STUDIES IN THE ALBANIAN VOCABULARY

(Balkan etymologies 76 - 91)*

gloq

Alb. *gloq* 'matter from eyes, rheum (in eyes); testis', dial. *gëluq* id. (Cipo 1954, 141; Kristoforidhi 1961, 114; Mann 1948, 128) is synonymous with *g(ë)lepë* and it seems quite probable that both of them are morphologically similar. This structural resemblance is of special importance, since the etymology of *gloq* is unknown, while it is widely accepted that *g(ë)lepë* reflects Proto-Albanian (= PALb.) prefix **ka-* and the stem **laipa* derived from IE **leip-* 'to stick, to cling' (cf. Skt. *avalepa-* 'ointment' < **oyō-loipa*). Postulating the same prefix (*gë*) - < PALb. **ka-* in *gloq*, *gëluq*, one comes to a stem *-loq-/-luq-* which it is correct to identify with *loqe* 'penis, testis' related to Lith. *liaukà* 'gland'. Both *loqe* and *liaukà* reflect a long diphthong in **lēuk-* connected with IE **leuk-* 'white'. The matter from eyes is actually white and IE **leuk-* fits the designation of this kind of pus as well as the term for glands (cf. Slav. **belbmo* 'wall-eye' < **belb* 'white'). Another semantic pattern is represented in *g(ë)lepë*, with a very interesting parallel in Lat. *lippus* 'discharging matter (from the eyes)' connected with IE **leip-*.

Thus, *gloq* reflects PALb. **ka-lāukja* < IE **-lēukjō-*; the dialectal form *gëluq* is due to the development of unstressed Proto-Albanian root vowel to *-u-* with a later shift of the accent (cf. Orel 1983). As regards the voiced reflex of PALb. **ka-*, it is found in a number of words, cf. *gështellë* 'lath' < PALb. **ka-stelna* and the like.

gjuhë

Alb. *gjuhë* 'tongue, language' (Cipo 1954, 159; Kristoforidhi 1961, 129; Leotti 1937, 314-316) and its dialectal va-

riants, Chamian *gluhë* (Mann 1948, 149), Calabr. *gl'uγe* (Meyer 1891, 142) have no satisfactory explanation. Obviously enough, *gjuhë* has nothing to do with Gk. γλῶσσα 'tongue, language' (cf. La Piana 1939, 94: both from IE **gl̥ōgh-*) or with the Indo-European word for 'tongue' (despite Barić 1919, 35: *gjuhë* < **gl'undh(uā)* < **dlonghuā*). According to G. Meyer (1891, 142) this "Zusammenhang... ist nicht erweislich". With the etymology of γλῶσσα in mind, there are no grounds to compare *gjuhë* and γλῶσσα, the latter being described as "constitué avec le suffixe -y₂-" and derived from *γλῶξ (Chantraine 1968, 229-230, s. v. γλῶξες). One might try incidentally to treat *gjuhë* as a borrowing from Greek (Pisani 1959, 102), but it turns out to be impossible for phonological reasons (cf. Walde, Hofmann 1938, 807), since the change *-s- > Palb. *-x- took place long before the first linguistic contacts between Albanian and Greek, while the transformation of -ō- into -u- is typical of much later periods.

G. Meyer (1891, loc. cit.) has suggested a connection with Alb. *gjuaj* 'to call', *quaj* id., but *gjuaj* is most definitely a secondary variant of *quaj*, resp. Palb. **klā(u)nja* derived from IE **kleu-* (cf. Pokorny 1959, 605), and therefore Meyer's conjecture cannot be supported.

In the Proto-Albanian phonological system IE *s was treated in much the same way as in Indo-Iranian, Slavic and Lithuanian, namely, there was a special rule similar to the "ruki" rule, although in Albanian it operated in a more restricted position: IE *-s- > Palb. *-š- > Alb. -sh- after **ĩ* and **ũ* only (for a more detailed description see Orel 1983, 123). Otherwise, intervocalic IE *-s- underlied Palb. *-x- > Alb. -h-, -Ø-, e. g. *kohë* 'time' < IE **kēsa* compared with Slav. **časъ* id. < IE **kēsos* (despite E. P. Hamp's objections in Hamp 1972).

Now, it is apparent that *gjuhë* violates the "ruki" rule and, to escape contradiction, one needs to find a safer source of -u- in *gjuhë*, so that -u- would appear in *gjuhë* after the "ruki" rule had operated. Clearly, a promising way is to suggest that *gjuhë* reflects an earlier **gluxa* < **gl̥sa*, since long sonants **ḡ* and **l̥* changed to Alb. -ru-/-ur and -lu-/-ul- in contrast

to short $*r > -ir-/-ri-$, $*l > -il-/-li-$ (cf. Kalužskaja, Orel 1983, 17 ff.). This change followed the prior application of the "ruki" rule.

Such being the case, it is only natural to suggest that *gjuhë* is connected with IE $*gel(ə)-$ or $*g^{w}el(ə)-$ (Pokorny 1959, 365) found in Arm. *ekul* '(I) swallowed' OIr. *gelid* 'eats, swallows', Lat. *glutio* 'to swallow', Slav. $*glъtati$ id. The conjectured semantic shift $*\text{'to swallow'} \rightarrow \text{'tongue'}$ finds confirmation in another Albanian word for tongue *llapë* obviously derived from *llap* 'to lap up (of dogs or cats)', *llap* id. This verb could be compared with Gk. *λάπτω* 'to lap up', Lith. *lapènti* 'to swallow', Slav. $*lopati$ 'to eat up' (cf. Meyer 1891, 237). The same source could be suggested for Hitt. *allapaḫḫ-/allappaḫḫ-* 'to spit' ($< \text{IE } *l_p-$), cf. Kronasser 1962, 431; Tischler 1983, 15. Another example is OIr. *ligur* 'tongue' related to *ligim* 'to lick', Lat. *lingō* id.

Curiously enough, Alb. *llap* also means 'to chatter, to twaddle'. A more obvious derivational chain is found in Slavic where $*lopati$ coexists with $*lopotati$ $*\text{'to twaddle'}$ implying an unattested word for tongue $*lopotb/*lopotъ$ from which $*lopotati$ is likely to be derived.

lag

Alb. *lag* 'to wet, to soak, to bathe, to wash' (Cipo 1954, 256; Kristoforidhi 1961, 176; Leotti 1937, 545-546; Mann 1948, 233) is of unknown origin and etymological dictionaries do not add any relevant information to this statement (see Meyer 1891, 235: $\sim$ Slav. *vlaga*; Çabej 1976, 319-320: critical survey of existing etymologies).

The only certain fact (adduced by E. Çabej) is some kind of connection between *lag* and *lëng* 'liquid, juice, broth'. The latter could be treated as PALb. $*lānga$, a trace of nasalized present of *lag* $< \text{PALb. } *laga$. Further steps will be possible if we accept that *lagët*, *lëngët* 'wet, humid, damp' derived from *lag*, *lëng* is identical with *lēgatë*, *lëngatë*, *ligatë* 'marsh' (the variant *ligatë* has been influenced by *lig* 'ill'). While *lagët*

suggests PALb. **lǎgata*, *lǎgatǝ* implies a secondary stress **la-gáta*.

The etymology of *lǎgatǝ* has been found by G. Meyer (1892, 323) who has compared it with Illyr. *Λούγεον ἔλος* (Strab. VII 5,2), Lith. *liūgas* 'marsh' and Slav. **luža* 'puddle, pool'. As regards Illyrian, one could also mention *Lugione* (Tab. Peut.) and *Λουγίωνον* (Ptol. II 15,3), cf. Mayer 1957. The above forms are based on IE **leug-* (cf. Pokorny 1959, 686 erroneously citing Gk. *λύγαλος* 'shady'). It is possible now to suggest for *lag* a deeper reconstruction **lougō* implying a relatively recent nasalization of *lǎng*. Alb. *lagǝt* and *lǎgatǝ* reflect IE **lougoto-*, an adjective in **-to-* derived from the corresponding verb.

Alb. *me* 'insufficient, scanty, not full; insufficiency, lack' (Kristoforidhi 1961, 206) and *mej* 'to deprive' have been believed to reflect a borrowing from Latin or Italian (Meyer 1891, 273) which is hardly so. However, the passage on *me* in G. Meyer's dictionary contains the discussion of another possibility, namely, to compare *me* and *mej* with IE **men-* 'small'. This approach is to be most eagerly supported as far as it gives us a chance to reconstruct PALb. **mena* or **mani-/manu-*, the latter coinciding completely with Gk. *μᾶνυ' μικρόν*. *Ἀσπιᾶνες* (Hes.) and Arm. *manr* 'small, thin'.

One detail is of special interest here. In Albanian there is a synonym of *me*: Tosk. *metǝ*, Geg *metǝ*. It would be a mistake to treat it as an old derivate, since *-t-* remains unchanged after the final root consonant **-n-*. It seems much more plausible to suggest that *-tǝ* appeared here only after *me* had lost its final root consonant exactly as it happened in the case of *lehtǝ* 'light' replacing *le(h)* id.

Albanian word for marrow is *palcǝ*.

The Albanian word for marrow is *palcǝ*, *palçǝ*, *palsǝ*, *palǝz* (Cipo 1954, 370; Kristoforidhi 1961, 250; Leotti 1937, 920; Buchholz et al. 1977, 380 f.; Mann 1948, 342). The same word

is used to denote 'pith'. The variants *palcë* and *palçë*, as well as *palsë*, are obviously recent transformations of a more archaic and morphologically transparent *palëz* the latter being probably a derivate of *palë* 'pair; fold'. As regards *palë* it is related not only to Slav. **polb* 'half' and the like (Jokl 1911, 67), but also to Hitt. *palhi-* 'wide', Lat. *palam* 'evidently, manifestly' and Slav. **polb(jb)* 'hollow' (Slav. **polb* and **polb(jb)* were first compared by H. Pedersen, cf. Vasmer 1971, 320). The meaning of Slav. **polb(jb)* makes understandable the relationship between Alb. *palë* and *palcë*, since *palcë* designates a substance with which a hollow space within a bone or a plant is filled. Jokl (1911, 83) erroneously believed that the notion of 'openness', resp. 'hollowness' and the same root are reflected by Alb. *shpall* 'to declare'. However, *shpall* is only a phonetic variant of *shpërrall*, *shpërralloj* id. attested in Kristoforidhi 1961, 336. There is no doubt that *shpërrall*, *shpërralloj* is derived from *përrallë* 'fable' < Lat. *parabola* 'parable'.

The above Indo-European forms as well as Alb. *palë* and *palcë* should be related to IE **pelə-* expressing the idea of extension, cf. Pokorny 1959, 803 ff.

petë

Alb. *petë* 'layer (of a flaky *pâté*); metal plate; horseshoe; flat stone' (Kristoforidhi 1961, 257; Leotti 1937, 975; Buchholz et al. 1977, 401) has been rather ambiguously treated by G. Meyer (1891, 330) who has connected the word as well as its derivate *petull* 'small flat stone' with Gk. *πέταλον* 'leaf, metal plate' (from *πετάννυμι* 'to spread'). On the other hand, the meaning 'horseshoe' lead Meyer to believe that *petë* is borrowed from Slav. **pęta* 'heel' which is phonetically improbable.

Certainly, *petë* with its underlying notion of 'flatness' reflects IE **petə-* 'to spread' found in Av. *paθana-* 'wide', Gk. *πετάννυμι*, Lat. *pateō* 'to spread, to be open' and so on. To put it more exactly, *petë* reflects Palb. **pati-* < IE **poti-* belonging to **petə-*.

Gk. *πέτασος* 'large cap', as well as Celtic and Germanic

terms for thread (OWelsh *etern.* OE *fæðm* etc.), show that **petə-* was willingly used to form the names for clothes. It is therefore possible to suggest that Alb. *petkë* 'clothes, garments' formerly explained by G. Meyer (1891, 330) as a cognate of Goth. *paida* χιτών and Gk. βαίτη 'peasant clothes' (which is phonetically contradictory, cf. Pokorný 1959, 92) could be derived from *petë* and described as PALb. **patikā*. On the other hand, it is remarkable that the same root is also found in two Albanian words for plectrum. If it seems clear as far as *petëz* 'polishing; thin plate; plectrum' is concerned, it is somewhat less obvious (though not less certain) in the case of *patë* 'plectrum' which reflects an independent PALb. **pata* < IE **potos*.

Now, the fact that the meanings 'clothes' and 'plectrum' are compatible within one family of words gives us a possibility to eliminate one more item in the notorious list of so-called "autochthonic words in Rumanian" without evident parallels or etymologies (cf. Russu 1967, 215-216). Rum. *pînza* 'linen, canvas, cover' finds a good parallel in Alb. *pendëz* 'plectrum' and, moreover, it is borrowed from Albanian since *pendëz* has a transparent structure and is derived from *pendë* 'team (of oxen) etc.' To accept this hypothesis one needs to reconstruct a former meaning 'cover' for the Albanian word.

qep

Besides such words as *qep* 'beak, hammer' and *qepallë* 'eyelid' which are unmistakably qualified as Slavic borrowings (**klepъ*, **klepadlo*), Albanian has a verb *qep* 'to sew (together), to grasp' (Leotti 1937, 1149; Kristoforidhi 1961, 290) which cannot be a loan-word for morphological reasons. Taking into account the existence of *shqep* 'to unrip, to tear', G. Meyer (1891, 223) has looked, rather illogically, for a connection with IE **skep-*, although it is much better to divide *shqep* into a prefix *sh-* (< **eǵhs-*) and *-qep*. Meanwhile, it is equally impossible to derive *qep* from **kep-*, since *qep* has a nominal derivate *qapë* 'hobble' (o-grade) excluding any possibility of **kopa* as a source.

Alb. *qep* could be explained as PALb. **klepa* < IE **klepō*

and compared with Slav. **klepati* 'to beat, to knock' (cf. in particular Russ. *клепать* 'to join together by riveting') which looks isolated within the Indo-European vocabulary. A further and striking coincidence is found in *o*-grade deverbatives: Alb. *qapë* < **klopā* corresponds fairly well to Slav. **klopъka* (Bulg. *клопка* 'trap', *клопки* 'wattled implement to be put on feet to cross deep snow', SCr. *клопка* 'trap') being very close to each other. Both *qep* and **klepati* imply a dialectal Indo-European verb **klepō*; Slav. **klepati* is hardly of purely onomatopoeic origin despite Trubačev 1983, 9.

qetë

Alb. *qetë* '(jagged) rock' (Cipo 1954, 448; Mann 1948, 416) belongs to a long list of terms conditioned by the specific relief of the Balkans. E. Çabej (1976a, 61) explains the word as a singularized definite plural of *qye* (def. pl. *qejt*) 'summit, peak' < IE **kloinos*. However, *qetë* bears quite a faint resemblance with *qejt*, and to support this etymology it is necessary to make a number of additional conjectures. It is perhaps more adequate to treat *qetë* as only distantly related to *qye* (both of them reflecting IE **klei-*), the former being derived from PALb. **klaitā* < IE **kloitā* also found in such forms as Welsh *clud* 'heap' and Lith. *šlaitas* 'slope', and with other vocalism in Gk. *κλειτός* 'slope' OHG. *hlīta* id., Mir. *eliath* 'crates' etc.

ri, r(r)it

The etymology of Alb. *ri* 'new, young, recent' (Cipo 1954, 464; Kristoforidhi 1961, 298; Leotti, 1937, 1204; Mann 1948, 427) and *rit*, *rrit* 'to move up, to pull up, to increase, to grow' (Cipo 1954, 466; Kristoforidhi 1961, 306: only refl. *rritem* *μεγαλώνω*; Leotti 1937, 1234 f.; Mann 1948, 439: *rris*) has been clear since Meyer (1891, 367), though certain details need more exact formulation now. G. Meyer has described *rit*, *rrit* as related to IE **er(ə)d-*: **er(ə)dh-* 'high; to grow' (Slav. **orstō*, **orsti* 'to grow' and the like). He has reconstructed an earlier **rid* > *rit* and also thought of a connection with *ri*.

Clearly enough, *rit* cannot reflect **rid* for phonetic reasons, but it is not absolutely necessary to compare it with **er(ə)d(h)-* the latter being only a derivate of IE **er-* : **or-* 'to start moving, to stir' (Pokorny 1959, 326 ff.): Skt. *ṛṇōti* '(he) rises, moves', Gk. *ὄρνυμι* 'to stir, to put in motion' and the like. IE **er-* : **or-* had a *t*-participle **ṛtos* found in Skt. *ṛtd-* 'risen', Lat. *ortus* and, since we know that *t*-stems in Albanian were formed on the basis of this kind of participles, it is correct to conclude that Alb. *rit*, *rrit* < PALb. **rita* was derived from the original participle **ṛtos*. A parallel adjectival form in **-no-*, **ṛnos* could be the source of Alb. *ri*, cf. other adjectives derived from **er-* with similar semantic development: ON. *qrr* 'quick', OS. *aru* id.

rribë

Alb. *rribë* 'gale, wind; waterfall, torrent' (Cipo 1954, 477; Mann 1948, 439; Buchholz et al. 1977, 489: 'Windzug, scharfer Wind') could be fairly well explained as a noun related to IE **uerb(h)-* 'to turn, to bend' (Pokorny 1959, 1153), cf. Goth *waīrpan* 'to throw' and the like. The Proto-Albanian source of *rribë* is reconstructed as **wribā* implying zero-grade **urb(h)ā* and coinciding in every detail with Lith. *viřbas* 'rod, birchrod, twig' and Slav. **vrbā* 'pussy-willow'. As regards the Albanian word, the semantic shift of this kind is very frequent, cf. E. *wind* - *to wind*. On the meanings of Slavic and Lithuanian words cf. Būga 1959, 656 f. Although the zero-grade is also present in Greek, the *ā*-stem is only characteristic of Baltic, Slavic and Albanian.

shtrek

Alb. *shtrek* 'corpse, carrion' (Cipo 1954, 546; Leotti 1937, 1429; Mann 1948, 502) leads us to the reconstruction of PALb. **streka* and, further on, to IE **(ts)ter-* 'unclean liquid; manure' (Pokorny 1959, 1031-1032). This equation is quite satisfactory semantically as far as the same IE **(s)ter-* is represented in Slavic by Russ. -CSl. *сѣрвъ* *сѣрѣсѣ*, ORuss. *сѣрвъ* 'corpse, dead body'.

Besides a number of various forms reflecting IE **(s)ter-* (Av. *star-* 'to spot oneself, to sin', Arm. *t'arax* 'pus, liquid', Norw. *stor* 'rot' etc.), we find a group of words with a guttural suffix: Gk. στεργάνας νόσων (Hes.), Lat. *stercus* 'excrements', Bret. *stroñk* id., and also Welsh *trwne* without initial **s-*. Despite Pokorny's reconstruction of a palatal **-k̑-* in Latin and Celtic, **-k-* is obviously more acceptable, and one could postulate IE **ster-k-/stre-n-k-*, a case of Schwebelaut supported now by Alb. *shtrek* implying **stre-k-* without nasal element.

trashë

Alb. *trashë* 'thick, fat' (Cipo 1954, 571; Kristoforidhi 1961, 358; Leotti 1937, 1491; Mann 1948, 522) certainly does not reflect Lat. *crassus* 'fat' or Vulg. Lat. **grassus* id. (Meyer 1891, 435). It seems to be originally connected with agricultural activities, cf. *tokë e trashë* 'fat/fertile soil'. I suggest to derive it from **trousos*, an extension of IE **treu-* (Pokorny 1959, 1072 f.): Gk. τρώω 'to destroy, to exhaust', Welsh *trewis* '(he) struck', Lith. *trūniù*, *trūnyti* 'to rot', Slav. **trovg*, **truti* 'to destroy'. Alb. *trashë* is quite close to Slav. **truxa* '(hay) dust' < **trousā* (cf. Vaillant 1972, 56) and Lett. *trāuslis* 'fragile, brittle'. The semantic shift could be supported by what we find in supposed Baltic derivatives of IE **tres-* or **trek̑-*. The stem in question is reflected in Lith. *tręšiù*, *tręšti* 'to rot, to manure', *tręšėti* 'to rot', Lett. *tresu*, *tresēt* id. The corresponding noun is *trąšā* 'manure, dung', *trašai* 'motes, specks' while the adjective is *trąšūs* 'fat, fertile (of soil)', a striking phonetic and semantic parallel of Alb. *trashë*. As far as in Lithuanian forms with a nasal coexist with forms in *-u-* (cf. *trąšā* ~ *trūšā*, cf. Buga 1959, 178) it seems possible to treat nasalized variants as secondary and to equate Alb. *trashë* to Lith. *trąšūs*, the latter conceivably reflecting **trūs-*. If not so, the Lithuanian adjective still remains a fairly good semantic parallel to *trashë*.

ve, vë

Alb. *ve, vë* 'to put, to place' (Cipo 1954, 600; Kristoforidhi 1961, 375; Leotti 1937, 1607-1608; Mann 1948, 547) has a few bad etymologies and dramatically lacks a satisfactory one. While Mann (1952, 38) compared *ve* with Hitt. *wašmi-* 'to sell', Lat. *venum dāre* id. and the like (which is phonetically excellent, but semantically poor), Çabej (1976a, 278-280) thought of *ve* < PALb. **wedna* related to Gk. *οὔδαγ* 'ground, surface', Arm. *getin* id. (< **wedeno-*) which is semantically possible, but implies a number of phonetic and morphological difficulties, the comparison of *οὔδαγ* and *getin* being complicated by the initial *oũ-* of the Greek word. Moreover, **ud-/wed-* looks like a nominal stem (cf. also Friedrich 1952 s. v. *utne* 'earth') while in Albanian it is a verb, not a noun. Çabej's reconstruction also seems to be phonetically contradictory since *-n-* of the stem is rhotacized in Tosk (cf. participle *vura*) which is possible if *-n-* reflects **-sn-*, but not **-dn-*.

It seems reasonable to keep the prototype **wesna* for *ve*, but to connect it not with **ues-* 'to sell', but with **ues-* 'to stay, to live etc.' (Pokorny 1959, 1170): Skt. *vāsati* '(he) stays', Av. *vaŋhaiti* id., Arm. *goy* '(he) is', Mlr. *fō(a)id* '(he) spends the night', Goth *wisan* 'to be'. Hitt. *hūiš-* 'to live'. Then it is necessary to treat PALb. **wesna* < IE **wesnō* as a causative, and this is the only point in this etymology that seems to be rather weak since causatives in **-n-* are unknown in Albanian.

vrap

Alb. *vrap* 'run, running; haste, hurry, gallop' (Cipo 1954, 618; Kristoforidhi 1961, 388; Leotti 1937, 1642; Mann 1948, 564) is usually believed to reflect IE **uerp-* : **urep-* (Meyer 1891, 487 supported in Pokorny 1959, 1156). It is, nevertheless, phonetically impossible, as far as initial **ur-* was never unchanged in Albanian where it was regularly substituted by *rr-*.

To escape contradictions it is necessary to treat the initial *v-* in *vrap* as a prefix, cf. *v-des* 'to die', *v-ras* 'to kill', *v-djerr* 'to leave', *f-le* 'to sleep'. The prefix is usually re-

constructed as PALb. **au-* < IE **ou-* in spite of evident phonetic difficulties since **-wr-*, **-wl-* are likely to change to Alb. *-rr-*, *-ll-*. It is therefore much better to reconstruct a thematized prototype **awa-* < IE **ouo-* also found in Skt. *ava-*, *dva-* 'down', Av. *avā-* id. (Reichelt 1909, 302). Thematization could be also suspected in Hitt. *ua-*, *ue-*, cf. *uda-*, *ueda-* 'to bring', cf. Benveniste 1962, 33. For Slav. **u-*, Lith. *au-* and OPruss. *au-* see Endzelīns 1905, 60f.; Fraenkel 1920, 26.

Alb. *vrap* implies PALb. **awa-rapa*, an *o*-grade noun which makes one think of a motivating verb with **-e-* as a root vowel. I believe, this verb is Alb. *rjep*, *rrjep* 'to strip off (skin or bark), to tear off' < PALb. **repa* related to Lat. *rapiō* 'to seize, to grasp', Lith. *aprépti* id. etc. The crucial point of this etymology is the semantic shift 'to tear (off)' → 'to run (away)'. One could adduce a number of similar facts, cf. Russ. *дпать* 'to run away', *дпать дпъу* id., dial. *удор* 'running away' ~ Russ. *дпать* 'to tear (off)'; Ukr. *чечати* 'to go, to run', Russ. *чечать* 'to move, to go quickly' ~ Slav. **česati* 'to scratch, to tear off'; Maced. *кача* 'to trot', SCr. *kāčari* id. ~ Slav. **kasati* (*se*) 'to touch' < IE **kes-* 'to cut'. The same semantic shift is valid for Alb. *vdjerr* 'to leave' (< **to run away*) ~ PALb. **awa-der-na* derived from IE **der-* (denoting 'tearing off' and 'running away' despite Pokorny 1959, 204 and 206 suggesting homonymy); Skt. *dr̥ṇāti* '(he) bursts' ~ *drāti* '(he) runs away'; Gk. *δέρω* 'to strip off (skin)' ~ aor. *ἔδρυν* '(I) ran away'.

One finds a strikingly close parallel to Alb. *vrap* < PALb. **awa-rapa* in Illyrian PN *Aurupium*, *Aurupio* which seem to be identical with *vrap* as far as root and prefix are concerned (cf. Mayer 1957, 69; on *au-* in Illyrian see Krahe 1955 s. v.). It is worth mentioning that there is another etymological possibility for *vrap* if one thinks of Lett. *rāpt* 'to creep', OPruss. *rīpaiti* 'folget' (cf. Trautmann 1910, 416, 425), Lat. *rēpere* 'to creep' and the like. It could be conjectured that IE **rep-* as a verbum movendi reflects a metaphorical use of **rep-* 'to tear off; to grasp'.

Alb. *yll*, *hyll* 'star' (Cipo 1954, 625; Kristoforidhi 1961, 139, 391; Leotti 1937, 1661; Mann 1948, 571) is enigmatic. It sounds so much like the Indo-European word for sun that it caused G. Meyer (1891, 460) to think that (h)*yll* could be actually derived from **sulno-* (Slav. **solnboe* 'sun') or **sūl-* (Oir. *sūil* 'eye'.) However, it is impossible to explain (h)*yll* as a derivative of IE **sāuel-* : **sūl-* without violating regular phonetic correspondences between Albanian and Indo-European. This resemblance should be therefore qualified as a coincidence. Initial **s-* of the Indo-European word could not possibly develop to Alb. *h-*/ *Ø-* since its normal reflection is Alb. *gj* before any vowel, and it is difficult to find reasonable exceptions of this rule.

The etymology I am going to suggest here is based on a recently discovered phonetic rule attested by two Albanian words, *qytet* 'city' and *grykë* 'throat'. In Orel 1985 Alb. *qytet* is treated as a proof of a very particular phonetic transformation PALb. *-*ŷwĩ-* > Alb. -*y-* since *qytet* reflects Lat. **cīvitāte(m)* 'city'. The same rule is applied to *grykë* < PALb. **grīwīkā* related to IE **ǵ^wrīyā* 'neck'.

Now, I believe Alb. (h)*yll* to be the third case for which this rule should be postulated and I derive (h)*yll* from PALb. **xīwīla* connected with IE **skījā* 'light, shadow', **skēi-* 'to shine' (Pokorny 1959, 917): Skt. *chāyā* 'glitter', Gk. *σκιά* 'shadow' ON. *skī* 'hypocrisy', Lett. *seja* 'shadow', Alb. *hie* id. etc. The corresponding verb is found in Goth. *skeinan* 'to shine', Slav. **sijati* etc. It is worth mentioning that the Proto-Albanian reconstruction **xīwīla* is supported by dialectal data, namely, by a curious plural *uvill*, *ovill* 'stars' (Meyer 1891, 460; Mann 1948, 571). The present etymology facilitates the interpretation of Alb. *hyj* 'God' which can be treated now not only as a singularized plural of *hyll*, but - with more efficiency - as a result of the semantic shift attested in IE **deiwo-* : **dieu-*.

Proto-Albanian suffix *-*il-a* is definitely related to the Indo-European suffix of postverbal adjectives *-*l-* (Arm. -*l* in the infinitives, Lyd. -*l-* in the preterite, Lat. -*lo-* in nomina

agentis etc., cf. Brugmann 1904, 328; Ivanov 1965, 49 f.; Ivanov 1981). The element *-w- is probably connected with PALb. *-w- > Alb. -v- in aorists where it is treated as a trace of Indo-European preterial *-u-, probably from *-H^w-, for more details see Orel 1985a. Since Greek and Slavic data point to a set *s^hkeiH- (cf. Illič-Svityč 1971, 199), it is of some importance that preterites and infinitives in *-u-/*-i- (cf. Slav. *sijati) are characteristic of sets. Therefore, PALb. *xiwila implies IE *s^hkiuilo- and an earlier *s^hk(e)iH^w-ilo-. It is highly plausible that Proto-Albanian possessed a corresponding verb *xiwa < IE *s^hk(e)iH^w-o though it was never attested in Albanian.

ziej

Alb. *ziej* 'to boil, to cook' (Cipo 1954, 635; Kristoforidhi 1961, 394; Leotti 1937, 1687; Mann 1948, 581) has been treated by Çabej (1976a, 326 f.) as a cognate of Skt. *yāsati* '(he) boils', Gk. *ζέω* 'to boil' etc. derived from IE **ies-* (Pokorny 1959, 506; cf. also Camarda 1864, 89). This etymology cannot be accepted for it is based on a gratuitous hypothesis supposing IE **i-* > Alb. *z-*. Meyer (1891, 485; 1896, 106) and Jokl (1931, 294) were at least conscious it was phonetically impossible and thought of a Greek borrowing in Albanian (*ziej* < Gk. *ζέω*). However, their explanation is not quite adequate since it does not take into account the existence of *zie* 'to boil, to cook'.

I believe that both *zie* and *ziej* are of Indo-European origin though they are not connected with **ies-*. Alb. *zie* and *ziej* form a pair similar to *bie* 'to carry' ~ (m)*baj* 'to hold' *djeg* 'to burn' ~ *dhez* 'to put on fire'. Here the second verb in every pair is a causative formed with the Indo-European suffix *-ei- > PALb. *-j- : (m)*baj* < PALb. *-barja < IE *bhoreiō (= Gk. *φορέω*), *dhez* < PALb. *dedžja or *dadžja < IE *dhe/og^wheio (= Lat. *foveō*), cf. Pedersen 1900, 323 f.; Jokl 1916, 105; Jokl 1923, 333. It is therefore possible to explain *zie* as PALb. *džera identical with Gk. *θέρμα* 'to become hot, to warm, to burn' and OIr. *fogair* '(he) warms' based on IE *g^wherō (for the phonetic development of *zie*, cf. *bie*). Alb. *ziej* should be explained as an old causative *g^whereio < PALb. *džerja. The

thematic present found in *zie* is rather rare; usually it is substituted as in Slav. **grěti* < IE **g^whrē-* (this stem variety also exists in Albanian, cf. *ngroh* 'to make warm' - Pedersen 1900, 320). As far as *zie* is now a dialectal relic in Albanian and medial and causative meanings are easily neutralized with this type of verbal semantics, the lack of semantic contrast between *zie* and *ziej* seems to be quite understandable.

* The preceding paper of this series see in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 1986 (in print).

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Povzetek

DONESKI K ALBANSKEMU BESEDIŠČU (BALKANSKE ETIMOLOGIJE 76-91)

Članek vsebuje predloge etimologij za naslednje albanske lekseme: glog 'izcedek iz oči; modo', gjuhë 'jezik', lag 'zmočiti, namočiti, kopati, umiti', me 'nezadosten, pičel, nepoln; nezadostnost, pomanjkanje', palcë 'mozeg', petë 'plast (neke jedi); kovinska plošča; kopito; ploščat kamen', qep 'sešiti, zgrabiti', qetë 'nazobčana skala', ri 'nov, mlad, nedaven', r(r)it 'premakniti navzgor, potegniti gor, (na)rasti', rribë 'mrzel) veter; slap, hudournik', shtrek 'truplo, kadaver', trashë 'debel', ve vë 'položiti', vrap 'teči, tek; hiteti, galopirati', (h)yll 'zvezda', ziej 'kuhati'.