[Text version of database, created 19/10/2011].

Annotated Swadesh wordlists for the Albanian group (Indo-European family).

<u>Languages included</u>: Tosk Albanian [alb-alb].

Data sources.

Mançe et al. 2005 = Mançe, Mukades; Zykaj, Xhemile; Dhimitri, Lidja; Myrto, Ludmilla; Malo, Natasha. Fjalor Rusisht-Shqip. Tiranë: EDFA. // (A 35,000-item Russian-Albanian dictionary of the standard literary language.)

Коçі & Skendi 1950 = Коçі, R. & Serebrenjikov, B. A. Fjalor i Shkurter Shqip-Rusisht [Краткий албанско-русский словарь]. Москва: Государственное Издательство Иностранных и Национальных словарей. // (A 12,000-item Albanian-Russian dictionary of the standard literary language).

Mann 1948 = Mann, Stuart E. An Historical Albanian-English Dictionary. London-New York-Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd. // Classic dictionary with references to the oldest recorded sources of Albanian lexical etyma. Primarily based on the Gegh dialect, but includes all the Tosk forms as well.

Mann 1957 = Mann, Stuart E. An English-Albanian Dictionary. Cambridge University Press. // A useful companion to Mann 1948; also based on the Gegh dialect.

Orel 1998 = Orel, Vladimir. Albanian Etymological Dictionary. Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill. // (One of the latest major reference works on Albanian etymology. Contains important original work on the reconstruction of Proto-Albanian and its external connections, with references to etymological research of all of the author's predecessors).

Notes.

Dialects: The wordlist is restricted to lexical items of the Tosk dialect, since it forms the basis of the literary language and is most frequently covered by detailed modern dictionaries. However, Gegh forms, where they are different from Tosk, are regularly quoted in the Notes section, either from [Orel 1998] or from the two older Albanian dictionaries by Stuart Mann that are based primarily on Gegh. Perusal of these sources shows that lexicostatistical differences between Tosk and Gegh are minimal (if at all existent) and do not necessarily require the construction of separate wordlists.

Transliteration: All of the items are given in standard Albanian (Tosk) orthography as well as the regular UTS transliteration. Transliteration involves the following changes:

- a) vowels: $\mathbf{e} > \mathbf{\epsilon}$; $\mathbf{o} > \mathbf{o}$; $\mathbf{y} > \ddot{\mathbf{u}}$; $\ddot{\mathbf{e}} > \mathbf{o}$.
- b) consonants: $\mathbf{th} > \vartheta$; $\mathbf{dh} > \check{\sigma}$; $\mathbf{sh} > \check{\mathbf{s}}$; $\mathbf{x} > \mathbf{z}$; $\mathbf{c} > \check{\mathbf{c}}$; $\mathbf{q} > \mathsf{c}$; $\mathbf{gj} > \mathbf{z}$; $\mathbf{r} > \mathbf{r}$; $\mathbf{rr} > \mathbf{r}$; $\mathbf{ll} > \mathbf{l}$; $\mathbf{nj} > \mathbf{p}$; $\mathbf{j} > \mathbf{y}$.

Etymology: The main etymological reference is [Orel 1998]; where possible, we quote Orel's Proto-Albanian reconstruction and the principal etymological hypothesis that accompanies it. Alternate etymologies are discussed only in those cases when they may be, for phonetic or semantic reasons, preferable to Orel's solution. Forms are explicitly marked as borrowings only when the evidence is overwhelming (thus, many of the words that have no plausible Indo-European etymology could be potential borrowings, but they are not marked as such unless a specific source can be suggested with certainty).

<u>Database compiled and annotated by:</u> G. Starostin (July 2011).

1. ALL

Standard Albanian *ziθa {gjithë}* (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 67; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 134; Mann 1948: 147; Mann 1957: 11. Distinct from toro {têrê} 'whole, complete' (totus) ([Mançe et al. 2005: 67]; [Koçi & Skendi 1950: 342]). Etymological affiliation of the word is highly disputed, but all of the competing versions, listed in [Orel 1998: 136], agree on its Indo-European origins. Orel himself suggests a descent from IE *sem-g^{yh}o-, also mentioning the remains of the suffix-less dialectal form 3i in Dalmatian Albanian.

2. ASHES

Standard Albanian hi {hi} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 546; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 143; Mann 1948: 159; Mann 1957: 20. The definite form is *hi-ri*. In [Orel 1998: 147], traced back to Proto-Albanian *skina based on the Geg nasalized variant hī. However, further comparison with Latin *cini-s* 'dust, ash' is unconvincing because of the necessary assumption of an unsubstantiated "s-mobile" in Albanian. E. Hamp's comparison with Old Indian *edhas*- 'firewood', mentioned ibid., is semantically plausible but phonetically quite dubious. Thus, no satisfactory Indo-European etymology.

3. BARK

Standard Albanian kor-ə {korë} # (-1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 301; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 177; Mann 1948: 209. Transparent borrowing from a Slavic source [Orel 1998: 191]; cf. also the diminutive korička {koriçkë} 'piece of crust (of bread)'. Secondary synonym: lavore ~ lavožga {lëvore ~ lëvozhgë} ([Mançe et al. 2005: 301]; [Koçi & Skendi 1950: 196]); these dictionaries imply that the word's primary meaning is 'scale, shell', but in [Mann 1957: 28] it is actually mentioned as the primary equivalent for 'bark' as such; unclear.

4. BELLY

Standard Albanian back {bark} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 218; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 42; Mann 1948: 21; Mann 1957: 32. In [Orel 1998: 18], derived from Proto-Albanian *baruka and further from Proto-Indo-European *b^bor-uko- < *b^ber- 'to carry' (i. e. 'belly' < 'burden'). The etymology is unsatisfactory: similar nominal derivates from *b^ber- are unknown in Indo-European languages, and the semantic transition would suggest a complex development: 'to bear (child)' > 'womb' > 'belly'.

5. BIG

Standard Albanian mað {madh} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 46; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 202; Mann 1948: 258; Mann 1957: 34. In [Orel 1998: 18], derived from Proto-Albanian *madza and further from Proto-Indo-European *meg^y(*)-; despite some minor phonetic problems, the etymology is generally uncontroversial and satisfactory.

6. BIRD

Standard Albanian $z \supset \{z \supset z \}$ (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 745; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 377; Mann 1948: 583; Mann 1957: 34. Secondary synonym: *špend* ~ *špesa* {*shpend* ~ *shpesë*} ([Mançe et al. 2005: 745]; [Koçi & Skendi 1950: 332]; [Mann 1948: 490]), mostly in the meaning 'domestic bird', 'fowl'. Etymological connections of this root are highly controversial; Orel [1998: 525] suggests borrowing from an Iranian or some other Oriental source, but the immediate source of provenance would still remain unclear. An Indo-European origin cannot be excluded.

7. BITE

Standard Albanian *kafš-ɔy {kafshoj}* (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 314; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 155; Mann 1948: 174; Mann 1957: 35. As per [Orel 1998: 164], borrowed from Latin *capessere* ~ *capissere* 'to seize, to snatch at'. The Latin word, however, does not have the meaning 'to bite', nor are there any indications of such a meaning for the word in vulgar Latin/early Romance. This means that the semantic change 'to seize, snatch' > 'to bite' (provided the etymology is correct) must have taken place already on pure Albanian grounds.

8. BLACK

Standard Albanian *zi* {*zi*} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 1015; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 376; Mann 1948: 581; Mann 1957: 35. Feminine: $z\varepsilon z\partial \{zez\ddot{e}\}$. According to [Orel 1998: 524], goes back to Proto-Albanian *džedi < Indo-European *g**ed- 'dirt; bad, disgusting'. This is semantically plausible (if the original meaning is 'dirt, mud') and phonetically superior to most of the alternate suggestions discussed in the etymology.

9. BLOOD

Standard Albanian *3ak* {*gjak*} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 309; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 129; Mann 1948: 40; Mann 1957: 36. In [Orel 1998: 129], derived from Proto-Albanian *saka and further from Proto-Indo-European *sok**o- 'juice'. This is the most common etymology for the word, phonetically and semantically plausible.

10. BONE

Standard Albanian kocko ~ kosko {kockë ~ koskë} (-1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 304; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 169, 178; Mann 1948: 202; Mann 1957: 39. A transparent borrowing from the Slavic diminutive form *kostvka '(little) bone' [Orel 1998: 187] (the same source also notes the rare simple form koc {koc}, borrowed from regular Slavic *kostv). The original word ašt {asht} [Orel 1998: 11] is no longer the main equivalent for 'bone' in Standard Albanian, although it is still encountered in some idiomatic expressions and the collective form ɛštər {eshtër} 'bones; remains' [Koçi & Skendi 1950: 103].

11. BREAST

Standard Albanian 32ks {gjoks} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 167; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 134; Mann 1948: 148. No etymology. Secondary synonym: *kraharar* ~ *krahruar* {*kraharor*} ([Mançe et al. 2005: 167]; [Koçi & Skendi 1950: 179]). Distinct from 3*i* {*gji*} 'female breast' ([Mançe et al. 2005: 167]; [Koçi & Skendi 1950: 133]).

12. BURN TR.

Standard Albanian *dyeg* {*djeg*} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 218; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 85; Mann 1948: 77; Mann 1957: 46. In [Orel 1998: 68], traced back to Proto-Albanian *dega < Indo-European *dhegwh- 'to burn'; the etymology is unproblematic and universally accepted.

13. CLAW(NAIL)

Standard Albanian $\vartheta ua \{thua\}$ (1).

References and notes:

 to parallels as distant from each other as Greek ὄνυξ, Germanic *xanduz 'hand', and Latin squāma 'fish scale' (!). Orel's own etymology (< Proto-Albanian *atsāna < Indo-European *ak^y- 'sharp') is semantically plausible, but phonetically unexplained except for the regular correspondence " ϑ : *k^y".

14. CLOUD

Standard Albanian $r\varepsilon$ {re} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 449; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 300; Mann 1948: 424; Mann 1957: 63. The Geg variant is nasalized: $r\tilde{e}$ [Orel 1998: 366]. Derived by Orel from Proto-Albanian **rina*, but subsequent etymologies are controversial.

15. COLD

Standard Albanian *f=toh-to {ftohtë}* (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 1001; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 117; Mann 1948: 117; Mann 1957: 65. Nominal/adjectival derivative from ftoh {ftoh} (Geg ftof) 'to cool, to make cold' [ibid.]; derived by Orel [1998: 105] from Proto-Albanian *awa=tāya with the privative/negative prefix *awa-. Existing etymologies, listed by Orel, are mostly in conflict as to whether the verbal root reflects Indo-European *tep-'warm' (thus = 'to de-warm') or *tā(u) 'to melt' (thus = 'to de-melt', 'to freeze').

16. COME

Standard Albanian viy {vij} (-1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 705; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 366; Mann 1948: 557; Mann 1957: 66. The Geg variant *viŋ* {*viŋ*} retains the original nasal consonant; hence Orel's claim that the word is a borrowing from Latin *venīre* [Orel 1998: 508], which is currently the most phonetically plausible explanation. The suppletive aorist form *εrða* {*erdha*}, however, goes back to Proto-Albanian **erdza*, possibly cognate with Greek ἔρχομαι.

17. DIE

Standard Albanian $v=d\varepsilon s \{vdes\}$ (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 958; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 360; Mann 1948: 547; Mann 1957: 98. Aorist: vdiqa {vdiqa}. Derived by Orel from Proto-Albanian *awa=takya and further from Proto-Indo-European * tek^w - 'to flow, run away'. The etymology is controversial; the most common alternative is to relate the stem to Indo-European * d^he μ 'to die', which is semantically more plausible, but phonetically less satisfactory (the phonetic alternation $s \sim c$ is best explainable as traces of an original velar or labiovelar consonant). In any case, v=may be safely interpreted as the remains of a fossilized prefix.

18. DOG

Standard Albanian $\varphi \varepsilon n \{qen\}$ (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 851; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 293; Mann 1948: 413; Mann 1957: 106. Connection to Indo-European *k*wen- 'dog' is undeniable, but the nature of this connection is in debate. According to [Orel 1998: 356], the word is a relatively late loanword from Balkan continuations of Latin *canem*, since the regular Tosk reflexation of both Proto-Indo-European *-n- (see 'name') and the same phoneme in early Latin borrowings (see 'woman') is r, thus, a form like *\$\varphi\varphi\rangle\text{r}\text{ would be expected. On the other hand, this is the only explicit example of such a "late Romance borrowing" in the entire basic lexicon, and it is not clear that all alternate possibilities have been ruled out (such as, e. g., dissimilative preservation of the consonant due to the plural form \$\varphi\varphi\varphi\rangle\text{r}\text{or a}\text{ possibility of the word going back to a suffixal variant, e. g. *\$k*\varphi\varphi\varphi\varphi\varphi\varphi\text{en-t-}\text{, which helped preserve the nasal in Tosk). Considering the fact that the word does, in the end, go back to the most common Proto-Indo-European etymon for 'dog', and that no other equivalent for this meaning has been attested in the entire history of Albanian, we prefer to side with those researchers (Bopp, Stier, Camarda, Hamp, etc., all listed in [Orel 1998: 356]) who treat the item as a genuine cognate rather than a "re-borrowing".

19. DRINK

Standard Albanian pi {pi} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 584; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 275; Mann 1948: 383; Mann 1958: 109. In [Orel 1998: 324], derived from Proto-Albanian * $p\bar{i}ya$. Uncontroversially related to Proto-Indo-European * $p\bar{o}(i)$ - ~ * $p\bar{i}$ - 'to drink'.

20. DRY

Standard Albanian ϑa -tə {thatë} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 889; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 352; Mann 1948: 532; Mann 1958: 110. Polysemy: 'dry / skinny'. Adjectival derivative from the verbal stem $\vartheta ay \{thaj\}$ 'to dry' [Koçi & Skendi 1950: 351]; in [Orel 1998: 471], traced back to Proto-Albanian *sausnya- and further on to Proto-Indo-European *sauso- 'dry'. This is the most commonly accepted and generally unproblematic etymological solution.

21. EAR

Standard Albanian $v\varepsilon \dot{s}$ {vesh} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 980; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 362; Mann 1948: 551; Mann 1957: 112. In [Orel 1998: 501], derived from Proto-Albanian *wausi-, further to Indo-European *ōus- 'ear'. The etymology is phonetically plausible and generally uncontroversial (alternate attempts, mentioned by Orel, to relate the word to Avestan gaoš- 'to hear', etc., run into more significant

phonological differences and are also distributionally unconvincing).

22. EARTH

Standard Albanian *ðe* {*dhé*} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 259; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 96; Mann 1948: 89; Mann 1957: 113. The word is polysemous and may refer to 'earth' as both 'soil' (physical matter) and 'substance' ("metaphysical" element). In [Orel 1998: 80], traced back to Proto-Albanian * $dz\bar{o}$ and further on to Indo-European * $d^hg^{yh}\bar{o}m$ 'earth'; the etymology is phonetically plausible and accepted by most specialists. Secondary synonym: tzka { $tok\bar{e}$ } ([Mançe et al. 2005: 259]; [Koçi & Skendi 1950: 344]); this word is relatively new, and its primary semantics seems to be 'soil' (in an agricultural sense), further hinted at by the external etymology (borrowed from Slavic *tokre 'threshing floor' [Orel 1998: 459]).

23. EAT

Standard Albanian ha {ha} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 212; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 136; Mann 1948: 151; Mann 1957: 113. According to [Orel 1998: 140], the word can be derived from Proto-Albanian *ed-a-< Indo-European *ed- $^{+}$ 'to eat', through the rule "pretonic * $^{+}$ -a- $^{-}$ -

24. EGG

Standard Albanian $v\varepsilon$ - $z\partial$ { $vez\ddot{e}$ } (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 1045; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 364; Mann 1948: 547; Mann 1957: 114. The suffix -zo is a standard diminutive element in Albanian; the simple form $v\varepsilon$ { $v\acute{e}$ } is also encountered in a more archaic use. The Geg variant is vo [Orel 1998: 497]. Based on the Old Albanian form voe, Orel reconstructs the opposition "Early Tosk vae: Early Geg voe" and, claiming that the alternation va-: vo- is diagnostic of Latin loanwords, postulates borrowing from Latin $\bar{o}vum$ 'egg'. There are, however, ample grounds for disagreement: the phonetic shape of the Indo-European word is too idiosyncratic to exclude the possibility of these two variants constituting a "vertical" reflexation of the original root rather than a "re-borrowing" (in any case, no traces of any other word that could have meant 'egg' in early Albanian are found, and the root in question is undeniably of Proto-Indo-European origin in the meaning 'egg'). As a working hypothesis, we accept a non-borrowed origin for Albanian.

25. EYE

Standard Albanian sü {sy} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 323; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 364; Mann 1948: 465; Mann 1957: 129. In [Orel 1998: 405], derived from Proto-Albanian *atšīwi 'eyes' (dual) and further from Indo-European *ok*- 'eye'. The etymology is phonetically plausible and semantically/distributionally perfect; alternate explanations, listed ibid., are, overall, no better phonetically and generally worse from a semantic point of view (e. g., an attempt to derive the word from Indo-European *k*yeu- 'to shine').

26. FAT N.

Standard Albanian ðyamə {dhjamë} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 219; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 97; Mann 1948: 92; Mann 1957: 133. The word denotes '(hard) fat; lard; suet' and is distinct from lü-rə {lyrë} ([Mançe et al. 2005: 219]; [Koçi & Skendi 1950: 201]), applied more generally to 'liquid fat, oil' (which is natural, considering the word's etymology as a nominal derivative from lüey {lyej} 'to smear, to oil' < Indo-European *lēi- 'to flow, pour' [Orel 1998: 236]). Etymology of ðyamə is highly debatable: Orel [1998: 83] reconstructs Proto-Albanian *dzel-mā as a derivative of *dzalā 'buttermilk' (> ðallə {dhallë} in the modern language), but this is problematic (why should 'lard' be derived from 'buttermilk' or 'milk' in general?). More likely is some sort of connection with Greek δήμος 'fat', but, as noted by Orel, the initial consonants cannot be explained in terms of regular correspondences between Indo-European languages. Could it be that both words stem from some pre-Proto-Indo-European Balkanic substrate? In any case, the form should not be marked as an externally-driven replacement until further data come to light. Secondary synonym: undürə ~ ündürə {undyrē ~ yndyrē}, only attested in [Mann 1948: 540] and [Mann 1957: 133], but not in the more modern dictionaries; this seems to be a more specialized, less basic term, reasonably etymologized as a borrowing from Latin unctūra 'ointment' [Orel 1998: 486].

27. FEATHER

Standard Albanian pendo {pende} (-1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 578; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 263; Mann 1948: 359; Mann 1957: 134. According to [Orel 1998: 315], borrowed from Latin *penna* ~ *pinna* 'feather'; this conclusion is shared almost unanimously.

28. FIRE

Standard Albanian zyar {zjarr} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 473; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 377; Mann 1948: 582; Mann 1957: 138. Derived by Orel from Proto-Albanian *džera < Indo-European *g**u*her-es- 'flame, heat'. A closely related variant is zyar-m {zjarm} 'fire, heat' [Orel 1998: 524] < Proto-Albanian *džer-ma = Indo-European *g**u*her-mo- 'warm'. The etymology is plausible and uncontroversial.

29. FISH

Standard Albanian pešk {peshk} (-1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 810; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 261; Mann 1948: 361; Mann 1957: 138. Transparent borrowing from late Latin *piscem* id. [Orel 1998: 316].

30. FLY V.

Standard Albanian *flutur- - y {fluturoj}* (-1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 321; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 113; Mann 1948: 112; Mann 1957: 142. Borrowed from Romance *fluctulāre < Latin fluctuāre [Orel 1998: 101]; particular details of the borrowing may need correction, but it is clearly not an original Albanian word in any case.

31. FOOT

Standard Albanian kəmbə {këmbë} (-1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 438; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 164; Mann 1948: 179; Mann 1957: 143. Polysemy: 'foot / paw'. The Geg variant is *kamba* {*kambä*} [Orel 1998: 177]. Borrowed either from Romance **kamba* ~ **gamba* or from the same substrate that yielded the Romance word (which does not have a proper Indo-European etymology either).

32. FULL

Standard Albanian plo-tə {plotë} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 637; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 279; Mann 1948: 392; Mann 1957: 149. In [Orel 1998: 335], traced back to Proto-Albanian *plā-ta < Indo-European *plē-to- 'full'; a reasonable and uncontroversial etymology. The default entry in [Mançe et al. 2005: 637] is actually the compound expression *i mbušur plot* {*i mbušur plot*}, in which the first word is an adjectival derivative from *mbuš* 'to fill' [Orel 1998: 253], a rather etymologically obscure stem.

33. GIVE

Standard Albanian yap {jap} (1).

References and notes:

34. GOOD

Standard Albanian mira {mirë} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 1001; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 219; Mann 1948: 286; Mann 1957: 159. In [Orel 1998: 267], traced back to Proto-Albanian *mira and further to Indo-European *mēi- ~ *mī- 'mild, weak, nice'; this is a commonly accepted etymology. Borrowing from Latin mīrus 'wonderful' is also suggested by some sources, but runs into semantic problems.

35. GREEN

Standard Albanian 3ɛlbər {gjelbër} (-1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 259; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 131; Mann 1948: 143; Mann 1957: 162. The former source gives two additional synonyms without specifying any semantic distinctions: *blertə* {*blertë*} (*blerət* {*blerēt*} in [Mann 1957: 162]) and *yešil* {*jeshil*}. The form *yešil* is a transparent recent borrowing from Turkish, whereas *blertə* seems to be somewhat more limited in application than *ʒelbər*, and is much more rare statistically. According to [Orel 1998: 131], *ʒelbər* is originally borrowed from Latin *galbinus* 'greenish-yellow'; this is a phonetically and semantically plausible etymology.

36. HAIR

Standard Albanian flɔk-ə {flokë} (-1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 91; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 113; Mann 1948: 111; Mann 1957: 166. Plural form; the singular is simply *flok* {*flok*}. There is some overlap between this word and *çimɛ* {*qime*} ([Mançe et al. 2005: 91]; [Koçi & Skendi 1950: 296]), but the latter more frequently refers to 'body hair', 'fur', etc., whereas for 'head hair' in most contexts *floka* is used. The word, according to [Orel 1998: 100], is borrowed from Latin *floccus* 'lock, flock', which seems to be phonetically and semantically plausible.

37. HAND

Standard Albanian dor-ə {dorë} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 808; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 90; Mann 1948: 80; Mann 1957: 167. Distinct from *krah* 'arm' [Koçi & Skendi 1950: 179]. In [Orel 1998: 70], traced back to Proto-Albanian *dārā (singularized neutral plural) < Indo-European *ĝhesr-'hand'. The development of Indo-European *ĝh- > Albanian d- is regular, and the etymology is accepted by most specialists.

38. HEAD

Standard Albanian kok-ə {kokë} (-1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 153; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 170; Mann 1948: 203; Mann 1957: 171. Polysemy: 'head / bulb / berry / grain'; this helps understand the etymology in [Orel 1998: 189] (borrowing from Latin *coccum* 'berry'). In modern Albanian, this is unquestionably the main word for 'head', although most dictionaries also list the old form *krüɛ* {*krye*} ([Koçi & Skendi 1950: 181]; [Mann 1948: 216]), continuing Proto-Albanian **krānyā* < Indo-European **k³erəs*- 'head' [Orel 1998: 199]. The latter, however, is mostly found in archaic or highly idiomatic expressions, and also shows the usual polysemy of 'head / chief / beginning', etc.

39. HEAR

Standard Albanian dəz-əy {dëgjoj} (-1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 845; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 83; Mann 1948: 72; Mann 1957: 171. Orel [1998: 62] mentions such dialectal forms as *ndəgəy, dəlgəp, diligəp,* which confirm borrowing < Latin *intellegere* 'to understand' (the alternate meanings 'obey' and 'understand' are actually listed in [Mann 1948: 72]).

40. HEART

Standard Albanian zɛmər {zemër} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 829; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 374; Mann 1948: 577; Mann 1957: 171. The word has no definitive etymology; of all the numerous suggestions listed in [Orel 1998: 520], the connection with Phrygian $\kappa(\mu\epsilon\rho\sigma)$ 'mind' [Hesychius] seems to be the least accidental-looking, but this does not necessarily indicate an Indo-European origin.

41. HORN

Standard Albanian bri {bri} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 804; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 53; Mann 1948: 37; Mann 1957: 179. The Gegh variant is *brī* {*brī*} < Proto-Albanian **brina* [Orel 1998: 36]. The most widely quoted etymological connection is to Messapian βρένδον 'deer', βρέντιον 'deer head' [Hesychius]; despite some further parallels in Germanic and Baltic, it is unclear just how archaic this stem actually is (its proto-Indo-European status is quite dubious).

42. I₁

Standard Albanian *u-nə* {*unë*} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 1044; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 356; Mann 1948: 540; Mann 1957: 183. Direct stem. The particle na is detachable, since the pronoun is attested as simply u in dialects [Orel 1998: 486], but further etymology is unclear; Orel hypothesizes about an allegro change $< *e_3 we <$ Indo-European $*e_3 v^h om s v$ T myself'. Whatever the real etymology, attempts to trace u directly to Indo-European $*e_3 v^h om$ are unsubstantiated.

42. I₂

Standard Albanian mua (2).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Koçi & Skendi 1950: 224. Indirect stem (dative and accusative cases). Unlike the direct stem, this form properly continues Indo-European *me- [Orel 1998: 486].

43. KILL

Standard Albanian *v=ras* {*vras*} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 937; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 369; Mann 1948: 564; Mann 1957: 208. In [Orel 1998: 515], traced back to Proto-Albanian *awa-rautja and then to Proto-Indo-European *re u 'to tear, destroy'. The etymology is semantically and phonetically plausible, and seems to be the most commonly upheld hypothesis for this stem.

44. KNEE

Standard Albanian *zu* {*gju*} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 294; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 134; Mann 1948: 149; Mann 1957: 209. The Gegh variant is nasalized: $3\tilde{u}$ { $gj\hat{u}$ }. In [Orel 1998: 137], traced back to Proto-Albanian *gluna and then to Proto-Indo-European *genu- as the result of dissimilation from *g(a)nuna. However, the etymology is too highly questionable (assumption of dissimilation + postulation of a secondary n-derivative not confirmed in any of the other branches). The connection with Old Irish glun 'knee', discussed ibid., is more acceptable phonetically, but looks rather bizarre from a distributional point of view (Orel believes that glun shows the same dissimilatory development, but this opinion is, for a good reason, not generally shared).

45. KNOW

Standard Albanian di {di} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 261; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 85; Mann 1948: 74; Mann 1957: 209. In [Orel 1998: 64], explained from Proto-Albanian * $d\bar{\imath}ja$ < Indo-European * $d^he\dot{\imath}$ 'to observe', a nearly universally accepted etymology. Secondary synonym: μsh

 $\{njoh\}$ ([Mançe et al. 2005: 261]; [Koçi & Skendi 1950: 242]), generally used in the meaning 'to know (smbd.), be acquainted with', etc. (This root actually continues Indo-European * g^yena - ~ * $g^yn\bar{o}$ -).

46. LEAF

Standard Albanian fletə {fletë} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 324; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 112; Mann 1948: 111; Mann 1957: 213. Polysemy: 'leaf / sheet of paper / wing'. Typologically, in the polysemous pair 'leaf / wing' it is the meaning 'wing' that must be primary (i. e. 'leaf metaphorically as 'wing of tree'); Orel [1998: 100] is, therefore, right in trying to etymologize the word through the semantics of 'flying', but his particular etymologization from Proto-Albanian *awa-lekta* and further to a feeble Indo-European root *lek-' to fly' (a weak Baltic-Germanic isogloss) is highly dubious. Additionally, the word is phonetically similar to fluturay 'to fly' q.v., but whether this similarity is accidental or not cannot be ascertained at this time.

Secondary synonym: $3\varepsilon\vartheta$ {*gjeth*} ([Koçi & Skendi 1950: 132]; [Mann 1948: 145]). This word is not even listed in [Mann 1957] as the equivalent for 'leaf' (sg.), and in [Mann 1948] it is mentioned that the more common usage is as a collective plural: 'foliage, leaves'. In [Orel 1998: 133], this word is traced back to Proto-Albanian **gadza* "with a secondary *th*-suffix", further related to Old High German *questa* 'tuft' and Slavic **gvozdv* 'wood, forest', i. e. an areal "European" isogloss. The etymology is highly questionable, due to certain irregularities with phonetic development in Albanian as well as scant distribution of the supposed parallels; however, most of the alternate etymologies listed in [Orel 1998: 133] are even less convincing.

47. LIE

Standard Albanian *štri-ra* {*shtrirë*} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 319; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 336; Mann 1948: 503; Mann 1957: 217. The word is an adjectival stem: 'extended, stretched, lying'; the construction 'to lie' is formed with the aid of the verb $ri \{rri\}$ 'to sit' (i. e. $ri \, \&tri-ra$). In [Orel 1998: 442], the root &tri is traced back to Proto-Albanian &tri is a Proto-Indo-European &tri is spread, scatter' (with the same nasal infix as in Old Indian &tri in &tri is a plausible and commonly accepted etymology.

48. LIVER

Standard Albanian *məlči* {*mëlçi*} (-1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 580; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 215; Mann 1948: 279; Mann 1957: 220. Borrowed from Italian *milza* 'spleen' [Orel 1998: 259] (semantic shift is due to original usage in such idioms as *məlči ε barδə* 'lung', literally 'white *məlči*', and *məlči ε zɛzə* 'liver', literally 'black *məlči*', meaning that the word had been borrowed in the general meaning of 'internal organ').

49. LONG

Standard Albanian 3a-tə {gjatë} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 196; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 131; Mann 1948: 143; Mann 1957: 221. Orel [1998: 130] notes the dialectal form glata and reconstructs Proto-Albanian *dlata < Proto-Indo-European $*dl \not x^h$ -to-. This is an old, and somewhat dubious, etymological hypothesis (for one thing, no -t-derivative stem is known from this root, and the development of the initial cluster is quite unique; then again, the cluster itself is very peculiar in Indo-European). However, there are no alternate plausible etymologies whatsoever.

50. LOUSE

Standard Albanian mɔr {morr} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 98; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 223; Mann 1948: 292; Mann 1957: 223. In [Orel 1998: 274], traced back to Proto-Albanian * $m\bar{e}rwa$ and then derived from Indo-European *mer- 'to die', by analogy with Greek $\phi\theta\epsilon$ i ϕ 0 'louse' $\phi\theta\epsilon$ 1 (ouse' $\phi\theta\epsilon$ 2 'to destroy'. However, the Greek etymologization looks seriously "folkish" (explanation of an unclear dialectal innovation through a homonym), and so does this particular Albanian etymology (not to mention that a nominal derivative like * $m\bar{e}rwa$ leaves unclear the derivational model). Note: Although [Orel 1998: 476] gives the meaning of θ 2 (thëri) as 'louse', this is a mistake: the correct semantics is 'nit'.

51. MAN

Standard Albanian bur-ə {burrë} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 360; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 56; Mann 1948: 43; Mann 1957: 228. Polysemy: 'man / husband'. Etymology is questionable; in [Orel 1998: 42], the word is understood to be of Germanic provenance (< Old High German gibūro with simplification of the anlaut cluster *gb-). There are however, semantic problems with this solution, since the word in Albanian does not share the German semantics of 'peasant, villager', but is only attested in its much more "basic" meaning without reference to social status. It is, therefore, not at all excluded that the Albanian word is related to the Germanic item genetically rather than areally, both being ultimately formed from the same Indo-European root *b¹¹e ½- 'to be'. Attempts to ultimately derive the word from Indo-European *b¹er- 'to bear' (e. g., in the form of the nominal derivative *b¹orno-) do not seem as convincing, since the word specifically denotes a male person rather than an infant. (Interestingly enough, the word is simultaneously assigned to both etymologies - Indo-European *b¹er- and *b¹er- in J. Pokorny's dictionary!). In any case, the evidence for judging the word as a borrowing is not sufficient to allow us to exclude it from calculations.

52. MANY

Standard Albanian *šuma* {*shumë*} (-1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 337; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 351; Mann 1948: 506; Mann 1957: 229. In [Orel 1998: 445], identified as a borrowing from Latin *summus* 'uppermost, highest' (more likely, the adverbial form *summē*); the etymology is not in general

dispute.

53. MEAT

Standard Albanian miš {mish} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 364; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 220; Mann 1948: 287; Mann 1957: 233. In [Orel 1998: 267], traced back to Proto-Albanian *miša, then further to Indo-European *memso-. The etymology is completely uncontroversial.

54. MOON

Standard Albanian hən-ə {hënë} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 329; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 143; Mann 1948: 154; Mann 1957: 243. The Gegh form is hano {hanö}. In [Orel 1998: 146], traced back to Proto-Albanian *ksandā, a nominal derivative from Indo-European *(s)kand- 'to shine with a white light (of flame, etc.)' along the same semantic lines as Old Indian candra- 'shining, glittering; moon'. The old Indo-European root *mēns- has been preserved in Albanian muay 'month' [Orel 1998: 276].

55. MOUNTAIN

Standard Albanian mal {mal} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 156; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 204; Mann 1948: 260; Mann 1957: 245. In [Orel 1998: 243], traced back to Proto-Albanian *mala and then compared with such forms as Proto-Baltic *mala 'land; bank, shore'. However, these parallels, as well as a few other scattered comparanda in J. Pokorny's etymological dictionary, have suspicious distribution and poorly matching semantics. For lack of direct evidence, we do not mark this as a borrowing, but it is quite likely that the word reflects some pre-Indo-European substrate (cf., for that matter, the reconstruction *mufialV 'mountain' in S. Starostin/S. Nikolayev's North Caucasian Etymological Dictionary > Archi mul, Ginukh malu, possibly Proto-Nakh *lām with metathesis).

56. MOUTH

Standard Albanian gɔy-ə {gojë} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 807; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 124; Mann 1948: 129; Mann 1957: 245. Orel [1998: 120] claims that the dialectal variant {golë} allegedly allows the word to be identified as a borrowing from Italian gola 'throat'. This is, however, quite dubious. First, the Italian word really means 'throat', 'gullet', etc., but never 'mouth'; this would suggest, at best, very early borrowing as a jargonism and then a rare semantic shift to 'mouth' already on Albanian grounds. Second, according to Orel's own correspondences, intervocalic *-l- only yields -y- in Albanian as part of the resonant cluster *-ly-; for an Italian borrowing *gola to shift to goya in most dialects would be quite unexpected. The Italian etymology should therefore not be regarded as an "immediately

clear" (acc. to Orel) case of borrowing.

57. NAME

Standard Albanian $\varepsilon m \partial r \{em \ddot{e}r\}$ (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 273; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 101; Mann 1948: 94; Mann 1957: 248. The Gegh form is emən {emën}. In [Orel 1998: 87], traced back to Proto-Albanian *enmen- ~ *inmen-, then, quite uncontroversially, to Proto-Indo-European *(o)noHm u

58. NECK

Standard Albanian çaf-ə {qafe} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 1025; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 292; Mann 1948: 411; Mann 1957: 250. Polysemy: 'neck / mountain pass'. In [Orel 1998: 353], said to be "borrowed from Turk kafa 'occiput, head". This is almost impossible to believe: the Turkish word (itself a borrowing from Arabic qafa 'occiput') has extensive polysemy, but not one of its meanings equals 'neck', whereas the Albanian word, on the other hand, seems to have never meant anything else (the meaning 'mountain pass' is clearly a secondary metaphor). Furthermore, the substitution Alb φ - < Turk k- is mentioned as "possible" in Orel's etymology, but would still be unusual. Most of the other etymologies mentioned by Orel are, however, even less convincing; essentially, the origins of this word remain a mystery.

59. NEW

Standard Albanian *ci* {*ri*} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 438; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 305; Mann 1948: 427; Mann 1957: 251. Polysemy: 'new / young'. Traced by Orel [1998: 371] back to Proto-Albanian *riya and explained as a zero-grade derivative of Indo-European *er- ~ *or- 'to rise, to make to move', thus, 'arisen (newly)'. This is somewhat unusual, but at least more plausible than attempts by some specialists, listed ibid., to explain the word as reflecting Indo-European *ne y- 'new'.

60. NIGHT

Standard Albanian *nat-ə* {*natë*} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 440; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 227; Mann 1948: 304; Mann 1957: 252. In [Orel 1998: 282], traced back to Proto-Albanian **nakti*- and further to Proto-Indo-European **nok****t*- 'night'. An uncontroversial etymology.

61. NOSE

Standard Albanian hund-ə {hundë} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 439; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 146; Mann 1948: 163; Mann 1957: 254. In [Orel 1998: 152], traced back to Proto-Albanian * $skun-t\bar{a}$, a derivative from *skuna that, by itself, yields Albanian hu (Geg $h\bar{u}$) 'picket, stake, pole, penis' [Orel 1998: 150]. This is currently the most widely accepted etymology; however, a further derivation of *skuna from *skuya by means of a nasal suffix makes the supposed Indo-European connections (with Slavic *xvoya 'fir-needles', etc.) even more dubious.

62. NOT

Standard Albanian $nuk \{nuk\} (1) / s \{s'\} (2)$.

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 406; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 239; Mann 1948: 327; Mann 1957: 254. This is the main negative particle before verbal forms; as a wordlist entry, it should be strictly distinguished from the ineligible $y_2 \{jo\}$ 'no' (used in predicative function, and also to negate adjectival and adverbial forms) and the prohibitive m_2 s $\{mos\}$. Orel [1998: 302] analyzes nuk as going back to Proto-Albanian *nuka and further on to Indo-European *ne-k"o- (= Old Indian naca, Latin neque etc.). Another plausible etymology, listed in the same source and attributed to Bopp, analyzes the second morpheme in this stem as identical with Greek oùk 'not'.Mançe et al. 2005: 406; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 311; Mann 1948: 444; Mann 1957: 254. The difference between this particle and nuk is unclear from most existing descriptions; they are usually denoted as freely interchangeable, but perusal of various textual material shows that statistically, nuk is far superior to s. It is also the only form of the two that has a reliable external etymology; Orel [1998: 392] writes that s' is "identical with \tilde{c} ', \tilde{c} $\{c$ ', \tilde{c} ', \tilde{c} ', i. e. equates it with the interrogative pronoun 'what?' without sufficient justification. We list both particles as synonymous, but this will have no bearing on further lexicostatistical comparison with other branches of Indo-European.

63. ONE

Standard Albanian no {një} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 476; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 241; Mann 1948: 330; Mann 1957: 260. The Geg variant is *pi* {*nji*}. Derived by Orel [1998: 304] from Proto-Albanian **ainya*- < Indo-European **oi-no*- 'one'. The etymology is not universally accepted, but seems phonetically plausible (and semantically better than Meyer's alternate comparison with Old Indian *anyá*- 'other').

64. PERSON

Standard Albanian ner-i {njeri} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 1012; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 241; Mann 1948: 330; Mann 1957: 277. Singular form *per {njer}* also attested in some Geg dialects. In [Orel 1998: 305], traced back to Proto-Albanian *nera, and further to Proto-Indo-European *(a)ner-

'man'; this seems to be a more or less universally accepted and completely plausible etymology.

65. RAIN

Standard Albanian *ši* {*shi*} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 200; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 327; Mann 1948: 476; Mann 1957: 304. Derived by Orel [1998: 413] from Proto-Albanian *sūya (with a minor consonantal irregularity in the initial position, explained as the result of assimilative influence on the part of *-y-) and then traced back to Proto-Indo-European *sū- 'rain'. The etymology is almost universally accepted.

66. RED

Standard Albanian $ku\varphi \{kuq\}$ (-1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 306; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 186; Mann 1948: 228; Mann 1957: 310. Apparently a Romance borrowing, cf. Lat. *coccineus* 'scarlet' (in [Orel 1998: 205], traced back to a hypothetical Romance **cocceus*); ultimately, however, of Greek origin (from κόκκος 'pokeberry', cf. Modern Greek κόκκινο 'red'; further etymology of κόκκος itself is unknown).

67. ROAD

Standard Albanian rugə {rrugë} (-1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 204; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 311; Mann 1948: 442; Mann 1957: 320. An undisputed borrowing from Latin/early Romance $r\bar{u}ga$ 'wrinkle; fold' (the semantic development {'fold' > 'road'} is common for this word in Romance languages, cf. French rue, etc.) [Orel 1998: 390]. The partial synonym $u\bar{o}a$ { $udh\bar{e}a$ } ([Mançe et al. 2005: 204]; [Koçi & Skendi 1950: 354]) is generally used in the abstract meaning 'way' rather than to denote an actual physical object.

68. ROOT

Standard Albanian rəp-ə {rrënjë} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 301; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 309; Mann 1948: 432; Mann 1957: 321. The Geg variant is ran-o {rranjë}. Orel [1998: 384] reconstructs Proto-Albanian *wrad-nyā and traces the root back to Proto-Indo-European *worād-. No better etymology has been offered so far (alternate attempts to explain the word as a borrowing from Latin rādīx are less convincing, since this does not explain the nasal consonant; on the other hand, the same nasal suffix as an archaic extension may be seen in etymologically cognate Celtic forms, cf. Old Irish frén 'root' < *w theno-).

69. ROUND

Standard Albanian rumbuł-ak {rrumbullak} (-1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 310; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 311; Mann 1948: 443; Mann 1957: 322. Original stem *rrumbull* is borrowed from Romance **rombulus* < Latin *rhombus*, ultimately of Greek origin [Orel 1998: 391].

70. SAND

Standard Albanian rar-a {rërë} (-1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 579; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 305; Mann 1948: 423; Mann 1957: 327. The Geg equivalent is *ran-a* {*ranë*}, confirming borrowing from Latin *arēna* 'sand' [Orel 1998: 370].

71. SAY

Standard Albanian $\vartheta \varepsilon$ -m {them} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 833; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 352; Mann 1948: 533; Mann 1957: 328. Root structure is CV with vowel alternations (cf. the aorist stem ϑa - $\check{s}a$ {thashë}, etc.). Etymology is highly dubious; Orel [1998: 480], following Pokorny and others, suggests cognation with Latin $c\bar{e}ns$ - $e\bar{o}$ < Proto-Indo-European *k-y-ens- 'to proclaim, announce', and this seems to be the most common hypothesis, but the shortness of the root and possibility of multiple origins for Albanian * ϑ make the etymology very insecure.

72. SEE

Standard Albanian šɔh {shoh} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 74; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 331; Mann 1948: 488; Mann 1957: 334. The Geg variant is \check{sof} {shof}. In [Orel 1998: 425], traced back to Proto-Albanian * $s\bar{a}k$ -ska and further to Indo-European * sek^w - 'to follow / to see'. The etymology is plausible, although Orel lists several alternatives.

73. SEED

Standard Albanian far-ə {farë} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 828; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 106; Mann 1948: 102; Mann 1957: 334. In [Orel 1998: 93], traced back to Proto-Albanian *sparā and further to Indo-European *spor-ā 'seed'. This allows to see it as a formation from the same root as faray

~ farəs 'to destroy, exterminate' < Indo-European *sper- 'to scatter / to destroy'.

74. SIT

Standard Albanian ri {rri} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 831; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 310; Mann 1948: 439; Mann 1957: 346. The first source gives the default equivalent for 'sit' as *ri ulur* {*rri ulur*}, where *ulur* is an adjectival derivative from the verb *ul-* ~ *up-* 'to sit down' (originally 'to lower'). However, this seems to be marked usage; in most standard contexts, simply the verb *ri* is used. This makes the word formally undistinguishable from 'to stand' q.v. The etymology is ambiguous; Orel [1998: 386] prefers to trace the word back to Proto-Albanian **ri-na* and, from there, to Indo-European **er-* ~ **or-* 'to move' with a nasal suffix (as in Old Indian **pnó-ti*, etc.), but there are other possibilities as well.

75. SKIN

Standard Albanian ləkur-ə {lëkurë} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 294; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 194; Mann 1948: 243; Mann 1957: 347. Polysemy: 'skin / hide'. Historically derived from *lakur* 'naked', which Orel tentatively derives from Indo-European **le ft-* 'to shine; white' [Orel 1998: 211], although this is somewhat dubious.

76. SLEEP

Standard Albanian $fl\varepsilon$ {fle} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 866; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 112; Mann 1948: 111; Mann 1957: 348. The Geg variant is nasalized: $fl\tilde{e}$ ($fl\hat{e}$). According to Orel's analysis [Orel 1998: 99], f= is historically a prefix here, and the stem goes back to Proto-Albanian *awa=leya-, but further comparisons with a non-existent Proto-Slavic root *lěyati 'to doze, to slumber' are highly dubious. Given the uncertainty of the etymology, it is perhaps preliminary to insist upon treating initial f- here as a detachable morphological element.

77. SMALL

Standard Albanian vəgəl {vogël} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 333; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 368; Mann 1948: 562; Mann 1957: 350. Plural form: $v\varepsilon_3$ $v\varepsilon_3$

78. SMOKE

Standard Albanian *tüm* {*tym*} (-1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 209; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 351; Mann 1948: 531; Mann 1957: 351. Polysemy: 'smoke / vapour / fog / mist'. Although the word is phonetically similar to Proto-Indo-European * $d^h\bar{u}$ -mo- 'smoke', it cannot be an inherited reflex of this stem due to serious disagreements in correspondences (Albanian t- is never traced back to Indo-European * d^h -). Orel [1998: 470] discards the idea of borrowing from Greek θυμός under the pretext that the latter means 'soul, spirit' rather than 'smoke' in Greek, and, instead, suggests regular development from Proto-Albanian * $\bar{a}tuma$ = Germanic * $\bar{e}duma$ -z 'breath', related to Old Indian $\bar{a}tm\acute{a}m$ -'breath, soul'. However, the distribution of this Germanic-Indian isogloss is too feeble, whereas the phonetic resemblance and semantic connection of Albanian $t\ddot{u}m$ are too strong to openly admit coincidence. We prefer to side with Orel's earlier etymological judgement (mentioned ibid.) about Albanian $t\ddot{u}m$ stemming "from a substratum continuation of IE * $dh\bar{u}mos$ " - possibly a reborrowing from a Greek dialect in which θυμός did, after all, mean 'smoke' (cf. the presence of several derived verbal stems, e. g. θυμ-ιά-ω, with the meaning 'to smoke', 'to produce smoke', 'to incense'; the Albanian borrowing could also originally refer to 'sacrificial smoke', 'incense', for that matter).

79. STAND

Standard Albanian ri {rri} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 881; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 310; Mann 1948: 439; Mann 1957: 363. This is the same verb as 'to sit' q.v., i. e. the basic meaning is a neutral 'to be located / present'. In order to specifically denote the meaning 'stand', Albanian uses a variety of contextual modifications, such as *ri na kamba {rri në këmbë}* 'to be (placed) on one's feet' [ibid.]. Considering, however, that such usage is highly marked, and not found in the most colloquial situations, it makes better lexicostatistical sense to assume neutralization of the meanings 'stand' and 'sit' in one term (along the same lines as neutralization of the meanings 'hand' and 'arm' in basic usage in many languages that express the semantic difference between the two in a complex descriptive manner). For notes on etymology, see under 'sit'.

80. STAR

Standard Albanian *ül* {*yll*} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 257; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 371; Mann 1948: 571; Mann 1957: 364. Plural form: $\ddot{u}y$ - ε {yje}. Dialectal variant $h\ddot{u}l$ {hyll} is also attested. No obvious etymology; Orel's derivation from Proto-Albanian *skiw-ila, itself derived from *skiy- \ddot{a} (> modern $hiy\varepsilon$ {hije}) 'shadow' is a bit stretched phonetically and quite dubious semantically (although the underlying Indo-European root *sk* $\ddot{a}i$ - does display the meaning 'to shine' in its Germanic and Slavic reflexes). Unsurprisingly, most of the specialists quoted ibid. have their own etymological guesses, none of them any more convincing than Orel's.

81. STONE

Standard Albanian gur {gur} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 285; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 128; Mann 1948: 138; Mann 1957: 368. From Proto-Albanian *gura [Orel 1998: 127]; Almost universally acknowledged as a cognate of Indo-European * g^wer - 'mountain'; if true, this must imply a rarely attested semantic shift ('mountain' > 'stone'), since the semantics of 'stone' is not reconstructible for the original * g^wer -.

82. SUN

Standard Albanian *diɛł {diell}* (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 858; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 85; Mann 1948: 74; Mann 1957: 375. Plural form: diey {diej}. No certain etymology; Orel [1998: 65] traces the word back to Proto-Albanian *delwa and further on to Proto-Indo-European *g^hel(\(\psi\)-yellow', but Çabej's etymology that links the word with Armenian delin 'yellow' is perhaps better. In any case, this is either an areal or a semantically non-trivial replacement.

83. SWIM

Standard Albanian *nɔt-ɔy* {*notoy*} (-1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 584; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 239; Mann 1948: 326; Mann 1957: 379. Transparent borrowing from Romance (*notāre, replacing classical Latin natāre, according to [Orel 1998: 301]).

84. TAIL

Standard Albanian *bišt* {*bisht*} (-1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 997; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 49; Mann 1948: 30; Mann 1957: 381. Traced by Orel [1998: 27] back to Proto-Albanian $^*b\bar{u}$ 5ta; subsequent etymologization from Indo-European $^*b^h\bar{u}$ - 'to grow' (more exact meaning is 'to be, exist') is, however, from the realm of fantasy. Alternate etymologies on Indo-European grounds listed by Orel are equally unsatisfactory. However, the word finds an amazingly close parallel in Basque bustan 'tail', implying that this may be a very old borrowing from a pre-Indo-European substratum in the Balkans (not necessarily a direct ancestor of Basque, but possibly a close "relative").

85. THAT

Standard Albanian $ay \{ai \sim ay\}$ (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 919; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 38; Mann 1948: 16; Mann 1957: 387. Polysemy: 'that / he' (cf. also the feminine form *ay-ɔ* {*ajo*} 'she'). Orel analyzes the form as reflecting Proto-Albanian **a=ei*, where **a=* is a proclytic particle and **=ei* < Indo-European deictic stem **ei-*.

86. THIS

Standard Albanian kü {ky} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 1040; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 189; Mann 1948: 232; Mann 1957: 389. Feminine form: ky $\{kjo\}$. In [Orel 1998: 208], analyzed as a reflexation of Proto-Albanian *ka-ei, where *ka-i is "a pronominal element" and *-ei is the same root morpheme as in 'that' q.v. This analysis is not self-evident; it would make better sense to directly trace the velar element to Indo-European demonstrative *k*e-- and treat the other morpheme (if there is another morpheme) as suffixal.

87. THOU

Standard Albanian ti {ti} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 932; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 343; Mann 1948: 517; Mann 1957: 433. From Proto-Albanian and Proto-Indo-European * $t\bar{u}$ [Orel 1998: 455].

88. TONGUE

Standard Albanian zuh-ə {gjuhë} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 1045; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 135; Mann 1948: 149; Mann 1957: 394. Reconstructed by Orel [1998: 138] as Proto-Albanian *glusā, based on dialectal forms (Cham gluhë, etc.). However, his subsequent attempt to relate this root to the Balto-Slavo-Germanic isogloss *gals- 'voice; call' is shaky on semantic and distributional grounds. At the same time, the phonetic similarity between *glusā and Greek γλῶσσα 'tongue' can hardly be overlooked. Suggestions here usually focus on the idea of borrowing from Greek (Pisani, Tagliavini), although the Greek word does not have a proper Indo-European etymology itself. Since Greek γλῶσσα (Attic γλῶττα) goes back to *glōk(ħ)ya or *glōt(ħ)ya, one can exclude common borrowing from a pre-Indo-European substrate. Still another hypothesis, one that relates the form to the phonetically non-trivial Indo-European equivalent for 'tongue' (*d(l)ngħ v̄), faces almost insurmountable phonetic problems even considering this root's tricky phonetic development in all daughter branches. For the moment, we refrain from treating the word as a borrowing, but the only reliable comparison for it is the Greek word.

89. TOOTH

Standard Albanian ðəmb {dhëmb} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 262; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 96; Mann 1948: 89; Mann 1957: 394. The Geg variant is *ðamb* {*dhamb*}. Traced by Orel [1998: 82] back to Proto-Albanian **dzamba* and further on to Indo-European **g*^y*omb*^h- 'sharp edge, peg > tooth'. A near-universally accepted etymology.

90. TREE

Standard Albanian deu {dru} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 190; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 93; Mann 1948: 84; Mann 1957: 399. The Geg variant is $dr\tilde{u}$ { $dr\hat{u}$ }. In [Orel 1998: 76], traced back to Proto-Albanian *druwa and further on to Indo-European *derw- ~ *drew- 'tree'. This archaic word seems to be gradually replaced in the meaning '(growing) tree' by the secondary synonym pema {pema} ([Mançe et al. 2005: 190]; [Koçi & Skendi 1950: 260]), originally a borrowing from Latin $p\bar{o}mus$ 'fruit-tree' [Orel 1998: 314]. Most dictionaries either give pema and dru as synonyms or even list pema as the main entry for 'tree', leaving dru only with the meaning of 'wood' (material). Nevertheless, context analysis shows that pema is still primarily used as a generic term for 'fruit tree' rather than 'tree' as opposed to non-tree-like forms of growth; in a phrase like "the juniper is a tree" only dru may be used, not pema. It is, therefore, premature to omit dru from the Albanian Swadesh list.

91. TWO

Standard Albanian dü {dy} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 175; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 94; Mann 1948: 87; Mann 1957: 404. From Proto-Albanian * $duw\bar{o}$ [Orel 1998: 79], further to Proto-Indo-European *d $\bar{\varrho}(u)$.

92. WALK (GO)

Standard Albanian šk-ɔy {shkoj} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 265; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 329; Mann 1948: 482; Mann 1957: 158. According to Orel [1998: 421], this is "a late apocopation of *shtekoj* attested in Northern dialects and based on *shtek* < *shteg*" (the latter word means 'path, way'). Provided the form $\{shtekoj\}$ really exists and the development is not opposite (i. e. škyy > štekyy by semantic contamination with šteg), this is a more reasonable etymology than most of the others listed in [Orel 1998: 421].

93. WARM (HOT)

Standard Albanian $n=3\varepsilon h-t-\partial \{nxeht\ddot{e}\}\ (1)$.

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 159; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 240; Mann 1948: 328; Mann 1957: 180. Participial formation from

 $n=3\varepsilon h$ {nxeh} 'to heat, warm (smth.)'. The verb is traced back to Proto-Albanian *en-dzerska in [Orel 1998: 303], further related to zyar 'fire' q.v. This is the main Albanian equivalent for 'hot', distinct from n=grah-ta { $ngroht\ddot{e}$ } 'warm' [Koçi & Skendi 1950: 236] (< n=grah 'to warm' < Proto-Albanian *en- $gr\ddot{a}ya$ [Orel 1998: 296]; however, if Orel's etymology, placing this together with Slavic * $gr\check{e}y\tilde{o}$, is correct, the two words still eventually go back to the same Indo-European root * $g^{wh}er$ -, only with different suffixes).

94. WATER

Standard Albanian uy-ə {ujë} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 83; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 355; Mann 1948: 538; Mann 1957: 420. In [Orel 1998: 483], traced back to Proto-Albanian *udr- $j\bar{u}$ and further to Indo-European *udr-jud- 'water'. Although specialists generally differ as to the exact reconstruction of the suffixal extension, the root link to *ud-jud- is almost universally accepted and phonetically quite plausible.

95. WE

Standard Albanian $n\varepsilon$ {ne} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 362; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 232; Mann 1948: 313; Mann 1957: 422. According to Orel [1998: 289], from Proto-Albanian *nō(s), continuing Common Indo-European *ne- ~ *nō-. The etymology is completely uncontroversial.

96. WHAT

Standard Albanian $\check{c} \sim \check{c} \circ \{c' \sim c\check{e}\}\ (1)$.

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 1018; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 60; Mann 1948: 53; Mann 1957: 424. Traced by Orel [1998: 52] back to Proto-Albanian * $t\check{s}i$ and further on to Indo-European * k^wid . The variant \check{c} is reduced from $\check{c}o$; another frequent variant is the complex stem \check{c} -faro { $cfar\ddot{e}$ }, literally "what sort / kind of?", the second stem in which = faro 'seed' q.v.

97. WHITE

Standard Albanian barð-ə {bardhë} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 33; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 42; Mann 1948: 20; Mann 1957: 425. According to Orel [1998: 17], from Proto-Albanian *bardza and further on to *bhorag*o-, a derivative of Proto-Indo-European *bherag*- 'to shine; white'. This is a plausible and near-universally accepted etymology.

98. WHO

Standard Albanian kuš {kush} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 311; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 188; Mann 1948: 231; Mann 1957: 426. According to Orel [1998: 207], from Proto-Albanian *kuša, further on to Proto-Indo-European $*k^wo- + *-so-$ (a compound of the old interrogative and demonstrative stems). Regardless of how correct this particular analysis may be, the fact that Albanian continues the old interrogative stem is obvious.

99. WOMAN

Standard Albanian grua {grua} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 217; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 127; Mann 1948: 135; Mann 1957: 429. The Geg variant is grue. Traced by Orel [1998: 125] back to Proto-Albanian * $gr\bar{a}w\bar{a}$, further on to Proto-Indo-European * g^were^- 'old' (for semantics cf. Greek $\gamma\varrho\alpha\bar{\nu}\varsigma$ 'old woman'). An older, more traditional etymology relates the word to Indo-European * g^wen^- 'woman', but Orel remarks that, if the original stem were really * $g^wn\bar{e}n^-$, the nasal should have been preserved in Geg. This is a serious argument that should probably tilt the decision towards Orel's etymologization, semantic non-triviality notwithstanding. Secondary synonym: femar [femër] (Geg feman [femën]) ([Mançe et al. 2005: 217; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 108]). A borrowing from Latin fēmina [Orel 1998: 95], the word is somewhat more formal and is more often rendered in English as 'female' rather than 'woman'.

100. YELLOW

Standard Albanian vɛɾð-ə {verdhë} (-1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 218; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 362; Mann 1948: 550; Mann 1957: 432. Borrowed from Latin *viridis* 'green' [Orel 1998: 499]. Mann [1948: 550] notes 'green' as an earlier, obsolete, meaning for this word.

101. FAR

Standard Albanian *larg* {*larg*} (-1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 173; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 190; Mann 1948: 237; Mann 1957: 132. Adverbial form. Supposedly borrowed from Latin *largus* 'wide, large' [Orel 1998: 214], although the additional semantic development, in that case, must have already taken place on Albanian soil.

102. HEAVY

Standard Albanian rəndə {rëndë} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 934; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 305; Mann 1948: 427; Mann 1957: 172. Polysemy: 'heavy / hard'. The Geg variant is <code>randa</code> {<code>randä</code>}. Traced by Orel [1998: 370] back to Proto-Albanian *<code>raunta</code>, an alleged derivative from the same verbal root that is found in the suppletive aorist stem <code>rašə</code> of the verb <code>bie</code> 'to fall', ultimately to Indo-European *<code>re u</code> 'to tear'. Both of these etymologizations are phonetically plausible, but highly dubious on semantic grounds. However, alternate etymologies listed ibid. (trying to explain the word as a borrowing from Latin <code>grandis</code>, or as a regular development from Indo-European *<code>g^wr-nd^ho-</code>, etc.) seem to have been proposed on an even more <code>ad hoc</code> basis. Unclear.

103. NEAR

Standard Albanian afər {afër} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 42; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 21; Mann 1948: 2; Mann 1957: 250. According to Orel [1998: 1], from Proto-Albanian *apsera, a contamination of *aps 'backwards' and *apero- 'after, posterior'; this complex development is suggested in order to explain the irregular shift of *-p- to -f- (since old *-p- is normally preserved in Albanian, whereas old *-sp- and *-ps- yield -f-). In any case, some sort of connection to Old Indian apara- 'posterior, later', etc. is quite likely, but the nature of the connection remains unclear (direct inheritance with irregularity? contamination? borrowing from Germanic *afar-?).

104. SALT

Standard Albanian krip-ə {kripë} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 858; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 180; Mann 1948: 218; Mann 1957: 326. The Geg variant is *krüp-ə* {*krypë*}. Traced by Orel back to Proto-Albanian **krūpā*, further to Proto-Indo-European **kre up*- 'rough, grainy'.

105. SHORT

Standard Albanian *škurt-ər* {*shkurtër*} (-1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 302; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 330; Mann 1948: 486; Mann 1957: 341. Borrowed from a Germanic source, cf. Proto-Germanic *skurtaz 'short' [Orel 1998: 425].

106. SNAKE

Standard Albanian zarp-ər {gjarpër} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 260; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 130; Mann 1948: 142; Mann 1957: 351. The Geg variant is zarp-ən

{gjarpën}, preserving the old nasal consonant. Orel [1998: 130] traces the word back to Proto-Albanian *serpena, further to Indo-European *serp- 'to crawl', as in Latin serpēns 'snake, serpent' (= 'crawler'). Since this cannot be a direct borrowing from Latin (Latin s- always yields š- in borrowings), it is reasonable to think of a parallel areal semantic development. It is interesting, however, that the original verbal stem was not preserved in Albanian.

107. THIN

Standard Albanian hɔłə {hollë} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 916; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 144; Mann 1948: 161; Mann 1957: 389. Polysemy: 'thin / sharp'. In [Orel 1998: 150], traced back to Proto-Albanian *skāla, further on to Proto-Indo-European *skel- 'to cut'. This is plausible, although alternate etymologies are possible.

108. WIND

Standard Albanian $\varepsilon r - \partial \{er\ddot{e}\}\ (-1)$.

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 67; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 102; Mann 1948: 96; Mann 1957: 427. Borrowed from Romance **er(a)*, from Latin *āēr* 'air' [Orel 1998: 89].

109. WORM

Standard Albanian krimb {krimb} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 1013; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 180; Mann 1948: 218; Mann 1957: 430. The Geg variant is *krüm* ~ *krümb* {*krym(b)*}. From Proto-Albanian **krim*-, further on to Indo-European **k*^w **mi*- [Orel 1998: 197]. An uncontroversial etymology.

110. YEAR

Standard Albanian $vit \sim vy\varepsilon t \{vit \sim vjet\}$ (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 152; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 366; Mann 1948: 558; Mann 1957: 432. Traced by Orel [1998: 509] back to Proto-Albanian *weta, further on to Proto-Indo-European *wet- 'year'. Secondary synonym: mɔt {mot} ([Koçi & Skendi 1950: 223]; [Mann 1948: 294]) - this word is sometimes translated as 'year' in dictionaries, although a more accurate set of meanings is 'season; time of the year; weather' (the word ultimately goes back to *māti < Indo-European *mē- 'to measure' [Orel 1998: 274]).