

Indogermanische Forschungen

Indogermanische Forschungen

Zeitschrift für Indogermanistik und historische
Sprachwissenschaft /
Journal of Indo-European Studies and Historical
Linguistics

Begründet von
Karl Brugmann und Wilhelm Streitberg

Herausgegeben von
Benjamin Fortson, Götz Keydana, Melanie Malzahn
und Paul Widmer

130. Band
2025

DE GRUYTER

Alle für die Indogermanischen Forschungen bestimmten Beiträge reichen Sie bitte über das Einreichungsportal ein unter: <https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/indo>

oder senden Sie per Briefpost an:

Sprachwissenschaftliches Seminar der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen,
Indogermanische Forschungen, Käte-Hamburger-Weg 3, D-37073 Göttingen.

Wissenschaftlicher Beirat:

Daniel Petit (Paris), Elisabeth Rieken (Marburg), Stefan Schumacher (Wien),
Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir (Reykjavík), Michael Weiss (Ithaca, NY)

ISSN 0019-7262
e-ISSN 1613-0405

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.dnb.de> abrufbar.

© 2025 Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston, Genthiner Str. 13, 10785 Berlin
Druck und Bindung: CPI books GmbH, Leck

www.degruyterbrill.com

Fragen zur allgemeinen Produktsicherheit:
productsafety@degruyterbrill.com

Contents

Julian Kreidl

Über die Herkunft des Obliquus Singular in manchen Nuristan- und Dardsprachen — 1

Silvia Luraghi

Voice and transitivity with perception verbs in Ancient Greek — 19

Miguel Villanueva Svensson

PIE *nu*-factitives in Balto-Slavic — 45

Anthony D. Yates

The Anatolian reflexes of Indo-European τομή-, φυγή-, τόμος-, and τομός-type nominals and their historical implications — 91

Valerio Pisaniello and Stella Merlin

Lycian Ἐρευάτης in Stephanus of Byzantium — 141

Florian Réveillac

Lycian *zuṛmẽ/zuṛmã* and possibly related Luwic words — 163

Matteo De Chiara

Pashto preverbs V — 193

Andrey Vinogradov and Maksim Korobov

The Goths in Taurica — 237

Matteo Tarsi and Chiara Zanchi

Basic valency orientation in Gothic — 257

Patrick V. Stiles

Old English Elene 54a *hleowon* and Old Norse Grímnismál 29,9 *hlóa*; two texts, one verb — 285

Brian Cluyse, Joren Somers, and Jóhanna Barðdal

Latin *placēre* ‘like, please’ as an alternating Dat-Nom/Nom-Dat verb — 323

Giulio Imberciadori

Albanian *dash* ‘ram’ — 385

Salvatore Scarlata

***prāvepá-* und *pravātejǎ-/°já-* — 417**

David Sasseville

Les dérivés adjectivaux grecs et louvites en **-eh₂-jo-* — 425

Giulio Imberciadori

Albanian *dash* ‘ram’

Abstract: The etymology of Alb. *dash* m. ‘ram’ is disputed. On the one hand, I argue in this paper that a neglected proposal by La Piana (1939: 91)—who very briefly hinted at a possible connection with Lat. *dēnsus* ‘thick, dense’—is worth being further explored, as a ram could have been plausibly originally named ‘the thick(-fleece) one’. On the other hand, I propose a new etymology for Alb. *dash*, which is based on the widespread *Benennungsmotiv* of the ram as ‘the running one’. Accordingly, I connect the Albanian word with the PIE root **d^henh₂-* ‘run, flow’ and argue for a closer morphological comparison with Ved. *dhāsī-* m.(/f.) ‘wellspring, gush’ and W. *dos* m. ‘drop, trickle’.

Keywords: etymology, Albanian, ram, double-zero-grade adjectives, PIE **d^henh₂-* ‘run, flow’

1 Introductory remarks

Concerning the etymology of the Albanian animal name *dash* (pl. *desh*) m. ‘ram’, no scholarly consensus has been reached so far. In the present paper, I focus on the synchrony and diachrony of this word and propose a new etymological analysis.

The article is structured as follows: in section 2, I provide an overview of the oldest attestations of *dash*, with the aim of identifying both its primary semantics and its precise meaning across the Albanian dialects; in §3, I investigate the inner-Albanian prehistory of *dash*, both from a semantic (§3.1) and from a morphological (§3.2) perspective; in §4, I critically review the previous etymologies of *dash* and find only one of them to be potentially convincing; in §5, I advance a new etymological explanation, which is based on the widespread denomination of the ram as ‘the running one’; §6 concludes the paper.

2 (Old) Albanian attestations

2.1 (Old) Gheg

Alb. *dash* is first attested in Gjon Buzuku's *Missale* (1555), where it occurs twice; see (1).¹ In 61r 71, the indefinite acc.sg. *dash* (= Lat. *arietem*) denotes the ram that Abraham sacrifices instead of his son Isaac after the intervention of the Archangel Gabriel. In 26v 28, the definite abl.pl. *deshshit* is used metonymically for 'small livestock' (i.e., sheep + goats), in the same way as the immediately following *buollicë* f. (lit. 'buffalo cow') is used as a cover terminus for 'large livestock' (or cattle, i.e., cows).

(1) Buzuku, *Missale*

- a. 61r 70–72 *e pā një dash qi ish ëngatërruom për brienësh endër zhdo driza*
'he [Abraham] saw a ram that is tangled with [his] horns in a [lit. some] thornbush'
cf. *Gen. 22.13 viditque post tergum arietem inter vepres herentem cornibus*
'and he saw behind him [lit. his back] a ram [which was] tangled with [his] horns in a thornbush'
- b. 26v 27–29 *tÿ të të apënë regjëjntë dhunëtije ën bagëtiet e ën deshshit e ën buollicashit*
'kings shall give you gifts [consisting] of livestock: both of rams and of buffalo cows'

The second oldest Gheg author—Pjetër Budi—also employs *dash* (especially the definite acc.sg. *dashnë*) to denote a ram in a sacrificial context; see (2).

- (2) Budi, *Dottrina christiana* (1618), 190v 11–12²
e mer dashnë për të çpejtë / xgjedhunë grigjet së tii
'he [Cain] quickly takes the select ram from his herd'

A slightly different picture concerning the semantics of *dash* emerges from the lexicographical works by Franciscus Blanchus or Bardhi (*Dictionarium Latino-Epiroticum*, 1635) and Francesco Maria da Lecce (*Dittionario italiano-albanese*, 1702). In these dictionaries, *dash* translates Lat. / It. "vervex, castrone"³ and It. "castrato – animale",⁴ respectively, and therefore refers to a wether (i.e., a male castrated sheep) rather than to a ram.

¹ See Çabej 1968: 83, 233; LHGjSh: 1, 267; Qendro 2013: 57.

² See Demiraj, Omari & Kapia 2022: 490–491; LHGjSh: 2, 183.

³ P. 182, see Demiraj 2008: 460–461; LHGjSh: 3, 114.

⁴ Nr. 2148, see Gurga 2009: 187, 655.

Interestingly, both meanings ‘ram’ and ‘wether’ occur in Pjetër Bogdani’s *Cuneus prophetarum* (1685), where *dash* is attested three times; see (3).⁵ Two of these occurrences clearly require the meaning ‘ram’: (i) the definite nom.sg. *Dashi* (I.27.37) refers to the Zodiac sign of the Ram (Lat. *Aries*); (ii) the indefinite abl.pl. *dashash* (II.20.7) occurs in sacrificial context and is coupled with the abl.pl. *sjepsh*, which denotes another (uncastrated) breeding animal, namely, the billy-goat (nom.sg. OGheg *sjap*, St.-Alb. *cjap*). Nevertheless, the indefinite nom.pl. *desh* (I.111.5) translates It. *castrati* ‘castrated [animals]’ and therefore attests to a coexisting meaning ‘wether’.

(3) Bogdani, *Cuneus prophetarum*

- a. I.27.37 *emënat’ e shenjëvet janë këto: **Dashi**, Mëzati, Binoshi ...*
‘the names of the [Zodiac] signs are these: **Ram**, Bull, Gemini ...’
- b. II.20.7 *tue i bam të mëdha kurbane **dashash** e sjepsh*
‘making for him big sacrifices **with rams** and billy-goats’
- c. I.111.5 *njiqind **desh** (It. cento castrati)*
‘one hundred **wethers**’

The coexistence of both meanings ‘ram’ and ‘wether’ also characterizes *dash* in Modern Gheg; see (4).

(4) Translations of *dash* in Gheg or Gheg-oriented dictionaries from the 19th–20th century

- a. Jungg (1895: 21): sg. *dash* (<dasc>) ~ pl. *desh* (<desc>) ‘castrato [wether]’
- b. Kristoforidhi (1961: 76) (1904): sg. *dash* ~ pl. *deshë* ‘κρίός, κριάρι [ram]’
- c. Bashkimi (1908: 80): sg. *dash* ~ pl. *desh* ‘ariete; montone [ram]’

Finally, the Old Gheg author known as The Anonymous of Elbasan (1761) attests to a meaning of *dash* different from what we have seen so far, namely, ‘sheep’; see (5). According to Jokl (1923: 239), *dash* also occurs with this meaning in Northeastern Gheg.

(5) The Anonymous of Elbasan, 14.05–06 (see Elsie 1995: 125)

***dashnë** ep ndë dorë uku[t] / ta ruanjë*

‘you give **the sheep** in the hand of the wolf to let him take care of it’

2.2 (Old) Tosk

Turning to Tosk, the first attestation of *dash* occurs in the 18th-century Muslim poet Ibrahim Nezim Frakulla (or Berati); see (6).

⁵ See LHGjSh: 4, 141; Omari 2005: 1, 27, 111; 2005: 2, 20; 2016: 151.

- (6) Frakulla, *Divan* (1736), 125.13–16 (see Abazi-Egro 2009: 390)
*i mjeri insan në dynja, / thotë të rronj, të bënj sefa; / në dëfter kasapi të ka, / ti kullot në fushë, **ej dash!***
 ‘the poor man in the world, he says: “let’s live, let’s enjoy [this life]”; [but] the butcher has you on [his] book, you graze in a field, **oh dash!**’

In my view, it is hard to say whether the vocative syntagm *ej dash* should be rendered as ‘oh ram’ or ‘oh wether’ here, as both translations would fit the context in (6).

Despite the semantic ambiguity in Frakulla, *dash* otherwise exhibits the meaning ‘ram’ rather than ‘wether’ in most (Old) Tosk attestations. For instance, in the *Poezi* by Hasan Zyko Kamberi (18th–19th century) *dash* occurs twice in sacrificial context, and in 24.255 it refers to the ram sacrificed by Abraham as in (1a) above; see (7).

- (7) Kamberi, *Poezi* (see Abazi-Egro 2016: 168, 207)
- a. 18.153–154 *dy bajramë për të falë / edhe **një dash** të bësh kurban*
 ‘two Bajrams [name of a Muslim holiday] so that you pray and **one ram** [so] that you sacrifice [lit. you make a sacrifice]’
 - b. 24.255–256 *me ashk erdh e suall **një dash**, / dër këmbë ja bëri kurban*
 ‘mit göttlicher Liebe kam er [the Archangel Gabriel] und brachte **einen Widder**, zu seinen [Abraham’s] Füßen opferte er ihn’ (trans. after Demiraj in DPEWA: s.v. *kurban*)

In lexicographical works, *dash* usually translates Mod.-Gk. κριάρι (~ pl. κριάρια) ‘ram’ or It. *ariete* / *montone* ‘id.’, as in (8)–(9) and (10) (Old Arbëresh).

- (8) Jan Vellara, *Stoicheia hellêno-albanikës grammatikës kai hellêno-albanikoi dialogoi* (1801)⁶
 187 (no. 539) Κριάρι. [Sg.] *Dash, dashit*. [Pl.] *Deshë, deshet*
- (9) Daniil Moschopolitis (or Voskopojari), *Lexikon Tetraglosson* (1802) (see Demiraj 2022: 40, 92)
 3.10 Τὰ κριάρια. [Pl.def.] *deshtë*
- (10) Nicolò Chetta, *Leksiko liti, kthiellë arbërisht* (1763) (see Cerniglia 2008: 58, 167)
Ariete: [sg.def.] *dashi*, -it; [pl.def.] *deshtë*
Montone: [sg.def.] *dashi*

⁶ See Jochalas 1985: 161, 247, 270. As for the *Stoicheia*, however, it is worth recalling that its author Jan Vellara likely was a Greek rather than a Tosk native speaker; see Elsie 1991: 33.

According to Sasse (1991: 106), the meaning 'ram' also occurs in the Southern Tosk dialect from Greece (Arvanitic), for which he reports a paradigm sg. *dash* ~ pl. *desh*. Similarly, Giordano (2000: 66) translates Arb. *dash* (~ pl. *desh*) as 'montone [ram]'. The latter is also the primary meaning of *dash* in the Tosk-based Standard language, see FGjSSh: s.v. and Mann 1948: 1, 75.

Finally, there is one further Old Tosk attestation of *dash* that deserves mention in the present section, namely, that in the *Codex Beratinus* (18th century). In this lexicographical work (p. 99c, line 14), the definite nom.sg. *dashi* (⟨ντάσι⟩) translates Mod.-Gk. ταύρος 'bull' rather than usual κριάρι 'ram' (see Demiraj 2019: 219, 281, 401, 413). In §3.1 below, I will offer a possible explanation for this unexpected meaning.

3 Inner-Albanian analysis

3.1 Semantics

The discussion in §2 has shown that Alb. *dash* exhibits the four meanings reported in (11).

- (11) Attested meanings of Alb. *dash*
- a. 'ram', attested both in Gheg (Buzuku; Budi; Bogdani; Kristoforidhi; Bashkimi) and in Tosk (Kamberi; Vellara; Moschopolitis; Arvanitic; Arbëresh; Standard Albanian)
 - b. 'wether', securely attested only in Gheg (Bogdani; Blanchus; da Lecce; Jungg), since the precise meaning of *dash* in Frakulla (see (6) above) remains unclear
 - c. 'sheep', limited to Gheg (Anonym of Elbasan; Northeastern Gheg)
 - d. 'bull', limited to Tosk (*Codex Beratinus*)

Since the meaning 'ram' is (i) chronologically older and (ii) geographically more widespread, it is reasonable to regard it as the primary semantics of Alb. *dash*. This assumption is supported by the fact that most derivatives of Alb. *dash* presuppose precisely a basic meaning 'ram'; see (12).

- (12) Derivatives of Alb. *dash* (selection)
- a. Gheg *desh-ár* m. 'guest who brings a ram as a gift at a wedding' (see SE: 3, 172)
 - b. Alb. *dash deti* 'pelican' (lit. 'sea ram'), cf. also Alb. *lara-dash* m. 'id.' (see FGjSSh: s.v.)
 - c. Alb. *gjëmb dashi* 'thistle' (lit. 'thorn of the ram') (see Mann 1948: 1, 75)

On the other hand, I argue that the meaning ‘wether’ developed secondarily from ‘ram’ in a large part of the Gheg speaking area. Notably, the assumption of a semantic development ‘ram’ $\Rightarrow$ ‘wether’ is strengthened by the parallels reported in (13).⁷

(13) Semantic development ‘ram’ $\Rightarrow$ ‘wether’

- a. OE *weper* m. ‘ram; wether’ (~ OHG *widar* m. ‘ram’, ON *veðr* m. ‘id.’, etc.)
 > PDE *wether* (castrated male sheep)⁸
- b. OFr. *multun* m. ‘ram’ > Fr. *mouton* m. ‘wether; sheep’ (see FEW: 6.3, 205)

Moreover, I surmise that in some Gheg varieties (see (11c) above) the meaning ‘wether’ further evolved to ‘sheep’, in a fashion similar to what happened in Fr. *mouton* m. ‘wether; sheep’ (see (13b) above) or in Lat. *vervex*, -*ēcis* m. ‘wether’ (Varro *Ling.* 5.98) $\Rightarrow$ ‘sheep’ (> Fr. *brebis* f. ‘ewe’, $\rightarrow$ **vervēcārius* > Fr. *berger* ‘shepherd’, etc.).⁹ An Albanian dialect in which *dash* meant either ‘wether’ or ‘sheep’ must have also been the source of Aromanian *dașŭ* m. ‘lamb’, which Papahagi (1974: 459) takes to be an Albanian loanword, see also SE: 3, 172.

Finally, it is conceivable that the divergent meaning ‘bull (i.e., male cow)’ in the Old Tosk *Codex Beratinus* developed from the primary semantics ‘ram’ via an intermediate stage ‘male breeding animal’ *vel sim.*

3.2 Morphology

The attested paradigm sg. *dash* ~ pl. *desh*—type Alb. sg. *plak* ~ pl. *pleq* ‘old man’—points to the reconstruction of the following preforms.

3.2.1 Singular

The singular *dash* can go back to PALb. **daś(ś)V-* or **d^{žh}as(ś)V-*, whose further pre-history is formally ambiguous; see (14).

(14) Possible diachronic analyses of PALb. **daś(ś)V-* or **d^{žh}as(ś)V-* ‘ram’

- a. Anlaut: (i) PALb. **d-* < PIE **d^(h)-*; (ii) PALb. **d^{žh}-* < PIE **ǵ^h-*, cf. Alb. *dorë* ‘hand’ < **ǵ^hesr-* (see Neri in DPEWA: s.v.)

⁷ See further Buck 1949: 158.

⁸ See BT: s.v. *weper*; OED: s.v. *wether*. On the PIE etymology of these Germanic words, see further Neri 2003: 301–303; Rau 2007: 289–290.

⁹ See REW: 773; Buck 1949: 158.

- b. Inlaut: PALb. **-a-* < PIE **-o-*, **h_x* / *C__C*, **-Vu*, or **-ŋ-*
- c. Auslaut: (i) PALb. **^ošV-* < PIE **^osi-*; (ii) PALb. **^oššV-* < PIE **^oNsV-*, cf. Alb. *mish* ‘meat’ < **memso-* (see Schumacher & Matzinger 2013: 264)

Although (14c) seems to suggest that Alb. *dash* would also be compatible with an *i*-stem preform, this is actually not without difficulties, since in this case one would expect the stem-final vowel (Pre-)PALb. **ⁱ-* to have triggered umlaut of the preceding **-a-* to *-e-*, thus leading to a singular Alb. *^xdesh* instead of *dash*—cf. Alb. *elb* m. ‘barley’ < PIE **h_xalb^hi-(t)-* ‘the white one’.¹⁰ To be sure, some cases are known in which inherited *i*-stems do not exhibit umlauted root vowels in Albanian, e.g., *mat* m. ‘riverbank, seashore’ < **mŋ-ti-* or *gur* m. ‘stone’ < **g^wh₂-i-*. According to Klingenschmitt (2022: 110), this is due to the intraparadigmatic generalization of the suffixal allomorph of the loc.sg., whose lengthened grade **^oēi-* (> Pre-PALb. **^oāi-*) would have regularly caused no umlaut of the preceding vowel.¹¹ It follows that the reconstruction of an *i*-stem for the prehistory of Alb. *dash* is probably not impossible, although it requires an additional explanation for the absence of *i*-umlaut in this word.

3.2.2 Plural

The plural Alb. *desh* continues PALb. **Deš-i*, which must have arisen from a preform **Daš-i* through the effect of *i*-umlaut.¹² As for the plural ending PALb. **-i*, it can go back either to PIE **-oi* (*o*-stem) or to unstressed PIE **-eies* (*i*-stem); see (15).

- (15) PIE **-oi* and **-eies* > Alb. *-Ø*_[+umlaut]
- a. PIE nom.pl. **plh₁-koj* ‘the gray ones’ > Pre-PALb. **plakaj* > PALb. **plaki* > **plaki* > **pleki* > Alb. pl. *pleq* ‘old men’ (see Neri in DPEWA: s.v.)
 - b. PIE 2sg. **uos-éje-si* ‘let wear’ > Pre-PALb. **uásiiis* > **uásiiijh* > PALb. **uási* > **uesi* > Alb. 2sg. *vesh* ‘dress’ (see Schumacher & Matzinger 2013: 253–254)

However, since the singular *dash* is more easily reconciled with an *o*-stem than with an *i*-stem ancestor (§3.2.1), the most economical assumption is that the paradigm sg. *dash* ~ pl. *desh* continues a thematic preform.

As indirectly anticipated in §2, *desh* is not the only plural attested for Alb. *dash*. In particular, both Vellara (Old Tosk) and Kristoforidhi (Gheg) attest to a plural vari-

¹⁰ See Schumacher & Matzinger 2013: 211. I am grateful to Sergio Neri (p.c.) for having called this formal issue to my attention.

¹¹ See further Neri in DPEWA: s.v. *mat* and Neri 2022: 733.

¹² See already Schmidt 1922: 239, and further Klingenschmitt 2022: 67; Sh. Demiraj 1993: 49.

ant *deshë* (see (4b) and (8) above), which arose through suffixation of the recharacterizing plural ending *-ë* to the endingless plural *desh*.¹³ For Tosk, Mann 1948: 1, 75 reports a plural variant *dëshinj* (cf. “*dešín*” in Meyer 1891: 62), in which the recharacterizing plural ending *-inj* (< **°Vn-oj*, see Matzinger 2006: 102) triggered a rightward shift of the stress and consequently a weakening *-e* > *-ë* of the unstressed root vowel. Finally, a plural *dasha** (abl.pl. *dasha-sh*) occurs in Bogdani (Old Gheg) beside the regular plural *desh* (see (3) above). OGheg *dasha** likely represents the recharacterization in *-e* of an otherwise unattested plural **dash-ë*, with regular development *°ë* + *-e* > *-a* (see Matzinger 2006: 102). Note that the plural variant **dash-ë* presupposes an intraparadigmatic generalization of the singular allomorph *dash-*.

Finally, it is worth remarking that both plurals *desh* and *dasha** coexist in Bogdani. Although the number of attestations is small, these forms seem to be semantically differentiated, with *desh* meaning ‘wethers’ and *dasha** meaning ‘rams’ (see (3b–c) above). I thus wonder whether this distribution could be explained through Kuryłowicz’s 4th Law of analogy:¹⁴ i.e., the more recent plural *dasha** took over the primary meaning ‘rams’, whereas the older plural *desh* underwent a semantic specialization to ‘wethers’.

4 Proposed etymologies of Alb. *dash*

In the present section, I critically review previous proposals concerning the etymology of Alb. *dash*.

4.1 Older connections

Whereas Meyer (1891: 62) and Luka (1999: 325–326) left the Albanian ‘ram’ word unexplained, Stier (1862: 209) linked Alb. *dash* to the word family of Gk. τίκτω ‘beget’, τοκεύς m. ‘begetter’, etc., which is formally impossible. The same is true for Camarda’s (1864) connection (*apud* Demiraj 1997: 124) with the obscure Greek word δάσκιλλος m., the name of a fish (Arist.; LSJ: s.v.). Alternatively, Bugge (1892: 164) regarded Alb. *dash* as a derivative to Alb. *do* ‘want; love’ (aor. *desh-a*, ptc. *dash-ur*) and assumed an original meaning ‘the beloved one (from the gods in sacrifices)’. This proposal, however, is semantically unconvincing.

¹³ See Schmidt 1922: 238 *contra* Pedersen 1905: 209, who takes *deshë* to be the primary plural form and *-ë* to represent the regular outcome of PIE **-oi*.

¹⁴ See Kuryłowicz 1945: 30–31; Hock 2021: 239–242.

4.2 Barić and Demiraj

Some scholars tried to connect Alb. *dash* with other lexemes for breeding animals. Thus, Barić (1919: 6) analyzed *dash* as an augmentative derivative in *-sh* to Alb. *dele* f. ‘sheep’. Semantically, a connection between ‘ram’ and ‘sheep’ would be plausible: see, e.g., Lith. *āvinas* m. (3) ‘ram; wether’ ← *avis* f. (4) ‘sheep’ (see ALEW: 78–79). Nevertheless, the following problems remain: (i) the Alb. suffix *-sh* does not usually have augmentative function;¹⁵ (ii) even assuming that *-e-* in Alb. *dele* goes back to an older (umlauted) **-a-* (see Demiraj 1997: 127–128 with references), there seem to be no independent evidence for a putative development Alb. **°Vl-sh* > *°V-sh*; a counterexample is Alb. *gërbul-sh* ‘dirty’ ← *gërbulë* f. ‘leprosy’.¹⁶

Along Barić’s lines, Demiraj (1997: 124) traced Alb. *dash* back to a preform “**dam(V)-ś-*”, which he took to be a derivative in *-sh* to Alb. *dem* m. ‘young bull’.¹⁷ All the same, the meaning ‘ram’ of the Albanian word is not plausibly accounted for under this hypothesis.

4.3 Çabej

According to Çabej (SE: 3, 172–173),¹⁸ Alb. *dash* belongs to the word family of Skt. *daśā-* f. ‘border, margin of a cloth’, Goth. *tagl* n. ‘hair’, Mlr. *dūal* m. ‘lock (of hair)’, etc. (EWAia: 1, 710; EDPG: 504). and thus ultimately goes back to a PIE root **dek-*. In particular, *dash* would be a derivative in *-sh* to a substantive Alb. **dath(ë)* ‘wool’, which would continue PIE **doḱ-o-* or **doḱ-eh₂-*. However, there is no independent evidence for the existence of an Albanian word **dath(ë)* with the meaning ‘wool’. Since the latter word should be set up ad hoc for the etymological analysis of *dash*, Çabej’s hypothesis proves to be circular.

4.4 PIE **dʰues-* ‘breath’

Jokl (1923: 240–241)¹⁹ first proposed connecting Alb. *dash* with Lat. *bēstia* f. ‘beast, animal’, *bēlua* f. ‘beast’, etc. and tracing it back to a PIE root (in modern notation) **dʰues-* ‘breath’ (see LIV²: 160). This hypothesis was further developed by Mann

15 See Xhuvani & Çabej 1976: 271–272, who rather regard *-sh* as a diminutive suffix.

16 See Topalli 2017: 538; Xhuvani & Çabej 1976: 271.

17 On which see Neri & Demiraj in DPEWA: s.v.

18 See also Topalli 2017: 360, with further references.

19 Followed by Tagliavini (1937: 100; 1965: 134–135).

(1950: 387; 1977: 29, 57) and Orel (1998: 57; 2000: 14), who (i) reconstructed the pre-forms **d^housjo-* and **d^hous-i-*, respectively, and (ii) compared semantically PGerm. **deuz-a-* n. ‘(wild) animal’, PBSl. **dauš-á-* m. ‘breath’, etc. (with secondary full grade I; EDSIL: 124; ALEW: 208).

Concerning this proposal, one should first note that the appurtenance of Lat. *bēstia* and *bēlua* to the PIE root **d^hues-* ‘breath’ is highly uncertain due to the development PIE **d^hu-* > Lat. *f-* (not *b-*), cf. **d^huór-es* > Lat. *forēs* pl.f. ‘doors’.²⁰ Nevertheless, the connection of Alb. *dash* with PIE **d^hues-* ‘breath’ or **d^heus-* (with secondary full-grade I) would be formally unproblematic, as PIE **d^hu-* regularly yielded Alb. *d-* (cf. **d^huor-* > Alb. *derë* f. ‘door’) (see Neri in DPEWA: s.v.).

More difficult to justify, however, is the primary meaning ‘ram’ of Alb. *dash*. Specifically, one should assume a three-step semantic development (i) ‘the breathing one’ ⇒ ‘animal’, (ii) ‘animal’ ⇒ ‘sheep’, and finally (iii) ‘sheep’ ⇒ ‘male sheep, ram’. One could even adduce parallels for the single in-between steps of this development: e.g., Lat. *animal* n. ‘animal, the breathing one’, Engad. *beša* f. ‘sheep’ < Lat. *bēstia* f. ‘beast, animal’ (see REW: 92), or—although not exactly parallel to (iii)—OHG *widar* m. ‘ram’ < PGerm. **ueþru-* ‘young sheep, lamb’ (see 13a above (§3.1), with references). Despite this, I have not been able to find any parallel for the whole semantic trajectory required by this hypothesis, namely, ‘the breathing one’ ⇒ ‘ram’. The lack of exact semantic parallels weakens the plausibility of this etymology.

4.5 La Piana

In his *Studi linguistici albanesi*, La Piana (1939: 91) very briefly hinted at the possibility of connecting Alb. *dash* m. ‘ram’ with the Lat. adjective *dēnsus* ‘thick, dense; frequent’, under the assumption of an original meaning ‘(the) shaggy (one)’.²¹ This proposal is interesting in many respects.

4.5.1 Semantic analysis

Semantically, it is certainly true that Lat. *dēnsus* usually qualifies referents like earth (*terra*), woods or forests (*silva*, *lucus*), groups of people (*agmen*, *vulgus*), etc. Nevertheless, this adjective can also occasionally refer to the fleece or wool of sheep; see (16).

²⁰ See EDL: 70; Blažek 2020; Weiss 2020: 174.

²¹ “I.e. **d^h-s-*: [...] (‘irsuto’ quindi:) montone, lat. *densus*”.

- (16) Passages in which Lat. *dēnsus* refers to the fleece or wool of sheep
- a. Col. *rust.* 7.3.3 *cauda longissima densique velleris*
‘with a very long tail and a thick fleece’ (said of a ram)
 - b. Varro *rust.* 2.3 *villis altis et densis*
‘with high and thick hairs’ (said of ewes)

If one is willing to further pursue La Piana’s proposal, it becomes striking that the Greek cognate of Lat. *dēnsus*—namely, δασύς—presents an even closer semantic overlap with Alb. *dash*, as the core meaning of δασύς is precisely ‘hairy, shaggy (of persons and animals); thick with leaves, bushy (of plants)’.²² Notably, in *Od.* 9.425 the compound δασύ-μαλλοι ‘thick-fleeced’ refers to the syntagm ἄρσενες ὄιες ‘male sheep [i.e., rams]’.²³

In this connection, one may also mention the close association of Gk. Ion. εἶρος (Att. ἔρος) n. ‘wool’ (< PGk. **uér̥uō*°, see Peters 1980: 322) with words for ‘ram’ or ‘wether’. In an Aeolic inscription from Lydia (3rd century BCE), the possessive compound ἔπ-ερος ‘woolly, *laniger*’ (lit. ‘[having] wool on’) is coordinated with the nom.pl. ἀρνῆαδες (~ Ep. ἀρνειός, Att. ἀρνεώς m. ‘ram’, Peters 1993: 386–392): cf. ἔπεροι καὶ ἀρνῆαδες ἐρίων ἀτέλεις.²⁴ Moreover, Gk. εἶρος n. ‘wool’ is likely to be etymologically related to Lat. *vervex*, *-ēcis* m. ‘wether’ (see EDL: 668–669).

4.5.2 Morphological analysis

Within the framework of La Piana’s proposal, however, Alb. *dash* m. ‘ram’ cannot be regarded as morphologically identical with the *u*-stem Gk. δασύς ‘hairy; bushy’ (< **d̥ns-ú*-),²⁵ which finds a match in Hitt. *daššu-* ‘massive, mighty’ (< **déns-u*-).²⁶ This is due to the fact that the plural *desh* (not **dash-e*, §3.2.2) rules out the possibility that Alb. *dash* continues an old *u*-stem. If La Piana’s etymology is accepted, Alb. *dash* should be analyzed as an *o*-grade substantivization²⁷ derived from the thematic adjective that underlies Lat. *dēnsus* ‘thick’, namely, **d(e)ns-ó*-.²⁸ Accord-

²² See LSJ: s.v.; de Lamberterie 1990: 683–696.

²³ I am thankful to Rosa Ronzitti (p.c.) for having called this Homeric passage to my attention.

²⁴ Greek text available at <https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/268241?hs=485-493> (visited on 02/15/2025). See further Schwyzler 1939: 435; DELG²: 325; LSJ: s.v.

²⁵ See Nikolaev 2010: 238–239; Neri 2013: 193 fn. 70.

²⁶ See Melchert 1994: 93, 135, 163; EDHIL: 854–855.

²⁷ On this process, see in general Nussbaum 1997: 194; Neri 2013: 198; 2016: 24; Höfler 2017a: 133–144.

²⁸ On the latter preform, see EDL: 167. For further discussion of the PIE morpheme **dens-* ‘thick’, see Höfler 2017a: 432–447 and van Beek 2022: 380–382.

ingly, one should set up a preform **dóns-o-* and assume an original meaning ‘the thick(-fleeced) one’ *vel sim.*

4.6 Interim summary

La Piana’s hypothesis (§4.5) surely represents the most convincing among the previous explanations of Alb. *dash*. Nevertheless, in the reminder of this paper I will propose an alternative etymology for this word. This is based on the assumption that Albanian exhibits the same *Benennungsmotiv* for the ram that occurs in many other Indo-European languages, namely, ‘the running one’.

5 An alternative etymological proposal

5.1 The ram as ‘the running one’

A survey of the lexemes for ‘ram’ in the Indo-European languages reveals that a widespread denomination for this animal is ‘the running one’ *vel sim.*; see Buck 1949: 157–158 and (17).

(17) Evidence for ‘ram’ as the ‘the running one’

- a. Lith. *tėkis* m. (2) ‘ram; breeding animal’ (~ Latv. *tekis* m. ‘ram’, *tekulis* m. ‘one who runs around; ram’) ← Lith. *tekėti* ‘run (of liquids or not)’ ← PIE **tek^w-* ‘id.’²⁹ Slightly different is the analysis by Smoczyński (2018: 1464), who derives Lith. *tėkis* from transitive *tėkinti* ‘draw (liquid), drain’ rather than from intransitive *tekėti* ‘run (of liquids or not)’ and assumes an original meaning ‘pouring (the semen)’ (see further fn. 53 below)
- b. Ir. *reithe* m. ‘ram’ < Pre-PCelt. **ret-ijō-* ‘belonging to running, running’ or loc.sg. **rét-i + *-o-* ‘being at running, running’ ← root-noun **rét-* / **rt-* ‘(act of) running’ (→ OIr. *cobair* f. ‘help’, *tóir* f. ‘id.’)^{30, 31}
- c. Fr. dial. (Poitiers) *mouton courant* ‘ram’, lit. ‘running ram’³²

²⁹ See LEW: 2, 1076; ALEW: 1256; ME: 4, 159.

³⁰ See NIL: 575; EDPC: 399. I am thankful to Sergio Neri and Michael Weiss for helpful discussion of the Celtic material.

³¹ See, *in nuce*, Lane 1931: 281–282. According to Michael Weiss (p.c.), one could also think of an alternative etymology for OIr. *reithe* m., namely, a connection with the synonym Lat. *ariēs*, *-etis* m. ‘ram’.

³² See Lalanne 1868: 191; FEW: 2, 1570a s.v. *cürrère*; Schossig 1959: 36.

Since rams are mostly used as breeding (i.e., mounting) animals in herds, their denomination as ‘running’ most likely refers to the fact that—when they are in heat—rams typically run from one ewe to the other in order to mount them. This is evidenced, for instance, by the denominative verb Lith. *tekiúotis* (← *tėkis* m. ‘ram; breeding animal’, see (17a) above), which has both meanings (i) ‘look for a male, run (around), be in heat’ (of sheep/goats/pigs) and (ii) ‘run from one female to the other’ (of rams/boars),³³ see also Latv. *tekulis* m. ‘one who runs around; ram’ in (17a) above. In this connection, it is important to recall that the description of animals in heat as ‘running’ is typologically well paralleled: see, e.g., NHG *läufig* ‘in heat (especially of dogs)’ ← *laufen* ‘run’ or Russ. *tečka* f. ‘(act of) being in heat’ ← PIE **tekʷ-* ‘run (of liquids or not)’.³⁴

Interestingly, it seems that the sexual greediness—one of whose consequences is precisely the act of running from one ewe to the other—represents a prototypical feature of rams; cf. (18) and see further Schossig 1959, especially 27–43.

- (18) Evidence for the prototypical association of rams with sexual greediness
- a. It. *montone* m. ‘ram’ < **moltone* (← OFr. *multun*, see (13b) above) via a folk-etymological contamination with the verb *montare* ‘mount, cover’ (see REW: 472)
 - b. Lith. *skėrys* m. (4) ‘ram’ (~ ‘locust; dragonfly’), Latv. *škēris* m. ‘ram’ ← PIE **(s)ker-* ‘jump, move quickly’ (Gk. σκαίρω ‘jump, dance’, OCS *skorŭ* ‘fast, swift’, etc.), with original meaning ‘the jumping (i.e., mounting) one’;³⁵ cf. semantically NHG *be-springen* ‘mount, cover’
 - c. Colum. *rust.* 7.3.4 *frequenter in pugnam procurrat, et fit in feminas quoque procacior*
‘it often **runs** into the fray and also becomes **more wanton towards the females**’ (said of a ram with horns)

³³ See Smoczyński 2018: 1464; LKŽ: s.v. *tekiúoti*.

³⁴ See Kluge & Seebold 2011: 563 (meaning ‘in heat’ “nach dem unruhigen Suchen nach einem Partner bei brünstigen Tieren”) and Reinhart 2003: 149, respectively. This *Benennungsmotiv* can also be applied to human beings: see (i) Malzahn & Peters 2010: 266–267 on Gk. μάχος ‘lewd, lustful (of women)’ and (ii) Huard 2022: 504, 505, 578 on TB *winā-makamo** ‘qui s’excite au plaisir’ (lit. ‘running [into] [sexual] pleasure’).

³⁵ See LEW: 2, 801–802; ALEW: 1065; Smoczyński 2018: 1192.

5.2 PIE **d^henh₂-* ‘run, flow’

Based on the discussion in §5.1, I argue a promising candidate for an alternative etymology of Alb. *dash* m. ‘ram’ to be the PIE root **d^henh₂-* ‘run, flow’, which is continued among others in the verbal forms listed in (19).

(19) PIE root **d^henh₂-* ‘run, flow’

- a. *u*-Present **d^hénh₂-u-/*d^hnh₂-éu-* → (thematization) (i) Ved. *dhán_(u)va-* ‘run, flow’ (RV) ~ *pra-dhanva-* ‘pass away’ (YV), whence the neo-root *dhanu-* in the agent noun Ved. *dhānu-tar-* m. ‘runner’, etc.; (ii) OPers. *danu[vatij]* ‘flows’?³⁶
- b. Causative **d^honh₂-éje/o-* > Ved. *dhanáya-* ‘put in motion, make run’ (see Jamison 1983: 84)
- c. *sḱ*-Present **d^hnh₂-sḱé/ó-* > Gk. θνήσκω ‘die’ (see Méndez Dosuna 2008)

In contrast, the verbal root TA *tsān^ā* ‘flow; result’ (see Huard *apud* DThTA: 554–555) and the agentive formation TB *tsna-mo** ‘flowing’ ought to be kept etymologically separated (*pace* Seržant 2007), because TAB *ts-* points to PIE **d-* rather than **d^h*. Finally, the appurtenance of Hitt. *danduki-* ‘mortal’³⁷ is disputed, see the discussion in HEG: 3.1, 112–113.³⁸

5.2.1 Reconstructing a preform **d^hón(h₂)-s-o-*

If *dash* belongs to PIE **d^henh₂-* ‘run, flow’, the Albanian word is most easily traced back to a preform **d^hón(h₂)-s-o-*, which—especially if specified as **d^hón(h₂)-s-o-* (barytone)—could be further analyzed as an *o*-grade substantivization (§4.5.2) with the original meaning ‘the running one’ (⇒ ‘ram’, §5.1). This substantive would have been derived from a secondary adjective PIE **d^h(e)nh₂-s-ó-* ‘running, flowing’, whose morphological structure will be further discussed in §5.4 below. As for the substantivization process involved, it would be the same as in (i) PIE **k^welh₁-s-ó-* ‘turning’ (> MW *pell* ‘far’) → **k^wól(h₁)-s-o-* ‘the turning one’ (> Lat. *collus* m. ‘neck’,

³⁶ See Kent 1950: 189a; Gotō 1987: 178–180; García Ramón 2018: 150; Jasanoff 2023: 65.

³⁷ First proposed by Čop (1953: 178–179, 192).

³⁸ On PIE **d^henh₂-* and its derivatives, see further: IEW: 249; Hollifield 1978: 180–182; Klingenschmitt 1982: 231–232 fn. 4; EWAia: 1, 772–773; Vine 1998: 66–69, on Gk. θάνατος m. ‘death’; Kümmel 2000: 255–257; LIV²: 144–145, with gloss ‘sich in Lauf setzen, sich davon machen’; Ginevra 2024 (especially 112–124, 140–141), on the root semantics.

NHG *Hals* m. ‘id.’, etc., see Neri 2013: 198) or (ii) PIE **pl(e)k̑-s-ó-* ‘having plaiting, plaited’ → **plók-s-o-* ‘the plaited one’ (> OE *fleax* n. ‘flax’, OHG *flahs* m. ‘id.’, etc.).³⁹

In turn, the secondary adjective PIE **d^h(e)nh₂-s-ó-* ‘running, flowing’ would point to the existence of an *s*-stem PIE **d^hénh₂-o/es-* ‘(act of) running, flowing’, which does not seem to be directly attested in the daughter languages. Despite this, PIE **d^hénh₂-o/es-* would be both structurally and semantically comparable with the securely reconstructible *s*-stem PIE **tékw̑-o/es-* ‘(act of) running, flowing’ (> TB *cake* alt. ‘river’, see Pinault 2008: 149); cf. also **sréu-o/es-* ‘(act of) flowing’ (> Gk. ῥέος n. ‘flowing, stream’ [Aesch.], → ἑϋ-ρρεής ‘well-flowing’ [IL], etc.), although the PIE age of the latter *s*-stem is less certain (see Blanc 2018: 117 with references).

5.2.2 Are alternative preforms possible?

At this point of the argument, the following question should be addressed: is **d^hón(h₂)-s-o-* the only possible preform of Alb. *dash*, or would a zero-grade preform **d^hnh₂-s-o-* also have led to the Albanian word?

The answer to this question is basically unclear, since no certain parallels for the required development PIE **CŃHT-* > Pre-PALb. **CaNT-* (where *T* = obstruent) are known.⁴⁰ A possible example may be Alb. *dhen* pl. ‘sheep’ (~ sg. *dele*), for which Neri (DPEWA: s.v. *dhen* and *dhëndër*) proposed the following explanation: PIE nom.pl. **ǵi-dnh₂-t-es* ‘untamed (animals)’ (> Gk. ἀδμής, -ῆτος ‘unwedded, unsubdued’) > Pre-PALb. **á-dantih* > PALb. **á-ðandi* → (backformation) **ðandi* ‘tamed (animals)’ > (i-umlaut) **ðéndi* > pl. OGheg *dhend*, St. Alb. *dhen* ‘sheep’. However, Schumacher (Schumacher & Matzinger 2013: 231–232) favors a different view, namely, a development PIE **CŃHC-* > Pre-PALb. **CāC-* > Alb. *CoC-*, for which he refers to PIE **ǵnh₃-skó-h₂* >> Alb. 1sg. *njoh* ‘know’. All the same, the latter example is not totally watertight, since Alb. *njoh* could have its *-o-* by analogy to the strong stem of the PIE *s*-aorist **ǵnéh₃-s-/*ǵnéh₃-s-* (LIV²: 168–169): i.e., PIE **ǵnh₃-skó-h₂* >> **ǵnéh₃-skó-h₂* > Pre-PALb. **jnāhkV* > **jnākhV* > PALb. **nōh* > Alb. 1sg. *njoh* (see Neri in DPEWA: s.v. *dhen*).

Whereas PIE **CŃHT-* > Pre-PALb. **CaNT-* thus remains uncertain, a development PIE **CŃHR-* > Pre-PALb. **CaNR-* (where *R* = resonant) is better supported: see PIE **b^h-né-h₂-/*b^h-ŋ-h₂-* ‘make shine’ >> Balkan-IE **b^h-ŋ-h₂-ie/o-* (> Gk. φαίνω ‘show’) > Pre-PALb. 1sg. **banīV* > PALb. **bañ* > Gheg *bānj*, St. Alb. *běj* ‘do’.⁴¹ Nevertheless,

³⁹ See EWAhd: 3, 349–350; Höfler 2017a: 138, though one should keep in mind that the barytone stress of Pre-PGerm. **plók-s-o-* cannot be directly proved, since here **k-* occurs immediately before **s-* (Schaffner 2001: 60).

⁴⁰ See also the discussion in Neri 2025: fn. 34.

⁴¹ See Neri in DPEWA: s.v.; Hackstein 2024: 149.

invoking a parallelism between *C_ṇNHT- and *C_ṇNHR—i.e., PIE *C_ṇNHC- > Pre-PAlb. *CaNC—could be misleading, since in the case of the structurally comparable sequence PIE *C_ṛRHC- the nature of °C- proves to be relevant for the inner-Albanian development: see Alb. *plak* ‘old’ (< *p_ṛh₁-ko-) vs. *i parë* ‘first’ (< *p_ṛh₂-uo-). At the same time, though, the strength of the latter argument is weakened by the fact that the PIE sequences *C_ṇNHC- and *C_ṛRHC- are not necessarily expected to have developed in a parallel fashion in Albanian, as PIE *C_ṇNHV- and *C_ṛRHV- demonstrably did not: see Alb. *dem* ‘young bull’ << **dam* (< *d_ṇh₂-o-) vs. Alb. *gur* ‘stone’ (< *g^w_ṛh₂-i-).⁴²

To sum up: since the assumption of a derivation *d^h_ṇh₂-s-o- > Alb. *dash* m. ‘ram’ is uncertain, the preform *d^h_{ón}(h₂)-s-o- should be preferred.

5.3 Ved. *dhāsī*-

5.3.1 Synchronic analysis

Tracing *dash* m. ‘ram’ back to *d^h_{ón}(h₂)-s-o- ‘the running one’ (← PIE *d^h_{enh}₂- ‘run, flow’) allows for a closer comparison between the Albanian form and Ved. *dhāsī*-, which occurs 17× in the RV (2× m., 2× f.). For it, Janert (1956: e.g. 5, 7) proposed a translation ‘Quelle, Flüssigkeitsstrahl (wellspring, gush)’.⁴³ This seems to be plausible, as shown by the RV passages reported in (20).

(20) Some attestations of *dhāsī*- in the RV

a. RV 1.62.3 (to Indra; Vala myth)

īndrasyāṅgirasāṃ ceṣṭáu vidāt sarāmā tánayāya dhāsīm

bṛhaspatīr bhinād ādriṃ vidād gāḥ sām usrīyābhīr vāvaśanta nāraḥ

‘At the desire of Indra and the Aṅgirasas, **Saramā** [a female dog belonging to Indra] **found the wellspring** for posterity. Bṛhaspati split the rock; he found the cows. The men bellowed together with the ruddy [cows]’ (after JB: 182)⁴⁴

b. RV 4.3.9 (to Agni)

ṛtēna ṛtām nīyatam īla ā gór āmā sácā mādhumat pakvām agne

kṛṣṇā satī rūsatā dhāsīnaiṣā jāmāryeṇa pāyasaḥ pīpāya

‘With truth I reverently invoke the [mystical] truth set down [= acquired] from the cow: the raw one [= cow] and the cooked, honeyed one [= milk] [belong] together, Agni. Though she [the cow] is black, she [is] **swollen**

⁴² On which see most recently Neri 2022.

⁴³ So also Jamison 2025 ad 1.62.3, 1.122.12, 1.140.1. More cautious is EWAia: 1, 790–791.

⁴⁴ See further the discussion in Janert 1956: 8–16.

with the gleaming gush, with milk for nourishing offspring’ (after JB: 562)⁴⁵

- c. RV 5.12.4 (to Agni)

*ké te agne ripáve bándhanāsaḥ ké pāyávaḥ saniṣanta dyumāntaḥ
ké dhāsīm agne áṇṛtasya pānti ká ásato vácasaḥ santi gopāḥ*

‘What bonds do you have for the cheat, Agni? What brilliant protectors will keep winning gain [for him]? Which ones protect **the wellspring of untruth**, o Agni? What herdsmen are [there] for false speech?’ (after JB: 676); the collocation *dhāsīm* [...] *áṇṛtasya* can be compared with *dhārā ṛtasya* ‘wellspring [lit. gush] of truth’ (RV)⁴⁶

- d. RV 8.43.7 (to Agni; see also RV 8.43.9c)

dhāsīm kṛṇvāná óṣadhīr

bāpsad agnīr ná vāyati

púnar yán tárūṇīr āpi

‘Making **the plants [his] wellspring [of nourishment]**, snapping [at them], Agni does not become extinguished, as he comes once again to the tender ones’ (after JB: 1114)⁴⁷

- e. RV 10.31.1 (to the Waters or Apām Napāt; see also RV 4.55.7c)

prá devatrā bráhmaṇe gātūr etv apó áchā mánaso ná práyukti

mahīm mitrásya váruṇasya dhāsīm pṛthujráyase rīradhā suvrktīm

‘Let the course for our sacred formulation go forth **to the waters** [that are] **among the gods**, as if by the impulse of mind, **to the great well-spring of Mitra and Varuṇa**. I will make the well-twisted [= hymn] subject to that which possesses broad expanse [= waters?]' (after JB: 1422); note the close association of Ved. *dhāsī-* with *apás* ‘waters’⁴⁸

Similarly, the meaning ‘wellspring, gush’ fits well into the other attestations of *dhāsī-* in the RV. The only potential exception is RV 5.41.17d, where Jamison & Brereton (JB: 709) take *dhāsī-* (f.) to mean ‘depository’; see further Jamison (2025: *ad loc.*): “[*dhāsī-*] seems to mean ‘place, depository’ and be associated with (/derived, at least synchronically, from) *√dhā-*.” If this is correct, I wonder whether we have here perhaps a homophone of Ved. *dhāsī-* ‘wellspring, gush’. Specifically, Ved. *dhāsī-* f. ‘depository’ may be a derivative of the PIE *s*-stem **dʰéh₁-o/es-* ‘(act of) setting, putting’, which is possibly presupposed by Gk. θεός ‘god’ (see (23h) below). Anyway, Janert

45 See further the discussion in Janert 1956: 21–32; Jamison 2025: *ad loc.*

46 See Janert 1956: 50. See further the discussion in Janert 1956: 66–67.

47 See further the discussion in Janert 1956: 17–20.

48 See further the discussion in Janert 1956: 52–65; Jamison 2025: *ad loc.*, *ad* 4.55.7 (“the ‘wellspring of Mitra and Varuṇa’ [...] presumably the source of rain”).

(1956: 39–42, especially 42) insists on the translation of Ved. *dhāśi-* as ‘(Milch- oder Melk)strahl’ for RV 5.41.17d as well.

Finally, Ved. *dhāśi-* m./f. ‘wellspring, gush’ is traditionally connected with YAv. *dāhi-* f. (Yt. 13.77, Y. 19.8), whose meaning was shown by Malandra (2021: 99, 194, 237)—contra Janert (1956: 68–77)—to be ‘creation’.⁴⁹ Although the meanings ‘well-spring, gush’ and ‘creation’ do not seem to be particularly close at first sight, they can be bridged through the assumption that YAv. *dāhi-* originally was a feminine abstract with the semantics ‘(act of) flowing, springing’. As kindly suggested to me by Sergio Neri (p.c.), it is conceivable that this original meaning underwent a semantic concretization and thus started to denote the subject of the underlying verbal action, namely, ‘what springs’, whence metaphorically ‘what appears [*ex nihilo*]’ ⇒ ‘creation’. A comparable semantic development occurred in the PDE word *offspring*.

5.3.2 Diachronic analysis

From an etymological point of view, Janert (1956: especially 3, 7) analyzed Ved. *dhāśi-* m./f. ‘wellspring, gush’ as related to the present stem Ved. *dhán_(u)va-* ‘run, flow’ (see (19a) above) and posited a preform “**dhñsī*” (p. 3); see “**d^hñH-sī-*” in EWAia: 1, 790.

Building on this appealing proposal, I trace Ved. *dhāśi-* back to an oxytone *i*-substantivization **d^hñh₂-s-í-* m. ‘the flowing one’, which in turn presupposes a secondary adjective PIE **d^hñh₂-s-ó-* ‘running, flowing’. The substantivization process involved is the same as in Ved. *jīrá-* ‘swift’ → *jīrī-* m./f. ‘quick water, rapids’ (see Nussbaum 1999: 399). Moreover, the core meaning ‘wellspring’ of Ved. *dhāśi-* finds a match in Lat. *fōns*, *fontis* m. ‘wellspring’. Admittedly, Lat. *fōns* has a morphological structure different from that of Ved. *dhāśi-*, as it goes back to a noun **d^hón(h₂)-ti-* ‘the flowing one’ ← verbal adjective **d^hñh₂-tó-* ‘running, flowing’.⁵⁰ However, it also ultimately belongs to PIE **d^hen_h₂-* ‘run, flow’.⁵¹

Finally, Janert (1956: 7 fn. 26) may be right in regarding the feminine gender of Ved. *dhāśi-* as secondary with respect to the coexisting masculine one, and specifically as analogical to the gender of the quasi-synonym—and cognate—Ved. *dhārā-* f. ‘stream, gush (of water)’ (< **d^hñh₂-reh₂-*). Notably, the assumption of a close association between *dhāśi-* and *dhārā-* in the RV is supported by textual evidence: for instance, in RV 9.85.3b the poet describes Soma as *ātméndrasya* [...] *dhāśír uttamāḥ* ‘the highest wellspring of Indra himself’, and in the following pāda (4a) he claims

⁴⁹ For the connection of Ved. *dhāśi-* with YAv. *dāhi-*, see, e.g., EWAia: 2, 790.

⁵⁰ Type Lat. *mōns*, *montis* m. ‘mountain’ < **món-ti-* ‘the protruding one’ ← PIE **m_ṛ-tó-* ‘protruding’ (Vine 2004: 374–376).

⁵¹ See Janert 1956: 7; EDL: 230–231.

Soma to be *śatádḥāro* ‘having hundreds of streams’. In this connection, one should also recall the parallel syntagms Ved. *dhāsīm* [...] *ánṛtasya* ‘wellspring of untruth’ and *dhārā rtasya* ‘wellspring [lit. gush] of truth’ mentioned in (20c) above. At the same time, however, the Iranian cognate YAv. *dāhi*-f. ‘creation’ may point to the existence of a feminine abstract **dʰh₂h₂-s-i-* ‘(act of) flowing, springing’ (§5.3.1). If this is correct, one cannot exclude that both the individualizing *i*-stem **dʰh₂h₂-s-í-* m. ‘the flowing one’ and the abstract *i*-stem **dʰh₂h₂-s-i-* f. ‘(act of) flowing, springing’ ended up merging in Ved. *dhāsí-*.

The preceding discussion is summarized in (21).

(21) Derivation of Ved. *dhāsí-*

PIE adj. **dʰh₂h₂-s-ó-* ‘running, flowing’;

→ subst. **dʰh₂h₂-s-í-* m. ‘the flowing one’ > Ved. *dhāsí-* m.(/f.) ‘wellspring, gush’

5.4 PIE **dʰh₂h₂-s-ó-* ‘running, flowing’

An important consequence of connecting Alb. *dash* m. ‘ram’ with Ved. *dhāsí-* m.(/f.) ‘wellspring, gush’ is that the latter form enables us to specify the shape of the underlying adjective with the meaning ‘running, flowing’ as PIE **dʰh₂h₂-s-ó-* rather than **dʰenh₂h₂-s-ó-* (see §5.2.1 above).

On the one hand, I assume that PIE **dʰh₂h₂-s-ó-* was inherited into Indo-Iranian, where it (i) generalized the meaning ‘flowing’ (rather than ‘running’) and (ii) was substantivized as **dʰh₂h₂-s-í-* m. ‘the flowing one’, whence regularly Ved. *dhāsí-* m.(/f.) ‘wellspring, gush’.⁵²

On the other hand, I argue that PIE **dʰh₂h₂-s-ó-* ‘running, flowing’ was inherited into Albanian as well. In the early prehistory of that branch, this adjective (i) generalized the meaning ‘running’ (rather than ‘flowing’) and (ii) underwent a different kind of substantivization, characterized by the introduction of the *o*-grade in the root morpheme and (probably) stress retraction. The resulting **dʰón(h₂)-s-o-* ‘the running one’ was the direct ancestor of Alb. *dash* m. ‘ram’.⁵³

⁵² Or, alternatively, PIE **dʰh₂h₂-s-ó-* ‘running, flowing’ became Pre-Ved. **dhāsá-* ‘id.’, which was then substantivized as *dhāsí-* according to the pattern *jírā-* ‘swift’ → *jírí-* m./f. ‘quick water, rapids’.

⁵³ An alternative scenario, which was kindly pointed out to me by Michael Weiss (p.c.), would be the following: if one is willing to assume that the adjective PIE **dʰh₂h₂-s-ó-* did not mean ‘running, flowing’, but rather ‘gushing’ *vel sim.*, then the *Benennungsmotiv* for the Albanian ram could have been ‘the gushing one’, i.e., it would have referred to the seminal discharge (see also Smoczyński’s analysis of Lith. *tėkis* m. ‘ram; breeding animal’ in (17a) above). Under this account, Alb. *dash* could be most closely compared with Ved. *vṛśan-* ‘male (animal)’ ← *varṣ-* ‘rain’.

5.4.1 The *R(Ø)-s-ó- adjectival type

The proposed scenario implies the reconstruction of a secondary adjective with the structure *R(Ø)-s-ó- (i.e., **dʰŋh₂-s-ó-*), which would have been externally derived from an underlying *s*-stem (i.e., **dʰénh₂-o/es-*). In this context, it is important to note that such double-zero-grade derivatives to *s*-stems appear to be quite rare, the more commonly attested type having the structure *R(e)-s-ó-.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, reliable examples of the *R(Ø)-s-ó- adjectival type do occur in the daughter languages; cf. (22) and see Höfler 2017a: 51–58 for further discussion.

- (22) Most reliable (direct or indirect) evidence for the *R(Ø)-s-ó- adjectival type
- a. PIE **léuk-o/es-* ‘brightness’ (> OAv. YAv. *raočah-* n. ‘light’) → **luk-s-ó-* ‘bright’ > Ved. *rukṣá-* ‘id.’.⁵⁵ To be sure, Lat. *lūmen* n. (apparently < **lúks-mŋ*) may alternatively suggest tracing Ved. *rukṣá-* back to a primary derivative **luks-ó-*, which would therefore not belong to the type *R(Ø)-s-ó- (Anthony Yates, p.c.). All the same, Lat. *lūmen* most likely continues **lúk-smŋ*, since the suffixal variant **-smŋ* (instead of **-mŋ*) frequently occurs in Latin after roots ending in a velar: see *iūmentum* n. ‘draught-animal’ (~ *iung-ō* ‘join’), **contāmen* ‘touching’ (→ *contāmin-āre* ‘touch’, ~ *conting-ō* ‘id.’), etc.⁵⁶
 - b. PIE **mél-o/es-* n. ‘evilness’ (→ Gk. βλασ-φημέω ‘speak impiously’) → **m̥l-s-ó-* ‘evil’ > W. *mall* ‘evil, putrid; m./f. wickedness, plague’ (see Höfler 2017a: 63–65, 491)
 - c. PIE **dléuk-o/es-* ‘sweetness’ (> Myc. *de-re-u-ko* ‘grape must’) → **dluk-s-ó-* ‘sweet’ → **dlúk-s-i-* ‘sweetness’ > Gk. γλύξις f. ‘sweet insipid wine’ and, possibly, **dluk-s-u-* ‘the sweet/pleasant (life)’ > Lat. *luxus*, -ūs m. ‘luxury’ (see Höfler 2017a: 148, 230–234)
 - d. PIE *(s)*pérh_x-o/es-* ‘(act of) flying’ (> Slov. *perô*, gen.sg. *perêsa* n. ‘feather, leaf’) → *(s)*pr̥h_x-s-ó-* ‘flying’ or ‘feathered’ → *(s)*pr̥h_x-s-eh₂-* ‘the flying one’ or ‘the feathered one’ > Lat. *parra* f. (a bird), Umb. **parfa-** (a ritual bird) (see Höfler 2017a: 248–249; 2017b: 17–18)
 - e. PIE **pélh₂-s-* ‘(act of) covering’ (→ Gk. -πελας ‘skin’ in ἐρυσί-πελας [a skin disease], lit. ‘having skin that has redness’) → **p̥lh₂-s-ó-* ‘covering’

⁵⁴ The “pexus type” in Höfler’s (2017a: 58–61) terminology. See most recently also Yates 2024.

⁵⁵ See EWAia: 2, 452; Stüber 2002: 124–125.

⁵⁶ See Leumann 1977: 208; NIL: 401 fn. 16.

→ **p̥h₂-s-eh₂-* ‘the covering one’ > Lat. *palla* f. ‘mantle’, Hitt. *palahša-* c. (name of a garment)⁵⁷

- f. PIE **gʰéldʰ-o/es-* ‘(act of) desiring, desire’ (unattested) → **gʰᵹdʰ-s-ó-* ‘desiring’ > Ved. *gṛtsa-* ‘clever, dexterous’, Pāli *gijjha-* ‘greedy’ → **gʰéldʰ-s-o-* > Arm. *geļj* ‘desire’.⁵⁸ The barytone stress of Ved. *gṛtsa-* likely arose by analogy to (i) the present stem Ved. *gṛdhya-* ‘be desirous’ (EWAia: 1, 474) and (ii) the substantivization **gṛtsa-* ‘vulture’ > Pāli *gijjha-* m. ‘id.’⁵⁹
- g. PIE **uléléikʷ-o/es-* ‘(act of) washing, wetting’ (unattested) → **ulikʷ-s-ó-* ‘wet’ > W. *gwlych* ‘liquid, wet; m. liquor, wetness’ → **ulikʷ-s-eh₂-* ‘wetness’ > Lat. *lixa* f. ‘water, lye’ (see Höfler 2017a: 55, 226–227)

For the sake of completeness, I report in (23) further possible instances of secondary adjectives with the structure **R(Ø)-s-ó-*. These forms, however, happen to be ambiguous for formal, morphological, or semantic reasons, and therefore represent less reliable pieces of evidence for the reconstruction of a **R(Ø)-s-ó-* adjectival category.

(23) Less reliable (direct or indirect) evidence for the **R(Ø)-s-ó-* adjectival type

- a. PIE **kérh₃-s-* ‘(act of) growing; nourishment’ (> Hitt. *karaš-* n. [a type of wheat], see Schindler *apud* Melchert 2013: 181) → **kṛh₃-s-ó-* ‘growing’ > Lat. *crassus* ‘fat’ (see Vine 2016: 135–136). According to Vine (2016: 136–138), though, deverbal origin of Lat. *crassus* cannot be excluded.
- b. PIE **ksér-o/es-* ‘dryness’ (→ **kser-es-no-* > Lat. *serēnus* ‘unclouded’) → **ksṛ-s-ó-* ‘dry’ > Gk. ξηρός ‘id.’ (see Höfler 2017a: 55, 376–377). Although less likely, a deadjectival *vṛddhi* **ksēr-ó-* (← Gk. ξερών n. ‘mainland [i.e., the dry one]’) would have also led to Att.-Ion. ξηρός (Sergio Neri, p.c.).
- c. PIE *(*h₁*)*rédʰ-o/es-* ‘redness’ (> Gk. ἔρευθος n. ‘id.’) → *(*h₁*)*rudʰ-s-ó-* ‘red’ > Lat. *russus* ‘id.’ → *(*h₁*)*udʰ-s-i-* ‘redness’ > OIr. *ruis* f. ‘id.’.⁶⁰ However, *(*h₁*)*rud-tó-* (> Khot. *rrusta-* ‘red’, see NIL: 581) and *(*h₁*)*rud-ti-* would also have yielded Lat. *russus* and OIr. *ruis*, respectively.
- d. PIE **sueǵid-o/es-* ‘(act of) sweating’ (> Gk. εἶδος n. ‘sweat, heat’, with psilosis) → **suid-s-ó-* ‘sweaty, sweating’ → **suid-s-o-* ‘the sweaty one’ > W.

⁵⁷ See Höfler 2017a: 239–249; 2017b: 19–20; Weiss 2010: 313.

⁵⁸ See Nikolaev 2024: 1224–1225; EWAia: 1, 493–494; Cone 2025: s.v.

⁵⁹ See Nikolaev 2024: 1224 fn. 60; Wackernagel 1907: 313–314.

⁶⁰ See Weiss 2013: 345 fn. 56; Vine 2016: 136 with fn. 22; Höfler 2017a: 52–54.

chwys m. ‘sweat’.⁶¹ Or do we rather have to start from **suid-to-* > MP *x^vist* ‘sweating’?⁶²

- e. PIE **sék-o/es-* ‘(act of) cutting’ (> Lat. *secus* n. ‘sex’) → **s₉k-s-ó-* ‘cutting, cut’ → **s₉k-s-o-* ‘the cutting, cut one’ > Lat. *saxum* n. ‘rock’, OHG *sahs* n. ‘knife’, etc.⁶³ Alternatively, one may posit an intermediate adjective **sekh₂-s-ó-*, with **h₂*-coloring across voiceless stop.⁶⁴
- f. PIE **témh_x-o/es-* ‘darkness’ (> Ved. *támas-* n. ‘id.’) → **tmh_x-s-ó-* ‘dark’ > Latv. *tùmšs* ~ *timšs* ‘id.’ (see Höfler 2017a: 55, 135). But the *u*-vocalism in the primary variant *tùmšs* could also be analogical to the *sto*-present Latv. *tumst* ‘become dark’.⁶⁵
- g. PIE **péuk_x-o/es-* ‘point(edness)’ (→ Gk. ἔχε-πενκῆς ‘pointed, sharp’)⁶⁶ → **pu_k-s-ó-* ‘pointed, sharp’ → **pu_k-s-o-* ‘the sharp (i.e., clever) one’ > OHG *fuhs* m. ‘fox’, etc. However, the divergent structure of the corresponding feminine—i.e., PGerm. **fux-ōn-* ‘she-fox’—calls for caution and may suggest that PGerm. **fuxsa-* m. ‘fox’ is not old, but rather analogical to PGerm. **luxsa-* m. ‘lynx’ (EWAhd: 3, 612–613).
- h. PIE **déh₁-(o/e)s-* ‘(act of) setting, putting; (religious) act’ (→ Gk. θέσ-φατος ‘spoken by God, decreed’) → **d^hh₁-s-ó-* ‘having a religious act’ → **d^hh₁-s-ó-* ‘the one having a religious act’ > Gk. θεός m. ‘god’.⁶⁷ Alternatively, though, the sequence **d^h(e)h₁s-* may be separated from PIE **d^heh₁-* ‘put’ and analyzed as a root noun with the meaning ‘god’.⁶⁸
- i. PIE **h₃meiǵ^h-o/es-* n. ‘(act of) making water; urine’ (unattested) → **h₃miǵ^h-s-ó-* ‘having urine’ → **h₃miǵ^h-s-o-* ‘the one having urine, (liquid) excrement’ > OE *meox* n. ‘dung’, OS *mehs* n. ‘id.’, etc.⁶⁹ From a semantic point of view, however, one should note that dung mostly consists of solid rather than liquid excreta.⁷⁰

61 See Rix 1985: 341–342; Stüber 2002: 157–158.

62 On which see Rix 1985: 340.

63 See Vine 2016: 136; Höfler 2017a: 267–268; EWAhd: 7, 881–884.

64 On this process, see Neri 2024: 185 fn. 9. The presence of a final laryngeal in the underlying ‘cut’ root is debated.

65 See ALEW: 1236–1237; Smoczyński 2018: 1469.

66 See Blanc 2018: 77, 154–155; Kümmel 2023: 67.

67 See Meier-Brügger 2006; de Meyer 2016.

68 See Neri 2019: 44 fn. 4 (with references), and further de Lamberterie 2013: 35–37.

69 See EDPG: 369; Höfler 2017a: 55.

70 For a different analysis, see Hill 2003: 116–118.

5.5 W. *dos* m. ‘drop, trickle’⁷¹

Finally, another indirect trace of the PIE adjective **dʰḡh₂-s-ó-* ‘running, flowing’ may occur in the Welsh noun *dos* m. ‘drop, trickle’ (→ (i) W. *dos-og* ‘dripping, sweating’ and (ii) OW *doss-êheitic* ‘dripping’), which lacks a convincing etymology.⁷² Since the development PIE **-ns-* > W. *-s* is regular,⁷³ W. *dos* m. ‘drop, trickle’ can be safely traced back to PCelt. **donsV-* < **dʰon(h₂)-s-V-* ‘the flowing one’ (*o-*, *i-*, or *u-*stem). For the sake of simplicity, I will reconstruct thematic **dʰón(h₂)-s-o-* in the following.

If this analysis is correct, W. *dos* m. ‘drop, trickle’ continues an inner-Celtic *o*-substantivization of the PIE adjective **dʰḡh₂-s-ó-* ‘running, flowing’. Formally, the Celtic word proves to be identical with Alb. *dash* m. ‘ram’. Semantically, however, it aligns itself with Ved. *dhāsi-* m.(/f.) ‘wellspring, gush’, due to the generalization of the meaning ‘flowing’.

6 Conclusion

In this paper, I discussed the etymology of Alb. *dash* m. ‘ram (⇒ wether)’ and concluded that two analyses are possible for this word.

The first analysis—that *in nuce* goes back to La Piana (1939: 91)—(i) takes Alb. *dash* to be etymologically related to Gk. δασύς ‘hairy, shaggy; bushy’ (<< **dḡs-ú-*), Lat. *dēnsus* ‘thick, dense; frequent’ (< **d(e)ns-ó-*), etc. and (ii) traces it back to **dóns-o-*. The latter preform would have originally meant ‘the thick(-fleeced) one’, as this seems to be a plausible *Benennungsmotiv* for a ram: see, e.g., the Homeric syntagm #ἄρσενες οἶες [...] δασύ-μαλλοι# ‘thick-fleeced male sheep [i.e., rams]’ (*Od.* 9.425) or the etymological link between Lat. *vervex*, *-ēcis* m. ‘wether’ and Gk. ἔϊρος n. ‘wool’.

Alternatively, I proposed that the ram in Albanian may have been denominated as ‘the running one’ in origin, since this *Benennungsmotiv* finds parallels elsewhere among the Indo-European languages (cf. Lith. *tėkis* and Ir. *reithe*). I argued that this denomination refers to the fact that—when they are in heat—rams typically run from one ewe to the other in order to mount them (cf. Lith. *tekiúotis*). Notably, sexual greediness seems to be a prototypical feature of rams (cf. It. *montone*). Accordingly, I connected Alb. *dash* with the PIE root **dʰenh₂-* ‘run, flow’ and I traced it back to a preform **dʰón(h₂)-s-o-* m. ‘the running one’, which I analyzed as the *o*-grade sub-

⁷¹ I am grateful to Guido Borghi (p.c.) for having called this Welsh form and its etymological analysis to my attention. See now also Borghi 2025.

⁷² See GPC: s.v. ¹*dos*, *dosog*, and further Fleuriot 1964: 226; Falileyev 2000: 49.

⁷³ See Pedersen 1913: 86; Griffith 2005, especially 61–63.

stantivization of an underlying adjective PIE **dʰnh₂-s-ó-* ‘running, flowing’ (with the structure R(Ø)-s-ó-). This enabled me to compare Alb. *dash* with Ved. *dhāsi-* m.(f.) ‘wellspring, gush’, which continues **dʰnh₂-s-í-* m. ‘the flowing one’ and thus represents an independent substantivization of the same adjective PIE **dʰnh₂-s-ó-*, though with generalization of the meaning ‘flowing’ rather than ‘running’. Finally, W. *dos* m. ‘drop, trickle’ also likely fits here both formally (cf. Alb. *dash*) and semantically (cf. Ved. *dhāsi-*). The proposed etymology is summarized in (24).

- (24) Proposed etymology of Alb. *dash* m. ‘ram’
 PIE root **dʰenh₂-* ‘run, flow’ (→ Ved. *dhán_(u)va-* ‘id.’, Gk. *θνῆσκω* ‘die’, etc.);
 → s-stem **dʰénh₂-o/es-* ‘(act of) running, flowing’;
 → adj. **dʰnh₂-s-ó-* ‘running, flowing’;
 → subst. **dʰnh₂-s-í-* m. ‘the flowing one’ > Ved. *dhāsi-* m.(f.) ‘well-spring, gush’;
 → subst. **dʰón(h₂)-s-o-* m. ‘the flowing one’ > W. *dos* m. ‘drop, trickle’;
 → subst. **dʰón(h₂)-s-o-* m. ‘the running one’ > Alb. *dash* m. ‘ram (⇒ wether)’

Acknowledgment: This article arose within the context of the DFG-funded project “DPEWA – Digitales philologisch-etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altalbanischen (15.–18. Jahrhundert)” (DFG DE 2080/1-1 and DFG HA 3372/10-1). My warmest thanks go to Guido Borghi, Alexander Falileyev, Olav Hackstein, Athanaric Huard, Matteo Macciò, Sergio Neri, Alexander Nikolaev, Alessandro Parenti, Rosa Ronzitti, Michael Weiss, and Anthony Yates for their valuable comments on earlier drafts of this paper as well as to the editors of *Indogermanische Forschungen* for their helpful assistance. The responsibility for all remaining errors is mine alone.

Abbreviations

ALEW	Wolfgang Hock et al., eds. (2015). <i>Altltauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch</i> . 3 vols. Hamburg: Baar.
BT	T. Northcote Toller, ed. (1954). <i>An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press.
DELG ²	Pierre Chantraine (2009). <i>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots</i> . Nouvelle édition avec supplément. Paris: Klincksieck.
DPEWA	Bardhyl Demiraj & Olav Hackstein, eds. (2018–). <i>Digitales Philologisch-Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altalbanischen</i> . URL: https://www.dpwa.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/ .
DThTA	Gerd Carling & Georges-Jean Pinault (2023). <i>A Dictionary and Thesaurus of Tocharian A</i> . Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

- EDHIL Alwin Kloekhorst (2008). *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- EDL Michiel de Vaan (2008). *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- EDPC Ranko Matasović (2009). *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- EDPG Guus Kroonen (2013). *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Germanic*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- EDSIL Rick H. Derksen (2008). *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic Inherited Lexicon*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- EWAhd Albert L. Lloyd, Otto Springer, Karen K. Purdy & Rosemarie Lühr, eds. (1988–). *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Althochdeutschen*. Göttingen & Zürich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- EWAia Manfred Mayrhofer (1986–2001). *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*. 3 vols. Heidelberg: Winter.
- FEW Walther von Wartburg (1922–2002). *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Eine Darstellung des galloromanischen Sprachschatzes*. 25 vols. Tübingen et al.: Mohr et al.
- FGjSSh *Fjalor i gjuhës së sotme shqipe* (2025). URL: <http://www.fjalori.shkenca.org/> (visited on 05/09/2025).
- GPC *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (1967–2002). Cardiff: University of Wales.
- HEG Johann Tischler (1974–2016). *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*. Mit Beiträgen von Günter Neumann und Erich Neu. 4 vols. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.
- IEW Julius Pokorny (1959). *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 2 vols. Bern & München: Francke.
- JB Stephanie W. Jamison & Joel P. Brereton (2014). *The Rigveda. The Earliest Religious Poetry of India*. 3 vols. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.
- LEW Ernst Fraenkel (1962–1965). *Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 2 vols. Göttingen & Heidelberg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Winter.
- LHGjSh Kolë Ashta (1996–2017). *Leksiku historik i gjuhës shqipe*. 7 vols. Shkodra: Volaj.
- LIV² Helmut Rix & Martin J. Kümmel (2001). *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*. 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- LKŽ *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas* (1941–2002). 20 vols. Vilnius: Mintis & Moksas.
- LSJ “The Online Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon” (2025). In: *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. A Digital Library of Greek Literature*. Ed. by Maria Pantelia. URL: <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/ljs/#eid=1> (visited on 05/09/2025).
- ME Karl Mühlentbach & Jānis Endzelīns (1923–1932). *Latviešu valodas vārdnīca. Lettisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*. 4 vols. Rīgā: Izglītības ministrija & Kultūras fonds.
- NIL Dagmar S. Wodtke, Britta Irslinger & Carolin Schneider (2008). *Nomina im indogermanischen Lexikon*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- OED *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (2025). URL: <http://www.oed.com> (visited on 05/09/2025).
- REW Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke (1935). *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 6th ed. Heidelberg: Winter.
- SE Eqrem Çabej (1976–2014). *Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes*. 7 vols. Tirana: Akademia e Shkencave e Republikës së Shqipërisë.

Bibliography

- Abazi-Egro, Genciana (2009). *Nezim Berati (Frakulla). Divani Shqip. Edicioni tekstual kritik, hyrja, shënimet, fjalor dhe indeks*. Tirana: Toena.
- Abazi-Egro, Genciana (2016). *Hasan Zyko Kamberi. Poezi*. Tirana: Qendra e Studimeve Albanologjike.
- Barić, Henrik (1919). *Albanoromanische Studien. I. Teil*. Sarajevo: Institut für Balkanforschung.
- Bashkimi (1908). *Fialuer i rii i Shcypës, përbëam prëie Shocniët t'Bashkimit*. Shkodra.
- Van Beek, Lucien (2022). *The Reflexes of Syllabic Liquids in Ancient Greek. Linguistic Prehistory of the Greek Dialects and Homeric Kunstsprache*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- Blanc, Alain (2018). *Les adjectifs sigmatiques du grec ancien*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck.
- Blažek, Václav (2020). "Latin *bellua/bēlua* 'beast' of Celtic origin?" In: *Loanwords and Substrata in Indo-European Languages*. Ed. by Romain Garnier. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 367–401.
- Borghi, Guido (2025). "Ex Oriente Lux II. *Dash* (albanese) chiarisce *Le Dossay*". In: *Rivista Italiana di Onomastica* 31.1, 376–377.
- Buck, Carl D. (1949). *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Bugge, Sophus (1892). "Beiträge zur etymologischen erleuterung der albanesischen sprache". In: *Bezenbergers Beiträge* 18, 161–201.
- Çabej, Eqrem (1968). «*Meshari*» i *Gjon Buzukut (1555)*. *Botim kritik*. Vol. 2: *Faksimile dhe transkribim fonetik*. Tirana: Instituti i Historisë e i Gjuhësisë.
- Cerniglia, Giuseppina (2008). *Nicolò Chetta. Leksiko liti, kthiellë arbërisht (1763)*. Palermo: Besa.
- Cone, Margaret (2025). *A Dictionary of Pāli*. URL: <https://gandhari.org/dictionary?section=dop> (visited on 05/09/2025).
- Čop, Bojan (1953). "Etyma (3)". In: *Živa antika* 3, 172–194.
- Demiraj, Bardhyl (1997). *Albanische Etymologien. Untersuchungen zum albanischen Erbwortschatz*. Amsterdam & Atlanta: Rodopi.
- Demiraj, Bardhyl (2008). *Dictionary latino-epiroticum per R. D. Franciscum Blanchum, (Romae 1635). Botim kritik dhe konkordanca leksikore*. Shkodra: Botime Françeskane.
- Demiraj, Bardhyl (2019). *Kodiku Beratas – Ο Μπερατινός κώδικας (me një botim kritik të pjesës shqip)*. Tirana: Akademia e Shkencave e Republikës së Shqipërisë.
- Demiraj, Bardhyl (2022). *Dhanil Voskopojari. Mësim hyrës – Εισαγωγική Διδασκαλία (1802) – me një botim kritik të pjesës shqip*. Tirana: Berk.
- Demiraj, Bardhyl, Anila Omari & Enkeleida Kapia (2022). *Pjetër Budi. Vepra I. Dottrina Christiana / Doktrina e krishterë (1618). Riprodhim anastatik i botimit kritik Gunnar Svanes (1985) me pranëvënien të riprodhimit anastatik të faksimileve të tekstit burimor së bashku me përkthimet shqip të hyrjes dhe të aparatit filologjik*. Tiranë: Akademia e Shkencave e Republikës së Shqipërisë.
- Demiraj, Shaban (1993). *Historische Grammatik der albanischen Sprache*. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Elsie, Robert (1991). "Albanian literature in Greek script. The eighteenth and early nineteenth-century orthodox tradition in Albanian writing". In: *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 15, 20–34.
- Elsie, Robert (1995). "The Elbasan Gospel Manuscript (*Anonimi i Elbasanit*), 1761, and the struggle for an original Albanian alphabet". In: *Südost-Forschungen* 54, 105–159.
- Falileyev, Aleksander (2000). *Etymological Glossary of Old Welsh*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Fleuriot, Léon (1964). *Dictionnaire des glosses en vieux breton*. Paris: Klincksieck.

- García Ramón, José Luis (2018). "Root enlargement or stem-forming *-u-? PIE *(s)teh₂u- beside *(s)teh₂- 'to stand up', *terh₂u- and *senh₂u- as against *terh₂- 'to cross, overcome' and *senh₂u- 'to reach' and others". In: *Historische Sprachforschung* 131, 145–178.
- Ginevra, Riccardo (2024). "From etymology to conceptual metaphor theory. Ancient Greek θνήσκω 'to die' and the metaphor DEATH IS DEPARTURE in Indo-European". In: *Studies in Cognitive Classical Semantics*. Ed. by Irene De Felice & Chiara Fedriani. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 111–146.
- Giordano, Emanuele (2000). *Fjalor i arbëreshëve të Italisë – Dizionario degli albanesi d'Italia*. 2nd ed. Bari: Castrovillari.
- Gotō, Toshifumi (1987). *Die „I. Präsenzkasse“ im Vedischen. Untersuchung der vollstufigen thematischen Wurzelpräsentia*. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Griffith, Aaron (2005). " *-n(C)s in Celtic". In: *Die Sprache* 45.1–2, 44–67.
- Gurga, Gëzim (2009). *Àt Francesco Maria da Lecce: Dittionario Italiano-Albanese (1702). Botim kritik me hyrje dhe fjalësin shqip*. Shkodra: Botime Françeskane.
- Hackstein, Olav (2024). "Albanian and Balkan Indo-European". In: *The Albanian Language Area and its Surroundings from Late Antiquity to the High Middle Ages*. Ed. by Bardhyl Demiraj. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 143–166.
- Hill, Eugen (2003). *Untersuchungen zum inneren Sandhi des Indogermanischen. Der Zusammenstoß von Dentalplosiven im Indoiranischen, Germanischen, Italischen und Keltischen*. Bremen: Hempen.
- Hock, Hans Heinrich (2021). *Principles of Historical Linguistics*. 3rd ed. Berlin & Boston: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Höfler, Stefan (2017a). *Der Stier, der Stärke hat. Possessive Adjektive und ihre Substantivierung im Indogermanischen*. PhD thesis. Universität Wien.
- Höfler, Stefan (2017b). "Observations on the palma rule". In: *Pallas* 103, 15–23.
- Hollifield, Patrick (1978). "Indo-European etymologies". In: *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 6.3–4, 172–183.
- Huard, Athanaric (2022). *Recherches sur les textes de méditation en tokharien*. PhD thesis. École Pratique des Hautes Études.
- Jamison, Stephanie W. (1983). *Function and Form in the -āya-Formations of the Rig Veda and Atharva Veda*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Jamison, Stephanie W. (2025). *Rigveda Translation. Commentary*. URL: <http://rigvedacommentary.alc.ucla.edu/> (visited on 05/09/2025).
- Janert, Klaus S. (1956). *Sinn und Bedeutung des Wortes »dhāsi« und seiner Belegstellen im Rigveda und Avesta*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Jasanoff, Jay H. (2023). "PIE *gʷh₃ye/o- 'live', u-presents, and the prehistory of the thematic conjugation". In: *Die Sprache* 55, 61–81.
- Jochalas, Titos (1985). *Stoicheia hellēno-albanikēs grammatikēs kai hellēno-albanikoi dialogoi. Anekdotō ergo tu Iōannē Bēlara. Filologikē ekdosē apo ton autografo kōdika tēs Ethnikēs Bibliothēkēs tōn Parisiōn*. Thessalonika: Hidryma meletōn Chersonēsu tu Haimu.
- Jokl, Norbert (1923). *Linguistisch-kulturhistorische Untersuchungen aus dem Bereiche des Albanischen*. Berlin & Leipzig: De Gruyter.
- Jungg, Giacomo (1895). *Fjalur i voghel Scçyp e Ltinisct mbledhun prej P. Jak Junkut t'Scocniis Jezu*. Shkodra: Scçypniis.
- Kent, Roland G. (1950). *Old Persian Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*. New Eaven, CT: AOS.
- Klingenschmitt, Gert (1982). *Das altarmenische Verbum*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Klingenschmitt, Gert (2022). *The Albanian Numerals. Mit drei zusätzlichen Beiträgen zum Albanischen aus der Perspektive der Indogermanistik*. Ed. by Bardhyl Demiraj & Stefan Schaffner. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

- Kluge, Friedrich & Elmar Seebold (2011). *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. 25th ed. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter.
- Kristoforidhi, Konstantin (1961). *Fjalor Shqip-Greqisht. Hartuar së pari me alfabet greqisht dhe botuar në Athinë më 1904. Transkriptuar tani me alfabet shqip dhe përpunuar*. Tirana: Instituti i Historisë e i Filologjisë.
- Kümmel, Martin J. (2000). *Das Perfekt im Indoiranischen. Eine Untersuchung der Form und Funktion einer ererbten Kategorie des Verbums und ihrer Weiterentwicklung in den altindoiranischen Sprachen*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Kümmel, Martin J. (2023). *Addenda und Corrigenda zu LIV²*. URL: <http://www.martinkuemmel.de/liv2add.html> (visited on 05/09/2025).
- Kuryłowicz, Jerzy (1945). "La nature des procès dits «Analogiques»". In: *Acta Linguistica* 5.1, 15–37.
- La Piana, Marco (1939). *Studi linguistici albanesi*. Vol. 1: *Prolegomeni allo studio della linguistica albanese*. Palermo: Pezzino.
- Lalanne, Maxime (1868). "Glossaire du patois poitevin". In: *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest* 32.2, 1–264.
- de Lamberterie, Charles (1990). *Les adjectifs grecs en -υς. Sémantique et comparaison*. 2 vols. Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters.
- de Lamberterie, Charles (2013). "Grec, phrygien, arménien. Des anciens aux modernes". In: *Journal des savants* 1, 3–69.
- Lane, George S. (1931). "Celtic notes". In: *Language* 7.4, 278–283.
- Leumann, Manu (1977). *Lateinische Grammatik*. Vol. 1: *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*. München: Beck.
- Luka, David (1999). *Studime gjuhësore*. Vol. 1: *Kontribut për etimologjinë e gjuhës shqipe: A–D*. Shkodra: Fiorentia.
- Malandra, William W. (2021). *The Frawardīn Yašt. Introduction, Translation, Text, Commentary, Glossary*. Irvine, CA: UCI Jordan Center for Persian Studies.
- Malzahn, Melanie & Martin Peters (2010). "How (Not) to Compare Tocharian and Ancient Greek Verbal Stems". In: *Ex Anatolia Lux. Anatolian and Indo-European studies in honor of H. Craig Melchert on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday*. Ed. by Ronald I. Kim, Norbert Oettinger, Elisabeth Rieken & Michael Weiss. Ann Arbor & New York: Beech Stave, 265–268.
- Mann, Stuart E. (1948). *A Historical Albanian-English Dictionary*. 2 vols. London, New York & Toronto: Longmans.
- Mann, Stuart E. (1950). "The Indo-European vowels in Albanian". In: *Language* 26.3, 379–388.
- Mann, Stuart E. (1977). *An Albanian Historical Grammar*. Hamburg: Buske.
- Matzinger, Joachim (2006). *Der altalbanische Text [E] Mbsuame e Krështëre (Dottrina cristiana) des Lekë Matrënga von 1592*. Dettelbach: Röhl.
- Meier-Brügger, Michael (2006). "Zur Bildung von griechisch θεός". In: *Incontri Linguistici* 29, 119–124.
- Melchert, H. Craig (1994). *Anatolian Historical Phonology*. Amsterdam & Atlanta: Rodopi.
- Melchert, H. Craig (2013). "Hittite 'heteroclit' s-stems". In: *Multi Nominis Grammaticus*. Studies in Classical and Indo-European linguistics in honor of Alan J. Nussbaum on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday. Ed. by Adam I. Cooper, Jeremy Rau & Michael L. Weiss. Ann Arbor & New York: Beech Stave, 175–184.
- Méndez Dosuna, Julián Víctor (2008). "To die in Ancient Greek. On the meaning of ἀπο- in ἀποθνήσκειν". In: *Θέρμη και φως*. Αφιερωματικός τόμος στην μνήμη του Α.-Φ. Χριστίδη. Ed. by M. Theodoropoulou. Θεσσαλονίκη: Κέντρο Ελληνικής Γλώσσας, 245–255.
- Meyer, Gustav (1891). *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Albanesischen Sprache*. Straßburg: Trübner.

- De Meyer, Isabelle (2016). "L'étymologie du mot grec θεός « dieu »". In: *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* 90.1, 115–138.
- Neri, Sergio (2003). *I sostantivi in -u del Gotico. Morfologia e preistoria*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck.
- Neri, Sergio (2013). "Zum urindogermanischen Wort für 'Hand'". In: *Multi Nominis Grammaticus*. Studies in Classical and Indo-European linguistics in honor of Alan J. Nussbaum on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday. Ed. by Adam I. Cooper, Jeremy Rau & Michael L. Weiss. Ann Arbor & New York: Beech Stave, 185–205.
- Neri, Sergio (2016). Rev. of EDPG. In: *Kratylos* 61, 1–51.
- Neri, Sergio (2019). "Riflessi delle laringali indoeuropee in germanico". In: *XVIII Seminario avanzato in Filologia germanica. Dall'indoeuropeo al germanico: problemi di linguistica storica*. Ed. by Roberto Rosselli Del Turco. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 41–66.
- Neri, Sergio (2022). "Alb. *gur* 'Stein' und uridg. **g^wreh₂-* 'schwer, massiv sein'". In: *EQO : DUENOSIO*. Studi offerti a Luciano Agostiniani. Ed. by Alberto Calderini & Riccardo Massarelli. Perugia: Ariodante, 731–750.
- Neri, Sergio (2024). "Zu alb. *bathë* 'Ackerbohne' und gr. *phakós* 'Linse'. Substratwörter oder indogermanische Erbe?" In: *The Albanian Language Area and its Surroundings from Late Antiquity to the High Middle Ages*. Ed. by Bardhyl Demiraj. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 181–208.
- Neri, Sergio (2025). "Alb. *burrë* '(Ehe-)Mann'. Ein etymologischer Versuch". In: *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 76.1, 39–95.
- Nikolaev, Alexander S. (2010). *Issledovanija po praindoevropejskoj imennoj morfologii*. *Studies in Proto-Indo-European Nominal Morphology*. Sankt-Peterburg: Nauka.
- Nikolaev, Alexander S. (2024). "Wish for hope. Greek ἔλπομαι, (ἐ)έλδομαι, Latin *volup*, Armenian *gelfj*". In: *Indo-European Linguistics and Classical Philology* 28.2, 1212–1239.
- Nussbaum, Alan J. (1997). "The 'Saussure Effect' in Latin and Italic". In: *Sound Law and Analogy*. Papers in honor of Robert S. P. Beekes on the occasion of his 60th birthday. Ed. by Alexander M. Lubotsky. Amsterdam & Atlanta: Rodopi, 181–203.
- Nussbaum, Alan J. (1999). "Jocidus. An account of the Latin adjectives in *-idus*". In: *Compositiones indogermanicae in memoriam Jochem Schindler*. Ed. by Heiner Eichner & Hans Chr. Luschützky. Praha: Enigma, 377–419.
- Omari, Anila (2005). *Cuneus prophetarum (Çeta e profetëve)*. 2 vols. Tirana: Akademia e Shkencave e Republikës së Shqipërisë.
- Omari, Anila (2016). *Leksiku i veprës së Pjetër Bogdanit. Fjalor i Cuneus Prophetarum me një konkordancë të pjesshme, i paraprirë nga një studim hyrës dhe kritere të fjalorit*. Tirana: Akademia e Shkencave e Republikës së Shqipërisë.
- Orel, Vladimir (1998). *Albanian Etymological Dictionary*. Leiden, Boston & Köln: Brill.
- Orel, Vladimir (2000). *A Concise Historical Grammar of the Albanian Language. Reconstruction of Proto-Albanian*. Leiden: Brill.
- Papahagi, Tache (1974). *Dictionarul dialectului aromân – general și etimologic*. 2nd ed. București: Editura Academiei Române.
- Pedersen, Holger (1905). "Albanesisch". In: *Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie* 9, 206–217.
- Pedersen, Holger (1913). *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*. Vol. 1: *Einleitung und Lautlehre*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Peters, Martin (1980). *Untersuchungen zur Vertretung der indogermanischen Laryngale im Griechischen*. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

- Peters, Martin (1993). "Ein weiterer Fall für das Rixsche Gesetz". In: *Indogermanica et Italica*. Festschrift für Helmut Rix zum 65. Geburtstag. Ed. by Gerhard Meiser. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 373–405.
- Pinault, Georges-Jean (2008). *Chrestomathie tokharienne. Textes et grammaire*. Louvain & Paris: Peeters.
- Qendro, Thoma (2013). *Fjalor i shqipes së Gjon Buzukut (me rreth 3200 fjalë, 350 emra të përveçëm dhe 260 fjalë e shprehje latinisht)*. Tirana: Shoqëria Biblike Ndërkonfesionale e Shqiperisë.
- Rau, Jeremy (2007). "The derivational history of Proto-Germanic **wepru-* 'lamb'". In: *Verba docenti*. Studies in Historical and Indo-European Linguistics presented to Jay H. Jasanoff by students, colleagues, and friends. Ed. by Alan J. Nussbaum. Ann Arbor & New York: Beech Stave, 281–292.
- Reinhart, Johannes (2003). "Urslawisch *pol'bvati* 'misten; sich entleeren'". In: *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 63, 145–162.
- Rix, Helmut (1985). "*Sūdor* und *sīdus*". In: *Sprachwissenschaftliche Forschungen*. Festschrift für Johann Knobloch. Zum 65. Geburtstag am 5. Januar 1984 dargebracht von Freunden und Kollegen. Ed. by Hermann M. Ölberg & Gernot Schmidt. Innsbruck: AMOE, 339–350.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen (1991). *Arvanitika. Die albanischen Sprachreste in Griechenland*. Vol. 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Schaffner, Stefan (2001). *Das Vernersche Gesetz und der innerparadigmatische grammatische Wechsel des Urgermanischen im Nominalbereich*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck.
- Schmidt, Marwin E. (1922). "Albanesische Etymologien". In: *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 50.3–4, 234–248.
- Schossig, Alfred (1959). "Die Namen des Widders, des Schafes und der Eselin im altfranzösischen *Roman de Renart*". In: *Romanische Forschungen* 71.1–2, 17–72.
- Schumacher, Stefan & Joachim Matzinger (2013). *Die Verben des Altalbanischen. Belegwörterbuch, Vorgeschichte und Etymologie*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Schwyzler, Eduard (1939). *Griechische Grammatik*. Vol. 1: *Allgemeiner Teil. Lautlehre, Wortbildung, Flexion*. München: Beck.
- Seržant, Ilja (2007). "Bedeutung und Etymologie der tocharischen A Wurzel *tsän-*". In: *Historische Sprachforschung* 120, 105–109.
- Smoczyński, Wojciech (2018). *Lithuanian Etymological Dictionary*. Ed. by Axel Holvoet & Steven Young. 5 vols. Berlin: Lang.
- Stier, G. (1862). "Die albanesischen thiernamen (Schluss)". In: *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 11.3–4, 206–253.
- Stüber, Karin (2002). *Die primären s-Stämme des Indogermanischen*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Tagliavini, Carlo (1937). *L'albanese di Dalmazia. Contributi alla conoscenza del dialetto ghego di Borgo Erizzo presso Zara*. Firenze: Olschki.
- Tagliavini, Carlo (1965). *La stratificazione del lessico albanese. Elementi indoeuropei*. Bologna: Patron.
- Topalli, Kolec (2017). *Fjalor etimologjik i gjuhës shqipe*. Tirana: Akademia e Shkencave e Republikës së Shqipërisë.
- Vine, Brent (1998). *Aeolic ὀπρετον and Deverbative *-etó- in Greek and Indo-European*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.
- Vine, Brent (2004). "On PIE full grades in some zero-grade contexts". In: *Indo-European Word Formation*. Ed. by James Clackson & Birgit A. Olsen. København: Museum Tusculanum, 357–379.
- Vine, Brent (2016). "Latin *crassus*, *grossus*, *classis*. Phonology and etymology". In: *Indogermanische Forschungen* 121, 131–158.
- Wackernagel, Jacob (1907). "Indisches und Italisches". In: *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 41.4, 305–319.

- Weiss, Michael (2010). *Language and Ritual in Sabellic Italy. The Ritual Complex of the Third and the Fourth Tabulae Iguvinae*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- Weiss, Michael (2013). "Interesting *i*-stems in Irish". In: *Multi Nominis Grammaticus*. Studies in Classical and Indo-European linguistics in honor of Alan J. Nussbaum on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday. Ed. by Adam I. Cooper, Jeremy Rau & Michael L. Weiss. Ann Arbor & New York: Beech Stave, 340–356.
- Weiss, Michael (2020). *Outline of the Historical and Comparative Grammar of Latin*. 2nd ed. Ann Arbor: Beech Stave.
- Xhuvani, Alexandër & Eqrem Çabej (1976). *Studime Gjuhësore*. Vol. 3: *Hyrje në historinë e gjuhës shqipe. Fonetika historike. Parashtesat – prapashtesat. Shumësi i singularizuar*. Prishtina: Rilindja.
- Yates, Anthony D. (2024). "Vedic *śūśá-* 'powerful' and the diachrony of vowel deletion in Indo-European". Paper presented at the 43rd East Coast Indo-European Conference, July 01–03, 2024, UGA (Athens, GA). URL: <https://linguistics.uga.edu/events/content/2024/east-coast-indo-european-conference-eciec> (visited on 05/09/2025).

