1044; MIHAESCU *RESEE IV 11-2* 20; HAARMANN 156; LANDI *Lat.* 82.

vrende f 'drizzle'. A prefixal derivative of *rend* (cABEJ *St. II* 304-305). 0 JOKL *Studien* 97 (to ON *dr* 'drizzle', Av *var-* 'rain'); BARD *ARSt*. I 91; SPITZER *MRIW* I 327; DEMIRAJ *AE* 424 (to Gk (30xo.) 'to rain, to moisten').

**vreret vrandt** adj. 'cloudy'. Together with *vrer* <sup>w</sup> *vran* 'to darken, to become cloudy', based on \**vrer vran* 'cloudy', a prefixal derivative of *re* 'cloud' (JoKt, *Slavia* XIII 610, *ArRom* XXIV 40). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 478 (borrowed from a South Slavic reflex of Slav \**vorn7*, 'black'); SELACEV *Slay. naselenie* 197 (same as MEYER); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 128-129 (follows MEYER); BARK *ARSt.* I 117-118, *Hymje* 78 (from IE \**yrano-* related to Slav \**vorna* 'crow'); SKOK *AArbSt.* II 331 n. 31 (supports BARIC); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 288; cABEJ *St.* II 305-306 (agrees with JOKL *Slavia* XIII 610); JANSON *Unt.* 33-34; MURATI *Probleme* 135.

**vrigull** m, pl. *vriguj* 'flap, lobe'. Borrowed from Lat *verriculum* 'seine'.

**vrike** f 'tamarisk'. Borrowed from Ital dial. *vrica* id. < Gk *wupiici* id. (cABEJ *St.* II 306). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 467 (derived from *verr*); JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 86-87, *Festschr. Rozwadowski I* 236 (follows MEYER).

**vringelloj** aor. *vringellova* 'to whizz, to hum'. A prefixal form based on Rom \**ringulare* 'to growl, to grumble'. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 234.

**vrokth** m 'dandruff'. A prefixal derivative of *rrok*. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 234.

**vrug** m 'rust, mildew, blight'. Continues PAIb \**awa-ruga*, a prefixal form related to Av *raoyna-* 'butter', ON *rjtimi* 'cream'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 478 (to *vrulloj*); BARTHOLOMAE 1488; POKORNY I 873.

**vrugjet** adj. 'dark'. Derived from *vrug*.

**vruloj** aor. *vrujova* 'to well up, to spring'. Derived from *vrull* 'flight, run'. The latter is borrowed from Slav \**vbrll*. 'strong, energetic', cf. Bulg *vrul*, SCr *vrli* 'good'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 478 (from SCr *vrulja* 'source'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 209-210; SVANE 171.

**vragd** f, pl. *vrage* 'trace, wheel-trace'. Borrowed from Slav \**ovbragb* 'ravine', cf. Bulg *ovrag*. 0 cABEJ *St.* II 306-307 (derivative of *varre*).

**vujaj vuej** aor. *vova, vojta, vuajta* 'to suffer'. Borrowed from Lat *vrvere* 'to live' and also 'to survive', with a semantic development suggesting an intermediate stage of 'surviving', 'living through'. Thus, *vuan*

*nga nje semunde* 'he lives through an illness' > 'he suffers of an illness'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 479 (from Slav \**boleti* 'to be ill'); BARD *ARSt* 73 (to Lith *votis* 'wound'); cABEJ *St.* VII 258.

**vullnet** m Another form is *vullendet*. Borrowed from Lat *voluntatem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 72; MEYER *Wb.* 479). 0 MEYER-LIAKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 11043, 1048; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 158; LANDI *Lat.* 33, 88, 117.

**vurg** m, pl. *vurgje* 'marsh, swamp'. From PAIb \**wurga* related to Gk *OpyOca* 'to be soaked', Oppic 'marsh, meadow'. 0 FRISK II 411; POKORNY I 1169 (reconstructs \**yerg-*).

**vrkollak** m, pl. *vrkolleq* 'vampire'. Another form is *vrvollak*. Borrowed from Slav \**vblkodlakz*, 'werewolf, vampire', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vli, kolak*, SCr *vukodlak* (MIKLOSICH *Slay. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 479). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 69-70; SELISTEV *Slay. naselenie* 185; SVANE 217.

**vurrate** f, pl. *vurrata* 'scar, mark, brand'. Borrowed from Lat fern. *vulnerata*, part. of *vulnera* 'to wound'. 0 cABEJ *St.* II 308 (derived from *varre*).

(G) **With m** 'small valley'. Derived from *vii*, Geg participle of *ye* (cABEJ *St.* II 308). 0 CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 71 (reconstructs \**yyd-*).

## X

**xa** adv. 'here you are'. A form of the verb *ze* with an initial *x-* < *z-* (*TABU St.* II 308).

**xbunje** f 'fluff from spinning'. Derived from *xbut, zbut* 'to make soft', cf. *bute*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 79 (to SCr *bunjak* 'rubbish').

**xegit** aor. *xegita* 'to irritate'. A metathesis of *guxit* id., *gezit* id. based on *gaz*. 0 cABEJ *St.* II 309 (to *cys* and *nxit*).

**xixe** 1, pl. *xixa* 'spark'. A descriptive formation. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 79 (to Ital (*Ica*); HAMP *ABS* XVII 129-130).

xunkth m, pl. *xunktha* 'reed'. Diminutive of *cung* with a secondary sonorization of the anlaut (cABEJ *St.* II 309).

xvar adv. 'trailing, dragging'. A phonetic variant of *zvar*.

xverk m 'occiput'. A phonetic variant of *zverk*.

## Y

yej aor. *yejta* 'to stay awake'. Derived from *yll*. 0 cABEJ *St.* VII 200, 215.

yjeze f 'ankle, knuckle'. Derivative of *\*yl* (BARIC *A ArbSt.* I 158-159) attested in *berry!* and *ylber*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 460 (to *yll*); JOKL *Idg.* .Ib. X 67 (identical with *nyjeze*); cABEJ *St.* II 312 (follows JOKL).

ylber m, pl. *ylbere*, *ylbera* 'rainbow'. From PA1b *\*ul(e)nd bhdra* 'rainbow' < *\*curve*, a mirror reflection of PA1b *\*bhdrei ul(e)na* > *berry!* 'elbow' (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 67). For similar nomination of the rainbow cf. Slav *\*dvga* 'arc, curve' > 'rainbow'. It is possible to conjecture NGk 6211vri 'elbow' > *\*rainbow* contaminated with covdcept Havayia; 'Our lady's belt' and cavdtpit icupac `E2L6vi; 'Lady Helen's belt' (BELECKIJ *Principy* 66-67; OREL *loc. cit.*). 0 MEYER *Wh.* 460-461, *IF* VI 114 f.; KRISTOFORIDHI 433 (from *yll ben*; cABEJ *St.* II 312-313 (identifies the first component with *yll* 'star' following KRISTOFORIDHI).

yll m, pl. *yje* 'star'. A parallel form is *hyll*. Goes back to PA1b *\*sktw-ila*, a derivative of *\*skija* > *hije* 'shadow' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 438-439). For the phonetic development of -Twi- > -y- cf. *gryke*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 460 (to IE *\*sulno-* or *\*sun-* 'sun'), *Alb. St.* III 43; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544, XXXVI 277-278 (accepts MEYER's comparison with *\*sa/i*); JOKL *Balkangerm.* 114-115; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 273; PISANI *REIE* IV 9; PORZIG *Gliederung* 181; HAMP *Laryngeals* 132-133 (*yll* as a proof of s-mobile in the word for 'sun'); HULD 132, *KZ* XC 178-182 (to OE *ysle*, ON *us/i* 'spark, ember'); LIUKKONEN *SSF* X 58 (to Slav *\*aviti* 'to appear'); RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 264; BEEKES *CIEL* 264 (follows HULD and reconstructs *\*Huslo-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 206.

ysht aor. *yshta* 'to cast spells, to bewitch'. From PA1b *\*awi-sta* related to IE *\*ayei-* 'bird' and *\*std-* 'to stand', originally 'to foretell according to birds, to augur', cf. Lat *augurare*, *auspicare*. 0 POKORNY I 86; cABEJ *St.* VII 195.

zabel m, pl. *zahahele*, *zabela* 'little wood'. Borrowed from Slav *\*zabell*, id. attested in South Slavic (SELigeF,v *Slav. naselenie* 159). 0 MEYER *Wh.* 479 (to SCr *zahijeliti* 'to make white').

zabua zabue m, pl. *zahonj* 'finch-pin'. Borrowed from Slav *\*zabojb*, cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *zaboj*, SCr *zaboj*. 0 SVANE 34.

zakon m, pl. *zakone* 'custom, habit'. Borrowed from Slav *\*zakon7*, 'law', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *zakon*, SCr *zakon* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 37; CAMARDA II 161; MEYER *Wb.* 480). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 53-54; SEL8ftV *Slav. naselenie* 177; SVANE 205.

zall m, pl. *zaje* 'river sand, river bank'. Borrowed as PA1b *\*aigjala* from Gk *otiytaX6c* 'river bank' (CAMARDA I 93). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 480 (from Lat *sabulum* 'sand'); BARD *ARSt.* I 118, *A ArbSt.* I 100 (to OHG *kes* 'firm ground'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 70 (follows CAMARDA); cABEJ *St.* II 314-315 (to IE *\*Rio-* 'unripe, raw'); HAARMANN 147.

zaperi f, pl. *zaperi* 'crease, fold'. Derived from *zaparit* 'to crumple' borrowed from Slav *\*zapariti*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 481 (from SCr *sabor* 'crease, fold'); SVANE 244.

zavrat m, pl. *zavrate* 'garden-bed'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *zavrat* 'curve, turn', SCr *zavrat* (cABEJ *St.* II 316).

zbatoj aor. *zbatova* 'to put into force, to carry out'. Borrowed from Rom *\*exbattuere* 'to shake, to toss': Ital *sattere*, Rum *zbat* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 103). 0 PUSCARIU *EWR* 180; cABEJ *St.* II 316-317 (against MEYER).

zbavit aor. *zbavita* 'to scatter'. Borrowed from Slav *\*fazbaviti* 'to get

rid of', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *izbav'a*, SCr *izbaviti* (MEYER *Wb.* 481).

zbej aor. *zbejta* 'to make pale'. Derived from PAIb *\*banjo* (historically identical with *hej*) and related to Skt *bhṛti* 'to shine', Oft *ban* 'white' and the like. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 482 (to Slav *\*betzj* 'white'); TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 292; MAYRHOFER II 493-494; VENDRYES [B] 13; POKORNY 1104-105.

zbrkoj aor. *zberkova* 'to tear, to rip'. Derived from *bark*, cf. Fr *eventrer* 'to disembowel, to tear open' (cABEJ *St.* II 317).

zborak m, pl. *zborake, zboreq* 'martin'. Derived from *zboare*, variant of *bore*, cf. Fr *nivereau* id. and Russ *z'ablik* id. with a similar semantic motivation (KRISTOFORIDHI 368). 0 STIER *KZ* XI 88 (to Goth *sparva* 'sparrow'); MEYER *Wh.* 482 (to SCr *e'vorak* 'starling'); PUS-CARTU *EWR* 1933 (to Rum *zbor* 'flight'); cABEJ *St.* II 317 (follows KRTSTOFORIDHI).

zbres aor. *zbrita* 'to descend'. Derived from *pres.* 0 HAMP *Festschr.* *Knobloch* 145-146 (from IE *\*bhergh-* 'to increase, to grow').

zbruj aor. *zbrujta* 'to soften'. Related to *mbruj* (cABEJ *St.* II 317).

(G) zdergjahem refl. 'to spread oneself out, to sprawl'. Derived from *dergjem*. 0 cABEJ *St.* II 317-318 (prefixal formation based on *gjere*).

zdrald f, pl. *zdrala* 'dirt'. Derived from *zdraj*, see *zdrame* (cABEJ *St.* II 318).

zdramd f 'wound on horse's withers'. Derived from *zdraj* 'to swell, to make swell' (WEIGAND 104), a prefixal formation based on PAIb *\*d(e)ranja*. This verb is to be compared with Skt *druciti* 'to burst', Gko6pai 'to skin, to flay' and the like (cABEJ *St.* II 318). 0 MAYRHOFER II 59; FRISK I 368-370; POKORNY I 206-208.

zemdr f, pl. *zemra* 'heart; middle'. A difficult word without any reliable explanation. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 483 (compares with Geg *ze* 'soul' and connects *zemer* with *ze* 'to seize'); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 202 (to ON *gaman* 'joy'); JOKE *Melanges Pedersen* 128 (from IE *\*ghen-*, cf.

Gk EVOEvo 'to blossom' and its cognates); TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 293, *Stratificazione* 99-100 (agrees with JOKL); cABEJ *ZjPhonetik* IX 212 f. (follows MEYER); HAAS 166 (to Phryg *iduepoc • voiiic*, Hes.); HULD 132-133; LIUKKONEN *SSF* X 59 (to Lith *juosmuē* 'belt').

zeshk aor. *zeshka* 'to make brown'. Derived from *zi* (MEYER *Wb.* 484). 0 JOKL *LKUBA* 216, 222; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 115.

zet num. 'twenty'. From PAIb *\*w(i)dfati* etymologically identical with IE *\*uan,iti* id.: Skt Gk *dicoat*, Lat *virginti* (BOPP 512; CAMARDA I 170; MEYER *Wb.* 483). 0 XYLANDER 306; MEYER *Alb. St.* II 24, III 17, 23; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 338, *Kelt. Gr.* 1186; JoKL *IF* XXXVI 101, *LKUBA* 103, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 91; BARIC *Hymje* 35, n. 2; LA PIANA *Studi* I 22, 40; PISANI *Saggi* 133; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 232; FRISK 453-454; WALDE-HOFMANN II 788-789; MAYRHOFER III 199-200; POKORNY I 1177; HULD 133-134; HAMP *KZ* LXXVII 252, n. 1 (*z-* as a reflex of *\*O.*), *Numerals* 900, 919, *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 95-96; cABEJ *ZjPhonetik* IX 207 f. (from *\*jeng-t-* related to *\*ingom* 'yoke'), *St.* II 318-319; SZEMERENYI *Numerals* 165; HULD 133-134; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 41 (on the development of *\*wCE-* > *z-*), *ZjBalk* XXIII 144, *IF* XCIII 103; DEMIRAJ *AE* 425.

zk Za aor. *zura zuna* 'to seize, to grasp, to touch'. From PAIb *\*dfeina*, a derivative in *\*-no-* based on IE *\*01.9-* 'to overpower': Skt *jyvi* 'force, power', *jdyati* 'to win, to conquer', Gk 'power'. 0 GILFERDING *Otn.* 22 (to Skt *ha-* 'to reach'); MEYER *Wb.* 483 (from Slav *\*jhzimati* 'to take out'); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 13; WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 202 (reconstructs *\*ghen5*); JOKL *Melanges Pedersen* 128 (from IE *\*glen.*); TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 292; MANN *Language* XXVI 383 (follows JOKL); PISANI *Saggi* 101, 128; FRISK I 235; MAYRHOFER I 419, 448; POKORNY I 469-470; cABEJ *BUSHT* XIV/3 44-45 (to Skt *ycimati* 'to hold'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 62; HAMP 2A XXXI 92, *IF* XC 70-71; DEMIRAJ *AE* 426-427.

ze m, pl. *zera zana* 'voice'. From PAIb *\*cliana* etymologically related to Arm *jain* 'voice', Slav *\*zvotr* 'ringing, sound', IE *\*ghuen-* (MEYER *Wb.* 483, *Alb. St.* III 17, 39; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 306). 0 CAMARDA I 85 (to Gk *yfipuc* 'voice, speech'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 172; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVIII 403 (compares *ze* with Gk *gxovi* > 'sound'); JOKL *Studien* 7 (on the development of palatals before *\*-u-*), *IF*

XXXVI 99, 112, 116, *Melanges Pedersen* 133-134, *Sprache* IX 124; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 294; PISANI *Saggi* 128; POKORNY I 490-491; OLBERG *IBK* XIV 109; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 45; HULD 134; JANSON *Unt.* 34-36; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; OREL *IF* XCIII 108; DEMIRAJ *AE* 425-426.

**zemer** zamgr f, pl. *zëmera zëamera* 'late afternoon meal, late afternoon, tea time'. A difficult word. Maybe, a borrowing from Gk *StlutEpov* 'period of twenty-four hours', \*`afternoon'? 0 CAMARDA I 107 (identifies *zëmer* with *zëmer* as 'the center of the day'); cABEJ *ZfPhonetik* IX 214-215 (compares *zëmer* with Gk *lump* 'day', Arm awr id. which, however, do not explain the anlaut z-), *St.* II 319; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 41-42 (connection with *zë*).

**zdre zand** f, pl. *zëro zëana* 'goddess of forests, fairy, beautiful maiden'. Borrowed from Lat *Diana* (JOKL *Studien* 97-98). 0 BARD *AArbSt.* II 400; WEIGAND *BA* I 254; PAVLOVW *ZfBalk* I 73-74; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 122; cABEJ *St.* II 315-316, V 144-152; JANSON *Unt.* 62; LANDI *Lat.* 75, 94, 104.

**zgafelle** f, pl. *zëgafelle* 'hole, cave, gallery, tunnel'. Derived from *zëgafulloj* 'to dig a pit'. The latter is a prefixal formation based on Rom \**cappulare* 'to cut, to chop'. 0 BUGGE *BB* XVIII 186-187 (from Rom \**dis-co-affibulare*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 93-94 (to Lith *iupsnis* 'handful'); cABEJ *St.* II 319-320 (to *gerfej*).

**zgarbe** f, pl. *zëgarba* 'hollow (in a tree)'. Derived from *garbe*. 0 CABEL *St.* II 320-321 (to *kalb*).

**zgaver** f, pl. *zëgavra* 'hole'. Another variant is *zëguer*. A prefixal form based on PAIb \**gawira* related to IE \**geu-r-*, \**gou-r-* 'bent, crooked'. 0 POKORNY I 397.

**zgerdhe** f, pl. *zëgerdha* 'bronchial tube'. Derived from dial. *zëgardh* 'to open', further related to *gardh* (c.ABEJ *St.* II 321). Note *zëgerdhele* 'hole', *zëgerdbihem* 'to bare one's teeth' and *zëgerdbaget* 'empty' going back to the same source (cABEJ *St.* II 321-322). 0 MEYER *Wb.* 306 (to *ngordh*).

**zgorke** f, pl. *zëgorka* 'deep place (in the river)'. Derived from *zëguer*, see *zëgaver*.

**zgrip** m, pl. *zëgripe* 'side, edge, rim'. Based on PAIb \**gripa* related to OHG *krappfo* 'hook', ON *krappr* 'narrow'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 205 (to *shkrep*); JOKL *Studien* 35, LKUBA 116; POKORNY I 388; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 44 (reconstructs \**grp-*); cABEJ *St.* II 322-323 (follows MEYER).

**zgrof** m, pl. *zëgrofe* 'stomach'. With a secondary *-f* < *-p-*, a prefixal derivative of *grope* (CABEJ *St.* II 323). 0 JOKL *AArbSt.* I 44 (from Lat *scrobis* 'ditch, dike').

**zgurdulloj** aor. *zëgurdullova* 'to open wide (of eyes)'. A phonetic variant of *zëgardbulloj* 'to open' derived from *zëgardh* (cABEJ *St.* II 323-324).

**zgurdhe** f 'rectum'. Derived from *zëguer*, cf. *zëgaver* (cABEJ *St.* II 324). 0 JOKL *Melanges Pedersen* 141-143 (to *zëorre*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 100; CIMOCHOWSKI *BUSbT* XIII/ 2 45; HAMP *LB* XXIV/3 49; HULD 137; BEEKES *Lar.* 104 (untenable \**ee-ereH-do-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 427.

**zgjebje** f 'itch, scab'. Borrowed from Lat *scabies* id. (MIRLOSICH *Rom. Elernente* 58). 0 MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 1 1048; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 253; HAARMANN 148.

**zgjedhe** f, pl. *zëgjedha* 'ox yoke'. From PAIb \**diß-gads* formed with a prefix \**diß-* and related to *gjedh* 'cattle' (OREL *LB* XXIX/4 69-70). 0 CAMARDA I 88 (to IE \**jugom* 'yoke'); MEYER *Wb.* 484 (from NGk rev y7 a, cetiXa); JOKL *Studien* 98-100 (derives *zëgjedhe* from \**zëd-ledhe*, further compared with *lidh*); BARD *ARSt.* 1119 (follows CAMARDA and adds Arm *luc* 'yoke'); cABEJ *St.* II 324 (unconvincing parallels in Germanic: OFries *gadia* 'to tie, to unite', Germ *Gatte* 'spouse'); OREL *LB* XXIX/4 69-70 (accepts \**diß-* as a cognate of Gk *Sia-* 'double').

**zgjerbe** f, pl. *zëgjerbe* 'moth'. Connected with *gjerb*. 0 cABEJ *St.* II 321 (singularized plural of *zëgarbe*).

**zgjic** m 'little bay'. Derived from *gji* (CABEJ *St.* II 324).

**zgjoj** aor. *zëgjova* 'to wake, to rouse'. Borrowed from Rom \**exvigilare* id. (MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrifi* <sup>2</sup> 1 1054). 0 BARIC *ARSt* 120 (prefix z- + cognate of Skt *svapa-* 'dream, sleep'); cABEJ *St.* VII 258.

zgjua zgjue m, pl. *zgjoi, zgjoje* 'beehive'. Based on \**gjua gjue* borrowed from Lat *janua* 'door, entrance'. 0 MEYER Wb. 484 (to Slav \**u/bjb* id.); WEIGAND 105 (from Rom \**excavOne*); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 109, *LKUBA* 286 (from Rom \**excovus*); cABEJ *St.* II 325 (from \**glon-*).

zgjyre f 'rust'. Borrowed from Lat *scoria* 'dross, slag' (MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundrij3*<sup>2</sup> I 1053). 0 HAARMANN 149.

71 adj., fem. *Zeze* 'black'. From PAIb \**diedi* (fern. *zeze* < \**dfedja*), etymologically connected with MHG *quat* 'dirt', OE *mead* 'bad', Lith *Oda* 'shame', Slav \**gad-hki*, 'disgusting', \**gadl*, 'reptile, worm' < IE \**eed-* (*JoKi.*, *Studien* 100-102, *LKUBA* 27). 0 MEYER Wb. 484, *Alb. St.* IV 43 (to Lith *Inas* 'grey-haired', Latv *zits* 'blue'); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 33; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 293; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 64; GEORGIEV *Issledovanja* 120 (to Thracian proper names *Zet4tc*, *Ztotc*); POKORNY I 484; FRAENKEL 142; cABEJ *St.* II 325-326 (to Lith *jtiodas* 'black' but the change \*/- > Alb *z-* is unconvincing); MANN *Hist. Gr.* 110 (follows cABEJ); HULD 134-135 (to Slav \**iithict*, 'liquid'); TRUBAEV *ESSJa* VI 81-82; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 37; DEMIRAJ *AE* 427-428.

**zid** in 'wall'. Borrowed from Slav \**zith*, id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *zid*, SCr *zid* (*MIKLOSICH Slav. Elemente* 37; MEYER Wb. 484). 0 SELISTEV *Slav. naselenie* 148, 173.

ziej aor. *zjeva* 'to boil, to cook'. From PAIb \**dfernja* based on a less frequent form *zie* id. < \**d±era*. For the loss of the final \*-r and the development of corresponding derivatives in \*-nja cf. *bie* 'to carry' < \**bera (m)baj* 'to hold' < \**en-barnja* (*OREL Linguistica* XXIV 439-440). The Indo-European parallels go back to \**kher-*: Gk *Upogat* 'to become hot, to warm, to burn', OIr *fogeir* '(he) warms' and the like. See *zjarm, zjarr*. 0 CAMARDA I 44, 89 (to Gk *cco* 'to boil' but Gk

IE \*/- is never reflected as Alb *z-*!); MEYER Wb. 485 (borrowed from NGk *kci* 'to boil'); JOKL *IF* XLIX 294, *Slavia* XIII 316; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 294; MANN *Language* XXVIII 38; FRISK I 612; MAYER I 162, II 52 (accepts the comparison with IE \**ies-* in connection with Illyr *Aquas Jasas*); FRISK I 665-666; POKORNY I 493-495; cABEJ *St.* II 326-327; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 41 (follows MEYER).

*zjarm* m, pl. *zjarne* 'fire'. From PAIb \**dierma* etymologically identical with Gk *Oept,toc* 'warm', Arm *:term* id. < \**hermo-* (CAMARDA I

71; MEYER Wb. 485). 0 FRISK II 664-665; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 320-321, *Kelt. Gr. I* 108; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 293-294; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89; PISANI *Saggi* 102, 121; POKORNY I 493-495; cABEJ *St. VII* 201; HULD 135; DEMIRAJ *AE* 428-429.

**zjarr** m, pl. *zjarre* 'fire'. From PAIb \**diera*, a new o-stem transformed from IE \**eheres-*, *nom. sg.* \**eheros*, cf. Skt *hdras-* 'flame, heat', Gk 00o; 'summer', Arm *jer* id. (*OREL ZfBalk* XXV/2 145). Further connected with *zjarm* (CAMARDA I 71; MEYER Wb. 485, *Alb. St.* III 18). 0 FRISK II 665-666; MAYRHOFER III 579; POKORNY I 493-495; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 320; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 293-294; LA PIANA *Studi* I 40-41 (reconstructs \**Per-muro-*); MANN *Language* XXVI 383; PORZIG *Gliederung* 163; PISANI *Saggi* 102, 130; cABEJ *St.* VII 201, 234; HAMP *Anc. IE* 115 (treats *zjarr* as a singluraized plural of *zjarm*); HULD 135; DEMIRAJ *AE* 428-429.

**zmojle** f 'fallow (land)'. Borrowed from Rom \**exmulgia*, a derivative of Lat *e(x)mu/gere* 'to milk out, to drain out', cf. Rum *zmulge* (*Joia BA* IV 196-198, *Slavia* XIII 287). 0 PU\**CARIU EWR* 182; MIHAESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 124; cABEJ *St.* II 327.

**zog m**, p. *zogi* 'bird'. An Oriental *Wanderwort*, presumably, of Iranian origin, cf. Arm *jag* 'chick', NPers *zaq* 'cub' (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 18; HULD 135-136). 0 STIER *KZ* XI 216 (to Gk *Vliov* 'animal'); CAMARDA I 104 (to Gk *ctha* 'to live', thus implying a derivative of IE \**ete-*); MEYER Wb. 486 (to Skt *jahu-* 'young animal'); JOKL *Sprache* IX 143; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 338 (reconstructs \**ghaghos*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 294-295, *Stratificazione* 143; MANN *Language* XXVIII 36, *Hist. Gr.* 35; PISANI *Saggi* 120; POKORNY 1409; JUCQUOIS *Le Muse'on* LXXVIII 445 (adduces Sogd *z'y* 'kind of bird'); cABEJ *ZfPhonetik* IX 217-218 (to Lith *jega* 'strength', Gk *j 3i1* 'youth, youthful strength'), *St.* II 327-328; OREL *FLHVIII/1-2* 42, *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; HAMP *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 97-105 (reconstructs \**uitie eo-*, to \**yei-* 'bird'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 429-430.

**zorr8** f, pl. *zorre* 'gut'. From PAIb \**diarna*, a long grade etymologically identical with Lith *iamb* id. (MEYER Wb. 486, *Alb. St.* III 18) continuing IE \**eera-* 'to swallow'. 0 CAMARDA I 88 (to Gk *thyri* 'belt, girdle'), 120 (to Gk *xop811* 'gut'); SOLMSEN *KZ* XXXIV 2-3; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 358; BARD *ARSt.* I 74; JOKL *Melanges Pedersen* 139-

142 (to IE \**guera-*); TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia 295, *Stratificazione* 100; ERNOUT-MEILLET 290; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to Lat *hrra* 'gut'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 22; PISANI *Saggi* 125; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 232; FRAENKEL 1291; POKORNY I 434-435; OLBERG *IBK* XIV 109; HAMP *LB* XXIV/3 49; cABEJ *St.* VII 234; HULD 136-137; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 430-431.

zot m, pl. *zoterinj*, *zoter*, *zota* 'lord, master, god'. From PAIb \**w(i)tš-pati-* etymologically identical with Skt 'lord of the house' (HAMP *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 95-96). The feminine form *zonje* continues \**w(i)ts-patnja*. 0 GILTERDING *Otm.* 22 (*zonje* to Skt *jdni-woman*); MEYER *Wb.* 486-487 (to Skt *kate* 'to be born'; *zonje* compared with IE \**gYena* 'woman'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 324 (derives *zonje* from \**O41*; interprets *zot* and *zonje* as compounds including \**-potis* and \**potnia*, with the first component reconstructed as \**guifa* 'life'); BART( *ARSt* 121-124 (from IE \**dieu-t-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 295 (compares *zot* with Skt *jaspati-* 'house master'); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 33 (from \**eia-ta*, to \**eei-* 'to live'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; SZEMERENYI *Syncope* 375 (against TAGLIAVINI); SOLTA *Sprache* V 198-199; MAYRHOFER III 224-225; cABEJ *ZfPhonetik* IX 222 f. (to Gk *aytog* 'saint'); BUDIMIR *AArbSt* IV/1 157-160, *GjA* XI/2 (1972[1974]) 85-86; PISANI *Sprache* VII 99-103 (< IE \**ees-poti-I -potnt*); OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 42 (on the phonetic development); KLINGENSCHMITT *Lidg.* 104 (from \**desias* + *poti-* similar to Arm *ter* 'lord, master' < \**desias* + *aner*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 431-432.

zuld f 'shout, glory'. The derivative *zu/me* 'glory' is more widespread. From PAIb \**dzu/a*, a zero-grade derivative of IE \**ghau(a)-* 'to call': Skt *hdvate*, Av *zavaiti*, Slav \**zz,vati*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 487 (to *zurne* < Turk *zurna* 'kind of flute'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 38 (to Gk *Yonko*; 'down, the first growth of the whiskers and beard; corn-sheaf' - comparison based on the misunderstanding of the Greek word); cABEJ *St.* II 328-329 ("word of dubious origin").

zushe f 'heat, noon heat'. Borrowed, with an irregular *z-*, from Slav \**sus'a* 'drought', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *susa*, SCr *sukt*. 0 HULD *KZ* XCVIII (from \**dieu* + *eus(i)eH* 'heat of the daytime sky').

zverk III 'occipue'. Derived from an unattested \**vark* > \**verk* based on *vjerr*. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 488 (to Lith *gerkle* 'throat'); TAGLIAVINI *Dal-*

*mazia* 296, *Stratificazione* 100; CIMOCHOWSKI *ABS* III 42 (from *z-* + \**uorkos*, further connected with W *cywarch* 'rope' < Celt \**kom-vorko-*); cABEJ *St.* VII 200; MOUTSOS *AIAK* 338-344 (borrowed from Gk a(\**Ko*; 'nape of the neck'); HULD *KZ CVII 11* 165-171 (from Goth \**swairhs*).

zvjerdh aor. *zvordha* 'to wean'. A prefixal form based on PAIb \**verdza* related to Lith *verziu*, *ver'Zti* 'to lace, to tie', Latv *verzt* 'to turn', Slav \**verzti* 'to bind' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 488, *Alb. St.* III 18, 38, 72). 0 PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335 (from IE \**yert-*); FRAENKEL 1230-1231; POKORNY 11168-1169; DEMIRAJ *AE* 432.

zymte adj. 'dark'. Originally \**zym*, this is a derivative of *zi* (cABEJ *St.* II 329).

## Zh

zharg m 'snake skin'. Identical with *shark* (cABEJ II 330-331).

zhderjellet adj. 'adroit, deft, developed'. An expressive infigated form of the Italianism *zhvilloj* 'to develop'. 0 MEYER *Wb.* 488 (from SCr *lrijeb* 'Ion; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 318 (to IE \**yel-* 'to turn'); cABEJ II 331 (follows JOKL).

zhег m 'heat'. Borrowed from Slav \**iegb* id., cf. SCr *fega* 'sun-heat' (MEYER *Wb.* 488). 0 SELAtEV *Slay. naselenie* 197.

ZhuMbille f, pl. *zhumbina* 'gum'. Borrowed from Slav \**zybina* id. derived from \**zolm* 'tooth' (SCflwvzER *KZ* LVII 259-260).

zhur m 'gravel'. Another variant is *shur*. Borrowed from Lat *saburra* 'sand ballast' (MEYER *Wb.* 420). 0 HAARMANN 147; cABEJ *St.* VII 251.

(G) zhys aor. *zhyta* 'to dive'. From PAIb \**diš-ad-tja* derived from IE \**yed-* \**ud-* 'water', see *mbys* (HAMP *Laryngeals* 139). 0 CAMARDA I 89 (reconstructs a prefix *sh-* followed by the root related to Gk *Sim* 'to immerse'); BART( *ARSt* 124 (to Gk (367CT(0 'to dip'); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 246-247 (from IE *WO*); POKORNY I 78-80; cABEJ II 332; HULD 90-91.

# INDICES

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