STUDIES IN THE ALBANIAN VOCABULARY
(Balkan etymologies 76 - 91)*

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

Thus, **glouq** reflects PAlb. *ka-lauka < IE *lēuk-; the dialectal form **gülouq** 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. **gushtellë 'lath' < PAlb. *ka-stellna** and the like.

Alb. **gjuhër** 'tongue, language' (Cipo 1954, 159; Kristoforidhi 1961, 129; Leotti 1937, 314-316) and its dialectal va-
riants, Chaman gluhē (Mann 1948, 149), Calabr. gleuγε (Meyer 1891, 142) have no satisfactory explanation. Obviously enough, gjuhē has nothing to do with Gk. γλώσσα 'tongue, language' (cf. La Piana 1939, 94: both from IE *glōgh-) or with the Indo-European word for 'tongue' (despite Barić 1919, 35: gjuhē < *gli'undh(yā) < *dlonghymā). According to G. Meyer (1891, 142) this "Zusammenhang... ist nicht erweislich". With the etymology of γλώσσα, in mind, there are no grounds to compare gjuhē and γλώσσα, the latter being described as "constitué avec le suffixe -ya 2 -" and derived from *γλώς (Chatraine 1968, 229–230, s. v. γλώός). One might try incidentally to treat gjuhē 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 -ē- 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. *kla(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 *š and *ǔ only (for a more detailed description see Orel 1983, 123). Otherwise, intervocalic IE *-s- underlied PAlb. *-x- > Alb. -h-, -o-, e. g. kohē 'time' < IE *kōsā compared with Slav. *časь id. < IE kāsos (despite E. P. Hamp's objections in Hamp 1972).

Now, it is apparent that gjuhē violates the "ruki" rule and, to escape contradiction, one needs to find a safer source of -u- in gjuhē, so that -u- would appear in gjuhē after the "ruki" rule had operated. Clearly, a promising way is to suggest that gjuhē reflects an earlier *gluza < *gū̂za, since long sonants *o and *o changed to Alb. -ru/-ur and -lu/-ul- in contrast
to short *g > -ir/-ir-, *g > -il/-il- (cf. Kalužskaja, Orel 1983, 17 ff.). This change followed the prior application of the "rukî" rule.

Such being the case, it is only natural to suggest that gjuh is connected with IE *gela(ə) - or *gel(ə) - (Pokorny 1959, 365) found in Arm. ekul ' (I) swallowed' OIr. gellid 'eats, swallows', Lat. glutio 'to swallow', Slav. *gibati id. The conjectured semantic shift *'to swallow' → 'tongue' finds confirmation in another Albanian word for tongue llap: obviously derived from llap 'to lap up (of dogs or cats)', lap id. This verb could be compared with Gk. λατω 'to lap up', Lith. lapėti 'to swallow', Slav. *lopati 'to eat up' (cf. Meyer 1891, 237). The same source could be suggested for Hitt. allapabb- / allappagb- 'to spit' (< IE *lp-), 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 'to twaddle' implying an unattested word for tongue *lopotb/*lopotb 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: Slav. Vlaga; Čabej 1976, 319-320: critical survey of existing etymologies).

The only certain fact (adduced by E. Čabej) is some kind of connection between lag and læng 'liquid, juice, broth'. The latter could be treated as PAlb. *længa, a trace of nasalized present of lag < PAlb. *laga. Further steps will be possible if we accept that lagēt, længēt 'wet, humid, damp' derived from lag, læng is identical with lægatē, længatē, ligatē 'marsh' (the variant ligatē has been influenced by lig 'ill'). While lagēt
suggests PAlb. *lđgata, lđgato* implies a secondary stress *la-
gata*.

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

me

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. μάνυ· μικρόν.

Αθαμάνες (Hes.) and Arm. manr 'small, thin'.

One detail is of special interest here. In Albanian there is a synonym of me: Tosk. metë, Geg metë. It would be a mistake to treat it as an old derivate, since -të remains unchanged after the final root consonant *-n-. It seems much more plausible to suggest that -të appeared here only after me had lost its final root consonant exactly as it happened in the case of lehtë

'light' replacing le(h) id.

palë

The Albanian word for marrow is palë, palë, palse, palëz (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 *pales and *palēs, as well as *palsē, are obviously recent transformations of a more archaic and morphologically transparent *palēs the latter being probably a derivate of *palē 'pair; fold'. As regards *palē it is related not only to Slav. *polē 'half' and the like (Jokl 1911, 67), but also to Hitt. palēji- 'wide', Lat. palēm 'evidently, manifestly' and Slav. *polē (jb) 'hollow' (Slav. *polē and *polē (jb) were first compared by H. Pedersen, cf. Vasmer 1971, 320). The meaning of Slav. *polē (jb) makes understandable the relationship between Alb. palē and palēs, since palēs 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 shperrall, shperralloj id. attested in Kristoforidhi 1961, 336. There is no doubt that shperrall, shperralloj is derived from perrallē 'fable' < Lat. parabola 'parable'.

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

petē

Alb. petē 'layer (of a flaky pate); 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 petē is borrowed from Slav. *peta 'heel' which is phonetically improbable.

Certainly, petē with its underlying notion of 'flatness' reflects IE *petē- 'to spread' found in Av. paṭana- 'wide', Gk. πετάννυμι, Lat. pateo 'to spread, to be open' and so on. To put it more exactly, petē reflects PAlb. *pati- < IE *poti- belonging to *pete-.

Gk. πέταλος 'large cap', as well as Celtic and Germanic
terms for thread (OWelsh stem. OE *fzám etc.), show that *pete- was willingly used to form the names for clothes. It is therefore possible to suggest that Alb. petkû 'clothes, garments' formerly explained by G. Meyer (1891, 330) as a cognate of Goth. paida χιτών and Gk. Αἰμή 'peasant clothes' (which is phonetically contradictory, cf. Pokorny 1959, 94) could be derived from pete 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 pete 'polishing; thin plate; plectrum' is concerned, it is somewhat less obvious (though not less certain) in the case of patē '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, 115-216). Rum. pînza 'linen, canvas, cover' finds a good parallel in Alb. pendész 'plectrum' and, moreover, it is borrowed from Albanian since pendész has a transparent structure and is derived from pendesz '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 (*klepa, *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- (< *eğhs-) 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. к л е п а т ь '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. qap~ < *klopā corresponds fairly well to Slav. *klop'ka (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 *klepo; Slav. *klepati is hardly of purely onomatopoeic origin despite Trubachev 1983, 9.

qetē

Alb. qetē '(jagged) rock' (Cipo 1954, 448; Mann 1948, 416) belongs to a long list of terms conditioned by the specific relief of the Balkans. E. Čabej (1976a, 61) explains the word as a singularized definite plural of que (def. pl. qejt) 'summit, peak' < IE *kloinos. However, qetē 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 qetē as only distantly related to qye (both of them reflecting IE *klei-), the former being derived from PAlb. *klaitā < IE *kloïtā also found in such forms as Welsh clod 'heap' and Lith. šlažtas 'slopes', and with other vocalism in Gk. κλειτός 'slopes' OHG. hlīta id., Mir. cītath '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: rritis) 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)ā: *er(ə)āh- 'high; to grow' (Slav. *orstg, *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(a)d(h)-the latter being only a derivate of IE *er-: *or- 'to start moving, to stir' (Pokorny 1959, 326 ff.): Skt. गेम्मः '(he) rises, moves', Gk. οὖμε 'to stir, to put in motion' and the like. IE *er-: *or- had a t-participle *̄ōtos found in Skt. ग्वत- '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 *̄ōtos. A parallel adjectival form in *ā-no-, *ānos could be the source of Alb. *ri, cf. other adjectives derived from *er- with similar semantic development: ON. ðrr 'quick', OS. aru id.

**rribë**

Alb. rrribë '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 *yerb(h)- 'to turn, to bend' (Pokorny 1959, 1153), cf. Goth waþrpan 'to throw' and the like. The Proto-Albanian source of rrribë in reconstructed as *wribë implying zero-grade *̄uþb(h)ā and coinciding in every detail with Lith. vībās 'rod, birchrod, twig' and Slav. *věra '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. стъръбъ 'nekroos', ORuss. стъръбъ 'corpse, dead body'.
Besides a number of various forms reflecting IE *(s)ter­
(Av. *star- 'to spot oneself, to sin', Arm. *'arax 'pus, liquid',
Norw. *stor 'rot' etc.), we find a group of words with a guttu­
ral suffix: Gk. στεργάνος' κόπων (Hes.), Lat. stercus 'ex­
crements', Bret. stround id., and also Welsh *trunc without ini­
tial *s-. Despite Pokorny's reconstruction of a palatal *-k- in
Latin and Celtic, *-k- is obviously more acceptable, and one
could postulate IE *ster-k-/*stre-n-k-, a case of Schwebeablaut
supported now by Alb. shtrek implying *stre-k- without nasal ele­
ment.

Alb. trashë 'thick, fat' (Cipo 1954, 571; Kristoforidhi 1961,
358; Leotti 1937, 1491; Mann 1948, 522) certainly does not-ref­
lect Lat. orassus 'fat' or Vulg. Lat. *grassus id. (Meyer 1891,
435). It seems to be originally connected with agricultural ac­
tivities, cf. tokë e trashë 'fat/fertile soil'. I suggest to de­
rive it from *trousos, an extension of IE *treu- (Pokorny 1959,
107f.): Gk. τρῦω 'to destroy, to exhaust', Welsh trewis '(he) struck',
Lith. trunià, trūnītī 'to rot', Slav. *troug, *truti 'to destroy.
Alb. trashë is quite close to Slav. *truxa '(hay) dust' <
*trousa (cf. Vaillant 1972, 56) and Lett. trūslīs 'fragile,
brittle'. The semantic shift could be supported by what we find
in supposed Baltic derivates of IE *tres- or *trek-. The stem
in question is reflected in Lith. trūšià, trūšitī 'to rot, to ma­
nure', trešētī 'to rot', Lett. tresa, trešēt id. The correspon­
ding noun is trūša 'manure, dung', trušal 'motes, specks' while
the adjective is trušas 'fat, fertile (of soil)', a striking
phonetic and semantic parallel of Alb. trashë. As far as in Li­
thuanian forms with a nasal coexist with forms in *-u- (cf. tru­
ša ∼ trūša, cf. Buga 1959, 178) it seems possible to treat na­
salized variants as secondary and to equate Alb. trashë to Lith.
trušas, the latter conceivably reflecting *truš-. If not so, the
Lithuanian adjective still remains a fairly good semantic paral­
lel to trashë.
Alb. ve, v̄e '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. *wesna related to Gk. οὖδας ‘ground, surface’, Arm. getin id. (<_*yedence-) which is semantically possible, but implies a number of phonetic and morphological difficulties, the comparison of οὖδας and getin being complicated by the initial ō- of the Greek word. Moreover, *wud-/*wes- 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 *yes- ‘to sell’, but with *yes- ‘to stay, to live etc.’ (Pokorny 1959, 1170): Skt. vásati ‘(he) stays’, Av. vaḥaity id., Arm. goy ‘(he) is’, Mir. fo(a)id ‘(he) spends the night’, Goth wisan ‘to be’. Hitt. ḫuš- ‘to live’. Then it is necessary to treat PAلب. *wesná < IE *yessenā 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 *yerp- : *yrep- (Meyer 1891, 487 supported in Pokorny 1959, 1156). It is, nevertheless, phonetically impossible, as far as initial *yr- 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 PA\textsuperscript{L}b. *au- < IE *ou- in spite of evident phonetic difficulties since *-wr-, *-vl- are likely to change to Alb. -rr-, -ll-. It is therefore much better to reconstruct a thematized prototype *awa- < IE *o\textsuperscript{o}o- also found in Skt. awa-, av- 'down', Av. av\textsuperscript{\text{\text{\textendash}}} id. (Reichelt 1909, 302). Thematization could be also suspected in Hitt. ya-, ye-, cf. u\text{\text{\textdagger}}a-, yeda- 'to bring', cf. Benveniste 1962, 33. For Slav. *\text{\text{\textdagger}}u-, Lith. au- and O\text{\text{\textdagger}}russ. au- see Endzel\text{\text{\textdagger}}ns 1905, 60f.; Fraenkel 1920, 26.

Alb. vrap implies PA\textsuperscript{L}b. *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. r\text{\text{\textdagger}}jep, r\text{\text{\textdagger}}jep 'to strip off (skin or bark), to tear off' < PA\textsuperscript{L}b. *rep\text{\text{\textdagger}} related to Lat. rapi\text{\text{\textdagger}}d 'to seize, to grasp', Lith. apr\text{\text{\textdagger}}pt\text{\text{\textdagger}} id, etc. The crucial point of this etymology is the semantic shift 'to tear (off)' \textleftarrow 'to run (away)'. One could adduce a number of similar facts, cf. Russ. драть 'to run away', дать дере id., dial. удор 'running away' \sim Russ. драть 'to tear (off)'; Ukr. чесати 'to go, to run', Russ. чесать 'to move, to go quickly' \sim Slav. *\text{\text{\textdagger}}desati 'to scratch, to tear off'; Maced. кеса 'to trot', SCR. чесати id. \sim Slav. *кесати (sg) 'to touch' < IE *\text{\text{\textdagger}}kes- 'to cut'. The same semantic shift is valid for Alb. v\text{\text{\textdagger}}jerr 'to leave' ( < *'to run away') \sim PA\textsuperscript{L}b. *awa-dena derived from IE *der- (denoting 'tearing off' and 'running away' despite Pokorny 1959, 204 and 206 suggesting homonymy); Skt. др\text{\textsuperscript{\text{\textendash}}} (he) bursts' \sim dr\text{\textsuperscript{\text{\textdagger}}} (he) runs away'; Gk. ἔρπω 'to strip off (skin) ' \sim aor. ἔρπαν ' (I) ran away'.

One finds a strikingly close parallel to Alb. vrap < PA\textsuperscript{L}b. *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', O\text{\text{\textdagger}}russ. rīpaiti 'folget' (cf. Trautmann 1910, 416, 425), Lat. rēperse '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'.

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Alb. yll, hyll 'star' (Cipo 1954, 625; Kristofoirihi 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. *sînace 'sun') or *sûl- (Oir. sûl 'eye'). However, it is impossible to explain (h)yll as a derivative of IE *sâkel- : *sûl- 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- since its normal reflection is Alb. g 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 gryke 'throat'. In Orel 1985 Alb. qytet is treated as a proof of a very particular phonetic transformation PAlb. *-iô- > Alb. -y- since qytet reflects Lat. *ovitāte(m) 'city'. The same rule is applied to gryke < PAlb. *grîwîkā related to IE *ôwîkā '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. *xîwîla connected with IE *skîrya 'light, shadow', *skéi- 'to shine' (Pokorny 1959, 917): Skt. chāyā 'glitter', Gk. óxuā 'shadow' ON. skē 'hypocrisy', Lett. seja 'shadow', Alb. kie id. etc. The corresponding verb is found in Goth. skēinan 'to shine', Slav. *sijati etc. It is worth mentioning that the Proto-Albanian reconstruction *xîwîla is supported by dialectal data, namely, by a curious plural uvîll, ovîll '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 *deîno- : *dîeu-.

Proto-Albanian suffix *-îl-α 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 *-Hw-, for more details see Orel 1985a. Since Greek and Slavic data point to a set *skēiH- (cf. Illič-Svityč 1971, 199), it is of some importance that preterites and infinitives in *-v-/*-i- (cf. Slav. *stijati) are characteristic of setś. Therefore, PAlb. *xiwila implies IE *s̆k̆iHlo- and an earlier *s̆(e)Hwlo-. It is highly plausible that Proto-Albanian possessed a corresponding verb *xīwa < IE *s̆(e)Hw theo 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. λέω 'to boil' etc. derived from IE *i̯es- (Pokorny 1959, 506; cf. also Camarda 1864, 89). This etymology cannot be accepted for it is based on a gratuitous hypothesis supposing IE *i̯- > Alb. ziej. 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. λέω). However, their explanation is not quite adequate since it does not take into account the existence of ziej 'to boil, to cook'.

I believe that both zie and ziej are of Indo-European origin though they are not connected with *i̯es-. Alb. zie and ziej form a pair similar to bie 'to carry' ~ (m)baj 'to hold' djeq 'to burn' ~ dhes '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 *bhorejā (= Gk. φορέω), dhes < PAlb. *dedžja or *dadžja < IE *dhe/ogwhejo (= 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. ἑρωυμα 'to become hot, to warm, to burn' and OIr. fogeir '(he) warms' based on IE *gʷherjā for the phonetic development of ziej, cf. biej). Alb. ziej should be explained as an old causative *gʷhejāo < PAlb. *džerja. The
Thematic present found in zie is rather rare; usually it is substituted as in Slav. *grěći < IE *gʷhrē-—(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).

References


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Članek vsebuje predloge etimologij za naslednje albanske lekseme: glog 'izcedek iz oči; modo’, gjuhē 'jezik', lag 'zmočiti, namočiti, kopati, umiti', me 'nezadosten, pičel, nepoln; ne-zadostnost, pomanjkanje', palcē 'mozeg', petē 'plast (neke jedi); kovinska plošča; kopito; ploščat kamen', ģep 'sešiti, zgrabiti', getē 'nazobčana skala', ri 'nov, mlad, nedaven', r(r)it 'premakniti navzgor, potegniti gor, (na)rasti', rribē 'mrzel) veter; slap, hudournik', shtrek 'truplo, kadaver', trashē 'debel', ve vē 'položiti', vrap 'teči, tek; hiteti, galopirati', (h)yll 'zvezda', ziej 'kuhati'.