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

Languages included: Tosk Albanian [alb-alb].

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

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, Gëgh 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 Gëgh. Perusal of these sources shows that lexicostatistical differences between Tosk and Gëgh 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: e > ɛ; o > ɔ; y > ü; ê > ə.

b) consonants: th > θ; dh > δ; sh > š; x > ʒ; ç > č; q > ç; gj > ż; r > ɾ; rr > r; ll > l; nj >ɲ; j > 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).

Database compiled and annotated by: G. Starostin (July 2011).
1. ALL
Standard Albanian ʒiðə {gjithë} (1).

References and notes:


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 hĩ. 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 kɔɾ-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 koriçkə {koriçkë} ‘piece of crust (of bread)’. Secondary synonym: ləvɔɾɛ ~ ləvɔžgə {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 bark {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 *bʰor-uko- < *bʰer- ‘to carry’ (i. e. ‘belly’ < ‘burden’). The etymology is unsatisfactory: similar nominal derivates from *bʰer- are unknown in Indo-European languages, and the semantic transition would suggest a complex development: ‘to bear (child)’ > ‘womb’ > ‘belly’.
5. BIG
Standard Albanian *madh (1).

References and notes:

**Standard Albanian**: Mançë 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(ʰ) -; despite some minor phonetic problems, the etymology is generally uncontroversial and satisfactory.

6. BIRD
Standard Albanian *zog (1).

References and notes:


7. BITE
Standard Albanian *kafsh (1).

References and notes:

**Standard Albanian**: Mançë 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 (1).

References and notes:

**Standard Albanian**: Mançë et al. 2005: 1015; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 376; Mann 1948: 581; Mann 1957: 35. Feminine: zezə [zezë]. According to [Orel 1998: 524], goes back to Proto-Albanian *džedi < Indo-European *gʷed- '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 *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 *solʰ-o* ‘juice’. This is the most common etymology for the word, phonetically and semantically plausible.

10. **BONE**

**Standard Albanian** kɔckə ~ kɔskə (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 *kostuca* ‘(little) bone’ [Orel 1998: 187] (the same source also notes the rare simple form kɔc {koc}, borrowed from regular Slavic *kosto*). The original word ašt (ašt) [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 ėštər {eshtër} ‘bones; remains’ [Koçi & Skendi 1950: 103].

11. **BREAST**

**Standard Albanian** ʒɔks {gjoks} (1).

References and notes:


12. **BURN TR.**

**Standard Albanian** dyɛg {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** ϑua {thua} (1).

References and notes:

**Standard Albanian:** Mançe et al. 2005: 438; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 353; Mann 1948: 536; Mann 1957: 248. Plural form: ϑɔɲ {thonj}. The Geg variant is ϑue {thue} [Orel 1998: 481]. All etymological hypotheses are highly controversial; Orel lists attempts to relate the word
to parallels as distant from each other as Greek ὄμσυν, Germanic *xanduz 'hand', and Latin *spaːma 'fish scale' (!). Orel's own etymology (< Proto-Albanian *atsāna < Indo-European *akʰ- 'sharp') is semantically plausible, but phonetically unexplained except for the regular correspondence "θ : *kʰ".

14. CLOUD
Standard Albanian ɾɛ {re} (1).

References and notes:


15. COLD
Standard Albanian f=tɔh-ta {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 *ftɔh [ftoh] (Geg *fto) '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 *tʰ₁ y '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 viɲ {vinj} retains the original nasal consonant; hence Orel’s claim that the word is a borrowing from Latin venire [Orel 1998: 508], which is currently the most phonetically plausible explanation. The suppletive aorist form ɛrða {erdha}, however, goes back to Proto-Albanian *erdza, possibly cognate with Greek ἔρχομαι.

17. DIE
Standard Albanian v=dɛs {vdes} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 958; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 360; Mann 1948: 547; Mann 1957: 98. Aorist: vdiɕa {vdiqa}. Derived by Orel from Proto-Albanian *awa=tāya and further from Proto-Indo-European *tekʷ- 'to flow, run away'. The etymology is controversial; the most common alternative is to relate the stem to Indo-European *dʰa/n ‘to die’, which is semantically more plausible, but phonetically less satisfactory (the phonetic alternation s ~ ɛ 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 \( \text{q}en \text{ \{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 *kʰwen-`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 *cāmen*, 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 `ɛwr` 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 `ɛn-ər`; or a possibility of the word going back to a suffixal variant, e.g. `kʰwen-t`, 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 \( p \text{i \{pi\} (1).} \\

References and notes:


20. DRY
Standard Albanian \( \text{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 \( \text{θa} \text{ \{θaj\} `to dry'} [Koçi & Skendi 1950: 351]; in [Orel 1998: 471], traced back to Proto-Albanian *sauṣnya- and further on to Proto-Indo-European *sauṣo-`dry`. This is the most commonly accepted and generally unproblematic etymological solution.

21. EAR
Standard Albanian \( vɛš \text{ \{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 *ōsus-`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 ḏe {dhē} (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 *dzō and further on to Indo-European *d’hgʰōm ‘earth’; the etymology is phonetically plausible and accepted by most specialists. Secondary synonym: tɔkə {tokə} ([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 *tokъ ‘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 *d- > -h- ~ -o-” (for another example of the same type, cf. ve ‘widow’ < Proto-Albanian *widewā [Orel 1998: 497]). The etymology is somewhat controversial, but not altogether impossible phonetically, and clearly the best solution from the semantic and distributional points of view.

24. EGG
Standard Albanian ve-zə {vezə} (1).

References and notes:

**Standard Albanian:** Mançe et al. 2005: 1045; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 364; Mann 1948: 547; Mann 1957: 114. The suffix -zə is a standard diminutive element in Albanian; the simple form ve {ve} is also encountered in a more archaic use. The Geg variant is vo [Orel 1998: 497]. Based on the Old Albanian form ve, Orel reconstructs the opposition "Early Tosk ve : Early Geg vo" and, claiming that the alternation ve- : vo- is diagnostic of Latin loanwords, postulates borrowing from Latin ōvum ‘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 sū {syl} (1).

References and notes:
26. FAT N.
Standard Albanian ἰγmeye (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 lye-ra (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 lye-y ([lye]) ‘to smear, to oil’ < Indo-European *lēi- ‘to flow, pour’ [Orel 1998: 236]). Etymology of ἰγmeye is highly debatable: Orel [1998: 83] reconstructs Proto-Albanian *dzel-mā as a derivative of *dzalā ‘buttermilk’ (> ðallë {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 ἥμος ‘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: undurə ~ undurə {undyrë ~ yndyrë}, 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 uncēra ‘ointment’ [Orel 1998: 486].

27. FEATHER
Standard Albanian penda (pendë) (-1).

References and notes:


28. FIRE
Standard Albanian zyar (zjarr) (1).

References and notes:


29. FISH
Standard Albanian pešk (peshk) (-1).
References and notes:


30. FLY V.
Standard Albanian *flutur-y {flutoj}* (-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 *kamba {kěmbē}* (-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 *kambə* {kambë} [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 *plɔ-tə {plotë}* (1).

 References and notes:


33. GIVE
Standard Albanian *yap {jap}* (1).

References and notes:

**Standard Albanian**: Mançe et al. 2005: 172; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 153; Mann 1948: 9; Mann 1957: 156. In [Orel 1998: 157], derived from Proto-Albanian *‘apa* (y- is explained as filling hiatus; cf. the historic spelling *ap ~ jap* in [Mann 1948] and [Mann 1957]), further from Indo-European *‘ap-* ‘to seize’, although the semantic conversion is odd. Alternate etymologies, nevertheless, are generally not as convincing. It should be noted that the suppletive stem *dəšə {dhashë}* in the aorist is a regular continuation of Indo-European *‘dō* ‘to give’; however, the major parts of the paradigm have unquestionably effectuated a lexical replacement in this case.
34. GOOD
Standard Albanian *mira {mirë} (1).

References and notes:

**Standard Albanian:** Mançë 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- ~ *mi- 'mild, weak, nice'; this is a commonly accepted etymology. Borrowing from Latin mirus 'wonderful' is also suggested by some sources, but runs into semantic problems.

35. GREEN
Standard Albanian *gjelbër {gjelbër} (-1).

References and notes:

**Standard Albanian:** Mançë 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: blërtë {blërtë} (blërët in Mann 1957: 162) and yešil {jeshil}. The form yešil is a transparent recent borrowing from Turkish, whereas blërtë seems to be somewhat more limited in application than *gjelbër, and is much more rare statistically. According to [Orel 1998: 131], *gjelbër is originally borrowed from Latin galbinus 'greenish-yellow'; this is a phonetically and semantically plausible etymology.

36. HAIR
Standard Albanian flök-ə {flokë} (-1).

References and notes:

**Standard Albanian:** Mançë et al. 2005: 91; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 113; Mann 1948: 111; Mann 1957: 166. Plural form; the singular is simply flök {flok}. There is some overlap between this word and qime {qime} ([Mançë 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 flökə 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 dër-ə {dorë} (1).

References and notes:

**Standard Albanian:** Mançë 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 *g'hesr- 'hand'. The development of Indo-European *'s > Albanian d- is regular, and the etymology is accepted by most specialists.

38. HEAD
Standard Albanian *kok-a* {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 *kʸerəs* ‘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 *də-ɔy* {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 *ndəgɔy*, *dəl ɡɔɲ*, *diligɔɲ*, which confirm borrowing < Latin *intellegere* ‘to understand’ (the alternate meanings ‘obey’ and ‘understand’ are actually listed in [Mann 1948: 72]).

40. HEART
Standard Albanian *zemər* {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 *κίμεοξ* ‘mind’ [Hesychius] seems to be the least accidental-looking, but this does not necessarily indicate an Indo-European origin.

41. HORN
Standard Albanian *bɾi* {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 *brĩ* {brî} < Proto-Albanian *brina* [Orel 1998: 36]. The most widely quoted etymological connection is to Messapian βοέμδξμ ‘deer’, βοέμςιξμ ‘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-na* {unë} (1).

**References and notes:**
Standard Albanian: Mançë et al. 2005: 1044; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 356; Mann 1948: 540; Mann 1957: 183. Direct stem. The particle $nə$ 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 $< *eə$ we $<$ Indo-European $*egʰom$ s $ɣ$ 'I myself'. Whatever the real etymology, attempts to trace $u$ directly to Indo-European $*egʰom$ are unsubstantiated.

42. I$_2$
Standard Albanian $mua$ (2).

References and notes:


43. KILL
Standard Albanian $v$=ɾas $\{vras\}$ (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançë et al. 2005: 937; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 369; Mann 1948: 564; Mann 1957: 208. In [Orel 1998: 515], traced back to Proto-Albanian $^{\swarrow}mua$-rautja and then to Proto-Indo-European $^{\swarrow}re$ $ɣ$ '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 $ʒu$ $\{gju\}$ (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançë et al. 2005: 294; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 134; Mann 1948: 149; Mann 1957: 209. The Gegh variant is nasalized: $ʒu$ $\{gjû\}$. In [Orel 1998: 137], traced back to Proto-Albanian $^*gluna$ and then to Proto-Indo-European $^*ĝenu$- as the result of dissimilation from $^*g(ə)muna$. 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: Mançë et al. 2005: 261; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 85; Mann 1948; 74; Mann 1957: 209. In [Orel 1998: 64], explained from Proto-Albanian $^{\swarrow}dija$ $<$ Indo-European $^{\swarrow}d(e)j$ 'to observe', a nearly universally accepted etymology. Secondary synonym: $ɲɔh$
14

{njo} ([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 *gʰenə ~ *gʰenə-).

46. LEAF
Standard Albanian fleta {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 fluturɔy 'to fly' q.v., but whether this similarity is accidental or not cannot be ascertained at this time.

Secondary synonym: xeð (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 *gvozdъ '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-ɾa (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 štri-ɾa). In [Orel 1998: 442], the root štriy is traced back to Proto-Albanian *strinja < Proto-Indo-European *sterə- 'to spread, scatter' (with the same nasal infix as in Old Indian stṛ ɗi, etc.). This is a plausible and commonly accepted etymology.

48. LIVER
Standard Albanian malci {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 malci e barda 'lung', literally 'white malci', and malci e zëza 'liver', literally 'black malci', meaning that the word had been borrowed in the general meaning of 'internal organ').

49. LONG
Standard Albanian ʒa-tə (gjatë) (1).
References and notes:

**Standard Albanian:** Mançë 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 *dI gHA-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:** Mançë et al. 2005: 98; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 223; Mann 1948: 292; Mann 1957: 223. In [Orel 1998: 274], traced back to Proto-Albanian *mērwa* and then derived from Indo-European *mer-* 'to die', by analogy with Greek φθείο 'louse' < φθείοω '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 *mērwa* leaves unclear the derivational model). Note: Although [Orel 1998: 476] gives the meaning of *thëri* {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:** Mançê 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 *gibûro* with simplification of the anlaut cluster *gib-*). 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 *bʰer-* 'to bear'. Attempts to ultimately derive the word from Indo-European *bʰer-* 'to bear' (e. g., in the form of the nominal derivative *bʰerno*) 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 *bʰer-* and *bʰer-* - 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** *šumə* {shumë} (-1).

References and notes:

**Standard Albanian:** Mançê 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 *summê*); the etymology is not in general
dispute.

53. MEAT
Standard Albanian miš {mish} (1).

References and notes:


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 hanə {hanë}. 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 *muɦalV 'mountain' in S. Starostin/S. Nikolayev's North Caucasian Etymological Dictionary > Archi mul, Ginukh malu, possibly Proto-Nakh 'lān 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 gɔyə in most dialects would be quite unexpected. The Italian etymology should therefore not be regarded as an "immediately
57. NAME
Standard Albanian ɛmə{emër} (1).

References and notes:

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

58. NECK
Standard Albanian çaf-a {qafë} (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 qafʔa '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 ç- < 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 ri {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 *rija 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:

61. NOSE
Standard Albanian hund-a [hundë] (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançë et al. 2005: 439; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 146; Mann 1948: 163; Mann 1957: 254. In [Orel 1998: 152], traced back to Proto-Albanian *skun-tā, a derivative from *skuna that, by itself, yields Albanian hu (Geg hũ) '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 *slvja 'fir-needles', etc.) even more dubious.

62. NOT
Standard Albanian nuk {nuk} (1) / s {s'} (2).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançë 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 yo [jo] 'no' (used in predicative function, and also to negate adjectival and adverbial forms) and the prohibitive mɔs [mos]. Orel [1998: 302] analyzes nuk as going back to Proto-Albanian *nuka and further on to Indo-European *ne-kʷo- (= 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 οὐκ 'not'. Mançë 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 č', čə [ç', çë]’, 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 një {një} (1).

References and notes:


64. PERSON
Standard Albanian njer-i {njeri} (1).

References and notes:

‘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 kuç [kuq] (-1).

References and notes:


67. ROAD
Standard Albanian ruga {rrugë} (-1).

References and notes:


68. ROOT
Standard Albanian raŋ-a {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 raŋ-a [rranjë]. Orel [1998: 384] reconstructs Proto-Albanian *wraŋ- and traces the root back to Proto-Indo-European *wərād-. No better etymology has been offered so far (alternate attempts to explain the word as a borrowing from Latin rādix 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 frēn ‘root’ < *w h-).
Standard Albanian *rumbul-ak (rrumbullak) (-1).

References and notes:


70. SAND

Standard Albanian *rəɾ-ə (rërë) (-1).

References and notes:


71. SAY

Standard Albanian sandbox-m (them) (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançë 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 ə-a-šə [thashë], etc.). Etymology is highly dubious; Orel [1998: 480], following Pokorny and others, suggests cognation with Latin cēns-eō < Proto-Indo-European *kʸens- '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 *ə make the etymology very insecure.

72. SEE

Standard Albanian *səh (shoh) (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançë et al. 2005: 74; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 331; Mann 1948: 488; Mann 1957: 334. The Geg variant is əf (shof). In [Orel 1998: 425], traced back to Proto-Albanian *säh-ska and further to Indo-European *sek- '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: Mançë 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 farðy
~ farɔs 'to destroy, exterminate' < Indo-European *śper- '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 ular [rri ular], where ular is an adjectival derivative from the verb ul- ~ ullah- '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 ṭṛō-ti, etc.), but there are other possibilities as well.

75. SKIN
Standard Albanian ləkur-a {lëkurë} (1).

References and notes:


76. SLEEP
Standard Albanian fle {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: fle [fle]. 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 vogəl {vogël} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 333; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 368; Mann 1948: 562; Mann 1957: 350. Plural form: vɛ ⱦəl {vegjël}. Orel [1998: 513] traces this back to Proto-Albanian *vagla, but his subsequent attempt to relate the word to Latin vagor 'to roam around' and Old Irish fán 'slope' < Indo-European *u̯g- 'crooked' is completely unconvincing on semantic grounds (the semantic development 'crooked, vacillating' > 'small' seems to be unprecedented). The word remains etymologically obscure.
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 *dʰū-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 *dʰ-). Orel [1998: 470] discards the idea of borrowing from Greek ῥσμός under the pretext that the latter means 'soul, spirit' rather than 'smoke' in Greek, and, instead, suggests regular development from Proto-Albanian *ātuma = Germanic *ōðuma-z 'breath', related to Old Indian ātmān- 'breath, soul'. However, the distribution of this Germanic-Indian isogloss is too feeble, whereas the phonetic resemblance and semantic connection of Albanian tüm are too strong to openly admit coincidence. We prefer to side with Orel's earlier etymological judgement (mentioned ibid.) about Albanian tüm stemming 'from a substratum continuation of IE *dhūmos' - possibly a re-borrowing from a Greek dialect in which θσμός did, after all, mean 'smoke' (cf. the presence of several derived verbal stems, e. g. θσμ-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 kəmbə {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 ëil {yll} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 257; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 371; Mann 1948: 571; Mann 1957: 364. Plural form: ëyɛ {yje}. Dialectal variant hüł {hyll} is also attested. No obvious etymology; Orel's derivation from Proto-Albanian *skīw-ila, itself derived from *skiyā (modern hiyɛ {hije}) 'shadow' is a bit stretched phonetically and quite dubious semantically (although the underlying Indo-European root *skʰw- 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 *gura* (1).

References and notes:

**Standard Albanian**: Manç 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 *gʷer*- ‘mountain’; if true, this must imply a rarely attested semantic shift [‘mountain’ > ‘stone’], since the semantics of ‘stone’ is not reconstructible for the original *gʷer*.

82. SUN

Standard Albanian *dieḷ* (diell) (1).

References and notes:

**Standard Albanian**: Manç et al. 2005: 858; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 85; Mann 1948: 74; Mann 1957: 375. Plural form: *diej* {diej}. No certain etymology; Orel [1998: 65] traces the word back to Proto-Albanian *dēwā* and further on to Proto-Indo-European *gʰel* (g- ‘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 *not-ɔy* (notoy) (-1).

References and notes:


84. TAIL

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

References and notes:

**Standard Albanian**: Manç et al. 2005: 997; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 49; Mann 1948: 30; Mann 1957: 381. Traced by Orel [1998: 27] back to Proto-Albanian *būšta*; subsequent etymologization from Indo-European *bʰuː*- ‘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 ~ 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 ayɔ {ajo} ‘she’). Orel analyzes the form as reflecting Proto-Albanian *a=ei, where *a= is a proclitic particle and *=ei < Indo-European deictic stem *ei-.

86. THIS
Standard Albanian kũ {ky} (1).

References and notes:

Standard Albanian: Mançe et al. 2005: 1040; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 189; Mann 1948: 232; Mann 1957: 389. Feminine form: kya {kjo}. In [Orel 1998: 208], analyzed as a reflexation of Proto-Albanian *ka-ei, where *ka- 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 *kʰy- and treat the other morpheme (if there is another morpheme) as suffixal.

87. THOU
Standard Albanian ti {ti} (1).

References and notes:


88. TONGUE
Standard Albanian zuh-ɔ {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 *gusā, based on dialectal forms (Cham gluhë, etc.). However, his subsequent attempt to relate this root to the Balto-Slavic-Germanic isogloss *gals- ‘voice; call’ is shaky on semantic and distributional grounds. At the same time, the phonetic similarity between *gusā 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 γλῶσσα) goes back to *glōk(ʰ)ya or *glōt(ʰ)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’ (*dl(m)ngʰ), 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 δəmb {dhëmb} (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 ayɔ {ajo} ‘she’). Orel analyzes the form as reflecting Proto-Albanian *a=ei, where *a= is a proclitic particle and *=ei < Indo-European deictic stem *ei-.
**Standard Albanian:** Mançe et al. 2005: 262; Koçi & Skendi 1950: 96; Mann 1948: 89; Mann 1957: 394. The Geg variant is ˈdɔmb (ˈdɔmb). Traced by Orel [1998: 82] back to Proto-Albanian *dzamba* and further on to Indo-European *gʰomʰ*- 'sharp edge, peg > tooth'. A near-universally accepted etymology.

90. TREE
Standard Albanian *dru* ([ˈdru]) (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 *drũ* ([ˈdrũ]). In [Orel 1998: 76], traced back to Proto-Albanian *duwa* 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* ([ˈpemə]) ([Mançe et al. 2005: 190]; [Koçi & Skendi 1950: 260]), originally a borrowing from Latin *pōmus* '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 *dju* ([ˈdju]) (1).

References and notes:


92. WALK (GO)
Standard Albanian *škɔy* ([ʃˈkɔj]) (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 apocopeation of *shtekoj* attested in Northern dialects and based on *štëk < štëg*" (the latter word means 'path, way'). Provided the form *shtekoj* really exists and the development is not opposite (i. e. *škɔy > štɛkɔy* by semantic contamination with *štɛg*), this is a more reasonable etymology than most of the others listed in [Orel 1998: 421].

93. WARM (HOT)
Standard Albanian *n=ʒɛh-t-ə* ([nɛxtɛ]) (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=ʒɛh [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=grɔh-tə [ngrohti] 'warm' [Koçi & Skendi 1950: 236] (< n=grɔh 'to warm' < Proto-Albanian *en-grāya [Orel 1998: 296]; however, if Orel's etymology, placing this together with Slavic *grěyô, is correct, the two words still eventually go back to the same Indo-European root *gʷʰer-, only with different suffixes).

94. WATER
Standard Albanian uy-a {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-jā and further to Indo-European *g- ‘water’. Although specialists generally differ as to the exact reconstruction of the suffixal extension, the root link to *g- is almost universally accepted and phonetically quite plausible.

95. WE
Standard Albanian ne {ne} (1).

References and notes:


96. WHAT
Standard Albanian č ~ čə {çë ~ çë} (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 *tši and further on to Indo-European *kʷid- ‘what’. The variant č is reduced from čə; another frequent variant is the complex stem č-fərə [çfrë], literally "what sort / kind of?", the second stem in which = fərə 'seed' q.v.

97. WHITE
Standard Albanian bard-a {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 *bʰreɡ'ə-, a derivative of Proto-Indo-European *bʰreɡ- 'to shine; white'. This is a plausible and near-universally accepted etymology.

98. WHO
Standard Albanian *kuš* {kush} (1).

References and notes:

**Standard Albanian**: Manç 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 *kʷo- + *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:


Traced by Orel [1998: 125] back to Proto-Albanian *grāwā*, further on to Proto-Indo-European *gʷerə- ‘old’ (for semantics cf. Greek γαῖαις ‘old woman’). An older, more traditional etymology relates the word to Indo-European *gʷen- ‘woman’, but Orel remarks that, if the original stem were really *gʷen-ōn-, 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: *femër* {femër} (Geg *femën* {femën}) ([Manç 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 *verd-a {verdhë} (-1).

References and notes:


101. FAR

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

References and notes:


102. HEAVY

Standard Albanian *rendə {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 *randə {randë}. Traced by Orel [1998: 370] back to Proto-Albanian *raunta, an alleged derivative from the same verbal root that is found in the suppletive aorist stem *raṣa of the verb *bie 'to fall', ultimately to Indo-European *re gʷ- 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 grandis, or as a regular development from Indo-European *gʷr-ndo-, etc.) seem to have been proposed on an even more ad hoc basis. Unclear.

103. NEAR
Standard Albanian afar {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 *krūpā- 'rough, grainy'.

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

References and notes:


106. SNAKE
Standard Albanian żarp-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 żarp-ən
29

{gjarpën}, preserving the old nasal consonant. Orel [1998: 130] traces the word back to Proto-Albanian *serpea, further to Indoeuropean *serpe- '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 ɛɾ-ə {erë} (-1).

References and notes:


109. WORM

Standard Albanian kɾimb {krimb} (1).

References and notes:


110. YEAR

Standard Albanian vit ~ vjet {vit ~ 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 *māt- < Indo-European *mē- 'to measure' [Orel 1998: 274]).