

Slav \**padati* 'to fall', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *pada*, SCr *padati* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 317). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 181, 294; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 303 (from Slav \**pođiti*); SVANE 238.

**pagëzoj** aor. *pagëzova* 'to baptise'. A parallel form is *pakëzoj*. Borrowed from Lat *baptizāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 317, *Alb. St.* IV 25). The unusual development of \**bapt-* > \**pagt-* is a combination of a dissimilation and shift of voicedness. ◊ CAMARDA I 139 (to Gk βαπτίζω id.); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 6 (from Italian); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1055; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 212; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *St.* II 5-6.

**pah** m 'scab, dust'. From PAIb \**pauja* connected with IE \**peu-* 'to blow up' and, in particular, with Arm *hogi* 'breath' < IE \**poġio-* (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 45). ◊ KRISTOFORIDHI 304 (to Gk πάχνη 'frost'); AČAREAN *HAB* III 107-108; POKORNY I 847; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 80.

**pajë** f 'side, party, dowry'. Also attested as *palë*. Historically identical with *palë* 'pair'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 318 (in the meaning 'dowry', borrowed from Lat *pallium* 'cover, coverlet'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 212 (*pajë* 'dowry' from Ital *palio* 'prize, reward'); HAARMANN 140.

**pajt** prep. 'thanks to'. Borrowed from Lat abl. *pactō*, cf. *hoc pactō* 'this way', *aliō pactō* 'otherwise' and the like. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 6 (from \**për anë të* 'from the side of').

**pajtoj** aor. *pajtova* 'to appease, to reconcile, to hire, to engage'. Other variants are *paqoj*, *paqtoj*. Borrowed from Rom \**pāctāre* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 45; MEYER *Wb.* 319) in which derivatives of Lat *pāx* 'peace' and *pāciscor* 'to make a bargain' have converged (CAMARDA I 105). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1054; JOKL *LKUBA* 324 (on *-jt-* < Lat *-ct-*), *RIEB* II 64 (Albanian derivative in *-toj* of *paq*); DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 56-60; ÇABEJ *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). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1047; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 212; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HULD 102; HAARMANN 59, 141; LANDI *Lat.* 72.

**pakë** f, pl. *pakë* 'side of ham, buttock'. Borrowed from West Gmc \**bakkon* 'ham, flitch' (Frankish *bako*, OHG *bahho*), derivative of Gmc \**bakan* 'back' (ÇABEJ *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 *lav-*, cf. *palare* 'unwashed' (MEYER *Wb.* 237) and another *palavi* 'obscenity' continues NGk παλάβρα 'talking big', of Romance origin. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 8 (treats both words as one compound *pa-lav-* 'dirty, unwashed').

**palcë** f 'marrow, pith'. Note that the same word appears as *palsë* and *palëz* (JOKL *LKUBA* 115, 284). Derived from *palë* 'pair; fold'. Semantically, an important *tertium comparationis* is found in Slavic parallels of *palë* - \**polz* 'half' and \**polz* 'hollow', since *palcë* designates a substance with which hollow spaces in a bone or a plant are filled (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 430-431). ◊ 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). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 319 (to Slav \**le*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 8 (follows KRISTOFORIDHI).

**palë** f, pl. *palë* 'pair; fold; group, class, party'. Goes back to PAIb \**palā* further related to Slav \**polz* 'half; hollow', Lat *palam* 'evidently, manifestly', Hitt *palhi-* 'wide' (JOKL *Studien* 66-67, 83; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 431). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 320 (to Gk πέλομαι 'to turn' but the Greek word belongs to IE \**k<sup>h</sup>el-*), *Alb. St.* III 30; JOKL *Studien* 83 (compares with *shpall* 'to declare' but this verb is a phonetic variant of *shpërrall*, derived from *përrallë* < Lat *parabola*); MANN *Language* XVII 18 (to Gk δι-πλόος); POKORNY I 803-805, 985-986; WALDE-HOFMANN II 237; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24 (from Lat *pāla*); HULD 143, 147 (from \**polteH*); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 308-309 (to ON *fel* 'fold').

**palnjë** f, pl. *palnja* 'maple'. Other variants are *panjë*, *pënjë*. Borrowed from Rom \**plătania* derived from Lat *platanus* 'plane-tree', with a metathesis in the first syllable. As shown by an Albanian loanword in Rum *paltin* 'maple' < \**paltën*, the form *platanus* was also borrowed.

◊ MEYER *Wb.* 332 (from SCr *panj* 'stump'); PUŠCARIU *EWB* 109; JOKL *LKUBA* 188-190 (to Lat *palpāre* 'to stroke, to pat'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 9 (cognate of Gk *πλάτανος*, Lat *platanus*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 309-310.

**pall** aor. *palla* 'to bray, to bellow'. A variant of *përrall* 'to jest, to trifle' with compensatory long [a:] reflecting the fall of an intervocalic consonant. For the phonetic development cf. *shpall*. ◊ CAMARDA I 240 (to Lat *palam* 'evidently, manifestly'); JOKL *Studien* 83-84 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); ÇABEJ *St.* II 9-10 (adds non-existent Tokh *pal-* 'to celebrate').

**pallë** f, pl. *palla* 'pole, club, washing-stick, sword, mallet'. Borrowed from Lat *pāla* 'spade, shovel' (MEYER *Wb.* 319-320). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 111.

**pallë** f 'rest, quiet'. In a phrase *běj pallë* 'to rest, to be quiet'. Borrowed from Gk *παῦλα* 'rest, pause'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 320 (from NGk *παῦλα*).

**pam** particle. A synonym of *pa*, it is a compound of *pa* and *më* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 10).

**pamëta** adv. 'again'. A parallel form is *pameta*. A compound of *pa* and *meta* 'again', from NGk *μετά* 'afterwards' (CAMARDA I 310; MEYER *Wb.* 270). ◊ LAMBERTZ *KZ* LIII 295; ÇABEJ *St.* II 10.

**panderë** f 'apron, embroidered sash'. Borrowed from Rom *\*panticarium* based on Lat *pantex* 'paunch', cf. a semantically different but formally close Rum *pîntecaraie* 'diarrhea' (MEYER *Wb.* 320). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 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 *Wb.* 318-319). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 47, V 97; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1041, 1048, 1051; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* II 11; HAARMANN 139.

**paqyll** adj. 'dull, limited, stupid'. Derived from *pak*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 11 (a prefixal derivative in *pa-* < *\*po-* of *qull*, *qullët*).

**par** m, pl. *par* 'pair'. Borrowed from Lat *parem* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 321).

◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 140.

**para** adv., prep. 'before'. A parallel form is *parë*. From PALb *\*para* related to IE *\*per-* 'before, forward': OHG *furi*, Lat *prae* 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' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 12), *pardje* 'the day before yesterday' (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 214) and the like. ◊ BOPP 503 (to *parë*); PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* 213; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 107-108; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 214; WALDE-HOFMANN II 351; POKORNY I 812; WATKINS *IER* 49-50; ÇABEJ *St.* III 193; HAMP *Numerals* 904-905 (reconstructs IE *\*p̥rH-uo-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 310.

**pare** f, pl. *pare* 'fish scale'. A singularized plural of *\*par* continuing PALb *\*para*, a deverbative related to Lith *periù*, *peřti* 'to strike', Slav *\*p̥r̥q*, *\*p̥erti* 'to press'. ◊ FRAENKEL 578; VASMER III 240; POKORNY I 818-819.

**parë** adj. 'first'. From PALb *\*para* etymologically identical with and derived from the adverb *para* (CAMARDA I 303). The adjective *parmë* 'front' is derived from *parë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 321-322 (connection with *para* and Indo-European words for 'first': Lith *p̃rmas* and the like), *Alb. St.* III 30, 71; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 108 (to Skt *p̃rva-* 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; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 133; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 68; HULD 68; DEMIRAJ *AE* 311.

**parmëndë** ~ **parmendë** f, pl. *parmënda* ~ *parmenda* 'plow'. Borrowed from Rom *\*peraramentum*, cf. Lat *perarare* 'to plow through, to scratch' (MEYER *Wb.* 322). ◊ JOKL *IF* XXXVI 155, *LKUBA* 136 (agrees with MEYER); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 30; HAARMAN 111; ÇABEJ *St.* II 12 (from Rom *\*paramentum* or Lat *apparamentum* 'preparation').

**parzëm** f, pl. *parzma* 'breast'. A parallel form, *parmëz*, reflects the original structure of the word, a derivative in *-ëz* of *parmë*, cf. *parë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 12-13). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 322 (to Slav *\*p̥ersi* 'breast'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 48 (from Lat *parma* 'kind of shield'); SKOK *RIEB* I 298

(against MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 215-216 (follows MEYER), *Stratificazione* 94; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 187, 204.

**parriz** m 'paradise'. Borrowed from Lat *paradisus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Lat. Elemente* 593). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 322 (from Ital *paradiso* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 214-215 (follows MIKLOSICH); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *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 *mbas*. Goes back to PALb \*(*en*) *apa tši* continuing IE \*(*en*) *apo k'id*. For the etymology of components see *pa* and *çĕ*. ◊ BOPP 500 (to Skt *paścá-* 'back, posterior'); GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21 (same as BOPP); MEYER *Wb.* 322-323 (same as BOPP), *Alb. St.* III 13, 30; PEDERSEN *Festskr. 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 ποτί 'against, towards'), XXVIII 32; HAMP *KZ* LXXV 23 (to Lith *pāskui* 'behind'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 311-312.

**pash** m, pl. *pash* 'fathom, pace, outstretched arms'. Borrowed from Lat *passus* 'step, pace' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 47; MEYER *Wb.* 323). ◊ MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1041; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 139, 148-149.

**pashkë** f, pl. *pashkë* 'Easter'. Borrowed from Lat *Pasqua* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 47; MEYER *Wb.* 324). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 216; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 120, 147.

**pashnik** m, pl. *pashnikë* 'cloth, cover, towel'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav \**pašnikъ*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 323 (from Turk *başlık* 'hood'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 14 (derived from *parcë* segmented from *përparcë*).

**pashtrak** m 'pasture rent, pasturage money'. Borrowed from Rom \**pastūrăcus* based on Lat *pastūra* 'pasture'. ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÇABEJ *St.* II 14-15 (from Rom \**pastūrăticus*); HAARMANN 140.

**patë** f, pl. *pata* 'goose'. A cultural *Wanderwort* attested in Slavic as well as in Romance, cf. Spanish *pata* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 324). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 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 \**podъkovъ* id., a morphological variant of the more widespread \**podъkova* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; OREL *LB* XXIX/4 70). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 349-350 (from Slav \**podъkova*); SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 306, 326; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 641 (from Slav \**podъkova*); HAMP *LB* XIV/2 13; SVANE 85.

**pe ~ pê** m, pl. *penj, penjë, pêjna* 'thread'. Borrowed from Lat *pānus* 'thread wound upon the bobbin' (MEYER *Wb.* 331). ◊ MEYER-LUBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1041; JOKL *Zb. Belić* 44; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 218; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (from IE \**petino-*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 140.

**pec** adj. 'shortsighted, blind'. Continues PALb \**paitsa* (with the preserved affricate as in some other cases) related to ON *feigr* 'close to death', Lith *paikas* 'stupid' from IE \**peiĥ-*. ◊ POKORNY I 794.

**pecë** f, pl. *peca* 'cloth, rag, napkin'. From PALb \**paitsā* related to Gk ποικίλος 'multicolored', OHG *fēh* id., Slav \**рѣstrъ* id. For the semantic development cf. Slav \**gun'a* 'cloth' borrowed from Iran \**gaunya-* 'multicolored'. ◊ POKORNY I 795; VASMER III 251.

(G) **pëjnë** f 'fringe'. Singularized plural of *pe* (MANN *HAED* 358). ◊ CANDREA-DENSUȘIANU 1378 (borrowed from Rom \**pedinus* > Rum *pedin* 'fringe' > Alb *pedim* id.); ÇABEJ *St.* II 16 (repeats MANN's etymology).

**pejzë** f, pl. *pejza* 'muscle, sinew, string'. Derivative of *pe*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 273.

**pek** m, pl. *peqe* 'worry, concern'. Based on Slav \**pekti se* 'to worry, to care' (MEYER *Wb.* 324).

**pelenë** f, pl. *pelena* 'diaper'. Borrowed from Slav \**pelena* 'cover, napkin', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *pelena*, SCr *pelena* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 326). ◊ SVANE 96.

**pelĕ** f, pl. *pela* 'mare'. From PALb *\*pōulā* related to Gk πῶλος 'foal', Goth *fula* id. (XYLANDER 279; CAMARDA I 172; MEYER *Wb.* 326). ◊ STIER KZ XI 147; MEYER *Alb. St.* III 88; JOKL *Festschr. Kreisshmer* 83 (reconstructs *\*pōlnā* with *\*-ln- > -l-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 218 (agrees with JOKL), *Stratificazione* 139; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387; BARIÇ *Hymje* 22; FRISK II 634; CHANTRAINE 961; POKORNY I 843; FEIST *Goth.* 170-171; PORZIG *Gliederung* 150; SCHMIDT *Sybaris* 134; ÇABEJ *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 *\*pelynъ* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *pelin*, SCr *pelin* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 326). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 163; SVANE 109.

**pelq** aor. *pelqa* 'to stir up (water)'. Goes back to PALb *\*pelkja* related to Lith *pelkėti* 'to become marshy', *pėlkė* 'marsh, swamp', Latv *pelce* 'puddle', *pelcēt* 'to urinate'. ◊ FRAENKEL 567; POKORNY I 805.

**pellĕ** f, pl. *pella* 'comb'. From PALb *\*pēslā*, a derivative in *\*-l-* related to Gk πέκω 'to comb', Lith *pėšti* 'to pull, to pluck', Lat *pecten* 'comb'. ◊ 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 *pellëg* (BUZUKU, BUDI). Borrowed from Gk πέλαγος 'high sea' (ÖLBERG *SPhAen* 43). ◊ CAMARDA I 40 (unspecified connection with Gk πέλαγος); LOEWENTHAL *WuS* X 176 (related to Gk πέλαγος); MEYER *Alb. Studien* I 24 (related to Lith *pėlkė* 'marsh, swamp'), *Wb.* 326 (borrowed from NGk πέλαγος); BARIÇ *AarbStar* I 151-152 (from *\*pō-leugā* compared with *lēgatē* and Slav *\*luža*); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87; PORZIG *Gliederung* 151; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 337; ROSETTI *ILR* 273 (related to Rum *bīlc* 'marsh'); GINDIN *Form. SN* 60; ÇABEJ *St.* II 16-17; OREL *RRL* XXX/2 105-106 (agrees with LOEWENTHAL).

**pemĕ** f, pl. *pemĕ* 'fruit-tree, fruit'. Borrowed from Lat *pōmum* 'fruit', *pōmus* 'fruit-tree' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 326). ◊ CAMARDA II 190 (to Gk πέπω 'to ripen'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1039; MANN *Language* XXVI 387;

MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 64.

**pendar** m, pl. *pendarĕ* 'watchman'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*pōdarъ* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *pъdar*, SCr *pudar* (MEYER *Wb.* 332). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 181, 291; SVANE 197.

**pendĕ** f, pl. *pendĕ* '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 *penĕll* derived from *pendĕ* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 17). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1050; SCHMIDT KZ LVII 178 (to Lith *spāndau* 'to stretch'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 218; CANDREA-DENSUSIANU 199 (*pendull* from Lat *pinnula* 'little plume'); JOKL *LKUBA* 302 n. 1 (*penĕll* borrowed from Lat *pinnula*); MANN *Language* XVII 20-21, XXVI 386; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 65; MIHĂESCU *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). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMANN 143.

**penez** m, pl. *peneza* 'silver coin (used as ornament)'. Borrowed from Slav *\*penędzъ* 'coin', preserved in South Slavic as Bulg *penez*, SCr *penez* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 327). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 176, 182; SVANE 90.

**peng** m, pl. *pengje* 'pledge, pawn'. Borrowed from Lat *pignus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50; MEYER *Wb.* 327). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 68 (to *pendĕ*); SKOK *AarbSt* II 341-344; MEYER-LÜBKE *AarbSt* III 205-206; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 113 (suffix -g); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; HAARMANN 142; LANDI *Lat.* 125, 130, 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 314.

**pengĕ** f, pl. *penga* 'fethers (for horse)'. Borrowed from Lat *pedica* 'shackle, fetter' with a secondary inlaut nasal (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 48; MEYER *Wb.* 327). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; HAARMANN 141.

**perĕndoj** aor. *perĕndova* 'to set (of the sun)'. A difficult word from which *perĕndi* 'god' is derived. Borrowed from Lat *parentāre* 'to bring



a sacrifice (to the dead), to satisfy' or, rather, from its passive correlate *parentārī*. ◇ BOPP 341 (*perēndi* < Lat *imperantem*, phonetically difficult, cf. *mbret*); CAMARDA I 341-342 (unsuccessful attempt of segmenting the word as *per-ēndi*); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 32 (agrees with BOPP); JOKL *LKUBA* 13 (derives *perēndoj* from *anē*); MEYER *Wb.* 328 (parallelism between *dielli perēndon* and NGk ὁ ἥλιος βασιλεύει leading to the derivation of *perēndi* from Lat *imperantem*); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 229 (to Slav *\*perunъ*); LOEWENTHAL *ANF* XXIX 99 (same as PEDERSEN); HASDEU *EMR* II 495; HESSELING *Neophilologus* V 165-169 (*dielli perēndon* as a calque from Greek); PISANI *IF* LXXIX 152-153, *Saggi* 124; POKORNY I 54; FRAENKEL 635; GINDIN *Onom.* 87; ÇABEJ *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 *rēndë* ~ *randë*).

**pešë** ~ **pěšë** num. 'five'. From PALb *\*peniše* going back to IE *\*penk<sup>e</sup>* 'five': Skt *pāñca*, Gk πέντε, Lat *quīnque* and the like (BOPP 512; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24; CAMARDA I 169 without explanation of *-së*; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 307-309). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* II 47-48, *Wb.* 329 (from *\*penk<sup>e</sup>iā*), *Alb. St.* III 5, 25, 30; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 37; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89, *Mélanges Pedersen* 157-158, *Sprache* IX 123; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 26; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 218-219 (follows PEDERSEN); LA PIANA *Studi* I 72; PISANI *Saggi* 102; FRISK II 506-507; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; MAYRHOFER II 187; WALDE-HOFMANN II 407-408; POKORNY I 808; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 109-110; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 79, *Numerals* 910-911; HULD 102-103 (admits the conflation of *\*penk<sup>e</sup>* and *\*pnk<sup>e</sup>i*); KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 126, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 227; DEMIRAJ *AE* 315-316.

**pešhë** f, pl. *pešha* 'weight; stone, boulder'. Borrowed from Lat *pensum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 49; MEYER *Wb.* 336). ◇ PEDERSEN *IF* V 47 (*pešhë* 'stone' - to Skt *pāñsú-* 'crumbling soil' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 219; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* II 20-21; HAARMANN 141.

**pešk** m, pl. *pešq*, *pishq* 'fish'. Borrowed from Lat *piscem* id. (GIL'FERDING *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. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043 (from Italian); TAGLI-

AVINI *Dalmazia* 219; HAARMANN 46; HAMP *KZ* LXXVII 256-257 (*pešk* as an indigenous form!), *JIES* I 512; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* II 21-22 (the morphological development and the original paradigm of *pešk*); HULD 103; HAARMANN 142; LANDI *Lat.* 57, 120, 144.

**peškop** m, pl. *peškopë* 'bishop of the Orthodox church'. Borrowed from Lat *episcopus* 'bishop'.

**petë** f, pl. *petë*, *peta* 'layer (of a flaky pâté); metal plate; flat stone'. From PALb *\*pati-* 'flat object' to be compared with IE *\*pet-* ~ *\*petā-* 'to stretch': Gk πετόννυμι id., Lat *pateō* 'to stretch, to be spread' and the like (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 431-432). One of the derivatives of *petë* is *petull* 'small flat stone' (DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz.* VIII 153). Note also *patë* 'plectrum' < PALb *\*patā*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 330; POKORNY I 824-825; FRISK II 520; WALDE-HOFMANN II 262.

**petk** m, pl. *petka* 'clothes, garment'. A parallel form is *petkë*. From PALb *\*patika*, derivative of *petë* (CAMARDA 180; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 431-432). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 330 (related to Goth *paida* χιτών, Gk β αίτη 'peasant leather clothes'); JOKL *LKUBA* 215-216, *RIEB* II 73-75 (derived from *pjetë*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 219; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 88-89; XHUVANI *BShkSh* VI/2 32; POKORNY I 92-93; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 113 (suffix *-kë*); OREL *Balkanica* 114 (with unvoicing from *\*baitā*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 316.

**pezëm** m 'inflammation, irritation, sorrow, anger'. Derived from an unattested *\*pezë* (cf. *buzëm* from *buzë*), itself a form in *-zë* related to *pjek*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 336 (reconstructs *\*për-zëm-* to be compared with Slav *\*sz-męto* 'to sweep away'); KRISTOFORIDHI 305 (from Gk πείσμα 'persuasion, confidence'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 22 (follows KRISTOFORIDHI).

**pëgëj** ~ **pugāj** aor. *pëgëva* ~ *pugana* 'to make dirty, to soil'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*poganiti* id. The adjective *pëgërë* ~ *pëgan* 'filthy' goes back to Slav *\*poganъ* 'pagan, unclean, filthy' while the Geg form *pëgam* 'soiled' is a regular participle of *pëganj* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 46 (from Lat *pāgānus* 'pagan'); MEYER *Wb.* 331 (follows MIKLOSICH); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; THUMB *IF* XXVI 55-57; JOKL *LKUBA* 132 (from

Balkan Romance); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 213; HAARMANN 139, 210; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 80.

**pēlcas** aor. *plasa*, *pēlcita* 'to burst, to explode'. Derived from *plas*. Preserves an archaic *-c-* < \**-tj-*. ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 337 (to Germ *platzen*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 324 (from \**plasas*).

**pēlhurē** f, pl. *pēlhura* 'cloth, stuff'. Other variants are *plēhurē*, *plihurē*, *pluhurē*. Derivative of *plah*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 343 (to *plaf*); JOKL *Studien* 69-70 (follows MEYER and links *plaf* and *pēlhurē* to Lat *plectō* 'to plait'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 215, 230; DEMIRAJ *AE* 316.

**pēlqej** aor. *pēlqeva* 'to please'. Borrowed from Lat *placēre* id. (CAMARDA I 55; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50; MEYER *Wb.* 331-332); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 142.

**pēlqyer** m, pl. *pēlqerē* 'thumb'. A phonetic variant of *pulqyer*.

**pēllas** aor. *palla*, *pēllita* 'to bray'. A morphological variant of *pall*.

**pēllas** m 'palace'. Borrowed from Lat *palātium* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 46). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 319 (from Ital *palazzo*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1041 (follows MIKLOSICH); CANDREA-DENSUSIANU 1330 (same as MIKLOSICH); JOKL *LKUBA* 93-94 (follows CANDREA-DENSUSIANU); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* II 22-23; HAARMANN 139; LANDI *Lat.* 80, 111, 125.

**pēlle** f, pl. *pēlla* 'milch cow, ewe or goat'. A suffixal derivative of *pjell* (JOKL *LKUBA* 225). Another derivative is *plle* ~ *pllē* 'fertile domestic animal'.

**pēllēmbē** ~ **pēllambē** f, pl. *pēllēmbē* ~ *pēllambē* 'palm (of the hand)'. Borrowed from Gk *παλάμη* 'hand, palm' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 23). The cluster *-mb-* < \**-m-* is a secondary feature. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 46 (from Lat *palma*); MEYER *Wb.* 331 (borrowing from NGK *παλάμη* id.), *Alb. St.* IV 93; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 248 (agrees with MIKLOSICH); MANN *Language* XVII 20 (from IE \**p̥l̥mā*); HULD 103 (agrees with ÇABEJ).

**pēllumb** m, pl. *pēllumba* 'pigeon, dove'. Borrowed from Lat *palumbes*,

*palumbus* 'wood-pigeon' (CAMARDA II 160; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 46; MEYER *Wb.* 331). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1046, 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 80, 93, 115.

**pēqi** ~ **pēqī** m, pl. *pēqinj* 'seam, hem'. A parallel form *spēlqi* may reflect an earlier \**pēlqi* borrowed from Rom \**plicīnus* 'fold', cf. Lat *plicō* 'to fold' (MEYER *Wb.* 331).

**pēr** prep. 'for'. The reflexes of PALb \**peri* and \**pra* related to Skt *pári* 'round, about', Gk *πέρι* 'around' and Gk *πρό* 'before, forward', Lat *prō* id. correspondingly (BOPP 503-504; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 320-321; MEYER *BB* VIII 189, *Alb. St.* III 30) were contaminated with PALb \**per* borrowed from Lat *per* 'for' (MEYER *Wb.* 332). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>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; ÇABEJ *St.* II 23-25 (of Indo-European origin); DEMIRAJ *AE* 316-317.

**pērbalcē** f 'contest, tournament'. A suffixal derivative of *pērball* 'to face, to defy' similar to *pērballje* 'contest'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 332 (to Ital *balzare*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 25 (to *pērbalt* 'to bespatter with mud').

**pērcēlloj** aor. *pērcēllova* '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'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 334 (from Slav \**p̥r̥skati* 'to sprinkle'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 25 (follows CAMARDA).

**pērc** m, pl. *pērcā* 'uncastrated he-goat'. Borrowed from South Slav \**p̥r̥čь*, cf. Bulg *прѣч*, SCr *prč* (MEYER *Wb.* 334). ◇ KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 43-44; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 235.

**pērc̣lam** m 'ivy'. Other variants are *pērc̣llan* and *berçlen*. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *брѣсл'ан*, SCr *bršljan* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 25).

**pērdēlej** aor. *pērdēleva* 'to pity'. Another form is *pērdēllej*. Borrowed from Rom \**per-indulgēre*, cf. *ndēlej* (MEYER *Wb.* 299). ◇ LA PIANA *Vocale* 23 (from Lat *perdolēre* 'to grieve greatly'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15 (follows LA PIANA); ÇABEJ *St.* II 25-26 (Albanian forma-

tion based on Lat *dolēre* 'to grieve, to deplore'; HAARMANN 141.

**përgjëroj** aor. *përgjërova* 'to swear'. A prefixal formation based on \**gjëroj* borrowed from Lat *jūrāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 332). ◊ MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17.

**përgjoj** aor. *përgjova* 'to pry, to peep, to spy'. A prefixal derivative of *gjuaj* (CAMARDA I 113; WEIGAND 68). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 332 (from Lat *pervigilāre* 'to remain awake, to watch all night'); MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; ÇABEJ *St.* II 25 (based on an erroneous segmentation of *ndëgjoj* in which *ndë-* is treated as a prefix); HAARMANN 141.

**përkas** aor. *preka*, *përkita* 'to touch'. Derivative of *prek*.

**përkorë ~ përkuer** adj. 'temperate, moderate (in food)'. Derived from *kuaj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 333 (from \**përkoj*, borrowed from Lat *parcere* 'to spare'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; HAARMANN 140.

**përkul** aor. *përkula* 'to bend'. From PALb \**per-kula*, a prefixal derivative of IE \**k<sup>h</sup>el-* 'to turn' in zero grade, cf. *sjell* (JOKL *LKUBA* 229). ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 14; POKORNY I 639-640; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 30, 81; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 113; DEMIRAJ *AE* 317.

**përkund** aor. *përkunda* 'to swing, to sway, to rock (a cradle)'. Another variant is *përkun*. A prefixal derivative of an unattested \**kund*, see *lëkund*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 333 (from *kunë* 'cradle', an Italian loanword).

**përlij** aor. *përlijta* 'to pay off, to avenge, to requite'. A denominative derivative of *lij* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 27). ◊ JOKL *WuS* XII 83-85 (to Lith *lygūs* 'equal' and its cognates).

**përlim** m, pl. *përlime* 'duty, obligation'. A prefixal deverbative based on *lë*. ◊ XHUVANI *Minerva* III/27 22 (from \**për-ligjim*, to *lij*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 27-28 (to *lyej*).

**përmbi** prep. 'over'. Goes back to PALb \**per-ambi*, with the first element identical with *për* and the second representing *mbi*.

**përmbys** aor. *përmbysa* 'to overturn, to overthrow', adv. 'upside down'. Other variants are *përmys*, *përmis*, *përmbis*. The verb is a secondary

formation based on the adverb whose first part is identical with *përmbi*. As a whole, *përmbys* goes back to PALb \**per-ambi-uptja*, the third component \**uptja* 'under, lower' connected with Skt *ūpa* 'toward, near to', Gk *ὑπό* 'under', Goth *uf* 'under' and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 268 (identical with *përmbys* 'to flood', cf. *mbys*); JOKL *Studien* 56 (follows MEYER); MAYRHOFER I 105; FRISK II 971-972; FEIST *Goth.* 509; POKORNY I 1106-1107; ÇABEJ *St.* II 28 (to *mys*).

**përmend** aor. *përmenda* 'to mention, to recall, to nominate'. Derivative of *mend* (WEIGAND *BA* I 260). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 94; ÇABEJ *St.* II 28 (follows WEIGAND).

**përmëles** aor. *përmëleta* 'to break a fast, to season with butter'. Other variants are *përmbles*, *përbules*, *burbules*. A denominative based on \**përmbletë*, the latter unattested form must have been borrowed from Rom \**praeambulātus* 'premature', to Lat *praeambulāre* 'to walk before'. ◊ CAMARDA I 339 (to Gk *παρρα-μελέω* 'to disregard, to neglect'); MEYER *Wb.* 333 (from SCr *izmeljati* 'to besmear'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 28-29 (considers *burbules* to be the original form).

**përmjerr** aor. *përmorra* 'to urinate'. Goes back to PALb \**per-medzra* related to IE \**meiǵh-* id.: Skt *méhati*, Gk *ομείχω*, Lat *meiō*, ON *míga* (CAMARDA I 70). Note the irregularities in the development of the root vowel and the consonantal cluster. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 335 (to Skt *mála-* 'dirt', *marṣati* 'to sprinkle'); BARIĆ *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; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244.

**përpijetë** adj. 'rising, uphill', f 'rise, slope', adv. 'up, uphill'. Continues PALb \**pra-peta* compared with Gk *προπετής* 'prominent', *προπέτομαι* 'to fly forwards' and further connected with Skt *pátati* 'to fly, to soar', Gk *πέτομαι* 'to fly' (CAMARDA I 304; MEYER *Wb.* 333-334, *Alb. St.* III 23, 30, 84). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 548 (adduces dialectal *përpijeta* = *përpijetë* as an argument against MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 14, *LKUBA* 164 (repeats PEDERSEN 's arguments); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 75 (to Lith *pùlti* 'to fall' and the like); PISANI *Saggi* 119; FRISK II 521-522; MAYRHOFER II 199; POKORNY I 825-826; ÇABEJ *St.* II 29-30 (explains *përpijeta* as a metathesis of *përpijetë*).

**përposh** adv. 'below, underneath'. A parallel form is *përposht*. A prefixal derivative of *poshtë* (MEYER *Wb.* 349). ◇ PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 290 (-*posh* from loc. sg. \*-*pēd-su* 'at the foot'), *Kelt. Gr.* I 50; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

**përpush** aor. *përpusha* 'to poke, to stir up'. From \**për-prush*, cf. *prush* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 30).

**përqell** aor. *përqella* 'to deride, to mock'. Derived from *qell* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 30-31), ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 225 (from Lat *percellere* 'to beat down'); PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 538-539 (against MEYER as Lat -*ll-* cannot yield Alb -*ll-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 188, 258.

**përqi** f, pl. *përqi* 'dowry'. Borrowed from MGk προικίον id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 31). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 333 (from SCr *prćija* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 78 (follows MEYER).

**përskas** aor. *përskita* 'to sprinkle'. Borrowed from Slav \**prъskati* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *prъskam*, SCr *prskati* (MEYER *Wb.* 334).

**përshesh** aor. *përshesha* 'to crumble, to break up, to raze to the ground'. A prefixal denominative of *shesh*. From the verb, the noun *përshesh* 'sop of bread, milk and butter' has been derived. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 329 (noun *përshesh* - from Turkish *parça* 'piece' and *aş* 'soup'), 355 (noun *pshesh* < \**mshesh*, from Slav \**měšati* 'to mix'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 31-32 (deverbative of *shij*).

**përshpjetem** refl. 'to arrive unexpectedly'. An active form *përshpjes* (with dialectal -*s-*) means 'to train, to drill, to rear'. Corrupt forms of \**përshpejt* based on *shpejt*. ◇ JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* II 31 (from SCr *prisplet* 'to be on time').

**përshtat** aor. *përshтата* 'to fit, to adapt'. A denominative prefixal verb based on *shtat*. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 250 (to IE \**sthā-* 'to stand'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 32 (univerbation of *përshtat* 'for stature').

**përtoj** aor. *përtova* 'to be lazy'. Borrowed from Lat *pigrītārī* 'to be slow, to be sluggish' (MEYER *Wb.* 334). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 142.

**përtyp** aor. *përtypa* 'to chew'. Derived from \**typ*, see *typh*. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 59 (to Lat *stīpō* 'to squeeze tightly'); JOKL *Studien* 85-86 (to Gk τραπεῖω 'to press (grapes)'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 263; MANN *Language* XXVI 387; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 11; DEMIRAJ *AE* 317-318.

**përvëloj** aor. *përvëlova* 'to boil down, to boil, to ignite, to kindle'. A phonetic variant of *pravulloj*.

**përvjel** aor. *përvola* 'to fling out, to let fly, to turn over, to roll up, to cut fleece on sheep's belly'. A prefixal derivative of *vjel* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 32), probably, influenced by a partial synonym *përvesh* 'to roll up (sleeves)'.

**përzhis** aor. *përzhit* 'to scorch, to roast, to bake'. Borrowed from Slav \**prъžiti* 'to roast', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *prъža*, SCr *pržiti* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 334). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 155; SVANE 238.

**përrallë** f, pl. *përralla* 'tale, story'. Borrowed from Lat *parabola* 'proverb, speech' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 47; MEYER *Wb.* 350). ◇ CAMARDA II 72 (to Gk παραβολή 'proverb, parable'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1055; PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 536; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* II 33; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 72, 80, 130.

**përrua ~ përrue** m, pl. *përrenj, përronj* 'brook; river-bed'. Early borrowing from Slav \**porovъ* ~ \**parovъ*, cf. Pol *parów* 'ravine', name of a source in Greece Πορόβος (of Slavic origin), see OREL *LB* XXIX/4 70-71. Alb *përrua* was borrowed to Rum *pärāu*. ◇ CAMARDA I 312; MEYER *Wb.* 335 (reconstructs \**per-rēn-* connected with \**rē(i)-* 'to flow'); JOKL *Studien* 282-284, *LKUBA* 277 (explains \**per-rēn-* 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 *MRIW* I 296; BARIĆ *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-ejo-* 'passage'); GEORGIEV *Festschr. Rosetti* 287-290; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 346; ROSETTI *ILR* I 280; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 52; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, apud DEMIRAJ (to Gk περάω 'to penetrate, to pierce'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 318.

**pësoj** aor. *pësova* 'to suffer, to endure'. Borrowed from Rom \**patiāre*,

cf. Lat *pator* id. (MEYER Wb. 335). ◊ CAMARDA I 62 (to Lat *pator*); MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß<sup>2</sup> I 1050 (from Lat *pator*); MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ St. VII 227; HAARMANN 140.

**pëshkoj** aor. *pëshkova* 'to wash up, to rinse'. Borrowed from Rom \**persiccāre* 'to dry up', cf. Lat *persiccātus* 'quite dry'. ◊ MEYER Wb. 336 (from \**shkëpoj* borrowed from Ital *scopare* 'to sweep out'); ÇABEJ St. II 33-34 (from \**përshkoj*, derivative of *shkoj*, 'to go again' > 'to rinse').

**pëshjtjell** aor. *pëshjtolla* 'to wrap up'. From \**për-shtjell*, based on *shtjell* (MEYER Wb. 416).

**pëshjtjerë** adv. 'down, low'. An obsolete Old Albanian form representing a deverbative \**për shtjerë* based on *shtie*. ◊ JOKL Studien 59-60 (from \**pëd-s-t-ero-* related to *përposh*); ÇABEJ St. VII 201.

**pëshpëris** aor. *pëshpërita* 'to whisper, to sigh'. An onomatopoeia connected with the adverb *pësh pësh* 'in whispers'. ◊ ÇABEJ St. VII 220.

**pështyj** aor. *pështyta*, *pështyva* 'to spit'. A denominative descriptive stem continuing PAIb \**pistūnja* and similar to those of Lat *spuō* id. and Gk πύω id. ◊ MEYER Wb. 336 (from Rom \**spuīre* 'to spit'); MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß<sup>2</sup> I 1055 (from Lat *sputāre*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 231-232 (questions MEYER's solution in view of the metathesis in Rum *stupi* id.); MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Gk πύω); FRISK II 617-618; WALDE-HOFMANN II 580-581; POKORNY I 999-1000; ÇABEJ St. VII 258.

**pështym** aor. *pështyma* 'to dry wood, to smoke out'. A denominative verb based on the participle of *pështyj* describing the process of wood-drying as 'spitting out' water.

**pi** aor. *piva* 'to drink, to suck'. From PAIb \**pīja* with the regular loss of \*-j- (OREL *FLH* VIII 41-42). Related to IE \**pō(i)-* ~ \**pī-* 'to drink': Skt *pāti* 'to drink', Gk πίνω, Lat *bibō* (BOPP 483; GIL FERDING *Otn.* 24; CAMARDA I 17). Note a structural similarity between \**pīja* and Slav \**pījō*. Aor. *piva* displays PAIb \*-w- reminiscent of Skt 1 sg. perf. *papáu* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXII 82-83). ◊ MEYER Wb. 336, *Alb. St.* III 30, *Gr. Gr.* 105; TOMASCHEK *Thr.* II 18 (participle *pirē* ~ *pinē* < \**pīno-*

compared with Thr [?] πίνων 'beer'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 219-222; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387; KRAUSE *Corolla linguistica* 137-144; POKORNY I 839-840; MAYRHOFER II 252; FRISK II 540-542; CHANTRAINE 905; WALDE-HOFMANN I 103-104; HULD 103; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 362; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (reconstructs PAIb \**pīnō*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 318-319 (from a reduplication \**pīpH-* > PAIb \**pīb-*).

**picas** aor. *picata* 'to catch mice'. Derived from the stem *pic-*, cf. *picërr*.

**picërr** adj. 'tiny, small'. Together with *picë* 'little girl', *picël* 'needle-point' and *picak* 'naked', this word is derived from *pic* 'tip, end, top' borrowed from Ital *pizzo* id. (ÇABEJ St. II 34-35). ◊ MEYER Wb. 341 (to Ital *picciolo* 'little', *piccino* id.).

**pidh** m, pl. *pidhëra* ~ *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). ◊ 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, *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 43; HULD 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 319-320.

**pihatem** refl. 'to be tired, to be exhausted'. Borrowed from Slav \**pyxati* (*se*) 'to be short of breath', cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *pxam*, Slovene *pihati* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◊ 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'. ◊ MEYER Wb. 337 (from Romance).

**pik** aor. *pika* 'to make bitter'. A metaphorical usage of *pik* 'to fill holes, to pierce' (MEYER Wb. 337).

**pikë** f, pl. *pika*, *pikë* 'drop'. A descriptive stem similar to Rum *pic* id. The verb *pikoj* 'to sprinkle' is derived from *pikë*. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 49 (from Lat *picca*); MEYER Wb. 337 (related to *pik* 'to make bitter'); PUŞCARIU *EWB* 114; MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß<sup>2</sup> I 1044 (from Rom \**pica*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 221; ÇABEJ St. II 35-36 (derived from *pjek* 'to meet').

**pilas** pl. 'eyebrows'. Based on sg. \**pil* borrowed from Lat *pilleus* 'felt cap, \*protective hair' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 35).

**pilë** f, pl. *pila* 'heap, pile, pebble, group of stones used in a game'. Borrowed from Ital *pila* 'pile' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 36-37). ◇ HAARMANN 142 (from Lat *pila* id.).

**pilikuri** adv. 'bare, naked'. A derivative with an expressive prefix *pili-* based on *korë*. A fossilized noun *pilikor* 'unconsciousness' is a folk etymology derivative of *pilikuri*. ◇ PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 177 (from *për* and *lakur*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 37 (from *për* and *lëkur*).

**pilipizgë** f, pl. *pilipizga* 'kind of pipe'. A derivative with an expressive prefix *pili-* based on *pizgë*.

**pilivesë** f, pl. *pilivesa* 'dragonfly'. Another variant is *pilivoesë*. A derivative with an expressive prefix *pili-* based on *ve*, *voe* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 37).

**pillë** f, pl. *pilla* 'stone trough'. Borrowed from Lat *pila* 'mortar', in Romance - 'trough', cf. Ital *pila* (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* II 37-38). ◇ DEMIRAJ *AE* 320-321.

**pillë** f, pl. *pilla* 'flax comb'. Borrowed from an unattested derivative of Lat *pilō* 'to comb' (DEMIRAJ *AE* 320-321). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 68-69 (from IE \**pek-lā* related to Lat *pectō* 'to comb' and the like); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145.

**pillë** f, pl. *pilla* 'small stone (for play)'. Borrowed from Lat *pila* 'ball, playing-ball' (MEYER *Wb.* 337). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538 (against MEYER as \**pellë* is expected); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 51 (from an Italian dialect); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 221; ÇABEJ *St.* II 38 (agrees with MEYER).

**pingë** f, pl. *pinga* 'top'. Goes back to PALb \**pinkā* related to Lith *pinklas* 'wicker-work', Latv *pinka* 'tuft', *pinkāt* 'to tousle'. From *pingë*, *pingul* 'downwards, vertically' and *pingël* 'tip, top, point' are derived. ◇ FRAENKEL 594; ÇABEJ *St.* II 39 (*pingul* from a compound of *për* and *ngul*).

**pingroj** aor. *pingrova* 'to twitter, to chirp'. Borrowed from Rom \**pin-nigerāre* 'to behave as a bird, to bear feathers', cf. Lat *pinniger* 'feather-bearing'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 39 (onomatopoeia).

**pip** m, pl. *pipa* 'sprout, shoot, pipe, tube'. Borrowed from Rom \**pīpa* 'tube, pipe', cf. OFr *pipe*, Spanish *pipa* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 338). ◇ HAARMANN 142.

**pip** aor. *pipa* 'to peep, to chirp'. A descriptive stem similar to Germ *piepen* id., Lat *pipīre* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 39-40). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 338 (borrowed from *pipīre*); HAARMANN 142.

**pir** m 'habit, sprite'. A metaphoric usage of *pirë* 'prick, thorn', see *pirrë*.

**pirem** refl. 'to bend, to bow'. A dialectal form of *pierem*, see *prier* (MANN *HAED* 387).

**pirë** f, pl. *pira* 'pore'. Goes back to PALb \**pirā*, a zero grade form related to Gk *πέπω* 'to bore', Slav \**perjō* id. and the like. Note a derivative *piri* 'funnel'. ◇ FRISK II 491-492; VASMER III 240; POKORNY I 816-817; ÇABEJ *St.* II 40 (*piri* borrowed from Venetian *peiria* or its Greek source).

**pirrë** f, pl. *pirra* 'couch-grass, rye-grass; hedge'. Another variant is *pirë* 'prick, thorn'. Borrowed from Slav \**pyrŕ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: SCr *pir* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 222). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 216-217 (*pirrë* 'hedge' related to Gk *πέπω* 'to pierce' and its cognates); DEMIRAJ *AE* 321.

**pisë** f 'cat, tabby-cat'. An onomatopoeia similar to that of Rum *pisă* 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). ◇ SVANE 261.

**pisillohem** refl. 'to dress up, to smarten oneself'. An expressive reduplication of *pillohem* id., a reflexive form of *pilloj* 'to hackle (flax)', cf. *pillë*.

**pispuTh** m 'swine, bastard'. A compound of *pis* 'dirty, filthy' (derived from a Modern Greek loanword *pisē* 'hell') and *puTh*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 40 (to *purth* and *spurdhis*).

**pishĕ** f, pl. *pisha* 'pine'. Continues PALb *\*pī-s-a*, with *\*-s-* > *-sh-* according to the "ruki" rule, related to other Indo-European names of pine with different suffixes: Gk πίνυς, Lat *pīnus* (from *\*pitsnos* or *\*pisnos*). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 340 (related to Lat *pīnus*), *Alb. St.* III 30, 61 (to Gk πεύκη id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 32 (reconstructs *\*pīt-s-ja*); BARIĆ *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; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 212; HAMP *IF* LXVI 51; HULD 142, KZ XCV 303 (from *\*pīt-so-* related to Lat *pīnus*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 321-322 (old collective in *\*-s(i)o-*).

**pishkulloj** aor. *pishkullova* 'to whisper'. A parallel form is *pishtëlloj*. Borrowed from Rom *\*fistulāre* 'to sound like a pipe', cf. Lat *fistula* 'pipe'. Note the irregular substitution of Lat *f-* > Alb *p-*.

**pitās ~ pītas** adv. 'numb, numbly (of cold)'. Derived from *pij* 'to benumb', cf. *mpij*.

**pīte** f, pl. *pīte* 'honeycomb'. Borrowed, with phonetic irregularities, from Lat *pecten* 'comb'. The immediate source must have been Rom *\*pectum* > *\*pejtĕ*.

**pīte** f, pl. *pīte* 'gruel'. A singularized plural of *\*pītĕ* continuing PALb *\*pītu-* further related to Lith *piētus* 'noon meal, lunch', Skt *pīnú-* 'feeding', OIr *ith* 'grain, corn' and the like. ◇ FRAENKEL 587-588; MAYRHOFER II 278; POKORNY I 794.

**pītĕ** f, pl. *pīta* 'kind of bread, cake'. A Mediterranean cultural *Wanderwort* present in South Slavic (Bulg *pīta*, SCr *pīta*), Turk *pīta*, Hbr *pītā* and NGk πίττα, πίττα as well as in Romance where it seems to continue Rom *\*picta* (MEYER *Wb.* 340).

**pītĕr** adj. 'frequent'. Based on PALb *\*pim(i)ta* related to OIr *éim* 'quick, fast', ON *fimr* id. ◇ POKORNY I 795.

**pizgĕ** 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. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 193; SVANE 218, 261.

**pizgull** f, pl. *pizgulla* 'piece, splinter'. Derived from *pizgĕ* 'chip, splinter, loop', a phonetic variant of *pisk*.

**pjal̥m** m 'dust, thin dust, fine flour'. From PALb *\*pelma* related to Gk πάλη 'fine flour', Skt *palala-* 'ground sesame', Lith *pelenāi* 'ashes', Latv *pēlni* id., Slav *\*polmę* 'flame', Lat *pollen* 'dust, fine flour' (SCHMIDT *KZ* L 243, 248). ◇ MANN *Language* XXVI 383 (to Osset *fælm* 'fog' < *\*pelmŋ*); VASMER III 273; FRAENKEL 566-567; WALDE-HOFMANN II 331-332; MAYRHOFER II 232; FRISK II 467; POKORNY I 802; ÇABEJ *St.* II 40-41.

**pjavicĕ** f, pl. *pjavica* 'leech'. Borrowed from Slav *\*pjavica* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *pijavica*, SCr *pijavica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29). A parallel form *piskavicĕ* results from an influence of *piskoj* 'to pinch' (MEYER *Wb.* 339). ◇ KRISTOFORIDHI 324; JOKL *Studien* 113; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 189; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 220; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 99; SVANE 157.

**pjek** aor. *poqa* 'to bake, to cook'. Goes back to PALb *\*peka* etymologically continuing IE *\*pek-* id.: Skt *pācati*, Gk πέσσω, Lat *coquō*, Slav *\*pekq*, *\*pekti* (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; CAMARDA I 67; MEYER *BB* VIII 185, *Wb.* 341). ◇ MEYER *IF* V 181 (on the *ē*-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; BARIĆ *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 *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 124; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, 239; HULD 103-104; DEMIRAJ *AE* 322.

**pjek** aor. *poqa* 'to touch, to meet'. From PALb *\*peka*, related, with an irregular development of IE *\*-k-*, to Gk πέκω 'to comb', Lith *pešū*, *pėšti* 'to pull, to pluck' and the like. ◇ CAMARDA I 113 (to Gk πήγνυμι 'to stick, to fix in'); MEYER *Wb.* 341 (to Gk πλέκω 'to plait'), *Alb. St.* III 4, 32; MANN *Language* XXVIII 35; FRAENKEL 580-581; FRISK II 492-493; POKORNY I 797.

**pjekë** f, pl. *pjekë* 'eyelash'. From PALb *\*pekā* related to *pjek* 'to touch, to meet' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 41-42) < *\*to comb*, cf. for the semantic development Skt *pākṣma-* 'eyelash' derived of the same root (JOKL *Studien* 69). ◇ MAYRHOFER II 184.

**pjell** aor. *polla* 'to beget, to produce, to bear'. From PALb *\*pelna* connected with Lat *pellō* 'to drive, to push' (OREL *Alb.* 64; DEMIRAJ *AE* 323), Gk *πάλλω* 'to poise, to swell, to swing'. Note important derivatives *\*en-pelna* > *mbiell* 'to sow' and *\*pelā* > *pjellë* '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)'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 342 (to Goth *fula* 'foal' and - at the same time - to IE *\*pelā-* 'to fil'), *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; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230; HULD 104 (follows MEYER and reconstructs *\*pelō*).

**pjepër ~ pjepën** m, pl. *pjepra ~ pjepna* 'sweet melon'. Borrowed from Rom *\*pepinem* id., cf. Lat *pepōnem* 'kind of large melon, pumpkin' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 48; MEYER *Wb.* 342). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043; THUMB *IF* XXVI 44 (from Greek); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 141; ÖLBERG *SPhAen* 43.

**pjerdh** aor. *pordha* 'to fart'. From PALb *\*perda* etymologically identical with Skt *pārdate*, Gk *πέρδομαι* id., OHG *ferzan* id., Lith *pėrdžiū*, *pėrsti* id. and the like (CAMARDA I 43; MEYER *Wb.* 342, *Alb. St.* III 28, 30, 72). ◇ 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 *Wb.* 342). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 48 (from Ital *pergola*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043; MIHĂESCU *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 *periù, perti* 'to strike', Slav *\*pъrō, \*perti* 'to press'. ◇ FRAENKEL 578; VASMER III 240; POKORNY I 819; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 206, 243.

**pjesë** f, pl. *pjesë* 'part'. Borrowed from Rom *\*petia* id. (Ital *pezza*, Fr *pièce*), see MEYER *Wb.* 342. ◇ CAMARDA I 112 (comparison with Fr *pièce*); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 49 (from Ital *pezza, pezzo*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 141; LANDI *Lat.* 53.

**pjeshkë** f, pl. *pjeshkë, 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). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 221; MIHĂESCU *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 *πετάννυμι* 'to widen', Lat *pateō* 'to be open' and the like. This word may be the first element of *pjetëposhtë* 'downwards' (for the second element see *pōsthtë*). ◇ FRISK II 520-521; WALDE-HOFMANN I 262; POKORNY I 824-825.

**plaf** m, pl. *plafë, plëfënj* '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 *\*plaxъta* 'sack, undershirt' was borrowed. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 343 (to *pëlhurë*); JOKL *Studien* 69-70 (to Lat *plectō* 'to plait' and its cognates); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 51-52 (to MHG *vlies* 'fleece'); DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 11 (from Slav *\*plaxъ*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230.

**plagë** f, pl. *plagë* 'wound'. Borrowed from Lat *plāga* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 343 (from early Ital *\*plaga* > *piaga*); ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1041 (from Italian), 1050; MIHĂESCU *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 *-πέλας* 'skin', Lith *palā* 'linen kerchief', *plenë* 'thin skin, membrane', ON *ffall* 'skin' and the like. ◇ FRAENKEL 615; FRISK II 499-500; POKORNY I 803; DEMIRAJ *AE* 323-324 (from IE *\*p̥lH-skole-*).



**plak** m, pl. *pleq* 'old man'. From PALb \**p(e)laka* < \**pelakos* etymologically close to Lith *pilkas* 'grey' < \**pjakos* (SOLTA *Sprache* II 122-124). Further parallels may be grouped under IE \**pela-*, cf. Gk *πολιός* 'grey, grizzled' and the like (BOPP 491; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 224). ◊ CAMARDA I 46 (compares *plak* with Gk *παλαιός* 'old, ancient' but the latter has π- < \**k<sup>h</sup>*); MEYER *Wb.* 344 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb. St.* III 31; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 328; PORZIG *Gliederung* 204; FRAENKEL 591; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 115 (suffix -*k*); HAMP *Language* XXXIII 530-531 (interprets -*k*- as a continuant of \**H*); SOLTA *Sprache* II/1 122-126; FRISK II 575-576; POKORNY I 804-805; HULD 104-105; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 43; DEMIRAJ *AE* 324.

**plang** m 'board, plank'. Borrowed from Lat *planca* 'board, slab'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 344 (from early Ital \**planca* > Piem *pianca* 'plank').

**plang** m, pl. *plangje* 'property, building site, house, farm'. Borrowed from Rom \**planticus* derived from Lat *plantō* 'to set, to plant'. ◊ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114.

**plas** aor. *plasa* 'to burst, to split'. From PALb \**platja*, a denominative verb related to Skt *pr̥ihú-* 'broad, wide', Gk *πλατός* id., Lith *platiūs* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 344 (to Lith *plėšti* 'to tear', Slav \**pleskati* 'to splash'), *Alb. St.* III 13, 32; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 82 (to *plis*); FRAENKEL 606-607; FRISK II 553-554; MAYRHOFER II 333; POKORNY I 833; DEMIRAJ *AE* 324-325.

**pleh** ~ **plēh** m, pl. *plehra* ~ *plēhna* 'sweepings, dung, rubbish'. Derivative of *plah*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 345 (from Slav \**pelva* 'membrane, skin'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. 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 \**pelvna* (MEYER *Wb.* 345). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 315 (follows MEYER).

**pleng** m 'bandage'. Borrowed from Slav \**pel(e)nъka* id., diminutive of \**pelena* 'cover'. ◊ VASMER III 228-229.

**pleng** m 'baseness, disgraceful act'. Metaphorically used *pleng* 'heavy object'.

**pleng** m, pl. *plengje* 'heavy object'. A related form is *plengë* 'catapult'. Borrowed from Lat *phalanga, palanga* 'roller or pole for moving heavy objects'.

**plep** m, pl. *plepa* 'poplar'. Borrowed from Rom \**plōpus*, metathesis of Lat *pōpulus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 345). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1046; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 259; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 223; ERNOUT-MEILLET 522; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 64.

**pleq** m 'council, congress'. Singularized plural of *plak* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 42-43). ◊ WEIGAND *BA* I 261 (from Rom \**placium*, cf. Lat *placitum* 'order, opinion').

**plesht** m, pl. *pleshta* 'flea'. From PALb \**pleusta*, a taboo transformation of IE \**bhľusā*, cf. Lith *blusà*, Slav \**blъxa*, Gk *φύλλα*, Arm *lu* < \**plus-* (MEYER *Wb.* 345, *Alb. St.* III 32, 62). ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 244; BUGGE *Beiträge* 11; PEDERSEN *IF* V 33, *KZ* XXXIX 347; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 223, *Stratificazione* 139; AČAREAN *HAB* II 299-300; PISANI *Saggi* 116, 121; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* 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* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◊ SVANE 258.

**plevicë** f, pl. *plevica* 'barn, hayloft'. Borrowed from Slav \**pelvŋnica* id.: Bulg *plevnica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 345). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 315 (follows MEYER); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 151, 160; SVANE 60.

**plëndēs** ~ **plandēs** m, pl. *plëndesa* ~ *plandesa* 'paunch, stomach (particularly, of a ruminant animal)'. Other variants are *blëndēs* ~ *blandēs*, *blēnx* ~ *blānx*, *plēnc* ~ *plānc*. 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 *plēnc* ~ *plānc* as a deverbative in -ēs. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 39 (from Lat *panticeum* 'paunch, bowels' and its Romance reflexes); JOKL *LKUBA* 291 (follows HELBIG); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 223; MIHĂESCU *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 PALb *\*plānja* 'to fill'. The latter is related to IE *\*plē-* 'full, to fill', cf. *plotē*.

**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 PALb *\*plitja*, a zero grade derivative in *\*-to-* related to Skt *phālati* 'to burst, to split', Lat *spolium* 'stripped skin or hide, spoil' and other reflexes of IE *\*(s)pel-* (JOKL *Studien* 70-71, LKUBA 215). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 345 (from NGk *πλίνθος* 'brick'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 43 (follows MEYER); WALDE-HOFMANN II 577-578; MAYRHOFER II 393; POKORNY I 985-987; ÇABEJ *LP VIII* 82 (to *plasē*); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 82 (same as ÇABEJ); DEMIRAJ *AE* 325-326.

**plis** m, pl. *plisa* 'felt'. From PALb *\*p(i)litja* related to OHG *filz* id., Lat *pellis* id., Gk *πίλος* id., Slav *\*pělstь* id. ◇ FRISK II 536; VASMER III 318; WALDE-HOFMANN II 275-276; POKORNY I 830.

**plish** m, pl. *plisha* 'kind of reed, Phragmites communis'. Continues PALb *\*plūši-* connected with Lith *pl(i)ūšis* 'reed' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 43). ◇ JOKL LKUBA 32-33, 215-216 (to *plis*), *Slavia XIII* 309 (from *\*(s)phel-* 'to split'; reconstructs *\*pšjo-* > *plish*); FRAENKEL 628; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114; JANSON *Unt.* 183; OREL *Sprache XXXI* 285, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 (*-sh-* < *\*-s-* according to the "ruki" rule); DEMIRAJ *AE* 326.

**plitē** 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 PALb *\*plāga* related to Gk *πλάγιος* 'placed sideways, sloping, leaning', Lat *plaga* 'quarter, region' (OREL *Fort.* 79). For the semantic development, cf. Slav *\*klētь* 'barn' < IE *\*klei-* 'to lean, to be inclined'. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 71-72 (from IE *\*plē-g-*, to *\*plē-* 'full'); FRISK II 547; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114 (related to *plotē*); WALDE-HOFMANN II 314; POKORNY I 832-833; DEMIRAJ *AE* 326 (borrowed from Bulg *blog*).

**plogē** adj. 'lazy'. Historically identical with *plog*, the meaning 'lazy'

developing from 'leaning, lying without moving'. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 71 (from *\*pē-log-*, a prefixal form related to Lat *neglegō* 'to slight, to neglect' - but *-ē-* of the first syllable left no traces), LKUBA 155; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114, 122; SEILER *KZ CVI* 2 (to Gk *ἀλέγω* 'to take account of'); SZEMERÉNYI *Syncope* 144-160; BEEKES *Laryngeals* 26; DEMIRAJ *AE* 327.

**ploje** f, pl. *ploje* 'slaughter, carnage'. From *\*ploe* < PALb *\*plāga* related to Gk *πληγή* 'blow', Lat *plāga* 'blow, slaughter'. ◇ WALDE-HOFMANN II 315; FRISK II 561-562; POKORNY I 832.

**plotē** adj. 'full'. From PALb *\*plāta* identical with IE *\*plēto-* 'full' derived from *\*pel-* 'to fill': Skt *prātá-*, Lat *com-plētus* (CAMARDA I 59, 138; MEYER *Wb.* 345, *Alb. St.* III 23, 32). ◇ 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. *plorē* 'plowshare; prow'. Borrowed from NGk *πλώρη* 'prow' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 43-44). ◇ MAKUŠEV *Varš. Univ. Izv.* 1871 122 (from Slav *\*plugarь*); MEYER *Wb.* 346 (adduces MLat *plovum* 'plow' borrowed from Germanic but prefers MAKUŠEV's explanation); OŠTIR *AarbSt.* 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 *\*pē-luar* 'divider'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 229 (against JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 327-328.

**plug** m, pl. *plugje* 'plow'. Borrowed from Slav *\*plugь* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *plug*, SCr *plug* (MEYER *Wb.* 346). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 15, 156; SVANE 28.

**pluhur** ~ **pluhun** m 'dust, powder'. A phonetic development of *\*plēhur* ~ *\*plēhun* derived from *pleh*. ◇ CAMARDA I 70 (related to Lat *pulvis* 'dust, powder'); MEYER *Wb.* 346 (from Rom *\*pluverem* < Lat *pulverem* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1053 (same as MEYER); SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 251; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 239, 366; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 277; HAARMANN 144.

**plumb** m, pl. *plumba* 'lead'. Borrowed from Lat *plumbum* id. (CAMARDA I 198; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50; MEYER *Wb.* 346). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1046, 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 224; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 142; LANDI *Lat.* 115, 141.

**plusk** m 'blizzard; fine flour; dust'. Other variants are *pluskë, plluskë, plyskë*. Borrowed from Slav \**pl'uska* 'bubble, hull, husk', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *pl'uska*, SCr *pljuska* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29). ◇ SVANE 174.

**plljajë** f, pl. *plljaja* 'upland, gentle slope'. Borrowed from Rom \**plagijs* id. (Rum *plaj*, Ital *piaggia* and the like), cf. JOKL *LKUBA* 174-175.

**pllangë** f, pl. *pllanga* 'supporting beam, support, lever; spot, mark'. A more phonetically conservative variant is *pëllangë* which is a dialectal form of *pëllëmbë ~ pëllambë*.

**pllashicë** f, pl. *pllashica* 'whitefish'. Borrowed from Slav \**plashica* 'kind of fish', cf. Bulg *plashica*. ◇ SVANE 152.

**pllaz** m 'sole of plow'. Borrowed from Slav \**polzъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *plaz*, SCr *plaz* (SVANE 28).

**pllenoj** aor. *pllenova* 'to make pregnant (of animals)'. A recent derivative of *plle ~ pllë* (see *pëlle*).

**plloçë** f, pl. *plloça* 'flat stone, slab'. Borrowed from Slav \**ploča* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *ploča* id., SCr *ploča* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 343).

**plloskë** f, pl. *plloska* 'flat wooden bottle, wooden vessel'. Other variants are *pllockë* and *plloçkë*. Borrowed from Slav \**ploska* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *ploska*, SCr *ploska* (MEYER *Wb.* 343). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 154; SVANE 69; MURATI *Probleme* 132.

**pllymëz** f, pl. *pllymëza* 'kind of fishing net'. From \**për-lym-ëz*, see *lym*.

**po ~ por** adv. 'yes; so, well', conj. 'but'. Borrowed from Lat *porrō* '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. ◇ CAMARDA I 314 (comparison with Skt *āpara-* 'posterior, later' or with Lat *porrō* 'further'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1045; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 225.

**pobratim** m 'friend, adopted brother'. Other variants are *probatim, probotim, probatin*. Borrowed from Slav \**pobratimъ* 'adopted brother', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *pobratim*, SCr *pobratim* (MEYER *Wb.* 354). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 184; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 307; MANN *Language* XVII 12; SVANE 187.

**poç** m, pl. *poçe, poça* 'pot, vase, vessel'. A cultural term derived from *pot*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 350 (to Fr *pot*, Spanish *pote* 'pot').

**pod** m, pl. 'story, floor, cellar'. Borrowed from Slav \**podъ* 'bottom, ground', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *pod*, SCr *pod* (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 52). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 148; SVANE 55.

**poħoj** aor. *poħova* 'to admit'. A derivative of *po*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 273.

**pojak** m, pl. *pojakë* 'field guard'. Another variant is *polak*. Borrowed from Slav \**pol'akъ* 'man related to the field', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *poljak* 'field guard' (MEYER *Wb.* 347). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 181, 302; SVANE 197.

**pojatë** 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 *poiată* and other Carpathian and Balkan languages. ◇ OKDA *Voprosnik* 38; SVANE 63.

**pokrovë** f, pl. *pokrova* 'cloth, sheet'. Borrowed from Slav \**pokrovъ* 'cover', cf. Bulg *pokrov*, SCr *pokrov* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 347). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 174, 325.

**pol** m, pl. *pola* 'fold; door-hinge'. Another variant is *polë*. Borrowed from Slav \**pola* 'fold', cf. Bulg *pola*, SCr *pola* (MEYER *Wb.* 347). ◇ SVANE 49.

**policë** f, pl. *polica* 'shelf, ledge'. Borrowed from Slav \**polica* id., cf.

South Slavic continuants: Bulg *polica*, SCr *polica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 347). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 149; SVANE 66.

**pollë** f, pl. *polla* 'apron'. Historically identical with *pol*.

**ponicë** f, pl. *ponica* 'flower pot; oven, stove'. Borrowed from Slav \**podъnica* 'pot, oven', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *podnica*, *ponica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 347-348). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 149, 153-155; SVANE 72.

**ponis** aor. *ponita* 'to honor, to respect'. Borrowed from Slav \**pomъniti* 'to remember', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *pomn'a*, SCr *pomniti*. ◇ 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 *Slav. Elemente* 30).

**popël** f, pl. *popla* 'boulder, pebble'. A descriptive stem similar to that of OE *popel* 'pebble' and the like. ◇ CAMARDA II 73 (to Gk πομφόλυξ 'water bubble'); JOKL *Studien* 72, LKUBA 215 (to IE \*(s)phel- 'to split'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 222-223; DEMIRAJ *AE* 329.

**popull** m, pl. *popuj* 'people'. Borrowed from Lat *populus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 348). ◇ LANDI *Lat.* 107, 130, 145.

**pordhë** f, pl. *pordhë* 'fart'. Continues PALb \**pārdā* related to *pjerdh*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 218.

**porend** m, pl. *porenda* 'thorn hedge'. Borrowed from Slav \**porędz* 'order, row' (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.*12). ◇ SVANE 59.

**porez** m, pl. *poreza* 'tax'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *por'az*, *porez*, SCr *porez* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 348).

**porosit** aor. *porosita* 'to order, to demand'. An early loanword from Slav \**poročiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 348) with Slav \*-č- > PALb \*-tš- > -s-. ◇ JOKL LKUBA 93; SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-*

*lenie* 181, 293; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 15; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 68; SVANE 239.

**portë** f, pl. *porta* 'door'. Borrowed from Lat *porta* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 348). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 216; HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 60, 114.

**porriq** m 'leek'. Borrowed from Rom \**porricium* derived from *porrum* id. Another derivative Rom \**porrinum* is the source of *porri* ~ *porri* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 348). ◇ HAARMANN 143.

**porrc** m 'honeycomb stomach, reticulum'. Derive from *porr* 'stove, oven' continuing PALb \**pārā* related to Gk fut. πρήσω 'to burn, to set on fire', Slav \**parъ* 'vapor, steam'. ◇ 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 *përrëpi* 'precipice, drop', *përrëpirë* ~ *përrëpinë* id., deverbatives based on an unattested prefixal \**për-rjep*, cf. *rjep*. ◇ XHUVANI apud ÇABEJ *St.* II 44 (from NGk ἀπρέπεια 'inconvenience'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 44 (from NGk ῥοπῆ 'inclination, decline').

**posaçe** adv. 'especially, separately'. A compound of *posa* ~ *porsa* 'just, hardly, scarcely' (from *po* and *sa*) and *çë*. Its synonym *pos* is an allegro form of *posa*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 266 (*pos* from SCr \**po se*, cf. *na po se* 'separate, singular'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 44 (agrees with MEYER).

**postaf** m 'stone trough'. Borrowed from Slav \**postavъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *postav*, and in a different meaning SCr *postav* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 349). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 154; SVANE 67.

**postafat** adv. 'on purpose, deliberately'. Based on \**postavë* 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. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 349 (from SCr *postav* 'cloth, kerchief'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 174; JOKL *IF XLIX* 288 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *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*). ◊ SVANE 263.

**postat** m, pl. *poštate* 'garden plot, bed'. Borrowed from Slav *\*postats* id., cf. SCr *postat* (MEYER *Wb.* 349). ◊ SVANE 59.

**postre** ~ **postrê** f, pl. *postre* ~ *postrê* 'shelter, porch'. Another variant is *postrehë*. Borrowed from Slav *\*postrêxa*, a prefixal derivative of *\*strêxa* 'roof' reflected in Albanian as *strehë* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 148). Cf. SCr *postrešiti* 'to thatch'. ◊ SVANE 54.

**posullë** f 'bill, slip, note, letter'. Other variants are *pusullë*, *pusollë*, *pustull*. An early borrowing from Slav *\*posyla*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 349 (from Slav *\*posъль* 'messenger').

**poshtë** 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 *poshtër* 'mean; lower' is derived from *poshtë*. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21 (to Skt *paścá-* 'back, posterior'); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 290 (to *përposh* and, further, to loc. pl. *\*pêd-su* 'down, at the feet'), *Kelt. Gr.* I 50, 181; JOKL *Studien* 59-60, *LKUBA* 32-33, *Festschr. Kretschmer LXXXVIII*; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 231; ÇABEJ *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*. ◊ 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).

**potkë** f, pl. *potka* 'scarecrow, boundary mark, landmark'. Borrowed from Slav *\*potzka* 'landmark', cf. SCr *potka* 'kind of boundary mark' (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 182). ◊ SVANE 206.

**pothuaj** ~ **pothue** adv. 'nearly, almost'. A univerbation of 2 sg. *po thuaj* 'you say' (MANN *HAED* 397). ◊ ÇABEJ *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 *\*për ashtu*, *\*për ato*. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 80 (to OCS *proče* 'therefore').

**praf** m 'dust, powder'. Borrowed from Slav *\*porxъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *prax*, SCr *prah* (SVANE 164, 239).

**prafullimë** f, pl. *prafullima* 'spark (thrown out of an engine)'. Deverbative of *prafulloj* 'to toast, to singe' derived from *praf*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 221.

**prag** m, pl. *pragje* 'threshold'. A parallel form is *prak*. Borrowed from Slav *\*porъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *prag*, SCr *prag* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 350). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 148; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 226; HAMP *LB XIV/2* 13; SVANE 53.

**pranë** adv. 'alongside, beside, nearby', prep. 'near, by'. Goes back to *për anë*.

**prandaj** conj. 'therefore, thus'. Goes back to *\*për andaj* (CAMARDA I 306; MEYER *Wb.* 11). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 46-47.

**prangë** f, pl. *pranga* 'fetter, chain, handcuff'. Borrowed from Gmc *\*pranga-* 'constriction, cramping', cf. Germ *Pranger* 'pillory' (MEYER *Wb.* 350-351). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63 (from Ital *spranga* 'bolt'); KLUGE 562-563.

**pranoj** aor. *pranova* 'to admit, to accept'. Derived from *pranë* (MEYER *Wb.* 11). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 202.

**prapa** adv. 'back, backwards, beyond', prep. 'behind'. Another form of the same word explained by accentual modifications in Proto-Albanian is *prapë* 'back, again, the other way round'. Continues *\*për apa* ~ *\*për apë*, 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*. ◇ JOKL MRIW I 302, IF XXXVII 108; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 187-188; CAMAJ Alb. *Wortb.* 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 *\*për-aroj*, denominative of *ar* (MEYER Wb. 14).

**prashis** aor. *prashita* 'to hoe over, to rake over, to cultivate'. Borrowed from Slavic *\*poršiti* 'to turn into dust, to cover with dust, to hoe', cf. Bulg *praša*, SCr *prašiti* (MEYER Wb. 351). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nasele-nie* 158; SVANE 77, 239.

**pravulloj** aor. *pravullova* 'to boil down, to boil, to wash in hot water'. Continues *\*për-avulloj*, a denominative based on *avull*.

**pre** f. pl. *preja* 'prey, booty, plunder'. Borrowed from Lat *praeda* id. (MEYER Wb. 351). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 71.

**pregjim** m<sup>pl</sup> 'party on the occasion of child-birth; visit paid to mourners after a death'. Other variants are *përgim*, *përgjim*. A regular deverbative of *përgjoj*. ◇ ENDZELIN KZ XLV 230 (to Lith *gimti* 'to give birth', Latv *dzimt* id.); ÇABEJ St. II 47-48 (from MGK πρωτογέννημα 'first birth'); DEMIRAJ AE 332 (agrees with ÇABEJ).

**preh** ~ **pref** aor. *preha* ~ *prefa* 'to sharpen'. Continues *\*për-eh*, a prefixal derivative of *eh* (MEYER Wb. 352). ◇ ÇABEJ St. VII 239.

**prehaluq** adj. 'emaciated'. A suffixal derivative of *preh*. ◇ ÇABEJ St. II 48 (contamination of *preh* and *halë*).

**prehër** ~ **prehën** m 'bosom, lap; apron'. From PALb *\*prōjena* '\*front',

originally, an adjective built (as Gk πρώιος 'early') on the basis of the locative Gk πρώί 'early, in the morning' = OHG *fruo* id. derived from IE *\*prō* 'forward, in front of, before' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 45). ◇ MEYER Wb. 353 (to Slav *\*prego* 'to tighten'), Alb. St. III 31, 72; ÇABEJ St. II 48 (compares with Lith *sprīngti* 'to choke, to swallow' connected with Slav *\*prego*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 95; FRISK II 607-608; POKORNY I 814.

**prej** prep. 'to, towards; from, out of'. In fact, from disyllabic PALb *\*prei* identical with the locative Gk πρώί 'early, in the morning' = OHG *fruo* id. derived from IE *\*prō* 'forward, in front of, before', cf. *prehër*.

**prek** aor. *preka* 'to touch'. From PALb *\*praka*, a derivative of an adverbial *\*pra-k-* related to Gk πρόκα 'forthwith, straightaway', Slav *\*prokъ* 'remainder, remaining' and similar formations of *\*pro* 'forward'. ◇ CAMARDA I 242 (analyzes *prek* as *\*pre-k-*); MEYER Wb. 352 (to Gk πράσσω 'to do, to work'); FRISK II 599; VAŠMER III 373.

**prell** m 'sunny side'. Borrowed from Gk παράλιος 'near the sun'.

**prente** ~ **prënte** f 'Friday'. Other variants are (T) *prempite*, (G) *prende*. Deverbative based on *prentoj* in its unattested meaning 'to forebode, to prepare in advance' and representing a translation of Gk παρασκευή 'getting ready, preparing; Friday'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 266 (to *mbrëmë*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 227.

**premtoj** aor. *premtova* 'to promise'. Borrowed from Lat *prōmittere* 'to forbode, to promise'. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 52 (from Ital *promettere* 'to promise'); MEYER Wb. 352 (same as MIKLOSICH).

**pres** aor. *preva* 'to cut'. From PALb *\*p(e)retja* related to Lith *periù*, *peñti* 'to beat, to thump', Gk πρίω 'to saw' (CAMARDA I 42; MEYER Wb. 353, Alb. St. III 31, 72). ◇ SCHMIDT 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 PALb *\*pratja* etymologically related to Goth *frapjan* 'to think, to understand', Lith *prantù*, *pràsti* 'to get used, to understand'. ◇ CAMARDA I 143 (a prefixal verb related to IE *\*es-* 'to be'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 169 (a prefixal verb related

to Lat *emō* 'to buy, to purchase'); BARIĆ *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 *πράσων* id. (THUMB *IF XXVI* 19). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 278, 281.

**prevē** f, pl. *preva* 'open way, track, ford'. Borrowed from Lat *prīvum* (*iter*) 'private (road, passage)'. ◇ CAMARDA I 27 (identical with *trevē*); MEYER *Wb.* 353 (repeats CAMARDA's identification); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 52-54; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184, 233.

**prěj** ~ **prâj** aor. *prějta* ~ *prâjta* '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 PALb *\*per(i)-anja* appears to be 'to incline, to bend to the side'. It is derived from *anē*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 46 (separates *prěj* 'to infect' and connects it with *ěj*).

**prěj** ~ **prâj** aor. *prějta* ~ *prâjta* 'to comfort, to soothe'. Goes back to PALb *\*prainja* related to Skt *prīṇāti* 'to please', Goth *frijon* 'to love', Slav *\*prijati* id. and the like. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 5 (to *ěj*); FEIST *Goth.* 168; MAYRHOFER II 380; VASMER III 369; POKORNY I 844.

**prëndverë** ~ **prandverë** f 'spring'. Borrowed from Rom *\*prīma vēra* (> Ital *primavera*, Rum *primăvară*), cf. MEYER *Wb.* 466. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 52 (from Ital *primavera*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 226; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 144; LANDI *Lat.* 108.

**prënjķë** f, pl. *prënjķa* 'freckle, sunspot'. A derivative in *-ķë* of PALb *\*priknjā* related to Skt *pīśni-* 'spotted, speckled', Gk *περκνός* 'dark, spotted', W *erch* 'spotted' and the like. ◇ MAYRHOFER II 336; FRISK II 515-516; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 43; POKORNY I 820-821; ÇABEJ *St.* II 46 (derived from *prěj* ~ *prâj*).

**prier** aor. *prora* 'to incline, to lean, to turn aside'. Goes back to PALb *\*per(i)-era*, a prefixal verb etymologically related to Hitt *arnumi* 'to move, to shift', Skt *ṛṇóti* 'to arise, to move', Gk *ὄρνυμι* 'to stir up', Lat *orior* 'to rise'. ◇ CAMARDA I 56-57 (a prefixal verb to be com-

pared with Gk *αείρω* 'to raise'); MEYER *Wb.* 354 (a prefixal verb related to Gk *ἐλάω* '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. *priftër*, *priftërinj* ~ *priftna*, *priftinj* 'priest'. Borrowed from Lat *presbyter* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 52; MEYER *Wb.* 353). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 287 (on the Dalmatian Latin source); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 228; ERNOUT-MEILLET 534; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 143; HAMP *SCL XXXII/4* 425-428; LANDI *Lat.* 102, 121, 130.

**prij** ~ **prīj** aor. *prina*, *priva* 'to lead'. Borrowed from Lat *praetire* 'to lead, to precede' (MEYER *Wb.* 353). ◇ 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 *\*vedq*, *\*vesti* 'to lead'. ◇ KRISTOFORIDHI 345 (from *\*për-ijë*); ÇABEJ *St.* IV 85.

**prijë** f, pl. *prija* 'onion-bed'. Usually, in a phrase *prijë qepësh* id. Borrowed from Lat *porrīna* id.

**prik** m 'slope'. Goes back to *\*prier-k*, a derivative of *prier*.

**prikë** f, pl. *prika* 'dowry'. Derived with the suffix *-ķë* from *prij*. ◇ SKOK *ŽA* II 103-110 (from Gk *πρόιζ* 'gift, present').

**prill** m 'April'. Borrowed from Lat *aprilis* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 353). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMANN 111; LANDI *Lat.* 118, 177.

**prime** pl. 'folk remedies'. Deverbative of *proj* 'to guard, to defend' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 48).

**prind** m, pl. *prindë*, *prindër* ~ *prindën* 'father, parent'. Borrowed from Lat *parentem* id. (CAMARDA I 42; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 47; MEYER *Wb.* 353). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1047, 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189; MIHĂESCU *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). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044; HAARMANN 144.

**prige** pl. 'arthritis'. Another variant is *prīç* ~ *prīç*. A suffixal derivative of *prij*.

**priskoj** aor. *priskova* 'to besprinkle'. A relatively recent denominative formation based on \**prisk(ē)*. The latter was borrowed from Slav \**pryskъ* 'sprinkling' otherwise unattested in South Slavic where its variant \**prъskъ*, \**prъskati* is attested.

**prish** aor. *prisha* 'to destroy, to spoil, to waste'. From PALb \**priša* related to Gk πρίω 'to saw' (MEYER *Wb.* 353, *Alb. St.* III 31, 61, 72). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 72-73 (adds Germanic parallels: OHG *freisa* 'danger, destruction' and the like), LKUBA 24; PISANI *Saggi* 119; ÇABEJ *St.* II 49-50; FRISK II 596 (doubts the validity of the Greek - Albanian comparison); POKORNY I 846; ÇABEJ *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 *privāre* id.

**prizë** f, pl. *priza* 'gutter'. Derived from *prije*.

**probateshë** f, pl. *probatesha* 'adopted sister'. An innovative feminine in -*eshë* based on the recomposition of *probatin*, see *pobratim*.

**prodhoj** aor. *prodhova* 'to produce'. Borrowed from Lat *prōdāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 52). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 266 (to *mbrodh*).

**profkë** f, pl. *profka* 'splitting fruit; water spray; twaddle, bluff'. Another variant is *proçkë* 'blunder, slip of the tongue'. From Bulg *pročka* 'wicket-gate' in various metaphoric meanings. ◊ JOKL LKUBA 9 (to *prëj*), *Slavia* XIII 289.

**prog** m, pl. *proje* 'nail'. A secondary fonetic variant of *prokë*.

**proj** aor. *prova* 'to guard, to defend; to precede, to anticipate, to take precaution'. Borrowed from Lat *parāre* 'to make ready; to defend',

the meaning 'to defend' being typical of Romance languages (Ital *parare*, Fr *parer*), cf. ÇABEJ *St.* II 48. A noun *projë* meaning at the same time 'defense' and 'booty' is a deverbative. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 369 (to *ruaj* or from Lat *prohibēre* 'to hold back, to prevent').

**prokë** 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* < fem. \**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 \**prosëkъ* 'kind of axe; opening, cutting (in a forest)', cf. Bulg *prosek*, SCr *prosijek* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 50). The meaning represented in Albanian is not attested in South Slavic. It has obviously developed from 'section, something cut out'. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 151 (from Bulg *prosek* 'section in a barn').

**prozhëm** m, pl. 'small wood, community forest'. Another, and more phonetically archaic, variant is *proshëm*. This word for the \*'nearest forest' > 'community forest' is borrowed from Lat *proximus* 'nearest'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 355 (from South Slav \**šuma* 'forest'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 75 (from \**kseumā* related to Slav \**šuma*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 50-51 (borrowed from Slav \**brъstъ* 'brushwood').

**prozhmoj** aor. *prozhmova* 'to slander, to libel'. As in *prozhëm*, a more conservative variant is *proshmoj*. It is borrowed from Lat *proximāre* 'to come near, to approach' with a complicated semantic development, presumably: 'to get close' > 'to know intimately' > 'to slander'. ◊ CAMARDA I 322 (to Gk \**προ-σιμόω*, cf. *σιμόω* 'to turn up the nose, to sneer at' - but Greek loanwords are not adapted as verbs in -*oj*); MEYER *Wb.* 355 (from Slav \**šumъ* 'noise'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 51 (identical with *përçmoj* 'to despise' derived from *çmoj*).

**prridh** aor. *prridha* 'to suffocate'. Continues a prefixal verb \**për-ridh* with a root unattested in an unbound form and continuing PALb \**reida* related to Gk ἐρείδω 'to prop, to push'. ◊ FRISK I 551; POKORNY I 860.



**prroskë** f, pl. *prroska* 'brook, mountain stream'. Derivative in *-skë* of *përrua* (JOKL LKUBA 220, 327).

**prush** m 'ember, glowing coal'. From PALb *\*prušā* etymologically related to Lat *prūna* id. < *\*prusnā*, Skt *ploṣati* 'to burn' (MEYER Wb. 355, Alb. St. III 31, 61). ◊ CAMARDA I 52 (to Gk πῦρ 'fire'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 231; SCHULZE *Kl. Schr.* 479; POKORNY I 846; MANN *Language* XXVI 388 (to Latv *pīrksts* 'hot ash'); DEMIRAJ AE 334-335.

**psherëtij** aor. *psherëtiva* 'to sigh, to moan'. Other variants are *psherëtoj* and *psherëtis*. Borrowed, with a metathesis in the phonetically complicated ñnlaut, from Rom *\*suspīritāre*, cf. Lat *susprāre* 'to sigh' (MEYER Wb. 356). ◊ ÇABEJ St. VII 221.

**pshikëlloj** aor. *pshikëllova* 'to beat with a cane'. Another variant is *fshikulloj*. Derived from *fshikull* 'whip' borrowed from Rom *\*fisticula*, cf. Lat *fistula* 'reed, cane'.

**pshoj** aor. *pshova* 'to sigh, to moan'. A back formation of *\*pshirë* < Lat *suspīrium* 'sigh', cf. *psherëtij*.

**pshurr** aor. *pshurra* 'to urinate'. From *\*për-shurr*, a prefixal derivative of *shurrë*.

**puçërr** f, pl. *puçër* 'blister, pimple'. Together with *puç* 'hair parting' and *puçis* 'to contort (face)', goes back to SCr *pučiti* 'to split'.

**pufkë** f, pl. *pufka* 'bubble, blister'. A derivative of *\*pufë* ~ *puhë* 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 *puhas* id. Finally, *puhi* 'light breeze' also belongs here (MEYER Wb. 356).

**puftë** adj. 'empty, hollow'. Appears only in a context *arrë pufte* 'empty nut'. Borrowed from Lat fem. *puncta* 'punctured, having a hole'.

**puk** adj. 'foolish'. Borrowed from Lat *pūblicus* 'public; common, ordinary, bad'.

**pukë** f 'promenade, public way'. Borrowed from Lat *pūblica (via)* 'public

way' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53; MEYER Wb. 356). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1054; HAARMANN 144.

**pulegër** f, pl. *pulegra* 'dwarf bustard'. Based on *\*pulegë* borrowed from one of Italian or Dalmatian continuations of Rom *\*pullicus*, cf. *pullus* 'young fowl, chick'.

**pulendër** ~ **pulandër** f, pl. *pulendra* ~ *pulandra* 'maize porridge'. Another variant is *pullëndër* ~ *pullandër*. Based on *\*pullënd* borrowed from Lat *polenta* 'peeled barley, pearl-barley'.

**puļë** f, pl. *pula* 'hen'. Borrowed from Rom *\*pulla* 'hen' (cf. Fr *poule*), see CAMARDA I 172; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53; MEYER Wb. 356-357. As to *pulkë* 'turkey; pullet', it is borrowed from Bulg *pulka* 'pullet'. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046, 1050, 1054; JOKL LKUBA 219; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 232; MIHĂESCU RESEE 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).

**pulpë** f, pl. *pulpa* 'calf (of leg)'. Borrowed from Lat *pulpa* 'flesh' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53; MEYER Wb. 356). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 144.

**pulqyer** m, pl. *pulqerë* 'thumb; dwarf'. Another variant is *pulqer*. Borrowed from Lat *pollicāris* 'belonging to a thumb' (MEYER Wb. 357). ◊ CAMARDA I 345 (reconstructs Rom *\*pollicer*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043; SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 251; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 39, 83.

**pullëndër** ~ **pullandër** f 'washing water, lye'. A singularized plural of *\*pulland* borrowed from Lat *perlavantem* 'washing thoroughly'.

**pullaz** m, pl. *pullaze* 'roof'. A secondary variant of *pëllas* 'palace' (ÇABEJ II 51-52), with the hypercorrect voicing of the auslaut. ◊ MEYER Wb. 356 (variant of *lëpozë* 'roof, roof-timbers', cf. *lëpizë*); JOKL LKUBA 86-88 (follows MEYER).

**punë** f, pl. *punë* 'work, thing'. A participle in *-në* of an unattested verb

\**puaj* continuing PALb \**pānja*. The latter is related to Gk πένομαι 'to strain, to work on' and its deverbative πόνος 'work, labor' (HAHN I 251, II 28) with uncertain further links. ◇ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 188-189 (borrowed from Gk πόνος); MEYER *Wb.* 357, *Alb. St.* III 29, 58 (to Gk σπουδή '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 \**pōditi* 'to push, to press'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 86 (from \**oposnā*, to Lat *opus* 'work'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 225 (disputes BARIĆ's view); LA PIANA *Studi* I 73; PISANI *Saggi* 103, 121; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 94 (to Lat *pugnō* 'to fight'); CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 46; FRISK II 504-506; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 65. (to \**spend-* 'to pull'); KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 102; ÇABEJ II 52-53 (two possibilities are suggested: HAHN's etymology or comparison with Lat *pondus* 'weight'), IV 58; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 212; HULD 156, 165; KORTLANDT *Arm.-IE* 40; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 335-336.

**punjashe** f, pl. *punjashe* 'purse'. Diminutive of \**punjē* borrowed from East Germanic, cf. Goth *puggs* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 357).

**pupë** f, pl. *pupa* 'breast, teat; tassel, bud'. Borrowed from Rom \**puppa* 'teat' (cf. OFr *poupe*, Ital *poppa*), see MEYER *Wb.* 358. Derived from *pupë* is *pupërr* 'boil, furuncle' (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 233). ◇ DURIDANOV *Trakite* 80 (to Thr \**pupa*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 336.

**pupë** f, pl. *pupa* 'hoopoe'. Borrowed from Lat *upupa* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 357-358). From its derivative *pupëzë* id. Rum *pupăză* was borrowed. ◇ HAARMÄNN 156.

**pupë** f, pl. *pupa* 'stern'. Borrowed from Lat *puppis* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53; MEYER *Wb.* 357). ◇ HAARMANN 144.

**puprroj** aor. *puprrova* 'to hoe over'. Borrowed, with dissimilation of liquids, from Lat *preparāre* 'to prepare', in this case - 'to prepare the field (for sowing)'.

**pupurrigem** refl. 'to tremble'. An emphatic formation built on the basis of *puprroj*.

**puq** aor. *puqa* 'to fit together'. From PALb \**pukja*, a denominative related

to Gk πύκα adv. 'thickly, strongly', πυκνός 'thick, strong'. ◇ FRISK II 622-623; POKORNY I 849.

**puroj** aor. *purova* 'to calm, to pacify, to defend'. Borrowed from Rom \**parāre* 'to defend' (JOKL *Studien* 112). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 267 (from Rom \**barrāre* 'to bar').

**purtekë** f, pl. *purteka* 'rod, stick'. Borrowed, with a metathesis of -*ru-* > -*ur-*, from one of the South-East continuants of Slav \**prōtěkъ* 'rod, bush', cf. Bulg *прѣтак*, SCr *prutak* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 31; MEYER *Wb.* 358-359). ◇ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 244 (from Lat *pertica*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244.

**purth** m 'diarrhea'. Derivative in -*th* of PALb \**purwa* related to Lith *puřvas* 'filth, dirt', Latv *pūrvs* 'swamp, marsh'. ◇ FRAENKEL 675.

**purřë** f 'hot ashes'. Borrowed from Slav \**pyr'ь* id. (Czech *pýř*, Pol *perz*). An early loanword with Slav \*-*y-* rendered as Alb -*u-* (JOKL *AarbSt* I/1-2 45-46). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 298; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 291; KRISTOFORIDHI 286 (from NGk πυρός); SVANE 57; OREL *ZfSlav* XXX/6 913, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 362.

**pus** m, pl. *puse, pusa* 'well, fountain'. Borrowed from Lat *puteus* 'well' (MEYER *Wb.* 359). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 31 (from Slavic), Rom. *Elemente* 51 (from Ital *pozzo* id.); ; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 233; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; SVANE 144; LANDI *Lat.* 125, 139.

**push** m 'fluff, down, nap, pile'. Continues PALb \**puša* < \**pukjsa* etymologically connected with Skt *pūccha-* 'tail' < \**puksko-*, Slav \**puxъ* 'down' < \**poukso-* (ÇABEJ II 53, IV 219) going back to IE \**puk-* ~ \**peuk-* 'covered with hair, bushy'. ◇ CAMARDA I 345; MEYER *Wb.* 359 (borrowing from Turk *puş* '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*).

**pushkë** f, pl. *pushkë* 'rifle, gun'. Borrowed from Slavic, cf. Bulg *puška*, SCr *puška* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 31; MEYER *Wb.* 359). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 13; SVANE 204.

**pushoj** aor. *pushova* 'to have a rest'. Borrowed from Lat *pausāre* 'to halt, to rest (in the grave)' (PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom.* II 660) developing the meaning of 'resting' in Romance, cf. Ital *posare*. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51 (from Ital *posare*); MEYER *Wb.* 359 (from Latin or from Ital *posare*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049; HELBIG *JbIRS* X 127 (agrees with MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 233; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 143.

**pushtet** m, pl. *pushtete* 'power'. Borrowed from Lat *potestātem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 359, *Alb. St.* IV 10). The verb *pushtoj* continues Rom *\*potestāre*. The dialectal form of the verb *poshtroj* ~ *pështroj* results from an erroneous etymological link with *shtroj*. ◇ CAMARDA I 178 (to Gk στρῶννυμι 'to spread'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043; WEIGAND *BA* I 261 (*pushtoj* < *\*pushtet-oj*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 124 (*pushtoj* < Rom *\*expeditāre*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 53-55 (repeats the essence of CAMARDA's etymology: *pushtoj* < *\*për-shtroj*, to *shtroj*); HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 33, 39, 44.

**putë** f, pl. *puta* 'sole'. From PAIb *\*puktā* related to Gk πύκκα adv. 'thickly, strongly', πυκνός 'thick, strong', cf. *puq*.

**putërë** ~ **putanë** f 'whore'. Borrowed from Rom *\*puttana* id., cf. Ital *puttana*. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53 (from Ital *puttana*); MEYER *Wb.* 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). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 356 (to Gk πυκάζω '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); ÇABEJ *St.* II 55 (follows TAGLIAVINI); HULD 156; DEMIRAJ *AE* 336-337.

**pyes** aor. *pyeta* 'to ask'. From the umlauticized PAIb *\*pūta* related to Lat *putō* 'to reckon, to ponder', Slav *\*pytati* 'to ask' (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 217). ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24 (to Skt *prach-* 'to ask'); CAMARDA I 44 (to Gk πυυθάνομαι 'to learn'); MEYER *Wb.* 360 (from Rom *\*petiō* based on Lat *petō* 'to demand, to seek'), *Alb. St.* IV 50; DIEFENBACH I 43 (to Lat *poscō* 'to ask, to beg'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I

1044; PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* IX I 211 (from *\*për-ves*, related to Skt *pravedayati*); WEIGAND *BA* I 261 (follows MEYER); XHUVANI *KLetr* II 14 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); WALDE-HOFMANN II 393-394; VASMER III 421; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 256; ÇABEJ *St.* II 55-57 (from *\*për-v-es* related to Gk αἰτέω 'to ask, to demand').

**pylkë** f, pl. *pylka* 'wedge; end of the axe-handle'. Another, more frequent, variant is *pykë*. Borrowed from Lat *pavīcula* 'hammer'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 360 (from Rom *\*pilicum*, cf. Lat *pilum* 'pestle').

**pyll** m, pl. *pyje* 'forest'. Borrowed from Balk Rom *\*padūlem* (cf. Rum *pādure* id.) < Lat *palūdem* 'swamp' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 46; MEYER *Wb.* 360). ◇ CAMARDA I 52 (to Gk ὕλη 'forest'?); PUŞCARIU *EWB* 108; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1039, 1046, 1052; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 92; BARIĆ *Hymje* 65; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 251; HULD 105; HAARMANN 139; LANDI *Lat.* 69, 144-146.

## Q

**qafë** f, pl. *qafa* 'neck'. Borrowed from Turk *kafa* 'occiput, head' (HULD 106). The substitution Alb *q-* < Turk *k-* is possible (BORETZKY *Türk. Einfluß* I 77). Rum *ceafă* 'neck, occiput' is an Albanian loanword (MEYER *Wb.* 219). ◇ CAMARDA I 93 (to Gk ἀρχήν id.); MEYER *Wb.* 219 (comparison with Lat *collum* 'neck' and the like); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 330 (against MEYER); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 31 (to OHG *warb* 'turn, rotation'), *AArbSt* I 146 (from *\*ko-osk(h)u-*, cf. Gk ὀσφύς 'hip'); JOKL *LKUBA* 328 (against BARIĆ *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; HAMP *Festschr. Schmidt* 39 (from *\*kepHā*, 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 κλαίω < *\*κλάϜω* id. (CAMARDA I 79; MEYER *Wb.* 220, *Alb. St.* III 4). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 146; MANN *Language* XXVI 381; FRISK I 865; CHANTRAINE 538; POKORNY I 599; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 47; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 686; HAMP *Laryngeals* 126; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 110, *Verbum* 104; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; ÇABEJ

*St.* VII 193; HULD 106; JANSON *Unt.* 178; DEMIRAJ *AE* 337-388 (to dial. *klith* 'to cry').

**qapě** f, pl. *qapa* 'hobble'. From PAIb \**klapā*, 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*. ◊ CAMARDA I 38 (related to Gk κίρκος 'circle, ring'); JOKL *Studien* 42 (supports MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 57 (agrees with CAMARDA); LANDI *Lat.* 85, 98, 139.

**qartě** adj. 'clear'. Borrowed from Lat *clārus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 15; MEYER *Wb.* 220). ◊ CAMARDA I 56; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1040 (from Ital *chiaro* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 93 (from Italian).

**qartoj** aor. *qartova* 'to quarrel'. From Lat *certāre* 'to compete' (MEYER *Wb.* 220). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 116.

**qarr** m, pl. *qarra* 'Turkey oak, bitter oak'. Borrowed from Lat *cerrus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 220). ◊ MIHĂESCU *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 *kečiù*, *kĕsti* 'to stretch'. ◊ CAMARDA I 70; MEYER *Wb.* 220-221 (to Slav \**kasati sę* 'to touch'), *Alb. St.* III 6, 13; PISANI *Saggi* 119; FRAENKEL 246 (contamination of \**ked-* and \**plet-* in Lithuanian); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184, 231.

**qazhně** f, pl. *qazhna* 'rough white woolen cloth'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav \**tęžьna*, fem. 'heavy'.

**qeft** m, pl. *qefte* 'drinking glass'. Borrowed from Lat *captus* \*'container', participle of *capio* 'to contain, to hold'. ◊ KRISTOFORIDHI 187 (from Gk κεῦθος 'hiding place'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 58-59 (to *sqep*).

**qefull** m, pl. *qefuj* 'mullet'. From MGk κέφαλος id. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244.

**qeizě** f, pl. *qeizja* 'cuticle'. Another variant is Geg *qenĕz*. Based on PAIb \**kenja* 'new skin' < 'new' etymologically related to Skt *kanīna-* 'young', Gk καινός 'new' and the like. ◊ FRISK I 754; POKORNY I 563-564.

**qek** aor. *qeka* 'to mention, to quote'. Continues PAIb \**kaka* or \**keka* related to Lith *kankù*, *kàkti* 'to seize, to reach', Latv *kacēt* 'to grasp', Slav \**čekati* 'to expect, to wait'. ◊ FRAENKEL 206; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* IV 36.

**qel** m, pl. *qela* 'scab'. Borrowed from Lat *callum* 'corn, hard skin'. ◊ ÇABEJ *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'. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 53 (from IE \**gʷol-bh-* related to Arm *keł* 'tumor'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 93; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to Gk κέλεφος); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 224-225.

**qelě** f, pl. *qela* 'priest's house'. Borrowed from Lat *cella* 'room' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 13) ◊ HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 98, 158.

**qelq** m, pl. *qelqe* 'glass'. Borrowed from Lat *calicem* 'bowl, cup' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 9; MEYER *Wb.* 221). ◊ CAMARDA I 46 (to Gk κάλυξ 'seed-vessel, shell, pod'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1042; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 114; LANDI *Lat.* 85, 111-112.

**qell** aor. *qella* 'to halt, to hold up, to carry'. From PAIb \**kela* etymologically connected with Skt *kaláyati* 'to impel', Gk κέλωμαι 'to drive on' and the like (CAMARDA I 127; MEYER *Wb.* 168). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 329-330; JOKL *IF* XXX 198, *LKUBA* 266 n. 1 (connects *qell* with *sjell* despite the phonetically impossible *q-* < \**k<sup>h</sup>* before a palatal); FRISK I 817-818; MAYRHOFER I 179; POKORNY I 549; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to Lith *kĕlti* 'to raise'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 81; ÇABEJ *Sprache* XVIII 126 (follows JOKL), *St.* VII 230; HULD 106-107 (recon-

structs \**k'olejō*); JANSON *Unt.* 164; DEMIRAJ *AE* 338-339 (to IE \**kejə*- 'to move').

**qem** m 'incense'. Singularized plural of \**kam* borrowed from Gk *καπνός* 'smoke'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 222 (to Slav \**čadъ* 'smoke'); JOKL *Studien* 34 (related to *καπνός* < IE \**kuep-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 281.

**qemër** f, pl. *qemra* 'snake's coil'. Borrowed from Lat *camera* 'arch, vault'. ◊ CAMARDA II 150 (to Gk *καμάρα* id.).

**qen** m, pl. *qen, qenër* '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 *caine*), reflecting no traces of rhotacism in Tosk. ◊ BOPP *Gr. comp.* I 301 (from Indo-European); STIER *KZ* XI 144-145 (reflex of IE \**kūōn*); CAMARDA I 41 (treats *qen* as a cognate of Lat *canis* and other reflexes of IE \**kūōn*); JOKL *Erf. Idg.* 128; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1042; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 94; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82 (of Indo-European origin); MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMANN 114; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 190; HULD 107; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 98, 144.

**qendër** f, pl. *qendra* 'center, middle'. Borrowed from Lat *centrum* id. ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 23; MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 116; ÇABEJ *St.* II 59 (on Old Alb *qendër* 'punch'); LANDI *Lat.* 54, 81.

**qengj** m, pl. *qengja, shqerra, shtjerra* 'lamb'. Borrowed from the metathesized Rom \**ācing(u)lus* < Lat *āgniculus* id. (SKOK *AarbSt* II 344-346). The plural form continues PALb \**sterai* related to Skt *starī* 'barren cow', Arm *sterj* 'sterile, barren', Gk *στεῖρα* id. ◊ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 178 (from Rom \**āgnunc(u)lus*); MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 20 (follows BUGGE); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 344-348 (from Lat *āgniculus*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 96; AČAREAN *HAB* IV 272; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 105 (prefix *q-* and further comparison with *enjë*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 59 (links *qengj* < \**ken-k-* to Gk *καίνός* 'new', Skt *kanīna-* id.); POKORNY I 1031; MAYRHOFER III 512-513; FRISK II 783; HULD 115.

**qengjë** f, pl. *qengja* 'beehive'. Another variant is *qëngjë*. Continues PALb \**kenagā* related to Gmc \**xunagan* 'honey': ON *hunang*, OE *hunig*, OHG *honag*. An Albano-Germanic isogloss reflecting IE \**k<sub>u</sub>nako-*. ◊ POKORNY I 564 (Germanic from IE \**k<sub>u</sub>nako-* 'golden, yellow'); ZAL-IZN'AK *Ëtimologija* 141.

**qep** m, pl. *qepa* 'beak, hammer'. Borrowed from Slav \**klepъ* 'sharp point' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 432). Cf. also *qepallë*. ◊ 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). ◊ CAMARDA I 101 (to Gk *κάπτω* 'to swallow, to gulp down'); MEYER *Wb.* 223 (from IE \**skep-* 'to split'), *Alb. St.* III 6, 31; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 330 (to Lat *capiō* 'to take'); JOKL *LKUBA* 308 (follows PEDERSEN); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 94; TRUBAČEV *ËSSJa* X 9 (explains \**klepati* as onomatopoeia).

**qepallë** f, pl. *qepalla* 'eyelid'. Borrowed from Slav \**klepadlo* 'hammer, beetle, clapper' (MEYER *Wb.* 223), cf. in particular Maced *klepalo* 'eyelid' (JOKL *LKUBA* 304). ◊ CAMARDA I 90 (from IE \**skep-* 'to cover'); SVANE 179, 274.

**qepë** f, pl. *qepë* 'onion'. Borrowed from Lat *cēpa* id. (CAMARDA I 78; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8; MEYER *Wb.* 223). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 94; MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 53, 81.

**qepër** f, pl. *qepra* 'beam, roof-beam'. Borrowed from Lat *capra* 'she-goat, \*roof-beam', cf. Ital *capro* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 11; MEYER *Wb.* 223). ◊ CAMARDA I 90 (to Gk *σκέπη* 'covering, shelter'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1044; JOKL *LKUBA* 268 (from Rom \**capreus*); MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 115.

**qepule** f, pl. *qepule* 'bulb (of a plant)'. Borrowed from Lat *cēpulla* 'onion', cf. *qepë*. Derived from *qepule* is *qepujkë* id.

**qer** m, pl. *qere* 'round kneading-board'. A Tosk variant of *që* ~ *që*.

**qere** f 'tetter, scab (on the head)'. Borrowed from Lat *cariēs* 'rot' (MEYER *Wb.* 223). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1043; MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMANN 115; LANDI *Lat.* 133-134.

**qerm** m, pl. *qerme* 'higher part of the campfire; raised baulk'. Borrowed, with an irregular *q-* < \**tj-*, from Gk *τέρμα* 'end, boundary,

limit'.  $\diamond$  MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 20 (from Latin); ÇABEJ *St.* II 60 (related to Gk τέρμα and Lat *termen* 'boundary'); HAARMANN 153 (from Latin).

**qeroj** aor. *qerova* 'to ask, to demand'. Other variants are *qëroj* and *qiroj*. Borrowed from Lat *quaerere* id. (HAARMANN 144).

**qerpë** f 'tuft of hair'. Another variant is *çerpë*. A metathesis of *perçe*, the latter being of Turkish origin (ÇABEJ *St.* II 60).

**qersë** f, pl. 'fallow land'. From PALb *\*kerktja* related to Slav *\*kьrčь* 'stuffed plot', Latv *kūrkt* 'to become empty (of a turnip)', OPrus *Curche* 'the last sheaf in which a deity hides'.  $\diamond$  VASMER II 340; MÜHLENBACH-ENDZELIN II 322-323; POKORNY I 568.

**qershi** f, pl. *qershi* 'cherry'. Based on *\*qersh* borrowed from Gk κέρασος id. (CAMARDA I 56; THUMB *IF* XXVI 29).  $\diamond$  MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 13 (from Lat *cerasus*); MEYER *Wb.* 225 (from Rom *\*cerasium*, cf. *cerasus* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1051; JOKL *LKUBA* 208 (agrees with THUMB); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 98; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 31, IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230; HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 158.

**qerthull** m, pl. *qerthuj* 'winch, windlass, circle'. From PALb *\*kerts-ula* continuing IE *\*ker-k-* and related to Gk κίρκος 'ring' and Lat *circus* 'circle', *circulus* (MANN *Language* XXVI 385).  $\diamond$  CAMARDA I 162 (to *qark*); MEYER *Wb.* 220 (same as CAMARDA); JOKL *Studien* 42 (from IE *\*kert-* 'to turn, to bind'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 42; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 118 (suffix *-ull*); FRISK II 19-20; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; WALDE-HOFMANN 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).  $\diamond$  MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1043, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 94-95; ÇABEJ *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 PALb *\*kaksja* related to similar onomatopoeic verbs in Skt *kákhati* id., Gk καχάζω id. and the like (BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 42-reconstructs *\*kakhjō*).  $\diamond$  CAMARDA I 69 (to Gk χάσσω, χαίνω 'to yawn, to gape'); MEYER *Wb.* 224 (to Goth *hlahjan* 'to laugh'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 95 (questions BARIĆ's etymology); PISANI *Saggi* 122; POKORNY I 634; FRISK I 804; MAYRHOFER I 136; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 221.

(T) **qeshër** f, pl. *qeshra* 'roof plank'. Borrowed from Rom *\*casina* derived from Lat *casa* 'house, hut'.

**qetë** f, pl. *qeta* '(jagged) rock'. From PALb *\*klaitā* directly connected with W *ciud* 'heap' and Lith *šlaitas* 'slope'. Cf. also, with a different vocalism, Gk κλειτός 'slope', OHG *hlīta* id. and the like (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 433).  $\diamond$  FRAENKEL 997; ÇABEJ *LP* VIII 79-80, *St.* II 61 (singularized plural of *qye*); POKORNY I 601-602; FRISK I 873-875.

**qetë** adj. 'quiet'. Borrowed from Lat *quiētus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 224).  $\diamond$  MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1051; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 145.

**qeth** aor. *qetha* 'to cut (hair)'. Goes back to PALb *\*kaiṣa* related to Skt *kéśa-* 'hair (of the head)', Lith *káisti* 'to scrape, to shave'.  $\diamond$  CAMARDA I 78 (to Gk κείρω '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; ÇABEJ *Sprache* XVIII 144-145, *St.* VII 229; HULD 147; KORTLANDT *KZ* XCIV 250; DEMIRAJ *AE* 340-341 (to *qij*).

**qezë** f, pl. *qezë* 'breadboard, baking plate'. Derived from *që*.

**që ~ qê** m 'round kneading board'. Borrowed from Gk κόννα 'wicker-work, basket'.  $\diamond$  MEYER *Wb.* 224-225 (from *\*klen-*); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 34-35 (from Rom *\*clāvanus* derived from Lat *clāva* 'stick, staff' - but Cham *që* excludes the possibility of the initial *\*kl-*!); ÇABEJ

St. II 58 (to Bret *kant* 'circle' and its Celtic cognates).

qĕ ~ qi pron. 'which, that', conj. 'that'. Borrowed from Lat *quī* 'which' and *quia* 'because, that', *quod* 'that' (MEYER *Wb.* 217-218). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1051; PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht XIX* I 206-208 (from IE \**k<sup>h</sup>id*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19 (from Lat *quod*); ÇABEJ *St. II* 61-62 (agrees with PEDERSEN).

qĕlloj aor. *qĕllova* 'to beat, to hit; to gain, to obtain'. Restored from \**pĕr-qĕlloj* borrowed from Lat *percellāre* 'to beat'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 225 (from Rom \**cellāre*); LAMBERTZ *KZ* LII 66 (to *qell*); ÇABEJ *St. II* 62-63 (follows LAMBERTZ).

qĕmtoj aor. *qĕmtova* 'to gather'. Borrowed from Rom \**coĕmptāre*, cf. Lat *coĕmere* 'to buy up'.

qĕndroj aor. *qĕndrova* 'to stop, to halt'. Borrowed from Rom \**centrāre*, derivative of Lat *centrum* (MEYER *Wb.* 225) used to denote an immobile object, in particular, the immobile leg of a compass. ◊ CAMARDA I 44 (to Gk κέντρον 'goad, point').

qĕroj aor. *qĕrova* 'to clean, to sort out'. Borrowed from Lat *carāre* 'to card (linen)'. Hence, 'to sort out'. ◊ CAMARDA I 44 (to Gk κοπέω 'to sweep, to clean'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15 (from Lat *curāre*).

qĕrtoj aor. *qĕrtova* 'to blame, to reproach'. Another variant is *qortoĵ*. See *qartoĵ*.

qiell m/n, pl. *qiej* 'sky, heaven'. Borrowed from Lat *caelum* id. (RASK apud HULD 107; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8; MEYER *Wb.* 225-226). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 93; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMANN 113; LANDI *Lat.* 71-72, 137.

qift m, pl. *qiftĕ* 'kite, kind of vulture'. Borrowed from Lat *accipiter* 'vulture' (MEYER *Wb.* 226). For the loss of the last syllable cf. *mbret* (JOKL *LKUBA* 306). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1055; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÇABEJ *St. VII* 184; HAARMAN 110.

qij aor. *qiva* 'to copulate, to have sexual intercourse'. Borrowed from

Lat *coīre* id. through the intermediate stage \**kĕinj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 226 (from Lat *inclīnāre* 'to cause to lean'), Alb. *St. V* 90 (to Lat *scindō* 'to cut, to tear'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1054 (same as MEYER); JOKL *Zb. Belić* 49; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 95; PISANI *AAL VIII* 345 (to IE \**ken-* 'to rub').

qikĕl f, pl. *qikla* 'point, spike, peak'. Singularized plural of \**qekĕl*. From PALb \**kekulā* related to Lith *kĕkulas* 'lump, cluster', Latv *ĉekūls* 'forelock, cluster'. ◊ FRAENKEL 234-235; ÇABEJ *St. VII* 235.

qime f, pl. *qime* 'hair'. Another form is *qym*. Borrowed from Lat *cyma* 'young shoots (of cabbage)' (MEYER *Wb.* 226-227). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 16 (from Lat *coma*); CAMARDA I 52 (to Gk κύμα 'wave, billow'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; ÇABEJ *St. VII* 205; HAARMANN 122; LANDI *Lat.* 69, 100.

qind num. 'hundred'. Borrowed from Lat *centum* id. (CAMARDA I 37; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 13; MEYER *Wb.* 227). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (related to Skt *śatā-* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 95; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 98; HAMP *Numerals* 919.

qingĕl f, pl. *qingla* 'girth, belly-band (of pack animals)'. Another variant is *qengĕl*. Borrowed from Lat *cingula* id. (CAMARDA I 165; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 227) ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 117; LANDI *Lat.* 98, 111, 117.

qipĕr f 'copper, bronze'. Borrowed from Lat (*aes*) *cuprium* 'copper' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 228). ◊ CAMARDA I 52 (to Lat *cuprum* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 121.

qipi f, pl. *qipi* 'stack'. Secondary derivative of PALb \**kūpa* related to OPers *kaufa-* 'mountain', OHG *hufo* 'heap', OE *heap* id. and also *houf* id., Lith *kāupas* id., Slav \**kupa* id. (JOKL *Studien* 43). ◊ FRAENKEL 231; ONIONS 432; VASMER II 418-419; POKORNY I 591-592; DEMIRAJ *AE* 341 (collective of *kup* id.).

qiqĕr f, pl. *qiqra* 'chick-pea'. Borrowed from Lat *cicerem* id. (CAMARDA

I 68; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 226). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1045, 1051; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 117; LANDI *Lat.* 56, 98, 112.

**qiqiriq** m, pl. *qiqiriq* 'ground-nut'. Derived from *qiqēr*.

**qiri** m, pl. *qirinj* 'candle'. Borrowed from MGk κηρί id. (MEYER *Wb.* 228). ◇ 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 κίω 'to go, to move', Lat *ciēd* trans. 'to move' and the like. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 228 (from Lat *excitāre* '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.

**qitēr** f, pl. *qitra* 'citron'. Borrowed from Lat *citrum*, *citrus* 'citrus (tree)'.

**qoj** aor. *qova* 'to wake up'. Borrowed from Lat *ciēre* 'to move, to agitate'. ◇ CAMARDA I 66 (to *gjumē*); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 120 (follows CAMARDA); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 147-150 (to Lat *ciēre*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 221; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (related to Lat *ciēd*); ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 109; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 128-129; JANSON *Unt.* 125-126; DEMIRAJ *AE* 341.

**qok** m, pl. *qokē* 'kind of owl'. Another variant is *qukē*. An onomatopoeia.

**qok** aor. *qoka* 'to seize, to touch, to peck'. Another variant is *quk*. An expressive verb. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 229 (from Slav *\*kl'ukati* 'to peck').

**qokē** f, pl. *qoka* 'broody hen'. Derived from *qok* 'to seize'.

**qore** f, pl. *qore* 'water-hole in the mountains'. Singularized plural of *quar* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 63).

**qos** aor. *qosa* 'to end, to finish'. From PALb *\*klā(u)tja* derived from the Indo-European word for 'key': Gk κληίς, Lat *clāvis*. Cf. Lith *kliaudyti* 'to stop, to prevent' going back to the same source. ◇ CAMARDA I 39

(to Gk κόσμος 'order'); FRISK I 867-868; FRAENKEL 274; WALDE-HOFMANN I 229-231; POKORNY I 604-605; ÇABEJ *St.* II 63-64 ("expressive shortening" of *quillos*).

**quaj** ~ **quej** aor. *quajta* ~ *quejta* 'to call, to give a name'. From PALb *\*klāusnja*, a denominative based on IE *\*klejos* 'glory, word': Skt *śrávas-*, Gk κλέος, Slav *\*slovo* (CAMARDA I 52). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 230 (to *gjuhē*); JOKL *IF* XLIX 291, *Studien* 60; BARIĆ *ARSt* 71 (to *gjuhē*); 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; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 231; HULD 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 342.

**quar** ~ **quer** m, pl. *qore* 'prison, cellar, shelter'. Goes back to PALb *\*klā(u)ra* further related to *qos*. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 95-97 (to Slav *\*klētъ* 'barn' and its cognates); ÇABEJ *St.* II 64 (to OIr *claidim* 'to empty', Gk κλαδαρός 'fragile').

**qudohem** refl. 'to persist, to be obstinate'. Borrowed from Ital *chiudere* 'to shut' (MEYER *Wb.* 229). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 64 (to *çudis*).

**qull** m 'porridge'. The original meaning seems to be 'liquid food' as indicated by the denominative *qull* 'to make wet'. From PALb *\*klu-sla* related to Gk κλύζω 'to rinse', Lat *cluō* 'to clean' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 228, *Alb. St.* III 4 with the reconstruction *\*kludlo-*). ◇ CAMARDA I 69 (to Gk χυλός 'juice'); FRISK I 876-877; WALDE-HOFMANN I 239-240; POKORNY I 607; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (borrowed from Gk χυλός); ÇABEJ *St.* II 65 (follows MIHĂESCU).

**qumēsht** m 'milk, whey'. In dialects (e.g. in Cham), the initial *kl-* is preserved. Borrowed from Latin. Continues Rom *\*clomostro* < Lat *colostrum* 'colostrum, beestings' (MEYER *Wb.* 229). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 273-276 (to Gk κλύζω 'to pour, to wash', Latv *slāukt* 'to milk'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 149; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 105 (from *\*k-lum-*); HAMP *SCelt* XIV/XV 110; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 231.

**quploj** aor. *quplova* 'to blunt'. Borrowed from Rom *\*globellāre* derived from *\*globellus* 'knot'.



qurra pl. 'snot, snivel'. Another variant is *qyrra*. From PAIb \**klura* etymologically identical with Lith *šliūrti* 'to become dirty' and going back to an Indo-European localism \**k̑leu-r-*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 230 (from Turk *kir* 'dirt, filth'), Alb. *St.* IV 87, V 91; FRAENKEL 1007; ÇABEJ *St.* II 65 (to Lith *krèkti* 'to coagulate, to clot').

qye m, pl. *qej* 'summit, peak'. From PAIb \**klaina* continuing IE \**k̑loino-* 'slanting, skew' > Goth gen. pl. *hlaine* 'hill' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 61). ◇ FEIST *Goth.* 260-261; POKORNY I 600-602; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 433.

qyl m 'slime, mud'. From PAIb \**kūla* identical with Lith *kūla* 'out-growth', Slaṽ \**kyla* id. ◇ FRAENKEL 306; POKORNY I 536-537; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XIII 262-263.

qyr aor. *qyra* 'to look'. Another variant is *kəqyr* with a prefix *kə-*. Continues PAIb \**kewira* related to Gk *κοέω* 'to note', Lat *caveō* 'to be aware', Goth *hausjan* 'to hear'. ◇ FRISK I 890-891; WALDE-HOFMANN I 186-187; POKORNY I 587.

qyr̥ f, pl. *qyra* 'rear side (of a knife)'. Together with *qytē* 'blunt side (of an axe)' this form represents a derivative of an unattested verb \**qyej* 'to blunt' < PAIb \**kēnja*, further connected with IE \**ken-* 'to scratch, to cut'. For the semantic development cf. Lat *obtūsus* 'blunt' ~ *obtundere* 'to beat'. ◇ POKORNY I 559-553; BUCK 1070-1071.

qysh adv. 'how'. Locative of *qē*.

qytel m, pl. *qytete* 'city'. Borrowed from Lat *civitate(m)* id. (CAMARDA I 53; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 229). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 190; HAARMANN 117; ÇABEJ *St.* II 65-66 (on the umlaut in the suffix *-et*); OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 438 (on the evolution of PAIb \**-īwi-* and Lat *-īvi-*); LANDI *Lat.* 83, 85, 146.

## R

rabeckě f, pl. *rabecka* 'sparrow'. Based on \**rabec* borrowed from Slav \**vorbьsь* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vrabec*, SCr *vrabac* (DESNIČKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 13). ◇ SVANE 145.

rabush m 'hard outer scale of onion'. Another variant is *rapush* 'onion-top, flower of onion'. Borrowed from Bulg *rabuš* 'tally, tag'. ◇ MANN *HAED* 421 (to *lēpush*).

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 *Slav. Elemente* 31; MEYER *Wb.* 360). ◇ SVANE 223, 240.

radhě f, pl. *radhě* 'row'. From dialectal NGk *ράδα* id., cf. NGk *ἀράδα* (MEYER *Wb.* 360). ◇ CAMARDA II 334; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 279.

ragal m 'kennel'. A Tosk hapax registered by JOKL in a phrase *ragāl'a e šenit* 'dog's kennel'. Early borrowing from Slav \**rogalь* 'corner', cf. SCr *ragalj* (GINDIN - KALUŽSKAJA *SBJa Ėtnokul't.* 30-32); note Alb *-a* < Slav \**-o-*. Semantically, cf. Slav \**kotja* 'house, hut' derived from \**kotъ* 'corner' (TRUBAČEV *ZfPhon.* XXXIV 477). ◇ JOKL *IF* XLIV 13-15 (connects *ragal* with Rum *arġea* 'shed' and ancient Maced *ἄργελλα* 'Macedonian baths'); PISANI *REIE* IV 17 (fantastic comparison with Lat *nebula*); HASDEU *EMR* II 309 -310 (Rum *arġea* < ancient Balk \**argellā*); TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 149; CIORANESCU I 36 (Rum *arġea* < Turk Chag *arya* 'box'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 328; ROSETTI *ILR* 271-272; ÇABEJ *St.* II 94; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 362; DEMIRAJ *AE* 342-343.

rangě f 'home work'. From PAIb \**wrankā* with an original meaning \* 'gathering', etymologically identical with Lith *rankà* 'hand', *parankà* 'gathering', *renkù*, *riñkti* 'to gather', Slav \**rōka* 'hand'. ◇ FRAENKEL 697; VASMER III 515; POKORNY I 1155; ÇABEJ *St.* II 67-68 (connected with Ital *rangola* 'preoccupation' or Lat *rancor* 'rot').

rapě f 'turnip'. Borrowed from Lat *rāpa* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 232.

(G) raqitě f 'broom (bush)'. Borrowed from Slav \**orkyta* id., cf. Bulg *rakita*, SCr *rakita* (MEYER *Wb.* 361). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 189; SVANE 127.

rasě f, pl. *rasě* 'case'. A phonetic variant of *rast*, a Turkish loanword, influenced by *ra*, aoristic stem of *bie* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 68).

**rasë** f, pl. *rasa* 'cassock'. From MGk *ράσσο* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 69), probably, via Bulg *rasa*, SCr *rasa*.

**rashë** f 'kind of woman's shirt'. Borrowed from MLat *rāsum* 'kind of cloth' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 68-69).

**rashqel** m, pl. *rashqela* 'rake'. Another variant is *rrashqel*. Borrowed from Lat *rāstellus* 'little hoe'.

**ratë** adj. 'horizontal'. Derived from *rashë*, aor. of *bie*.

**ravë** f, pl. *rava* 'path (in mountains or snow)'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*rovъ* 'ditch'. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* I 78 (to Slav *\*noga* 'foot'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 54 (etymologically related to Slav *\*rovъ*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 69-70 (metathesis of *varrë*).

**ravgë** f 'path (in mountains)'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*rovъkъ* 'ditch', cf. *ravë*. Derived from *ravgë* is *ravgoj* 'to wander, to walk to and fro' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 70).

**re** indecl. 'attention'. Used in *vë re* 'to pay attention'. Identical with *rojë* 'guard' derived from *ruaj* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 71-72). The verb *vërej* 'to pay attention' is a univerbation of *vë re*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 362 (to Lat *gravis* 'heavy'); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 210 (to Lith *regëti* 'to see'); JOKL *Studien* 75-76, *LKUBA* 207 (follows WIEDEMANN and points to *ruaj* as the closest connection).

**re ~ rê** f, pl-*re* ~ *rê* 'cloud'. Singularized plural of *\*ri*. Goes back to PALb *\*rina* etymologically identical with Illyr *ρίνος· ἀχλύς* (JOKL *AfsIph* XXXI 238, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86). Further connections are Skt *riṇāti* 'to pour, to let flow', Gk Lesb *ὀρίνω* 'to move'. ◊ CAMARDA I 92 (to Gk *ἀήρ* 'air'); MEYER *Wb.* 362 (to Gmc *\*raukiz* 'smoke' > OHG *rouh*, ON *reykr* and the like), *Alb.St.* III 37, 90; BARIĆ *ARSt* I 78 (to IE *\*nebh-* 'cloud'); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 244 (to Skt *rāja-*); RIBEZZO *RivAlb* I 140 (to Gk *ἔρεβος*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 235 (follows MEYER); PISANI *Saggi* 99, 123; POKORNY I 330; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 52 (to *përrua*); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 80 (agrees with JOKL); ÇABEJ *St.* II 71 (repeats JOKL's etymology but also compares *re* with *err*); HULD 107-108 (links *re* to Lat *rōs* 'dew', Lith *rasà* 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 *\*rędъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *red*, SCr *red* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32). ◊ SVANE 224, 241.

**regëzinj** aor. *regëziva* 'to tear (clothes)'. An Old Albanian form (BUZUKU) based on the noun *rragozinë* 'rag' (LA PIANA *Studi. Varia* 41). The latter is an early Slavic loanword continuing Slav *\*rogožina* 'bast mat'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 72 (metathesis of *\*gërzinj* derived from *gris*).

**regj** m, pl. *regjër* 'king'. Borrowed from Lat *rēgem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 362 (from Lat *rēg(u)lus*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044; RESULLI *Studi albanesi* III-IV 211-213 (from Old Ital *rege* id.); MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* II 72 (agrees with MEYER *Gr. Gr.*); HAARMANN 145; LANDI *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'. ◊ 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 *πέζω*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 73-74 (from IE *\*ureg-* related to Gk *ἔργον* 'work'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 345 (to Lith *rūgti* 'to become sour').

**rekë** f 'brook, rivulet'. Another morphological variant is *rëké* (JOKL *LKUBA* 225). Borrowed from Slav *\*rëka* 'river', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *reka*, SCr *rijeka*, *reka* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 363). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 188, 323; SVANE 172.

**rekës** m 'giant'. Verbal adjective based on *rrek* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 74). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 363 (to Slovene *orjak* id.).

**rem** m 'copper'. Singularized plural of the attested form *ram* id. borrowed from Ital *rāme* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54; MEYER *Wb.* 361). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1042; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 29 (follows MIKLOSICH); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 234 (the same); JOKL

*Arch. Rom.* XXIV 35 (from Lat *aerāmen* 'bronze or copper shavings'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 110; ÇABEJ *St.* II 74-75 (agrees with JOKL).

**remě** f, pl. *rema* 'watermill ditch'. Borrowed from NGk *ρέμα* < Gk *ρέυμα* 'ditch, rivulet' (CAMARDA I 53; MEYER *Wb.* 373). ◊ MANN *HAED* 425, 434 (identical with *rremb*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 75 (agrees with MANN).

**rend** m, pl. *rende* 'row'. An early loanword from Slav *\*rědъ* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21), cf. *red*. The verb *rendis* 'to put in order' reflects Slav *\*rěditi* id. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 182; SVANE 223, 241.

**rend** aor. *renda* 'to run, to hurry'. Continues PAIb *\*renta*, a derivative of *\*rena* etymologically related to Goth *rinnan* 'to run', ON *rinna* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 363 (from MGk *ρένται* 'horse-race'); JOKL *LKUBA* 280-281 (derivative in *\*-t-* of *\*ren-*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (to Skt *ramhati*); FEIST *Goth.* 398-399; POKORNY I 328 (to IE *\*er-* 'to rise').

**rendoj** aor. *rendova* 'to grate'. Secondary formation based on *rend* 'row'.

**repě** f 'desert'. Continues an umlauticized PAIb *\*raupā* etymologically related to ON *rauf* 'pit', Lith *raupū, raūpti* 'to hollow out' further related to IE *\*reup-* 'to tear, to break'. ◊ FRAENKEL 707-708; POKORNY I 870.

**repě** f, pl. *repa* 'turnip'. Borrowed from Slav *\*rěpa* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *r'apa*, dial. *repa*, SCr *repa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24 (from Lat *rāpum*); SVANE 108.

**repuq** adj. 'torn'. A suffixal derivative of *rjep*.

**resě** f, pl. *resa* 'envy'. Historically identical with *resě* 'guard' derived from *ruaj* (KRISTOFORIDHI 297), probably, as a calque of Lat *invidia* id. (JOKL *Studien* 76). ◊ BORGEAUD *RRL* 6 (1973) 529-531; ÇABEJ *St.* II 75, IV 85.

**resě** f 'structure made of reed and supporting a straw roof'. Identical

cal with *resě* 'guard, envy'. The reed trellis was used to protect the roof from falling. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 75-76 (borrowed from Bulg *resa* 'stamen').

**resh** aor. *resha* 'to fall (of snow or rain)'. Secondarily restored from the aorist *rashě* of *bie* 'to fall' (JOKL *IF* XLIII 52-55). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 363 (to Skt *vārsati* 'to rain' and the like), *Alb. Studien* III 86; JOKL *Studien* 73-74 (to Lith *rasà* 'dew', Slav *\*rosa* id.); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 79 (to IE *\*sneigh-* 'snow'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 52; ÇABEJ *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 *\*rěšiti* 'to solve' also meaning 'to extinguish' as in SCr *rěšiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 363). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. 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*. ◊ 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 *\*arrestāre* 'to stop, to arrest'. ◊ CAMARDA II 159 (to Lat *resistō* 'to stop'); MEYER *Wb.* 364 (from Ital *restare* 'to stop').

**rezhdě** f, pl. *rezhda* 'ring at goat's throat'. Another variant is *rrezhdě*. Etymologically identical with *rezhgě*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 373 (to *rrezhdě* ~ *rreshtě* 'bone'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 76-77 (from SCr *resa* 'ring at goat's throat', Bulg *resa* 'stamen').

**rezhgě** f, pl. *rezhga* 'honeycomb cell'. Borrowed from Slav *\*rěžьka*, unattested derivative of *\*rědъkъ* 'rare'.

**rěfyřě** f, pl. *rěfyra* 'knot, outgrowth (on a tree)'. Prefixal derivative of *fāj*.

**rěkosh** m 'fat cheese'. A prefixal derivative of *\*kosh* borrowed from Lat *cāseus* 'cheese'.

**rēmēr ~ rēmen** m, pl. *rēmēnj* 'Valachian; shepherd'. Attested in Greece only. Borrowed from Lat *Romānus* 'Roman' (MEYER *Wb.* 365). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1049; ÇABEJ *St.* II 77 (from Arum *arumīn* 'Arumunian'); PUŞCARIU *Etudes* 60 (semantic development of *rēmēr* and *vllah*).

**rēmoj** aor. *rēmova* 'to dig'. Borrowed from Lat *rīmāri* 'to dig, to hoe' (MEYER *Wb.* 365). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1049; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251.

**rëndĕ ~ randĕ** adj. 'heavy'. Continues PALb *\*raunta* derived from the verbal stem of *₃*aor. *rashĕ* < *\*rauša*, see *bie* 'to fall' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 71). From *rëndĕ* the verb *rēndoj* 'to be heavy' is derived. ◊ CAMARDA I 47 (to Skt *rāmāte* '(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 *riėjū*, *riėti* 'to stack, to bend'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 86-87 (to Lith *sveriū* 'to weigh' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 234-235; MANN *Language* XVII 20 (from *\*gʷr̥dho-*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 71 (arguments in favor of BARIĆ's etymology); HULD 108 (supports JOKL's etymology).

**rēngĕ** f, pl. *rēnga* '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. ◊ HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 174-175; ZALIZN'AK *Ėtimologija* 132.

**rēnkoj** aor. *rēnkova* 'to moan, to groan'. Another variant is *rēkoj*. Tosk equivalents of *ankoj*. ◊ CAMARDA I 56 (to Gk *πέγκω* 'to snore').

**rēnxoj** aor. *rēnxova* 'to cause hernia'. Borrowed from Rom *\*hernizāre* based on *hernia* 'rupture, hernia'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 365 (to Ital *ernia* 'hernia'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 78 (phonetic variant of *rrēzōj*).

**rĕpjetĕ** adj. 'steep'. A variant of *pĕrpjetĕ* in which *rĕ-* seems to represent a phonetic transformation of *pĕr-* (JOKL *IF* XXXVII 95-96, *LKUBA* 244 n. 1). The same is true of *rĕposh* = *pĕrposh*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

**rĕrĕ ~ ranĕ** f 'sand'. Borrowed from Lat *arĕna* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER *Wb.* 366, *Alb. St.* IV 17). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044; JOKL *LKUBA* 281; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 234; MANN *Language*

XVII 23; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 111; ÇABEJ *St.* II 78-79; JANSON *Unt.* 57-58; LANDI *Lat.* 54, 80, 114.

**rĕshirĕ ~ rĕshinĕ** f 'resin; grape juice'. Borrowed from Lat *rĕsīna* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 369). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244.

**rĕzĕgojĕ** f 'arsenic'. Another variant is *rĕzigojĕ*. Results from the folk etymology (*rrĕzĕ* and *gojĕ*) of the original *\*ĕrsingĕ* borrowed from NGk *ἀρσενικόν* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 366).

**ri** adj. 'new, young, recent'. From PALb *\*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). ◊ CAMARDA I 85 (from *\*neuos* 'new'); MEYER *Wb.* 366 (comparison with *rris*); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 170 (follows CAMARDA); BARIĆ *ARSt.* 79 (from *\*neuios*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 237 (rejects BUGGE's etymology); POKORNY I 326-332; HULD 108-109.

**rig** m, pl. *riga* 'king (in cards)'. Borrowed from MGk *ῥήγας* 'king'.

**rigash** m, pl. *rigashĕ* 'turkey'. Derivative of *rig*.

**rigĕ** f 'drizzle'. The verb is *rigoj* 'to drizzle'. The latter is borrowed from Lat *rigāre* 'to sprinkle, to irrigate'. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55 (from Ital *riga*, *rigare* 'to make wet'); MEYER *Wb.* 366 (follows MIKLOSICH).

**rij ~ rī** 'to make humid'. Continues PALb *\*rinja* related to Skt *rināti* 'to stream, to release', Slav *\*ringti* 'to flow' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 74-75). Note a deverbative (G) *ritĕ* 'wet'. ◊ VASMER III 484; MAYRHOFER III 59-60; POKORNY I 330-331; ÖLBERG apud DEMIRAJ (to OHG *reineo* 'stallion'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 79-80 (to Gk *ραίνω* 'to sprinkle', Slav *\*roniti* 'to drop, to pour'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 346.

**rikĕ** f, pl. *rika* 'duckling, duck'. Cf. also *rikĕz* 'piglet'. Based on an onomatopoeic verb PALb *\*rika* denoting quacking or similar sounds and connected with Lith *rikti* 'to cry' and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 366 (*rikĕz* explained as an onomatopoeia), 369 (to SCR *rička* 'kind of duck'); FRAENKEL 717, 734; ÇABEJ *St.* II 80 (onomatopoeia).

**rimtě** adj. 'dark blue, blue, azure, green'. A parallel and more archaic form is *rrimtě*. Derived from *rrime*, cf. OBret *uurm* 'dark (color)', W *gwrn* 'dark blue' as color designations based on the word for 'worm' (OREL *IF* XLIII 116). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* 80 (to OE *nīpan* 'to become dark'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 80 (compares with *remtě* 'dark brown, bronze').

**riqe** f, pl. *riqe* 'brier'. Borrowed from Gk ἐρείκη id. or NGk ρείκια id. (CAMARDA II 159; MEYER *Wb.* 366). ◊ HAARMANN 123 (from Lat *erīca*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 81.

**ris** m, pl. *risēr* ~ *risĕn* 'lynx'. Borrowed from Slav \**ryсь* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *ris*, SCr *ris*.

**rishte** pl. 'cartilages; kind of dry pastry'. Umlauticized form of *rreshtě*.

**rizě** 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). ◊ SELIŠČEV *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 PALb \**repa* connected with IE \**rep-*: Gk ἐρέπτομαι 'to eat', Lat *rapiō* 'to seize, to grasp', Lith *rĕpti* 'to grasp' and the like (MEYER *BB* VIII 189, *Wb.* 367, *Alb. St.* III 31). ◊ CAMARDA I 79 (to Gk λέπω 'to peel'); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 167; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 237; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251 (borrowed from Lat *rapiō*); ERNOUT-MEILLET 564; PISANI *Saggi* 130; FRAENKEL 721-722; FRISK I 552-553; WALDE-HOFMANN II 417; POKORNY I 856; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19 (borrowed from Lat *rapere*); HAMP *Münch. St. Spr.* XXXVII 61; HULD 150; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 40, *Linguistica* XXIV 437; HAARMANN 145 (from Latin); DEMIRAJ *AE* 346-347.

**rob** m, pl. *rob*, *robĕr* 'serf, prisoner'. Borrowed from Slav \**orbъ* id. (MIKLOSICH *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. ◊ 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 \**rodъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *rod*, SCr *rod* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 184). ◊ SVANE 186-187.

**rogečě** pl. 'masked participants of a carnival'. Based on an unattested singular \**rogač* borrowed from Slav \**rogačъ* 'horned (creature)', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *rogač*, SCr *rogač* (SVANE 214).

**rogě** f 'glade, clearing (especially, in the mountains)'. Borrowed from Slav \**rogъ* 'horn', also used as a geographical term, cf. Bulg *rog*, SCr *rog*. ◊ JOKL *ZfOrt* X 188 (to OHG *riuti*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 81 (derived from *rruaj*).

**rogoveckě** f, pl. *rogoveca* 'acacia'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav \**rogovъčъka* 'horned (object)'.

**rois** aor. *roita* 'to swarm (of bees)'. Borrowed from Slav \**rojiti* (*se*) id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *roja*, SCr *roiti se* (JOKL *LKUBA* 286). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 167; DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 13; SVANE 241.

**roj** m, pl. *roje* 'swarm of bees'. Borrowed from Slav \**rojъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *roj*, SCr *roj*, cf. *rois* (SVANE 158, 241).

**rojě** f, pl. *rojě*, *roja* 'guard'. Derived from *ruaj*.

**rojě** f, pl. *rojka* 'bee (in the swarm)'. Borrowed from Slav \**rojka* id., attested in South Slavic as a proper name: Bulg *Rojka*, SCr *Rojka*.

**rok** m 'term'. Borrowed from Slav \**rokъ* 'time, term, year; fate', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *rok*, SCr *rok* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 368). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197.

**rokĕz** f 'kind of children game, round dance'. Identical with *rrokĕz* 'helix' derived from *rrokĕ*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 368 (from NGk ρόκα 'fork'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 81 (derived from *rrok*).

**rokomine** f 'shrunk old man'. An expressive formation in *roko-* < *rroko*, cf. *rrokĕ*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 368 (from Ital *rocca del camino* 'flue'); ÇABEJ *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'). ◇ SVANE 241.

**rosë** f, pl. *rosa* 'duck'. From PAIb \*anātjā, a cognate of Skt *ātī-* 'water bird', Gk *νήσσα* 'duck' and other continuations of IE \*(a)nātjā (BARIĆ ARSt 80), contaminated with IE \*er(ə)- ~ \*or(ə)- 'bird'. Rum *raṭā* was borrowed from Proto-Albanian. ◇ STIER KZ XI 148 (to Hung *ruca*, *réce* and Rum *raṭā*); MIKLOSICH Slav. *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 *raca* 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 \*arātjā influenced by the Indo-European word for 'duck').

**rotar** m 'servant'. A secondary phonetic variant of *rrogëtar*, derivative of *rrogë* (ÇABEJ St. II 82). ◇ MEYER Wb. 369 (borrowed from a South Slavic continuant of Slav \*ortarь 'plowman', SCr *ratar*); SELIŠČEV Slav. *naselenie* 178, 326 (follows MEYER); VASMER Alb. *Wortforsch.* I 55 (the same); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 307-308 (agrees with MEYER).

**rozë** aor. *roza* 'knot (in wood)'. Borrowed from NGk *ρόζος* id. (MEYER Wb. 369). ◇ CAMARDA I 96 (to *rrënjë*).

**rozgë** f, pl. *rozga* 'kind of thistle'. Another variant is *rrozgë*. Borrowed from Slav \*rozga 'twig, branch', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *rozga*, SCr *rozga* (JOKL LKUBA 220-221). ◇ SELIŠČEV Slav. *naselenie* 189; ÇABEJ St. II 101-102; SVANE 124.

**ruaj** ~ **ruej** aor. *ruajta* ~ *rova* 'to guard, to keep, to observe'. From PAIb \*rāgnja etymologically connected with ON *rōkja* 'to take care of', Gk *ἀρήγω* 'to assist, to defend'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 369 (borrowed from Slav \*xorniti 'to keep'); WIEDEMANN BB XXVII 210 (to *vë re* 'to make clear'); JOKL *Studien* 75-76 (to Gk *ὀράω* 'to see', OHG *wara* 'attention' and the like); BARIĆ ARSt I 88 (follows JOKL); FRISK I 137; POKORNY I 855; ÇABEJ St. II 82-83 (follows JOKL and BARIĆ); DEMIRAJ AE 347 (follows WIEDEMANN).

**ruazë** ~ **ruezë** 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* I/3 9-11). ◇ MEYER Wb. 370 (from \*prllazë, to Ital *perla* 'pearl'); ÇABEJ St. VII 201, 225.

**rubë** f, pl. *ruba* 'kerchief'. Borrowed from Slav \*rqbъ 'seam, border', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *rъb*, SCr *rub* (MIKLOSICH Slav. *Elemente* 32; MEYER Wb. 371). Semantically closer is Slovene *rob* 'cloth, shirt'.

**rudë** adj. 'short and soft (of wool)'. Borrowed from Slav \*ruda 'thick wool', cf. South Slavic: Bulg *ruda*, SCr *ruda* (MEYER Wb. 370).

**rudinë** f, pl. *rudina* 'alpine pasture'. Borrowed from South Slavic \*rudina id., cf. Bulg *rudina*, SCr *rudina*.

**rufkë** adj. 'soft-boiled (of egg)'. Another form is *rufë*. Derived from *rufis* 'to sip', a Modern Greek loanword (MEYER Wb. 370).

**rugjë** adj. 'closely cropped'. Singularized form of the original \*rugë. Another variant, with the unvoiced anlaut, is *rukë* 'without shell (of nuts), waste, devastated'. From PAIb \*ruga connected with Lith *rūgti* 'to become sour' < IE \*reu-g- 'to tear, to pull'; the latter is derived from \*reu-. ◇ FRAENKEL 746; POKORNY I 868-869; JĚGERS KZ LXXX 141-142; ÇABEJ St. II 83 (from *rruaj*).

**runë** f 'air-hole of a chimney'. Analogical transformation of *ndër unë* 'between bricks' > *ndë runë* (ÇABEJ St. II 84).

**rungajë** f, pl. *rungaja* 'avalanche; river-bed'. Other variants are *rrungajë*, *rrunga* and *runga*. Continues PAIb \*wrunga connected with Lith *rungúoti* 'to wind, to bend', a secondary ablaut formation based on *zeŋgtis* 'to be bent' < IE \*yreg-. ◇ FRAENKEL 719, 749; POKORNY I 1154.

**rungoj** aor. *rungova* 'to weed'. Borrowed from Lat *runcāre* id. ◇ MEYER Wb. 371 (from Ital *roncare* id.).

**rure** f 'agonizing doubts'. Derived from *ruaj*.

**rus** adj. 'red-haired, blond'. Borrowed from Slav \**rusъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *rus*, SCr *rus* (MEYER *Wb.* 371). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 196 (follows MEYER); CAPIDAN *Dacoromania* IV 850 (from Arum *arus*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 84 (from NGk ρούσσοç 'red-haired').

**ryej** aor. *reva* 'to suffer'. There are also dialectal forms in *rr-*. From the contracted PALb \**raudinja* related to Skt *róditī* 'to weep, to roar', Lat *rūdō* 'to shout, to cry', Lith *raudà* 'weeping', Slav \**rydati* 'to weep'. ◇ FRAENKEL 704; MAYRHOFER III 77; VASMER III 526-527; POKORNY I 867; ÇABEJ *St.* II 79 (reconstructs \**uren-*).

**ryj** aor. *ryjta* 'to enter'. A prefixal form continuing \**rě-hyj*, cf. *hyj* (BARIĆ *ARSt* I 17). ◇ CAMARDA II 61 (to Gk ἐρευνάω 'to seek, to explore'); MANN *HAED* 431; ÇABEJ *St.* II 84 (to Lat *ruō* 'to rush' and the like).

**rys** aor. *ryta* 'to practice, to exercise'. Continues PALb \**rūtja* related to Lat *ruō* 'to rush down, to fall down', Slav \**ryti* 'to dig', Lith *ráuti* 'to tear, to pull' and the like. ◇ XHUVANI *KLetr* I/6 11 (to *rusem*); VASMER III 531; FRAENKEL 708-709; WALDE-HOFMANN II 453-454; POKORNY I 868; ÇABEJ *St.* II 84 (to *ryej ~ riej*).

**ryzë** f, pl. *ryza* 'rue'. Derivative in *-zë* of an unattested \**rytë* borrowed from Lat *rūta* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 84-85).

## Rr

**rra** f, pl. *rra* 'belly-worm'. From PALb \**wragā* related to OIr *frige* 'vermin, flesh-worm' < \**urg-* (BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 88). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 372 (from Lat *crinālis* 'related to hair'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538 (against MEYER); WEIGAND *BA* III 217 (from Lat *rēnēs* 'kidneys'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 66 (to Lat *vergō* 'to bend, to turn'); POKORNY I 1152; ÇABEJ *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'. ◇ FEIST *Goth.* 395; POKORNY I 869.

**rrafēs** m, pl. *rrafēs* 'churn-staff'. Deverbative of *rrah ~ rraf*.

**rrafsh** m, pl. *rrafshe* 'plane, flat surface'. Analogically restored from

*rrafshoj* 'to flatten', a verb in *-ëshoj* based on a borrowing from Slav \**orъньъ* 'even', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *raven*, SCr *ravan* (MEYER *Wb.* 360). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 175-177 (from Slav \**orves-*, an *s-* stem of the same root); SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 187; ÇABEJ *St.* II 85; SVANE 167.

**rrag** m 'apron'. Continues PALb \**srauga* related to the isolated Lith *srúoga* 'skein, hank; tuft, hairlock', *srauga* id. ◇ FRAENKEL 890.

**rragatem** refl. 'to quarrel'. Borrowed from Slav \**rogati se* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *rъgaja*, SCr *rugati se*. ◇ SVANE 258.

**rrah** m, pl. *rrahe* 'grubbed out land'. Deverbative of *rrah* 'to beat' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 86). ◇ CAMARDA I 132 (to Gk ράχιç 'lower part of the back'); MEYER *Wb.* 360 (*rah* 'hill' from NGk ράχιç 'mountain ridge'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 88 (from \**uroiğ-*, as in Arm *ergicanem* 'to tear').

**rrah** aor. *rraha* 'to beat, to strike'. From PALb \**wragska* etymologically connected with Gk ράσσω id. reflecting IE \**urāgh-* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 86). ◇ CAMARDA I 92 (to Gk ῥήγνυμι '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 ράσσω), *Alb. St.* III 73; JOKL *LKUBA* 49 (follows MEYER); BARIĆ *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; KÖDDERTZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 66; DEMIRAJ *AE* 348.

**rrajë** f, pl. *rraja* 'path tread in the snow'. Derived from *rrah*.

**rrallë** adj. 'scanty, scarce, rare'. Borrowed, with a dissimilation of sonorants, from Lat *rārus* 'rare' or directly from its variant *rāllus* (MIK-LOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54). ◇ CAMARDA I 76 (to Gk ράδιος 'easy, ready'); MEYER *Wb.* 372 (from Lat *rāllus* 'clean cut'), *Alb. St.* III 74; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1042; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 539; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* II 87; HAARMANN 145.

**rrangulla** pl. 'rubbish, lumber'. A suffixal derivative of PALb \**ranka* 'gathering(s)' etymologically connected with Lith *rankà* 'hand', Latv *raoka* id., Slav \**rōka* id. - all of them deverbatives based on the verb

'to gather' reflected in Lith *renkù, riñkti*. ◇ FRAENKEL 697; VASMER III 515.

**rranicě** f, pl. *rranica* 'big piece of bread'. Derived from *rraně* 'grain, bread'. The latter is borrowed from Slav \**xorna* '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 *πλάτανος* id. ◇ TOMASCHEK *ZÖG* XXIV 529 (to OCS *rĕpina* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 372 (follows TOMASCHEK)<sup>2</sup>; *Alb. St.* III 73; WEIGAND 74 (borrowed from Slavic); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164 (borrowed from Slav \**grabъ* 'hornbeam'); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 309-310 (etymologically connected with Slav \**repъjъ* 'burdock', ON *ráfr* 'roof on rafters' < IE \**rĕp-*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 87 (follows JOKL).

**rrapamě** f, pl. *rrapama* 'crash, din'. Another variant is *rropamě*. Derived from Slav \**xrapъ* '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*.

**rrapĕlloj** aor. *rrapĕllova* 'to make noise'. A parallel form is *rraptoj* id. Related to *rrapamě*.

**rraqe** pl. 'rubbish, lumber; house objects'. From PALb \**raka* connected with Lith *ràkti* 'to hollow out, to pick', Latv *rakt* 'to dig'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 361 (from Bulg *rakla* 'box, chest'), 372 (from NGk *ράκιον*); 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*). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 76; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

**rrasě** f, pl. *rrasa* 'stone plate'. Derived from *rras* (CIMOCHOWSKI *LP*

III 158-161). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 66 (to *dĕrrasě*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 33; ÇABEJ *St.* II 87-88.

**rraskě** f, pl. *rraska* 'rennet'. Derived from Geg *rrâ* id., cf. *rrĕnd*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200.

**rrasoll** m, pl. *rrasoj* 'pickles'. Another variant is *rasoj*, a singularized plural form. Borrowed from Slav \**orzsolъ* 'pickles; brine', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *razsol*, SCr *raso* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 31; MEYER *Wb.* 361). ◇ SVANE 107.

**rrasht** m, pl. *rreshtna* 'bone, skull, skeleton, shell'. A parallel form is *rreshtĕ* representing a singularized plural (ÇABEJ *LP* VII 184). From PALb \**wragšta*, derivative in *-šta* 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 *kaušas* 'bone' ~ *kauiti* 'to beat'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 372-373 (from Lat *arista* 'awn, beard, wheat-ear, fishbone'; derives *rrasht* 'shell' separately as a continuation of Lat *rastus* 'plate'); KRISTOFORIDHI 354; ZALIZN'AK *Ėtimologija* 139; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 101 (prefix *rr-*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 88 (prefix *rr-* + *asht* 'bone'), IV 85-86; DEMIRAJ *AE* 82 (same as CAMAJ and ÇABEJ).

**rrathĕ** 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 *razbiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 31; MEYER *Wb.* 362). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 178; SVANE 253.

**rrēbe** f, pl. *rrebe* 'mood, caprice'. Another variant is *rebĕ*. From PALb \**raibā* etymologically connected with Lith *rāibas* 'multicolored, variegated', Latv *rāibs* id. ◇ MANN *Language* XXVIII 37; FRAENKEL 686-687; POKORNY I 859.

**rrēbesh** m, pl. *rrebeshe* 'shower'. Related to *rrībĕ*.

**rrēbull** m 'thrush (illness)'. From \**raiba* 'multicolored' attested in *rrebe*.

**rrēckĕ** f, pl. *rrecka* 'cloth, rag'. Borrowed from deminutive Slav



\**ręszka* 'fringe', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *reska*, SCr *reska*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 373 (from SCr *resa* 'fringe'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 253.

*rrege* f, pl. *rrege* 'fallow land'. Continues PAIb \**wragā* related to Gk *ῥαγή* 'split, cleft', *ῥήγνυμι* 'to break, to split' and its cognates. ◇ 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 *rēgula* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 362 (from Ital *regola* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049 (from Latin); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 202.

*rrej* ~ *rrêj* aor. *ērrejta* 'to deceive'. From PAIb \**arn-enja* further related to Gk *ἀρνέομαι* 'to lie' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 542 n. 2). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 88 (*rrem* 'lie', a derivative of *rrej*, to Lat *verbum* 'word'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 236; MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (to OE *wrēne*); FRISK I 145-146; POKORNY I 62; ÇABEJ *St.* II 90-91 (derived from *re* 'cloud'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 348-349 (from a Romance source related to Lat *errōneus* 'erring').

*rrek* aor. *rreka* 'to strain, to bother'. Continues PAIb \**raika* related with Lith *reikà* 'need, necessity', *reikti* 'to be necessary' further explained in connection with Lith *riëkti* 'to cut, to plow the fallow land'. ◇ MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (to Goth *wrohjan*); FRAENKEL 714.

*rrem* m, pl. *rrrema* 'oar'. Borrowed from Lat *rēmus* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 363 (from Ital *remo* id.), *Alb. St.* III 74 (from Gk *ῥέμμα*).

*rrem* adj. 'false'. Derived from *rrej*. ◇ CAMARDA I 83 (to Lat *error* 'mistake'); MEYER *Wb.* 373-374; BARIĆ *ARSt.* 88-89 (to Gk *ἀρνέομαι* 'to lie'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200.

*rremb* ~ *rrem* m, pl. *rremba* ~ *rrrema* 'branch'. Other variants are *rrem* and *rrëmb*. Borrowed from Lat *rāmus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54; MEYER *Alb. St.* I 45, *Wb.* 364-365) with a secondary *-mb* < *-m*. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; JOKL *LKUBA* 18-19, 276; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 235-236; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* II 91; HAARMANN 145; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 97.

*rrep* m, pl. *rrepa* 'turnip'. Other variants are *rrap* and *r(r)epë*. Borrowed from Lat *rāpum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 363 (*rrap* from Ital *rapa* id. while *rrep* - from Slav \**rěpa* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 232; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162 (from Slavic); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 236; LANDI *Lat.* 45; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ *AE* (borrowed from Gk *ῥάπυς*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 349-350 (borrowed from or related to Gk *ῥάπυς*).

*rreptë* adj. 'strong, inexorable'. Derived from *rrjep*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 373 (from Turk *rehb* 'fear'); KRISTOFORIDHI 358 (from Lat *rapidus* 'fast'); ÇABEJ *St.* IV 86, VII 184.

*rreshk* aor. *rreshka* 'to roast'. Borrowed from WGmc \**raustjan* id., cf. OHG *rōsten*. Note a derivative *rreshk* 'smell (of food), appetite'. ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* 88 (to Latv *su-vergt*); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 113 (suffix *-kë*).

*rreshktaq* adj. 'wrinkled (of an elderly person)'. Derived from *rreshk*. Cf. also *rreshkët* 'dried, roasted'.

*rretër* ~ *rretën* f, pl. *rretra* ~ *rretna* 'long leather rope, twisted leather lace'. Another variant is *retër* ~ *retën*. Borrowed from Rom \**retina* 'bridle' attested in Fr *rêne* id. (JOKL *RIEB* II 56-59). ◇ CAMARDA II 142; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* II 91; JANSON *Unt.* 58; HAARMANN 146.

*rreth* m, pl. *rrathë* 'hoop, rim (of wheel); circle'. Deminutive in *-th* of an unattested \**rat* 'wheel', cf. Skt *rātha-* 'wagon', Lat *rota* 'wheel', OIr *roth*, OHG *rad* and the like (CAMARDA I 323). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* I 35 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Wb.* 372 (to OHG *chreiz* 'circle'), *Alb. St.* III 8, 28; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 31 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 235 (agrees with BARIĆ); MAYRHOFER III 38-39; WALDE-HOFMANN II 443-444; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 2; VENDRYES [R] 45-46; POKORNY I 866; HULD 116 (from \**μροϊκος*, cf. Gk *ῥοικός* 'curved, bent'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 91-93 (accepts CAMARDA's etymology and comments on the umlaut in sg.).

*rrevë* f 'lot'. Borrowed from Lat *rēbus*, dat.-abl. pl. of *rēs* 'thing, circumstance'.

**rreze** f, pl. *rreze* 'ray, spoke'. Another variant is *rrezë*. Singularized plural of *\*rraz* borrowed from Lat *radius* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54). ◇ CAMARDA I 96 (to Lat *rādix* 'root'); MEYER *Wb.* 364 (from Rom pl. *\*radia*), *Alb. St.* IV 14; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1049, 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* II 93; HAARMANN 145; LANDI *Lat.* 45, 85, 97.

**rrezg** m 'culmination, acme, prime'. Another derivational variant is *rrezm* id. Suffixal derivative of *rreze*.

**rrezgull** f, pl. *rrezgulla* 'disc, circle'. Derived from *rrezg*.

**rrezhde** f, pl. *rrezhde* 'unripe mulberry'. Reflects an unattested Bulgarian reflex of Slav *\*rēdja* fem. 'thin, sparse'.

**rrēcok** m 'bird's stomach'. Phonetic variant of *rraskë*.

**rrëfanë** f, pl. 'handle'. Derived from *rrëfej* in its unattested meaning *\*'to carry (away)'* continuing the same meaning of Lat *referre*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234 (to *rruvâ* with a secondary *-f*).

**rrëfangull** f, pl. *rrëfangulla* 'buttonhole'. Derived from *rrëfanë* 'handle'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 237 (variant of *vrangull*).

**rrëfatem** refl. 'to fork, to bifurcate'. Metathesis of *\*furkatem*, see *furkë*.

**rrëfej** aor. *rrëfeva* 'to tell, to show'. Borrowed from Lat *referre* 'to tell, to inform' (CAMARDA I 119; MEYER *Wb.* 373). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 93-94 (prefix *rrë-* added to *-fej* borrowed from MGK φαίνω 'to show, to make appear').

**rrëfeshk** m, pl. *rrëfeshk* 'kind of thistle'. Derived from *rrufe* (JOKL *LKUBA* 221-222). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 94 (derived from *ferr*: *\*rrë-ferr-shk*).

**rrëgallë** f, pl. *rrëgalla* 'pebbly site; deep and narrow ravine'. An early Slavic loanword, from *\*rogalb* 'corner', see *ragal*. ◇ JOKL *IF* XLIV 13-15, *ZONF* X 197 (to *ragal*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 94-95.

**rrëgjoj** aor. *rrëgjova* 'to diminish, to make smaller'. Borrowed from Lat *eradicāre* 'to eradicate' with an irregular development of the inlaut

cluster. ◇ CAMARDA I 116 (to Lat *rūga* 'wrinkle'); MEYER *Wb.* 373 (borrowed from Rom *\*rōdiculāre*, derivative of Lat *rōdere* 'to bite'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 95-96 (from *regj*); HAARMANN 146.

**rrëkajë** adv. 'in torrents, in a stream'. Borrowed from Slav instr. sg. *\*rëkojō* '(in a) river'.

**rrëke** f, pl. *rrëke* 'stream (of rain), mountain brook'. Singularized plural of *\*rekë*. Borrowed from Slav *\*rëka* 'river', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *reka*, SCr *rijeka*, *reka* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 323). ◇ SVANE 172; MURATI *Probleme* 97-99 (derived from *rrjedh*).

**rrëkëllej** aor. *rrëkëlleva* 'to roll'. A prefixal derivative of *këllehem* 'to seethe, to boil up'.

**rrëkuall** m 'thistle'. A prefixal derivative in *rrë-* < *për-* (JOKL *LKUBA* 244 n. 1) of *kalli*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 364 (from Ital *cardoscolimo* 'kind of wild artichoke'); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 143; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 54; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 239; DEMIRAJ *AE* 350.

**rrëmaç** adj. 'lefthanded'. Derived from *rrem*.

**rrëmbej** aor. *rrëmbeva* 'to rob, to seize'. Borrowed from Lat *rumpere* 'to tear, to tear away'. ◇ CAMARDA I 56 (to Gk ῥέμβομαι 'to roam'); MEYER *Wb.* 374 (from Ital *rubare* 'to steal'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1051.

**rrëmejtë** adj. 'steep'. A prefixal derivative of *majë*.

**rrëmeta** pl. 'bast shoes'. Borrowed from an unattested Slavic *\*remeta* 'belts, laces', plural form of *\*reme* - an analogical formation derived from Slav *\*remy*, *\*remene* 'belt, lace'.

**rrëmiħ** aor. *rrëmiħa* 'to dig up'. Another variant is *rrëmoj*. Borrowed from Lat *rīmāre* id. (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 146). ◇ CAMARDA I 57 (to Gk ῥομός 'pole of a chariot; trace').

**rrëmiqe** f, pl. *rrëmiqe* 'precipice'. Phonetic variant of *rrëmejtë*.

**rrëmujë** f 'disorder, confusion; booty'. Continues PAIb *\*raimuljā* related

to Lith *ráimas* 'multicolored, varied', *ráibas* id., *raibulys* 'speckle'.  
 ◇ FRAENKEL 686.

**rrënd** ~ **rrâ** m 'rennet'. Derivative of *rend* (JOKL *LKUBA* 276-282), cf. ME *rennet* ~ *runnet* 'rennet' derived from *runne* 'to run' as well as Germ *rinnen* 'to run' ~ *gerinnen* 'to coagulate'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 365 (to *rëndë*); BARIĆ *AARBSt.* I 143-144 (follows JOKL); JOKL *Reallex. Vorges.* I 93 (to MHG *renne* id.); WEIGAND *BA* III 217 (to Lat *rënēs* 'kidneys'); DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz.* VIII 155 (etymologically identical with OHG *rinnan* 'to run'), *Sravn.* 231; ONIONS 756; ÇABEJ *St.* II 96-97 (agrees with JOKL).

**rrëngjej** aor. *rrëngjeva* 'to shine'. Another variant is *rrënjej*. Borrowed from Lat *renidēre* 'to shine'.

**rrënoj** aor. *rrënova* 'to destroy, to ruin'. A Geg form borrowed from Rom *\*ruināre* id., cf. Lat *ruina* 'ruin' (MEYER *Wb.* 374). ◇ CAMARDA I 96 (to *rrënjë*); KRISTOFORIDHI 303 (from Ital *ruinare*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 147.

**rrënjë** ~ **rranjë** f, pl. *rrënjë* ~ *rranjë* 'root; oak'. From PALB *\*wradnjā* etymologically connected with Gk *ράδις* 'branch', id., Lat *rādix* 'root', W *gwraidd* and the like (CAMARDA I 96; SPITZER *MRIWI* 327). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54 (from Ital *radica*); MEYER *Wb.* 365-366 (borrowed from Lat *rādix*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 87-88 (follows SPITZER); JOKL *LKUBA* 233-234; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 292-293; MANN *Language* XVII 20, XXVIII 37, *Hist. Gr.* 37 (reconstructs *\*urdni*); FRISK II 637-638; WALDE-HOFMANN II 415; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 15-19; POKORNY I 1167; ÇABEJ *St.* II 97-98; HULD 109; BEEKES *Lar.* 104; DEMIRAJ *AE* 350-351 (old collective).

**rrëpirë** f, pl. *rrëpira* 'precipice'. Derivative of *rripë*.

**rrëqasem** refl. 'to move away'. A prefixal derivative of *qas*.

**rrëqebull** m, pl. *rrëqebuj* 'lynx'. An expressive prefixal formation of *buall*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

**rrëqethem** aor. 'to feel feverish, to shiver'. A prefixal derivative of *qeth*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 373.

**rrëqukull** f 'small woman, tot'. An expressive prefixal formation of *quk*.

**rrëshajë** pl. 'Pentecost'. Borrowed from Lat *Rōsālia* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55; MEYER *Wb.* 369). ◇ PASCU *RE* 76; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 241; DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz.* IX 91-93; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244; HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 110, 126.

**rrëshajë** f, pl. 'viper'. A taboo name of a snake etymologically identical with *rrëshajë* 'Pentecost'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 374 (stem *rrësh-*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I (to Lat *vorrō*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 140.

**rrëshek** m, pl. *rrëshekë* 'wineskin'. Another variant is *rrëshiq* reflecting a singularized plural. Derived from *rrush* (CAMARDA I 179). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* I 26 (to SCr *mješić* id.); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 27, *Wb.* 374 (follows MIKLOSICH); ÇABEJ *St.* II 98-99 (to *shakull*).

**rrëshirë** ~ **rrëshinë** f 'resin'. Borrowed from Lat *rēsina* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55; MEYER *Wb.* 369). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 237; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* II 99; JANSON *Unt.* 59; HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat.* 84, 97, 110.

**rrëshjell** m 'sow-thistle'. Another variant is *rrëshyell*. Borrowed from Lat *rūsseolus* 'reddish, brown'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 369 (from Ital *cardicello*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195, 239.

**rrëshkatë** f 'great misfortune'. Nominal derivative of *rrëshkas*.

**rrëshqas** aor. *rrëshqata* 'to glide out'. A prefixal derivative of *shqas*, cf. *shkas*.

**rrëvitem** refl. 'to be thrown'. A phonetic variant of *vërvīs* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 99). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 89 (to Germ *werfen* 'to throw').

**rrëzall** m, pl. *rrëzaje* 'plant (including its roots)'. Derived from *rrëzë* (CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 117).

**rrĕzĕ** f, pl. *rrĕza* 'foot (of a mountain or a tree)'. From PALb *\*wradjā* etymologically connected with *rrĕnjĕ*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 210.

**rrĕzōj** aor. *rrĕzova* 'to throw down, to pull down'. Based on *rrĕzĕ*. ◇ 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 PALb *\*rina* etymologically close to Skt *ṛṇóti* 'to arise, to move', Gk *ῥνύμαι* 'to move up' and related forms. ◇ CAMARDA I 45 (to Gk *ῥρῶμαι* '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 *nīdus* 'nest'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 545 (rejects MEYER's etymology); JOKL *Studien* 76-77 (to Gmc *\*rōwō* 'quiet', Gk *ῥρωή* id.), *LKUBA* 194 (follows MEYER); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 80 (from IE *\*nizdō*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 238; FRISK II 422-424; MAYRHOFER I 122; POKORNY I 326-332; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234; HULD 109 (to IE *\*reidh-* 'to ride').

**rribĕ** f 'gale, wind, waterfall, torrent'. From PALb *\*wribā*, a zero-grade formation connected with IE *\*uērb(h)-* 'to turn, to bend' and, as far as the derivational structure is concerned, identical with Slav *\*vrbā* 'pussy-willow', Lith *viřbas* 'rod, birch-rod, twig' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 434, *TBK* 195). For the semantic development of *rribĕ* cf. E *wind* ~ *to wind*. ◇ FRAENKEL 1259; POKORNY I 1153; VASMER I 293.

**rrikĕ** f 'turnip'. Borrowed from Rom *\*rādicā*, cf. Lat *rādīx* 'root' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54; MEYER *Wb.* 365-366). A parallel form *rrikkĕ* reflects Rom *\*rādicula*. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32 (from Slavic); CAMARDA I 178 (to Gk *ῥάπις* 'turnip'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; JOKL *LKUBA* 232; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 243; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 238; SVANE 145.

**rriime** f, pl. *rriime* 'rainworm'. Singularized plural of PALb *\*wrima* continuing IE *\*uṛmi-* ~ *\*uṛmo-* 'worm': Lat *vermis* id., Goth *waiuṛms* 'worm, snake', Lith *vařmas* 'insect' (OREL *IF* XCIII 116). ◇ FRAENKEL 1201; FEIST *Goth.* 555-556; WALDE-HOFMANN II 760; POKORNY I 1152.

**rriipĕ** f, pl. *rriipa* 'precipice, stone wall'. Borrowed from Lat *rīpa* 'bank, coast' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55; MEYER *Wb.* 367). ◇ MEYER-

LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat.* 97.

**rriiqĕr** ~ **rriiqĕn** f, pl. *rriqĕra* ~ *rriqna* 'tick'. Borrowed from Lat *ricinus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 374, *Alb. St.* III 74). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 146.

**rriis** aor. *rriita* 'to pull up, to move up, to increase, to grow'. Goes back to *\*writja* etymologically connected with IE *\*uert-* 'to turn': Skt *varṭate*, Lat *vertō*, Goth *wairþan* 'to become' and the like. ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24 (to Skt *ṛdhnōti* 'to grow'); CAMARDA I 52 (same as GIL'FERDING); MEYER *Wb.* 367 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb. St.* III 29; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 88 (from *\*urdhō*); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 29 (to Lat *orior*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 239; MANN *Language* XXVIII 31 (to Lith *rýtas*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 251; MAYRHOFER III 154-155; WALDE-HOFMANN II 763-765; POKORNY I 1156-1157; HAMP *Laryngeals* 137 (same as SCHMIDT, to IE *\*er-* ~ *\*or-* 'to start moving, to stir'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, 257; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 433-432 (follows SCHMIDT and HAMP); DEMIRAJ *AE* 351-352 (reconstructs a prefix *\*n-*).

**rriisgĕ** f, pl. *rriisga* 'stone splinter'. Somehow connected with *rriasĕ*.

**rriiskĕ** f, pl. *rriiska* 'disc, circle'. A suffixal derivative of *rrieth*.

**rriizhgoj** aor. *rriizhgova* 'to creep up (of plants)'. Goes back to *\*rriishgoj* borrowed from Lat *resurgere* 'to rise (again)'.

**rrijedh** aor. *rrodha* 'to flow'. From PALb *\*redza* etymologically related to Lat *rigāre* 'to wet, to moisten', ON *raki* 'wetness' (PISANI *Saggi* 130). ◇ CAMARDA I 43 (to Gk *ῥέω* '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 *rrijedh* with Skt *vrājati* 'to stride, to go'); WALDE-HOFMANN II 435; POKORNY I 857; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 51 (to *erdha*, see *vij*); JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 448 (follows MANN); ÇABEJ *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). ◇ JOKL *IF* XXXVI

147 (from Lat *restis* 'rope'); BERNARD *LB IX/2* 86 (from Turk *rişte* 'thread'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 24; ÇABEJ *St. II* 99-100 (follows JOKL); HAARMANN 145; LANDI *Lat.* 53, 145-146.

**rrjetë** f, pl. 'net'. Another variant is *rret*. Borrowed from Lat *rēte* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55; MEYER *Wb.* 364). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 24; ÇABEJ *St. VII* 277; HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat.* 54, 86.

**rroboj** aor. *rrobova* 'to scatter'. Borrowed from one of the continuants of Gmc *\*raubōjan* 'to rob, to plunder': OS *rōbōn*, OHG *roubōn*, Goth *biraubon*. ◊ FEIST *Goth.* 94.

**rrobull** m, pl. *rrobuj* 'mountain pine'. Borrowed from Lat *rōbur* 'oak' with a dissimilation of sonorants (MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 24; ÇABEJ *St. II* 100). ◊ HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat.* 147.

**rrodhe** f, pl. *rrodhe* 'burdock'. Singularized form of *\*rodhē* borrowed from Gk *ρόδος* 'rose'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 367 (from Rom *\*cardella*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 92 (related to Lith *rėzgis* 'basket'); JOKL *LKUBA* 219-226 (to *rruaj*); ÇABEJ *St. II* 100-101 (supports JOKL).

**rrogë** f, pl. *rroga* 'alpine meadow'. Borrowed from Slav *\*rogъ* 'horn' also denoting 'spur of a mountain' as in Bulg *rog*, SCr *rog*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St. VII* 251, 279 (from *rruaj*).

**rrogoz** m, pl. *rrogoza* 'reed mat'. Borrowed from Slav *\*rogozъ* 'reed', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *rogoz* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 368). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 216; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 173, 323; SVANE 115.

**rroj** aor. *rrova*, *rrojta* 'to live, to stay'. Continues PAIb *\*rānja* identical with Lith *rōju*, *rōti* 'to cope, to be ready' further connected with *rīeti* 'to stack (wood)' and derived from IE *\*rēi-*. ◊ CAMARDA I 92 (to Gk *ρώμααι* 'to move strongly, to dance'); MEYER *Wb.* 375 (to Lat *regere* 'to direct'); MANN *Language XVII* 12 (from Rom *\*remanāre* 'to remain'); FRAENKEL 743-744; POKORNY I 859; ÇABEJ *St. VII* 198, 266.

**rrojbbë** f 'carthamus'. Another variant is *rrolbbë* with a secondary *-l-* (ÇABEJ *St. II* 101). Borrowed from Rum *roibă* 'madder' < Lat *rubia* id. ◊ PUŞCARIU *EWB* 132; ÇABEJ *St. II* 101 (from Lat *rubia*); LANDI *Lat.* 66, 97.

**rrok** adj. 'raw'. Derivative originally meaning 'something snatched off', based on the verb *rrok*.

**rrok** aor. *rroka* 'to seize, to snatch, to touch'. Borrowed from Gmc *\*rukkjan* 'to move, to remove, to stir, to snatch, to pull, to push': OE *roccian*, OHG *rucchan*, ON *rykkja*. ◊ CAMARDA I 39 (to Gk *ρήγνυμι* 'to tear'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 89 (to Gk *εὐρίσκω* 'to break asunder, to rend'); HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 262.

**rrokë** f, pl. *rrokë* 'spiral'. Borrowed from Rom *\*rucca* ~ *\*rocca* 'distaff': Ital *rocca*, Sp *rucca*.

**rrokoll** adv. 'bad, chaotic'. Derived from *rrok* 'to seize'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St. VII* 254.

**rrokopujë** adv. 'bad, evil'. A compound of *rrokë* and *-pujë*, derived from *punë*.

**rrokotele** pl. 'rubbish'. An expressive formation based on *rrok* 'to seize'.

**rrol** m, pl. *rrola* 'old and unused ox'. From *\*rrozgël*, diminutive of *rrozg*.

**rropak** m, pl. *rropakë* 'annex'. Borrowed from South Slavic *\*ropakъ*, cf. Bulg *ropa* 'pit, quarry'.

**rropulli** pl. 'intestines, guts; fruit'. An emphatic prefixal formation based on *pullë*.

**rroshponjë** f, pl. *rroshponja* 'cave in a river-bank hollowed out by water'. A univerbation of Lat *rōsu(m) pōne* 'hollowed out behind (the river)'. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 244 n. 1 (derived in *rro-* < *rrë-* from *shpoj*).

**rrotë** f, pl. *rrota* 'wheel'. Borrowed from Lat *rota* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 714; MEYER *Wb.* 375, *Alb. St.* III 74). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr.*

*Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1050; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 241; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *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*. ◊ CAMARDA I 323 (to *rreth*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1045; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

**rrozg** m, pl. *rrozga* 'old and unused ox'. Borrowed from Slav *\*rožbka* 'horned animal, horn', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *rožka, rožko*.

**rrshim** m 'shower'. From *\*rrebesim*, derivative of *rrebesh*.

**rrua ~ rrue** m 'stream'. Back formation based on *përrua*.

**rruaj ~ rruej** aor. *rruajta, rrova* 'to shave'. From PALb *\*wrāgnja* related to Gk ῥήγνυμι 'to break, to tear'. ◊ CAMARDA I 51 (to Gk ῥρύω 'to pull, to tear'); MEYER *Wb.* 375 (from Lat *rādere* 'to scrape'), *Alb. St.* III 74; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1049; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251; WEIGAND 76 (contamination of Lat *rādere* and *rödere* 'to bite'); JOKL *LKUBA* 223-224 (related to *rādere*); FRISK II 652-653; POKORNY I 1181; ÇABEJ *St.* II 102 (agrees with JOKL).

**rrudhë** f, pl. *rrudha* 'wrinkle'. Continues PALb *\*rudzā* etymologically connected with Lat *rūga* id. (CAMARDA I 74). ◊ BARIĆ *ARS.* 90-91 (to Skt *várjati* '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 ῥομφαία id., with a semantic development similar to that of Ital *saetta* 'arrow, dart' and 'thunderbolt' (MEYER *Wb.* 376). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 237; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 333; OREL *Étimologija* 1980 62-63 (on Bulg *rofeja, ruf'a*).

**rrugë** f, pl. *rrugë* 'street'. Borrowed from Rom *\*rūga* id. continuing Lat *rūga* 'wrinkle' (MEYER *Wb.* 376). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1047, 1050; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 198, 217; HULD 110; LANDI *Lat.* 68, 97.

**rrum** m 'clapper; maize-cob stripped of corns'. Another variant is *rrome*.

From PALb *\*wrubna* identical with Gk ῥάμνος 'thorny bush', further connected with Lith *viřbas* 'branch, shoot'. ◊ POKORNY I 1153.

**rrumbull** adj. 'rolled into a ball'. Borrowed from Rom *\*rombulus* based on Lat *rhombus* 'magic whirligig or wheel', cf. Ital dial. *rummulu, rumbulu* (MEYER *Wb.* 370). ◊ CAMARDA II 151 (to Gk ῥόμβος 'magic wheel'); LANDI *Lat.* 61.

**rrunë** f, pl. *rruna* 'lamb'. Borrowed from Slav *\*runo* 'fleece', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *runo*, SCr *runo*. Note a parallel form *runs* continuing Slav *\*runьсь*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 371 (*runs* from *\*runt-ës*).

**rrush** m, pl. *rrush* 'grape'. From PALb *\*rāguša* related to Gk ῥάξ id. (CAMARDA I 87). The feminine form *\*rāgušā* is reflected in the name of Illyr *Ragusa ~ Ragusium* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 102-103). The form of the latter ῥαούσα in Const. Porphyrogen. *De adm.* reflects the early Albanian loss of the intervocalic voiced stop before the contraction of vowels (KALUŽSKAJA *Antič. balk.* 5 19). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* I 41 (to Pers *raz* 'grape'), *Wb.* 371 (to Slav *\*grozdъ* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 241; MANN *Language* XXVI 384 (to Lith *rausiu* 'to dig'); FRISK II 642.

**rrushkull** m, pl. *rrushkuj* 'kind of thorny plant'. Borrowed from Rom *\*rūsculus*, derivative of Lat *rūscus* 'butcher's-broom' (MEYER *Wb.* 371). ◊ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 118 (derivative in *-ull*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 147; LANDI *Lat.* 141.

(G) **rruvâ** m, pl. *rruvanj* 'vine without grapes'. Another variant is *rrufâ*. Somehow related to *rrush*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 103 (to *rrëfanë*).

**rruvi** f, pl. *rruvi* 'line'. Metathesis of *vërri* 'little furrow' (KRISTOFORIDHI 22), derivative of *vë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 376 (from Rom *\*rubēscula* based on Lat *ruber* 'red'); KRISTOFORIDHI 364 (to *vijë*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 103 (*vërri* - to *varrë*), IV 86.

**rruzull** m 'sphere, globe (of earth)'. Derived from *rruzë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 103-104).

**rryell** m, pl. *rryej* 'euphorbia'. Borrowed - with a dissimilation of sonorants - from Balkan Rom *\*aliölum* > Rum *aliol, alior* id. (PEDERSEN

KZ XXXIII 539). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 366 (from Rom \**āliellum*); PUŞCARIU *EWB* 6-7; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 118; ÇABEJ *St.* II 104 (against both MEYER and PEDERSEN).

**rryeshëm** adv. 'slow'. Derived from *ryej*.

**rrylë ~ rrilë** f, pl. *rryla ~ rрила* 'lentil'. Borrowed from Lat *ervilla* id., derivative of *ervum* (MEYER *Wb.* 376). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 123.

**rrymë** f, pl. *rryma* 'flow (of water)'. From PALb \**srūmā* related to Gk *ῥέυμα* 'stream', ON *straumr* id., Lith *sraumuō* 'fast stream' and other derivatives in \*-*men-* of IE \**sreu-* 'to flow' (MANN *Language* XXVI 385). ◇ FRISK II 650-651; FRAENKEL 887; POKORNY I 1003; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 202, 277.

**rryp ~ rrip** m, pl. *rrypa ~ rripa* 'belt'. From PALb \**wripa* with the further development similar to that of *krymb ~ krimb*. Related to Gk *ῥάπτω* 'to sew together, to stitch', Lith *veřpti* 'to spin' and the like (MANN *Language* XXVIII 37). ◇ HAHN 110 (to *rjep*); CAMARDA II 62 (follows HAHN); MEYER *Wb.* 367 (the same); FRAENKEL 1261; FRISK II 643; POKORNY I 1156; ÇABEJ *St.* II 104 (the same).

## S

**s'** adv 'not'. Identical with *ç'*, *çë* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 321, 341). ◇ BOPP 497 (identical with -*s* in *mos*); CAMARDA I 312; MEYER *Wb.* 376 (from Lat *dis-*); JOKL *AArbSt* I 37-38; TAGLIAVINI 242; PISANI *Saggi* 110, 154; ÇABEJ *St.* II 104-105 (follows PEDERSEN).

**sa** pron., adv. 'how'. From PALb \**tšja* etymologically connected with *se*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 376 (from NGk *σάν* 'when, whenever' < *ώς ἄν*); HAMP *Numerals* 836 (from \**k'iə*).

**sabje** f, pl. *sabje* 'sword'. Other variants are *sablë*, *sabjë*. Borrowed from the South Slavic word for 'sword': Bulg *sab'a*, SCr *sablja* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32), itself of questioned Hungarian origin (*szablya* id. derived from *szabni* 'to cut'). See MEYER *Wb.* 376.

**sajë** f, pl. *saja* 'sledge'. In dialects, an older form *sanjë* is preserved. Borrowed from Slav \**sani* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *sani*, SCr *sani* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32). ◇ SVANE 35.

**sajoj** aor. *sajova* 'to devise, to think of'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 377 (from Turk *sajikli* '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). ◇ PUŞCARIU *EWB* 134.

**sak** adv. 'really, for sure'. An allegro form of *saktë* 'exact, precise' of Romance origin. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 377 (from Turk *sahih* 'true, exact').

**sakavicë** f, pl. *sakavica* 'long hook for pulling down branches'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *sakavica* 'axe' < Slav \**sëkavica*.

**sakë** f, pl. *saka* 'axe'. Back formation based on *sakavicë*. As to *sakicë* 'small axe', it was formed in Albanian from *sakë*.

**salikoj** aor. *salikova* 'to carry out the ceremony of burial'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 105-106 (derived from *psaloi* 'to sing psalms', a Modern Greek loanword).

**samem** refl. 'to have bad taste, to get spoiled'. Derived from *samë*.

**samë** f 'dog's excrements'. Continues PALb \**tswa(n)-ma*, a derivative in \*-*mo-* of the Indo-European word for 'dog', otherwise unattested in Albanian, cf. Skt *śvā*, Gk *κύων*, OIr *cú*, Lith *šuo* and the like (OREL *Fort.* 79). For the semantics cf. Slav \**govyŋo* 'excrements', originally - 'cow's excrements' derived from IE \**g'ou-* 'cow'. ◇ FRAENKEL 1033-1034; FRISK I 58-59; MAYRHOFER III 402-403; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 7; VENDRYES [C] 257; POKORNY I 632-633.

**samtë** adj. 'insipid, unflavored, tasteless'. Based on \**samë* borrowed from Slav \**samъ* '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 \**sanь* 'snake, dragon': CS *san* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 378).

**saně** f 'hay'. Borrowed from Slav \**sĕno* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *s'ano*, SCR *sijeno* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 378). The development of Slav \**-ě-* > *-a-* is repeated in NGk σανόν id. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 108, *Slavia* XIII 639; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 160, 295; TAGLIAVINI 243; SVANE 40.

**sarkě** f 'build, frame, figure (of human body)'. Continues PALb \**tšerkā* derived from IE \**k<sup>h</sup>er-* 'to make, to build': Skt *karóti*, Lith *kūrti* and the like. ◊ POKORNY I 641-642.

**se** pron. 'what', conj. 'that, than'. From PALb \**tšjā* continuing pronominal IE \**k<sup>i</sup>ā* (MEYER *Wb.* 383; LA PIANA *Studi* I 127). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 316 (to \**k<sup>e</sup>-*); JOKL *Sprache* IX 123; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 243 (from \**sā*); MANN *Language* XXVI 385, *Hist. Gr.* 122 (from \**k<sup>h</sup>em*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 225; HULD 110-111 (agrees with MANN); ÇABEJ *St.* II 119; HULD 110; DEMIRAJ *AE* 353-354.

**sembĕr** pl. 'two peasants using the same pair of oxen or having common cattle'. Another variant is *sĕmbĕr*. Borrowed from Slav \**sĕbrъ* 'neighbor, comrade, peasant', cf. in South Slavic: SCR *sebar* (JOKL *Slavia* XIII 286, 302, *Zb. Miletić* 121-122). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 106-107; SVANE 192.

**send** m, pl. *sende* 'thing'. From PALb \**tsjam tam* < IE \**k<sup>i</sup>om tom*, a sequence of two pronouns in neuter of which the first is related to *se* (OREL *Fort.* 79-80). ◊ CAMARDA I 335 (to Skt *sant-* 'existing, being'); MEYER *Wb.* 381 (from Turkish); ASCOLI *Frammenti linguistici* 15 (follows CAMARDA); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 92 (the same); SPITZER *MRIW* I 322 (to Lat *genus* 'kin'); MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (from IE \**esytis*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 107-108 (from *sen* with a phonetically developed *-d*; *sen* is then explained as accusative of *se*).

**serě** f 'tar'. Borrowed from Slav \**sĕra* 'sulphur', cf. Bulg *s'ara*, SCR *sera*, *sjera* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 381). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 173.

**serrě** f, pl. *serra* 'high steep rock'. Borrowed from Ital *serra* 'chain of mountains'.

**setě** f, pl. *seta* 'sieve'. Back formation of *sitě* taken for a plural in *-i-*. ◊ CAMARDA I 46 (to Gk σήθω 'to sift, to bolt').

**sĕmboj** aor. *sĕmbova* 'to ache, to be painful'. Connected with *dhĕmb* (LAMBERTZ *LP* VII 88), this verb continues a prefixal form \**c-dhĕmboj*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 108 (phonetic variant of *cĕmoj*).

**sĕmurě** ~ **sĕmuně** adj. 'ill, sick'. An analogical formation based on *sĕmundě* 'illness' < \*'inability', a univerbation of *sĕ mund*, cf. *s'* and *mund* (HAHN 77, 116). ◊ CAMARDA I 101, 312 (same as HAHN); MEYER *Wb.* 291 (follows HAHN and CAMARDA); TAGLIAVINI 245; ÇABEJ *St.* II 108 (semantic parallels in other Balkan languages: NGk ἀνημπορία, Arum *niputeare*).

**sĕpatě** f, pl. *sĕpata* 'axe'. Borrowed from the Bulgarian definite form in *-ът -sapyt* 'axe-handle'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 382 (indirectly, from Rom \**sappata*); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 55.

**sfejkě** f, pl. *sfejka* 'beet'. Derived from Lat *felicem, filicem* 'fern, weed'.

**sfurk** m, pl. *sfurq, sfurqe* 'rake; scorpion'. A prefixal form based on \**furkě* borrowed from Lat *furca* 'rake, fork' (JOKL *LKUBA* 116).

**sfytyrij** aor. *sfytyriva* 'to snort'. A prefixal derivative based on *fytyrě*.

**si** adv. 'how, as'. From PALb \**tšei* continuing pronominal IE \**k<sup>e</sup>ei* (PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 317). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 383 (related to IE demonstrative \**k<sup>i</sup>-*), Alb. *St.* III 12; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 128; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 243-244; HAMP *IF LXVI* 53 (equal to Lat *quei > quī* 'how'); MANN *Language* XXVI 385 (from \**k<sup>i</sup>*), *Hist. Gr.* 201 (reconstructs \**k<sup>i</sup>iā* identical with Lat *quia* 'why'); POKORNY I 646-647; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 240; HULD 111.

**sikundĕr** conj. 'as'. Another variant is *sindĕkur*. Compound of *si, ndĕ* and *kur*. ◊ CAMARDA I 322 (to Lat *secundum* or Ital *secondo*); MEYER *Wb.* 384 (Ital *secondo* 'according to' influenced by *kundĕr*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 272.



**sillë** f, pl. *sillë* 'breakfast'. Derivative of *sjell* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 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. ◊ PEDERSEN *Philologica* II 114 (from \**k'ilā*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 59 (related to Gk ἔως 'dawn' and the like); CIMOCHOWSKI *ABS* III 41 (from IE \**k\*(e)lā* 'das Herbringen'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 35 (to OE *hvil* 'time, while' and its cognates).

**sillë** f, pl. *silla* 'power, force'. Borrowed from Slav \**sila* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *sila*, SCr *sila* (MEYER *Wb.* 384). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 178, 303; SVANE 224.

(G) **simahuer** ἄνδρ 'accomplice'. Borrowed and morphologically adapted from MGK σόμμοχος 'comrade-in-arms' (JOKL *IF* XLIV 61-62). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 110.

**simotër** f, pl. *simotra* 'blood sister, colleague, fellow, partner'. Compound of *si* and *motër*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 273 (neologism).

**sipër** adv. 'above', prep. 'over'. Recombination of *persipër* 'up there, above' < *për s'epër* where *s'epër* < *së epër* is the ablative of (*i*) *epër* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 110-111). ◊ BOPP 499 (combination of *si* and *për*); GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 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 *-për*, found in *tepër*); PEDERSEN *Festschrift Thomsen* 250, *KZ* XXXVI 311 (*-për* compared with *prej*); THUMB *IF* XIV 358 n. 1 (borrowed from Lat *super*).

**sisë** f, pl. *sisë* 'breast, bosom, tit'. Borrowed from Slav \**sisa* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *sisa*, SCr *sisa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 33). ◊ CAMARDA I 78, 88 (compared with *cicë*, *thithë* id.); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; SVANE 182.

**sitë** f, pl. *sita* 'sieve'. Borrowed from Slav \**sito* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *sito*, SCr *sito* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 385-386). As to the verb *sit* 'to sift', it is borrowed from Slav \**sējati* id. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 299; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 154; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 244; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; SVANE 72.

**sitka** pl. 'bran'. Borrowed from Slav \**sitzka* id., diminutive of \**sito*, cf. *sitë*.

**sitkë** f 'cane, rush'. Borrowed from Slav \**sitzka* id., diminutive of \**sita* id., cf. SCr *sita*. ◊ SVANE 113.

**sivjet** adv. 'this year'. From PALb \**tsjei wetei*, dat.-loc. sg. continuing IE \**k̑jei wetei* (BOPP 460; MEYER *Wb.* 383, *Alb. St.* III 12). See *sonte*. ◊ CAMARDA I 188; MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 298; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33; CHANTRAINE 1116; HULD 112-113.

**sivonë** f 'delicate face'. Used by DE RADA. Unclear. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 111 (from *sinë*, accusative of *sy*, with an epenthetic *-vo-*, from an exclamatory *o*).

**sjell** aor. *solla* 'to bring'. Continues PALb \**tšela* or \**tšelna* related to IE \**k̑el-*; Skt *cārati* 'to move, to walk', Gk πέλω 'to come into existence, to become', Lat *colō* 'to cultivate, to till' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 277). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 386 (reconstructs IE \**k̑el-*); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 127; BARIĆ *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 I 245-246; POKORNY I 639-640; ÇABEJ *Die Sprache* XVIII 145, *St.* II 109-100; ÖLBERG *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 ~ skāj** m, pl. *skanje ~ skāje* 'edge, border'. A prefixal derivative of an unattested \**kanj* < PALb \**kanja* related to Slav \**konъ* 'edge', Latv *atkan* 'again'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 174 (to *kënd*); JOKL *LKUBA* 116 (from Slav \**konъ* 'edge'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197, 326 (agrees with JOKL); VASMER III 51; ÇABEJ *St.* II 111 (together with *skanjo* 'chair' borrowed from Ital *scagno* id.); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* X 195-196; POKORNY I 564.

**skërdehem** refl. 'to get drunk'. A prefixal derivative of *deh*.

**skërfyell** m, pl. *skërfyej* 'larynx'. A prefixal derivative of *fyell*.

**skëtërrë** f 'hell, darkness'. A prefixal derivative of *terr* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 111).

**sklepë** f 'matter from the eyes, rheum'. Other variants are *skërlepë* and *skërloq*. A prefixal derivative of *glepë*.

**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 *Slav. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 387). ◊ SVANE 262.

**skorratinë** f 'snow storm'. Another variant is *sllotinë*. The form *skorratinë* was influenced by *skorrë*. Originally, derived from *skllotë*.

**skorrë** adj. 'exhausted'. Borrowed from Slav \**skorz* 'quick', cf. in South Slavic: OCS *skorz*, Bulg adv. *skoro*, SCr adv. *skoro*.

**skundill** m, pl. *skundij* 'seam, edge'. Continues an earlier \**skëndill*, a suffixal derivative of *skanj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 174 (from Rom \**cantile*); KRISTOFORIDHI 500 (from South Slav *skut* 'seam, fold', cf. *skutë*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 111-112 (follows KRISTOFORIDHI).

**skuq** aor. *skuqa* 'to make red'. Derived from *kuq*.

**sllog** m 'tilled field'. Borrowed from Slav \**sъlogъ* used in a meaning close to Bulg *slog* 'boundary, limit, land measure'. ◊ SVANE 37.

**smilat** aor. *smilata* 'to flatter'. Borrowed from South Slavic \**smil'ati* 'to cajole', cf. Bulg *smil'avam*.

**sodit** aor. *sodita* 'to observe'. Borrowed from Slav \**soditi* 'to judge', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *sъd'a*, SCr *suditi*. An early loanword with \*-o- rendered as -o- (SVANE 227, 241). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184.

**sokëllas** aor. *sokëllita* 'to shout, to cry'. A prefixal derivative of *këllas*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 389 (to SCr *sokoliti*).

**sokol** m, pl. *sokola* 'falcon'. Borrowed from Slav \**sokolъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *sokol*, SCr *soko* (STIER *KZ* XI 137; MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 389). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 198, 304; TAGLIAVINI 245; SVANE 148.

**sonte** adv. 'this night'. From PALb \**tsjā(i) naktāi*, dat.-loc. sg. continuing IE \**k̑iāi nok'ti-*, cf. Lith *šiānakt* id. and the like (BOPP 460). ◊ CAMARDA I 224; MEYER *Wb.* 298, *Alb. St.* III 12, *Gr. Gr.* 298; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 311 (reconstructs *so-* < \**tjā*); JOKL *Die Sprache* IX 141; TAGLIAVINI 246; MANN *Language* XXVI 379, XXVIII 33; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 38; HULD 112; DEMIRAJ *AE* 283.

**sorrë** f, pl. *sorra* 'crow'. Continues PALb \**išārsnā* corresponding, with a different ablaut grade, to Skt *k̑ṣṇā-* 'black, dark', OPrus *kirsnan* 'black', Slav \**čьrnъ* id. (MANN *Language* XXVIII 35). The anlaut affricate of Proto-Albanian is preserved in Rum *cioarā* 'crow'. ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 220 (on the connection with Rum *cioarā*); CAMARDA II 44 (of Slavic origin); MEYER *Wb.* 390 (to Slav \**sorka* 'magpie'), *Alb. St.* III 39 (from IE \**k̑uornā*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 337; JOKL *LKŪBA* 93; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 74; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 140; ERNOUT-MEILLET 143; LA PIANA *Studi* I 22 (to Lat *cornix* 'crow'); PISANI *Saggi* 130; MAYRHOFER I 264; POKORNY I 583; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 339; ROSETTI *ILR* I 275; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* IV 155-157; TOPOROV *PJa* IV 3-7; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 110; HAMP *GJA* VI 43; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234, 254; HULD 145; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; KORTLANDT *KZ* XCIV 249; DEMIRAJ *AE* 355.

**sot** adv. 'today'. From PALb \**tsjā(i) dtāi*, dat.-loc. sg. continuing IE \**k̑iā dti-* (BOPP 513; MEYER *Wb.* 383), cf. *sonte*. From here, *sotmë* 'modern' is derived, with its secondary phonetic variant *sormë*. ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 298; JOKL *IF* XLIX 296; TAGLIAVINI 246; MANN *Language* XXVI 379; HULD *KZ* XCVIII 103 (*sormë* based on \**sor* < \**k̑iēi* + *HeiHri*, to Av *ayarə* 'day'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 283.

**sotinë** f 'empty honeycomb'. Based on \**sot* borrowed from Slavic \**sъtъ* 'honeycomb', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *sъt*, SCr *sat*. Note -o- rendering Slavic -ъ- (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12). ◊ SVANE 159.

sovajkë f, pl. *sovajka* 'shuttle'. Borrowed from South Slavic \**sovadl'ka* id. attested in Bulg *sovalka* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12).

spërndrit aor. *spërndrita* 'to make shine'. A prefixal derivative of *ndrit*.

spicë f, pl. *spica* 'thorn, splinter'. Borrowed from Slav \**st'pica* 'peg, splinter', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *spica*, SCr *spica* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12). ◊ 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 PAIb \**praka* continuing IE \**prō-ko-*: Lat *procerēs* 'protruding beams', Bret *a-raok* 'forward'. ◊ POKORNY I 815.

sqap m, pl. *sqep* 'he-goat'. See *cjap*.

sqaq aor. *sqaaq* 'to make weak'. Based on \**qaq* continuing PAIb \**kekja* related to Lith *kėkos* 'swing', Latv *kėkuōti* 'to swing'. ◊ FRAENKEL 235.

sqep m, pl. *sqepa* 'beak'. Derived from *qep*.

sqeptore f, pl. *sqeptore* 'woodcock, snipe'. Derived from *sqep* as Ital *beccaccia* from *becco* (ÇABEJ *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). ◊ CAMARDA I 63 (from Lat *spatula* 'shoulder-blade'); MEYER *Wb.* 403 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 244; HAMP *AJPhil* LXXV 186-189 (derives the dialectal variant *sjetull* from IE \**k'ek'-los*), *ZfBalk* XXXII/1 28-33 (to Lat *popies* 'back of the knee'), *StF* XXVI/1 81-83; HULD 111-112 (follows HAMP); MESSING *St. Whatmough* 173-178.

sqimë f, pl. *sqima* 'adornment, decoration'. Borrowed from MGk σχημα 'form, shape, figure' (CAMARDA I 69; MEYER *Wb.* 388). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 113.

sqitës m 'comb'. Nomen agentis in *-ës* of *sqis*, a dialectal Greek form of *shqis* (MEYER *Wb.* 228). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* V 101 (to *qij*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 113 (follows MEYER *Wb.*).

sqoj aor. *sqova* 'to wake up'. A prefixal derivative of *qoj*.

sqotë f, pl. *sqota* 'sleet'. Other variants are *shqotë* and *shkllotë*. The most archaic form is *shqotë* where the original Slavic \**sl-* is substituted by \**skl-*. The source is Slav \**slota* id. (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 56-57). ◊ ÇABEJ *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. *sqotë*. In this case, the Arumanian form is also a Slavic or an Albanian loanword. ◊ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 56; SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 253; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1046; HAARMANN 152; ÇABEJ *St.* II 114.

sqyt m, pl. *sqyta* 'shield'. Under the influence of *qytë*, transformed from \**shqytë*. The latter was borrowed from Lat *scūtum* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 388 (from Slav \**ščitъ* id.); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 57.

stan m, pl. *stane* 'stall, herd'. Borrowed from Slav \**stanъ* 'site, stall', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *stan*, SCr *stan* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 391-392). ◊ CAMARDA I 160 (to IE \**stā-*); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 165; SVANE 62.

stap m, pl. *stape*, *stapinj* 'stick, staff'. Borrowed from Slav \**stapъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *stap*, SCr *stap* (MEYER *Wb.* 392). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 279; SVANE 80.

stavë f, pl. *stava* 'heap of wood, haystack'. Borrowed from Slav \**stava* id. attested in Bulg *stava* (MEYER *Wb.* 392). ◊ SVANE 42, 61.

stegë f, pl. *stega* 'bandolier'. Borrowed from Slav \**sъtega* 'loop, belt', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *st'aga*, dial. *stega*.

stejë f, pl. *steja* 'bedding, saddle cover'. Another variant is *stelë*. Bor-

rowed from Slav \**stel'a* 'bedding, cover', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *stel'a*, SCr *stelja* (MEYER *Wb.* 392).

**steně** f, pl. *stena* 'wooden wall'. Borrowed from Slav \**stěna* 'wall', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *stena*, SCr *stijena*, *stena*. As to *stenicě* 'bug', it is derived from *steně* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 392). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 151; SVANE 53.

**step** m 'rock, peak'. Borrowed from Slav \**stъpъ* 'plateau, steppe', attested in the Balkans in SCr dial. *step* 'hilly countryside' (OREL *Ėtimologija* 1983 139-140, *Ėtimologija* 1984 182). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 427 (from Turk *tepe* 'hill'); JOKL *Balkangerm.* 125 (to *thep*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 114 (agrees with JOKL).

**stepem** refl. 'to be slow, to stop'. A prefixal derivative based on PA1b \**tapa* related to ON *þefja* 'to stamp, to ram'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 392 (to SCr *stepsti* 'to knock together').

**sterrě** adj. 'dark, black'. Expressive prefixal derivative of *terr*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 392 (from \**cerrě* < SCr *crn* 'black'); JOKL *LKUBA* 113 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 114 (identical with *sterě* 'cistern' in view of the expressions similar to *dark as in the well*).

**stěrditem** refl. 'to meet accidentally'. A prefixal derivative of *di*. The prefix *stěr-* is fairly productive and appears in numerous other forms, cf. *stěrdhěmb* 'fang', *stěrflok* 'to tousle (hair)', *stěrgjysh* 'forefather, great-grandfather' and the like.

**stěrkas** aor. *stěrkita* 'to sprinkle'. Borrowed from Slav \**strъkati* ~ \**strъcati* id., cf. in South Slavic: SCr *strcati*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 393 (to Bulg *strъčka* 'sprinkling device').

**stěrqokě** f *stěrqoka* 'jackdaw'. A prefixal derivative of *qok* 'kind of owl' (WEIGAND 79). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 393 (to Slav \**stъrkъ* 'stork'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 198; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 613-614 (to *stěrklas* 'to sprinkle' and *qokth*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 115 (agrees with JOKL).

**stěrvině** f, pl. *stěrvině* 'corpse'. Borrowed from Slav \**stъrvina* id. attested in South Slavic: SCr *strvina* (MEYER *Wb.* 393). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 189, 325; SVANE 133.

**stěrvis** aor. *stěrvita* 'to train'. Borrowed from Slav \**stъrviti* 'to bait, to lure, to train', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *stъrv'a* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 196; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 609). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 213.

**stog** m, pl. *stogje* 'haystack'. Borrowed from Slav \**stogъ* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *stog*, SCr *stog* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12). ◊ SVANE 42.

**stol** m, pl. *stola* 'stool', Borrowed from Slav \**stolъ* 'table, chair', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *stol*, SCr *sto* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 34). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 150, 303; SVANE 66.

**stopan** m, pl. *stopaně* 'shepherd, chief shepherd, shepherd's assistant'. Borrowed from an old Iranism in South Slavic, cf. Bulg *stopan*, SCr dial. *stopanin* (MEYER *Wb.* 393). ◊ TRUBAČEV *Ėtimologija* 1965 37 (reconstructs Iran \**asta-pān-* 'house keeper').

**strazě** f 'garrison'. A relatively early borrowing from Slav \**storža* 'guard', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *straža*, SCr *straža* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 394). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 143, 180.

**strehě** f, pl. *strehě* 'eaves (of the roof)'. Borrowed from Slav \**strěxa*, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *str'axa*, SCr *strehā* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 394). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 148, 305; SVANE 54.

**stremě** f, pl. *stremě* 'square measure used to measure plots of land'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *str'ama*.

**strokě** f 'scab, rash'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *stroka*, SCr *stroka* 'illness of sheep'.

**strug** m, pl. *strugje* 'plane (instrument)'. Another variant is *strugě*. Borrowed from Slav \**strugъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *strug*, SCr *strug* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. 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*. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172.

**strukě** f, pl. *struka* 'ambush'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *strъka*, *struka* 'passage, path'.

**strukull** m, pl. *strukuj* 'hen-coop'. Derived from *strukë*.

**strum** m 'pool'. Borrowed from Slav *\*strumy* 'brook' unattested in South Slavic except for Slovene *strumen*. ◊ SVANE 171.

**strup** m 'scab'. Borrowed from Slav *\*strupъ* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *strup*, SCr *strup* (SVANE 184).

**sufërinë** f 'storm, breeze'. Another related form is *fufarinë* 'tempest, rain-storm'. Derived from *sufroj* 'to whisper into somebody's ear' borrowed from Ital *soffiare* 'to blow'. ◊ MEYER Wb. 395 (to Ital *zufolare* 'to whistle'); ÇABEJ St. II 115 (onomatopoeia).

**sukë** f, pl. *suka* 'low hill'. Continues *\*tšukā* related to Skt *sūka-* 'awn of grain; spike of insect', Av *sūkā-* 'needle'. ◊ POKORNY I 626; MAYRHOFER III 363-364.

**sukull** m *sukuj* 'rag, cloth, lump, snow-flake'. Derived from *sukë*. The original meaning of the word must have been 'lump'. ◊ JOKL *UngJb* VII 82 (to *cukla* 'combing, flocks'); ÇABEJ St. II 115-116 (borrowed from Slav *\*sukъno* 'broadcloth').

**sulem** refl. 'to rush to, to throw oneself upon, to attack'. From PALb *\*tšula*, a zero-grade of *sjell* (LA PIANA St. *Varia* 26). ◊ MEYER Wb. 395 (to Slav *\*sъlati* 'to send'), Alb. St. III 12, 77; LIDÉN *Arm. Studien* 77-78 (to Arm *slanam* 'to run'); JOKL *LKŪBA* 59 (follows LIDÉN); BARIĆ *ARSL* I 94 (to Skt *cyāvate* 'to move, to go away'), *AArbSt* II 81 (to *thëllëzë*); VASMER Alb. *Wortforsch.* 58-59; ÇABEJ St. II 116-117 (follows LA PIANA).

**sumbull** f, pl. *sumbulla* 'round button; bud'. Based on PALb *\*tsumba* continuing IE *\*kumb-*, cf. Gk κύμβη 'bowl', OIr *comm* 'vessel'. ◊ FRISK II 48; POKORNY I 592 (reconstructs *\*k-* in view of Skt *kumbha-* 'pot' but *-bh-* is irregular); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 348; ÇABEJ St. VII 254.

**sundoj** aor. *sundova* 'to rule'. Based on *\*sund* borrowed from Slav *\*sqdъ* 'court, trial', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *съд*, SCr *sud*. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 34; MEYER Wb. 396 (directly from *\*sqditi* 'to

judge'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 180, 291; ÇABEJ St. VII 184; SVANE 227.

**sup** m, pl. *supe* 'shoulder'. Continues PALb *\*tsupa* related to Skt *śrupti-* id., Av *supti-* id., MLG *schuft* 'front shoulder-blade (of animals)' (MEYER Wb. 396, Alb. St. III 12, 31). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 337; JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 146; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 96; PISANI *Saggi* 132; MAYRHOFER III 357; POKORNY I 627; ÖLBERG *IBK XIV* 113; HULD 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 355-356.

**surmë** adj. 'dark grey'. Continues PALb *\*tsurma* < IE *\*k̑rmo-*, identical with Lith *šiřmas* 'grey' (JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 153-155). Cf. *thjermë*. ◊ CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 221 (supports JOKL); SOLTA *Die Sprache* II 123 n. 2; FRAENKEL 988-989; ÇABEJ St. II 117 (from SCr *sur* 'grey'); HULD 145; ÖLBERG *IBK XIV* 113; DEMIRAJ *AE* 356.

**sutë** f, pl. *suta* 'female deer, doe'. Identical with *shutë* 'female deer; hornless', *shytë* 'hornless'. Continues PALb *\*tšutā* < *\*tšuktā* borrowed to Rum *ciut* 'hornless', *ciutā* 'female deer' (ÇABEJ St. II 117-118) and Slav *\*šutъ* 'hornless'. The Albanian word is further related to IE *\*kuk-* in Lith *šūkos* 'comb', *šūké* 'crock', *šukėtas* 'dented, chipped', Latv *suka* 'brush'. ◊ MEYER Wb. 420; FRAENKEL 1031; POKORNY I 629; VASMER IV 492; HULD *KZ XCVIII* 104 (from *\*ōku* + *petēH* 'swift flying', cf. Gk ὠκυπέτης).

**sy** m/n, pl. *sy* 'eye'. From PALb *\*atšīwi*, a form of dual similar related to Skt *akṣī*, Av *aši*, Lith *akì*, Slav *\*oči* (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 291, 318-320) but influenced by *\*duwō* 'two'. The dialectal auslaut *-y* < *-i* seems to be secondary. ◊ MEYER Wb. 383 (to Slav *\*sijati* 'to shine' and/or *\*sinь* 'blue'), Alb. St. III 12, 79; HIRT *BB XXIV* 263 (to Goth *skeinan* 'to shine'); WIEDEMANN *BB XXVII* 201 (compares with IE *\*k̑eid-* 'to shine, to be white'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 109; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 248, *Stratificazione* 95-96; LA PIANA *Studi* I 32 (to IE *\*keu-* 'to shine'); MANN *Hist. Gr.* 97 (reconstructs *\*ok̑ōn*); CAMAJ Alb. *Wortb.* 17; MAYRHOFER I 16; ÇABEJ St. II 118-120 (to *\*sūn-* 'sun' by analogy with OIr *súil* 'eye'); VASMER III 128-129; HULD 113; OREL *ZyBalk XXIII* 144; KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Spr.* 223 (reconstructs *\*Hk̑iyyo-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* (ÇABEJ *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; ÇABEJ *St.* II 121-122).

**shag** m, pl. *shegje* 'coarse linen fabric spread on the floor'. Borrowed from Lat *sagum* 'cloak made of coarse fabric' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 122). ◊ 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 *šahaty*, Czech *šahati* and believed to go back to Slav *\*segati* 'to reach'. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 97 (to *shes* or to *shëlligë*); VASMER IV 392-393; ÇABEJ *St.* II 122, 329 (phonetic variant of *zharg*).

**shaj** aor. *shava* 'to insult, to offend'. A prefixal form of *ënj* with the original meaning 'to blow out' > 'to be indignant'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 399 (from Rom *\*sannarī* based on Lat *sanna* 'grimace'), *Alb. St.* V 101; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 255-256 (against MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 122-123 (to Gk σκεδάννυμι 'to scatter, to disperse'); MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (to Gk ψαίνω).

**shajkë** f, pl. *shajka* 'peg, nail'. From *\*shajt-kë*, based on *shajtoj*.

**shajtoj** aor. *shajtova* 'to dash against, to strike, to hit'. Etymologically identical with *shitoj* 'to wound' from which *shitë* 'wound' is derived. The verb is borrowed from Lat *sagittāre* 'to wound with an arrow' (CAMARDA II 146: to Lat *sagitta* 'arrow'). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; ÇABEJ *St.* II 123-124.

**shakë** 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 *säg*, Tadjik *sag* etc. Note *sh-* < Iran *\*s-* indicating a borrowing preceding Albanian-Slavic contacts, i.e. before the VI

century C.E. ◊ ÇABEJ *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 *Wb.* 377). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 526 (agrees with MEYER); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 117 (derived from *shark*); ÇABEJ *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*.

**shalë** f, pl. *shala* 'saddle; inner side of thigh, pair of legs'. Borrowed from Lat *sella* 'seat, saddle' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60; MEYER *Wb.* 398). Clearly enough, *shalë* 'inner side of the thigh; leg' is historically identical with the word for 'saddle' (CAMARDA II 165). As to *shalë* 'Borrago officinalis', it goes back to the same source. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXV 283; JOKL *LKUBA* 22; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (to Gk ψαλίς); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; ÇABEJ *St.* II 125-126 (separates *shalë* as an anatomical term and equates it with Gk σκέλος 'leg (from the hip downwards)'; as a plant-name, *shalë* is explained from IE *\*skel-* 'to cut'); HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lat.* 95.

**shap** m 'disease of the cattle, Aphta epizootica'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*sapъ* 'glanders'. ◊ WEIGAND *BA* III 112 (to Rum *şopirlă* 'lizard'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 127 (from Turk *şab*).

**shap** m 'alum'. Borrowed from Lat *sapa* 'thick grape juice'.

**shapkë** f, pl. *shapka* 'cap, hat; slipper, old shoe'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *şapka* id., SCr *şapka* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 399). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 174; ÇABEJ *St.* II 127.

**shapkë** f, pl. *shapka* 'woodcock'. Identical with *shapkë* 'cap, hat' (MEYER *Wb.* 399). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 127-128 (related to *sqep*).

**shaploj** aor. *shaplova* 'to pound earth-clods'. Derived from Rom

\**sappula*, cf. \**sappa* 'hoe': Rum *sapã*, Ital *zappa*. ◇ PUŞCARIU *EW*R 135.

**shapoj** aor. *shapova* 'to polish'. Borrowed from Rom \**sappãre* 'to hack' based on \**sappa* 'hoe', cf. Rum *sapã*, 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 *vidhë*.

**sharë** f 'sheep with white spots on the muzzle'. Borrowed from South Slavic \**šara* id., cf. Bulg *šara*, SCr *šara* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 129).

**sharë** pl. 'offense'. An early borrowing from Slav \**sora* reconstructed on the basis of Russ *ssora* 'row' < \**szsora* and SCr *osoran* 'rude', Slovene *osoren* < \**ob-sorъnzъ*. ◇ SVANE 137.

**shark** m 'fruit pulp'. Borrowed from Gk σάρξ 'flesh', occasionally, 'pulp' (KRISTOFORIDHI 384; JOKL *IF* XLIV 23-24). ◇ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 113 (suffix -k); ÇABEJ *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 *sharkë*. An early borrowing from Slav \**sorka* 'shirt'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 400 (from Rom \**sarica*); BUGA II 314; VASMER III 724-725; STEINHAUSER *SlRev* III 284-285 (compares *shark* with Slav \**sorka* and explains both words from Arabic); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251 (from Lat *serica*); ÇABEJ *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. \**šarovъ* 'spotted, multicolored', cf. Bulg *šaro* 'spotted (of dogs)'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 129 (to *sharë*).

**shartoj** aor. *shartoj* 'to cross (of animals), to engraft (of plants)'. Borrowed from Rom \*(*in*)*sertãre* based on Lat *serere* 'to sow', cf. Sp *enjer-*

*tar* 'to cross (animals)', Port *enxertar* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 400). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 129-130 (from Rom \**insertãre* or \**exquartãre*); HAARMANN 149.

**sharrë** f, pl. *sharra* 'saw'. Borrowed from Lat *serra* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60; MEYER *Wb.* 400). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 249; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 268; HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lat.* 95, 128, 177.

**shat** m, pl. *shata*, *shetër* 'hoe'. Borrowed from Lat *sector* 'cutter'. For the auslaut cf. *mbret*. Note the development of -*ct-* > Alb -*t-*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 400 (to Lat *secō* 'to cut' and the like), *Alb. St.* III 5, 40; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 282-283 (*i-stem*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 256; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 61 (from IE \**skod-*); ÇABEJ *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 \**šatorъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *šatorъ*, SCr *šator* (CAMARDA II 160).

**she** m 'undrying rivulet'. Derived from *shi*. ◇ JOKL *WuS* XII 63-65 (borrowed from Finno-Ugric, cf. Hung *séd*, *sét* 'brook, rivulet'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 130 (follows JOKL).

**shegë** f, pl. *shegë* 'pomegranate'. Borrowed from an unknown Mediterranean word that may be reconstructed as \**si(l)g'ã* in view of Gk σίδη, σίβδη id., σίλβια· σίδια (Hes.) coming from the same source (CAMARDA II 154). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 401; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 250-251; FRISK II 702-703; ÇABEJ *St.* II 131.

**shejth** m, pl. *shejthe* 'birthmark'. Diminutive of *shenjë*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 269.

**shekë** f, pl. *sheka* 'large wooden vessel'. Other variants are *sheke* and *sheqe*. Back formation based on \**sheqë* borrowed from Rom \**sicla* 'pail', the source of Ital *secchia* id. (THUMB *IF* XXVI 10). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60 (from Ital *secchia* 'pail'); MEYER *Wb.* 401 (follows MIKLOSICH); JOKL *LKUBA* 102 n. 1 (follows THUMB); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ *St.* II 131-132 (MGk σίτλα, NGk σίκλα, σοῦκλα '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). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <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). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 147.

**shelkë** 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 *shelkë* and *sheqe*. Borrowed from Rom *\*salicã* 'salt-cellar' (to Lat *sāl* 'salt'). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 401 (from Ital *secchia* 'pail'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 251; ÇABEJ *St.* II 132 (variant of *shekë*); LANDI *Lat.* 95, 144.

**shelqëror** ~ **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 *sărciner*, *sălciner* (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÇABEJ *St.* II 132). ◊ HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 112-114, 157.

**shemb** aor. *shemba* 'to tear, to destroy'. A prefixal derivative from PALB *\*ampa*, a nasal present related to Skt *āpnōti* 'to reach', Gk ἄπτω 'to seize, to grasp' and other continuants of IE *\*ap-*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 404 (from Ital *scemare* 'to diminish, to lessen'); POKORNYI 50-51.

**shembëll** f, pl. *shembëlla* 'example, sample'. Another variant is *shembull*. Borrowed from Lat *exemplum* id. ◊ CAMARDA I 86 (to Lat *similis* 'similar'); MEYER *Wb.* 404 (*shembëll* 'sign' from Lat *symbolum* 'symbol' but this meaning of the Albanian word is dubious); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 536 (agrees with MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 132-133 (back formation of *shembëllej* influenced by Lat *exemplum*).

**shembëllej** aor. *shembëlleva* 'to resemble'. Borrowed from Lat *similare* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 61; MEYER *Wb.* 404). The noun *shemtyrë* is derived from here. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1047 (*shemtyrë*, *shembëlltyrë* derived from Rom *\*simulātūra*); 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* II 133; HAARMANN 150.

**shemë** f, pl. *shemë* 'swarm (of bees)'. Borrowed from Lat *exāmen* 'swarm' (JOKL *LKUBA* 286). ◊ HAARMANN 124.

**shemër** ~ **shemërk** f, pl. *shemra* 'mistress, concubine, rival'. A morphological transformation of the original Rom *\*sub-marīta* or *\*sub-marītica*, cf. Lat *marīta* 'married woman'. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 5-12 (from IE *\*sṃ-mari* further related to Lat *marītus* 'married'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 119-120; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* VIII 140; ÇABEJ *StF* II/4 49 (early borrowing from Slav *\*sębrъ*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 359-360.

**shenjë** f, pl. *shenja* 'sign'. Borrowed from Lat *signum* id. (CAMARDA I 42; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60-61; MEYER *Wb.* 401). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045 (from Italian), 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20, 22; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 250, 267; HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lat.* 56-58.

**shenjtë** adj. 'saint'. Another phonetic variant is *shënjtë*. Borrowed from Lat *sanctus* id. (GIL FERDING *Otm.* 26; CAMARDA I 84; MEYER *Wb.* 404; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 57). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042, 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 249, 251; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 62-63; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 121, 142.

**sherbelë** f, pl. *sherbela* 'sage (plant)'. With a dissimilation of sonorants, borrowed from Rom *\*salviella* based on Lat *salvia* id. (MIHĂESCU *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). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 95, 116, 177.

**sherp** m 'wild celery'. Borrowed from Gk σέλρον· σίλφρον (Hes.), σίλφρον 'umbelliferous plant' (THUMB *IF* XXVI 17) or from Lat *sirpe* id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 21). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 402 (from Rom *\*silpium* < Gk σίλφρον); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *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'. ◊



MEYER *Wb.* 402 (compares *sh-* with E *sell*), *Alb. St.* III 58; TAGLI-  
AVINI *Dalmazia* 252; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (from \**eks-ketjō*).

**shesh** m, pl. *shesha* 'plain, plane, flatness, square'. Borrowed from Lat *sessus* 'seat' (MEYER *Wb.* 402). ◊ CAMARDA II 161 (to Gk ἴσος 'equal (in size)'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1039; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217; HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lat.* 95.

**shete** pl. 'bran'. Plural of \**shatë* borrowed from Lat *sectum*, participle of *secō* 'to cut'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 134 (related to *shat*).

**shetkë** f 'mane'. Borrowed from Slav \**ščetъka* 'brush, bristle' otherwise unattested in South Slavic except for Slovene *ščetka*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 224.

**shëkroj** aor. *shëkrova* 'to devote, to dedicate'. Borrowed from Lat *sacrāre* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1047, 1052). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24.

**shëlboj** aor. *shëlbova* 'to save, to deliver'. Borrowed from Lat *salvāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 403). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1047, 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 147.

**shëllij** ~ **shëllif** aor. *shëlliva* 'to salt'. Borrowed from Lat *salire* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 404). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1047, 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 147.

**shëmtoj** aor. *shëmtova* 'to choke, to suffocate'. Borrowed from Lat *exanimāri* id.

**shëmtoj** aor. *shëmtova* 'to make ugly, to distort'. Borrowed from Rom \**examputāre*, cf. Lat *amputāre* 'to cut down, to amputate'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 401 (from Rom \**signitāre*); SKOK *A ArbSt* II 342 n. 3 (against MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 134-135 (based on *shenjë*).

**shëndet** m 'health'. Borrowed from Lat *sanitātem* id. (CAMARDA I 86; MEYER *Wb.* 404). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1047; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 96, 109.

**shëndosh** adj. 'healthy'. Borrowed from Rom \**sanitōsus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 404; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 57-58). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 249; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 96, 110.

**shëndërtat** m 'Transfiguration; Trinity'. Borrowed from Lat *sanctam trinitātem* 'holy Trinity' (ZOJZI *BISHk* 1949/1 85-86). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 404 (to *shëndrit*); KRISTOFORIDHI 391 (from Italian); ÇABEJ *LP* VIII 116-117 (follows ZOJZI), *St.* II 135 (from *shenj tëritat*); HAARMANN 148.

**shëndrit** aor. *shëndrit* 'to shine'. Prefixal derivative in *shën-* of *ndrit*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

**shëngjetë** f 'best part of hunting trophies'. Prefixal derivative of *gjah*.

**shëpullë** f, pl. *shëpulla* 'box on the ear'. Derived from *shipkë*.

**shërbej** aor. *shërbeva* 'to serve'. Borrowed from Lat *servire* id. (CAMARDA I 86; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60; MEYER *Wb.* 404). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1048; JOKL *LKUBA* 78; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ *St.* II 135-136; HAARMANN 149.

(T) **shëroj** aor. *shërova* 'to heal'. Borrowed from Lat *sānāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 405). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1047, 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; JANSON *Unt.* 59; HAARMANN 147.

**shëshëris** aor. *shëshërita* 'to hiss'. Borrowed from Gk σφυρίζω 'to whistle' influenced by Lat *susurrāre* 'to hiss' (MEYER *Wb.* 405). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 252.

**shëtīt** aor. *shëtīta* 'to go for a walk'. Another variant is *shetit*. Borrowed from Slav \**šetati* 'to walk', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *šetam*, SCr *šetati* (MEYER *Wb.* 403). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 192; SVANE 254.

**shi** m/n, pl. *shira* ~ *shina* 'rain'. From PAIb \**sūja*, with an irregular development of the initial \**s-* > *sh-* explained by the dissimilation in the intermediary form \**jūja* (OREL *Die Sprache* XXXI/2 282). The

word is connected with IĒ \*sū- 'rain; to rain': Gk ὕει, Tokh A *swase*, Tokh B *swese* 'rain', *sū-* 'to rain' and, in particular, OPrus *suge* 'rain' = [*sūjē*] (MEYER *Alb. Studien* III 43, 81, *Wb.* 405; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350). ◊ CAMARDA I 72 (to Gk χιὼν '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 1164; ÇABEJ *St.* II 136; HULD 113; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; DEMIRAJ *AE* 360-361.

(G) *shĭ* m 'occiput'. Borrowed from Lat *sinus* 'curve, bend, lap'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 405 (to Slav \**šija* 'neck'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 96 (< IĒ \**ksī(n)j-*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 96.

*shi* adv. 'exactly, right'. Borrowed from Lat *sic* 'so, yes'.

*shibë* f 'cold (illness)'. Derivative of *shi*.

*shibël* f, pl. *shibla* 'bread crumb; splinter'. Based on Slav \**šibati* 'to strike, to hit'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 405 (from SCR *šiba* 'twig').

*shigjetë* f, pl. *shigjeta* 'arrow'. Another form is *shëgjetë*. Borrowed from Lat *sagitta* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 403). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1045; JOKL *LKUBA* 143 (from Rum *săgeată*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 216; HAARMANN 147; LANDI *Lat.* 56-58, 95.

*shij* ~ *shĭ* aor. *shiva* ~ *shina* 'to thresh'. Borrowed from Lat *exigere* 'to drive away, to push out, to throw'. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 388, XXVIII 40 (to Gk ξύωω); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 204, 228.

*shijë* f, pl. *shija* 'taste'. A more archaic form is *shilë*. Borrowed from Rom \**suāvillia*, based on Lat *suāvis* 'sweet', cf. Skt *svadati* 'to make palatable' ~ *svādu-* 'sweet'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 405 (from Gk ἴλεος 'propitious, gracious'); BUCK 1029-1031.

*shikëll* f, pl. *shikëlla* 'gall-nut'. Borrowed from Rom \**sicula* < Lat *silicula* 'small pod'.

*shikoj* aor. *shikova* 'to look, to pay attention'. Other forms are *shëkoj* and *shukoj*. Borrowed from the deponential Lat *sequor* 'to follow',

in particular, 'to follow with eyes' - *oculis sequor*. ◊ CAMARDA I 141 (to *shoh*); MEYER *Wb.* 405 (from Rom \**sedicāre*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 252 (against MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 137.

*shiloj* aor. *shilova* 'to saddle'. Derived from *shalë*, with an irregular vowel change in the root (JOKL *LKUBA* 22).

*shilor* m, pl. *shilorë* 'burden, load, faggot, breast bone (of cow or pig)'. Derived from *shiloj*. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 128-129 (-*lor* to *pluar*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 361 (derived from *shul*).

*shipkë* f, pl. *shipka* 'box on the ear'. Borrowed from South Slavic \**šibъka* 'blow, ramrod', cf. Bulg *šibka*.

*shiringë* f, pl. *shiringa* 'syringe'. Borrowed from Lat *syringa* id.

*shirk* m 'goatskin, wineskin'. The Greek-Albanian form is *shiq*. A phonetic variant of *rrëshek* ~ *rrëshiq* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 137).

*shise* f, pl. *shise* 'feeling'. Dissimilated from \**shishe*. Borrowed from Lat *sensum* id.

*shitë* f, pl. *shita* 'box on the ear'. Derived from *shipkë*.

*shitë* f, pl. *shita* 'illness of sheep'. Borrowed from Lat *sitiūs* 'weakness'.

*shkabë* f, pl. *shkaba* 'eagle'. A prefixal formation related to *gabonjë* and reflecting PALb \**iš-gaba* (JOKL *LKUBA* 303-306). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 406 (compared with Slav \**koba*, \**kobъ*, \**kobъсь* '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 *kadhë* (KRISTOFORIDHI 391). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 137 (agrees with KRISTOFORIDHI), IV 88.

*shkagoj* aor. *shkagova* 'to refuse, to decline'. Borrowed from Lat *excaudicāre* 'to uproot, to eradicate'.

**shkak** m, pl. *shkaqe* '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 PAlb \**skaka* etymologically related to ON *skaga* 'to protrude', Slav \**skokъ* 'jump' < IE \**skek-* 'to jump, to be agile'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 407 (to *shkarkoj*); VASMER III 645; POKORNY I 922-923; ÇABEJ *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 PAlb \**skala* related to Gk σκάλλω 'to chop', Lith *skeliù*, *skélti* 'to split', ON *skilja* id. and the like. ◊ FRAENKEL 800-801; FRISK II 715-716; POKORNY I 923-927.

**shkalbësoj** aor. *shkalbësova* 'to cut off (rotten parts)'. Derived from *kalb*.

**shkalc** m, pl. *shkalca* 'barrow, tray'. Derived from *shkallë* (MEYER *Wb.* 407). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 138 (to *shkel*).

**shkalis** aor. *shkalita* 'to dismount'. Another morphological variant is *shkalos*. Derived from *kalë*.

**shkalis** aor. *shkalita* 'to caress, to make weak'. Derived from *shkal*.

**shkallë** f, pl. *shkallë* 'stairs, staircase'. Borrowed from Lat *scālae* 'stairs' (MEYER *Wb.* 406-407; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 58). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1042; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 252; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAARMANN 148.

**shkallmë** f, pl. *shkallma* 'sword'. Borrowed from Gk σκόλη id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 138) if not an artificial coinage of FISHTA used in his *Shqypnija i lirë*.

**shkalloj** aor. *shkallova* 'to exaggerate, to go mad'. Borrowed from Rom \**exscālāre* 'to escalate' based on Lat *scālae* 'stairs', cf. *shkallë*. From here *shkallaq* 'crazy' is derived. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 407 (from Rom \**excallāre*, to Lat *callis* 'path'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 539 (against

MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 87-88 (to *shkel*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 139 (derived from *shkallë*).

**shkandull** m, pl. *shkanduj* 'temptation'. Borrowed from Rom \**scandulum* for Lat *scandalum* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1048).

**shkapërcej** aor. *shkapërceva* 'to cross'. One of several prefixal derivatives in *shka-për-*, in this case - based on *ecëj*. Cf. also *shkapërdaj* 'to divide', *shkapërthej* 'to trample down'.

**shkardhë** f 'dog chain; long stick attached to the dog's neck to prevent it from biting its master'. From PAlb \**iš-gardā*, etymologically connected with *gardhë* and forming full parallel to Slav \**ъз-gorda* 'fence' (OREL *LB* XXIX/4 67-69). The original meaning of *shkardhë* may be approximated as 'pile-structure, fence', taking into account the derivative *shkardhinë* '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' (POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 354; KALUŽSKAJA *SBJa Antič.* 136). ◊ KALUŽSKAJA *Balk. Sredizemn.* 177-178 (derives *shkardhë* from \**sker-* 'to cut'); ROSETTI *ILR* I 283; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* IX 30.

**shkarkoj** aor. *shkarkova* 'to unload' Borrowed from Rom \**discarricāre* id. (CAMARDA I 66), cf. Rum *descareca*, Ital *scaricare* and the like. ◊ PUŞCARIU *EW* 44.

**shkarpë** f, pl. *shkarpa* 'brushwood'. Borrowed from Gk σκόριφος 'contour; brushwood' (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 407 (to Rom \**discarpere* or \**excarpere* 'to tear off'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

**shkarpë** f, pl. *shkarpa* 'honeycomb (without honey)'. Historically, of the same origin as *shkarpë* 'brushwood'. A honeycomb devoid of honey is described as an empty 'contour'. ◊ CAMARDA I 173 (divides into *sh-karpë*).

**shkartoj** aor. *shkartova* 'to sort, to grade, to assort (of bad things); refl. 'to be perforated by worms'. Borrowed from Rom \**excarptāre*, a variant of \**excarptiāre* 'to tear off, to pick': Sp *escarzar*, Port *escarçar*.

**shkarth** m, pl. *shkartha* 'servant, slave'. Derived from \**karth*, cf.

*kërthi* 'tiny; baby' s.v. *kërth*. Semantically, cf. Lith *tařnas* 'servant' ~ Skt *tarņaka-* 'calf', *tāruņa-* 'young; boy'. ◊ FRAENKEL 1060; BUCK *Synonyms* 1334-1335; MAYRHOFER II 483, 485-486; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 237, 257.

**shkarthi** adv. 'across'. Deived from *kërthi*.

**shkarzej** aor. *shkarzeva* 'to humiliate, to abase', refl. 'to roll in dust (of horses and donkeys)'. Another variant is *shkarzoj*. In all meanings, the Albanian verb is used metaphorically as it comes from Rom *\*excardiāre* 'to spin wool'. ◊ CAMARDA I 142 (root *skar-*); MEYER *Wb.* 407 (to Slav *\*skarędz* '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 PALb *\*skatja* corresponding to Lat *scateō* 'to stream, to flow out', Lith *skantiū*, *skāsti* 'to spring, to jump' (BARIĆ *ARSt* 100). ◊ CAMARDA I 86 (to Gk σκαίός 'left', σκάζω 'to be lame'); MEYER *Wb.* 411 (reconstructs *\*skes-*); JOKL *Studien* 82 (to Slav *\*kotiti* 'to roll', *\*kačati* 'to swing'); CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 44 (same as JOKL); WALDE-HOFMANN II 491; FRAENKEL 798; POKORNY I 950; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 273.

**shkas** m, pl. *shkase* 'impulse, motive, incentive'. Derived from *shkas* 'to slip, to slide'.

**shkatërr** f 'ray, skate'. Based on *\*shkat* borrowed from Lat *squātus* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 139).

**shkatërroj** aor. *shkatërrova* 'to destroy'. Borrowed from Rom *\*excathedrāre* 'to evict, to oust'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 228 (from *katër*).

**shkath** aor. *shkatha* 'to make skillful'. Based on *\*shkath*, *shkathët* 'agile, quick, skilful'. The latter is derived from *shkak*.

**shkazmë** f, pl. *shkazmë* 'slippery slope'. Derived from *shkas* 'to slip, to slide'.

**shkel** aor. *shkela* 'to make a step, to walk'. Another variant is *shklas*. Continues PALb *\*skala* or *\*skalatja* related to Skt *skhālate* 'to stumble, to trip'. Derived from *shkel* is *shkelb* 'step' (JOKL *LKUBA* 283). ◊ CAMARDA I 132 (to Gk σκάλλω 'to dig, to hoe'); MEYER *Wb.* 407 (from IE *\*skel-* in its unspecified meaning); JOKL *Studien* 78-79 (to Lith *kulnīs* 'heel', Lat *calx* id.); MAYRHOFER III 509 (reconstructs *\*sk(h)er-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184, 238.

**shkelc** m, pl. *shkelca* 'stair'. Singularized plural of *shkalc*.

**shkencë** f, pl. *shkenca* 'science'. Borrowed from Lat *scientia* id.

**shkep** aor. *shkepa* 'to rip open, to unrip, to tear'. Continues PALb *\*skaipa* related to ON *skiffa* 'to split', OFries *skivya* 'to divide' and other continuants of *\*skai-p-*. ◊ CAMARDA I 152 (to *shkabë* and *shqipe*); POKORNY I 922.

**shkep** aor. *shkepa* 'to resemble'. A parallel form is *shkrep*. A prefixal derivative of *\*krep* continuing PALb *\*krepa* 'body' related to Skt instr. sg. *křp-* 'shape, beautiful appearance', Lat *corpus* 'body', OHG *hrēf* 'body, lap' (JOKL *Studien* 80). For the semantic development cf. Goth *galeiks* 'like' ~ *leik* 'body'. ◊ 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; ÇABEJ *St.* II 139-140 (identical with *shkrep*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 361 (identified with *shkep* 'to rip open').

**shkëlbazë** f 'spleen inflammation'. Prefixal derivative of *këlbazë*.

**shkëlbozë** f, pl. *shkëlboza* 'bark'. Derivative in *-ozë* of *\*shkalbë* continuing PALb *\*skalbā*, 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'. ◊ POKORNY I 926; MANN *HAED* 480 (identical with *gëlvozhdë*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 140 (to *kalb*).

**shkëlqar** aor. *shkëlqara* 'to polish (of metals)', refl. 'to clear (of weather)'. Derivative of *shkëlqej*.

**shkëlqej** aor. *shkëlqeva* 'to shine, to polish'. Derived from *qelq* (CAMARDA I 101; MEYER *Wb.* 221). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195, 201.

**shkĕmb** ~ **shkamb** m, pl. *shkĕmbinj* ~ *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'. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042, 1050; MANN *Language* XVII 20 (of non-Indo-European origin); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 105, 115.

**shkĕmbej** aor. *shkĕmbeva* 'to change, to exchange'. Borrowed from Rom \**excambiāre* id.: Rum *schimba*, Ital *scambiare* and the like (HAARMANN 124). ◊ PUŞCARIU *EWB* 139.

**shkĕndijĕ** f, pl. *shkĕndija* 'spark'. Borrowed from Rom \**scintilla* id. attested in Rum *scĭnteie* instead of a more widely known Lat *scintilla* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 59; CAMARDA I 67: related to Lat *scintilla*). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 408 (derived from *shkĕndej* 'to sparkle' borrowed from Lat *excandĕscere* 'to catch fire'); MEYER-LÜBKE 580 (phonetical difficulties of the above Romance reconstruction), *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; HAARMANN 124.

**shkĕpurdh** aor. *shkĕpurdha* 'to scratch'. An expressive verb derived from *kĕpurdhĕ*.

**shkĕput** aor. *shkĕputa* 'to separate, to tear off'. Derived from *kĕput*.

**shkĕrbej** aor. *shkĕrbeva* 'to imitate'. A hypercorrect derivative of *shkep* ~ *shkrep* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 140). From here *shkĕrba*, *shkĕrbe* 'monster' is derived.

**shkĕrdhec** m, pl. *shkĕrdheca* 'keg, barrel'. An early borrowing from Slav \**skovordьъ* 'pan' otherwise unattested in South Slavic. ◊ CAMARDA II 210; MEYER *Wb.* 408 (from Ital *scardasso* 'card, in textile'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 239.

**shkĕrmoq** aor. *shkĕrmoqa* 'to pound, to trample'. Derived from *kĕrmĕ*.

**shkĕrpicĕ** f, pl. *shkĕrpica* 'spark'. Derived from *kĕrpicĕ*.

**shklakonem** refl. 'to invade, to burst into'. A phonetic variant of

*shkalkonem* 'to dismount' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 140) continuing Rom \**excaballicāre* based on Lat *caballus* 'horse'. Cf. also *ngalkonem* 'to mount' < Rom \**incaballicāre*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 408 (from Ital *scalcare* 'to carve').

**shklepĕ** f, pl. *shklepa* 'matter from eyes, rheum'. Derived from *glepĕ*.

**shklesĕ** 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 *kmesĕ*.

**shkoj** aor. *shkova* 'to go'. A late apocopation of *shtekoj* attested in Northern dialects and based on *shtek* < *shteg* (JOKL *Studien* 80-82; ÇABEJ *St.* II 141). From here *shkojĕz* 'pore' is derived. ◊ CAMARDA I 86 (to Gk *σχάω* 'to slit open [to let something escape]'); MEYER *Wb.* 408 (compares with Lat *sequor* 'to follow'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 253 (follows JOKL); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 73 (to Goth *skewjan* 'to wander'), *Hymje* 24; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 146 (agrees with BARIĆ); WALDE-HOFMANN II 490; ÇABEJ *St.* II 141 (accepts JOKL's etymology); HULD 114.

**shkollĕ** f, pl. *shkolla* 'school'. Borrowed from Lat *schola* id., or as suggested by MEYER *Wb.* 387, from Venet *scola*. ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 255; ÇABEJ *St.* II 141 (agrees with MEYER).

**shkop** m, pl. *shkopinj*, *shqep* 'stick, cane'. Continues PAIb \**skāpa* further related to Gk *σκᾶπος· κλάδος, σκῆπτρον* 'staff' (CAMARDA I 120; MEYER *Wb.* 408), Lat *scāpus* 'shaft, stem', OHG *skaft* 'shaft, spear'. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 60 (borrowed from Lat *scāpus*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 254 (Latin loanword); PISANI *Saggi* 119; ÇABEJ *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-*. ◊ SVANE 136, 262.

**shkoq** aor. *shkoqa* 'to husk, to hull'. Derived from *kokë*. The verb *shkoqis* 'to explain, to clarify' is based on *shkoq*.

**shkorsë** f, pl. *shkorsa* 'rug made of goat wool'. Borrowed from Lat *scortea*, fem. adj. 'made of fur or of hide' (MEYER *Wb.* 408). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1051; MIHĂESCU *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 \*-ē- > PALb \*-ā-. ◊ HAHN 122 (to *korie* 'verdure, young growth'); MEYER *Wb.* 199-200 (follows HAHN); JOKL *ZONF* X 188-189 (derivative of *korr*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 142 (agrees with JOKL).

**shkozë** f, pl. *shkoza* 'beech'. Derived from *shkoj*. The word describes the beech as a 'walking' tree similar to *breth*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 408 (to Slovene *kozol* 'basket made of bark', Russ *kuzov* 'basket' and the like); JOKL *WuS* XII 71-73 (to Lith *skriúoblas* 'red beech'); TREIMER *Slavia* III 453 (to OE *scaga* 'bush'); PORZIG *Gliederung* 176; HULD *KZ* XCV 305-306 (derived from \**kār-* 'hard'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 362 (to *shkorre*, *shkurre*, *shqerr*).

**shkrabë** m, pl. *shkraba* 'scrawl'. From PALb \**skrabā* related to Lat *scrobis* 'pit', OE *screpan* 'to scratch', Lith *skrebëti* 'to rustle', Slav \**skrebtī* 'to scratch' and the like. ◊ TRAUTMANN *BSIWb.* 267; VASMER III 656; WALDE-HOFMANN II 500; POKORNY I 943-944

**shkrap** m, pl. *shkrapa* 'scorpion'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. OCS *skrapii* id., Bulg *skrapl'a* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 409). ◊ CAMARDA II 150 (to Gk σκορπίος 'scorpion'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 59 (from Lat *scorpiō* id.); MANN *Language* XVII 23 (agrees with CAMARDA); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAMP *LB* XXXV/1-2 67.

**shkrefëtij** aor. *shkrefëtiva* 'to neigh'. An onomatopoeia. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 409 (to SCr *krhati* 'to cough, of a horse').

**shkreh** aor. *shkreha* 'to release (safety device, trigger)'. Derived from *shkrep*. ◊ CAMARDA I 69 (to Gk κρέκω 'to weave').

**shkrehezë** f 'bird trap'. Derived from *shkreh* (KRISTOFORIDHI 339). ◊ ÇABEJ *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 *scăpăra* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 409 (to Rum *scăpăra* 'to sparkle', NGk σκράπτω 'to shine'), *Alb. St.* III 31 (to Gk σκράπτω); JOKL *Studien* 80 (to Lat *corpus* 'body'), *Sprache* IX 151 (to Slav \**kresati* 'to kindle fire'); BARIĆ *AarbSt* I 144; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 254 (to Lat *crepō*); PISANI *Saggi* 120 (borrowed from Gk ἀσπράπτω '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). ◊ VASMER *ZfslavPh* XIV 60 (from \**shkrap* borrowed to SCr *škrapa* 'pebble'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 363-364 (reconstructs \**krHp-*).

**shkretë** adj. 'lonely, deserted, empty'. Borrowed from Lat *sēcrētus* 'separate, isolated' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60; MEYER *Wb.* 409). ◊ CAMARDA I 339 (to *krej*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; SANDFELD *LBalk* 74; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 254; MIHĂESCU *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 *scribere* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 59; MEYER *Wb.* 409, *Alb. St.* IV 38). ◊ CAMARDA I 101 (to *kruaj* and Lat *scribere*); JOKL *LKUBA* 223 (follows MEYER), *IF* XLIX 291; TREIMER *MRIW* I 362 (follows CAMARDA); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 254; ÇABEJ *St.* II 142-143 (accepts CAMARDA's etymology).

**shkrumb** m, pl. *shkrumba* 'black ashes, anything burned to ashes'. Continues PALb \**iš-kruma* with a non-etymological *-mb* < \**-m* as obvious from the Albanian loanword in Rumanian - *scrum* id. A zero grade of IE \**krem-* attested in Lat *cremō* 'to burn' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 143). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 409 (from Turk *kurum*); CAPIDAN *DR* II 458 (from Avar); WALDE-HOFMANN I 287; POKORNY I 572; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 348; ROSETTI

*ILR* I 281; DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz. VIII* 154 (to \**kerə-* 'to burn'); DURIDANOV *BE XVIII/4-5* 401-406.

**shkrydh** aor. *shkrydha* 'to comb, to card (of wool)'. Derived from *krydh*.

**shkrreje** aor. *shkrreva* 'to make dirty (of clothes)'. Based on *gërryej*.

**shkues** m, pl. *shkues* 'matchmaker, father-in-law'. Derived from *shkoj* (KRISTOFORIDHI 398). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 143 (agrees with KRISTOFORIDHI), IV 89.

**shkul** aor. *shku'a* 'to tear out, to pull out, to eradicate'. A zero-grade of IE \**skel-* 'to cut, to split' attested also in *shkal*. ◊ CAMARDA I 66 (opposed to *n-gul*); POKORNY I 923-926.

**shkuljë** f 'branch placed in the middle of a meadow and forbidding to use it as a pasture'. Another variant is *shkujjë*. An early borrowing from Romance, cf. OSard *iskolka* 'guard of private property', OPort *escolca* id. (BARIĆ *Hymje* 71). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 143-144 (borrowed from Middle Greek or derived from *shkul*).

**shkulm** m, pl. *shkulma* 'wave'. Prefixal derivative of *kulm* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 144).

**shkumë** f, pl. *shkumë* 'foam'. Another form is *shkumbë*. Borrowed from a Germanic loanword in Rom \**scuma* id. (CAMARDA II 73; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 59; MEYER *Wb.* 409-410). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*.<sup>2</sup> I 1050 (from Ital Neapol *škumme*); HELBIG 59 (from Ital dial. *scuma* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 318; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 255.

**shkund** aor. *shkunda* 'to shake, to swing'. Continues PAIb \**skunta*, nasal present of IE \**skeut-*: Mİr *scothaid* 'to cut off', Lith *skutù, skùsti* 'to scrape'. Derived from here are *shkundulloy* 'to shake strongly' and *shkundëllimë* 'earthquake'. ◊ CAMARDA I 67 (to Lat *scindō* 'to tear into parts'); MEYER *Wb.* 410 (from Lat *excutere* 'to shake off'); TREIMER *MRIWI* 356 (*sh-kund* to Slav \**kydati* 'to throw'); BARIĆ *AarbSt.* I 218 (to Lith *kutëti* 'to shake'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 255; FRAENKEL 823-824; VENDRYES [S] 52; POKORNY I 954.

**shkupë** f 'warm spring wind'. Derived from *Shkup*, the Albanian name of Skopje (ÇABEJ *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. ◊ CAMARDA II 159 (to Lat *curtus* 'short'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20 (from Lat *curtus* 'short'); MEYER *Wb.* 409 (from Rom \**excurtus* unattested elsewhere); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*.<sup>2</sup> I 1046 (from \**ex- + curtus*); TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 190; ERNOUT-MEILLET 160; ONIONS 822; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; HAARMANN 124.

**shkurre** f, pl. *shkurre* 'bush'. Phonetic variant of *shkorre*, cf. *shkorret* (LA PIANA *St. Varia* 26, 67; ÇABEJ *St.* II 144-145). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 410 (borrowed from Lat *cornea*, adjective of *cornus* 'cornel'); JOKL *LKUBA* 230, 328 (to Slav \**kъry* 'root'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 103, *AarbSt.* I 156 (to Oİr *crann* 'tree'); SCHUCHARDT *ZfromPhil* XL 493 (same as BARIĆ).

**shkyç** aor. *shkyça* 'to unlock'. Based on *kyç*.

**shluk** m, pl. *shluqe* 'blister'. Borrowed from Rom \**slucus*, metathesized variant of Lat *sulcus* 'furrow, wound'.

**shlyej** aor. *shleva* 'to pay off, to cancel, to cover'. Derived from *lyej*.

**shlligë** f, pl. *shlliga* 'viper'. A parallel form is *shëlligë*. A tabooistic description derived from *lig* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 359). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 77-78 (to Oİr *selige* 'turtle'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 97; TAGLIAVINI *Sratificazione* 141; LAMBERTZ *Alb. Märchen* 10 n. 2 (to Germ *schleichen* 'to crawl' and the like); ÇABEJ *St.* II 145.

**shllim** m 'idea'. Derived from *shllej* 'to resemble', a phonetic variant of *shembëllej* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 146).

**shoh** ~ **shof** aor. *pashë* 'to see'. From PAIb \**sākska* with a dissimilation of sibilants. Further connected to IE \**sek-* 'to follow, to see': Skt *sācate* 'to accompany, to follow', Gk ἑπομαι, Lat *sequor*; cf. in particular Goth *saihan* 'to see' (MEYER *Wb.* 411-412, *Alb. St.* III 7, 43; reconstructs an intermediate \**sjeħ*) and Hitt *šakuišk-*. The aorist

is based on the zero grade of IE \**pā-* ‘to pasture, to guard’, cf. MEYER *Wb.* 323-324 (who, however, combines it with an erroneous comparison with Skt *páśyati* ‘(he) sees’: \*-*ks-* would have yielded Alb *-h-*), *Alb. St.* III 25. ◊ CAMARDA I 140 (to Gk σάω ‘to sow’); BRUGMANN-DELBÜCK II/3 404; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 283 (reconstructs \**sek<sup>h</sup>s<sup>k</sup>ō*), *Kelt. Gr.* II 621; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 95, *Hymje* 90-91; LOEWE *KZ* XXXIX 312 (borrowed from Goth *saihvān*); ERNOUT-MEILLET 640; PISANI *Saggi* 131 (follows PEDERSEN), *Shêjzat* [XIX] 196-197; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 161 (identifies *shoh* with Skt *siṣakti* ‘to follow’); MAYRHOFER III 417-418; FRISK I 544-545; WALDE-HOFMANN II 519-520; FEIST *Goth.* 404-405; POKORNY I 896-898; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 150-151, *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 123 (*pashë* - to Arm *hayi-* ‘to look’), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 231; HAMP *IF* XCIII 121; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217; HULD 114-115 (reconstructs a causative \**sok<sup>h</sup>ēs<sup>k</sup>ō*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 312-313 (repeats MEYER’s etymology).

**shok** m, pl. *shokë* ‘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). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 412 (from Rom \**socus*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; JOKL *Zb. Belić* 82; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 256; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 150; LANDI *Lat.* 95-96.

**shokë** f, pl. *shoka* ‘belt’. Borrowed from Rom \**soca* ‘rope, cable’: Ital dial. *soga*, OFr *soue* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 412). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 150.

**shollë** f, pl. *shollë* ‘sole’. Another form is *shuallë*. Borrowed from Lat *solum* id. (CAMARDA I 50; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 61; MEYER *Wb.* 412). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; JOKL *LKUBA* 65; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 150; LANDI *Lat.* 60, 137-139.

**shoretkë** f ‘hole of a honeycomb’. From \**shortekë* continuing Rom \**sortica* ‘outlet’, derived from \**sortire* ‘to go out’. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 146 (borrowed, with a metathesis, from Slav \**rešetka* ‘grating, lattice’).

**short** m, pl. *shortë* ‘lot’. Borrowed from Lat *sortem* id. (CAMARDA II 159; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 61; MEYER *Wb.* 412). ◊ MEYER-

LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 150; LANDI *Lat.* 83, 146.

**shorr** aor. *shorra* ‘to press together, to squeeze’. Continues PALb \**sjāra* related to Hitt *ishija-* ‘to bind’, Skt *syāti* ‘to bind’, Lith *seijū*, *siėti* id. and the like. ◊ FRAENKEL 783; MAYRHOFER III 549-550; POKORNY I 891.

**shosh** aor. *shosha* ‘to sift’. From PALb \**sjāsja* related to Gk ἡθέω id., Lith *sijōju*, *sijōti* id., Slav \**sějati* id. and the like (MANN *Language* XXVIII 39). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 385-386 (to Gk σήθω 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.

**shotë** f, pl. *shota* ‘big duck’. From PALb \**sjāutā* related to *W hwyad* id., OCorn *hoet* id., Bret *houat* id. and continuing, with a metathesis, IE \**saūjeto-*. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 310-311 (prefixal derivative of IE \**anot-* ‘duck’); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 55 (Celtic words explained from IE \**aujjetos*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 141; SCHMIDT *KZ* L 244-245 (same as JOKL); LEWIS-PEDERSEN 155.

**shpagë** f ‘revenge’. Derived from *pagë* ‘payment’, an Italian loanword.

**shpalcë** f ‘sea fish, golden bream, *Chrysophris auratus*’. Another form is *shparë*. Based on \**shparë* borrowed directly from Gk σπάρος ‘bream’ or via Lat *sparus* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 146).

**shpall** aor. *shpalla* ‘to announce, to declare’. From \**shprall*, based on *prallë*. ◊ CAMARDA I 240 (to *pëllas*); JOKL *Studien* 83-84 (to Lat *palam* ‘openly’, Slav \**poľъь* ‘hollow’); ÇABEJ *St.* II 9-10; DEMIRAJ *AE* 365 (to Goth *spillan* ‘to tell’).

**shpardh** m, pl. *shpardhe* ‘oak’. Based on PALb \**pardza* identical with ON *forkr* ‘stick, pole’ continuing IE \**perǵ-*. 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. ◊ TREIMER *Slavia* III 453 (from IE \**perk<sup>h</sup>-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 186-187 (to OHG *sparro* ‘beam’); POKORNY I 819-820 (reconstructs \**perǵ-* and compares ON *forkr* with Lith *pérgas* ‘fishing-boat’ and Slav \**porǵъ* ‘threshold’); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 121; ÖLBERG *IBK*



XVII 46; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282 (to Gk σπόρος 'sowing').

**shpargër ~ shpargën** m, pl. *shpërgenj* 'diaper'. A more archaic singular in Geg is *shpërgâ*. Borrowed from Gk σπάργανον id. (CAMARDA I 85; DIEFENBACH I 57). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 414 (from NGk \*σπαργάνι); ÇABEJ *St.* II 148 (follows DIEFENBACH).

**shpartë** f, pl. *shparta* 'broom (bot.)'. Borrowed from Lat *spartum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 413). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 150.

**shparr** m 'kind of oak'. From PALb \**spara* borrowed from rather than identical with Lat *sparus* 'short spear' or OHG *sparro* 'beam, girder', ON *spari* id.<sup>3</sup> (JOKL *LKUBA* 186-188). ◊ WALDE-HOFMANN II 568; POKORNY I 990-991.

**shpat** m, pl. *shpate* 'precipice, mountain forest'. Prefixal derivative of \**pat* continuing PALb \**pata*. The latter is related to Skt *pâtati* 'to fly, to soar', Gk πίπτω 'to fall' and the like (JOKL *LKUBA* 163-164). ◊ FRISK II 542-543; MAYRHOFER II 199; POKORNY I 825; ÇABEJ *St.* II 146-147 (back formation of *shpatull*).

**shpatë** f, pl. *shpata* 'sword'. Borrowed from Lat *spâta* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 61; MEYER *Wb.* 413). ◊ CAMARDA I 158 (to an unattested Gk σπάθη); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1041, 1053; MIHĂESCU *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). ◊ CAMARDA II 158; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1041; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244; HAARMANN 150.

**shpejtë** adj. 'quick, fast'. Borrowed from Lat *expeditus* 'easy, expedite, quick' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 24) or restored from Rom \**expeditâre*, cf. *shpëtoj* (JOKL *RIEB* II 72-73). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 413 (against MIKLOSICH; to Slav \**spěxъ* 'hurry'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 100-101 (to Gk σπέρχομαι 'to rush'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 147-148 (in view of OAlb *shpjertë* of BUZUKU, a postverbal formation of *shpie*).

**shpellë** f, pl. *shpella* 'cave'. Borrowed from Lat *spēlaeum* id. ◊ CAMARDA I 46 (to Gk σπήλαιον id.); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62

(from Lat *spelunca*); PISANI *Saggi* 120; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk σπήλαιον); HULD *KZ* XCIX 250 (follows MIHĂESCU); LANDI *Lat.* 176.

**shpend** m, pl. *shpend*, *shpendë* 'bird'. Other forms are *shpes*, *shpezë* and *shpen*. Derived from *pendë* as proved by *shpendël* 'down' going back to the same source. ◊ 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 *shpendël*.

**shpenkoj** aor. *shpenkova* 'to disembowel (of poultry)'. From \**shpendkoj*, based on *pendë*.

**shperr** aor. *shperra* 'to win (money), to gain'. From PALb \**sparja* related to Gmc \**sparōjan* 'to leave unharmed, to keep': ON *spara*, OHG *sparōn*, OE *sparian*. ◊ ONIONS 850.

**shpeshë** adj. 'frequent, thick'. Borrowed from Lat *spissus* 'thick' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63; MEYER *Wb.* 413). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1053; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 256; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 151; LANDI *Lat.* 58.

**shpet** m, pl. *shpeta* 'garden fence'. Singularized plural of *shpat* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 148).

**shpërbëhet** refl. 'to rot, to to decompose'. Derivative of *bëj*. As in many other verbs, the prefix *shpër-* borrowed from Lat *super-* is used here.

**shpërej** aor. *shpereva* 'to hope'. Borrowed from Lat *sperâre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 150.

**shpëtoj** aor. *shpëtova* 'to save'. Borrowed from Rom \**expeditâre*, frequentative of Lat *expeditre* 'to extricate, to disengage' (MEYER *Wb.* 414, *Alb. St.* IV 36). ◊ CAMARDA I 56 (to Gk ἐκπέτομαι 'to fly out, to fly away'); JOKL *RIEB* II 71-72 (derived from *pet-kë* as a calque of Lat *ex-cappâre* 'to go, to be in a hurry'), *LKUBA* 78; SPITZER *MRIW* I 330 (from Rom \**hospitâre* 'to receive as a guest'); HAARMANN 124; ÇABEJ *St.* II 149 (agrees with JOKL).

**shpie** aor. *shpura, shpum* 'to bring away'. Prefixal derivative of *bie* (MEYER Wb. 35). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 82-83 (from \*-*perō* related to *pruva*), LKUBA 230; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 105 (agrees with JOKL); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 257-258; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 63; ÇABEJ *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 *këpif* 'to blame' (MEYER Wb. 413). Continues PALb \**peikška* related to OHG *fehan* 'to hate', Lith *peikiù, peikti* 'to blame'. ◊ FRAENKEL 525; POKORNY I 795.

**shpik** aor. *shpik* 'to drink out, to find out'. Derived from *pik*.

**shpinë** f, pl. *shpina* 'back, spine'. Borrowed from Lat *spina* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62; MEYER Wb. 414). Note the lack of rhotacism in Tosk. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 281; HAARMANN 150.

**shpirt** m, pl. *shpirtëra* ~ *shpirtna, shpirtë* 'soul, spirit'. Borrowed from Lat *spīritus* id. (CAMARDA I 53; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62; MEYER Wb. 414). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044, 1053; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 257; HAARMANN 151; LANDI *Lat.* 148-149.

**shpirrë** f 'asthma'. Deverbative based on \**shpirroj* continuing Rom \**dis-spirāre*. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62 (based on Lat *spirāre*); MEYER Wb. 414 (same as MIKLOSICH).

**shplaj** aor. *shplava* 'to rinse'. Parallel forms are *shpëljaj* and *shpërlaj*. A prefixal derivative of *ljaj* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 149). ◊ CAMARDA I 40 (to IE \**pleu-* 'to swim, to float'); MEYER Wb. 237, *Alb. St.* IV 99 (from Rom \**ex-per-lavāre*).

**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-pāgere* 'to pierce'. ◊ CAMARDA I 68 (to Gk *σπάω* 'to pull'); JOKL *IF* XXXVII 12-14, LKUBA 217, 244 (from \*-*përjō*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 69; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 63; ÇABEJ *St.* III 154, 179-180, VII 258; DEMIRAJ *AE* 367-368.

**shpor** m, pl. *shporë* '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). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 120-123 (*shporoj* to *shpoj*), LKUBA 217, 244; MEYER-LÜBKE 616; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 69.

**shportë** f, pl. *shporta* 'basket'. Borrowed from Lat *sporta* 'basket, sieve' (MEYER Wb. 414). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63 (from Ital *sporta* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1045, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 266; HAARMANN 151.

**shporr** aor. *shporra* 'to move away, to drive away'. Based on PALb \**pāra* related to Skt *pīparti* 'to bring over, to save', Gk *περάω, πείρω* 'to penetrate' and the like (CAMARDA II 152: to Gk *πόρω* 'forwards'). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 84 (to Goth *fairra* 'far', Skt *pāra-* 'ulterior, further'); FRISK II 491; MAYRHOFER II 284; POKORNY I 816-817; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

**shpreh** aor. *shpreha* 'to express, to speak'. Goes back to PALb \**iš-per-akška*, further connected with *eh* 'to sharpen' < \**akška* and *preh* id. < \**per-akška*, with the semantic development 'to sharpen' > 'to express' similar to that of Slav \**raziti* 'to strike' ~ \**vraziti* 'to express', Lat *premere* 'to press' ~ *exprimere* 'to express' (OREL *LB* XXVIII/4 54) ◊ JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 249-250 (< PALb \**spregska*, an inchoative in \*-*sĕ-* connected with OE *sprecan* 'to speak', OS *sprekan* id., OHG *sprehhan* id.); PORZIG *Gliederung* 139 (follows JOKL); PISANI *REIE* IV 7 (from Rom \**expressō*); POKORNY I 996-997; *SGGJa* I 100, 111; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 192; *SBJa Leksikol.* 148, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352; HULD 98; SCHRIJVER *BC* 172; DEMIRAJ *AE* 368-369 (against OREL).

**shpreso** aor. *shpresova* 'to hope'. Based on *shprej, shpërej* id. borrowed from Lat *spērāre* id. (MEYER Wb. 414).

**shpretkë** ~ **shpënetkë** f, pl. *shpretka* ~ *shpënetka* 'spleen'. Borrowed from Lat *splēnētīcum* 'related to spleen' (MEYER Wb. 413-414). ◊ CAMARDA I 85 (to Gk *σπλήν* 'spleen'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 256; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 151.

**shprishë** f 'breakfast'. Deverbative based on *shprish* 'to card, to

comb; to have breakfast'. The latter is a prefixal derivative of *prish*.

**shprohë** f 'deadly nightshade, belladonna'. From PALb *\*sprēujā* related to MHG *sprājen* 'to be scattered' < Gmc *\*sprēwjan*. ◇ POKORNY I 994.

**shputë** f, pl. *shputa* 'foot sole'. Borrowed, with a metathesis, from Slav *\*stopa*, deverbative of *\*stopati* 'to step', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *стъпам*, SCr *stupati*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 415 (from Slav *\*stopa* 'sole').

**shpuzë** f 'hot ashes'. Borrowed from Lat *spodium* 'ash' (MEYER *Wb.* 415) and passed to Rum *spuză*. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1045, 1052; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 33 (identical with Gk σπογγιά 'sponge'); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 245 (prefixal derivative of IE *\*peuōr-/\*pun-* 'fire'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* 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 *şchiau* id. (PUŞCARIU *EWB* 1547). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 33; CAMARDA I 87 (to Gk ξεβία 'hospitality'); PUŞCARIU *EWB* 139; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1041; JOKL *IF* XLIV 37, *Slavia* XIII 295; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 253; SKOK *ZfromPhil* LIV 181; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 253; ÇABEJ *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'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 399-400 (borrowed from Slav *\*dъxorъ* 'pole-cat'); BARIĆ *AarbSt.* I 153 (to Gk σκῶπ 'excrement'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 141; MÜHLENBACH-ENDZELIN III 872; VASMER III 650; ONIONS 558; ÇABEJ *St.* II 150 (from IE *\*sker-* 'to cut').

**shqekë** f, pl. *shqeka* 'pocket without lining'. Prefixal derivative of *\*qekë* borrowed from Lat fem. *caeca* 'blind; secret, hidden'.

**shqelm** m, pl. *shqelma, shqelme* 'step'. Derived from *shkel*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 241.

**shqem** m 'threshold'. Singularized plural of *shkam ~ shkamb* 'stool, chair, threshold' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 150-151). The latter was borrowed from MGk σκάμνον 'bench'.

**shqeme** f, pl. *shqeme* 'Rhus coriaria, sumach, plant used for tanning'. Singularized plural of *\*sh(ë)kam* < *\*sh(ë)mák*, a metathesized borrowing from MLat *summacus* id. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 151 (from Gk ὕσκόαμος 'kind of plant Hyoscyamus niger').

**shqep** aor. *shqepa* 'to rip, to tear'. The antonym of *qep* built with the prefix *sh-* (CAMARDA I 101; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 432). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 219.

**shqepoj** aor. *shqepova* 'to be lame'. Based on *shqep* 'lame' borrowed from Rom *\*sclōpus* reflected in Rum *şchiop* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 411). Other Romance languages have *\*cloppus*. ◇ PUŞCARIU *EWB* 139; MEYER-LÜBKE 159, *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1054; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 124 (from Rom *\*excloppus*).

**shqerr** aor. *shqorra* 'to tear (cloth)'. From PALb *\*skera* related to Gk κείρω 'to cut off', OIr *scaraim* 'to separate', ON *skera* 'to cut off' and the like (CAMARDA I 69, 87; MEYER *Wb.* 411-412, *Alb. St.* III 60, 71). From here *shqerrë* 'coarse' is derived. ◇ JOKL *IF* XXX 197, *LKUBA* 156 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 249-250; BARIĆ *Hymje* 35 (to Dac σκιάρη 'kind of thorny plant'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 40; GEORGIEV *Issledovanija* 114 (follows BARIĆ); CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 43; FRISK I 810-811; VENDRYES [S] 33-34; POKORNY I 938-939; DEMIRAJ *AE* 369-370.

**shqezë** f, pl. *shqeza* 'harrow'. Derived from *shqejj*.

**shqile** f 'rennet'. Dialectal variant of *\*shtile*, derived from *shtjell* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 370). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 282 (prefixal derivative of *qel* 'to bring, to carry').

**shqimtë** adj. 'unhappy, abandoned, lonely'. Related to *shqimth*.

**shqimth** m 'dandruff'. Deminutive in *-th* derived from *qime*.

**shqind** m 'mastic-tree'. Borrowed from Gk σχίνοϋ id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 151-152) with -χ- rendered as \*-k- > -g-. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 411 (from NGk σκίνοϋ, σχίνοϋ id.).

**shqipe** adj. 'Albanian'. Calque of Slav \**slověne* 'Slavs' (from \**slovq*, \**sluti* 'to speak clearly') based on *shqipoj* 'to speak clearly' (TRUBAČEV *Slav. 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. ◊ CAMARDA II 152 (to *shqipe* 'eagle'); MEYER *Wb.* 411 (*shqipe* derived from *shqipoj*); DIEFENBACH *Türk. 27* (to *sqep*); TREIMER *IF XXXV* 135-137 (prefixal derivative of *qipi* 'heap' < \**sem-kūpo-* 'people, gathering'); SOLMSEN *Eig.* 98; JAKOBSON *IJSL* 1959/1-2 271 (\**slověne* from \**slovo* 'word'); POLÁK *Slavia LIX* 347-350; TRUBAČEV *Ētimologija 1980* 12-13 (Slav \**slověne* from \**slovq*, \**sluti*); ÇABEJ *LVSOS IV* 78-96 (*shqipoj* as a denominative of *shqipe*).

**shqipe** ~ **shqype** f, pl. *shqipe* ~ *shqype* 'eagle'. Contamination of *shkabë* 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. ◊ CAMARDA II 152 (to *shkabë*); 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). ◊ CAMARDA I 124-125; HAARMANN 124.

**shqirrë** f, pl. *shqirra* 'reed'. Derived from *shqerr*.

**shqis** aor. *shqita* 'to tear, to separate'. Derived from *qis*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

**shqitë** f, pl. *shqita* 'slippery place'. Derived from *shkas*.

**shqopë** f, pl. *shqopa* 'brier'. With a secondary -q-, borrowed from Lat *scōpa* 'twig, branch' (KRISTOFORIDHI 396; WEIGAND *BA II* 224). ◊ ÇABEJ *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 \**skānja* related to IE \**sken-* 'to split' mainly represented by a deverbative adjective \**skento-*, cf., for example, Bret *skant* 'scales', ON *skinn* 'hide, skin'. ◊ POKORNY I 929.

**shqymb** aor. *shqymba* 'to extinguish, to destroy'. Continues PAIb \**skūmba*, a nasal present related to Goth *af-skiuban* 'to push back, to reject', Lith *skumbū*, *skūbti* 'to hurry up', Slav \**skubq*, \**skubati* 'to pull, to tear'. ◊ FRAENKEL 820; FEIST *Goth.* 9; VASMER III 660; POKORNY I 955.

**shqyrtoj** aor. *shqyrtova* 'to examine, to observe'. The original form must have been \**shkrytoj*. Borrowed from Lat *scrūtari* 'to examine, to find out'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 388 (from Rom \**disquirītare*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 152 (derived from *qyr*).

**shqyt** m, pl. *shqyta* 'shield'. Borrowed from Lat *scūtum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 20; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 216; HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lat.* 105.

**shregull** f, pl. *shregulla* 'swing'. Derived from *rregull* preserving the otherwise unattested meaning of Lat *rēgula* 'bar, board'.

**shtagë** f, pl. *shtaga* 'pole, stick'. Continues PAIb \**stagā* etymologically connected with ON *stjaki* id., Latv *stēga* 'long pole' and the like. ◊ POKORNY I 1014.

**shtalbër** m 'wooden snare'. Based on PAIb \**stalba*, an *o*-grade form related to ON *stolpi* 'beam, girder', Lith *stulbas* 'post, pole', Slav \**stǫlbz* id. reflecting the zero-grade of \**stelb-*. ◊ VASMER III 765; FRAENKEL 930; POKORNY I 1020.

**shtalkë** f, pl. *shtalka* 'frame'. From PAIb \**stalikā*, nominal derivative based on IE \**stel-* attested in various forms such as, for example, Skt *sthāla-* 'elevation', Gk στολή 'equipment', MLG *stale* 'post' and other similar continuants. ◊ 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 *mbë-shtillem* 'to become sour' (JOKL *LKUBA* 282-230).  
 ◇ BUGGE *BB XVIII* 171 (explains dialectal *shtar* as related to Gk τρέφω 'to make sour, of milk'); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 284-285 (to *gjalpë*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 150; ÇABEJ *St. II* 152-153 (agrees with JOKL).

**shtallë** f, pl. *shtalla* 'stall'. Borrowed from Lat *stabulum* id. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 258 (from Ital *stalla*).

**shtang** adj. 'hard'. From PALb *\*stanga* related to ON *stinga* 'to put, to stick', Lith *sténgiu*, *sténgti* 'to be able', *stiñgti* 'to become hard', Latv *stiñgt* id. (MANN *Language XXVIII* 39) ◇ CAMARDA I 140 (to Gk στέγω 'to cover'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63 (from Ital *stanga*); FRAENKEL 895-896, 906, *ZfslavPh XXIII* 344 (to OHG *stanga*); POKORNY I 1015.

**shtarët** adj. 'bitter'. Continues PALb *\*stara* etymologically related to Gk στερεός 'tough, hard', ON *starr* 'stiff', Lith *steřti* 'to become stiff, to harden' and the like. ◇ FRISK II 790-791; FRAENKEL 902-903; POKORNY 1022; MANN *Language XXVI* 381-382 (to Av *stavro* 'strong', Skt *sthāvara*-).

**shtat** m, pl. *shtatra* ~ *shtatna* 'figure, image'. Borrowed from Lat *status* 'height, stature' (MEYER *Wb.* 415). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63 (from Ital *stato*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1041; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 258 (against MIKLOSICH); MANN *Language XVII* 18 (from IE *\*sthatos*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 27; HAARMANN 151; LANDI *Lat.* 139, 148-149.

**shtatë** num. 'seven'. Goes back to PALb *\*septati-* from IE *\*septm-ti-*. The latter is derived from IE *\*septm* 'seven', cf. Skt *saptá-*, Gk ἑπτά, Lat *septem* (BOPP 459; CAMARDA I 93; MEYER *Wb.* 415, *Alb. St.* III 33, 59). From the point of view of derivation, *shtatë* is close to such abstract formations in *\*-ti-* as Skt *saptatí-* 'seventy, seven tens', cf. BRUGMANN *Gr.* I 722, 971. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 48 (on the group *\*-pt- > -t-*), *LKUBA* 315; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 284, *Kelt. Gr.* I 72, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 222, 224; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 39; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 258; LA PIANA *Studi* I 91; PISANI *Saggi* 106; BARIÇ *Hymje* 35; MAYRHOFFER III 431; FRISK I 545; WALDE-HOFMANN II 517-518; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351-352; POKORNY I 909; HAMP *Numerals* 914; HULD 142; KÖDDERITZSCH *St. albanica XXII/2* 122; DEMIRAJ *AE* 370.

**shtazë, shtezë ~ shtazë** f, pl. *shtazë, shtezë ~ shtazë* 'animal'. The original Tosk form is *shtezë*. Derivative in *-zë* (MEYER *Wb.* 415) of an unattested *\*shtë ~ shtë* continuing PALb *\*stana* from IE *\*stano-*, an adjective in *\*-no-* from IE *\*st(h)ā-* 'to stand' (JOKL *LKUBA* 245-247 with a reconstruction of the phonetically difficult full grade in *\*st(h)ā-no-*). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 415 (from Rom *\*bēstāna*, based on Lat *bēstia* 'animal, beast'); BUGGE *BB XVIII* 186 (from Rom *\*extrāna* for Lat *extrānea*, fem. 'outside, external, strange'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 142; POKORNY I 1004-1008; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 64, 125 (to *shtie*); ÇABEJ *St. II* 154-155 (agrees with JOKL); OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 150 (to OHG *stāti* 'strong, tough'); HULD *KZ XCVI* 152-158 (identical with Lat *quadrupēs* 'having four feet'), *XCVIII* 101 (reconstructs *\*k'et(y)or pd-jēf*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 371.

**shteg** m, pl. *shtigje* 'path, road'. From PALb *\*staiga* identical with IE *\*stoigho-* 'way': Gk στοίχος 'row, line', Goth *staiga* 'way', Latv *staīga* 'walking', *stīga* 'path', Slav *\*stbza* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 415, *Alb. St.* III 9, 58). ◇ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 275; PETERSSON *LUÅ 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; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 102; HULD 114; OREL *Sprache XXXI* 282, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352; KORTLANDT *SSGL X* 221; DEMIRAJ *AE* 371-372.

**shterë** f, pl. *shtera* 'mortar'. Borrowed from Lat neut. *pistōrium* 'related to flour-grinding'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 415 (from Rom *\*pistārium* for Lat *pistōrium*); HAARMANN 142.

**shterpë** adj. 'barren, sterile'. A parallel form *shterkë* continues *\*shterp-kë* (JOKL apud TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 259). Borrowed from Gk στέριος id. (DEMIRAJ *AE* 373). ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24 (to Skt *starí* 'sterile cow'); HERZOG *ZfslavPh XXXVIII* 736 (from Rom *\*exstirpus* 'barren, sterile'); TREIMER *ZfslavPh XXXVIII* 391 n. 1 (against HERZOG); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 94; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 259 (to *shtjerrë*); DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz. VIII* 153 (to Lat *sterilis*); HAMP *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 37 (from Gk στέριος); LANDI *Lat.* 57, 82.

**shterrë** f, pl. *shterra* 'heifer'. Related to *shtjerr* and *shtjerrë*, pl. of *qengj*. ◇ 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.

**shtëllungë** f, pl. *shtëllunga* 'flock of wool'. Derivative in *-ungë* from *shtjell* (PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 196). ◊ WEIGAND 85-86 (from *shtëllis*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 155 (follows PEDERSEN).

**shtëmbë ~ shtambë** f, pl. *shtëmba ~ stamba* 'clay vessel'. Borrowed from Gk στάμνος 'large vessel' (CAMARDA I 83; MANN *Language* XVII 23). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 391, *Alb. St.* IV 109 (from NGk στάμνα 'pitcher'); JOKL *ZONF* X 191-192 (from IE \**sthā-* 'to stand'); MANN *Language* XVII 23; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* II 153-154 (repeats MANN's etymology).

**shtëmëngët** adj. 'left; standing aside'. Prefixal form related to *mangut*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201.

**shtëngër** adj. 'squinting'. Based on \**shtëng* borrowed from Rom \**stancus* 'weak, left': Rum *sîng*, Ital *stanco*, OFr *estanc* (MEYER *Wb.* 415). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 151; LANDI *Lat.* 48.

(G) **shtëpâ** m, pl. *shtëpanj* 'shepherd producing cheese, cheese-maker'. The Tosk form must have been \**shtëpër*. Its existence is confirmed by *shtëpreshë*. An early borrowing from Slav \**stopanъ*, cf. *stopan* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 155).

**shtëpi** f, pl. *shtëpi, shtëpira* 'house'. A morphological adaptation of the metathesized Lat *hospitium* 'lodging, inn, guest-chamber', cf. NGk σπῆτι 'house' (CAMARDA I 100; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 415-416). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1039, 1055; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 256-257, *Origini* 191; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; HAARMANN 129; HULD 115; LANDI *Lat.* 158.

**shtëpreshë ~ shpneshë** f, pl. *shtëpresha ~ shpnesh* 'female shepherd; (good) housewife'. Another phonetic variant is *shtëpresë*. Feminine form of *shtëpâ* semantically influenced by *shtëpi* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 155-156).

**shtërg** m, pl. *shtërgj* 'stork'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *štrъk*, SCr *štrk*. Note the voicing of the auslaut *-k*.

**shtëroj** aor. *shtërova* 'to run dry, to dry up'. Another variant is *shtroj*. Based on *shter(r)* id. derived from *ter*.

**shtërzim** m, pl. *shtërzime* 'labor pains'. From \**shtërpëzim*, based on *shterpë*.

**shtërras** aor. *shterra* 'to diminish, to shrink'. Another variant is *shtërrroj*. Borrowed from Lat *extenuare* 'to make smaller'.

**shtiak** m, pl. *shtiakë* 'miscarriage'. Derived from *shtie*.

**shtiaz** pl. 'sparks'. Postverbal of *shtie* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 156). ◊ THUMB *KZ* XXXVI 186-187, *IF* XXVI 9 (from NGk έστία 'fire'); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 195 (dialectal plural of *shtijë*).

**shtie** aor. *shtura, shtyra, shtira, shtiva* 'to pour in, to put in, to throw'. From PALb \**stera* related to Skt *stṛṇāti* 'to spread, to scatter', Gk στόρυμι 'to stretch, to spread', Lat *sternō* 'to spread', Slav \**stьrъ*, \**sterti* id. (JOKL *Studien* 84-85). ◊ CAMARDA I 145 (to Gk στείχω '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. *shtënë* < \**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. Wortb.* 63; HAMP *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 37; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIII 66; DEMIRAJ *AE* 374-375.

**shtijë** f, pl. *shtija* 'spear, ray'. Borrowed from Lat *hasta* 'spear' (MEYER *Wb.* 416). Derived from *shtijë* is *shtizë* 'spear'. ◊ KRISTOFORIDHI 413 (to *shtie*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 129; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 89.

**shtiret** refl. 'to pretend, to simulate'. Derived from *shtie*, cf. refl. *shtihet* id. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 239.

**shtirë** adj. 'weak'. Related to *shtie*, cf. *shtiret*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 416.

**shtjell** aor. *shtolla* 'to throw'. Continues PALb *\*stela* etymologically connected with Gk στέλλω 'to put, to set', OHG *stellen* 'to put', OPrus *stallti* 'to stand' (CAMARDA I 44; MEYER *Wb.* 416, *Alb. St.* III 58, 77). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 543; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 111, *LKUBA* 127; PISANI *Saggi* 119; FRISK II 786-788; ENDZELĪNS *DI* IV/2 313; POKORNY I 1019-1020; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230-231; DEMIRAJ *AE* 376.

**shtjerr** aor. *shtorra* 'to untwist, to untwine'. Derived from *tjerr*.

**shtjerrë** f 'lamb, young cow, heifer'. Another variant is *shqerrë*. Continues PALb *\*sternā* or *\*sterjā* related to Skt *starī*, Gk στειρα and the like (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 58). See *qengj*. Borrowed to Rum *stirā* 'sterile (of animals)'. ◊ 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* I 282; HAMP *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 37 (remodelled from pl. *shqerra* and related to *krye*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 376-378.

**shtog** m, pl. *shtogje* 'elder, elder-berry'. From PALb *\*stāga* related to *shtagë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 417 (from Rum *soc* id., with serious doubts); BARIĆ *ARSt* 32; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 147 (from Lat *sabucus*).

**shtoj** aor. *shtova* 'to increase'. Continues PALb *\*stānja* etymologically connected with Skt *tiṣṭhati* 'to stand', Gk ἵστημι 'to put', Lat *stō* 'to stand', OHG *stān* id., Lith *stōju*, *stōti* id., Slav *\*stojq*, *\*stojati* id. (CAMARDA I 176). ◊ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 79; BARIĆ *ARSt* 69 (to Lat *tōtus* 'whole'); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 23; MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (derives *shtoj* from *\*stājō*); FRISK I 739; FRAENKEL 914; MAYRHOFER II 526-527; WALDE-HOFMANN II 596-599; VASMER III 769; POKORNY I 1004-1005; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 45; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 103, 125; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227, 242; DEMIRAJ *AE* 378 (to IE *\*steHy-o-*).

**shtrap** m 'stagnant green on ponds'. From PALb *\*strapa* related to MHG *straf* 'tight', Lith *par-strapinti* 'to drag oneself back'. ◊ FRAENKEL 919-920; POKORNY I 1025.

**shtrapër** m 'shepherd's purse'. Derived from *shtrap*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 156 (to *shtërpinj* and *gjarpër*).

**shtrapëzoj** aor. *shtrapëzova* 'to spread'. Derived from *trapezë*.

**shtrat** m, pl. *shtretër* ~ *shtretën* 'bed; layer'. Borrowed from Lat *stratum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 64; MEYER *Wb.* 417). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1041; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 260; MANN *Language* XVII 18 (related to Gk στρατός); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 152; LANDI *Lat.* 177.

**shtreb** aor. *shtreba* 'to lay eggs (of flies)'. Verbal form connected with *shtrep*.

**shtregë** f 'pile of wood'. From PALb *\*stragā* related to MHG *strac* 'tight', OE *strec* 'hard, strong'. ◊ HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 324; POKORNY I 1023 (adduces nonexistent Lith *strėgti* 'to harden, to freeze').

**shtrek** m, pl. *shtrige* 'corpse, carrion'. From PALb *\*streka* reflecting a noun derived from IE *\*ster-* 'unclean liquid, manure'. Note that a similar semantic evolution is found in ORuss *stǫrvъ* '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 *stroñk* id., W *trwnc* id. (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 434-435). ◊ WALDE-HOFMANN II 589; POKORNY I 1031-1032.

**shtrembër** adj. 'crooked, curved'. An earlier form is *shtremb*. Borrowed from Rom *\*strambus* id.: Rum *strîmb*, Ital *strambo* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 417). ◊ HAARMANN 151-152; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48.

**shtrenjtë** adj. 'dear, expensive'. Borrowed from Rom *\*strinctus* 'narrow': Rum *strînu*, Venet *strento*, Sital *strinto* (CAMARDA I 47; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 64; MEYER *Wb.* 418). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *MRIW* I 24, *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 260-261; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 267; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 63-64; HAARMANN 152.

**shtrep** m, pl. *shtrepa* 'maggot, larva'. There exists a parallel form *shtrebë*. As to pl. tantum *shtërpinj* 'reptiles, vermin', it is an obvious derivative (plural) of *shtrep*. Goes back to PALb *\*straupa* etymologically close to Slav *\*strupъ* 'wound, scab, poison'. Borrowed to Rum *strepede* 'cheese worms'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 137 (connects *shtërpinj* with *gjarpër* supposing *\*sr-* > *\*str-* in Proto-Albanian); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I

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; ÇABEJ *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 \**shtër-  
ez* based on an unattested \**shtërë* < PAIb \**steura*. The latter was bor-  
rowed from Gmc \**steurō* 'steering paddle, rudder, stern', cf. OE *stéor*,  
further related to Gmc \**steurjan* 'to steer'. ◊ HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 320.

**shtrëngoj** aor. *shtrëngova* 'to press, to squeeze'. Borrowed from Lat  
*stringere* 'to stretch, to press, to squeeze' (CAMARDA I 47; MIKLOSICH  
*Lat. Elemente* 64; MEYER *Wb.* 418). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>  
I 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 260; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 260; DURİ-  
DANOV *BE* 4-5 (1968) 401-406; HAARMANN 152.

**shtrigë** f, pl. *shtriga* 'witch'. Borrowed from Lat *striga* id. (MIKLOSICH  
*Rom. Elemente* 64). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 418 (assumes Slavic mediation); MEYER-  
LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <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 *stṛñāti* 'to spread, to scatter', Gk στóρνυμι 'to spread, to stretch',  
Lat *sternō* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 418, *Alb. St.* III 50, 59). ◊ PE-  
DERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 52; JOKL *Studien* 85, *Mélanges Pedersen* 150,  
*Sprache* IX 120; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 61; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 261; FRISK  
II 802-803; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 195; MAYRHOFER III 517-518; WALDE-  
HOFMANN II 590-591; ÇABEJ *Sprache* XVIII 137, *St.* VII 206; HAMP  
*LB* XX 116; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 124; HULD 115-  
116; KÖDDERITZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 65; DEMIRAJ *AE* 378-379.

**shtriq** aor. *shtriga* 'to stretch (of arms and legs)'. Based on *shtrij*.

**shtrofkë** f, pl. *shtrofka* 'den'. Derived from *shtrohë* ~ *shtrofë* (OREL  
*Koll. Idg. Ges.* 353). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 418 (from Slav \**stropъ* 'roof');  
JOKL *LKUBA* 101, *Mélanges Pedersen* 150 (to *shtroj*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 156  
(agrees with JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 379.

**shtrohë** ~ **shtrofë** f, pl. *shtroha* ~ *shtrofa* 'kennel'. From PAIb \**strājā*,

a long-grade form connected with Latv *straja* 'stall covered with straw',  
Slav \**strojъ* 'construction', and further, with Lat *stria* 'furrow, fold'  
(OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 45). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 418 (analyzes Geg *shtrof* as  
a borrowing from Slav \**stropъ* 'roof'); JOKL *LKUBA* 101; WALDE-  
HOFMANN II 602; VASMER III 780.

**shtroj** aor. *shtrova* 'to spread'. From PAIb \**strānja*, long grade of the  
same root as in *shrij* (MEYER *Wb.* 418). ◊ CAMARDA I 139; MEYER-  
LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1052 (from Lat *sternō* 'to spread'); KLIN-  
GENSCHMITT *Verbum* 255-256; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193, 241.

**shtrosë** f, pl. *shtrosa* 'goat hide (used as a cushion)'. Derived from *shtroj*.

**shtrud** m 'strawberry'. Phonetic variant of *shtrydh*, cf. also *shtrydhëz*  
id. Derived from *shtrydh* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 157). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 418 (to  
Slovene *truskelica* 'garden strawberry' and the like); BARIĆ *ARSt.*  
I 101 (to Lat *frāgum* id.); RĂDULESCU *JIES* III 385-393 (< IE  
\**strugh-*).

**shtrungë** f, pl. *shtrunga* 'milking enclosure'. Derived from *shtroj*  
(ÇABEJ *St.* II 157-158). From Albanian, the term was borrowed by  
various languages of the Balkans and of the Carpathian area, cf. Rum  
*strungă*. ◊ HAHN 127 (to *shtrëngoj*); MEYER *Wb.* 418 (loanword of dubious  
origin); JOKL *Studien* 89 (from IE \**strug-* as in Lat *stringō* 'to press,  
to squeeze'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 105, *AArbSt* I 154-156 (from \**snī-tronk"ā*  
related to G *drängen* 'to press', ON *próngr* 'narrow'); GIUGLEA *DR*  
II 343-345 (crossing of Gmc \**stanga* 'pole' and Rom \**rūga* 'road, street');  
MEYER-LÜBKE *DR* IV 642-645 (crossing of Rom \**stringa* and \**rūga*);  
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*. ◊ MEYER-  
LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046 (from Latin); PISANI *Saggi* 122.

**shtrrak** m, pl. *shtrraqe*, *shtrriqe* 'partition wall; hut used to isolate a  
sick animal'. Borrowed from Rom \**sternăcus* based on Lat *sternō* 'to  
spread, to cover'. ◊ ÇABEJ *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). ◇ *JOKL Studien* 88; ÇABEJ *St.* II 159 (follows PEDERSEN).

*shtunë* ~ *sh(ë)tundë* f, pl. *shtuna* ~ *shtunda* 'Saturday'. From an earlier form *shëtundë* (BUZUKU, BARDHI) continuing Lat *Saturni diēs* id. (SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1050). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 405 (from Lat *sabbatum*); SKOK *ZfromPhil* XLIV 332-334 (from Rom *\*sambata* with a metathesis); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 262 (follows SKOK); ÇABEJ *St.* IV 58, VII 268; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 46, 134, 159.

*shtupë* f 'towā. Borrowed from Lat *stuppa* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 65). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 395, *Alb. St.* IV 110 (from NGk *στυπί* id.); SKOK *ZfromPh* XLIV 332-337; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 262; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* II 159; HAARMANN 152.

*shturë* f, pl. *shtura* 'starling'. Borrowed from Lat *sturnus* id.

*shtyj* ~ *shtyj* aor. *shtyta*, *shtyva*, *shtyra* ~ *shtyna* 'to push'. From PAIb *\*stūdnja* etymologically close to Skt *tundate* 'to push, to strike', Lat *tundō* 'to push', OIr *do-tuit* 'to fall', Goth *stautan* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 418, *Alb. St.* III 28, 59). ◇ *JOKL Studien* 3 (agrees with MEYER); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 10-11 (to Lith *stūmti* 'to push'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 261-262; PISANI *Saggi* 123; FEIST *Goth.* 451; MAYRHOFER I 511; WALDE-HOFMANN II 616-617; POKORNY I 1033-1034; HULD 116; DEMIRAJ *AE* 379-380.

*shtyllë* f, pl. *shtylla* 'post, column'. Borrowed from Gk *στύλος* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 419 (from NGk *στύλος* id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 281; HAARMANN 151 (from Lat *stilus*).

*shtyp* aor. *shtypa* 'to crush, to squash, to break into pieces'. Derived from *\*typ*, cf. *typh*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 416 (to Lat *stīpāre* 'to press together'), *Alb. St.* III 59; KRISTOFORIDHI 414 (to Gk *τύπτω* 'to strike'); WEIGAND 236 (from Slav *\*stōpati* 'to step'); *JOKL Studien* 85-87 (from *\*shtryp* related to Gk *τραπέω* 'to tread grapes'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 263.; MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Gk *τύπτω*); CHANTRAINE 1129; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 273.

*shtyr* ~ *shtir* aor. *shtyra* ~ *shtira* 'to push; to cross (a river)'. Derived from *shtyj*. ◇ *JOKL Studien* 87-88 (to Skt *tārati* 'to cross over').

*shuaj* ~ *shuej* aor. *shova*, *shuajta*, *shojta* 'to extinguish'. Borrowed from Lat *subjugāre* 'to subjugate' with the loss of two intervocalic voiced stops. ◇ CAMARDA I 86 (to Gk *σβέννυμι* 'to quench'); MEYER *Wb.* 419 (from Lat *exungere* 'to anoint'); *JOKL LKUBA* 329; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 327 (follows CAMARDA); MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (to Gk *ψάω* < *\*k\*sājō*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, 257.

*shuguroj* aor. *shugurova* 'to ordain'. Other phonetic variants are *shëkroj*, *shukroj*, *shugroj*. From Lat *sacrāre* 'to sanctify' (MEYER *Wb.* 403). ◇ HAARMANN 147.

*shuj* aor. *shujta* '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 *vacyāte* 'to fly up'. ◇ POKORNY I 1134.

*shul* m, pl. *shule* 'post, pole'. Borrowed from Slav *\*šulь* 'log, trunk', cf. in South Slavic: Slovene *šulj*, SCr *šulj*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 419 (to Slav *\*sulica* 'spear'), *Alb. St.* III 43 (from *\*sud-lo-*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 131 (from Lat *insubulum* 'weaver's beam').

*shul* adv. 'one-sided, crooked'. Prefixal derivative of *ul*.

*shullatë* f, pl. *shullata* 'drain, gutter'. Borrowed from Lat fem. *sublāta* 'lifted, raised'.

*shullë* ~ *shullâ* m 'sunny spot'. Borrowed from Lat *solānus* (*locus*) id. (MEYER *Wb.* 419). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 150; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 88, 157.

*shumë* adv. 'many, much'. Borrowed from Lat *summus* 'uppermost, highest' (MEYER *Wb.* 419). ◇ CAMARDA I 86 (cognate of Lat *summus*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <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 \**exunguläre* for \**exunduläre* 'to seethe'.

**shuplakë** f, pl. *shuplaka* 'palm'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. SCr *supljaca* (MEYER *Wb.* 419-420). ◊ CAMARDA II 167 (to Gk πλήσσω 'to strike, to hit'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 264, *Stratificazione* 96-97; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252 (to OFr *soufflace* 'slap in the face').

**shurdhër** adj. 'deaf'. Another morphological variant is *shurdhët*. Borrowed from Lat *surdus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 65; MEYER *Wb.* 420). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1046, 1049; 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 264; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193; HAARMANN 152.

**shurqel** m, pl. *shurqela* 'waterfall'. Singularized plural of \**shurkal* < \**shurkadël*, a nominal derivative of \**shurkadoj* borrowed from Lat *super-cadere* 'to fall down (of water)'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 159-160 (identical with *zurkal* id. and further connected with *rrëkajë*).

**shurukoj** aor. *shurukova* 'to thunder, to make noise'. Borrowed from Rom \**subraucare* 'to make hoarse', cf. Ital dial. *surrigare*.

**shurrë** f 'urine'. Derived from *shurr* 'to urinate', a prefixal form based on PALb \**ura* connected with Skt *vār* 'water', Tokh A *wār*, B *war* id., ON *vāri* id. and the like, cf. in particular Lat *ūrīna* 'urine' (JOKL *Studien* 89-90). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 420 (to Gmc \**suraz* 'sour', Lith *sūras* 'salty'), Alb. *St.* III 43, 73; BARIĆ *ARSt* 96-97 (to Skt *kṣara-* 'water'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 97; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195 (to Bulg *šurkam* 'to urinate'); MAYRHOFER III 194; WALDE-HOFMANN II 840; VAN WINDEKENS I 557-558; POKORNY I 80; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 46 (to Gk σκῶπ 'dung'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 251; HAMP *Evidence* 139 (to Hitt *šehur* 'urine'); ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 208, *KZ* LXXXVI 131 (treats *shurrë* as a *Lallwort*); MURATI *Probleme* 133; DEMIRAJ *AE* 380.

**shushallë** f, pl. *shushalla* 'peeled corn-cob'. Derived from \**shush* borrowed from Lat *exossus* 'boneless, devoid of bones'.

**shushkël** f, pl. *shushklla* 'pod'. Variant of *shikël*.

**shushunjë** f, pl. *shushunja* 'leech'. Borrowed from the metathesize Rom \**saguisungia* < Lat *sanguisuga* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 420). ◊ HAARMANN 148.

**shut** adj. 'hornless'. Another form is *shyt*. Borrowed from Slav \**šutъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *šut*, SCr *šut* (MEYER *Wb.* 420). Rum *ciut* id. goes back to the same source. ◊ DENSUSIANU *GS* I 245 (from Iranian); PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom.* II 707 (Rum *ciut* from Albanian); IL'INSKIJ *IORJaS* XX/3 103 (identifies Slav \**šutъ* 'hornless' with \**šutъ* 'clown, stupid' < IE \**kseu-* 'to cut'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 150; GOLĂB *MJ* X 27 (from a Balkan substratum); RUSSU *TD* 203-204 (Rum *ciut* is from Dacian); REICHENKRON *Dakische* 109; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* 340; KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 84-86; DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz.* VIII 153 (from IE \**skhed-* 'to split'); DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 67-71 (farfetched Romance etymology from Lat *sectäre*); ROSETTI *ILR* I 275; MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* XXV/2 161-165 (from Rumanian).

(T) **shutra** pl. 'comb (to card linen or wool)'. Based on Lat *sūtus* 'sewn together'.

## T

**tabelë** f, pl. *tabela* 'table, plate'. Borrowed from Lat *tabella* id.

**taç** pron. 'the one that, the one which'. The univerbation of *ta*, neut. of *ai*, and *çë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 160).

**taft** m 'stench; scorching heat'. Borrowed from Lat *tactus* 'touch, feeling'. ◊ MANN *HAED* 508 (to *aht* 'sigh' and *afsh*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

**taftar** m 'funnel'. Borrowed from Rom \**traiectarium* id. for Lat *traiectōrium* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 421). ◊ JOKL *IF* XXXVII 209 (from Rom \**trānsfunditōrium*); BARIĆ *Hymje* 63; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 269; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 71-73; ÇABEJ *St.* II 160-161 (follows MEYER but reconstructs Rom \**tractārius*); HAARMANN 154.

**tajě** f, pl. *taja* 'screw-nut, female screw'. Identical with *tajě* 'wet-nurse', *tajiis* 'to feed' (from NGk ταιίζω id.). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 422 (*tajě* 'wet-nurse' from Turkish).

**tajkě** f 'kind of oblong grapes'. Derived from \**tajě* borrowed from Lat *tālea* 'cut off part, trunk'. ◊ ÇABEJ *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' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 163). ◊ 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. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 422 (from Ital *toccare* 'to strike, to touch'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217.

**talě** 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 OIr *tuilid* 'to sleep', Lith *tyliu*, *tīlti* 'to become silent', Slav \**toliti* 'to persuade, to make quiet' and their cognates. ◊ FRAENKEL 1095; VASMER IV 71; VENDRYES [T] 170; POKORNY I 1062.

**tallě** f 'Sorghum halepense; peeled corn-cob; corn straw'. From PALb \**talā*, zero-grade connected with Gk τήλις 'fenugreek', Lith *atolas* 'first grass emerging after the hay-mowing' (RESTELLI *RIL* XCI 475-476). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 423 (borrowed from Lat *talla* 'skin of onion'); POKORNY I 1055; FRISK II 892-893; FRAENKEL 22; ÇABEJ *St.* II 163-164 (borrowed from Lat *tālea* 'sprout, shooting'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 152; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 126.

**tamě** f, pl. *tamě* 'water-source'. Derived from *amě* with a prefix *t-* continuing PALb \**at-*. The prefix is etymologically identical with Lith *at-* 'from', Slav \**ot(z)-* id. ◊ XHUVANI - ÇABEJ *BShkSh* 1956/4 99 (recombination of the oblique case form *tě amě*); FRAENKEL 20; VASMER III 168; POKORNY I 344-345; ÇABEJ *St.* II 164.

**tamě** f 'smell, stench'. As in *tamě* 'water-source', a prefixal deriva-

tive of \**amě*, cf. *aměz*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 164 (recombination of the oblique case *tě amě*).

**tangallě** f, pl. *tangalla* 'big forest'. Derived from PALb \**tangā* 'thick (forest)' related to ON *pétrr* 'thick', Lith *tānkus* id. ◊ POKORNY I 1068; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254, 281.

**tangě** f 'resentment, prejudice, damnation'. An early loanword from Slav \**toga* 'grief'. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 386 (related to Slav \**toga*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 381.

**tapě** f, pl. *tapa* 'cork'. Borrowed from Romance \**tappum* id., cf. Ital *tappo*, Catal *tap*.

**tarogzě** f, pl. *tarogza* 'helmet'. The word seems to be created by FISHTA and representing a derivative in *-zě* based on *tarok*. ◊ JOKL *St.Fil.* XVIII/2 5-9 (borrowed from Gk θωρακείον 'parapet'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; DI GIOVINE *SSL* XXIV 271-291; ÇABEJ *St.* II 165 (from Gk θώραξ 'cuirass').

**tarok** m, pl. *tarokě* 'young bull'. Diminutive of \**tar*, see *ter*. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (directly from \**tauro-*).

**tartallis** aor. *tartallisa* 'to flounder, to roll'. Borrowed from NGk ταρταρίζω 'to shiver of cold' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 165-166). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 90 (to Skt *taralā-* '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. *rabeckě*.

**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). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 19 (combination of *t-* and *-shtu* attested in *ashtu*); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 140 (against VASMER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 265; ÇABEJ *St.* II 166 (pronominal *t(a)-* and a second element of dubious origin).

**tatë** 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*. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 23 (from \**tatā*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 1021-102 (from Lat *tata* id.), *Stratificazione* 120; PUŞCARIU *EWB* 1718 (influenced by Romance forms); ÇABEJ *St.* II 166-167 (univerbation of the oblique definite form of *atë* preceded by the article *të*); SVANE 189; MURATI *Probleme* 103; DEMIRAJ *AE* 382-383.

**tatëpjetë** f, pl. *tatëpjeta* 'slope', adv. 'down'. With assimilation of occlusives, continues \**katëpjetë*, an antonym of *përpjetë*, with \**katë* < PALb \**kata* related to Gk *κάτα* 'down', OIr *cét-* 'with', Hitt *kata* 'with, below' (CAMARDA I 304). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 333 (*tatë-* identical with *tet-* in Geg *tetposhtë*, cf. *tërposhtë*); FRISK I 800; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 48; VENDRYES [C] 83-84; ÇABEJ *St.* II 167 (*tatë-* continues a "double article" *të të*).

**tatoj** aor. *tatova* 'to tax'. Borrowed from \**taxitäre* 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'. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* V 72 (from Ital *datura* 'thorn-apple'); DIEFENBACH I 259 (to Rum *tatina*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 167 (from Turk *tatula* id.)

**te** prep. 'to', adv. 'where, there'. More archaic forms are *tek* ~ *tekë* as well as *teku*. As a preposition, *te(k)* requires nominative and therefore continues PALb \**tai ku*, dative reflecting IE \**toi k'u-* 'to that which' (BOPP 501, 504; CAMARDA I 317). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 425, *Alb. St.* III 23, 88 (*te-* from ablative \**töd*); JOKL *LKUBA* 26 (agrees with MEYER), *WuS* XII 64; PEDERSEN *Festschr.Thomsen* 255-256 (form of the pronoun \**to-* followed by *ku*); TAGLIAVINI 272; SANDFELD *LBalk* 118-119 (similarity between *tek* and Rom \**illac* > Rum *la* 'there'); MANN *Language* XXVI 386 (*te-* to Gk *τῶ* 'then'); HAMP *SCL* XXXIII/6 493, *ZfceltPh* XXXVII 170-172; KOPEČNÝ *ESSJ* I 257 (to Slovene *tu* 'in, into'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 167-169; DEMIRAJ *AE* 383.

**teh** m, pl. *teha* 'blade'. A prefixal derivative of *eh* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 169). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 425 (to Ital *taglio* 'cut'); GELZER *ZfromPhil* XXXVII

268 (from Rom \**taliäre* 'to cut'); RESTELLI *RIL* XCI 540-541 (to Gk *τέκτων* 'artisan').

**tej** prep. 'on that side', adv. 'over there'. Continues PALb \**tai e* < \**toi eks* parallel to *tëhu*.

**tejzë** f, pl. *tejza* 'sinew'. Derived from *tel* 'wire', of Turkish origin. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 426 (on *tel*).

**teka** pl. 'whims'. Borrowed from Slav \**tekъ* '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 (ÇABEJ *St.* II 170). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 311 (from Russ *tel'atina* 'veal, calf's leather'); MANN *HAED* 512 (agrees with SELIŠČEV).

**tendë** f, pl. *tenda* 'tent'. Another form is *tëndë*. Borrowed from Romance \**tenta* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 429). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; MANN *Language* XVII 20 (from \**tnt-*); HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 55, 116.

**tenjë** f 'moth, wood-engraver'. Borrowed from Lat *tinea* 'moth, worm' (MEYER *Wb.* 427). ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 136 (from Lat *taenia*); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66 (from Latin or from Ital *tigna* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 152-153; LANDI *Lat.* 56, 71.

**tepë** f 'spelt, Triticum monococcum'. Borrowed from Gk *τίφη* id. (JOKL *Beiträge*). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 170-171.

**tepër** adv. 'more, very', adj. 'superfluous'. Univerbation of neut. *t(ë) epër*, cf. *epër* (XHUVANI *Studime* 63). ◊ CAMARDA I 319 (from *te* and *për*); MEYER *Wb.* 427 (same as CAMARDA); JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* II 171 (from \**töd uperom*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 171 (follows XHUVANI).

**teposhtë** f 'slope', adv. 'down, downwards'. Another variant is *tërposhtë*. A synonym of *tatëpjetë*, this word is divided into a prefix *tër-* and the adverbial *poshtë*. There are numerous other derivatives in *tër-*,

cf. *tër'furk* 'pitchfork' to *furkë*, *tërheq* 'to pull, to draw' to *heq* and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 333 (suggests *tet-* as the first element); HAARMANN 154.

**ter** m, pl. *terë*, *tera* 'bull'. Singularized plural of *\*tar* continuing PAIb *\*taura* related to Gk τᾰῦρος id., Lat *taurus* id., Lith *taūras* id., Slav *\*turъ* id. (CAMARDA I 53). ◊ 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 I 1083; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *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 *tarsáyati* id., Lat *torreo* id., ON *þerra* id. (CAMARDA I 43; MEYER *Wb.* 427, *BB* VIII 187) ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* II 23 (doubts the comparison with IE *\*ters-*), *Alb. St.* III 23; FOY *IF* VI 334 (to OIr *tír* 'earth, ground'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 96; MAYRHOFER I 525; WALDE-HOFMANN II 694; POKORNY I 1078-1079; HAMP *Münch. St. Spr.* XLI 36; ÇABEJ *St.* II 172-173; HULD 156; DEMIRAJ *AE* 383.

**terë** f 'dry land'. Derived from *ter*, cf. a similar semantic motivation in Lat *terra* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 173-174). From here *terik* 'land' is derived.

**terig** m 'light breeze'. Borrowed from an unattested in its Venetian form, *\*eterigo*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 174 (identical with *terik*, see *terë*).

**term** m 'foundation, plot of land'. Derived from *terë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 174).

**terplote** f, pl. *terplote* 'winnowing shovel'. Prefixal derivative of *plotë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 174-175). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 320 (prefixal derivative in *tër-* of *\*plote* borrowed from Italian or Rom *\*palotta*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538.

**terr** m 'darkness'. Continues an oblique case of *err*: *t(ë) err* (MEYER *Wb.* 97-99). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049 (from Lat *tenebrae* 'darkness'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243, 246.

**terrtohem** refl. 'to knit one's brows in wrath'. Based on *terr*.

**tesh** m 'herpes'. Related to *teshë*.

**tesha** pl. 'belongings, utensils, things'. Continues PAIb *\*taišā* related to Lith *tiesiū*, *tiēsti* 'to make right, to build, to set', *teisūs* 'right'. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 96 (to Gk τέκτων 'artisan' and other reflexes of IE *\*teḱp-*); FRAENKEL 1073-1074, 1089; ÇABEJ *St.* II 175-176 (from Lat *testa* 'vessel, pot'); LANDI *Lat.* 94, 119.

**teshem** refl. 'to sneeze'. Continues PAIb *\*teuša* related to Latv *tusēt* 'to pant', *tust* id. representing IE *\*teus-*. Derived from *teshem* is *teshtij* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 356 (connected with *fshaj* and *psherëtij*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 267; PORZIG *Gliederung* 107; ÇABEJ *St.* II 175 (onomatopoeia).

**teshë** f 'speck of dust, little splinter'. From PAIb *\*taksjā* related to IE *\*teḱp-*: Skt *takṣati* 'to carpenter, to cut', Lat *texō* 'to weave', Lith *tašaũ*, *tašyti* 'to hew' (OREL *Fort.* 80). ◊ MAYRHOFER I 468; WALDE-HOFMANN II 678-679; FRAENKEL 1065; POKORNY I 1058-1059; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 212, 266.

**tetë** num. 'eight'. Continues PAIb *\*aktō(ti)* related to the Indo-European word for 'eight' *\*oktō(u)*: Skt *aṣṭá*, Arm *ur*, Gk ὀκτώ and the like (BOPP 512; MEYER *Alb. St.* II 66, *Wb.* 428). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 319-320, *Kelt. Gr.* I 123; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 267; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 259; LA PIANA *Studi* I 81-82; BARIĆ *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). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 267.

**tëbanë** f, pl. *tëbana* 'shepherd's hut'. A prefixal derivative of *banë*. Cf. some other derivatives in *të-*: *tëharr* 'to cut (wood)' (cf. *harr*), *tëholloj* 'to make thin' (cf. *hollë*), *tëmbëll* 'sweetness' (cf. *ëmbel*).

**tëbuti** m, pl. *tëbuta* 'oak'. Singularized form of (*dru*) *tëbuta* 'soft wood' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 176). ◊ LAMBERTZ *KZ* LIII 306 (borrowed from NGK μποῦτι 'stump').

**tëhu** adv. 'on this side'. From PAIb *\*toi ksu* where the second com-

ponent is equal to Gk ξὺν 'with, at the same time'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 334 (connected with *tē*); FRISK II 339; ÇABEJ *St.* II 176-177 (to *-tu* in *atu*, *kētu*).

**tēmbēl** ~ **tambēl** *n/m* 'gall-bladder'. Identical with *tēmbēl* ~ *tambēl* 'sweetness', see *ēmbēl*. The original meaning of the latter includes such elements as 'sour', 'bitter'. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 273; DEMIRAJ *AE* 385-386 (to Lat *tama* 'swelling (on the leg)' or to Lith *tulžis* 'bile').

**tērboj** *aor. tērbova* 'to have a dry mouth; to infuriate; to pamper (children)'. Borrowed from Lat *turbāre* 'to ruffle, to agitate' (CAMARDA I 195, 203; MEYER *Wb.* 429). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1039, 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 155.

**tērē** ~ **tanē** *adj.* 'whole, all'. Continues PAIb *\*twana* < *\*tṵono-* derived from IE *\*teuā-* 'to swell' (SPITZER *MRIW* I 331-332) and morphologically close to Lith *tvinti* 'to rise, to swell (of water)', *tvānas* 'flood'. For the semantic development, cf. Lat *tōtus* continuing the same *\*teuā-*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 429 (from Rom *\*tōtānus* to Lat *tōtus* 'whole'); MANN *Language* XVII 23; FRAENKEL 1154; WALDE-HOFMANN II 695-696; POKORNY I 1080-1083; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; JANSON *Unt.* 31.

**tērfojē** *f* 'trefoil, shamrock'. Borrowed from Lat *trifolium* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 67 (from Ital *trifoglio* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 429 (follows MIKLOSICH 67); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* II 177 (agrees with MIKLOSICH); HAARMANN 154; LANDI *Lat.* 102, 108, 126.

**tērma** *adv.* 'downwards'. Another form is *tērma*. Prefixal derivative of *mal* (MEYER *Wb.* 255; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 542). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 177.

**tērmet** *m, pl. tērmete* 'earthquake'. Another form is *termek*. Borrowed from Rom *\*terrae mōtus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 427). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66 (from Ital *terremuoto* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1046; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 64, 128, 159.

**tērmonē** *adv.* 'always, ever'. A prefixal form based on *muaj*.

**tērpi** *f* 'tuberculosis'. Based on an unattested *\*tērpis* 'to suffer, to endure, to bear' borrowed from Slav *\*tęrpęti* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *търпна*, *търп'а*, SCR *trpljeti* (MEYER *Wb.* 430). ◇ SVANE 183.

**tērpjetē** *adv.* 'up, upwards'. Compound consisting of *tēr-* and *pjetē*, cf. *tatēpjetē*.

(T) **tērsirē** *f, pl. tērsira* 'rope (made of genista)'. Borrowed from Rum *tārsinā*, itself from Bulg *търсина* 'horse-hair' (CAPIDAN *DR* III 885-886). The rhotacism is of analogical origin. ◇ PUŞCARIU *EWB* 158; JOKL *AArbSt* I 46 (from Slav *\*torčina* 'band' but then one should expect Rum *tārcinā*), *Sb. Miletič* 118-120; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 323 (agrees with JOKL); ÇABEJ *St.* II 177-178 (from Bulg *търсина*); JANSON *Unt.* 65-67.

**tērshērē** ~ **tērshanē** *f* 'oats'. In Geg there is also a form *trishanē*. Borrowed from Rom *\*trimēnsānum* for Lat *trimēnse triticum* (MEYER *Wb.* 430), cf. OItal *tremeste* 'cereal needing three months to ripen' < Lat *trimestris*. ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 154.

**tērthortē** *adj.* 'oblique, indirect'. Based on an unattested *\*tērthor*. Prefixal derivative in *tēr-* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 178-179) based on *\*thor*. The latter reflects PAIb *\*tsāsva* continuing IE *\*kes-ro-*, to Skt *śāsati* 'to slaughter, to cut down', Gk κέαζω 'to split' and the like. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 255 (from Rom *\*trānsvertōrius*); POKORNY I 586; PISANI *KZ* LXXI 63-64 (from Lat *tortus* 'twisted').

**tērkkas** *aor. tērkata* 'to be out of tune'. Borrowed from Slav *\*tęrkati* 'to rub, to touch, to stir, to knock', also used as an onomatopoeia, cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *търкам*, SCR *trkati*.

**tētym** ~ **tētīm** *m* 'cold season, cold'. Singularized univerbation of *tē tyma*, to *tym*, as supported by the following expression: *u diqa sē tymi* ~ *me dekē sē timi* 'to die of cold' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 179). ◇ CAMARDA II 140 (to Gk τῆταίνω 'to stretch'); LAMBERTZ *KZ* LIII 301 (to *tym*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 179 (*tē-* treated as a prefix).

**tī** *pon.* 'thou'. From PAIb *\*tū* continuing IE *\*tū* id.: Av *tū*, Gk σὺ, Lat *tū*, OIr *tú* and the like (CAMARDA I 217; MEYER *Wb.* 430, *Alb. St.* III 23). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 282; BARIĆ *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; ÇABEJ *St.* II 179-180; HULD 116; DEMIRAJ *AE* 386-387.

tillĕ adj. 'such'. Continues PALb \**tila* based on the pronominal stem \**tjo-* and similar in its formation to ON *þít* 'there' ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 425 (to IE \**to-*); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 200 (to Lat *tālis* 'such'); POKORNY I 1086-1087; ÇABEJ *St.* II 181 (analogical formation based on *ti*, *tij*).

timĕr ~ timĕn m 'weft, woof'. Borrowed from Lat *tegminem* 'cover' (WAGNER *ZfomPhil* XXXIX 102). ∅ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ *St.* II 181 (explains *timĕr* as a singularized plural with a secondary *-i-*); HAARMANN 152; LANDI *Lat.* 117, 147.

tinĕ f 'slime, mud'. Borrowed from Slav \**tina* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *tina*, SCr *tina* (SVANE 169).

tinĕz adj. 'secret'. Continues an earlier noun \**tĕjnĕ* borrowed from Slav \**tajĕna* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *tajna*, SCr *tajna* (MEYER *Wb.* 431).

tingĕ f, pl. *tinga* 'tench'. Borrowed from Lat *tinca* id.

tingĕlloj aor. *tingĕllova* 'to ring, to sound'. Another variant is *tringĕlloj* 'to knock, to ring' (MEYER *Wb.* 432). Based on *tingull* 'sound, ring' continuing an unattested Rom \**tinnunculus*, cf. Lat *tinnuncula* 'kestrel', *tinnulus* 'sonorous, resonant'.

tirĕ f 'bundle, skein, hank'. Derived from *tjerr*.

tirĕ ~ tinĕ f, pl. *tira* ~ *tina* 'large wine barrel'. Borrowed from Lat *tīna* 'wine vessel' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66; MEYER *Wb.* 430). The parallel Geg form *tī* seems to reflect Rom \**tīnum* > Ital *tino* id. (ÇABEJ II 181-182). ∅ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1045; JOKL *BA* IV 209 n. 1 (from Latin rather than Ital *tino* id.); MIHĂESCU *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 \**þiuhrōks* (DICULESCU *ZfomPh* XLIX 399; JOKL *Balkangerm.* 116-118). ∅ KRISTOFORIDHI 424 (to *tjerr*); OŠTIR *Anthropos* VIII 169 n. 1 (to Lat *tergum* 'back, spine'); TREIMER *ZfomPh* XXXVIII 392 (to Russ *perčatka* 'glove'); SANDFELD *LBalk* 97; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 265; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 93-94 (to Lat *torqueō* 'to turn'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 113 (suffix *-k*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 182-183 (follows KRISTOFORIDHI), IV 90-93.

tis m 'yew'. Borrowed from Slav \**tisъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *tis*, SCr *tis* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164). ∅ ÇABEJ *St.* II 184; SVANE 130.

titull m, pl. *tituj* 'title, ground of right or claim'. Borrowed from Lat *titulus* id.

tjegull f, pl. *tjegulla* 'brick'. Borrowed from Lat *tĕgula* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 65; MEYER *Wb.* 431, *Alb. St.* IV 65). ∅ CAMARDA I 161 (to Gk στĕγη 'cover, roof'); MEYER-LÜBKE *MRIW* I 25, *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044, 1049; JOKL *Studien* 105, *LKUBA* 50; TREIMER *MRIW* I 251; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 268; HELBIG 31, 133 (from Ital *tegola* id.); ÇABEJ *St.* II 184; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 135.

tjerr aor. *torra* 'to spin'. Continues PALb \**terka* related to Tokh B *tärk-* 'to turn' (only as part. pret.), Lat *torqueō* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 431, *Alb. St.* III 23, 84). For the development of the cluster \**-rk-* < \**-rk\** cf. *mjel*. ∅ CAMARDA I 41 (to Gk τĕρω 'to rub'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 268; JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 38; PEDERSEN *BB* XX 231, *KZ* XXXIII 542 (reconstructs \**terknō*); MANN *Language* XXVI 382; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 195-196 (to *turr* and, further, to Gk τόρνος 'tool for drawing a circle'), *St. IE* 44; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 49; WALDE-HOFMANN II 692-693; CHANTRAINE 134; VAN WINDEKENS I 503; POKORNY I 1077; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 209; ÇABEJ *St.* II 184-185 (follows CAMARDA and CIMOCHOWSKI); DEMIRAJ *AE* 387.

tjetĕr adj., pl. *tjerĕ* 'other'. In dialects, the original paradigm *jetĕr*, *jatĕr*, pl. *tjerĕ* is still preserved. The form *tjetĕr* result from crasis with the preceding particle *tĕ* and/or analogical influence of plural. Goes back to PALb \**etera* (with a mobile stress: sg. \**ĕtera* ~ pl. \**ĕterai*) related to Slav \**eterъ* 'some, somebody' (MEYER *Wb.* 162, *Alb. St.* III 85). ∅

BOPP 489 (to Skt *āntara-* 'interior'); CAMARDA I 215 (compares *tjetër* with Gk *ἕτερος* '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; ÇABEJ *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 *karš-*, *karšija-* 'to cut off', Mİr *corr* 'stunted' and other continuants of IE *\*(s)ker-s-*. ◇ VENDRYES [C] 211-212; POKORNY I 945; ÇABEJ *Št.* II 187 (to *korr* and *shkurre*).

**tlandër** f, pl. *tlandra* 'bundle'. Derived from *lëndë*.

**tmerr** m 'horror, fright'. Other variants are *mner*, *kmer* and *mer*. Borrowed from Lat *timōrem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66; MEYER *Wb.* 431). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1046; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 146; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 190; ÇABEJ *St.* II 187-189 (to Gmc *\*maron* 'nightmare', Slav *\*mora* id. or to Gk *μέριμνα* 'thought, trouble, uneasiness'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 64-65, 130.

**toçillë** f, pl. *toçilla* 'whetstone'. Borrowed from Slav *\*točidlo* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *točilo*, SCr *točilo* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172). ◇ SVANE 72, 242.

**toçis**-aor. *toçita* 'to press the juice out of grapes'. Borrowed from Slav *\*točiti* 'to secrete, to make flow', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *toča*, SCr *točiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 433). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 183; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 237; SVANE 72, 242.

**tog** m, pl. *togje* 'heap, pile'. Continues PAIb *\*tāga*, a long grade of IE *\*(s)teg-* 'to cover', cf. in particular Gk *τέγη* 'roof', Oİr *tech* 'house' < IE *\*tegos*. The same vowel grade may be attested in Lith *stėgti* 'to thatch (a roof)' if the latter reflects *\*stėgti*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 431; FRAENKEL 904; FRISK II 780-781; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 30; POKORNY I 1013-1014.

**tojë** f, pl. *toja* 'lace'. A parallel form is *ronjë*. Borrowed from Venet *togna* id. (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 269). ◇ ALESSIO apud ÇABEJ *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'.

**tokë** f, pl. *toka* 'earth, land, soil, ground, plot of land, field'. Borrowed from Slav *\*tokъ* 'threshing floor' (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 18). Another widespread variant *trokë* is explained by the influence of *trokas*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 432 (considers *tokë* 'earth' to be connected with *toká* 'belt buckle'); JOKL *Studien* 80; MLADENOV 635; ÇABEJ *St. fil.* 1966/2 84, *St.* II 190 (to *terë*); OREL *Balkanica* 111-112 (improbable explanation from an unknown Indo-European substratum language close to Hittite), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 363; MURATI *Probleme* 133-134.

**tokël** f, pl. *tokla* 'piece'. Derived from *tokë* id., of Italian origin. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 432 (on *tokë*).

**tollë** f 'bald spot; drum membrane'. Continues PAIb *\*tāslā* < *\*tēkslā* etymologically related to Lat *tēla* 'cloth', OHG *dehsala* 'axe', Slav *\*tesla* id. < *\*tekslā*, further derived from IE *\*teǵp-* 'to weave, to hew'. ◇ WALDE-HOFMANN II 655; VASMER IV 51; POKORNY I 1058-1059.

**topër** f, pl. *topra* 'small axe'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*toporъ* 'axe' (MEYER *Wb.* 432). ◇ SELIŠČEV *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'. ◇ SVANE 59.

**topis** aor. *topita* 'to blunt; to frighten, to discourage'. Borrowed from Slav *\*topiti* 'to blunt' (MEYER *Wb.* 417), cf. South Slavic reflexes: SCr *tupiti*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 432 (*topis* 'to discourage' from SCr *stupiti* 'to step, to walk'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 190-191; SVANE 242.

**torishtë** f, pl. *torishta* 'sheep enclosure'. Borrowed from Slav *\*torišče* 'enclosure', cf. South Slavic forms with the same or close meaning:



Bulg *tor*, *torište*, SCr *tor* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 165). ◇ 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). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 433 (from Lat *torculum* 'wine- or oil-press'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1046; JOKL *LKUBA* 105, 144; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 142.

**torolec** m, pl. *toroleca* 'cricket'. Derived from *torolis*. The form *torovan* may be an emphatic transformation of *torolec*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 433 (to Slav \**ščurъ* 'grasshopper').

**torolingë** f, pl. *torolinga* 'toy pipe, flute'. Derived from *torolis*.

**tortë** f, pl. *torta* 'rope'. Borrowed from Lat *tortum* 'rope (for tortures)', cf. Rum *tort* 'yarn, thread' (MEYER *Wb.* 433) ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 67 (from Latin or from Ital *torta*); PUŞCARIU *EWB* 162; MIHĂESCU *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). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 433 (derived from *torrë*); SVANE 141.

**torrë** f 'circle'. Attested in Albanian dialects of Greece. Borrowed from Rom \**tornum* 'turn', cf. Ital *torno*, Fr *tour*, Prov *torn*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 433 (from Ital *torno*).

**torrløj** aor. *torrlova* 'to deceive'. Derived from *torrlë* 'screw', based on *torrë*.

**toskë** m, pl. *toskë* 'Tosk, North Albanian'. Borrowed from Ital *tosco* 'Tuscan' < Lat *Tuscus* 'Etruscan'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193.

**totolesh** m, pl. *totoleshë* 'credulous person'. An emphatic derivative of *lesh*.

**tra** pl. *trerë*, *trarë*, *trenj* 'beam, post'. Borrowed from Lat *trabem* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 67; MEYER *Wb.* 433).

◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1040, 1053; JOKL *LKUBA* 128; TAGLI-  
AVINI *Dalmazia* 271; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 154;  
LANDI *Lat.* 83, 144-146.

**tragë** f, pl. *tragë* 'trace'. Borrowed from Slav \**tragъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *trag*, *traga*, SCr *trag* (MEYER *Wb.* 433). ◇ SVANE 36.

**trajkë** f 'fishing net'. Identical with *tratkë* 'big fishing net', a local loanword from SCr *trarka* < Dalm *trakta* (SKOK *ZfromPhil* LIV 425). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 433 (< \**tralkë*, derivative in *-kë* borrowed from Rom \**tragula* 'trawling net'); JOKL *RIEB* II 59 (agrees with SKOK); ÇABEJ *St.* II 191 (follows MEYER); HAARMANN 153 (from Rom \**terraticum*), 154 (from Rom \**tragula*).

**trajstë** f, pl. *trajsta* 'sack, knapsack'. Another form is *trastë*. Borrowed from Rum *t(r)ajstră* id., a Balkan *Wanderwort* (MEYER *Wb.* 434).

**trajtë** f, pl. *trajta* 'form, shape'. Borrowed from Lat neut. *tractum*, participle of *trahō* 'to draw'. (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 154). ◇ LANDI *Lat.* 102, 121.

**trajtoj** aor. *trajtova* 'to deal with, to treat'. Borrowed from Lat *tractāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 67; MEYER *Wb.* 434). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1054; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 187; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 73-74; HAARMANN 154.

**trakullij** ~ **trakullf** aor. *trakulliva* 'to knock (at the door)'. Other forms are *trakulloj*, *trokulloj*. Borrowed from Rom \**trūdiculāre*, a variant of \**trūdicāre* 'to push'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 434; MEYER-LÜBKE 679 (on Rom \**trūdicāre*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 191 (onomatopoeia).

**trakullues** m 'talker, windbag'. Derived from *trakullij* ~ *trakulloj* (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 60). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 434 (borrowed from SCr *traska-lo* 'windbag'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 191 (agrees with VASMER).

**trangull** m, pl. *tranguj* 'cucumber'. Borrowed from MGk *τετράγ-  
γούρον* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 434).

**trap** m, pl. *trepe* 'pit, grave'. Borrowed from Slav \**trapъ* 'pit', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *trap*, SCr *trap* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente*

35; MEYER *Wb.* 434). ◇ CAMARDA I 40 (to Gk τροπάω 'to drill, to bore'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 60; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 168, 188; SVANE 38.

**trap** m, pl. *trapa* 'ferry'. From PALb *\*trapa* identical with Slav *\*tropa* 'path' and further related to IE *\*trep-* 'to tread' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 60). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 128 (to Lith *traupūs* 'fragile'); VASMER IV 105; POKORNY I 1094.

**tras** aor. *trita* 'to pull (a boat to the coast)'. Continues PALb *\*t(e)ratja*, etymologically related to Skt *tāratī* 'to cross over' and its cognates. ◇ JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* II 191 (from Rum *tras*, part. of *trage* 'to pull'); MAYRHOFER I 480; POKORNY I 1074-1075.

**trashë** adj. 'thick, fat'. From PALb *\*trauša*. Appears to be connected with Lith *trašius* 'fat, fertile (of soil)', a form based on *tręšiu* 'to rot, to manure' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 435) despite obvious phonetic difficulties: Lith *-q-* 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 τρώω 'to destroy, to exhaust', Slav *\*trovq* 'to destroy' and the like. ◇ CAMARDA I 71 (to Gk τραχύς '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 *trén*, ON *prekr*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 269; BUGA II 178; MANN *Language* XVII 18 (to Slav *\*tǫlstǫ* 'fat, thick'); FRAENKEL 1112; POKORNY I 1072-1073.

**trashëgoj** aor. *trashëgova* 'to inherit'. Borrowed from Lat *trānsigere* 'to reach an accord, to carry out transaction' (MEYER *Wb.* 435).

**trath** m, pl. *trathë* 'roof plank'. As well as *trazue* 'kind of beam' derived from *tra*.

**trazoj** aor. *trazova* 'to mix'. Another and more archaic form is *tramëzozj*. Borrowed from Rom *\*trānsmediāre* > Ital *tramezzare* 'to divide' (MEYER *Wb.* 435). ◇ CAMARDA I 40 (to Gk ταραύσω 'to shuffle, to mix'); KRISTOFORIDHI 428 (follows CAMARDA); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 321 (from Slav *\*tražiti* 'to seek'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 192 (from Ital *travasare* 'to pour from one vessel into another'), IV 93-94.

**tre** num., *f tri* 'three'. From PALb *\*treje* continuing IE *\*trejes* id.: Skt *trayaḥ*, Gk τρεῖς, Lat *trēs* and the like (GIL FERDING *Otn.* 24; CAMARDA I 76; MEYER *Wb.* 435, *Alb. St.* II 43, III 24, 63, 72). ◇ 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; SZEMERÉNYI *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 PALb *\*treuda* etymologically related to Lat *trūdō* 'to push', Goth *us-priutan* 'to burden', Slav *\*trudъ* 'labor, work' (MEYER *Wb.* 435, *Alb. St.* III 24, 28, 72). ◇ 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 *\*trъgъ* (OCS *trъgъ*) < Slav *\*trъgъ* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 436, *Alb. St.* I 23). ◇ DIEFENBACH II 125; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 67 (from Ital *tregua* 'armistice'); JOKL *Studien* 115 (follows MEYER), *Reallex.Vorgesch.* I 88 (continues *terg-* in the Illyrian place-name *Tergeste*); MLADENOV *Ist.* 356; MILETIĆ *Sp. BAN* XVI/9, 35-42 (-e-reflects West Macedonian [ä] < \*ъ); ANTTILA *Schw.* 100; ÇABEJ *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 ἀγορεύω 'to talk, to declare' as based on ἀγορά 'market, place' (JOKL *Studien* 115). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 436 (borrowed from Lat *trādere* 'to pass, to tell'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538 (against MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 193-194 (follows JOKL).

**tremb** aor. *tremba* 'to frighten'. Continues PALb *\*trema* related to Tokh A *tārm-* 'to get angry', Gk τρέμω 'to tremble (of fear)', Lat *tremō* id. (MEYER *BB* VIII 187, *Wb.* 436, *Alb. St.* III 24, 65, 72). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 67 (from Lat *tremere*); PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* IX 211; JOKL *Studien* 27, *Festschr. Kretschmer* 92; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1050 (follows MIKLOSICH); TREIMER *ZfomPhil* XXXVIII 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 *Slav. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 436).

**trenoj** aor. *trenova* 'to become mad, to become stupid'. Derived from *tra*, pl. *trenj*, cf. Lat *stultus* 'stupid' ~ *stolō* 'shoot, branch, twig', Russ *ostolbenet* 'to be bewildered' ~ *stolb* 'column, post'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 434 (to Ital *strano* 'strange' or SCr *krenuti* 'to bend, to incline'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 194 (to *terrnoj* 'to change').

**tres** aor. *treta* 'to melt, to loosen, to dissolve'. From PALb *\*trōija* etymologically identical with Slav *\*tratjō*, *\*tratiti* 'to spend, to waste' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 37). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 436 (borrowed from Slav *\*tratiti*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; VASMER IV 94-95.

**trevē** f, pl. *treva* 'land, area; peace, quiet'. Borrowed from MGk τρέβα 'truce' < OFr *treve* id. (JOKL *Litteris* IV 197, *Slavia* XIII 317). ◊ CAMARDA I 42 (to Gk τπίβος 'path, way'); MEYER *Wb.* 353 (borrowed from Lat *trivium* 'crossroads'); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 255 (to OFr *triege*); SANDFELD *LBalk* 57; ÇABEJ *St.* II 194 (follows JOKL).

**trevoj** aor. *trevoja* 'to succeed, to prosper'. Derived from *trevē* (CAMARDA I 106). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 436 (from Slav *\*terba* 'need, necessity'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 194 (follows CAMARDA).

**trikē** f, pl. *trika* 'twig, branch'. From PALb *\*treikā*, a derivative of *tre*. For the semantic development cf. E *twig*, Slav *\*dviǵь* 'branch' < *\*dviǵho-* based on *\*dviō* 'two'. ◊ JOKL *Slavia* XIII 289 (to *trim*); TRUBAČEV *Ėtimologija* 1964 4-6; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114 (from *\*trk-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 389-390.

**trim** m, pl. *trima* 'hero', adj. 'brave, courageous'. From PALb *\*trima* related to IE *\*tymo-*, cf. Arm *t'arm* 'young, fresh, green' and other continuants of IE *\*ter-* 'weak, young'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 437 (to Gk τέρην 'soft, delicate'), *Alb. St.* III 24, 64; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 289; AČAREAN *HAB* II 161; MANN *Language* XXVI 388; POKORNY I 1070-1071; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* III 41; OREL *Koll. Idg. 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. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 195). ◊ JOKL *Slavia* XIII 290 (< *\*trim-kē*, derived from *trim*).

**trirě** ~ **trině** f, pl. *trina* ~ *trira* 'harrow'. Borrowed from Rom *\*trīna* 'bundle, lace' > Ital *trina* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 195). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 437 (from Ital *trina*); RESTELLI *RIL* LXXXIX - XC 422 (to Gk τείρω 'to rub'), XCII 609 (to *tjerr*); JANSON *Unt.* 59-60.

**trisk** m, pl. *trisque* 'shoot (of vine)'. Etymologically close to *triskē*.

**triskě** f, pl. *triska* 'piece of wood, shavings'. Borrowed from Slav *\*trěska* 'chip' otherwise unattested in South Slavic. The substitution of Slav *-ě-* > Alb *-i-* may reflect an early loanword.

**trishe** f, pl. *trishe* 'shooting, sprout'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*trěsъ* 'grape, stalk', cf. SCr *trs* (PEDERSEN *RomJb* IX I 217). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 437, 526 (to SCr *trs* 'grape, vine'), *Alb. St.* III 24, 61; SCHEFTELOWITZ *KZ* LVI 166 (to Gk θρινία· ἄμπελος ἐν Κρήτη, Hes.); PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* IX 217 (borrowed from Slav *\*trěsib* 'cane'); GEORGIEV *Kr.-myk.* I 69 (to Gk θύρσος 'thyrusus'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 195-196 (to Gk τρέχνος 'shooting, twig'), IV 219; DEMIRAJ *AE* 389-390 (to *tre*).

**trishtoj** aor. *trishtova* 'to make sorry'. Derived from *\*trishtě* borrowed from Lat *tristis* 'sad' (MEYER *Wb.* 437). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 154.

**troç** adv. 'straightforwardly'. Based on Gk τρόπος 'direction' with an adverbial suffix -ç.

**troftě** f, pl. *trofta* 'trout'. Borrowed from Lat *tructa* id. (STIER *KZ* XI 136; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68; MEYER *Wb.* 437 with doubts). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1054; ERNOUT-MEILLET 704; MIHĂESCU *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 *trohě* 'crumb', borrowed from Slav *\*troxa* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *troxa*, SCr *troha* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 437).

**troke** f, pl. *troke* 'kind of cow-bell'. From PALb *\*trākā* etymological-

ly related to Skt *tarkú-* 'spindle', Tokh A *tark-* 'earring' and the like. See *tjerr*. ◊ MAYRHOFER I 485; VAN WINDEKENS I 492; POKORNY I 1077.

**trokoj** aor. *trokova* 'to make dirty; to destroy'. In both meanings, derived from *trokē* 'earth', a variant of *tokē*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 438-439 (to Ital dial. *truché* 'to push', *struccare* 'to press, to squeeze out').

**trondit** aor. *trondita* 'to swing'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*trōtiti* 'to push', cf. Czech *trůtiti*, Pol *trącić* (MEYER *Wb.* 438). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 291; SVANE 242.

**troshis** aor. *troshita* 'to crumble, to break'. Borrowed from Slav *\*trošiti* id. (cf. Bulg *troša*, SCr *trošiti*), see *trohē* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 437). ◊ SVANE 94, 243.

**tru** ~ **trū** m, pl. *tru* ~ *trū* 'brain'. Continues PAIb *\*taruna* identical with Skt *táruṇa-* 'young, tender', Av *tauruna-* 'young', cf. also Gk *τέρην* 'tender', *τέρον* ἄσθενές, λεπτόν (Hes.) and the like. ◊ BARIĆ *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 *trādere* 'to pass, to give, to transfer' (HAARMANN 154). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 369 (connected with *ruaj*); MANN *Language* XXVI 382 (to Skt *trāyāti*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 266.

**trūall** ~ **truell** m, pl. *troje* 'foundation, plot of land, site'. Borrowed from Lat *trībulum* 'thresher, \*threshing-floor'. The semantic development is similar to that of *tokē*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 438 (from Rom *\*terriola*); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 137 (from Lat *terra* 'earth' with an Albanian suffix); ÇABEJ *St.* II 196-197 (related to *terē*).

**trubull** adj. 'turbid, troubled (water)'. Borrowed from Romance *\*turbulus* id.: Rum *turbure*, Ital Sicil *trúbbulu*, Fr *trouble* and the like. Cf. *trubulloj*. ◊ PUŞCARIU *EWB* 166.

**trubulloj** aor. *trubullova* 'to stir, to trouble (water)'. Borrowed from Rom *\*turbulāre* id.: Rum *turbura*, Fr *troubler* and the like. ◊ MEYER-

LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 155.

**truç** m 'crowd'. Derived from *truc* (cf. *trys*), for the semantics cf. ON *þrong* 'crowd' ~ *þrongr* 'narrow', *þryngva* 'to press'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 438 (to *trokoj*); BUCK *Synonyms* 929-930.

**trumbë** f, pl. *trumba* 'water-pump; trumpet'. Another variant is *trumë*. Borrowed from Rom *\*trumba* ~ *\*trumpa* 'trumpet, (water) pipe': Ital *tromba*, OFr *trompe*, Prov *trompa* and the like. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68 (from Ital *tromba*); MEYER *Wb.* 438 (follows MIKLOSICH).

**trumë** f, pl. *truma* 'crowd, group'. Metathesis of *turmë* under the influence of *truç*.

**trumzë** f, pl. *trumza* 'thyme'. Suffixal derivative of *\*trumë* < *\*turmë* borrowed from Gk *θύμβρα* 'savory' (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* II 197).

**trung** m, pl. *trungje* 'trunk'. Borrowed from Lat *truncus* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68; MEYER *Wb.* 438). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 155; LANDI *Lat.* 102, 137-138.

**trup** m, pl. *trupa* 'corpse'. Borrowed from Slav *\*trupъ* id., cf. South Slavic reflections: Bulg *trup*, SCr *trup* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 438-439). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24; JOKL *LKUBA* 89; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 153, 195; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 271, *Stratificazione* 84; SVANE 178.

**trushkyej** aor. *trushkeva* 'to rob (a church)'. From Rom *\*trumpiscāre* 'to cheat', cf. *\*trumpāre* id. > Fr *tromper*. Further connection is Lat *trumphāre* 'to triumph'.

**tryelë** f, pl. *tryela* 'bore, drill'. Other variants are *turjelë*, *trujelë*. Borrowed from Rom *\*terebellum* id.: Ital *trivello*, Prov *taravela*, Port *travoela* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 452). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68 (from Ital *trivella*); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 260 (from Ital *trivello*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 202; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 50.

tryezë f, pl. *tryeza* 'table'. Borrowed from dialectal (North Italian) Romance \**trabeza* < Gk τράπεζα id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 117-118; prefers to identify *tryezë* with Gk θρόνος 'seat, chair'). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 434 (from NGk τράπεζα 'table'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 271.

trys aor. *trysa* 'to press, to compress, to squeeze'. Parallel forms are *trus*, *truc*. From PALb \**trūtja*, a formation in \*-*tja* based on IE \**treu-* ~ \**trū-*: Gk τρώω 'to wear out, to exhaust', Lith *trūniù*, *trūnėti* 'to rot, to go foul'. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to Lat *trūdō*); FRISK II 938; FRAENKEL 1132; POKORNY I 1026-1027; OREL *IF* XLIII 116-117 (to *tjerr*; PALb \**trūtja* reflects IE part. \**trūto-*).

trystë f 'gathering'. Derived from *trys*. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 124 (to *tryezë*).

tufë f, pl. *tufa* 'bunch of flowers, bundle'. Borrowed from Lat *tūfa* 'plume (on the helm)' (MEYER *Wb.* 439), Rom \**tūfa* 'bush, bunch': Rum *tufă*, Span *tufó* and the like. The same word is also used metaphorically to denote a 'crowd', probably, not without influence of *turmë*. ◊ CAMARDA II 61 (to Gk τύπτω 'to beat, to strike'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68 (from Ital *tuffo*); PUŞCARIU *EWR* 165; JOKL *Balkangerm.* 110-111 (from Gmc \**þuba-*); LOEWE *KZ* XXXIX 272-274 (from Gmc \**þūfa*); TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 309; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 155.

tufk m 'pollen'. Derived from *tufë*.

tul m, pl. *tule*, *tula* 'meat, flesh, pulp'. From PALb \**tula* etymologically connected with Gk τύλη 'swelling', Slav \**tylъ* 'back side' (CAMARDA I 131; MEYER *Wb.* 451, *Alb. St.* III 23, 80). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 535, 543; SPITZER *MRIW* I 332; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 272, *Stratificazione* 98; VASMER IV 131; FRISK II 942; POKORNY I 1081; ÇABEJ *St.* II 197-198; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 390-391.

tumbë f, pl. *tumba* 'rock edge; pl. tombs'. Another variant is *tume* 'top of the rock'. Borrowed from Lat *tumba* 'tomb' (MEYER *Wb.* 452). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 155.

tumbë f, pl. *tumba* 'bunch, brush'. An analogical transformation of *tufë*.

tumullac m, pl. *tumullaca* 'bubble, bladder'. Derived from \**tumull* borrowed from from Lat *tumulus* 'hill, heap'.

tun m, pl. *tunj* 'back, rear'. Borrowed from Slav \**tunъ* 'false, vain, futile', in South Slavic attested in Bulg *tun* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 19). Note *tunë* 'butt' belonging to this group. ◊ 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 *tundō* 'to push' (CAMARDA I 74). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 452; JOKL *Studien* 91 (to Skt *tamsáyati* 'to draw to and fro'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 37; MAYRHOFER I 511; WALDE-HOFMANN II 716-717; POKORNY I 1033-1034; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 232.

turbë f 'turf'. Borrowed from Rom \**turba*: Fr *tourbe*, Ital *torba* (from French).

turfulloj aor. *turfullova* 'to snort'. Borrowed from an unattested Rom \**trānsflāre* or \**trānsinflāre* 'to blow through'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 452 (from Ital *tronfio* 'swollen').

turi ~ turî pl. *turinj* 'trunk, muzzle'. Borrowed from Rom \**utrînum* derived from Lat *uter* 'hose' (MEYER *Wb.* 452). ◊ ÇABEJ *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).

turmë f, pl. *turma* 'crowd, herd'. Borrowed from Lat *turma* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68; MEYER *Wb.* 453). ◊ CAMARDA I 99 (to Ital *torma* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1039, 1046; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 260; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 155.

turp m 'shame'. Borrowed from Lat *turpe* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; CAMARDA I 143; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68; MEYER *Wb.* 453). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; MANN *Language* XVII 14 (related to Lat *turpis*, Goth *þaurban*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 155; LANDI *Lat.* 84.

turshej aor. *tursheva* 'to break, to destroy'. Borrowed from Rom \**trūsāre* 'to push, to stir': Prov *truzar*, Engad *trūscher* 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 *Wb.* 453). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1046, 1049; MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 155; LANDI *Lat.* 84, 144-146.

**turrem** refl. 'to rush, to run'. Continues PALb *\*tura* etymologically connected with Skt *tūrtá-* 'quick, fast', OHG *dweran* 'to turn fast', ON *þyrja* 'to run' (MANN *Language* XXVIII 37). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 453 (to or from Slav *\*turiti* 'to drive away, to chase'); MAYRHOFER I 514; POKORNY I 1100; MURATI *Probleme* 134.

**turrë** f, pl. *turra* 'haystack, pile of logs, tower'. Borrowed from Lat *turrem* 'tower' (WEIGAND 91; ÇABEJ *St.* II 198). ◊ MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (to W *twr* 'pile').

**tus** aor. *tuta* 'to frighten'. Continues PALb *\*tutja* based on a deverbative adjective in *\*-to-* and related to ON *þeya* 'to melt', OHG *douwen* id. with 'being silent' as an intermediary stage of semantic development. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 453 (from Turk *tutmak* 'to seize'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to Gk ἀτῦζομαι); TRUBAČEV *PIEJa* 100-105 (on the development of meaning); ÇABEJ *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 PALb adverbial *\*tu* preserved in *këtu* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 199) and related to IE demonstrative *\*to-* (CAMARDA I 317; MEYER *Wb.* 425). The other component goes back to PALb *\*te* of uncertain origin.

**tuturis** aor. *tuturita* 'to sing (of swallows)'. An onomatopoeia (MEYER *Wb.* 453).

**tym** m 'smoke'. Hardly a loanword from Gk θυμός 'soul, spirit' as far as the latter is unknown in any meaning close to 'smoke'. Rather, continues PALb *\*ātuma* connected with Gmc *\*ēdumaz* 'breath' and further related to Skt *ātmán-* 'blow, breath, soul'. The inlaut *-y-* in the Albanian word may be secondary. ◊ CAMARDA I 53 (related to Gk θυμός); MEYER *Wb.* 93 (secondary formation based on *tymos* 'to smoke' < CS *timijasati* 'to burn incense' < Gk θυμιάμα 'incense'); KRISTOFORIDHI 363 (to IE *\*dhūmos*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 272; OREL *Balcanica*

110-111 (from a substratum continuation of IE *\*dhūmos*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, 254; HULD 117.

**typth** m, pl. *typtha* 'little hammer'. Diminutive of *\*typ* < PALb *\*tūpa* related to Skt *tupāti, tūmpati* 'to harm, to hurt', Gk τῦπτω 'to strike with a weapon'. ◊ FRISK II 945-946; MAYRHOFER I 512-513; POKORNY I 1034.

**tytë** f, pl. *tyta* 'pipe, tube, barrel', adj. 'empty, unnecessary, futile'. From PALb *\*tūtā*, probably related to IE *\*teuā-* 'to swell'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 77 (explains *tytë* 'trunk' from *\*dytë*, borrowed from Rom *\*ductus*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to Lith *tùščias*); POKORNY I 1080-1085; OREL *Balcanica* 112-113 (to a substratum continuation of IE *\*dhū-* derived from *\*dhū-* 'to blow').

## Th

**thadër** f 'kind of a double-sided axe'. Continues PALb *\*tsestrā* identical with Skt *śastrā-* 'knife, sword'. The auslaut *-dër* may be considered to be a regular result of the non-initial *\*-str-*. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 157-159 (to IE *\*kes-dhro-*, to *\*kes-* 'to cut'); BARIÇ *Hymje* 10; MAYRHOFER III 319; POKORNY I 586; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 62 (from *\*kontro-*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 199 (< *\*thardë*, postverbal derivative of *\*thar*, cf. *ther*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 391-392 (to Skt *śitā-* 'sharp').

**thaj** aor. *thava* 'to dry'. From PALb *\*sausnja*, a derivative of IE *\*sauso-* 'dry': Gk αῦος, MHG *sōr*, Lith *sausas*, Slav *\*suxъ* (MEYER *Wb.* 88, *Alb. St.* III 43, 92). Note the dissimilation of sibilants leading to *\*s-* > *th-*. The adjective *thatë* 'dry' is a deverbative derived from an unattested PALb *\*sausa*. ◊ CAMARDA I 76 (to Gk δασύς '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 *LP* II 233; FRISK I 188-189; FRAENKEL 766; VASMER III 813; MANN *Language* XXVI 381, *Hist. Gr.* 184 (to Gk καυτός 'burnt, red-hot', inconvincing semantically and inaccurate phonetically); ÇABEJ *St.* II 199-200 (reconstructs *\*sauknjō* and compares *thaj* with σαυκόν· ξηρόν, Hes.); HULD 117-118; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279; DEMIRAJ *AE* 392.

thanĕ f, pl. *thana*, *thanĕ* 'cornel'. Participle of *thaj* (MEYER *Wb.* 88 with an alternative comparison with Lat *cornus* id.). ◊ CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk θάμνος 'bush, shrub'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332 (to OIr *congan* 'horn'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 9-10 (from \**korzgo-*, cf. Skt *śynga-* 'peak', Gk κραγγών 'small crustacean'); JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 277 (to Lith *šaiūnas* 'quick, strong'); FRIEDRICH *Trees* 118 (borrowed from Greek or Thraco-Phrygian); ÇABEJ *St.* II 200-201 (follows PEDERSEN); HULD *KZ* XCV 306-307 (from \**sosdh-nā*, cf. Lat *sorbum* 'service-berry' < \**sosdhom*); JANSON *Unt.* 92-94; DEMIRAJ *AE* 393 (from Gk θάμνος).

**thar** aor. *thara* 'to add ferment to milk'. Historically identical with *ther*. For the semantic development cf. Lith *karūš* 'bitter' - *kiřsti* 'to cut, to hew', Goth *bairis* 'bitter' - *beitan* 'to bite', Latv *skābs* 'sour' - Lith *skabėti* 'to cut, to hew'. ◊ BUCK *Synonyms* 1033-1035; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 225, 239.

**thark** m, pl. *tharq*, *tharqe* 'enclosure (especially, for milking)'. Continues PAIb \**tserka*, a derivative of *thur* < \**tsurja*. Borrowed to Rum *țarc*. ◊ CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk έρκος 'fence, enclosure'); MEYER *Alb. St.* III 39 (from IE \**k̑urkos*); PETERSSON *Heter.* 134 (same as MEYER); CAPIDAN *DR* II 552 (Rum *țarc* from Albanian); PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom.* II 691 (Rum *țarc* from Lat *circus*); DENSUȘIANU *GS* I 245-248 (from Iranian); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114 (suffix -*k*); REICHENKRON *Dakische* 165 (Rum *țarc* < Dacian < IE \**serk-*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 351; KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 200-203; ROSETTI *ILR* I 282; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 199, 204.

**tharm** m̄ 'sour dough, yogurt ferment'. Derived from *thar*. ◊ JOKL *WuS* XII 90 (to Lith *šarmas* 'lye'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 202.

**thartĕ** adj. 'sour'. Another form is *tharbĕt* from where *thartĕ* seems to have been derived phonetically. Rum *sarbād* 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 \**tharbĕ*, derived from *thar*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 88, *Alb. St.* III 13, 72, 87, V 75 (to Lith *šarmas* 'lye' and its cognates); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332 (to Lat *acerbus* id.); JOKL *WuS* XII 90 (to *tharm*); RESTELLI *RIL* XCI 538-539 (to IE \**sūro-* 'sour'); PUȘCARIU *EW* 136 (together with Rum *sarbād* - from Rom \**exalbidus*); MANN *Language* XVII 18 (*tharbĕt* related to Lat *acerbus*); PISANI *Saggi* 122; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II

347; ROSETTI *ILR* I 281; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 120 (suffix -*bĕ* in *tharbĕ*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 201-202 (derived from *ther*).

**thashĕm** adv. 'on an empty stomach'. An adverbial form based on *thaj*.

**thatĕ** adj. 'dry'. Derivative of *thaj* (JOKL *LKUBA* 278). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

**theç** adj. 'fragile'. Derived from *thyej*.

**thek** aor. *theka* 'to roast, to toast (bread)'. Continues PAIb \**tsaka* from IE \**k̑ak-* attested also in Greek, both in zero and full grades: κέγει·πεινῶ, καγκομένης·ξηρῶς τῶ φόβῳ (Hes.), πολυκαγκής 'burning strongly' (Hom.) and the like. Other parallels implying the initial \**k-* (Skt *kāṅkṣati* 'to wish, to desire') are semantically too farfetched and should be ignored despite POKORNY I 565. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 88 (from Ital *seccare* 'to dry'), 440 (from Ital *secco* 'dry'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1053 (from Lat *siccāre* 'to dry'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 13 (to *thēngjill* and, further, to Skt *śocati* 'to shine, to glow'); MAYRHOFER I 194; FRISK I 750-751; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20 (from Latin); ÇABEJ *St.* II 202-203 (to *thaj*).

**thekĕ** f, pl. *thekĕ* 'fringe'. From PAIb \**tsakā* etymologically close to Skt *śākhā* 'branch', Lith *šakà* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 88). ◊ PEDERSEN *IF* V 48 (follows MEYER), *KZ* XXXVI 332, *Kelt. Gr.* I 126; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 14 (same); LA PIANA *Studi* I 33 (against the comparison with *śākhā*); FRAENKEL 957-958; MAYRHOFER III 321-322; POKORNY I 523; ÇABEJ *LP* VII 191, VIII 90, *St.* II 203-204 (to *thek*); OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282, *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 393-394.

**thekĕr** ~ **thekĕn** f, pl. *thekĕra* ~ *thekĕna* 'rye'. Singularized plural of *thekĕ* (CAMARDA I 177-178) ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 88 (from Lat *secāle* id. with a shift of stress); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1053; PEDERSEN *IF* V 82 (agrees with MEYER); BARIĆ *ARSt.* 13-15 (to *thikĕ*); JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* II 204 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 248 (agrees with MEYER); SPITZER *MRIW* I 315 (same).

**thel** m, pl. *thela* 'big nail'. Continues PAIb \**tsala* related to Skt *śalā-*

'stick, cane', OIr *cail* 'spear', ON *hali* 'point of a pole'. ◇ POKORNY I 552-553.

**thelb** m, pl. *thelpinj*, *thalba*, *thelbna* 'kernel (of a nut)'. From PALb *\*tsalba*, a derivative of IE *\*kel-* 'to cover' from which various words for 'shell' are derived, cf. OHG *hulsa*, OE *hulu*. ◇ CAMARDA I 199; MEYER *Wb.* 89 (to Friul *sepe* id.); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 30 (to *bër-thamë*); JOKL *LKUBA* 192; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 1; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 177; PISANI *Saggi* 119; ÇABEJ *St.* II 204 (from IE *\*sphel-* 'to split'); POKORNY I 553-554.

**thellë** adj. 'deep; dark (of color)'. From PALb *\*tsawila* related to Gk κοῦλος 'hollow' < \*κόφιλος (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332). ◇ CAMARDA I 64; MEYER *Wb.* 88 (to Skt *sūnyá-* 'empty'), *Alb. St.* III 13, 90; LA PIANA *Studi* I 71 n. 1 (to Gk θέλυμα 'foundation'); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 311, *RIEB* I 48; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 83; FRISK I 891-892; CHANTRAINE 552; PORZIG *Gliederung* 177; PISANI *Saggi* 119 (follows PEDERSEN); ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 115; ÇABEJ *St.* II 204-206 (*thellë* < dialectal *fellë*, to IE *\*sphel-* 'to split'); HÜLD 118, *KZ* XCII 297-299 (reconstructs *\*kouHlo-*); KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 39; DEMIRAJ *AE* 394-395.

**thembër** f, pl. *thembra* 'heel'. Continues PALb *\*tsambrā*, a derivative of IE *\*(s)kamb-* 'to bend': Gk σκαμβός 'bent, crooked', OIr *camm* id. ◇ CAMARDA I 62 (to Gk θέναρ 'palm'); MEYER *Wb.* 89, *Alb. St.* IV 120 (from Lat *femur* 'thigh'); FRISK II 716-717; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1053; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 298; POKORNY I 918 (reconstructs IE *\*(s)k-*); HAARMANN 126; RUSAKOV *RB* 138; ÇABEJ *St.* II 206-207 (the original meaning is 'bending').

**thep** m, pl. *thepa* 'peak, point, cog, tooth'. From PALb *\*tsaipa* etymologically identical with Skt *sépa-* 'tail, penis', Lat *cippus* 'pole' (JOKL *Studien* 20, 117). Borrowed to Rum *ţeapă*. ◇ LIDÉN *XXXIX/2* 52-54 (to Arm *sep* 'point, peak'); MAYRHOFER III 374-375; WALDE-HOFMANN I 219-200; POKORNY I 543; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 79; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 352; ROSETTI *ILR* I 282; HAMP *SCL* XXXII 428; ÇABEJ *St.* II 207-208; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 395-396.

**ther** aor. *thera* 'to slaughter, to pierce'. From PALb *\*tsera* related to Skt *śṛṇāti* 'to smash, to crush', Gk κήρ 'death', OIr *do-cer* '(he) fell' (MEYER *Wb.* 89). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332; JOKL *LKUBA* 217-218, *ZONF* X 187; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 80-81 (to Lat *feriō* 'to strike'); TAGLIA-

VINI *Dalmazia* 115; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to *therrë* = *ferrë* and Lith *šerti* 'to eat, to graze'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 41; MAYRHOFER III 371-372; FRISK I 842-843; VENDRYES [C] 237-238; POKORNY I 578; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 111; ÇABEJ *St.* II 208-210 (to IE *\*kërs-* 'bristle'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 396-397.

**therokë** f 'Passerina hirsuta; sweepings'. Derived from *ther* (MEYER *Wb.* 89). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* V 75 (identical with *throkë* 'dung' from Gk φρόκαλον 'rubbish'); MANN *HAED* 534 (to *thërrime*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 210 (follows MEYER *Wb.*).

**therpelë** f 'kind of thorny plant, woody nightshade, sim'. Compound of *ther* and *pelë*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 210-211 (derived from *ther*).

**thes** m, pl. *thasë* 'sack'. Continues PALb *\*tsatja* related to Gk κοτύλη 'hole, empty vessel', Lat *cañnus* 'bowl' and, probably, to Av *kata-* 'chamber, room', Goth *heþjo* id. ◇ SCHMIDT *KZ* L 238-240 (from Gk σάκκος id.); LA PIANA *Studi* I 30, 32 (connected with Gk σάκκος); FEIST *Goth.* 254-255; WALDE-HOFMANN I 182; FRISK I 933-934; BARTHOLOMAE 432; POKORNY I 586-587; HAMP *IF* LXVI 25 (from *\*kouti-*, cf. Gk κύτος 'hollow', Lat *cutis* 'skin'), *Orbis* XXIII/1 128-129; ÇABEJ *St.* II 211 (together with σάκκος, borrowed from Semitic).

**thëllëzë** f, pl. *thëllëza* 'partridge'. Derived from *thellë* as a color adjective (STIER *KZ* XI 110; CAMARDA II 30). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 89, *Alb. St.* IV 95 (from Rom *\*fulingia* based on Lat *fulica* 'coot'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 535 (< *\*fëllëng-zë* borrowed from Rom *\*fullinga*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 10-12 (from *\*kelontī* 'jumper'); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 240-241 (follows STIER); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 81 (< IE *\*kelontī* = Skt *śālūra-*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 86; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 142; LA PIANA *Studi* I 72; SCHWENTNER *KZ* XLVII 255 (to *thëllim* in view of Gk πέρδιξ 'partridge' - πέρδομαι 'pedere'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 211-212.

**thëllim** m, pl. *thëllime* 'cold wind, tempest, storm, dry frost'. Derived from *thellë*, probably, in its function of a color adjective, with a further semantic development from 'darkness' to 'cold' or 'storm' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 212-213 with typological parallels). ◇ CAMARDA I 57 (to Gk θλίμμα 'pressure', θλίβω 'to squeeze'); DOZON *Manuel* 92 (to Gk θύελλα 'storm'); DIEFENBACH I 55 (agrees with DOZON); KRISTOFORIDHI 127, 459, 470 (follows DOZON and compares *thëllim* with *fulloj*); BUGGE



BB XVIII 174 (from Lat *follière* 'to bag'); PETERSSON KZ XLVII 255 (to Lith *švilpti* 'to whistle'); BARIĆ ARSt. I 22 (to *fyell* and *fryj*).

thëngjill m, pl. *thëngjij* 'hot ashes'. Continues PALb *\*tsangila*, with a prefix *\*ts-*, further connected with Lith *anglis* id., OPrus *anglis* id., Slav *\*ogľs* id., Skt *āngāra-* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 328). ◊ CAMARDA I 64 (to Gk φέγγος 'light, shine'); MEYER Wb. 90 (from Lat *favilla* 'hot ashes'); PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 538 (against MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 105-106 (from Slav *\*ogľs* with a prothetic *\*v-* > Alb *f-*, *th-*); TREIMER *MRIW* I 375 (against JOKL); BARIĆ ARSt. I 12-13 (to *\*kenk-* 'to burn'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 298; TRAUTMANN *BSIWb.* 8; CÄNDREA 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 *anglis* and the like); HAMP *LB XIV/2* 13 (*th-* < *\*f-*), *BLing* 77-78; ÇABEJ St. II 214-215 (explains *thëngjill* as a singularized plural).

thënkukël f, pl. *thënkukla* 'dogberry'. Irregular transformation of *\*thënubël* continuing PAIb *\*tsunu-abōla-* 'dog's apple' identical with Dac κινούβοιλα 'plant *Brionia alba*' (Diosc. 4. 182) and Lith *šūnobiulas* 'dog's pumpkin'. ◊ TOMASCHEK *Thr.* I 34; DETSCHEW *Thr. Sprachreste* 362, 373; ÇABEJ St. VII 230.

thëri ~ thëni f, pl. *thëri* ~ *thëni* 'louse'. From PAIb *\*tsanidā* related to Gk κović 'nit', OHG *hniz* id. (MEYER Wb. 90, *Alb. St.* III 13, 37). ◊ PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 332, 339, *Kelt. Gr.* I 41; JOKL *Studien* 105, *Sprache IX* 123; BARIĆ ARSt. I 12; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 301 (reconstructs IE *\*kēnid-*), *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 *\*kōnid-*); POKORNY I 608; ÇABEJ St. II 215-216 (to *thind* 'sting, thorn'); HULD 118-119; JANSON *Uni.* 31-32; GRIEPENTROG *Wurzelnomina* 474-475; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 39; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 146; DEMIRAJ *AE* 397.

thërpehem refl. 'to become impregnated (of goats)'. Other forms are *thuprehem* and also *thuprue*, *thyprue* 'to impregnate'. Derived from *thupër* as many other verbs for 'futuere' based on the word for

'stick'. ◊ BARIĆ ARSt. I 104 (to *cap*); ÇABEJ St. II 218-219 (from *\*përthehet* based on *\*përth = përc̣*).

thërras aor. *thërrita*, *thirra* 'to call, to name'. Continues PALb *\*tsira*, with a secondary present in *\*-atja*. An old onomatopoeia. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 20-21 (to Lith *šárka* 'magpie', Slav *\*sorka* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 300 (follows JOKL); ÇABEJ St. II 216-217.

thërreckë f, pl. *thërrecka* 'kind of thistle'. Derived from *\*thërrec* based on *ther*.

thërrime f, pl. *thërrime* 'crumb'. Derived from *ther* (ÇABEJ St. II 217-218). The verb *thërrmoj* 'to break, to crumb' (borrowed to Rum *fārīma* id.) is derived from *thërrime*. ◊ CAMARDA I 52, 99 (to Gk θρύμμα 'bit, something broken off'); MEYER Wb. 90, *Alb. St.* IV 26 (*thërrmoj* from Rom *\*fragmināre*); PUŞCARIU *ZfromPh XXVII* 739, *EWR* 50 (together with Rum *fārīma*, from Rom *\*farrīmen*); GIUGLEA *DR III* 594-597 (starts from Rom *\*farrīma*); WEIGAND *BA III* 214; REICHENKRON *ZfBalk III* 166 (reconstructs a Dacian source continuing IE *\*(s)per-*); ROSETTI *ILR I* 277.

thi m, pl. *thi* 'pig'. From PAIb *\*sū(s)* (with dissimilation of sibilants) etymologically related to IE *\*sūs* id.: Av *hū*, Gk ἕς, Lat *sūs*, OHG *sū* (STIER KZ XI 214; CAMARDA I 77; MEYER Wb. 90, *Alb. St.* III 43-44, 63). ◊ PEDERSEN *IF V* 82, KZ XXXVI 282; JOKL *Studien* 77; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 298, *Stratificazione* 143; BARIĆ *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; ÇABEJ St. II 219-220; OREL *Sprache XXXI* 279; KORTLANDT *SSGL X* 220; HULD 119; DEMIRAJ *AE* 397-398.

thikë f, pl. *thika*, *thikë* 'knife'. From PAIb *\*tsikā*, derived from IE *\*kēi-* 'to sharpen': Skt *śísāti* 'to whet, to sharpen', Arm *sur* 'sharp; knife' and the like. ◊ CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk θήγω 'to whet'), 117 (to Lat *sica* 'knife'); MEYER Wb. 90, *Alb. St.* III 44 (from Lat *sica*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044, 1053; PEDERSEN *IF V* 82, KZ XXXIV 287 (follows MEYER); SPITZER *MRIW* I 293 (same); JOKL *IF XXXVI* 155 (same); BARIĆ ARSt. I 13-14 (to Skt *śikha* 'tuft of hair, fringe');

AČAREAN *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; ÇABEJ *St.* II 221-222 (follows BARIĆ and adduces *thekë* as another cognate).

**thimë** adj. 'grey'. Derived from *thij*, see *thinjë*.

**thimth** m, pl. *thimtha* 'sting, nipple'. A diminutive of *\*thim* related to *thind* (JOKL *LKUBA* 318-319). The meaning 'nipple' may be secondary, due to the influence of *thithë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 223-224).

**thind** m, pl. *thinda* 'beak, nipple'. Derived from the same verbal root as *thikë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 91 (from Lat *findere*); JOKL *LKUBA* 318-319 (to *ther*, *thyej*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 144; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 238; POKORNY I 920; ÇABEJ *St.* II 222-223 (to *thëri*, *thumb*); HAMP-*Münch. St. Spr.* XLIII 47-48 (< IE *\*kent-*).

**thinjë** f, pl. *thinja* 'grey hair'. Derived from *thij* 'to go grey' < PAIb *\*tsinja*, a denominative verb related to Skt *śyāva-* 'dark brown', Av *syāva-* 'black', Slav *\*sivъ* 'dark grey' and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 91, *Alb. St.* III 44 (from Slav *\*sinъ* 'dark blue'); WEIGAND 92; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 300 (agrees with MEYER); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 233-234 (to *finjë* and *hi*); MAYRHOFER III 384; BARTHOLOMAE 1631; VASMER III 617; POKORNY I 541; ÇABEJ *St.* II 225-226 (follows CIMOCHOWSKI in his comparison with *finjë*); MURATI *Probleme* 135.

**thipë** f 'bread crust'. Identical with *cipë* (KRISTOFORIDHI 129). ◊ JOKL *Balkangerm.* 127; ÇABEJ *St.* II 226.

**thirqe** f, pl. *thirqe* 'chick-pea'. Singularized plural of *\*thirk*, derivative in *\*-ka-* of *thjerrë* (CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* VIII 96). ◊ 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*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 226 (follows CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* VIII).

**thirr** m 'soot'. From PAIb *\*tsirwa* identical with Lith *šiřvas* 'grey' (CIMOCHOWSKI *ABS* III 42) and continuing the Indo-European root for dark color *\*ker-*. Cf. *surmë* and *thjermë*. ◊ FRAENKEL 989; POKORNY I 573-574; ÇABEJ *St.* II 226-227 (to Slav *\*sëra* 'sulphur').

**thirravajë** f 'complaint'. Lexicalization of *me thirrë vaj* 'to make a complaint, to complain' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 227).

**thith** m, pl. *thitha* 'joint-pin, sprig'. Another form is *thinx*. From *\*thind-th*, diminutive of *thind*.

**thiith** aor. *thitha* 'to suck'. Another form is *thëthij*. Continues PAIb *\*tsitsa*. An old "descriptive" stem (JOKL *Balkanogerm.* 127-128, *Slavia* XIII 325). Of the same origin is *thithë* 'nipple' < PAIb *\*tsitsä*. ◊ CAMARDA I 37, 77-78 (to Gk τίθημι 'to put'); MEYER *Wb.* 90, *Alb. St.* III 44, IV 31 (from SCr *sisä* 'nipple, bosom'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 290; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387 (*thithë* to Ir *cioch*, Slav *\*sisä*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 234; ÇABEJ *St.* II 227-228.

**thjermë** adj. 'grey'. From PAIb *\*tserma*, a full grade of the root found in zero grade in *surmë* and etymologically related to Lith *šiřmas* 'grey' (JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 153-155, *WuS* XII 89-90). ◊ CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 221 (follows JOKL); POKORNY I 574; ÇABEJ *St.* II 228-229 (derived from *thjerrë*); HULD 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 399.

**thjerrë** f, pl. *thjerra* 'lentil'. Continues PAIb *\*tserä*, a non-reduplicated parallel of Lat *cicer* 'pea', Arm *siseřn* id. < IE *\*ki-ker-* (BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 15, *AArbSt* II 81-83). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 91, *Alb. St.* IV 118 (from Rom *\*fäbärium*, to Lat *fäba* 'bean'); WEIGAND 19 (agrees with MEYER); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 81-83; JOKL *LKUBA* 179-181 (to Lith *šërti* 'to feed'); AČAREAN *HAB* IV 218; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (agrees with BARIĆ); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 254; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 1127; WALDE-HOFMANN I 212; POKORNY I 598; ÇABEJ *St.* II 220-221 (identical with *fier*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 398-399.

**thjeshtë** adj. 'simple, easy'. Another form is *fjeshtë*. Continues PAIb *\*tseksta*, a derivative in *\*ts-* based on *\*eksta* > *jashtë* with the basic meaning 'not outside' = 'easy to reach', for the semantic model cf. OIr *asse* < *\*ad-stajo-* 'standing by' = 'easily attainable' = 'easy', Fr *aise* 'ease' < Lat *adjacëns* 'lying near'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 91 (from Lat *festus* 'solemn, festive'); JOKL *Studien* 37-38, *LKUBA* 190, 214 (from IE *\*skäi-* 'to shine'); VENDRYES [A] 96; BUCK *Synonyms* 648-650; ÇABEJ *St.* II 224-225 (derived from *fill*).

**thjeshtër** m, pl. *thjeshtër* 'stepson'. In Sicilian dialects of Albanian one finds *fjeshtër*. Borrowed from Lat *filiaster* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1043, 1053) phonetically influenced by *thjeshtë* (LA PIANA *St. Varia* 51-52). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 91, *Alb. St.* V 75 (from Ital *figliastro* id., Venet *fiastro* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 48, 211 (same); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 126; ÇABEJ *St.* II 229.

**thkollët** adj. 'thin, meager'. A phonetic evolution of *tëholloj* 'to become thin' based on *hollë* (MANN *HAED* 539). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 229-230 (agrees with MANN).

**thnegël** f, pl. *thnegla* 'ant'. Other forms are *thënegullë*, *thënëjegëll*. Continues PALb *\*tsangulā*, with a prefix *\*ts-*, further connected with Lat *anguis* 'snake', Lith *angis* id., OHG *angar* 'kind of maggot', *engirine* 'larva', Lith *ankštiraĩ* 'maggot'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 89-90 (from Lat *formicula* id.); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 175; SCHUCHARDT *Revue basque* V 106-108 (to Basque *chiugurri*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 12 (compound of *thëri* ~ *thëni* and *\*goll-* 'thorn, sting'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 142; LA PIANA *Studi* I 79 (from *\*khthonai-g'ila* 'living on earth'); FRAENKEL 10; WALDE-HOFMANN I 48-49; POKORNY I 43-44; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 119 (suffix *-ël*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 214 (related to *thëri* ~ *thëni* as well as to *thind*).

**thom** aor. *thashë* 'to say'. From athematic PALb *\*tsānsmi* etymologically connected with Lat *cēnsēō* 'to assess, to value' and its cognates (MEYER *Wb.* 91, *Alb. St.* III 13, 63). ◊ CAMARDA I 46 (to Gk φημί '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. Wortb.* 37; HAMP *Anc. IE* 117 (3 sg. *thotë* derived from *\*kē-ti* since *\*kēns-ti* would be reflected as *\*thoshhtë*); ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 208; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 108-109, *Verbum* 151-152, *Koll. Idg. ges.* 230; HULD 119; DEMIRAJ *AE* 399-400.

**thonjëza** pl. 'quotes'. A recent derivative of *thua*.

**thopërc** pl. 'dwarfs (in folklore)'. Other variants are *thopç* and, rarely, *thopërk*. The latter is formed analogically on the basis of the alternation *-k* : *-q* (> ç). Because of the stress in *thopërc* it must be ana-

lyzed as a compound of *thua* and *përç* (for the meaning cf. *Tom Thumb* and Russian *mužičok-s-nogotok*). BUZUKU has a participle *thopërkuom* 'paralyticus', *thoprëkuom* 'hydropicus' which has nothing to do with *thopërk* and reflects a verb *\*thë-për-kōj* 'to undernourish', with two prefixes, based on *kōj*. ◊ JOKL *Balkangerm.* 123-125, *Vox Rom.* VI 227 (from Slavic, cf. SCr *coprati* 'to conjure'); MANN *HAED* 92; ÇABEJ *St.* II 230-231 (from Ital *zoppo* 'lame').

**thua** ~ **thue** m, pl. *thoj* ~ *thonj* '(finger) nail'. Goes back to PALb *\*atsāna* derived from IE *\*ak-* 'sharp' and, as far as its structure is concerned, similar with Gk ἄκαρος 'thorny fruit', ἄκαινα 'tip, point'. ◊ CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk ὄνοξ 'nail'); MEYER *Wb.* 92 (to Av *spāma-* 'saliva' misinterpreted as 'nail'), *Alb. St.* III 14, 16; LEWY *IF* XXXII 159 (compares *thua* with Lat *squāma* '(fish) scale'); JOKL *LKUBA* 26; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 10 (derivative of IE *\*ker-* 'horn'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 301, *Stratificazione* 98; FRISK I 49, 51; ÇABEJ *St.* II 231-232 (to Gk κεντέω 'to prick'); HULD 120 (to Gmc *\*xanduz* 'hand').

**thuk** m, pl. *thukë* 'mortar'. Derived from *thuk* 'to grind, to press', a verb of onomatopoeic origin. The adjective *thukët* 'robust' also belongs here. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 235.

**thumb** m, pl. *thumba* 'sting, thorn'. Derived from *thua*. PALb *\*tumba* was borrowed to Rum *ciump*. ◊ CAMARDA I 78 (to Gk θωμός 'heap'); MEYER *Wb.* 92 (to Skt *sāmba-* 'pole', Gk κόμβος 'roll, band'), *Alb. St.* III 14; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332-333 (to *fëndyell* and *thnegël*); JOKL *LKUBA* 217-218; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 144; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to Lith *šūmpis* 'ham, leg of pork'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 339; ROSETTI *ILR* I 275; ÇABEJ *St.* II 233 (agrees with PEDERSEN).

**thumbull** f, pl. *thumbulla* 'button'. Derived from *thumb*. Borrowed to Rum *šimbure* 'stone (of a fruit)'. ◊ ROSETTI *ILR* I 281; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

**thundër** f, pl. *thundra* 'hoof'. Derived from *thua*. ◊ CAMARDA I 81 (to Gk θέναρ 'palm of the hand').

**thupër** f, pl. *thupra* 'twig, rod'. As far as *th-* < *\*ts-* is impossible before *-u-*, it is a prefix (cf. *thëngjill*). The rest of the word continues PALb

\**upera* 'upper' etymologically related to OHG *obaro* id., Lat *super* id. and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 92 (to Hung dial. *supra* id.); POKORNY I 1106.

**thur** aor. *thura* 'to fence, to enclose, to plait, to weave'. From PAIb \**tsurja*, a zero grade form related to Arm *sarik* 'band, rope', Gk *καίρος* 'row of thrums in the loom'. ◊ CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk *θυρόω* 'to furnish with doors'); MEYER *Wb.* 92 (to Lat *crātis* 'wicker-work', Gk *κύρτη* 'fishing net'); AČAREAN *HAB* IV 188; FRISK I 756; POKORNY I 577-578; CLACKSON *LR* 140.

**thuthaq** adj. 'lisping'. Pronouncing *s* as *th* (MEYER *Wb.* 92).

**thyej** aor. *theva* 'to break'. Continues PAIb \**tsā(i)nja* derived from IE \**kēi-* 'to sharpen': Skt *śīśāti* 'to sharpen', Arm *sur* 'sharp; knife' and the like. See *thikë*. ◊ CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk *θύω* 'to rage, to seethe').

## U

**u** part. of passive. From PAIb \**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. ◊ CAMARDA I 217; MEYER *Wb.* 468, *Alb. St.* III 39; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 111, *LKUBA* 74; BARIĆ *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; ÇABEJ *St.* II 234-235; HULD 122; DEMIRAJ *AE* 400.

**ubël** f, pl. *ubla* 'well, shaft, hillside well'. The original meaning is 'hillside well'. With a secondary voicing of \*-*p-* continues PAIb \**upela*, a derivative of IE \**upo* 'under'. Morphologically particularly close to Goth *ubils* 'evil', originally 'exceeding due limits' < \**upelo-*. ◊ ONIONS 332; POKORNY I 1106-1107.

**udob** adv. 'easy, light'. Borrowed from Slav \**udobъ* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217; SVANE 272.

**udhë** f, pl. *udhë* 'way'. From PAIb \**wada*, an *o*-grade \**uodhā* based on \**uedh-* '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). ◊ CAMARDA I 50, 108 (comparison with Gk *ὁδός* 'road'); MEYER *BB* VIII 191 (compares with Slav \**ulica* 'street'), *Wb.* 455 (derives from IE \**ueǵh-*), *Alb. St.* III 18, 80; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 189 (borrowed from Gk *ὁδός*); JOKL *Studien* 92, *LKUBA* 128, 316 (cognate of Lat *vehō* 'to bear, to carry, to convey'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335; DERŽAVIN *Jazyk I literatura* I 190-191 (to *urë* and *ujë*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 274 (from IE \**ueǵh-* 'to move, to pull'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 60-61; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 231; TISCHLER II 318-319 (etymology of the Hittite word); HAMP *Laryngeals* 138 (to IE \**uedh-* 'to lead'); ÖLBERG *IBK* XVII 34-35; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 186; ÇABEJ *StF* IV/1 69, 83 (follows HAMP), *St.* II 237-238 (zero-grade formation of IE \**uedh-* 'to beat, to break'); HULD 120-121; OREL *LB* XXVIII/4 54-55 (close to Hitt *huda-* 'hurry', a zero-grade of IE \**uedh-*), *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 \**žętica* derived from \**žęti* 'to press, to squeeze' (KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 142-143). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 455 (to Carpathian *urda*); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 245-246; DURIDANOV *LB* XVII 51-62 (from \**urdhos* related to *urdhë*; phonetically difficult); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 363.

**ugar** m, pl. *ugarë* 'land unused for two years'. Borrowed from Slav \**ugarъ* 'fallow ground', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *ugar*, SCr *ugar* (MEYER *Wb.* 456). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 158; SVANE 36.

**ujë** f/n, pl. *ujëra ~ ujna* 'water'. From PAIb \**udrjā* (HAMP *St. Whatmough* 83, *Laryngeals* 138) derived from the Indo-European word for 'water' \**ued-* (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24; CAMARDA I 51, 75). For a similar formation cf. Gk *ὕδρις* 'water-bucket'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 456 (reconstructs \**udnjā* but there are no traces of *unjë* in the dialects), *Alb. St.* III 66; LA PIANA I 118 (derives *ujë* from \**ulë* < \**ud-l-o-*); SPITZER *MRIW* I 217; BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 86; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 273-274; PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 247, *KZ* XXXIII 285-286, XXXVI 339 (from \**uë* < \**udā* with *-j-* filling hiatus), *Kelt. Gr.* II 19; JOKL *WuS* XII 64; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 274; POKORNY 78-79; FRISK II 957-959; ÇABEJ

St. II 238-239 (follows PEDERSEN); HULD 121; DEMIRAJ AE 401-402 (from PAIb \*urjā, related to Skt *vār-* 'water').

**ujk** m, pl. *ujq, ujqēr ~ ujqēr* 'wolf'. The archaic form *ulk* is preserved in Chamian. Goes back to PAIb \*(w)ulka continuing IE \*ul<sup>k</sup>os id.: Skt *vṛka-*, Gk *λύκος*, Lat *lupus*, Goth *wulfs* and the like (STIER KZ XI 143; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 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) ◊ CAMARDA I 26 (metathesis of *λύκος*); 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; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 45 (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; HAMP *Laryngeals* 138; GINDIN *Form. SN* 61; ÇABEJ *St.* II 239-240, 242-244; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 124; HULD 121-122; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351; DEMIRAJ AE 403.

**ukrajĕ** f 'forest'. Borrowed from Slav \*ukrajĕ attested, in a different meaning, in SCr *ukraj* 'near', Russ *ukraj* (MEYER *Wb.* 456).

**ul** aor. *ula* 'to lower'. From PAIb \*wala related to Gk *εἴλω* 'to shut in, to press', Lith *valyti* 'to clean', *iš-valyti* 'to carry away' (CAMARDA I 54). Forms like *unj* reflect an earlier \*ulnj < \*walnja. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 457-458 (to the non-existent Slav \*xynqti); PEDERSEN *IF* V 64, *KZ* XXXIII 542 (separates *unj* from *ul*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 32 (agrees with PEDERSEN and compares *ul* with Slav \*xylz 'crooked, weak'); JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 39 (to *vang*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 274; FRAENKEL 1190; FRISK I 456-457; POKORNY I 1138; ÇABEJ *St.* II 240-242 (follows CAMARDA).

**ulĕrij ~ ulĕrĭ** aor. *ulĕrita* 'to shout, to howl'. Another form is *ulĕras*. Borrowed from Rom \*urulāre id. (cf. Rum *urla*, Sard *urulare* and the like) continuing Lat *ululāre* 'to howl, to yell' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 69; MEYER *Wb.* 457). ◊ PUŞCARIU *EWB* 171; ÇABEJ *St.* II 242 (onomatopoeia).

**ulishtĕ** f, pl. *ulishta* 'small tub'. Borrowed from Slav \*uliščĕ, deriva-

tive of \*ul<sup>bj</sup> 'hive; trough', cf. SCr *ulište* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 242 (derived from *ul*); SVANE 159.

**ulmej** aor. *ulmeva* 'to make wet'. Derived from an unattested \*ulm continuing PAIb \*ulg(a)ma related to OHG *welc* 'wet', Lith *vilgyti* 'to make wet', Latv *vaļgums* 'wetness', Slav \*vylgъkъ 'wet'. ◊ FRAENKEL 1251; VASMER I 337; POKORNY I 1145 (with mistakes in Lithuanian forms); ÇABEJ *St.* II 244 (identical with *lĕmehem* 'to apply rouge' and *mĕlmej* 'to add butter or oil to food').

**ulzĕ** f, pl. *ulza* 'kind of maple'. Derived from PAIb \*ulma continuing IE \*lmo- also reflected in Lat *ulmus* 'elm', cf. also ON *almr* id., OIr *lem* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 244). ◊ WALDE-HOFMANN II 811-812; POKORNY I 303.

**ullastĕr** f, pl. *ullastra* 'wild olive tree'. Borrowed from Ital *olivastro* 'olive' influenced by *ulli* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 244-245). The variant *ullastĕr* may well go back to Lat *oleaster* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 457). ◊ WEIGAND 95 (to *ulli*); JOKL *LKUBA* 210-211 (from Rom \*olivaster); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24, 31; HAARMANN 139; LANDI *Lat.* 87, 129, 136.

**ulli ~ ullĭ** m, pl. *ullinj* 'olive (tree)'. Borrowed from Lat *olivus* 'olive tree' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 245) or, less exactly, from *oliva* 'olive' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 457). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 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 \*umĕ from PAIb \*wamā further related to Skt *vāmiti* 'to vomit', Av *vam-* 'to spit', Gk *ἐμέω* 'to spit out', Lat *vomeō* 'to vomit' and the like. ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 275 (from an uncertain Slavic source); JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 16 (< \*ulmatjō related to Gk *ὄλαω* id.); WALDE-HOFMANN II 835; MAYRHOFER III 146; FRISK I 504-505; POKORNY I 1146; ÇABEJ *St.* II 246 (onomatopoeia).

(G) **umb** m 'plowshare'. Other forms are *um* and *hum*. Borrowed from the nominative of Lat *vōmis* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 457). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 23, 135-136; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 198; HAARMANN 158.

**unak** m, pl. *unakë* 'hearth stone'. Borrowed from Slav \**junakъ* '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.

**unazë** f, pl. *unaza* 'finger-ring, small iron ring'. Based on *unë* < PALb \**wandā* related to Arm *gind* 'ring', Goth *bi-windan* 'to unwreath' and the like (ÇABEJ *St.* II 246-247: reconstructs \**uendā*, IV 57). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 457 (based on the rare *una* borrowed from Rom \**virāna*, cf. Lat *viriae* 'armlets, bracelets'), *Alb. St.* IV 40; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 78, 102 (to Lat *unguis* 'nail', *ungulus* 'finger-ring'); FEIST *Goth.* 98; POKORNY I 1148.

**undyrë** f, pl. *undyrë* 'fat'. Another form is *yndyrë*. Borrowed from Lat *unctūra* 'ointment' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 69; MEYER *Wb.* 461). ◊ BARIĆ *AARbSt.* I 145; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo-ct-* 50-52; ÇABEJ *St.* II 313; HAARMANN 155; LANDI *Lat.* 69, 121.

**unë** pron. 'I'. A composite consisting of the personal pronoun *u* (attested as such in dialects) and particle *në* (cf. Gk *ναί, νή*). 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 \**eǵhom s̥e*. In other cases we find IE \**me-*, cf. acc. *mua* ~ *mue* < \**mēm* as in Skt *mām*, OPers *mām*, OPrus *mien* and Slav \**mę* (JOKL *IF* XLIX 274). ◊ BOPP 504-505 (to IE \**eǵhom* 'I'); CAMARDA I 215-216 (follows BOPP); MEYER *Wb.* 454 (*u* borrowed from Rom \**eo* < Lat *ego* 'I'), *Alb. St.* I 34; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 102 (*uth* < \**udh* identified with \**eǵō*), *Hymje* 17; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 275 (agrees with BARIĆ); quaj, MANN *Language* XXVI 385; PISANI *Saggi* 107, 167; HAMP *RRL* XXI 50 (notes a similar vocalism in Hitt *ugga* 'I'), *St. Whatmough* 78; ÇABEJ *St.* II 233-234 (agrees with LA PIANA); HULD 122; DEMIRAJ *AE* 400.

**unë** f 'piece of a broken pot'. Used once by BUZUKU. Continues PALb \**wantā* further related to Arm *vandem* 'to destroy', OHG *wund* 'wound', MW *gveint*, praet. '(I) pierced'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 455 (related to *ūth* 'wooden jug'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 111 (*ūth* related to IE \**ued-* 'water'); LEWIS-PEDERSEN 296; POKORNY I 1108; ÇABEJ *St.* II 247.

**ungroj** aor. *ungrova* 'to howl, to whine, to squeak (of animals)'. Borrowed, with a secondary inlaut *r*, from Lat *uncāre* 'to roar (of bears)'.  
 ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 457, *Alb. St.* IV 54-55).

**ungj** m, pl. *ungjër* 'uncle'. Borrowed from Lat *avunculus* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4; MEYER *Wb.* 457, *Alb. St.* IV 54-55). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1049; WEIGAND 96; JOKL *LKUBA* 15, 28; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 110; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189, 227; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *St.* II 247; LANDI *Lat.* 175.

**ungji** adv. 'completely'. Another form is *unji*. Univerbation of *u në gji* 'itself in its totality', cf. *u* and *gji*thë. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 64 (to *një*); OŠTIR *AARbSt.* II 296 (agrees with BARIĆ); ÇABEJ *St.* II 247-248 (from \**n gji* with *n* > *un*).

**ungjill** m, pl. *ungjij* 'gospel'. Borrowed from Lat *evangelium* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 457) or from Rom \**evangelum* > Ital *vangelo* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 248-249). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1049; WEIGAND 96; HAARMANN 124; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 141-142.

**unzë** f, pl. *unza* 'pen-point, pen'. Phonetic form of *hundësë*, derivative of *hundë* (MANN *HAED* 163). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 249.

(G) **unzë** f 'firebrand, smut'. The Tosk form is *urth*. Related to or derived from *uri* 'hunger'. ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 15 (to Lith *ugñs* 'fire').

**upeshk** m 'bishop'. Borrowed from Lat *episcopus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 458). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1045, 1048; JOKL *LKUBA* 22; HAARMANN 123; LANDI *Lat.* 57, 119, 139.

**upri** f 'group of peasants helping another peasant in his farm'. Based on an unattested \**upër* continuing PALb \**upera* and related to Av *uparō* 'upper', Gk ὕπερος 'pestle', OHG *obaro* 'upper'. ◊ JOKL *Vox Rom.* VI 221 (from \**vëpri*, to *vëpër*); FRISK II 966-967; POKORNY I 1106; ÇABEJ *St.* II 249 (borrowed from Slav \**upirati se* 'to lean').

**urdhë** f, pl *urdha* 'sort of white cheese'. There are also variants *urlë* and *hurdhë* with a secondary prothetic *h-*. The word reflects PALb \**wurdā*, from an earlier \**urdā* or \**uordā*, derived from IE \**uer-* 'to boil, to burn' (Arm *vare*m 'to kindle', Lith *virti* 'to cook, to boil', Slav \**variti* id.). Semantically, it is important for this etymology that *urdhë* is pro-

duced by *boiling* whey (OREL *SBJa Kont.* 211-212). From Albanian *urdhë* was borrowed to other Balkan and Carpathian languages, such as Rum *urdă* (KLEPIKOVA 142-144). ◊ MLADENOV 654 (derives *urdhë* and other Balkan cognates from Turk *vurmak* 'to beat, to strike'), *Slavia* V/1 56; MACHEK 670 (from Lat *būtyrum* 'butler'); PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom.* II 739-740 (to Gk οὐρός 'trench'); SIMEONOV *LB XV* 33-35 (to Ossetic *urs* 'white'); BARIĆ *Lingv. st.* 39 (from IE *\*srdhā*); DURIDANOV *LB XVII* 51-59 (from *\*skŕdo-*, cf. *hirrë* < *\*skŕno-*, 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 *Ist. limb. rom.* II 352; ROSETTI *ILR I* 282-283; RUSSU *Etnogeneza* 411-412; KLEPIKOVA *Ētimologija 1966* 62-81; HAMP *LB XXI* V/3 47-50 (from *\*skorHdā*); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 363.

*urdhër ~ urdhën* m, pl. *urdhëra ~ urdhna* 'order'. Borrowed from Lat *ōrdinem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 45; MEYER *Wb.* 458). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 276-277; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 24; HAARMANN 139.

(T) *urdhëratë* f, pl. *urdhërata* 'servant'. Derived from *urdhër, urdhëroj* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 250). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 458.

*urelë* f, pl. *urela* 'water-pit'. From PALb *\*urelā* related to ON *úr* 'drizzle', OPrus *wurs* 'pool', Gk ἄν-αυρος 'devoid of water' and the like. ◊ FRISK I 103-104; KRETSCHMER *Glotta X* 51-54; PERSSON *IF XXXV* 199; POKORNY I 80-81.

*urë* f, pl. *ura-* 'bridge'. From PALb *\*warā* related to Goth *warjan* 'to prevent, to defend', ON *vor* 'row of stones', *ver* 'dam', Osc *veru* 'door' and, further, to IE *\*uortom* 'gate' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 250-251). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 33; JOKL *Studien* 92-93 (to *udhë*), *LKUBA* 128, 316-317 (against BARIĆ); BARIĆ I 110-111 (to Gk γέφυρα 'bridge'); DERŽAVIN *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.

*urë* f, pl. *ura* 'burning log'. Continues PALb *\*warā* related to Arm *varem* 'to kindle (fire)', Hitt *uar-* 'to burn' and their cognates. ◊ 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 ~ ū* f 'hunger'. The Tosk form is derived from *\*ur*. From PALb *\*wana*, a nominal derivative of IE *\*uen-* 'to want, to desire', cf. Skt *vānati, vanati* id., Lat *venus* 'love' (MEYER *Wb.* 455, *Alb. St.* III 80). ◊ JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* II 235 (to Skt *ūnā-* '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; ÇABEJ *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 *vīverra* 'ferret', Lith *vaiveris* 'pole-cat', *vaiverė* 'squirrel' and the like. Another non-reduplicated form is represented in OHG *eihhurno* 'squirrel', OE *āc-weorna* id. ◊ STIER *KZ XI* No. 11 (to the second element of Gk ἰψόρυπος, Hes. 'mole'); CAMARDA I 295 (identical with *huri* 'mole', from *brej*); DIEFENBACH I 48 (to Gk ὀρύσσω 'to dig'); LAMBERTZ *KZ LIII* 304 (to Lat *sorex* 'shrew-mouse', Gk ὕραξ 'mouse, shrew-mouse'); JOKL *LKUBA* 310; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 143; FRAENKEL 1185; WALDE-HOFMANN II 808; POKORNY I 1166; ÇABEJ *St.* II 251-252 (to IE *\*uers-* 'top' or to Lith *ūrvas* 'hole, cavern'; *withe* 'astragalus' based on *urith*).

*uroj* aor. *urova* 'to wish luck, to congratulate, to adore (deity)'. Borrowed from Lat *orāre* 'to argue, to plead, to pray' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 45). ◊ SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 247 (from Lat *augurāre* 'to prophesy, to make auguries'); MEYER *Wb.* 459 (agrees with SCHUCHARDT); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049 (accepts both alternatives); JOKL *ZONF X* 190; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 276; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 27; ÇABEJ *St.* II 252-253; HAARMANN 139.

*urok* m 'aim, intention'. Borrowed from Slav *\*urokъ* 'condition, deal', cf. ORuss *urokъ* (MEYER *Wb.* 459). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197; SVANE 176.

*urtë* adj. 'quiet, intelligent'. Based on an unattested *\*ur* continuing PALb *\*wara* related to Lat *vērus* 'true', OIr *fír* id., OHG *wār* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 458 (to *unj*, see *ul*); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 551 (against MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 93 (compares *urtë* with OHG *wār* 'prudent', Gk ὀράω 'to see'), *LKUBA* 194, 228; TREIMER *MRIW I* 353-354 (to Lat *urged*

'to press, to push'); WALDE-HOFMANN II 768-769; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 7, 11; POKORNY I 1166; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184, 270.

**urtundë** f 'big vessel without handles'. Borrowed from Lat adj. fem. *rotunda* 'round, circular' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 253). The intermediate form must have been *\*rutundë*.

**urth** m 'ivy'. Derived from an unattested *\*ur* continuing PAIb *\*wara* related to Lith *veriù*, *vérti* 'to thread', *pa-varë* 'long row' and other reflections of IE *\*yer-* 'to bind'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 154 (identifies *urth* with *fruth*); BARIĆ I 29, 102 (to Lat *hedera* 'ivy'); WEIGAND *BA* II 274, 283-284 (to *urdhë*, *udhos*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 79; RIBEZZO *RivAlb* I 140 n.<sup>2</sup> 2 (to Dac *scardian* 'aristolochia, kind of plant'); MANN *Language* XVII 15 (to Skt *vṛj-* 'to twist'); POKORNY I 1150-1151; FRAENKEL 1229-1230; ÇABEJ *St.* II 253-255 (to IE *\*yer-* 'to turn').

**urrej** aor. *urreva*, *urrejta* 'to hate'. Borrowed from Lat *horrëre* 'to be afraid, to be astonished' (MEYER *Wb.* 459). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1048; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252; ÇABEJ *St.* II 255 (univerbation of *vë re* 'to pay attention').

**urrë** f 'sapwood, laburnum'. From PAIb *\*warnā* etymologically related to *verr* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 255-256). ◇ GURAKUQI *Illyria* I/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). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 75; HAARMANN 156.

**usht** m, pl. *ushta* 'ear (of grain)'. Historically identical with *ushtë* 'spear' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 256). Continues PAIb *\*ušta* close to OHG *ort* 'point', ON *oddr* id. and Lith *usnìs* 'thistle' (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 62, 80). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* I (to Slav *\*ostь* 'awn'), *Wb.* 459 (to Gk *ἀέξω* 'to increase, to foster', Goth *wahsjan* 'to grow, to increase'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 29-30; FRAENKEL 1172; POKORNY I 1172; ÇABEJ *LP* VIII 93, *St.* II 256-257; HAMP *ALH* XII 159; DEMIRAJ *AE* 404.

**ushtar** m, pl. *ushtarë* 'soldier'. Derived from *ushtë*, see *usht*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 459 (from Lat *hostis* 'enemy'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1049; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 277 (agrees with MEYER); HAARMANN 130 (*ushtri* 'army' from Lat *hoste*).

**ushtoj** aor. *ushtova* 'to sound, to shout'. Borrowed from Lat *ōscitāre* 'to shout, to open mouth, to yawn'. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 75 (to *uturij*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 257 (onomatopoeia).

**ushtoj** aor. *ushtova* 'to try, to probe'. Borrowed from Lat *ūsītārī* id.

**ushunjë** ~ **ushûj** f 'lard'. Borrowed from Lat *axungia* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 19-20 (from NGK *ὄξούγγι*, *ἄξούγγι* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1052, 1055; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 277; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *St.* II 257 (from Byz Gk *ὄξούγγι*).

**ushunjëz** f, pl. *ushunjëza* 'leech'. Another form is *shushunjë*. Borrowed from Rom *\*sanguisungia*, cf. Lat *sanguisuga* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 420).

**ut** m 'owl'. Another form is *hut*. Borrowed from Lat *ōtus* 'horned owl' (MEYER *Wb.* 460). ◇ HAARMANN 139.

**uturij** ~ **uturî** aor. *uturiva* 'to thunder'. Onomatopoeia.

**uthët** adj. 'sour'. An irregular phonetic variant of *athët*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 455-456 (to *\*us-* in Lith *usnìs* 'thistle'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 111-112

**uthull** f 'vinegar'. Derived from *\*uth* 'sour', see *uthët* (MEYER *Wb.* 455). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332 ("unclear"); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 111-112 (from IE *\*eues-dh-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 267; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 277; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 117 (suffix *-ull*).

**uzdajë** f, pl. *uzdajë* 'hope'. Borrowed from Slavic *\*u-sъ-daja*, cf. SCR *uzdaja* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 460). ◇ SVANE 224, 259.

## V

**va** m/f, pl. *va* 'ford'. Borrowing from Lat *vadum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 461). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* I 68 (related to Lat *vadum*); MEYER-LÜBKE *MRIW* I 28, *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 285-286; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 243 (Latin loanword); SPITZER *MRIW* I 332 (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 \**uadhom*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 257-258 (follows SPITZER); HULD 122-123 (loanword); DEMIRAJ *AE* 405.

vađě f, pl. *vada* 'water-pit, irrigation channel'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *vada* id., SCr *vada* id. (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12).

vađis aor. *vađita* 'to water, to irrigate'. Borrowed from Slav \**vađiti* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vađ'a* (MEYER *Wb.* 461). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 159; SVANE 39, 243.

vadhě ~ vodhě f, pl. *vadha* ~ *vodha* 'sorb-apple'. Borrowed from Gk οῤη id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 207-209, 325) with *-dh-* rendering the intervocalic Gk -ι- [j]. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 112 (to Lat *sorbus* id. < IE \**syordho-*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* II 258-259 (from Gk ὄα id.).

vagëlloj aor. *vagëllova* 'to be dim, to be weak (of eyes)'. Together with *vagulloj* 'to dawn, to be dim' and *vagët* 'faded, faint, dim' based on Lat *vagus* 'strolling about, rambling'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 4 (to *agoj*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 38 (to Gk ἀχλὺς 'mist'); ÇABEJ *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. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (connected with Lat *vae*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *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. ◊ CAMARDA I 39 (treats *vaj* ~ *voj* as a cognate of *oleum*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1046; JOKL *Studien* 116, *Slavia* XIII 641 (G *vojna* 'odors' borrowed from Slav \**von'a* 'odor'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 193, 305; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 286; HAARMANN 52; HULD 123; ÇABEJ *St.* II 299-300 (against JOKL); LANDI *Lat.* 61, 126, 141.

vajc adj. 'tearful'. Derived from *vaj*.

vajžě f, pl. *vajza* 'girl'. Other important variants are *varžě*, *vashě* < \**varshě* and *vajě* < \**varjě*. They are based on an unattested \**varě* continuing \**věharě* < PAIb \**swesarā*. The latter reflects the Indo-European word for 'sister': Skt *svásar-*, Arm *koyr*, Lat *soror* and the like (HAMP *SABBO* 109-110). ◊ TREIMER *MRIW* I 46 (to Skt *vardhati* 'to increase' and its cognates), *Slavia* II 455, *KZ* LXV 107-108; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 113-114 (to Gk παρθένος 'maiden', Lat *virgō* 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. Wortb.* 47; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 208; ÇABEJ *St.* II 261-263 (deminutive of *varrě*); FEKA *GjJ* IV/2, 88-89; DEMIRAJ *AE* 406-407 (to Lat *virgō* 'maiden').

vak ~ vok aor. *vaka* ~ *voka* 'to warm slightly, to make lukewarm'. Of uncertain origin. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 462 (from SCr *mlak* 'warm'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 112-113 (to ON *vókr* 'wet'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 286-287.

vak 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. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 263).

valanicě f, pl. *valanica* 'fulling-mill'. Borrowed from South Slavic \**val'anica* (KRISTOFORIDHI 14, 485; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 170). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 264.

valavit aor. *valavita* 'to swing, to sway'. Another form is *valëvit*. An expressive derivative of *valě*.

valě f, pl. *valě* 'wave'. From PAIb \**walā* etymologically connected with OHG *wella* id., Lith *vilnìs* id., Slav \**valna* id., \**valz* id. (MEYER *BB* VIII 191, *Wb.* 462, *Alb. St.* III 38 with the reconstruction of \**uoljā*). PAIb \**walā* seems to reflect a zero grade \**uoljā*. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36 (from Slav \**valz*); JOKL *LKUBA* 270, 325 (*valě* < \**ualnā*, \**uĭnā*), *Sprache* IX 22; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 543; BUGA II 375; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 286; MANN *Language* XVII 18 (to Lith *vilnìs* 'wave'), XXVIII 38; PISANI *Saggi* 126; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 48 (reconstructs \**uolnā*); FRAENKEL 1254; VASMER I 268, 339; POKORNY I 1141-1143;

CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 56; ÇABEJ *StF* IV/2 8, *St.* II 264-265; HULD 123-124; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 407-408.

**valët** adj. 'boiling hot'. Derived from *valë*. The verb *valoj*, *vloj* 'to boil' is of the same origin (MEYER *Wb.* 462, *Alb. St.* III 38). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 285.

**valikë** f 'time spent on the work in fields'. Derived from *val*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 264-265 (derived from *valë*).

**valle** f, pl. *valle* 'folk dance in a ring'. Borrowed from NGk βαλλιζω 'to dance a folk dance' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50; MEYER *NGr. St.* IV 15). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 462 (directly from Italian); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 278; ÇABEJ *St.* II 265-266 (to Lat *volvō* 'to roll').

**vallë** particle 'maybe (in questions)'. Continues PALb *\*walā* related to Goth *waita* id., OHG *wela*, *wola* continuing IE *\*uel-* 'to wish' (MEYER *Wb.* 462). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21 (to Skt *varā-* 'best'); JOKL *LKUBA* 209, 325; FEIST *Goth.* 543; POKORNY I 1137; ÇABEJ *St.* II 266.

**vallë ~ vollë** f, pl. *vallë ~ vollë* 'sorb-apple'. Borrowed from Rom *\*vola*, derivative of *volāre* 'to fly'. ◊ 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'.

**vanë** f, pl. *vana* 'crease, fold'. Participial form of *vete*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 266 (derived from *va*).

**vangë** f, pl. *vanga* 'spade'. Historically identical with *vëng-* *vang*.

**vapë** f 'heat'. Borrowed from Rom *\*vapa* or OItal *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). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290; ÇABEJ *St.* II 267.

**varesë** f, pl. *varesa* 'chain'. Derived from *var*.

**varfër ~ vorfën** adj. 'poor'. Borrowed from Lat *orphanus* 'orphan' (MEYER *Wb.* 463). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1046; SPITZER *MRIW* I 334; JOKL *LKUBA* 208-209; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 247; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 287; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *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'. ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 288; MANN *Language* XXVI 386 (to Gk ὄρχος 'row of vines or trees'); CHANTRAINE 831; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114 (suffix *-g*); ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 209; ÇABEJ *St.* II 267-268 (agrees with MEYER); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 408-409 (to *vjerr*).

**vargër ~ vërgâ** m, pl. *vërgenj* 'uncastrated ram'. In Tosk, there is also *vërgër* id. An innovation based on Lat *virgō* 'virgin' and presumably reflecting Rom *\*virgānus* (MEYER *Wb.* 470, *Alb. St.* V 104-105). ◊ STIER *KZ* XI No 32 (from Rom *\*virgārius*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 268-269 (related to βάρητοι ἄρνες Λάκωνες, Hes.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 157.

**varjesht ~ varresht** m 'swath'. A prefixal derivative of *rresht* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 270).

**varr ~ vorr** m, pl. *varre ~ vorre* 'grave'. Borrowed from late Rom *\*orna* < Lat *urna* 'cinerary urn' (OREL *Antič. balk.* 5 31-32). ◊ DIEFENBACH I 55 (to Gk ὀρύχω 'to dig up' and/or OE *éar* 'earth of the grave'); MEYER *Wb.* 37 (to *verrë*, *birë*), *Alb. St.* V 104 (to IE *\*yer-* 'to wrap'); JOKL *Studien* 94, *IF* XXXVI 125; ÇABEJ *St.* II 269-270 (follows DIEFENBACH); DEMIRAJ *AE* 409.

**varrë** f, pl. *varrë* 'wound'. Secondary formation built on *vras* and based on the analogy with verbs in *-as*. Cf. *vrajë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 464 (to *vras* and Skt *vranā-* 'wound'), *Alb. St.* III 38, 73; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 63 (to OHG *wern*, *werra* 'varix'); JOKL *LKUBA* 194; SKOK *AarbSt* I 223; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 289; FRISK *Kl. Schr.* 277 (follows MEYER); ÖLBERG *IBK* XIII 66; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 194; ANTILA *Schw.* 156; ÇABEJ *St.* II 270-271; DEMIRAJ *AE* 408.

**vatër ~ votër** f, pl. *vatra ~ votra* 'hearth, fireplace'. Borrowed from

Iranian, cf. *Av ātar-* 'fire' (JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* 37-50). The intermediate Iranian form in the Balkans must have been *\*atar-* or *\*otar-*. Rum *vatrā* 'hearth, fireplace' is an Albanian loanword. Slavic forms (SCr *vatra* id. and the like) were borrowed from Albanian or Rumanian (JOKL *WZKM* XXXIV 49). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4 (from Lat *atrium*); MEYER *Wb.* 464-465; MLADENOV *RESI* 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 *Ist. 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; ÖLBERG *IBK* XVII 45-46; KLEPIKOVA *BJaz.* 149-169; SCHUSTER-ŠEWIC *ZfPhonetik* XXXII 699-702; HULD 124; DEMIRAJ *AE* 410-412 (Latin influence).

*vath* ~ *vāth* m, pl. *vathë* ~ *vāthë* 'earring'. Another variant is *vēth*. Deminutive of *vëng* ~ *vang*. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 151; MAYRHOFER III 154-155; WALDE-HOFMANN II 763-766; FEIST *Goth.* 546-547; POKORNY I 1156-1158.

*vathë* f, pl. *vathë* 'sheepfold, pen'. Deminutive of an unattested *\*vartë* continuing PALb *\*wartā*. The letter is etymologically identical with Tokh B *wārio* 'garden', Ir *fert* 'grave mound', OE *weorð* 'yard' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 94). ◇ HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 390; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 5 (to Lat *urbs* 'town'); POKORNY I 1162; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 209; HAMP *ZfceltPh* XL (1984) 275-276; DEMIRAJ *AE* 412 (connected with IE *\*ues-* 'to live, to stay night').

*vazhdë* f 'trace'. Borrowed from East South Slavic, cf. Bulg *važdam*, OCS *važdati* 'to lead' (MEYER *Wb.* 465).

*vdës* aor. *vdīqa* 'to die'. From *\*awa-takja*, derivative of *\*teka* 'to run away, to go away', cf. *ndjek* (HULD 124-125). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 465 (comparison with SCr *zdeknuti* 'to die, to peg out'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 77 (to OHG *touwen* 'to die' - but the source of the latter is IE *\*dhau-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 285 (agrees with BARIĆ); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 25-30 (to Skt *vinakti* 'to separate'); PISANI *Saggi* 123 (follows BARIĆ); ÇABEJ *Die Sprache* XVIII 142 (to OE *deorc* 'dark'), *Etim.* III 206-208.

*vdjerr* aor. *vdorra* 'to leave'. From *\*awa-derna* 'to leave' < *\*to go*

away' formed with a prefix on the basis of IE *\*der-* 'to run': Skt *drđti* 'to run, to hasten', Gk aor. *ēdρōv* 'to run away' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 437). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 73 (to *djerr*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to Gk φθειρω); MAYRHOFER III 211; FRISK I 122-123; POKORNY I 204; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 204.

*ve* f, pl. *va*, *veja* 'widow'. From PALb *\*widewā* related to Skt *vidhāvā* 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). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71 (borrowed from Lat *vidua*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 120-121, 126; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; BARIĆ *Hymje* 21; FEIST *Goth.* 562; MAYRHOFER III 211; WALDE-HOFMANN II 785-786; POKORNY I 1128; ÇABEJ *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* > *ve* ~ Geg *\*voe* > *vo*. The correspondence of anlaut Tosk *va-* ~ Geg *vo-* is typical of (mainly Latin) loanwords. Therefore, *ve* ~ *vo* is a borrowing from Lat *ovum* 'egg' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 45; MEYER *Wb.* 465). ◇ BOPP 534 n. 1 (compares with Lat *ovum*, Gk φόνv); CAMARDA I 44, 91 (follows BOPP); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 73, IV 23; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; JOKL *LKUBA* 51-52, 90, 207 (confronted with difficulties in the explanation of the vocalism, reconstructs *\*ēujē*), *IF* XXXVI 109 f.; SPITZER *IF* XXXIX 110; BARIĆ I 81; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 286; ÇABEJ *St.* II 272 (follows BOPP); HULD 125-126.

*veç* adv., prep. 'separately, besides'. Derivative of *\*ve*, a form of PALb *\*awa* 'away, out, un-', cf. *vdës*, *wrap*. ◇ MANN *Comp.* 44 (from IE *\*autijos*).

*vedër* f, pl. *vedra* 'pail (for milk)'. Borrowed from Slav *\*vědro* 'pail', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vedro*, SCr *vjedro*, *vedro* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 465). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 153; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 13; SVANE 68.

*vegë* f, pl. *vega* 'handle, tool, instrument'. With other variants (*vjegë*, *vegjë*), this words continues the attested form *vegël* 'ear (of a vessel), instrument, tool'. The latter is borrowed from Lat *vehiculum* 'vehicle'

(LAMBERTZ apud ÇABEJ *St.* II 273). ◊ CAMARDA I 70 (to Lat *vehō* 'to carry'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 549-550; JOKL *LKUBA* 101-104 (to *vangē* or to *viġ*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 99; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 77-78; ÇABEJ *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 *vagārī* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 465 (from Turkish); ÇABEJ *St.* II 275 (to *vagëlloj*).

**vegsh** m, pl. *vegsha* 'clay pot'. Derived from *vegē* (JOKL *LKUBA* 101-103). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 275.

**veh̄te** pron. 'self'. Other widespread variants are *vete* and *vetē*. From PAIb *\*swai-ta* derived from *\*swaja*. The latter is identical with IE *\*swojos* 'own': Slav *\*svojb*, OPrus *swais* (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 45), further related to IE *\*swe-* (BOPP 478; CAMARDA I 218; MEYER *Wb.* 468). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 468 (*vetē* from IE *\*swe-t-*), *BB* VIII 192, *Alb. St.* III 58; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 111, *LKUBA* 41, 261 (reconstructs *\*swojeti*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290 (*vetē* < *\*suet-i-* with a locative particle *\*-i*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 280-281; MANN *Language* XXVI 379, 382 (to Gk αὐτός); TRAUTMANN *BSIWb.* 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 *ubhnāti* 'to lace up', OHG *weban* 'to weave', Tokh B *wāp-* id. (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 36, 38). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 105; PORZIG *Gliederung* 178, 186; MAYRHOFER I 107; POKORNY I 1114; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 113; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 77; ÇABEJ *LP* VII 162-163, *St.* VII 184, 228; HULD 143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 413-414 (secondary form in *\*-nġō*).

**vel** aor. *vela* 'to overeat, to eat too much'. Continues PAIb *\*wala*, a secondary ablaut variant of *vjell* (HAHN 7). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 276.

**velenxĚ** 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 βελέντσα 'woolen blanket'. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36 (from Slavic); MEYER *Wb.* 465 (from Hung *velencze*);

SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 170; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279; DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12; SVANE 48.

**vem** m, pl. *veme* 'larva, grub, caterpillar'. Derived from *ve* 'egg' (ÇABEJ *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. ◊ 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* > *vē* (MEYER *Wb.* 469). ◊ 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 *\*wes-*); GERCENBERG *Prosodika* 106 (to Illyr Οὐένδων, *A-vendius*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 278-280 (to Gk οὐδαξ 'ground, earth', Arm *getin* id.); HULD 126.

**venitem** refl. 'to pale, to wane'. Borrowed from Slav *\*venŕti* id., cf. South Slav continuants: Bulg *vena*, SCr *venuti* (MEYER *Wb.* 466). ◊ SVANE 251.

**vepĕr** f, pl. *vepra* 'work'. A singularized plural of an unattested *\*vapĕr* ~ *vopĕr*, cf. *vogĕl*, pl. *vejĕl*. Borrowed from Lat *opera* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 466). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 138; LANDI *Lat.* 60, 130.

**verbĕr** ~ **verb** adj. 'blind'. Borrowed from Lat *orbis* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 45; MEYER *Wb.* 466) with the same phonetic development as in *vepĕr*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 139; LANDI *Lat.* 60-61, 177.

**verdĕhĕ** adj. 'yellow'. Borrowed from Lat *viridis* 'green' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71; MEYER *Wb.* 466). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1053; JOKL *LKUBA* 14; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 157; LANDI *Lat.* 58.

**verĕ** f 'summer'. Borrowed from Rom *\*vĕra* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 466; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044;

TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279-280; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 82, 216; HAARMANN 156.

verě ~ veně f 'wine'. From PALb *\*wainā* cognate with Gk οἴνη 'vine', οἶνος 'wine', Lat *vīnum* 'wine', Arm *gini* id., ultimately borrowed from Sem *\*wainu-* id. (CAMARDA I 42, 57; MEYER *Wb.* 465-466, *Alb. St.* III 38, 89). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71 (borrowed from Lat *vīnum*); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 321; BÜGA 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; ÇABEJ *St.* II 280-281; HULD 126-127 (borrowed from North-West Greek); JANSON *Unt.* 32-33; DEMIRAJ *AE* 414.

verigĕ f, pl. *verīga* 'chain ring'. Borrowed from Slav *\*veriga* 'chain', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *veriga*, SCr *veriga* (MEYER *Wb.* 466). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 15, 148; SVANE 86.

verzĕ f, pl. *verza* 'gill, branchia'. Continues the unlaucized PALb *\*wardjā* etymologically identical with Lith *varlė* 'frog' < *\*vardė*, Latv *vārde*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 467 (from *\*bьrca*, to Slav *\*bьrkъ* '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-zĕ*, to *vesh*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 281-282 (follows DODBIBA).

verzomĕ f 'fishing net'. Derived from *verzĕ*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 282 (identical with *vĕrzop*).

verr m, pl. *verra* 'alder'. Continues PALb *\*werna* related to Bret *gwern* id., W *gwernen* id., MĪr *fern* id. (DIEFENBACH I 50) and Arm *geran* 'beam, timber' (LIDÉN *IF* XVIII 485-486). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 255, *Festschr. Kretschmer* 86-88, *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 236; BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 413; TREIMER *Slavia* III 454 (to Slav *\*avorъ* 'elm', a Germanic loanword in Slavic); MANN *Language* XXVIII 37; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 53; POKORNY I 1169; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 205; HAMP *IF* LXXXVI 193 (on Bret *gwern*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 282-283; DEMIRAJ *AE* 414-415.

verrĕ f, pl. *verra* 'hole'. Another form is *vĕrĕ*. From PALb *\*werā* or

*\*werwā* connected with Skt *urū-* 'wide', *vāras-* 'space, width', Gk εὐρύς 'wide'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 36 (improbable comparison with *birĕ*); 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 *Wb.* 467). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 187; HAARMANN 158; LANDI *Lat.* 58, 125.

vesĕ f 'dew'. DE RADA's variant is *voesĕ*, in Geg one also finds *vosĕ*. The original form must have been *\*vaesĕ* ~ *voesĕ*. Borrowed from Rom *\*ōvātium*, a word describing the falling dew as small eggs. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 262 (from *\*uend-ti-*).

vesh m, pl. *veshĕ* 'ear'. From PALb *\*wausi-* further related to IE *\*ōus-* ~ *\*aus-* id. (CAMARDA I 54), in particular, cf. Lat *auris*, Lith *ausis*, Latv *āuss* (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 11-12, 61). Another, less possible reconstruction for Proto-Albanian is *\*wōusa*; in this case, the immediate parallel is found in Gk ὠς 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. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21 (to Skt *ghōṣa-* 'noise'); MEYER *Wb.* 467 (compares with Av *gaoš-* '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; BÜGA 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; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31 (borrowed from Lat *ōs*); HAMP *Laryngeals* 138; HULD 127; KARULIS *LEV* I 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. *veshĕ* 'vine'. Historically identical with *vesh* 'ear'. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 213-215 (to Lith *vaĩsius* 'fruit'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 114-115 (derived from IE *\*uoino-* 'wine'); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 93.

vesh aor. *vesha* 'to put on (clothes), to cover'. From PALb *\*wesja* etymologically connected with Skt *vāste* 'to wear, to be dressed in', Gk ἔνδυμι 'to dress', and in particular with causatives attested in Skt *vāsáyati*

and Goth *wasjan* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; BOPP 503-504; MEYER *Wb.* 467, *Alb. St.* III 38, 61). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70 (from Lat *vestire* 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.

**veshël** adj. 'fruitful'. Derived from *vesh* 'vine'. ◊ ÇABEJ *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). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 467-468 (to Hung *vese* id. and Slav \**pěčeny* 'liver'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 283-284 (connects *veshje* with *eshke*).

**veshkët ~ vyshkët** adj. 'faded, withered'. Borrowed from Lat *vēscus* 'small, thin, weak' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 468). From here the verb *veshk* 'to make withered' is derived. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 156.

**veshqok** adj. 'clever, smart'. Derivative of *veshq* identical with *veshël*, with *-shq-* rendering *-sl-* 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). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244; HAARMANN 157-(from Rom \**vistulum*); 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 PALb \**wadmi* identical with Arm *gam* '(I) come'. Further cognates are Lat *vādō* 'to go, to walk' and ON *vaða* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 468 (calque of Rom \**vādītus sum* with *vet(e)-* borrowed from \**vādītus*; alternatively, *vete* is related to Lat *vādere*); JOKL *IF* XLIX 292; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 109 (from \**gʷotos esmi*), *Zb. Belić* 187; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 287; WALDE-HOFMANN II 723-724; POKORNY I 1109.

**vetëtij** aor. *vetëtiva* 'to sparkle'. Related forms are *vetoj* and *vektoj* 'to

shine'. The original form must have been \**veg(ë)toj* connected etymologically with *vegoj*, *vegulloj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 470 (from Slav \**světiti* 'to shine'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279.

**vetlloj** aor. *vetllova* '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 *MRIW* I 332-333). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* I 93-94, *Wb.* 469 (to Slav \**věko* 'eyelid', Lith *vokà* id. or to Slav \**vědja* 'eyebrow'), *Alb. St.* III 5, 38; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 81 (to IĒ \**okʷ-t-* derived from 'eye' \**okʷ-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 267; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 280, *Stratificazione* 99; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* V 195; HAARMANN 50 (agrees with SPITZER); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; ÇABEJ *St.* II 284 (follows MEYER's comparison with Slav \**vědja*); HULD 128 (from \**okʷlā* with \**-kʷl-* > *-(u)ll*); HAARMANN 158.

**veth** m, pl. *vethë* 'maggot'. Diminutive of *vem*.

**vezulloj** aor. *vezullova* 'to shine'. From \**dhezulloj*, derivative of *dhez* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 285). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 470 (to *vetëtij*).

**vë ~ vê** aor. *vura ~ vuna* 'to put'. Proto-Albanian innovation \**awena* replacing IĒ \**dhē-* (including such idioms as *i vë emrin* 'to give a name' < \**onōm̥ dhē-*). The verb \**awena* is a derivative in \**-no-* based on \**aye* 'down, off' (Skt *áva* id. and the like) and its original meaning is 'to put down', 'to put aside', just as in Lat *pōnere* 'to put'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 469; MANN *Language* XXVIII 38 (< IĒ \**ues-* 'to sell'); MAYRHOFER I 56; POKORNY I 72; HAMP *Laryngeals* 128-129 (reconstructs IĒ \**Honō*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 278 f. (comparison with Arm *getin*); HULD 126 (to Goth *winja* 'pasture'); OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 436 (< IĒ \**ues-* 'to stay, to live, to be'; possible only if \**wena-* < \**wes-na-* is accepted); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 364.

**vëlla** m, pl. *vëllezër ~ vëllazën* 'brother'. As plural reflects *-z-* < \**-dj-*, the Proto-Albanian source of *vëlla* can be reconstructed as \**swe-laudā*, composite of pronominal \**swe* (see *u*) and \**laudā* cognate with OHG *liut* 'people', Slav \**l'udъ* id. and the like, from IĒ \**leudh-* (JOKL *LKUBA* 41-46). ◊ BOPP 461 (connected with IĒ \**bhrāter-* 'brother'); MEYER *Wb.* 469-470 (correctly reconstructs \**swe-* as the first element),

*Alb. St.* III 63 (same as BOPP; adduces βρά· ἀδελφοί, ὑπὸ Ἰλειῶν [sc. Ἠλείων], Hes.); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 222 (compares with ON *svilar* 'brothers-in-law', Gk (Pollux) ειλίονες id. thus reconstructing \**smelo-*); 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; SZEMERÉNYI *Kinship* 116; HAMP *RRL* XXI/1 51, *JIES* XVI/1-2 121-122; KLINGENSCHMITT apud DEMIRAJ (from \**sue-sloughā*); HULD 129 (reconstructs \**auH-m-ilā* and compares *vëlla* with Lat *avunculus* 'maternal uncle'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 417.

vënd ~ vend m, pl. *vende* 'place'. A coexisting Tosk form is *vend*. From PAIb \**wenta*, derivative of *vē* 'to put' (MEYER *Wb.* 469). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 364.

vëng ~ vang m, pl. *vangje* 'hoop, tyre, ring, rim'. The Tosk form is poorly attested. From PAIb \**wengā* related to Skt *vāngari* 'to go, to limp', OHG *winchan* 'to make a sign, to make a motion', Lith *vīngis* 'arc' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 463, *Alb. St.* III 7, 38, 66, 87). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 103-104, *ArRom* XXIV 39, *Sprache* IX 130; BÜGA II 325, 648; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 5; MANN *Language* XVII 20; FRAENKEL 1256-1257; MAYRHOFER III 124; POKORNY I 1148; ÇABEJ *St.* II 266-267; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; DEMIRAJ *AE* 408.

vëngër adj. 'cross-eyed'. Related to *vang*.

vërsë ~ vërcë 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 *vbrsta* 'age', SCR *vrsta* 'kind, age' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 470). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195; SVANE 187.

vërsnik m, pl. *vërsnikë* 'peer'. Borrowed from Slav \**svbrstbnikъ* id., cf. ORUSS *svbrstbnikъ*. Another variant, *vëshnik*, may belong to an earlier layer of Slavic loanwords. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195; SVANE 187.

vërs'hëllej aor. *vërs'hëlleva* 'to whistle'. Irregular transformation of Rom \**fistuläre*, cf. Lat *fistula* 'pipe'.

*vërshoj* aor. *vërshova* 'to flood, to overflow'. Borrowed from Lat *versare* 'to turn, to wind', in Romance also 'to pour out' (MEYER *Wb.* 470). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70 (from Ital *versare*); MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; ÇABEJ *St.* II 285 (prefixal derivative in *vër-* based on *lëshoj*); HAARMANN 156.

vërtetë f, pl. *vërteta* 'truth'. Borrowed from Lat *veritatem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 470). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043; MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 156; LANDI *Lat.* 33, 39, 145.

vërtit aor. *vërtita* 'to turn'. Borrowed from Slav \**vbrtiti* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *vrti'a*, SCR *vrtjeti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 470). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 289; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 289; SVANE 249.

vërtyt m 'physical strength'. Borrowed from Lat *virtutem* 'manhood, strength' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71; MEYER *Wb.* 470-471). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1048; MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 157; LANDI *Lat.* 69, 84.

vërvit aor. *vërvita* 'to hurl, to fling'. Borrowed from Slav \**vbrvēti*: Bulg *vrvn'a*, SCR *vrvtjeti*, *vrvljjeti* (MEYER *Wb.* 471). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243; SVANE 249.

vërzop m 'rope used to carry straw'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *vbrzop* 'tie bundle' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 282).

vërras aor. *virra* 'to shout; to bleat'. Secondary formation in -as < \**atja* based on PAIb \**wera* further related to Gk εἶπω 'to say', Hitt *uerija-* 'to sound' and the like. ◊ CAMARDA I 175 (to *bërtas*); MEYER *Wb.* 471, *Alb. St.* III 38, V 105 (follows CAMARDA and compares *vërras* with Slav \**versčati* 'to squeak'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 89; FRISK I 469-471; POKORNY I 1162-1163; ÇABEJ *St.* II 285-286 (same as MEYER).

vërrî ~ vërrî f, pl. *vërrî ~ vërrî* 'winter pasture'. Borrowed from Rom \**hiberninum*, derivative of Lat *hibernum* 'winter' (SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 240-242). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 471 (agrees with SCHUCHARDT); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049; JOKL *LKUBA* 264-265; WEIGAND 99

(Albanian derivative of *hibernum*); MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 129; ÇABEJ St. II 286 (from Rom *\*invernus*?!).

**vërri** f 'little furrow'. Another form is *rruvi*. Derived from *verë* (MEYER Wb. 37). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 94-95 (to Lat *versus* 'furrow'); ÇABEJ St. II 286-287 (to *varrë*).

**vësht** ~ **vësht** m, pl. *vreshta* ~ *vneshta* 'vineyard'. From PALb *\*wainesta* with a mobile stress in the paradigm: sg. *\*wainesta* - pl. *\*wainësita*. Derived from *\*wainā* > *verë* ~ *venë* (MEYER Wb. 466; PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 549). ◊ ; JOKL IF XXXVI 126-127, LKUBA 274; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 285; CAMAJ Alb. *Wortb.* 123; ÇABEJ St. II 280-281; DEMIRAJ AE 414.

**vështirë** adj. 'hard, difficult, bad, evil'. Prefixal derivative of *shtirë* (MEYER Wb. 416). ◊ JOKL LKUBA 284; ÇABEJ St. II 287.

**vëshjell** aor. *vështolla* 'to wrap'. A prefixal derivative of *shtjell*.

**vështroj** aor. *vështrova* 'to see, to watch'. Another variant is *vështoj*. Borrowed from Lat *visitare* id. (MEYER Wb. 471). On the other hand, cf. *vëzhgoj*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. *Grundriß* 2 I 1051; SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 246; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 26; ÇABEJ St. VII 204, 234; HAARMANN 157-158; HAMP SCL XXVIII/1 74-77.

**vëzhgoj** aor. *vëzhgova* 'to watch, to observe'. Borrowed from Lat *vestigare* 'to follow, to track' (MEYER Wb. 471). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. *Grundriß* 2 I 1049; JOKL LKUBA 246; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 157.

**vgje** ~ **vgjë** m, pl. *vgjenj* 'pine'. Borrowed from Lat *abiegnum* 'related to fir', derivative of *abietem* 'fir' (MEYER Alb. St. IV 64, V 105, Wb. 471). ◊ SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 252 (from Lat *abietem* 'fir-tree'); MEYER Alb. St. I 57 (from Gk *πέυκη* 'pine'); MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 31; HAARMAN 110; ÇABEJ St. II 287-288.

**vickë** f, pl. *vicka* 'hoofbeat, step'. From *\*vith-kë*, derived from *vithe* (ÇABEJ St. II 288).

**viç** m, pl. *viça*, *viçëra* ~ *viçna* 'calf'. From PALb *\*vetuša* with *\*-s-* >

*\*-š-* in accordance with the "ruki" rule (OREL *IJaK* 140-141) and further related to *\*weta* > *vit* (STIER KZ XI 207), cf. Skt *vatsá-* 'calf' belonging to the same root (BOPP 461, 513). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; CAMARDA I 200; STIER KZ XI No 48; MIKLOSICH Rom. *Elemente* 72 (from Lat *vitulus*); MEYER Wb. 475-476; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 290 (reconstructs *\*ueteso-*); JOKL LKUBA 34, 261 (suggests *\*uetesjo-* as a source of *viç*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 281, *Stratificazione* 143; PORZIG *Gliederung* 159; PISANI *Saggi* 131; MAYRHOFER III 133; SZEMERÉNYI *Quellen* 94; HAMP *GjA* VII/1 27-30, BSL LXVI 222; ÇABEJ St. II 288-290; HULD 129-130; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 354; DEMIRAJ AE 417-418.

**vidër** f, pl. *vidra* 'otter'. Borrowed from Slav *\*vydra* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *vidra*, SCr *vidra* (SELIŠČEV Slav. *naselenie* 189, 299). ◊ SVANE 143.

**vidh** m, pl. *vidha* 'elm'. From PALb *\*widza* related to Kurd *viz* id., OE *wíc* id., and, with nasalization, Lith *vinkšna* id., Slav *\*vęzъ* id. (MEYER Wb. 472, Alb. St. III 18, 38). ◊ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 150; HOLTHAUSEN AEW 392; BÜGA 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 *\*suei-* 'to bend' and its derivatives, cf., in particular, ON *sveigr* 'flexible', OHG *sweiga* 'cattle shed' < *\*suei-k-*. ◊ MEYER Wb. 472 (from Lat *vicus* 'street, village'); JOKL *Studien* 96 (to Skt *vayá* 'branch', Slav *\*větъ* id.), LKUBA 149; POKORNY I 1041-1042; CAMAJ Alb. *Wortb.* 77-78; ÇABEJ St. VII 199, 208; DEMIRAJ AE 418.

**vigan** m, pl. *viganë* 'giant'. A Balkan *Wanderwort* for 'smith', cf. SCr *viganj*, Hung *vihnye* and the like (MEYER Wb. 472). ◊ ÇABEJ St. VII 279.

**vigje** pl. 'gifts (on marriage or birth); dinner on the third day after child's birth'. Borrowed from Lat *victuālia* 'victuals'. The sonorization of the dental may point to the late date of borrowing. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 95-96 (from *\*yed-l-*, to Gk *ἔδνον* 'dowry'); ÇABEJ St. II 290 (plural of *vig*); MURATI *Probleme* 106-107 (from Lat *vigilia*); LANDI Lat. 94, 126.



vigjËz f, pl. *vigjËza* 'vetch'. Collective form of \**vigjË*, a hypercorrect form of \**vigË* borrowed from Lat *vicia* id. (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; ÇABEJ *St.* II 290). ◊ HAARMANN 157; LANDI *Lat.* 113.

vij ~ vinj aor. *erdha* 'to come'. Borrowed from Lat *ventre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 473). The aorist continues PALb \**erdza* etymologically identical with Gk ἔρχομαι 'to come' (CAMARDA I 240; MEYER *Wb.* 69, *Alb. St.* III 18, 86). ◊ CAMARDA I 79 (mistakenly equates *vij* with Gk βαίνω 'to go' and Lat *veniō*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335; MEILLET *Arm.* II 42; FRISK II 572; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 71; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 97; ÇABEJ *St.* I 164 (to Gk ὀρνύμαι 'to move' and its cognates); HULD 129; HAARMANN 156.

vijË f, pl. *vija* 'furrow, line, ditch'. Borrowed from Lat *vīa* 'road, way' (MEYER *Wb.* 471-472). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; ÇABEJ *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 *Slav. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 472). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 192; SVANE 261.

vilas aor. *vilata* 'to cut down (trees)'. Derivative in *-as* < \**-atja* of *vjel* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 291).

vile f, pl. *vile* 'bunch (of grapes)'. Derived from *vjel* (MEYER *Wb.* 475). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 291.

virgjËr ~ virgjËn f, pl. *virgjËra* ~ *virgjËna* 'maiden'. Borrowed from Lat *virginem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71; MEYER *Wb.* 470). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; MIHĂESCU *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 \**virъ* 'whirlpool, water-pit' (JOKL *IF* XLIX 280-281). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 473 (from Slav \**virъ*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 292; SVANE 170.

vise f, pl. *vise* 'place'. Goes back to PALb \**witsjā* < IE \**ueikjā* similar to Gk οἰκία 'dwelling, house'. The development of IE \**-k̑j-* to Alb -

*s-* is regular (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 38). Further connected with IE \**ueik-* 'house'. ◊ CAMARDA 131 (rejects the connection with \**ueiko-*); MEYER *BB* VIII 186, *Wb.* 473 (*vise* is treated as a reflex of \**ueiko-* but this is phonetically impossible as \**k̑* > PALb \**-ts-* > Alb *-th-*), *Alb. St.* III 13, 38; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXV 338; JOKL *Studien* 5 (to Lith *vietà* '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; ÇABEJ *LP* VIII 127-128, *St.* II 293-294 (singularized pl. of *vënd*); HULD 126 (*-s-* < \**-d-t-*); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 364; DEMIRAJ *AE* 419.

visk m 'foal of donkey'. Borrowed from Slav \**viskъ* 'shriek', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *visk*, SCr *visak* (*BER* I 152). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 473 (from Slav \**viskati* 'to shriek'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 295 (hypocoristic of *Vinçenc*).

vishkëlloj aor. *vishkëllova* 'to whistle'. Borrowed from Lat *fistuläre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 112). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 284.

vishkull f, pl. *vishkulla* 'rod, cane'. Borrowed from Rom \**viscula*, cf. Calabr *višyyu* 'young oak-tree' < Rom \**viscile*. ◊ LANDI *Lat.* 111, 140.

vishnje f, pl. *vishnje* 'kind of cherry'. Borrowed from Slav \**višn'a*, cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *višn'a*, SCr *višnja* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 473-474). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164; SVANE 128.

vishtat pl. 'standing crop'. Related to *vjeshtë* (JOKL *LKUBA* 213-214).

vit, vjet m, pl. *vite*, *vjet*, *vjetëra* 'year'. From PALb \**weta* connected with Hitt *uitt-* id., Gk ἔτος id. and the like (BOPP 460; CAMARDA I 17; MEYER *Wb.* 475-476, *Alb. St.* III 23, 38). ◊ 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.

vitërk m 'stepfather'. Borrowed from Lat *vītricus* id. (TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 127-128). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 295; HAARMANN 158.

vito f, pl. *vito* 'dove'. Other forms are *vitua* and *vidë*. Based on PALb

\**weitā* related to Skt *vāya-* 'bird', Lat *avis* id. and the like (JOKL *LKUBA* 299-301). ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 223 (from an onomatopoeic call); MEYER *Wb.* 474 (same as STIER); (); 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 \**uei-* '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 *Otn.* 25; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252). ◊ HAHN 162 (derived from *vit*); MEYER *Wb.* 475; TREIMER *A ArbSt.* I 27-28 (to Lith *viētā* 'place'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 295-296 (derived from *vej*).

**vithe** f, pl. *vithe* 'crupper, rump, buttock, haunch'. A diminutive in *-ih* based on PALb \**wija* 'twisted, woven' derived from IE \**uei-* 'to twist, to weave': Lat *viēō*, Skt *vāyati*, Lith *výti*, Slav \**viti*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 472 (compared with *bythe*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 144; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (to Gk *ἰσχία*); FRAENKEL 1266-1267; VASMER I 322; MAYRHOFER III 147; WALDE-HOFMANN II 786-788; POKORNY I 1120-1121; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 242.

**vjedh** aor. *vodha* 'to steal'. From PALb \**wedza* related to Skt *vāhati* 'to drive', Lat *vehō* 'to bear, to carry', Goth *gawigan* 'to steal' and other continuants of IE \**ueǵh-* (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*. ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 36, 274; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335 (to IE \**uedh-*), *Kelt. Gr.* I 59, 172; JOKL *LKUBA* 322; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 251; VASMER I 284 (to IE \**uedh-* '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.

**vjehërr** f, pl. *vjehrra* 'mother-in-law'. From PALb \**swexurā* < \**swesurā* with assimilation from the expected \**swetsurā* (BOPP 531; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; JOKL *LKUBA* 46) restructured under the influence of the masculine form *vjehërr* 'father-in-law' < IE \**syekuros* and related to IE \**syekrū-*: Skt *śvasrū-* 'mother-in-law', Lat *socrus* id. and the like. The masculine form *vjehërr* corresponds to Skt *śvāsūra-* 'father-

in-law', Gk *ἐκυρός* id. and the like (MEYER *BB* VIII 186, *Wb.* 475, *Alb. St.* III 5, 58). ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 37; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 169; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290, 339, *Kelt. Gr.* I 75; JOKL *LKUBA* 41-43, *Sprache* IX 127; BARIĆ *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 \**ueskuro-* < \**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; ÖLBERG *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 *vëjej*. Borrowed from Lat *valēre* 'to be able, to be healthy' (MEYER *Wb.* 469). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 156.

**vjel** aor. *vola* 'to pluck (fruit), to vintage'. From PALb \**wela* related to Gk *εἴλω* 'to shut in, to press', Lith *su-valyti* 'to harvest, to reap' (MEYER *Wb.* 475, *Alb. St.* III 38, 77, V 106). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 190, 214, *Slavia* XIII 318; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 282; RIBEZZO *RivAlb* I/2 124 n. 2 (to Lat *vellō* 'to pluck, to pull'); FRAENKEL 1190; FRISK I 456-457; POKORNY I 1138; ÇABEJ *St.* II 297-298.

**vjell** aor. *volla* 'to vomit'. From PALb \**welwa* related to Lat *volvō* 'to turn' and its cognates (MEYER *Wb.* 475, *Alb. St.* III 38). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 283 (to *vjel*); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 57 (to *avull*); WALDE-HOFMANN II 832-834; POKORNY I 1140-1142; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 211; HULD 130 (on the semantic evolution of *vjell*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 422-423.

**vjershë** f, pl. *vjersha* 'poem'. Borrowed from Lat *versus* 'verse' (CAMARDA 198; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 475). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043; WEIGAND 100 (against borrowing from Latin); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 138-139; ÇABEJ *St.* II 298-299 (secondary feminine form restored from pl. *vjersha*); HAARMANN 156; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 110, 148.

**vjerr** aor. *vorra* 'to hang'. Continues PALb \**wera* related to Gk *ἀείρω* 'to raise up', Lith *veriu*, *vėrti* 'to weigh', *sveriu*, *sveřti* 'to open, to thread' (MEYER *Wb.* 475, *Alb. St.* III 58, 71). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290; MANN *Language* XVII 18; FRAENKEL 951, 1229; FRISK I 23;

POKORNY I 1150-1151; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193; HULD 148; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 43; DEMIRAJ *AE* 423.

vjeshtë f, pl. *vjeshta* 'autumn'. Derivative in *-shë* from *vjel* (MEYER *Wb.* 475). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 549; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 123, *LKUBA* 190, 214; ÇABEJ *St.* II 299; MANN *Comp.* 46 (to IE *\*aueks-* 'to grow'); MURATI *Probleme* 108-110 (from *\*aiuesjā*).

vjetër adj. 'old'. Borrowed from Lat *veterem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 476). ◊ CAMARDA I 102 (treats *vjetër* as a derivative of *vit*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2, 26; HAARMANN 64, 157; HULD 131.

vlag m 'wetness'. Borrowed from Slav *\*volga* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vlaġa* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 189).

vlak m, pl. *vleq* 'fishing-net; lambskin'. Another form is *vllak*. Borrowed from Slav *\*volkъ* 'object that can be dragged or carried', cf. Bulg *vlak*, SCr *vlak* 'net' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 476). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 170, 303; SVANE 154.

vlej aor. *vleva*, *vlejta* 'to be worth, to cost, to deserve'. Other variants are *vëje* and *vjej*. Borrowed from Lat *valēre* 'to be worth, to cost' (MEYER *Wb.* 469). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1047; JOKL *LKUBA* 65; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 281.

vloj aor. *vlova* 'to get engaged'. See *mbloj*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230, 234.

vlug m 'prime (of life), peak'. Continues PALb *\*awa-luga*, a prefixal derivative of IE *\*leug-* 'to bend': Gk *λυγίζω* id., ON *lykna* 'to bend knees', Lith *lūgnas* 'flexible' and the like. The original meaning is, therefore, 'turning point'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 478 (to *vrulloj*); FRISK II 141; FRAENKEL 388-389; POKORNY I 685-686; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

vlladikë m 'archbishop'. From a South Slavic continuant of *\*voldyka* 'lord': Bulg *vladika*, SCr *vladika* (MEYER *Wb.* 476).

vllah m, pl. *vllah* 'Arumunian'. Borrowed from Slav *\*volxъ* 'Valachian. speaker of Romance', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vlah*, SCr *vlah* (MEYER *Wb.* 476). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 285.

vllanjë f, pl. *vllanja* 'garden-bed, plot'. In Geg, there exist such variants as *vullâ* and *vllâ*. Borrowed from Rom *\*villānea*, to Lat fem. *villāna* 'related to farming'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 274 (from Rom *\*malleānus*, to Lat *malleolus*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 540; ÇABEJ *St.* II 307-308 (to *valë*, *avull*).

vobektë adj. 'poor'. A more conservative form is *vobeg*. Singularized plural of *\*vobog* borrowed, with assimilation of vowels, from Slav *\*ubogъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *ubog*, SCr *ubog* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 476). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 7; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 193, 326; SVANE 267.

voc m, pl. *voca* 'boy, youth'. Derived from *vogël*, *vogërr*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 199-200.

vogë f 'steam'. Continues PALb *\*wāgā* related to Gk *ὕργος* 'wet', ON *vōkr* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 477 (from Ital *voga* 'rowing; stroke'); FRISK II 955-956; POKORNY I 1118.

vogël adj. 'small', pl. *vegjël*. Within Albanian, another cognate is *vogërr* 'undersized, dwarfed, small'. Both forms continue PALb *\*wāgla*, *\*wāgra* related to Lat *vagor* 'to roam around', OIr *fán* 'slope' < *\*uāg-no-*. The semantic development is from *\*uāg-* 'to be crooked' to 'small'. ◊ CAMARDA I 91 (to Gk *ὀλίγος* 'little', with a metathesis); MEYER *Wb.* 477 (to Slav *\*svěžъ* 'fresh'), *Alb. St.* III 58; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 173 (to Norw *vāk* 'child'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 115 (< *\*ue-* 'not' + *galan-* 'big', cf. Slav *\*golemъ* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 23; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 286; WALDE-HOFMANN II 726-727; POKORNY I 1120; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 237; HULD 131-132.

vokull f 'circle'. Borrowed from Slav *\*okolъ* 'circle, circumference', cf. *okoll*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 477 (from Ital *bocca* 'mouth').

volitem refl. 'to fit'. Borrowed from Slav *\*voliti* 'to like, to prefer', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vol'a*, SCr *voliti*. ◊ SVANE 250.

volltë f, pl. *vollta* 'will'. Another variant is *volë*. Borrowed from Slav *\*vol'a* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *vol'a*, SCr *volja* (MEYER *Wb.* 477). ◊ SVANE 224, 250.

**voně** adj. 'late'. From PALb \*wānti, a participle in \*-nti related to Skt *vāyati* 'to vanish, to become exhausted', Lith *vójus(i)* 'ailing', Latv *vājš* 'meager, weak'. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 287; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 46-47 (reconstructs Tosk \*vanē and derives \*vanē ~ voně from \*okno-); MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (to Lat *vānus* 'empty'); FRAENKEL 559; MAYRHOFER III 189-190; POKORNY I 1112; ÇABEJ *St.* II 300-301 (to *vete*).

**vorbě** f, pl. *vorba* 'clay pot'. An early borrowing in PALb \*wāribā from Slav \*varьba 'cooking' (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 153, 172). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 97 (to Slav \*variti 'to cook', Lith *virti* id.), *Die Sprache* IX 150-151, *Slavia* XIII 301 (against SELIŠČEV); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 120 (suffix -bē); ÇABEJ *St.* II 301-303 (from IE \*uer- 'to turn'), III 214; URBUTIS *Kalbotyra* IX 263; MURATI *Probleme* 135; DEMIRAJ *AE* 423-424.

(G) **voshtēr** f, pl. *voshtra* 'Ligustrum vulgare'. Borrowed from late Lat *oleaster* (JOKL *LKUBA* 209-211), cf. with a different stress, *ullashtēr* s.v. *ullastēr*. ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* II 303; HAARMANN 138.

**vově** f, pl. *vova* 'bogey, scarecrow'. An onomatopoeia, probably of Slavic origin, cf. Russ *vova* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 477 (to Slovene *bavbav* and the like).

**vozit** 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-continuant: Bulg *voz'a*, SCR *voziti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 477). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 161; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 167, 183; SVANE 244.

**vrah** m, pl. *vrahe* 'pile of sheaves'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *vrax* 'sheaf' (WEIGAND 101). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* 117. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 478 (from Turk *orak* 'harvest, crops'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 117; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 160, 305; ÇABEJ *St.* II 303-304.

**vrajě** f, pl. *vraja* 'wound'. Derived from *vras*.

**vráp** aor. *vrapa* 'to run, to haste'. From PALb \*awa-rapa, 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 *ἔδραυν* '(I) ran away' ~ *δέρω* 'to strip off' and the like. ◇ CAMARDA I 91 (to Gk *ῥέπω* 'to turn the scale, to sink', Lat *rapiō* 'to seize and carry off'); MEYER *Wb.* 478 (to IE \*uerp- ~ \*urep-; but IE \*ur- yielded Alb *rr-*), *Alb. St.* III 31, 38, 72; TOMASCHEK *MGGW* XXIII 550 (to several Illyrian toponyms derived from *urb-lurp-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 187; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 91; SCHRIJNEN *KZ* XLII 108 (to Lith *virpėti*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 288; MANN *Language* XVII 18; GINDIN *Form. SN* 62; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234; HAMP *MJ* XXIII 285; OREL *Linguistica* 436-438 (alternative etymology: to Lat *rēpere* 'to creep', OPrus *ripaiti* 'to follow', Latv *rāpt* 'to creep'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 424.

**vrás** aor. *vrava* 'to kill'. From PALb \*awa-rautja, a prefix derivative based on IE \*reu- 'to tear, to destroy': Skt *rutá-* 'broken', Lat *ruō* 'to fall down, to rush down' and the like (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 37). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 464 (to *varrē* and Skt *vraṇa-* 'wound'); JOKL *LKUBA* 194 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 289; WALDE-HÖFMANN II 453-454; MAYRHOFER III 63; POKORNY I 868; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

**vrazhdě** adj. 'hard, rough, unfriendly'. Borrowed from Bulg *vražda* or CS *vražda* 'enmity' and transformed into an adjective (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 186, 196). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 478 (related to *vrērēt* ~ *vranēt*); JOKL *LKUBA* 155 (develops MEYER's etymology), *Slavia* XIII 610 (against SELIŠČEV); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 65 (from OCS *vražь* 'inimical'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 304 (derived from *vrás*).

**vrej** aor. *vrejta* 'to observe'. Univerbation of *vě re* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 243, 362). ◇ CAMARDA I 145 (to Gk *ὀράω* 'to see'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 277-278, 304 (follows MEYER).

**vrer** ~ **věner** m 'gall, bile'. Borrowed from Lat *venenum* 'potion, poison' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 470). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 156; LANDI *Lat.* 82.

**vrěndě** f 'drizzle'. A prefixal derivative of *rend* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 304-305). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 97 (to ON *úr* 'drizzle', Av *vār-* 'rain'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 91; SPITZER *MRIW* I 327; DEMIRAJ *AE* 424 (to Gk *βρέχω* 'to rain, to moisten').

vrěrět ~ vranět adj. 'cloudy'. Together with *vrěr* ~ *vran* 'to darken, to become cloudy', based on *\*vrěr* ~ *vran* 'cloudy', a prefixal derivative of *re* 'cloud' (JOKL *Slavia* XIII 610, *ArRom* XXIV 40). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 478 (borrowed from a South Slavic reflex of Slav *\*vornъ* 'black'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197 (same as MEYER); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 128-129 (follows MEYER); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 117-118, *Hymje* 78 (from IE *\*vr̥no-* related to Slav *\*vorna* 'crow'); SKOK *AAbSt.* II 331 n. 31 (supports BARIĆ); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 288; ÇABEJ *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'.

vrikë f 'tamarisk'. Borrowed from Ital dial. *vrica* id. < Gk *μυρίκη* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 306). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 467 (derived from *verr*); JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 86-87, *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 236 (follows MEYER).

vringëlloj aor. *vringëllova* 'to whizz, to hum'. A prefixal form based on Rom *\*ringuläre* 'to growl, to grumble'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

vrokth m 'dandruff'. A prefixal derivative of *rrok*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

vrug m 'rust, mildew, blight'. Continues PALb *\*awa-ruga*, a prefixal form related to Av *raoyna-* 'butter', ON *rjúmi* 'cream'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 478 (to *vrulloj*); BARTHOLOMAE 1488; POKORNY I 873.

vrugët adj. 'dark'. Derived from *vrug*.

vrujoj aor. *vrujova* 'to well up, to spring'. Derived from *vrull* 'flight, run'. The latter is borrowed from Slav *\*vьrlъ* 'strong, energetic', cf. Bulg *vьrl*, SCr *vrli* 'good'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 478 (from SCr *vrulja* 'source'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 209-210; SVANE 171.

vrragë f, pl. *vrragë* 'trace, wheel-trace'. Borrowed from Slav *\*ovьragъ* 'ravine', cf. Bulg *ovrag*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 306-307 (derivative of *varrë*).

vuaaj ~ vuej aor. *vova*, *vojta*, *vuajta* 'to suffer'. Borrowed from Lat *vivere* 'to live' and also 'to survive', with a semantic development suggesting an intermediate stage of 'surviving', 'living through'. Thus, *vuan*

*nga një sëmundë* 'he lives through an illness' > 'he suffers of an illness'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 479 (from Slav *\*bolěti* 'to be ill'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* 73 (to Lith *voŭis* 'wound'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

vullnet m 'will'. Another form is *vullëndet*. Borrowed from Lat *voluntatem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 72; MEYER *Wb.* 479). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 158; LANDI *Lat.* 33, 88, 117.

vurg m, pl. *vurgje* 'marsh, swamp'. From PALb *\*wurga* related to Gk *ὀργᾶω* 'to be soaked', *ὀργᾶς* 'marsh, meadow'. ◊ FRISK II 411; POKORNY I 1169 (reconstructs *\*uerġ-*).

vrkollak m, pl. *vrkolleq* 'vampire'. Another form is *vrvollak*. Borrowed from Slav *\*vьlkodlakъ* 'werewolf, vampire', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vьzkolak*, SCr *vukodlak* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 479). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 69-70; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 185; SVANE 217.

vurratë f, pl. *vurrata* 'scar, mark, brand'. Borrowed from Lat fem. *vulnerata*, part. of *vulnerō* 'to wound'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 308 (derived from *varrë*).

(G) vûth m 'small valley'. Derived from *vû*, Geg participle of *vë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 308). ◊ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 71 (reconstructs *\*vud-*).

## X

xa adv. 'here you are'. A form of the verb *zë* with an initial *x-* < *z-* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 308).

xbunjë f 'fluff from spinning'. Derived from *xbut*, *zbut* 'to make soft', cf. *butë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 79 (to SCr *bunjak* 'rubbish').

xëgit aor. *xëgita* 'to irritate'. A metathesis of *guxit* id., *gëzit* id. based on *gaz*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 309 (to *cys* and *nxit*).

xixë f, pl. *xixa* 'spark'. A descriptive formation. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 79 (to Ital *cica*); HAMP *ABS* XVII 129-130.

**xunkth** m, pl. *xunktha* 'reed'. Diminutive of *cung* with a secondary sonorization of the anlaut (ÇABEJ *St.* II 309).

**xvar** adv. 'trailing, dragging'. A phonetic variant of *zvar*.

**xverk** m 'occiput'. A phonetic variant of *zverk*.

## Y

**vej** aor. *vejta* 'to stay awake'. Derived from *yll*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200, 215.

**yjězë** f 'ankle, knuckle'. Derivative of \**yl* (BARIC *AarbSt.* I 158-159) attested in *bërryl* and *ylber*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 460 (to *yll*); JOKL *Idg. Jb.* X 67 (identical with *nyjězë*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 312 (follows JOKL).

**ylber** m, pl. *ylberë*, *ylbera* 'rainbow'. From PALb \**ul(e)nā bhōra* 'rainbow' < \*'curve', a mirror reflection of PALb \**bhōrei ul(e)nā* > *bërryl* 'elbow' (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 67). For similar nomination of the rainbow cf. Slav \**doga* 'arc, curve' > 'rainbow'. It is possible to conjecture NGk ὠλένη 'elbow' > \*'rainbow' contaminated with ζωνάρι Παναγίας 'Our lady's belt' and ζωνάρι κυρᾶς Ἐλένης 'Lady Helen's belt' (BELECKII *Principy* 66-67; OREL *loc. cit.*). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 460-461, *IF* VI 114 f.; KRISTOFORIDHI 433 (from *yll ber*); ÇABEJ *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 PALb \**skīw-ila*, a derivative of \**skijā* > *hije* 'shadow' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 438-439). For the phonetic development of *-īwi-* > *-y-* cf. *grykë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 460 (to IE \**sulno-* or \**sūli-* 'sun'), *Alb. St.* III 43; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544, XXXVI 277-278 (accepts MEYER's comparison with \**sūli*); 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 *usli* '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 PALb \**awi-sta* related to IE \**auei-* 'bird' and \**stā-* 'to stand', originally 'to foretell according to birds, to augur', cf. Lat *augurāre*, *auspicāre*. ◇ POKORNY I 86; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195.

## Z

**zabel** m, pl. *zabele*, *zabela* 'little wood'. Borrowed from Slav \**zabělъ* id. attested in South Slavic (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 159). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 479 (to SCr *zabijeliti* 'to make white').

**zabua** ~ **zabue** m, pl. *zabonj* 'linch-pin'. Borrowed from Slav \**zabojъ*, cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *zaboj*, SCr *zaboj*. ◇ SVANE 34.

**zakon** m, pl. *zakone* 'custom, habit'. Borrowed from Slav \**zakonъ* 'law', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *zakon*, SCr *zakon* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 37; CAMARDA II 161; MEYER *Wb.* 480). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 53-54; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 177; SVANE 205.

**zall** m, pl. *zaje* 'river sand, river bank'. Borrowed as PALb \**aigjala* from Gk αἰγιαλός 'river bank' (CAMARDA I 93). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 480 (from Lat *sabulum* 'sand'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 118, *AarbSt.* I 100 (to OHG *kes* 'firm ground'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 70 (follows CAMARDA); ÇABEJ *St.* II 314-315 (to IE \**jēlo-* 'unripe, raw'); HAARMANN 147.

**zapëri** f, pl. *zapëri* 'crease, fold'. Derived from *zaparit* 'to crumple' borrowed from Slav \**zapariti*. ◇ 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* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 316).

**zbatoj** aor. *zbatova* 'to put into force, to carry out'. Borrowed from Rom \**exbattuere* 'to shake, to toss': Ital *sbattere*, Rum *zbat* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 103). ◇ PUŞCARIU *EWB* 180; ÇABEJ *St.* II 316-317 (against MEYER).

**zbatim** aor. *zbavita* 'to scatter'. Borrowed from Slav \**ъzbaviti* 'to get

rid of', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *izbav'a*, SCr *izbaviti* (MEYER *Wb.* 481).

*zbej* aor. *zbejta* 'to make pale'. Derived from PALb \**banja* (historically identical with *běj*) and related to Skt *bhāti* 'to shine', OIr *bán* 'white' and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 482 (to Slav \**běly* 'white'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 292; MAYRHOFER II 493-494; VENDRYES [B] 13; POKORNY I 104-105.

*zberkoj* aor. *zberkova* 'to tear, to rip'. Derived from *bark*, cf. Fr *éventrer* 'to disembowel, to tear open' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 317).

*zborak* m, pl. *zborakë, zborëq* 'martin'. Derived from *zborë*, variant of *borë*, cf. Fr *nivereau* id. and Russ *z'ablik* id. with a similar semantic motivation (KRISTOFORIDHI 368). ◊ STIER KZ XI 88 (to Goth *sparwa* 'sparrow'); MEYER *Wb.* 482 (to SCr *čvorak* 'starling'); PUŠCARIU *EWB* 1933 (to Rum *zbor* 'flight'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 317 (follows KRISTOFORIDHI).

*zbres* aor. *zbrita* 'to descend'. Derived from *pres*. ◊ HAMP *Festschr. Knobloch* 145-146 (from IE \**bherǵh-* 'to increase, to grow').

*zbruj* aor. *zbrujta* 'to soften'. Related to *mbruj* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 317).

(G) *zđerǵjâhem* refl. 'to spread oneself out, to sprawl'. Derived from *derǵjem*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 317-318 (prefixal formation based on *gjerë*).

*zdralë* f, pl. *zdrala* 'dirt'. Derived from *zdraj*, see *zdramë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 318).

*zdramë* f 'wound on horse's withers'. Derived from *zdraj* 'to swell, to make swell' (WEIGAND 104), a prefixal formation based on PALb \**d(e)ranja*. This verb is to be compared with Skt *dṛṇāti* 'to burst', Gk *δέρω* 'to skin, to flay' and the like (ÇABEJ *St.* II 318). ◊ MAYRHOFER II 59; FRISK I 368-370; POKORNY I 206-208.

*zemër* f, pl. *zemra* 'heart; middle'. A difficult word without any reliable explanation. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 483 (compares with Geg *zê* 'soul' and connects *zemër* with *zë* 'to seize'); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 202 (to ON *gaman* 'joy'); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 128 (from IE \**ghen-*, cf.

Gk *εὐθηνέω* 'to blossom' and its cognates); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 293, *Stratificazione* 99-100 (agrees with JOKL); ÇABEJ *ZfPhonetik* IX 212 f. (follows MEYER); HAAS 166 (to Phryg *κίμερος· νοῦς*, Hes.); HULD 132-133; LIUKKONEN *SSF* X 59 (to Lith *juosmuõ* 'belt').

*zeshk* aor. *zeshka* 'to make brown'. Derived from *zi* (MEYER *Wb.* 484). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 216, 222; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 115.

*zet* num. 'twenty'. From PALb \**w(i)džati* etymologically identical with IE \**uik̑nti* id.: Skt *vimsatī-*, Gk *εἴκοσι*, Lat *vīginti* (BOPP 512; CAMARDA I 170; MEYER *Wb.* 483). ◊ XYLANDER 306; MEYER *Alb. St.* II 24, III 17, 23; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 338, *Kelt. Gr.* I 186; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 101, *LKUBA* 103, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 91; BARIÇ *Hymje* 35, n. 2; LA PIANA *Studi* I 22, 40; PISANI *Saggi* 133; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 232; FRISK I 453-454; WALDE-HOFMANN II 788-789; MAYRHOFER III 199-200; POKORNY I 1177; HULD 133-134; HAMP KZ LXXXVII 252, n. 1 (*z-* as a reflex of \**uik̑-*), *Numerals* 900, 919, *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 95-96; ÇABEJ *ZfPhonetik* IX 207 f. (from \**jeug-t-* related to \**jugom* 'yoke'), *St.* II 318-319; SZEMERÉNYI *Numerals* 165; HULD 133-134; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 41 (on the development of \**wdž-* > *z-*), *ZfBalk* XXIII 144, *IF* XCIII 103; DEMIRAJ *AE* 425.

*zë ~ zâ* aor. *zura ~ zuna* 'to seize, to grasp, to touch'. From PALb \**džeina*, a derivative in \*-*no-* based on IE \**g'eja-* 'to overpower': Skt *jayā* 'force, power', *jayati* 'to win, to conquer', Gk *βίη* 'power'. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (to Skt *hā-* 'to reach'); MEYER *Wb.* 483 (from Slav \**jsz-imati* 'to take out'); SCHMIDT KZ LVII 13; WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 202 (reconstructs \**ghenō*); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 128 (from IE \**g'hen-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 292; MANN *Language* XXVI 383 (follows JOKL); PISANI *Saggi* 101, 128; FRISK I 235; MAYRHOFER I 419, 448; POKORNY I 469-470; ÇABEJ *BUSH* XIV/3 44-45 (to Skt *yāmati* 'to hold'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 62; HAMP *ZA* XXXI 92, *IF* XC 70-71; DEMIRAJ *AE* 426-427.

*zë ~ zâ* m, pl. *zëra ~ zana* 'voice'. From PALb \**džana* etymologically related to Arm *jain* 'voice', Slav \**zvonz* 'ringing, sound', IE \**ghyēn-* (MEYER *Wb.* 483, *Alb. St.* III 17, 39; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 306). ◊ CAMARDA I 85 (to Gk *ῥῆπος* 'voice, speech'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 172; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVIII 403 (compares *zë* with Gk *φωνή* 'sound'); JOKL *Studien* 7 (on the development of palatals before \*-*u-*), *IF*

XXXVI 99, 112, 116, *Mélanges Pedersen* 133-134, *Sprache* IX 124; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 294; PISANI *Saggi* 128; POKORNY I 490-491; ÖLBERG *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.

**zēmēr ~ zamēr** f, pl. *zēmēra ~ zamēra* 'late afternoon meal, late afternoon, tea time'. A difficult word. Maybe, a borrowing from Gk δειήμερον 'period of twenty-four hours', \*'afternoon'? ◊ CAMARDA I 107 (identifies *zēmēr* with *zemēr* as 'the center of the day'); ÇABEJ *ZfPhonetik* IX 214-215 (compares *zēmēr* with Gk ἡμῶν 'day', *Arm awr* id. which, however, do not explain the anlaut *z-*), *St.* II 319; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 41-42 (connection with *zē*).

**zērē ~ zanē** f, pl. *zēra ~ zana* 'goddess of forests, fairy, beautiful maiden'. Borrowed from Lat *Diana* (JOKL *Studien* 97-98). ◊ BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 400; WEIGAND *BA* I 254; PAVLOVIĆ *ZfBalk* I 73-74; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 122; ÇABEJ *St.* II 315-316, V 144-152; JANSON *Unt.* 62; LANDI *Lat.* 75, 94, 104.

**zgefelle** f, pl. *zgefelle* 'hole, cave, gallery, tunnel'. Derived from *zga-fulloj* 'to dig a pit'. The latter is a prefixal formation based on Rom \**cappulāre* 'to cut, to chop'. ◊ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 186-187 (from Rom \**dis-co-affibulāre*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 93-94 (to Lith *žiušpnis* 'handful'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 319-320 (to *gërfej*).

**zgarbë** f, pl. *zgarba* 'hollow (in a tree)'. Derived from *garbë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 320-321 (to *kalb*).

**zgavër** f, pl. *zgavra* 'hole'. Another variant is *zguer*. A prefixal form based on PAİb \**gawirā* related to IE \**geu-r-*, \**gou-r-* 'bent, crooked'. ◊ POKORNY I 397.

**zgerdhë** f, pl. *zgerdha* 'bronchial tube'. Derived from dial. *zgardh* 'to open', further related to *gardh* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 321). Note *zgerdhelë* 'hole', *zgerdhihem* 'to bare one's teeth' and *zgerdhagët* 'empty' going back to the same source (ÇABEJ *St.* II 321-322). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 306 (to *ngordh*).

**zgorkë** f, pl. *zgorika* 'deep place (in the river)'. Derived from *zguer*, see *zgavër*.

**zgrip** m, pl. *zgripe* 'side, edge, rim'. Based on PAİb \**gripa* related to OHG *krappfo* 'hook', ON *krappr* 'narrow'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 205 (to *shkrep*); JOKL *Studien* 35, *LKUBA* 116; POKORNY I 388; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 44 (reconstructs \**grip-*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 322-323 (follows MEYER).

**zgrof** m, pl. *zgrofe* 'stomach'. With a secondary *-f-* < *-p-*, a prefixal derivative of *gropë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 323). ◊ JOKL *AArbSt.* I 44 (from Lat *scrobis* 'ditch, dike').

**zgurdulloj** aor. *zgurdullova* 'to open wide (of eyes)'. A phonetic variant of *zgardhulloj* 'to open' derived from *zgardh* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 323-324).

**zgurdhë** f 'rectum'. Derived from *zguer*, cf. *zgavër* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 324). ◊ JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 141-143 (to *zorrë*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 100; CIMOCHOWSKI *BUSHT* XIII/2 45; HAMP *LB* XXIV/3 49; HULD 137; BEEKES *Lar.* 104 (untenable \**g'e-g'reH-do-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 427.

**zgjëbe** f 'itch, scab'. Borrowed from Lat *scabiēs* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 58). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1048; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 253; HAARMANN 148.

**zgjedhë** f, pl. *zgjedha* 'ox yoke'. From PAİb \**diš-gadā* formed with a prefix \**diš-* and related to *gjedh* 'cattle' (OREL *LB* XXIX/4 69-70). ◊ CAMARDA I 88 (to IE \**iugom* 'yoke'); MEYER *Wb.* 484 (from NGk ζεύγλα, ζεύλα); JOKL *Studien* 98-100 (derives *zgjedhë* from \**zd-ledhe*, further compared with *lidh*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 119 (follows CAMARDA and adds *Arm luc* 'yoke'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 324 (unconvincing parallels in Germanic: OFries *gadia* 'to tie, to unite', Germ *Gatte* 'spouse'); OREL *LB* XXIX/4 69-70 (accepts \**diš-* as a cognate of Gk δισ- 'double').

**zgjërbe** f, pl. *zgjërbe* 'moth'. Connected with *gjerb*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 321 (singularized plural of *zgarbë*).

**zgjic** m 'little bay'. Derived from *gji* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 324).

**zgjoi** aor. *zgjova* 'to wake, to rouse'. Borrowed from Rom \**exvigilāre* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1054). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* 120 (prefix *z-* + cognate of Skt *svāpa-* 'dream, sleep'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.



zgjua ~ zgjue m. pl. *zgjoi*, *zgjoi* 'beehive'. Based on \**gjuā* ~ *gjuē* borrowed from Lat *jānuā* 'door, entrance'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 484 (to Slav \**ulъjъ* id.); WEIGAND 105 (from Rom \**excavōne*); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 109, *LKUBA* 286 (from Rom \**excovus*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 325 (from \**glon-*).

zgjyrë f 'rust'. Borrowed from Lat *scōria* 'dross, slag' (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1053). ◇ HAARMANN 149.

zi adj., fem. *zezë* 'black'. From PALb \**džedi* (fem. *zezë* < \**džedjā*), etymologically connected with MHG *quāt* 'dirt', OE *cwéad* 'bad', Lith *gėda* 'shame', Slav \**gadъkъ* 'disgusting', \**gadъ* 'reptile, worm' < IE \**gʰed-* (JOKL *Stüdien* 100-102, *LKUBA* 27). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 484, *Alb. St.* IV 43 (to Lith *šilas* 'grey-haired', Latv *zils* 'blue'); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 33; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 293; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 64; GEORGIEV *Issledovanija* 120 (to Thracian proper names Ζειζας, Ζισις); POKORNY I 484; FRAENKEL 142; ÇABEJ *St.* II 325-326 (to Lith *jūodas* 'black' but the change \**j-* > Alb *z-* is unconvincing); MANN *Hist. Gr.* 110 (follows ÇABEJ); HULD 134-135 (to Slav \**židъkъ* 'liquid'); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VI 81-82; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 37; DEMIRAJ *AE* 427-428.

zid m 'wall'. Borrowed from Slav \**zidъ* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *zid*, SCr *zid* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 484). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 148, 173.

ziej aor. *zjeva* 'to boil, to cook'. From PALb \**džernja* based on a less frequent form *zie* id. < \**džera*. 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 \**gʰher-*: Gk θέρομαι 'to become hot, to warm, to burn', OIr *fogair* '(he) warms' and the like. See *zjarm*, *zjarr*. ◇ CAMARDA I 44, 89 (to Gk ζέω 'to boil' but Gk ζ- < IE \**j-* is never reflected as Alb *z-*!); MEYER *Wb.* 485 (borrowed from NGk ζέω '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 \**jes-* in connection with Ilyr *Aquas Jasas*); FRISK I 665-666; POKORNY I 493-495; ÇABEJ *St.* II 326-327; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 41 (follows MEYER).

zjarm m, pl. *zjarne* 'fire'. From PALb \**džerma* etymologically identical with Gk θερμός 'warm', Arm *jern* id. < \**gʰhermo-* (CAMARDA I

71; MEYER *Wb.* 485). ◇ 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; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201; HULD 135; DEMIRAJ *AE* 428-429.

zjarr m, pl. *zjarre* 'fire'. From PALb \**džera*, a new *o*-stem transformed from IE \**gʰheres-*, nom. sg. \**gʰheros*, cf. Skt *hāras-* 'flame, heat', Gk θέρος 'summer', Arm *jer* id. (OREL *ZfBalk* XXV/2 145). Further connected with *zjarm* (CAMARDA I 71; MEYER *Wb.* 485, *Alb. St.* III 18). ◇ 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 \**gʰher-muro-*); MANN *Language* XXVI 383; PORZIG *Gliederung* 163; PISANI *Saggi* 102, 130; ÇABEJ *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 *ē(x)mulgēre* 'to milk out, to drain out', cf. Rum *zmulge* (JOKL *BA* IV 196-198, *Slavia* XIII 287). ◇ PUȘCARIU *EWR* 182; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 124; ÇABEJ *St.* II 327.

zog m, p. *zogi* 'bird'. An Oriental *Wanderwort*, presumably, of Iranian origin, cf. Arm *jag* 'chick', NPers *zâq* 'cub' (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 18; HULD 135-136). ◇ STIER *KZ* XI 216 (to Gk ζῷον 'animal'); CAMARDA I 104 (to Gk ζῶω 'to live', thus implying a derivative of IE \**gʰē-*); MEYER *Wb.* 486 (to Skt *jahu-* 'young animal'); JOKL *Sprache* IX 143; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 338 (reconstructs \**ghāghos*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 294-295, *Stratificazione* 143; MANN *Language* XXVIII 36, *Hist. Gr.* 35; PISANI *Saggi* 120; POKORNY I 409; JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 445 (adduces Sogd *z'γ* 'kind of bird'); ÇABEJ *ZfPhonetik* IX 217-218 (to Lith *jėgà* 'strength', Gk ἦβη 'youth, youthful strength'), *St.* II 327-328; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 42, *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; HAMP *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 97-105 (reconstructs \**yike-gʰo-*, to \**yei-* 'bird'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 429-430.

zorrë f, pl. *zorrë* 'gut'. From PALb \**džarnā*, a long grade etymologically identical with Lith *žarnà* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 486, *Alb. St.* III 18) continuing IE \**gʰerā-* 'to swallow'. ◇ CAMARDA I 88 (to Gk ζώνη 'belt, girdle'), 120 (to Gk γορδή 'gut'); SOLMSEN *KZ* XXXIV 2-3; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 358; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 74; JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 139-

142 (to IE \*g<sup>h</sup>erā-); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 295, *Stratificazione* 100; ERNOUT-MEILLET 290; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to Lat *hīra* 'gut'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 22; PISANI *Saggi* 125; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 232; FRAENKEL 1291; POKORNY I 434-435; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 109; HAMP *LB* XXIV/3 49; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234; HULD 136-137; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 430-431.

**zot** m, pl. *zotërinj*, *zotër*, *zota* 'lord, master, god'. From PAIb \*w(i)tš-pati- etymologically identical with Skt *viś-pati-* 'lord of the house' (HAMP *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 95-96). The feminine form *zonjë* continues \*w(i)tš-patnjā. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (*zonjë* to Skt *jāni-* 'woman'); MEYER *Wb.* 486-487 (to Skt *jāyate* 'to be born'; *zonjë* compared with IE \*g<sup>h</sup>enā 'woman'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 324 (derives *zonjë* from \*g<sup>h</sup>enīā; interprets *zot* and *zonjë* as compounds including \*-potis and \*potniā, with the first component reconstructed as \*g<sup>h</sup>iā 'life'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 121-124 (from IE \*d<sup>h</sup>ieu-t-); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 295 (compares *zot* with Skt *jāspati-* 'house master'); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 33 (from \*g<sup>h</sup>iā-tā, to \*g<sup>h</sup>ei- 'to live'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; SZEMERÉNYI *Syncope* 375 (against TAGLIAVINI); SOLTA *Sprache* V 198-199; MAYRHOFER III 224-225; ÇABEJ *ZfPhonetik* IX 222 f. (to Gk ἅγιος 'saint'); BUDIMIR *AarbSt* IV/1 157-160, *GJA* XI/2 (1972[1974]) 85-86; PISANI *Sprache* VII 99-103 (< IE \*g<sup>h</sup>ēs-poti-/potni); OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 42 (on the phonetic development); KLINGENSCHMITT *Lldg.* 104 (from \*desjās + poti- similar to Arm *tēr* 'lord, master' < \*desjās + anēr); DEMIRAJ *AE* 431-432.

**zulë** f 'shout, glory'. The derivative *zulmë* 'glory' is more widespread. From PAIb \*dzulā, a zero-grade derivative of IE \*ghau(ə)- 'to call': Skt *hāvate*, Av *zavaiti*, Slav \*zъvati. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 487 (to *zurnë* < Turk *zurna* 'kind of flute'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 38 (to Gk ἵουλος 'down, the first growth of the whiskers and beard; corn-sheaf' - comparison based on the misunderstanding of the Greek word); ÇABEJ *St.* II 328-329 ("word of dubious origin").

**zushë** f 'heat, noon heat'. Borrowed, with an irregular z-, from Slav \*suša 'drought', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *suša*, SCr *suša*. ◊ HULD *KZ* XCVIII (from \*d<sup>h</sup>ieu + eus(i)ēH 'heat of the daytime sky').

**zverk** m 'occiput'. Derived from an unattested \*vark > \*verk based on *vjerr*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 488 (to Lith *gerklė* 'throat'); TAGLIAVINI *Dal-*

*mazia* 296, *Stratificazione* 100; CIMOCHOWSKI *ABS* III 42 (from z- + \*yorkos, further connected with W *cywarch* 'rope' < Celt \*kom-vor-ko-); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200; MOUTSOS *AIAK* 338-344 (borrowed from Gk σβέροκος 'nape of the neck'); HULD *KZ* CVII/1 165-171 (from Goth \*swairhs).

**zvjerdh** aor. *zvodha* 'to wean'. A prefixal form based on PAIb \*verdza related to Lith *veržiū*, *vežti* 'to lace, to tie', Latv *vērzt* 'to turn', Slav \*verzti 'to bind' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 488, *Alb. St.* III 18, 38, 72). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335 (from IE \*uert-); FRAENKEL 1230-1231; POKORNY I 1168-1169; DEMIRAJ *AE* 432.

**zymtë** adj. 'dark'. Originally \*zym, this is a derivative of *zi* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 329).

## Zh

**zharg** m 'snake skin'. Identical with *shark* (ÇABEJ II 330-331).

**zhdërvjellët** adj. 'adroit, deft, developed'. An expressive infigated form of the Italianism *zhvilloj* 'to develop'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 488 (from SCr *žrijeb* 'lot'); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 318 (to IE \*uel- 'to turn'); ÇABEJ II 331 (follows JOKL).

**zheg** m 'heat'. Borrowed from Slav \*žegъ id., cf. SCr *žega* 'sun-heat' (MEYER *Wb.* 488). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197.

**zhumbinë** f, pl. *zhumbina* 'gum'. Borrowed from Slav \*zqbina id. derived from \*zqobъ 'tooth' (SCHWYZER *KZ* LVII 259-260).

**zhur** m 'gravel'. Another variant is *shur*. Borrowed from Lat *saburra* 'sand ballast' (MEYER *Wb.* 420). ◊ HAARMANN 147; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 251.

(G) **zhys** aor. *zhyta* 'to dive'. From PAIb \*diš-ūd-tja derived from IE \*ued- ~ \*ud- 'water', see *mbys* (HAMP *Laryngeals* 139). ◊ CAMARDA I 89 (reconstructs a prefix *sh-* followed by the root related to Gk δύω 'to immerse'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 124 (to Gk βάπτω 'to dip'); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 246-247 (from IE \*udjō); POKORNY I 78-80; ÇABEJ II 332; HULD 90-91.

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