

Greek and Albanian, two languages in contact
(A review of relevant etymological research, new data, problems,
perspectives)

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Milan Šufflay, in the introduction of the monumental work "**Acta et diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis illustrantia**" (Vindobonae MCMXIII), had characterized Albania as "*μονάς, in qua tamquam in speculo totius peninsulae Haemi cernitur κόσμος.*" ["unit, through which the whole world of the Balkan Peninsula is reflected"]. We might say that the same applies to the Albanian language, the history of which reflects the history of the Balkans.

In this context, as I am called to speak about the diachronic relations between Greek and Albanian, I will report by way of introduction that about a century ago, **Norbert Jokl** had observed that "*Es sind vielfältige Rinnsale, durch die, zugleich mit griech. Kultur, griech. Sprachgut sich in das Alb. ergoss.*" ["There are many streams through which Greek language, together with Greek culture, flooded the Albanian language."] (1927: 70). Unfortunately, the Etymological Dictionary of Albanian prepared by Jokl has been lost and we cannot confirm exactly what he meant when he referred to this "flood" of Greek loans to the Albanian language.

The contacts between Albanian and Greek are early and many-sided, but the lack of pre-medieval written sources makes it difficult to trace the diachronic relations between them. Nevertheless, evidence of the old Greek lexicon in Albanian or rather in Proto-Albanian, even from the Doric dialect, prove that the ancestors of the modern Greeks and modern Albanians were in contact since ancient times.

Despite the fact that the thesis about the Illyrian origin of Albanian has been questioned again recently¹, we cannot ignore the data from **Strabo**, who noted, at the dawn of our era, that the Epirote tribes "*were mixed with the Illyrian tribes*", and that "*some of them are bilingual*" («ἀναμείκται δέ τούτοις τά ἰλλυρικά ἔθνη» ... «ένιοι δέ δίγλωττοι εἰσι» (Γεωγραφία ζ' c 327). In our opinion, the main question is not whether there were early contacts between the Proto-Albanian and the Ancient Greek. What we

¹ See Matzinger 2009 and 2012.

need to investigate is the time and place of their contact and communication. We can approach the matter by using linguistic means and by providing linguistic evidence.

What we can say from the outset is that we do not fully know the Greek language in all its phases in the centuries and in all its geographical varieties. You may now consider how much gap there is in relation to the Albanian language, the written monuments of which appear only in the 15th and 16th centuries. A.D.!

It is evident that the influence of Latin on the "mother" of Albanian and on Albanian itself was greater if we consider quantity. Just by researching the wide spread of the toponyms *Qytet*, *Qytezë* (< lat. *civitatem*) in the Albanian-speaking territory, compared to the limited spread of the toponym *Hora* (< Greek. χώρα 'country') is indicative of this situation.

Following these introductory remarks, let us have a very brief review of the relevant research.

1. With his work, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der albanesischen Sprache* (1891), **G. Meyer** introduces on a scientific basis the studies regarding the relations of Albanian with other languages.

A. Thumb (1909) contributed significantly in the study of Greek loanwords (GLs) of Albanian and attempted to give a chronological stratification of them (ancient, medieval and modern ones) based on definite criteria.

N. Jokl, following the *Wörter und Sachen* school, provides us with great examples of etymological analysis.

Through his study, *Griechisch-albanische Sprachbeziehungen* (1981), **E. Çabej** reviews the up-to-date literature and continues with addressing the basic issues of the field. He suggests that, in terms of methodology, we have to examine the Greek-Albanian relations in the framework of the pre-Balkan and the Balkan era.

In his unfinished work, *Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes*, Çabej works on the systematic etymologizing of the Albanian vocabulary, including words from the standard language and the dialects. He follows the principle that "*etymology consists of something more complexe which can be defined as the life of the words in a broader view.*" (Çabej SE I 46).

During the last years, prof. **Chr. Tzitzilis** has broadened the research area of the Greek-Albanian linguistic relations working in a Balkan framework and making

creative use of the data of the Greek dialectology. This point of view characterizes his paper, *Zur Problematik der griechischen Lehnwörter im Albanischen* (1997). He notes that, although the *vocabulary* has been a favored field of relevant studies (1997: 200), important aspects such as *geographic distribution, frequency* and *stylistic function* of GLs have been relatively underresearched. Accordingly, *isosemy* and especially the issue of *loan translations/calques* have not been thoroughly investigated (1997: 212-13).

2. In comparison to other Balkan languages, the Albanian has been more exposed to the Greek influence, in terms of time, space and intensity of contacts.

2.1. If we accept that the Albanian language has been shaped during the first post-Christian centuries (Demiraj 1988: 203), we can refer to *a first stratum of ancient Greek words* that actually are considered as the heritage of the Albanian language from her 'mother', whoever that was. In this way, the contacts between the Albanian and the Greek extend from the early medieval to the modern times.

Another interesting case is the consecutive borrowing of the same word in different phases of the receiving language; this results clearly from the so-called *etymological pairs*: **prësh - pras** (< πράσον / leek), **pjépër – pepón** (< πέπων, πεπόνι / melon), **shpëllë - spilé** (< σπήλαιον, σπηλιά / spēlaion, cave), **kórë - ikónë** (< εικόνα / image), **klógjën - kallojër** (< καλόγερος / monk). These duplications often reflect the depth (temporal) and width (geographical) of contacts as well as the variety of ways in which Greek loans penetrated the Albanian language.

GLs are found in almost every semantic field and significant elements of Byzantine heritage are apparent: **prónë** 'property, farm, income' (Fjalor 1980) < medv. Gr. *πρόνοια / pronoia* 'plot of land granted by the emperor to the military' (Kriaras: IH' 97); **tipár** 'characteristic (of a person)' (Fjalor 1980) < medv. *τυπάριον / typarion* 'figura seu type in moneta' (Du Cange 1688: 1621). The appellatives **astrít** 'kind of snake' (Fjalor 2006) < *αστρίτης* 'id.' (Çabej SE II 99) and **petrít** 'kind of hawk' (Fjalor 2006) < *πετρίτης* 'id.' (Meyer 1891: 330) also occur as proper names **Astrít** and **Petrít** only among the Albanians, and not even among the Greeks.

2.2. We can safely talk about *a pretty compact Albanian speaking zone* that more or less coincides with the contemporary Albanian borders. Additionally, there were *enclaves of Albanian in Greek speaking environments*, which resulted from the consecutive immigration waves of Albanians to both Greece and southern Italy.

2.3. The contact between the two languages was mainly direct and resulted from the diachronic neighboring of the two peoples and from the creation of linguistic enclaves. Furthermore, a wide network of Greek-language schools, created by the local orthodox communities, existed in what today is the central and southern part of Albania.

The perennial migration of Albanian-speaking populations to the south, which fueled and at times renewed the linguistic and cultural osmosis of the two peoples, experienced a new wave after 1990, much stronger than that of other neighboring peoples. We can now speak of the creation of an extensive zone of Greek-Albanian/Albanian-Greek bilingualism, which not only restores past situations, but also creates a new dynamic as groups of Albanian speakers who settle for short or long periods in the Greek territory, without losing contact with the Albanian language, periodically return to their initial homeland.

3.1. As we have already mentioned, much remains to be done for the complete mapping of Greek loans to the Albanian language. Through the critical examination of the etymologies that have been suggested regarding the GLs of the Albanian, we observe the following cases:

a) *Words without etymological explanation, or words with wrong etymon, that are derived from Greek.*

Regarding the Albanian word *shpellë* “big rock, rock”, considered so far a loan from the Ancient Greek **σπήλαιον** (Topalli 2018, 1409 with bibliography), I think that it should be linked to the Greek **πέλλα· λίθος** of Hesychius, which has acquired, as an internal development of Greek, an intensifying *s-* or the *s-* of the definite article of the accusative plural **τας πέλλας** 'stones'. (Compare also Gk. **πιθάρι** and **σπιθάρι** > Alb. *spithar*, *cpithar*). It should be noted that the forms *šπέλα* 'rock, big stone' are found today only in the region of Epirus and its surroundings (Derviçan-Dropull, Μπόγκας 1964, 359): *šπέλα* 'steep rock' (Kalampaka-Thessaly, Archive of HistDictGr)· *σπέλα* 'rough, gray stone' (Ksiromero-Etoloakarnania, Archive of HistDictGr). This fact

supports the assumption that this word passed to Albanian in the Middle Ages, and then it was recovered, as it seems, from the Greek of Epirus in the forms *σπέλα*, *σουπέλα*, *σουμπέλα* (Dervičan and elsewhere). According to the researchers, the transition from *s* to *š* in Albanian "must have occurred quite early" and "it has involved later an old layer of Slavic and Italian loanwords" (Demiraj 1996, 210).

Hahn was the first to associate the words *πέλλα* and *shpellë*, in his work "Albanesische Studien": *πέλλα* oder *πέλλης*, Stein, alb. *shpellë*, Felsen (Hahn 1854, 227). It is interesting to say that even today we find in Epirus the word *σπελολίθαρα* which has incorporated the words *πέλλα* and *λίθος* of Hesychius.

The word **gjéपुरa**, which according to Topalli's Etymological Dictionary is considered an internal formation of the Albanian language,

GJÉPURA shm. "fjalë boshe, pa kuptim, dokrra". Fjalë e toskërishtes. Formim i brendshëm me formantet e shumësit -ur (nga -ër) dhe -a nga një rrënjë *gjep* nga *glep* "gjemb". Për kalimin kuptimor, khs. *çakla druri* "ashkla, cifla" e *flet çakla* "gjepura". Topalli 2018, 593.

[GJÉPURA pl. "words of the wind, nonsense, mumbo jumbo". A word of the Tosk dialect. Internal formation with the plural endings -ur (from -ër) and -a from a root *gjep* / *glep* "thorn". For the semantic development, we should compare with *çakla druri* "wood chips, scraps" and *flet çakla* "talk nonsense". Topalli 2018, 593]

Following the proposal of prof. Tzitzilis (1997: 205), who believes that the word *ípurr* "bimë barishtore, me kërcell të fortë e të gjatë mbi një metër,..., që rritet zakonisht në mure të vjetra / a kind of plant, ... which grows in ruins" (Myzeqe, Nushi 1991: 99) is related with anc. Gr. *αἰγίτυρον* "ein Kraut, Ziegenbrand" (Andriotis 1974: 74), we also consider that the word GJÉPURA has the same etymon: *αἰγίτυρος* (ο) / *αἰγίτυρον* (το) 'rest-harrow, *Ononis antiquorum* (a perennial **thorny** shrub, growing in **uncultivated** fields)' Greek-English Lexicon of Liddell & Scott.



This name is still preserved today in various parts of Greece, as *γιόπυρος* (Gr. Hist.Lex.). However, it can be found in Himarë in the form of *ζίπρο*, pl. *ζίπρα*, in Dhërmi as *γίπρας*, with different meaning in each case, since they call ‘haver-grass’ the plant depicted in the photo, known as *αγίλωψ* (*Aegilops ovata*):



A map of South Albania.

This plant is also called *Αγριόσταρο*, *Αγριόσταχυ*, *Μακρογένι*, *Σιδερόσταρο* or *Σακκοτρώπης*). In Sicily they call it *Fumentu sarvaggiu*. (*Phytologikon Lexicon* of G. P. Gennadios, Athens 1914). So it is a kind of **wild wheat**, i.e. a plant that resembles wheat, but does not bear fruit. It is as we would say in Albanian a **kalli pa bukë**, something insignificant, worthless.

In both cases, whether it means ‘rest-harrow’ or ‘haver-grass’, this name refers to something useless, so it touches the essence of the word *gjepura*. The Greek etymology of the word is also documented by the position of the accent and by its spread in the Tosk dialect.

An interesting aspect of language contacts in the region is the numerous **loan translations** that we find in various fields. The existence of the word **onogruzë/anogruzë** in an Albanian-speaking village of Himarë (Kyriazis 2007) presupposes the existence of the Greek word *ονογρούζα < *ονοκνύζα < *ονοκόνυζα, while the Alb. word **gruzëgomare** (Qeparo) can be considered to be a loan translation of *ονογρούζα.



Furthermore, the Corfu phytonym γουρνιόπορδας < ancient Greek κορωνόπους (Krekoukias 1982: 100) [*Plantago coronopus*] was probably the origin of the Albanian loan translation **fëndëdosë** (πορδή ‘fart’ + γουρούνα ‘sow’).





Plantago coronopus

As we see, there is an interesting combination of folk-etymology (**κορώνα** 'crown' => **γουρούνα** 'sow', **πους, πόδι, πόδας** 'foot' => **πόρδας** 'fart') with loan translating.

Another word, the etymology of which is problematic and debatable, is **gjylpánë** / **gjilpërë** 'needle', which Çabej relates to the Albanian root **glep-**, which appears in the words **glep, gjep** and **glemb, gjëmb** 'thorn' (Studime Etimologjike IV 1996 330-331). (In his oral communication) prof. Tzitzilis points out the possible association of **gjylpanë** / **gjilpërë** with the ancient Greek word **γλύφανος** 'tool for carving, knife, chisel', with the reservation that the semantic criterion is not satisfactorily met.



The word **FRÚTË** f. 'fold', which is found in Tosk dialect, is considered an 'internal formation' and is related to the Albanian word **flutur** 'butterfly', with a metathesis of **frutul** and the re-analysis of -ul as suffix (Topalli 2018: 505).

The fact that this word is also found in the northwestern idioms of modern Greek (Agrafa, Takis 2003: 178, Thesprotia, Mitsis 2002: 147, etc.), as well as in the Aromanian (Papahagi 2013: 567) requires the re-examination of its Albanian etymology in the context of the region's network of linguistic contacts. Let's keep in mind also that a part of lamb's or goat's stomach, with a lot of folds, is named in Gr. βηλάρια (< βηλάρη 'strip'), δίπλες (< δίπλα 'fold') (Ξανθουδίδου 1918: 307) and in Alb. *qitap* (<turk. *kitap*), *fletës*, *fletosh* (< *fletë* 'sheet'), *petës*, *petanik* (< *petë* 'pastry sheet'), *nânpeç* (<nând-petësh) Zymberi 1996: 106, *nâtnuse* (<nând-nuse) Zymberi 1996: 107, etc. In çamërisht they call it *fletosh*, *musaf*, *shtatë nuse*, and *frrutat e paçait* 'the folds of stomach',



Frrutat e paçait 'the folds of stomach'

where the word *frrutat* is the same with the Greek φρούτα (η) 'knitted decorations on the border of a textile', which comes from Ancient Macedonian **ἀβροῦτες· οφρῶς** Hesychius (Τζιτζιλής 2008: 228-230). (*ὀφρῶς* > *οφρύδιον* > *φρύδι* 'eye-brow').

b) *Another problematic case is when data of the Greek and the Albanian dialects are either not taken into consideration or not fully deployed. There are mistakes and inaccuracies regarding the way through which the loan penetrated the language.*



For example, the word **karkanáqe** 'a kind of *koulouri*, pretzel', occurring in southern Tosk, is characterized as etymologically unclear (Çabej SE V 52), and, according to Topalli's ED, it derives from the Greek word **καρκανάκια** 'dry sweet'.

KARKANÁQE f. “një lloj gurabije e përdredhur, kulture”. Fjalë e toskërishtes, kryesisht e anëve jugore. Godini e ka për “topth, shuk”. Huazim prej gr. së re καρκανάκια “një lloj ëmbëlsire” në të folme të Epirit. Përdoret si patronim: Karkanaqi në Gjirokastrë. (Bibl.: Çabej SE V 52).

In our opinion, the word **karkanaqe** goes back to the Gr. word **κάρκανο** (Bogas 1964: A' 159) along with the meaning 'very dry, dry-baked...' (Papakitsos 2006: 102). We also believe that the word **kárkë** 'baked brick', for which Çabej raises reservations (SE V 134), has the same origin.

On the other hand, the word **kalkán**, which is considered to be of Turkish origin, also appears in Standard Albanian along with the meanings '1. ice, iccolumn 2. (adj.) freezing, cold' (Fjalor 2006), which does not correspond to the Turkish word **kalkan**, nor to other Balkan languages where this word was introduced.

kalkan 1. shield, buckler 2. turbot 3. *arch.* gable. (Redhouse Dictionary)

καλκάνι (το) I. ψάρι με ρομβοειδές και πεπλατυσμένο σώμα σαν της γλώσσας και με τριγωνικά πτερύγια, που ζει στο βούρκο και στην άμμο και που ψαρεύεται για το νόστιμο κρέας του. II. το τρίγωνο που σχηματίζει η στέγη. 2. η επάνω κυρτή άκρη της πρύμνης του πλοίου. (Dictionary of Standard Greek, Thessaloniki 1998).



καλκάνι(το) 'a kind of fish'

These are probably two homonymous words of different etymology, since **kallkan (I)** is found in earlier Albanian dictionaries (Dizdari 2005: 486-7, see also Çabej SE V 27), while the meanings of **kallkan (II)** in Standard Albanian (Fjalor 2006) are probably related to the Greek word **κάρκαλο** 'very dry, too dry' (Bogas 1964: A' 159), which, as we have seen, also corresponds to **karkano** 'baked dry' in Tzoumerkohoria (Filos 2000: 610, Papakitsos 2006: 102).

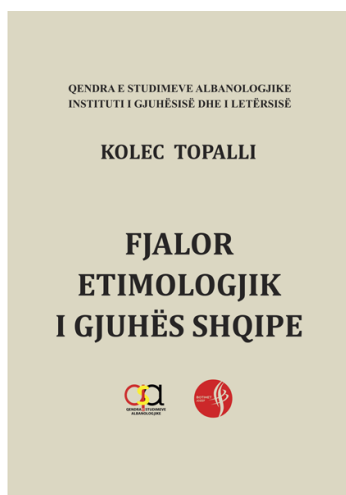
Coming back to the word **kallkan**, we can assume that there was an Albanian word ***karkáll** or ***karkán**, which was overshadowed by the word **kallkan (I)** of Turkish origin and then a semantic mix of the two words took place. The existence of **kallkan (II)** and its possible Greek etymology are also supported by lexicographic evidence: *κάνκανον ὄλαν* (Tarentini)· *ξηρὰν ὄλην, καγκαλέα· κατακεκαυμένα, καγκαίνει· θάλλπει. ξηραίνει, καγκομένης· ξηρᾶς τῶ φόβῳ* (Hesychius).

In addition, let's keep in mind the fact that there is a correlation between the meanings *cold* and *dry/dried*. In Albanian we say *m'u thanë duart* 'my hands have been dried' = I'm very cold. It seems to be not a coincidence the fact that in çamërisht they say *karkallosem* 'I'm very cold' and in Standard Albanian *kallkanosem* with the same meaning.

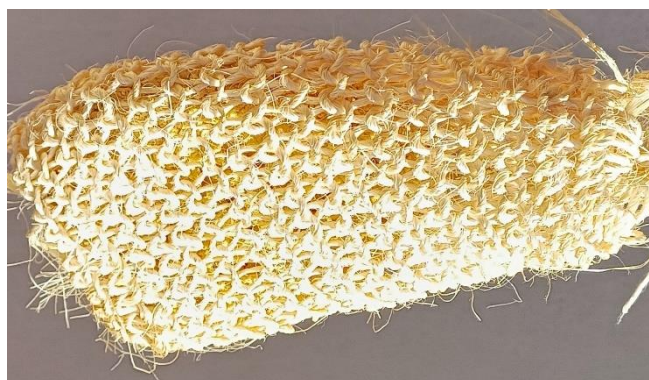
3.2. Based on the above and on the fact that in the Albanian (geographical and social) dialects or in older written sources many still unknown GLs are found, collecting and analyzing more material is of great significance. The material that has been gathered until today needs to be re-examined and re-evaluated.

At this point, let's take a short critical look at the **Etymological Dictionary of**

the **Albanian Language** by late K. Topalli (2018), focusing on certain words.



Noteworthy is the case when phonetic types of essentially the same word are perceived as different entries and are therefore etymologized differently. Let's give some examples.



SHPÁLCË f. “cloth to wash utensils, body, etc.”. Dialectic word of the North Alb. Internal formation from the noun *palë* with the meaning “cloth that folds”. It received the prefix *sh-* and the suffix *-cë*, dialectical type of *-zë*. (Bibl.: Luka IV 203) Topalli 2018: 1407.

SHPÁRCË f. “cloth to wash utensils, body, etc.”. Internal formation, modeled on the noun *shpalcë*, but based on the word *parë* ‘pair, fold’, cf. *nji parë çorapë* (Shkodër). For the mixing of *shpalcë* and *shparcë*, cf. *shpalc* and *shparzë* ‘a sea fish species’. From the noun, the verb *shparsoj* ‘wash with shparcë’. Tase has a *shparsë*, ‘a woolen sock-shaped case..., where we put a piece of soap to wash ourselves’, and the verb is *shparsonem* ‘I rub myself, I wash myself with shparsë’.] Topalli 2018: 1407.

As we have written in our dissertation (Kyriazis 2001: 516), the medieval word σπαρτζίον 'sparta' is registered in Du Cange Dictionary (p. 1418), where a quote from Eustathios states:

«ὡν ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ἰδιωτικῶς λεγόμενον σπαρτζίον, σπαρτίον οφείλον λέγεσθαι... εὐρέθη γὰρ ποτε τοῖς λοουομένοις ἀντὶ σπόγγων **πλέγμα τι ἀπὸ σπάρτων**, ὡς εἰκός» ["This is how what we call privately σπαρτζίον, should be called σπαρτίον... since it was found that bathers used **knitted shrubs instead of sponges, all natural.**"]



Σπάρτο – Spartium junceum

Tsopanakis (1983: II 63) notes that "today the Thessalonians call σπαρτζί the special cloth-glove, with which they rub themselves in the bath", while Kahane-Tietze (1958: 576) consider that the "Gr. σπαρτζίον 'small cord' is a development of Anc. Gr. σπαρτίον 'small rope' (L-S)".

A similar treatment by Topalli is the case of the words **trastë** and **strajcë**, which is worthwhile presenting in detail:

TRÁSTĚ f. 'large bag made, usually, of thick cloth'. Widespread word in both dialects. Loan from the *lat.* **tractus**, resulting to **strajcë** < *s-trajt-cë*... . *Trastë* may be without a prefix, having received the suffix *-të*: *trajcë-të* > *trastë*. T. **trajstë**, resulting to *trastë* is given by Kristoforidhi for Premeti ... (Bibl.: Meyer EW 434, Haarmann Lat. Lehn. 48, Brâncuș Voc. 150). Topalli 2018: 1485.

STRÁJCĚ f. 'bag'. Word of northern Geg dialect, first encountered in Buzuku (1555). ... A loan of fuzzy origin, which many Balkan and non-Balkan languages have with different types. It can be traced back to the *lat.* **tractus**, with the prefix *s-* and the suffix *-cë*. The *lat.* *-ct-* complex in some words resulted in *-jt-* (*tractus* > *trajtë*). With suffixation, a complex of three consonants was formed, followed by a fall of one (* *s-trajt-cë* > *strajcë*). It is intralingually related to *trastë*, deriving from the same source. ... Topalli 2018: 1352

Using data from the Greek language helps to find a satisfactory interpretation, since there are types *τράστο* (το) (Epirus) and *τράιστο* (το) (Corfu) 'Futtersack' < medv. Gr. *τάγιστρον* (το) 'id.' (Andriotis 1974: 544), while according to Ανδριώτης 1983: 371, the word *τράστο* (το) 'bag for the feeding of animals' is related with t. *τράιστρο* < *τράγιστρο* < *τάγιστρο* < medv. *τάισ-τρον* < *ταγίζω* 'feed, give to eat'. -We should also add that in Epirus it is also encountered a t. *στράγιστο*. For the Greek etymology and the correlation of *trastë* with the word *τάγιστρον* we can see the alb. fr. *Me kokë në trastë* 'with the head in the bag' and *Nuk ia vari trastën* 'did not hang the bag', ie 'did not pay attention', which results to FGJSSH. And now let's see what has been (and maybe is) the *τάγιστρον*.





With the same logic we would expect to be presented in one entry the words **falis** (p. 464), **lafis** (p. 854) and **lajthis** (p. 857), which refer to the past tense **λάθησα** ‘made a mistake’ of medv. Greek **λαθαίνω** ‘make a mistake’ (Tzitzilis 1997: 208), as well as the words **lastar** (p. 864) and **vllastar** (< **βλαστάρι** ‘sprout’, p. 1582), **dërmon** (p. 380) and **drimua** (< **δριμόνι** ‘sieve’, p. 409), **sfakë** (p. 1311) and **osakë** (< **ασφάκα**, *Phlomis fruticosa*, p. 1089), etc.

We see that Topalli in some cases excludes the Greek etymon, which he does in other cases too by resorting either to the "inner formation" or to the "Indo-European heritage" of Albanian. For example, the word

NÉRGUT ndf. "me një qëllim të caktuar; me dashje, enkas". Fjalë kryesisht e tosk. jug., e papërgjithësuar në gjuhë; e trashëguar nga fondi indoeuropian. Lidhet me rrënjën *nōr* "dëshirë, qëllim" (*ner-* "njeri"), ku bëjnë pjesë lit. *nóriu* "dua", sll. vj. kisht. *nravъ* "virtyt", rus. *norovъ* "zakon". Zanonja *-ō-* ka dhënë rregullisht *-e-*. Qëndron në marrëdhënie të apofonisë kuantitative e kualitative me *njeri*: *-e-* ~ *-ō-* > *-je-* ~ *-e-* (*njeri* ~ *nergut*). Ka marrë prapashtesën *-g*, kurse fundorja *-ut* është mbaresa e rrjedhore njëjës, që përdoret me kuptim ndajfoljor (khs. *krejt* < *kre-it*). (Bibl.: Jokl IF 43, 1926, 56, Walde-Pokorny II 333, Xhuvani SG 34, Çabej SE VI 47). Topalli 2018: 1045.

[**NÉRGUT** adverb 'deliberately, intentionally'. Used mainly in the southern Tosk ... inherited from the Indo-European. It is related to the root *nōr-* 'desire, purpose' (*ner-* 'man'), involving the lith. *nóriu* 'want', paleo-slav. *nravъ* 'virtue', russ. *norovъ* 'habit'. ... (Bibl: Jokl IF 43, 1926, 56; Walde-Pokorny II 333; Xhuvani SG 34; Çabej SE VI 47). Topalli 2018: 1045.]

The limited spread of the word in southern Tosk could lead to the search for a possible Greek source, as proven by Tzitzilis (1997: 210), invoking the existence of a dialect *t. véργου* 'on purpose' (Bogas 1964: 264), which he etymologizes from the **ἐν ἔργῳ*, as is the case of *ζέργου* 'absichtlich' < *ἐξ ἔργου* (Andriotis 1974: 257). Regarding final *-t* see Alb. adverbs *herët* 'early' and *krejt* 'in all' etc. (Tzitzilis 1997: 210).

Exact etymon

It became apparent, we believe, that the weaknesses of the macro- and microstructure of Topalli's EDA are mainly due to its failures to find the exact etymon of a plethora of words. Being fully aware of the difficulties presented by the work of the etymologist, let us also give some other examples of problematic etymologies, the non-identification of which we would consider a lack of respect for the work and memory of the colleague.

The verb **NDES** 'confuse, stumble' cannot be linked to the past tense *ἔνδεσα* of the verb *ἐνδέχεται* (Topalli 2018: 1034) (sic), but to *ἐνταίσα* (Thespr., Bogas 1964: 159); the verb **POCAQÍSEM** 'to be tortured, to suffer' does not come from the prefix **po-** and the past tense *τσάκισα* of *τσακίζω* 'brake' (Topalli 2018: 1168), but from the verb *αποτσακίζομαι*; the verb **SEKLÁS** 'pouring out', type with metathesis of **kselhas**,

heard in Gjirokastër, with no link to *ξεχόλιασα* (Topalli 2018: 1304), but to *ξέχλουσα* from *ξεχλούζω*, witnessed in Thesprotia (Mitsi 2002: 102); **SKALLANGÚR** adj. ‘sour, unripe’, encountered in southern Tosk, ‘of an obscure origin, as it is characterized’ (Topalli 2018: 1320), linked to subst. *ξυλάγγουρο*; **SHKLEBÚA** m. ‘small melon that does not ripen anymore’, Tosk word, ‘fuzzy etymon’ (Topalli 2018: 1395) could be traced back to the word *ξυλοπέπων*, which is found as a *σκελεπόνι* in the area of Delvino and in Dropoli as a *ξιλιμπόνι* ‘green melon’ (Bogas, 1966: 61) and so on.

3.3. The examination of the onomasiological material often offers useful data for etymological research. In multilingual environments, where different languages are being spoken, a stratification of onomasiological material is observed. The stratification of place names can also emerge as a tautological construct which is usually

-a name in nominative + a name in genitive

-(rarely) a consequence of two names in nominative/accusative.

For instance, in the coastline of South Albania the meaning ‘cape’ is expressed by place names *Gjuhëza*, *Hunda*, *Hostoni*, *Kortiri*, *Χαλί*, *Narta*, *Karaburuni*, *Kepi i Gjuhë(zë)s*, *Πούδα του Χαλίου*, *Hunda e Hostonit*, *Kapo Qefali*, etc. In this way, we observe how Albanian (**gjuhëz** ‘little tongue’, **hundë** ‘nose’), Greek (**κεφάλι** ‘head’, **κωρτήρι** ‘cape’, **χαλίον** ‘cape’, **χωστόν** ‘cape’), Slavic (**рътъ** ‘cape’ > Alb. *Nartë / Artë* and Gr. *Ἄρτα*), Italian (**punta** ‘nose’, **capo** ‘head’), and Turkish (**kara-burun** ‘big nose’) diachronically meet one another.

Other examples belonging to this category include place names as: *-Porto Palermo* (Ital. *porto* and Πάνορμος > Arab. Palermo), *Shën Ajo Nikolla* (Alb. *Shën* ‘sanctus’, Gr. *ἅγιος* ‘sanctus’), *Lëmi i Allonaqit* (Alb. *lëm* ‘threshing floor’, Gr. *αλών-άκι* ‘small threshing floor’), *Burimi i Pigadhiti* (Alb. *burim* ‘well’, Gr. *πηγάδι* ‘well, spring’), *Gryka e Bogazit* (Alb. *grykë* ‘mountain pass’, Turk. *boğaz* ‘mountain pass’), *Kalaj’ e Kastrisë* (Alb. *kala* < Turk. *kale* ‘castle’, Alb. *kastri* < Gr. *καστρί* ‘castle’ < Lat. *castrum*), *Kala e Qutezës* (Alb. *kala* < Turk. *kale* ‘castle’, Alb. *qyte(t)zë* < Lat. *civitat-em* ‘castle’), *Koka e Qefalit* (Alb. *kokë* ‘head’, Gr. *κεφάλι* ‘head’), *Shkëmb’ i Radhoit* (Alb. *shkëmb* ‘rock’, Gr. dial. *ραδιό* ‘rock’ (as well as *Radhej’ e Shkëmthit*), *Çuk’e Viglës* (?Alb. *çukë* ‘top of a mountain’, Alb. *viglë* (< Gr. *βίγλα*) < Lat. *vigilia* ‘look-out post’), *Lisi i Dbicës* (Alb. *lis* ‘wood, oak’ < Old Slav. *lěsb*, Gr. dial. *ντ(ου)μπίτσα* ‘oak’), *Rrapi në Pllatanidhë* (Alb. *rrap* ‘plane-tree’, Gr. *Πλατανίδα* ‘place

with plane-trees’) as well as *Πλάτανος του Ράπη* ‘a site at Lambovo, a ruined byzantine village in Thesprotia’ (Gr. *πλάτανος* ‘plane-tree’ and Alb. *rrap* ‘plane-tree’), etc.

3.4.1. The productivity and the mobility of the GLs within the target language, from the periphery to the center and from the neutral to the marked strata of the vocabulary, constitute aspects that complete the profile of the loan word.

3.4.2. The co-examination of the course of the GLs in a Balkan framework is very important too and remains a prominent goal of etymological research. More attention should be directed towards the so-called Balkan words that are either ignored as such or are considered on a case basis.

3.5. Nowadays, conditions are created for a further progress in the research of GLs of Albanian. This progress will only be achieved if the relevant research is established on contemporary methodological approaches and valid methodological principles, and based on chronological, geographic and semantic criteria. Additionally, the status of the GLs in the target language will have to be taken into consideration.

3.6. On the other hand, it should be noted that the level of learning of the Greek language and the scientific knowledge of the Greek *κόσμος* in Albania, even among the specialists, are nowadays rather limited, although favorable conditions have been created during the last decades.

Along with the good knowledge of the data not only of the spring but also of the target language, it is also very important to systematically monitor the relevant bibliography, where noticeable gaps are observed.

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Our presentation is based on our paper *Greek influence on Albanian (A review of relevant research, problems and perspectives)*, presented in the 1st International Conference on Greek Etymology. Thessaloniki, 5-6 November 2015. In: Tzitzilis Chr. & Papanastassiou G. (ed.) *Ελληνική Ετυμολογία – Greek Etymology*, Institute of Modern Greek Studies, Thessaloniki 2017, 394-416. In addition, we deal with new data, selected from our recent works, relating to above subject:

Lexical and onomasiological concordances among Greek dialects of Magna Grecia, Ionian Islands, Epirus and South Albania. In: Kahl, Thede; Krapova, Iliana; Turano, Giuseppina (Hg.): *Balkan and South Slavic Enclaves in Italy. Languages,*

Dialects and Identities. Proceedings from the Sixth Meeting of the Commission for Balkan Linguistics of the International Committee of Slavists. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018, 165-176.

Dukuri të hibridizimit leksikor dhe të interferimit kuptimor e morfosintaksor në të folmet arvanitase dhe në zonën e “helenofonisë shqiptare” / Aspects of lexical hybridization and semasiological/morphosyntactic interference in the Arvanitika dialect in Greece and in the Greek spoken in the Albanian region. Studime Filologjike 3-4 (2018) 75-103.

Language contact and onomastics: tautological constructs, folk etymologies and some methodological issues. Romanoslavica on line –LIV-3 2018.

Τα ελληνικά ιδιώματα της Νότιας Αλβανίας υπό το φως της Βαλκανικής Γλωσσολογίας / The Greek idioms of South Albania in the light of Balkan Linguistics. In: Tzitzilis, Chr. & Papanastassiou, G. (ed.) *Γλωσσικές Επαφές στα Βαλκάνια και στη Μ. Ασία – Language contact in the Balkans and Asia Minor*, Institute of Modern Greek Studies, Thessaloniki 2019, 156-175.

Διατοπικότητα και διαχρονικότητα των ελληνικών γλωσσικών ιδιωμάτων της νότιας Αλβανίας / Diatopy and Diachrony of the Greek idioms of South Albania. In: Proceedings of the 8th International Conference of Modern Greek Dialects and Linguistic Theory (MDGLT8), Gjirokastër, 4-6 October 2018. Edited by University of Gjirokastër & University of Patras, Laboratory of Modern Greek Dialects, 2019, 103-132.

Ένα νέο έργο για την ετυμολογία της αλβανικής: Kolec Topalli, Fjalor Etimologjik i Gjuhës Shqipe, Tiranë 2018 / A new work on the Albanian etymology: Kolec Topalli, Fjalor Etimologjik i Gjuhës Shqipe, Tiranë 2018. In: Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Greek Etymology, Thessaloniki, November 2019 (forthcoming).

From V. Meksi's translation to G. Gjirokastriti's redaction: towards a comparative edition of Albanian texts of NT. In: B. Demiraj (Hrsg.) *Altalbanische Schriftkultur – aus der Perspektive der historischen Lexikographie und der Philologie der Gegenwart – Akten der 6. Deutsch-albanischen kulturwissenschaftlichen Tagung (27. September 2019, Buçimas bei Pogradec, Albanien)* Harrassowitz Verlag 2020, 351-385.

Rreth vendit dhe rolit të greqizmeve në veprën e Santorit dhe në të folmet e në letërsinë arbëreshe./ On the status and role of Greek loanwords in F.A. Santori's works and in the Arbëreshi idioms. In: Sauku Bruci, M. (ed.) *Franqisk A. Santori dhe trashëgimia gjuhësore e letrare shqipe.* Tiranë, 2022, 371-396.

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