

Sorin Paliga



Etymological Lexicon
of the Indigenous (Thracian)
Elements in Romanian

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și a Spiritului Tolerant

Sorin Paliga

**Etymological Lexicon of the
Indigenous (Thracian) Elements
in Romanian**

**Lexicon etimologic
al elementelor autohtone
(traco-dace) ale limbii române**

Bucharest București

2006

*Multa renascentur quae iam cecidere, cadentque
quae nunc sunt in honore uocabula, si uolet usus,
quem penes arbitrium est et ius et norma loquendi.*

(Horatius, *Epistula Ad Pisones*. De Arte Poetica, vv. 70–72)

*Rodicae uxori suaviter,
Rora Dinae Mariae filiae dulcissimae,
Atque filiis Michaeli Uaro et Bucuro Johanni
dedicatur*

Argumente pentru un dicționar etimologic al elementelor autohtone (traco-dace) ale limbii române

Dicționarul de față reflectă și sintetizează aproximativ 25 de ani de cercetare în domeniul lingvisticii comparate, în special în domeniul limbilor străvechi vorbite cândva în Europa. Fără îndoială, cercetările în domeniul moștenirii trace (și ilire) în sud-estul european au avut sinuozitățile și meandrele lor, cu rezultate uneori neconvigătoare. Strălucit inițiată de Hasdeu în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea, tracologia lingvistică a avut o îndelungată pauză pînă prin anii '50 ai secolului XX, cînd a fost reluată atît în România, cît și în alte țări, mai ales în Bulgaria, cu rezultate remarcabile, dar și cu eșecuri și, nu rareori, cu rezultate mai degrabă confuze.

Se simte de mult nevoia unui dicționar etimologic al elementelor autohtone (de substrat, altfel numite trace ori traco-dace), măcar pentru motivul că numeroasele elemente neexplicate ale limbii române ar trebui – teoretic măcar – să fie de origine autohtonă. Ajuns în acest punct, mă grăbesc să adaug detaliul că dicționarele curente, între care DEX este probabil cel mai cunoscut și cel mai folosit, nu menționează niciodată în mod clar care sînt elementele autohtone certe, probabile ori posibile. Ar fi simplist să credem că formula „et. nec.” (etimon necunoscut), care apare în DEX de 1220 de ori, trebuie echivalată cu „origine autohtonă (traco-dacă)”. DEX folosește confuz și inconsecvent formula „et. nec.” pentru cîteva cazuri de elemente într-adevăr autohtone, dar și pentru o varietate de alte cazuri: cuvinte obscure, realmente dificil de analizat, pînă la neologisme evidente, în cazul cărora este vorba de dificultatea de a trasa

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mai degrabă traseul împrumutului. De asemenea, nu sînt specificate formele înrudite din alte limbi vechi sau moderne, exceptînd referințele la limba albaneză, chiar dacă s-ar insinua că ar putea fi împrumuturi din albaneză în română, ceea ce este, *de plano*, imposibil, așa cum am argumentat în alte studii ale noastre și cum a argumentat Giuliano Bonfante în *Studii Române*.

Un dicționar etimologic este aproape exclusiv o listă de cuvinte, ca atare nu poate lua în considerare alte tipuri ale influențelor arhaice, cum ar fi influența structurii limbii trace asupra limbii române, fonetica limbii trace; de asemenea, nu poate analiza ansamblul structurilor economice, sociale și militare dintre secolele 4 și 10, cînd putem aprecia că se consolidase structura proto-românei. Această listă de cuvinte nu poate, de asemenea, analiza interferențele seculare dintre tracă și vorbitorii latinei postclasice (așa-numita *latină colocvială* sau *latină vulgară*), pe de o parte, nici interferențele dintre tracă, proto-română și vorbitorii altor idiomuri, în special slavi și, ulterior, maghiari. De-a lungul anilor, am publicat cîteva studii dedicate unor asemenea situații particulare; cititorii sînt îndrumați să se refere la acestea pentru analizele speciale ale unor cazuri complexe.

Acest lexicon trebuie considerat un prim pas decisiv spre un dicționar etimologic complet al limbii române, singurul idiom romanic fără un dicționar complet și elaborat pe bazele științifice necesare. În ciuda unor încercări notabile, româna a rămas – de mult timp – o limbă superbă, enigmatică, dificil de analizat. Cu acest pas, sper ca limba română să-și deschidă larg porțile spre inefabila sa frumusețe arhaică.

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Sînt dator să prezint succint principiile care au stat la baza elaborării acestui dicționar etimologic, pentru a evita – pe cît posibil – unele neclarități ori nedumeriri; nu ne putem face iluzia că vor lipsi criticile.

Așa cum scriam mai sus, dicționarul reflectă aproximativ 25 de ani de cercetare etimologică. Desigur, multe dintre cuvintele incluse aici au fost anterior analizate în studii publicate în reviste de specialitate, majoritatea în limba engleză. Este principalul motiv pentru care explicațiile sînt și aici în limba engleză, respectiv limba în care au fost anterior publicate aproape toate studiile noastre lingvistice și cele referitoare la civilizațiile arhaice sud-est europene. Al doilea argument în favoarea folosirii limbii engleze este faptul că numeroși lingviști străini, nu neapărat buni cunoscători ai limbii noastre, au fost interesați de demersurile etimologice în general, de cele referitoare la moștenirea arhaică a limbii române în particular. În sfîrșit, tînăra generație, căreia îi este – mai ales – dedicată lucrarea, stăpînește suficient de bine limba engleză, încît lectura nu va fi, sperăm, dificilă. Nici generațiile mijlocii nu vor avea, cred, dificultăți în a urmări demersul nostru.

Dat fiind faptul că analiza etimologică a moștenirii autohtone (traco-dace) a limbii române nu poate fi izolată ci, din contra, privită doar în context comparativ, anexele (*Addenda*) vor fi, sperăm, relevante. Cititorul va găsi acolo: un lexicon al elementelor pre-slave (tracce, ilire, cîteva romanice) din zona sud-slavă (Lexicon A și B); un lexicon al antroponimelor arhaice (tracce, ilire) din aceeași zonă (Lexicon C); un lexicon al toponimelor arhaice din Cehia și din Slovacia (Lexicon D); un lexicon al teonimelor și al cuvintelor sacre tracce și frigiene (Lexicon E). De asemenea, două liste ale rădăcinilor arhaice pre-indo-europene și proto-boreale¹ relevante demersului din acest volum. Limba traco-dacă și, prin aceasta, limba română reflectă

¹ *Proto-boreal* este un termen folosit de lingvistul rus N. D. Andreev pentru a defini un stadiu arhaic, corespunzător mezoliticului est-european–uralic, reprezentînd un idiom ipotetic din care ulterior s-au desprins limbile indo-europene, uralice și altaice. Există diverse variante ale acestei ipoteze, una dintre acestea fiind cunoscută sub numele de *ipoteza nostratică*. Numeroși lingviști, de-a lungul anilor, au încercat să argumenteze existența unui asemenea idiom străvechi. Dintre toate aceste ipoteze și dintre toate aceste demersuri, studiile lui Andreev ni se par cele mai convingătoare și mai încheiate.

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elemente arhaice atât de origine pre-indo-europeană, cât și „proto-boreală”, desigur dintr-un stadiu ulterior indo-european de tip satem.

În ansamblu, am putea numi lucrarea și *Introducere în studiul tracologiei lingvistice*. În acest fel, cititorul va putea observa cum multe dintre formele analizate în prima parte, în lexiconul principal, își găsesc echivalențe în zona sud-slavă (cu substrat trac și ilir) ori chiar în zona central-europeană (cehă–slovacă).

Atât în prima parte, cât și în *Addenda*, au fost incluse și elemente romanice. În unele cazuri, câteva latinisme ale limbii române au fost considerate – nejustificat, după părerea noastră – drept tracisme; le-am inclus și pe acestea, cu comentariile de rigoare, apoi am reluat discutarea lor în partea a doua a lucrării, dedicată derivării și evoluției fonetice. Am accentuat acolo detaliul că, cel mai adesea, multor cuvinte de substrat li s-a refuzat caracterul autohton pornindu-se de la premisa (eronată) că trebuie să urmeze, totdeauna, aceleași legi de evoluție fonetică asemeni elementelor latine. O asemenea premisă este incorectă și am argumentat de ce. Tipic este cazul formelor cu *b*, *v* și *l* în poziție intervocalică. Nu există nici un argument care să sprijine premisa că, în elementele autohtone, *b/v* intervocalic ar fi trebuit să dispară, iar *l* intervocalic să rotacizeze. Din contra, acestea sînt păstrate totdeauna. De altfel, câteva elemente autohtone sînt de mult incluse în lista „elementelor autohtone certe”, deși au *b/v* și *l* intervocalice (de exemplu *abur*, *bală*, *balaur*, *căciulă* etc.).

Așa cum s-a observat, fără îndoială, din acest cuvînt introductiv, am folosit grafia „tradițională” cu *î* (exceptînd *român* și derivatele acestei rădăcini). Ne-am exprimat, cîndva și în public, părerea că decizia de a aborda această grafie a fost pripită și fără consultarea majorității specialiștilor. Sîntem între cei care s-au opus, cu argumente, folosirii grafemului *â*, în loc de *î*, în poziție mediană în cuvînt, dar a lui *î* în poziție inițială și finală. Este o complicație inutilă și, în orice caz, lipsită de orice

fundament științific. De altfel, numeroase publicații și numeroase edituri de prestigiu au refuzat și refuză adoptarea acestor norme și nu fără motiv. Faptul că, statistic, *â/î* provin majoritar din latin *a* nu ar fi decât argumentul ca grafemul *î* să fie eliminat complet în favoarea grafemului *â*, nu în sensul folosirii a două grafeme – *â* și *î* – pentru aceleași instanțe fonetice².

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Cu aceste precizări, încă una, din urmă: deși reflectă rezultatul a 25 de ani de cercetare în domeniul moștenirii arhaice a limbii române și a sud-estului european, dicționarul etimologic prezentat nu este și nici nu poate fi o lucrare definitivă, cu atât mai puțin una perfectă. Cu siguranță, cititorul va observa că sînt prezentate mult mai multe forme decât în lucrările uzuale dedicate moștenirii autohtone a limbii române. Va mai observa că sînt considerate autotohtone numeroase forme acceptate uzual drept slavisme, maghiarisme ori chiar turcisme (*cioban* și *dușman* ar fi exemplele tipice). Am argumentat, în fiecare caz, de ce nu pot fi considerate de aceste origini și, ori de cîte ori a fost posibil, am făcut referiri la forme similare din alte limbi indo-europene unde, evident, nu pot fi decât arhaice și, în orice caz, nici slavisme, nici maghiarisme și nici turcisme. Fără îndoială, vor fi destule opinii contrare. Nu am dorit o lucrare polemică, dar nu avem iluzia că va fi privită ori catalogată altfel; implicit, dacă nu explicit.

Dicționarul include circa 1420 de cuvinte-titlu, cîteva fiind variante grafice și/sau regionale ale aceleiași forme; cîteva rădăcini au cîteva

² A se reține că româna notează prin *î* sau prin *â* cel puțin două instanțe fonetice, dacă nu trei sau chiar patru: *â/î* propriu-zis (*gîde*, *rîde*); *â/î* nazal (*gînd*) și, poate, instanța *â/î* + semivocală (*pîine*, *cîine*); iar în secvența *împărat*, *lîngă*, *cîmp* avem de-a face cu sonantele *m* și *n*, respectiv a patra instanță fonetică a aceluiași grafem, indiferent dacă îl notăm *â* sau *î*. De fapt, aici grafemul *î* nu notează un fonem, ci secvența *îm-/în-* notează fonemele *m* și *n*.

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derivate, deși – uneori – înrudirea arhaică nu este evidentă (și, adesea, aproape toate lucrările le-au analizat diferit, cum ar fi seria *oraș/uraș – uriaș/oriaș* – toponimele cu radical *or-/ur-*, mai totdeauna fiind considerate a reflectând origine maghiară, lucru evident imposibil la o analiză comparativă atentă). Față de lista „uzuală” de circa 180–190 de elemente autohtone (cu mici variații de la autor la autor, de exemplu la I. I. Rusu, Gr. Brâncuș, A. Vraciu, C. Poghiric etc.), lexiconul nostru este mult mai amplu, înregistrând cel puțin 300 de rădăcini arhaice primare, cu numeroase derivate.

Este prea amplu acest dicționar? Este incomplet încă? Nu putem oferi un răspuns tranșant. Cu siguranță, criticii noștri vor depista erorile, iar cercetările viitoare vor aduce completări. Față de circa 2100 rădăcini latine „de bază”, cu numeroase derivate, desigur, cele aproximativ 1420 de forme considerate de noi traco-dace, reprezentând cel puțin 300 rădăcini primare, nu pot fi considerate – în principiu cel puțin – a reflecta „un număr prea mare, un număr exagerat”. Noi credem că ne-am apropiat de o estimare plauzibilă și care reflectă, fără îndoială, profunda influență a fondului autohton asupra limbii și culturii române.

Dr. Sorin Paliga

București, februarie 2006

Arguments for an Etymological Dictionary of the Indigenous (Thracian) Elements in Romanian

The present dictionary reflects, and sums up, 25 years of activity in the field of comparative linguistics, mainly referring to the archaic languages once spoken in Europe. Beyond any doubt, the investigation of the Thracian (and Illyrian) heritage in southeast Europe has had its tortuous, meandering, often difficult achievements. Brilliantly initiated by B. P. Hasdeu in the second half of the 19th century, linguistic thracology had a long break until the 1950's, when it was resumed in both Romania and abroad, mainly in Bulgaria, with remarkable results, but also with failures and – not rarely – confuse conclusions.

An etymological dictionary of the indigenous (substratum or Thracian) elements in Romanian has long become necessary, at least because the numerous unexplained elements in Romanian should – at least theoretically – have an indigenous origin. At this point, I hasten to note that in all the current reference dictionaries of the Romanian language, out of which DEX is probably most known and used, there is no reference to the certain, probable or possible elements of Thracian origin. It would be also simplistic to assume that the frequently used 'et. nec.' (*unknown etymon*) in DEX, 1220 times, should be equalled to 'Thracian (indigenous) origin'. DEX confusely uses the formula 'et. nec.' in the case of some (few) forms of indigenous origin indeed, but also for a variety of situations, from really obscure, difficult to analyse forms, to neologic words for which there is no clear source or intermediary. There is no reference to other parallel forms in

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other ancient or modern languages, excepting for Albanian, even insinuating the possibility of Albanian borrowings in Romanian, which is *de plano* impossible, as often argued in my previous studies, also solidly argued by Giuliano Bonfante in his *Studi Romeni*.

An etymological dictionary is almost exclusively a list of words. It cannot consider the numerous types of archaic influence, e.g. the influence of the Thracian structure in Proto-Romanian, Thracian phonetics, and cannot consider the complex post-classical economic, social and military realities from the 4th to the 10th century A.D., when we may safely postulate that the basic structure of Proto-Romanian was consolidated. This list of words cannot either analyse the century-long interference between Thracian and the speakers of Latin (the so-called *Colloquial Latin* or *Vulgar Latin*), on the one hand, and the century-long linguistic and cultural interference between Thracian, Proto-Romanian and speakers of other idioms, predominantly Slavic, later Hungarian as well. Across time I analysed such typical situations, for which see the references. It is understandable that readers may always refer to these studies for detailed analyses of some complex cases.

This lexicon should be considered a first step, and decisive, towards a complete etymological dictionary of the Romanian language, the only Romance language without a complete and scientifically worked-out etymological dictionary. Despite some notable attempts, Romanian has long remained a superb, enigmatic, difficult-to-analyse language at the gates of the Orient. With this first step, I do hope Romanian will largely open its archaic, ineffable beauty.

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I owe the reader some details regarding the principles in working out and editing the present etymological dictionary. I may thus avoid, as far as

possible, some unclear or confuse points; of course, I cannot have the illusion that I may thus also avoid criticism!

As stated above, the dictionary reflects some 25 years of research in the field of etymology. Many of the forms hereby included were previously analysed in various scientific papers, most of them in English. This is the main reason I have preserved English as the explanation language. Secondly, many foreign linguists, not necessarily with a good knowledge of Romanian, seem interested in the origin of the archaic elements of Romanian. Thirdly, the younger generation – to which it is mainly dedicated – has no major problem, I hope, in reading the dictionary, and older generations may also do it with fair dedication.

As the etymological analysis of the indigenous (Thracian) elements in Romanian cannot be isolated, on the contrary, it makes sense only in a comparative context, the *Addenda* may hopefully be relevant. The reader will also find, therefore: a lexicon of the Pre-Slavic (Thracian, Illyrian, Romance) elements in South Slavic (Lexicon A and B); a lexicon of the archaic personal names in the same area (Lexicon C); a lexicon of archaic place-names in the Czech Republic and Slovakia (Lexicon D); a lexicon of Thracian and Phrygian god-names and other *nomina sacra* (Lexicon E). Additionally and finally, two lists of archaic Pre-Indo-European and Proto-Boreal³ roots relevant to this volume. Thracian, and hereby Romanian, reflect archaic roots of both Pre-Indo-European and

³ *Proto-Boreal* is a term used by Russian linguist N. D. Andreev in order to define an archaic linguistic stage, corresponding to East-European–Uralic Mesolithic era, reflecting a hypothetical idiom out of which Indo-European, Uralic and Altaic languages later emerged. There are many variants of this hypothesis, the best known being perhaps the *nostratic theory*. Across years, numerous linguists tried to argue the existence of such an archaic idiom. Out of all these theories and hypotheses, Andreev's approach is perhaps the most convincing and best documented.

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‘Proto-Boreal’ origin, in the latter case – of course – via a later Indo-European satem stage.

This work may be also labelled *Introduction to Linguistic Thracology*. In this way, the reader will surely note that many of the forms analysed in the main lexicon have obvious counterparts in South Slavic or even Central European (Czech and Slovak) area.

Several Romance (Neo-Latin) elements are recorded in both the main dictionary and the Addenda. I assume that some innovative Romance elements of Romanian were sometimes incorrectly held for indigenous Thracian. These were discussed in the dictionary, and again in the second part, dedicated to derivation and phonetic evolution. I repeatedly stressed the idea that many indigenous elements were refused this status on the erroneous ground that they should always follow the same phonetic evolution like the Romance elements. We brought arguments in explaining this view. The forms containing intervocalic *b*, *v* and *l* are typical examples. There is indeed no argument and no example supporting the idea that forms with intervocalic *b/v* may have lost it, and that intervocalic *l* may have turned to *r*, as in the Latin elements. Thracian had a different phonetic structure, and its elements preserved in Romanian sometimes followed other rules of phonetic evolution.

On the contrary, these are regularly preserved in the indigenous elements. In fact, some indigenous elements have been long included in some ‘traditional’ lists, even if these would contradict the phonetic laws and even if they contain intervocalic *b/v* and *l*, e.g. *abur*, *bală*, *balaur*, *căciulă* etc.

As noted in the Romanian version of the introductory part, I used the ‘traditional’ spelling *î*, not *î* and *â* (excepting for *român* and its derivatives). I once publicly expressed the idea that reverting to the inconstant use of *î* in initial and final position, and of *â* in internal position is a useless complication, and was adopted without a large debate among specialists. In

fact, many prestigious publications and publishing houses have ignored these norms, not without reason. Even if statistically Romanian *â/î* mostly reflects Latin *a*, this would be an argument for eliminating *î* in spelling rather than using both *â* and *î* for the same phonetic⁴ instances.

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And a final note too: even if reflecting 25 years in the field of the archaic heritage of Romanian and Southeast Europe, this etymological dictionary cannot be held for a final or perfect word. The reader will surely note that the list of indigenous elements is considerably higher than in other similar works, and will also note that many of them are held for indigenous even if they have been often held for borrowings from Slavic, Hungarian or even Turkish (*cioban* and *dușman* are such examples). We brought arguments why they are analysed as such and, when possible, we referred to similar, related forms in other languages where they are obviously archaic, for sure not of Slavic, Hungarian or Turkish origin. We envisage a lot of contrary opinions, even if not the polemical approach was the main purpose of this work. Without illusion the approach may be also labelled as polemical, if not explicitly, for sure implicitly.

There are some 1420 entries analysed in the main dictionary, with some graphical and/or regional variants; several roots have a series of derivatives, but sometimes their original relationship is not obvious, and in most works were analysed as such. I would quote the outstanding situation

⁴ To note that spelling *î* or *â* indifferently refers to at least two, if not even three or four phonetic instances: *â/î* proper (*gîde*, *rîde*); nasal *â/î* (*gînd*) and, perhaps, *â/î* + semivowel (*pîine*, *cîine*); in *împărat*, *lîngă*, *cîmp* there are in fact sonants *ṁ* and *ṇ*, the fourth phonetic instance of the same grapheme, disregarding if spelled *â* or *î*. To note that not isolated *î*, but the sequence *îm-/în-* notes the phonemes *ṁ* and *ṇ*.

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of forms like *oraş/uraş* – *uriaş/oriaş* – place-names in *or-/ur-*, almost always held for Hungarian borrowings, an impossible hypothesis at a forensic analysis. As the ‘usual’ lists of indigenous (Thracian) elements in Romanian record around 180–190 forms (with slight variations from author to author, e.g. I. I. Rusu, Gr. Brâncuş, A. Vraciu, C. Poghirec etc.), our lexicon is considerably richer, recording at least 300 basic, archaic roots, with numerous derivatives.

Is it a too rich dictionary? Or is it still incomplete? There is no clear-cut answer to these questions. For sure, our critics will identify the errors, and future research will complement present data. As there are around 2100 basic roots of Latin origin in Romanian, with their derivatives of course, the 1420 forms analysed here, reflecting at least 300 basic prehistorical roots, cannot be held for overestimated. On the contrary, we assume that this figure is closer to reality, and proves the profound influence of the indigenous elements on the Romanian language and culture.

Sorin Paliga, PhD

Bucharest, February 2006

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Abbreviations

AHD	<i>American Heritage Dictionary</i>
Alb.	Albanian
Arm.	Armenian
At.	Attested (followed by year)
Bg.	Bulgarian
Cz.	Czech
Cr.	Croatian
Dalm.	Dalmatian
DOR	Dicționar Onomastic Românesc (= Constantinescu 1963)
Eng.	English
Fin.	Finnish
Frl.	Friulan
G	Germanic
Gm.	German
Gr.	Greek
Hu.	Hungarian (Magyar)
IE	Indo-European
IF	Indogermanische Forschungen
Ill.	Illyrian
It.	Italian
Lat.	Latin
Latv.	Latvian
Lith.	Lithuanian

Abbreviations / Abrevieri

Log.	Logudorese
Mac.	Macedonian (modern Slavic Macedonian)
Mes.	Messapic
MHD	Mittelhochdeutsch (Middle High German = MHG in English)
Arom.	Aromanian, Macedo-Romanian
ND	nomen dei; god-name
NFl	nomen fluminis; river-name
NHD	Neuhochdeutsch
Ngr.	Neo-Greek, Modern Greek
NI	nomen insulae; island name
NL	nomen loci; place-name
NM	nomen montis; mountain name
NP	nomen personae; personal name (family or given name)
NPp	nomen populi; name of an ethnic group
NR	nomen regionis; name of a region
NSt	nomen stagni; lake-name
PA	Proto-Altaic
PES	Pre-Expansion Slavic
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
PU	Proto-Uralic
Pers.	Persian
Pol.	Polish
Preie.	Pre-Indo-European
Protorom.	Proto-Romanian

Abbreviations / Abrevieri

R.	Russian
Rr.	Rheto-Roman
REW	Meyer-Lübke 1935 (see References)
RIO	Revue Internationale d'Onomastique
Rom.	Romanian
S.	Serbian
S.-Cr.	Serbian-Croatian
Skr.	Sanskrit
Slk.	Slovak
Slv.	Slovene, Slovenian
Ukr.	Ukrainian

Part I

Etymological Lexicon of the Indigenous (Thracian) Elements in Romanian

-a Usually defined as ‘enclitical emphatic particle’ for adverbs and demonstrative pronouns. It is, in fact, a definite article of adverbs and demonstrative pronouns, formally identical to *-a*, the definite feminine article (which reflects Latin *illa*, cf. Portuguese *a*, definite feminine article). Examples: *acum/acuma* ‘now’, *gata* ‘ready’, *aici/aicea* ‘here’, *acest/acesta* ‘this (one)’, *tuturor/tuturora* ‘to/of all’ (genitive-dative) etc., disregarding the grammatical gender (in the case of demonstrativa). Albanian ‘particle’ *-a* seems to be related to the Romanian forms, e.g. *rralla* ‘rarely’, *fshehta* ‘furtively’ etc. The Romanian–Albanian parallel forms, as well as the general enclitical position of the Romanian and Albanian definite article lead to the basic hypothesis that the definite article of adverbs and demonstrative pronouns reflects a Thracian (substratum) influence. We should add that the Albanian definite article does not preserve Romance forms, and generally that, behind other forms too, like masculine (colloquial) *-u* (Romanian) and Albanian *-u* one may identify the same substratum heritage. The general spread

of the enclitical definite article in Romanian, Albanian, Bulgarian, Armenian, Basque and, perhaps, Etruscan may lead to the hypothesis that it reflects a Pre-Indo-European heritage. • Etymologically, Rom. *a* (with morphematic role) has various origins and meanings, and the analysis must consider all these as well as the inevitable interferences among these forms. It may reflect (1) Lat. *ad*; (2) Lat. *illa* (definite article for the feminine gender); (3) a substratum, Thracian, survival in the case of the definite article of adverbs and demonstrative pronouns. This latter situation is reflected in the forms above.

abeş adv. ‘really’ (Banat). Seemingly related to Alb. *besë* ‘faith; creed’. If this parallel is accepted, then Romanian form may be explained from *a-* (< Lat. *ad*, or an indigenous form assimilated to it) and indigenous *beş* < IE **bhend(s)-* ‘to bind’. The evolution IE **d-s-y-* > Thr. *s/š* is normal; see also *Basarab*.

Abrúd NFl, a tributary of river Arieş; NL on this river; NL, jud. Constanţa, where we may surmise a newer form, built up after the Transylvanian original. At.: 1271 –

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Obruth. There is no clear reference to this river-name in the antiquity, but related forms are: NL *Abrutus* (Greek spelling *Ἀβρυτος*, *Abrutus*, today *Abtat* in Bulgaria), NP *Ab-ro-zelmes*, *Ebro-zelmes*, NL *Abrou-polis* etc.; other related forms in *ab-*, *abr-* are recorded in Dečev 1957. Cf. NFI *Aborna* and *Abrnca* in Slovenia, of Pre-Slavic origin. The ultimate origin may be either IE **ab-*, **ap-* ‘water’ or Preie. root **AB-*, **AP-* in forms referring to elevated locations or river-names. • Older hypotheses, assuming a Turkish-Persian origin, from *abroud*, *ebrud*, Sl. *Obrad*, Iranian *Aburud* or Old Romanian **auru* ‘gold’ > *avrud* > *abrud* cannot explain the Romanian form. Mediaeval spelling with *o* reflects the Hungarian pronunciation. See also *Abud*, *Abuș*, *Ibru* (with a different radical vocalism).

abțigui Especially reflexive *a se abțigui* ‘to get drunk; to beat someone gently; fig. to forge or illegally modify an original product’. Seems built with prefix *ab-* and root *țic-*, *țig-* ‘small’ as in NP *Țic*, *Țicu*, NL, NM *Țega* etc.; also *țic*, *țînc* ‘small; a child’. This is formally satisfactory, nevertheless the semantic evo-

lution is not clear. The verb is colloquial and seems archaic indeed.

Abud NL (MS). At.: 1567 – *Abod*; 1602 – *Abud*. A Thracian form **Abud* should be accepted, related to *Aba*, *Abantes*, *Abro-lebas* etc. Cf. Rom. *Abrud*, *abur* etc. The ultimate origin is probably Preie. **AB-* ‘elevated, prominent’.

abur, *-i*; also *abure*. s.m. ‘vapour(s)’; related to Alb. *avull* ‘id.’ Derivatives: *a aburi*, *abureală* (also figuratively ‘a trick’), *aburit* (also figuratively ‘a drunk person’). One of the largely accepted Thracian form in Romanian, for which two basic explanations have been suggested: (1) IE **we-*, **awe-* ‘to blow; to exhale’ or (2) **ab-* ‘water’. We are rather inclined for a Preie. origin as in other Romanian forms in *ab-*: *Abrud*, *Abud* (see), root **AB-* ‘prominence; elevation’. For *abur*, the archaic meaning would thus be ‘prominence of boiling water’. Albanian *avull*, with *v* against *b* in Romanian is newer (as suggested or implied by all those who suggested IE *ab-* ‘water’ as the origin of these forms. Also Alb. *ll*, as in other cases, reflects a later evolution *r* > *ll*. This is also sustainable by comparing

these forms to other related forms, having initial *r*, not *l*. Cf. *boare*.

abure See *abur*.

aburcă ‘to climb up’. Prefix *ab* (as in *abțigui*) and *urca* (see). The form supports the indigenous origin of prefix *ab-* as in *abțigui*.

Abuș NL At.: 1361: *Obus-falva*; 1433: *Abus-falva*. Probably related to *Abud*, *Abrud*, *abur(e)*; see also *-eș*, *-iș*.

-ac Also *-(e)ac*, *-(e)ag*, *-ec*, *-ic*, *-c*. Suffix of nouns and adjectives. May have various origins, it seems probably indigenous in some substratum forms in *-ac*, e.g. *Fel-eac*, *în-tun-ec-a* (probably from a prototype **în-tumn-ec-a*), *mald-ac/măld-ac* (cf. *Spart-ac-us*, *μανδάκ-ης* etc.), *ber-c*, *mel-c*, *mel-eag*, *pel-eag-ă/pel-eg* (cf. *Pel-eș*), *Per-eg*, *pis-c*, *plis-c*, *prun-c*, *Semen-ic* (cf. *semeț*), *țar-c*, *miș-c-a*, *muș-c-a*.

acățâ See *agățâ*.

acriș See *agriș*.

ad-, also **at-** Toponymical root of Preie. origin spread over a large part of Europe, e.g. NFI, NM and NL *Adulas*, *Addiris*, *Atlas*, *Addua* (today *Adda*, a tributary of Po), also the

numerous Greek forms in *ath-*, *at-*, e.g. *Ἀθῆναι*, *Ἀτένια*, *Ἀττάνασος* and, of course, ND *Ἀθήνη*, *Ἀθάνα* seemingly related to *ἄττανα*, *athanuvium*, *athanulus*, *attanulus* ‘a hollow, a recipient’; archaic Pre-Hellenic terms. The Romanian forms listed below inherit this root via Thracian.

adaru Arom. 1. ‘I make’; 2. ‘I set up, I set an ornament’. Presumably IE **der-*, *dra-* ‘to work’, hence Gr. *δράω*, Lith. *daraù*, Latvian *darīt* ‘to make’. Maybe related to *deretica*, if we assume a substratum origin of this form, rather reflecting a colloquial Latin development, see under *deretica*.

adămână s.f., rare today ‘a gift; bribery’. Related to *ademeni*.

Adea, NL Arad; 1202–1203 – *villa Adia*; 1332 – *Adya*.

ademení vb. ‘to entice, to seduce’. Regional also *adămăni*, *adămna*; noun *adămană*. Hasdeu considered it indigenous by comparing Romanian form with a glosse in Hesychius, Phrygian *adamnein* ‘to be in love with, to adore’, *adamna* ‘a beloved’. • A local derivation from Latin *ad* + *manus* ‘hand’ is yet most

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probable, as shown by the dialectal forms: *ad* + *manus* or *adă/adu mîna* ‘give (me) your hand’. The basic meaning is erotic and pre-nuptial, and is connected to the various creeds related to hand. • Hungarian *adomány* is borrowed from Romanian. The forms are colloquial, created in Romanian, be it in an early period of evolution, rather than an indigenous heritage. See also the considerations on the derivatives of Lat. *manus* in Romanian, in the chapter dedicated to debated hypotheses regarding the Latin or substratum origin of some forms.

adiá vb. (about wind) ‘to blow delicately, to breeze’. Der. *adiere*. Some linguists suggested a post-classical Latin **adiliare*, which is rather improbable. The form is isolated, even enigmatic; cf. place-names *Adea*, *Atea*, *Ateaș*, in which case we are rather inclined for a Preie. origin.

adulmecá (especially about dogs) ‘to sniff, to smell’, also used figuratively. Obscure, archaic. The construction is probably **ad-ul-m-ec-a*, in which *ad-* (sometimes also *a-*) reflects Latin *ad*, frequent as derivative means; the indigenous, substratum

root *-ulm-*, which must be related to *olm* ‘smell’ (see); derivative suffix *-ec* (also *-ic*, *-c*), also indigenous. A similar construction is in *ademeni*, *adămană* (a local construction based on Latin elements). The Thracian root must be therefore **olm-*, **ulm-* ‘smell, to smell; to sniff; to track an animal for hunt’. • On the other hand, the forms *dulău* and *dolcă* would lead to a basic root *dul-*, *dol-* ‘dog’, also with prefix *a(d)*. It is difficult to decide whether *adulmeca* was based on a construction *ad-ul-m-* or *a-dul-m-*. Both are possible and meaningful.

afin The bushy plant *Vaccinium myrtillus*; bilberry. Obscure, therefore difficult to analyse. The indigenous origin is probable. Phoneme *f* may reflect an original velar spirant (laryngeal), alternating with *h*, *v* and sometimes with *ș*. Assuming a prefix *a-* and root *fin* is no more comfortable.

ag- Root preserved in some place-names and common names. In the quoted examples, we assume the forms preserve Preie. **AK-*, **AG-*, **AIK-*, **AIG-* ‘a prominence, a peak; a thorn’; related (urverwandt) to *ig-* (below). The root is well

documented in ancient writers referring to Thracian names (Dečev 1957: 3, 9, 11, 164), e.g. *Aga-thyr-soi*, *Aig-issos*, *Aeg-issus* (the modern town of Tulcea in the Danube Delta). The verb *a agăța*, also *a acăța* ‘to catch (at)’ is seemingly derived from the same root; archaic meaning: ‘to get to a thorn’. See also the root *ig-* below and place-names *Ig*, *Iga*, *Igman* (Lexicon A). Cf. *agănău* which seems derived from this root too.

Agaua NL (AR) Related to *Agnita*, *Agăș*, *Agriș/agriș* (see), cf. NL *Agay*, in Provence, and place-names *Aigai*, in Greece. See references under *ag-*.

agănău A kind of folk dance. Obscure. Seems related with the other forms with root *ag-*. See, first of all, *agăță*.

Agăș NL, Bacău district and another locality in Bihor, today extinct. There is the hill *Acățel* near the Transylvanian village; this precious detail would be sufficient to reject the explanation from Hung. *ágas* ‘crossroad, branched out’ which obviously is a fortuitous consonance. Cf. Thr. *Aegissus*; we may surmise that the spelling *-ss-* stands

for the original *š* in Thracian. See also NL *Egeria*, *Egircă*, *Egeta*, *Aegeta*. NL *Ágasvár* in Hungary seems related, in which case a Pre-Magyar origin is to be postulated.

agăță ‘to catch, to pick up’. See *ag-*.

Agnita NL (SB). At.: 1317/1320 – *Vallis sancte Agnetis*; 1329 – *Vallis Agnetis*; a. 1376 – *sancta Agatha*. Cf. ancient Thracian and Greek forms *Aegitna*, *Aigaios*, also NL *Agay* (Provence); the modern form seems the result of a metathesis **Agitna > Agnita*, see also *Aegeta*, today *Brza*, in Bulgaria. An original form **Agnita* is also possible. the Mediaeval spelling reflects a folk association with St. Agnes or St. Agatha. See also NL *Agay*, in Provence, of Preie. origin.

Agriés NFl, NL (BN). At.: 1562 – *Egreshely*; 1576 – *Egres*. Closely related to *agriș*, NL *Agriș* (see below); cf. *Anieș* against *anin* și *Arieș* against *arin*, presumably of Preie. origin. See *ag-*.

agrís (also *acriș*), *-e* A bush with thorny branches and eatable fruit, specific for the mountainous regions. *Ribes Grossularia*, sometimes also *Ribes rubrum*, the gooseberry. The

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plant is *agrișă*. From the same root *ag-* as NL *Agriș* and other forms like *Agrieș*. • DEX erroneously assumes a borrowing from Hung. *egres*; the sense of borrowing is reverse.

Agriș NL, several localities spread over a large area, especially in Transylvania; obviously related to *agrișă* ‘gooseberry’ or ‘barberry’; the tree is called *agriș*. The name is related to its thorny branches, the basic meaning of the Preie. root **A(I)K-*, **A(I)G-*.

-aj, -aș, -eș, -iș Suffix in numerous indigenous Thracian place- and river-names: *Argeș*, *Arieș*, *Asuaj*, *Dej*, *Mureș*, *Caraș*, *Turdaș*, *Someș* etc. In ancient documents, it is usually spelled *-ss-*, which leads to the idea that the original sound was *-š-/-ž-*.

aldán Autumn hemp; *Cannabis sativa*. Obscure, presumably indigenous. The usual form is *cînepă*, held for Latin, even if we are rather inclined for an indigenous origin too, from a prototype common in Thracian and Latin. Lat. *cannabis* does not satisfy the phonetic evolution for Rom. *cînepă* either.

aleléi Exclamation of fury and revenge. Presumably indigenous, difficult to analyse. Built by reduplica-

tion, **al-al-*, as some other forms analysed here (see the appendix).

ameți vb. ‘to become/get dizzy, confused’. Archaic, probably derived from *maț*, *mațe* (see) ‘bowels’, i.e. ‘intricate, maze, labyrinthine’. The relationship *maț* – *ameți* seems similar to Eng. *maze* – *to amaze*, and the forms seem also related in the two languages, of course as an independent archaic heritage.

Ampôj (< **AN-p-*) NFI in Transylvania whose course is parallel to the *Arieș*, a tributary of the *Mureș*. Hu. form is *Ompoly*. The region is famous for its gold ore since prehistory. The Thracian township of the area was *Ampelum*, today *Zlatna* (< Sl. *zlatno* ‘gold’). See further references under *an-*, *in-*.

amúrg, -uri s.n. ‘sunset’. Derivatives: *a amurgi*, *amurgit* etc. One of the commonly accepted Thracian elements of Romanian, but the etymon has been debated. Presumably related to NI Gr. *Amorgós*, derivative *amorgís*, *-ídos*, name of an unidentified textile plant (Chantraine). We assume that in both Thracian (hence in Romanian) and Greek the ultimate origin is Preie. **AM-*,

*AN-, basically with chromatic meaning, as in *Ampoi* and other related forms (see above). Cf. *murg*, even though the relation with this form may be again debatable, but the connection and similarity cannot be avoided.

amúş ‘a pit with water and lime for tanning’. The original meaning must have been ‘hollowed location, a pit, an excavated place’, so the word seems built with prefix *a-* and the same root *muş-* as in *muşuroi*.

an-, in- Toponymical root of Preie. origin: *AN-, *AIN-, *IN-, chromatic meaning; ‘black, dark’ and ‘white, to shine’ respectively. The “classical” prototypes are: (1) Greek *anchysa*, *enchysa*, a plant used for dying in dark-red, and a series of place- and river-names like *Ainos*, *Aineia*, *Ainios*, *Anchisēs*, the father of *Aine(i)as* etc.; (2) Greek goddess *Inō*, translated in Greek as *Leuko-thea* ‘white goddess’, a divinity of the sea and her feast *Inacheia* in the island of Crete at *Inachos*. Seemingly the same root in *Nin* and *Un*, *Una* (Lexicon A). The root *A(I)N- is preserved in numerous forms derived from it (see below).

Anaş NFl (Braşov) From Preie. root *an-*, *in-*.

Anca NP The current hypothesis assumes that is derived from *Anica*, in its turn a hypochoristic of *Ana*, Greek-Latin Christian name from Heb. *Hannah* ‘grace’. We are rather inclined to explain it as related to NP *Anescu* and *Anieş*, *Ar-anca*, later associated with NP *Ana* by folk etymology.

-and Suffix in several indigenous place-names: *Zărand*, *Zarand*, *Şimand*, *Vărşand* etc. The ultimate origin may be Preie.

andreă See *undrea*, also *îndrea*.

Anieş NFl, a tributary of Someşul Mare; cf. NFl *Anio*, a tributary of Tiberis.

aniná vb. ‘to hang, to fix somewhere’. Obscure, presumably indigenous, without any clear etymological approach. The relation with tree *anin* and *arin* seems fortuitous. The form seems derived from *a(d)-nin-.

Anina NL, Caraş-Severin.

Ant NL (BH). At.: 1353 – *Ont*; 1453 – *Anth*, possibly also *Antăş* NL Cluj.

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Antăş NL (CJ). At.: 1437 – *Anthus*; 1507 – *Anthos*. Cf. *Ántissa*, a town and island near Lesbos.

Apa NL (SM) At. 1215 – *villa Apa*; 1414 – *Appafalwa*. Does not seem derived from *apă* < Lat. *aqua*, but rather related with the substratum elements with root *ap-*, see *Apaşa*, and with *b* radical in *Abrud*, *Abud*, *Abuş* etc. The relation with Hung. *apa* ‘father’ seems also fortuitous.

Apaşa NL (BV). At.: 1460 – *Apaczija*; 1519 – *Apacza* (cz for *ț* in the Mediaeval text) and **Apadia** NL (district of Caraş); At.: 1423 – *Apa-dya*. The relations with either Rom. *apă* ‘water’ or to Hung. *apa* ‘father’ must be fortuitous and may be held for folk-etymologies. The origin must be indigenous Thracian of either IE or Preie. origin; cf. *Abrud*, *Abud*, *Abuş* also *Ip*.

áprig adj. ‘full of pathos’. Seems related to *apucat* ‘crazy, mad’ (< *apuca*), see below, without a decisive argument for or against. Both *aprig* and *apuca* seem archaic, indigenous relics. The basic meaning of root *ap-* may be reconstructed as ‘to get, to hold’, hence ‘hold by pathos, furious’.

apucá ‘to catch; to hold tight’. Derivatives: *apucat* (1) ‘caught’; (2) ‘mad, crazy’ (cf. *aprig*); *apucătoare* ‘a handle’; *apucătură* (1) ‘a catch’; (2) ‘custom; behaviour’. The word seems related to Lat. *apiscor* ‘id.’, Old Indian *āpnōti* ‘(he) touches, catches’, gr. *aptō* ‘id.’, Hitt. *ep-*, *op-* ‘id.’ etc. The Romanian prototype may be reconstructed as **ap-uk-* (cf. also *arunc*), which cannot support the idea of a Latin word. Also the alternative Lat. *aucupor* ‘to set traps’ does not seem a better solution. • If *apuca* and *arunca* may be held for indigenous, then a possible (not necessary) influence of *aduc* ‘I bring’ < Latin *a-duco* may be surmised. It seems clear that, disregarding the ultimate etymon, *apuca* and *aprig* should be analysed together, not separately.

Arád and **Ard** (latter form is obsolete) NL At.: 1156: *Urod*; 1183: *Orodium*; 1197, 1206: *Orod*, *prepositus Orodiensis*. Related to NFl *Arda* in Bulgaria (see Lexicon A); both forms are based on similar forms attested in Thracian, e.g. *Arantas* (Dečev 1957: 21), possibly also related to Lithuanian forms like NL *Arantačius* and NP *Arant*

(Rimša in *Actes II C Thr.* 99–104); cf. Illyrian *Ardotion* and NL Provence *Arda* (Rostaing 1969: 16). The Romanian forms are seemingly of Preie. origin via Thracian. Cf. *Aar*, Switzerland; *Ar*, Moselle, France. In Romania, see also *Aranca*, *Argeş*, *Arieş*, also NL *Araden*, in Minoan Crete.

Aranca NFI in Romanian Banat; also attested as a water female divinity in Romanian tales. Must be related to other archaic forms like NFI *Aran*, a tributary of Gave d’Aspe near Sarranca, NM *Ar-an-Barranco* and NL *Aran* near Boltaña, Aragon. These forms are considered Preie. by some linguists. Must be related to *Arad*, *Ard*, *Argeş*, *Arieş*. • The explanation from Hu. *harang* ‘a bell’ (as in Kiss 1980: 60) should be definitely rejected.

arăriel The plant *Cynoglossum officinale*. As a name of plant, seems derived from the same root *ar-* as *arţar*, by reduplication (**ar-ar-*) and diminutival suffix *-el*. For a similar reduplicatio see also *Rarău*.

arcáci ‘a fold for sheep, a pen’. Seems derived from the same root

ar-k- and *ar-g-* as in forms analysed below.

Archiş NL (AR). At.: 1552 – *Arkos*. Related to *Argeş*, dialectally also *Arghiş*; see also *argea*. The alternating *k/g* leads to Preie. **AR-* ‘big; high; deep’. • There is NL *Ar-cuş* which indeed may reflect the Hungarian influence of *Arkos*; similarly NFI *Chiuruş* < *Körös*, in its turn reflecting *Criş*.

Ard See *Arad*.

Ardán NL, Bihor. 1319: *Iordanfa-lua*; 1642: *Ardány*. It does not seem probable a Hungarian origin, as suggested by earliest attestation, which – in its turn – would suggest a folk etymology in Hungarian. I am inclined for a close relationship with forms like *Ard*, *Arad*, *Aranca* etc. • A deformation of name *Iordan* ‘Jordan’ does not seem plausible.

Ardeal NR; the Romanian name of Transylvania. Traditionally explained as a borrowing from Hu. *Erdély* ‘Transylvania’, which is phonetically impossible: the expected form in Romanian would have been **Erdei* or **Ardei*. • NR *Ardeal* must be seen as a compound *Ar-deal* the first part of which had

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the meaning ‘over, far away’ and should be related to *a arunca*, dial. also *a aruca* ‘to cast (away), to throw’ (indigenous Thracian root) and the second part is *deal* ‘a hill’ also (obsolete and dial.) ‘forest’.

Ar-deal is a contruction similar to NL *Sub Deal* ‘at the foothill’, *Sub-cetate* (peculiar spelling for *Sub Cetate* ‘under the fortress’); see s.v. *Deal*, *Deal(u)*. Med. Lat. *Transylvania* (instead of *Transilvania*) is a calque after Romanian; Med. Lat. spellings were also *Ultrasilvania*, *Ultra Silvas*. Hu. *Erdély* is also a calque: *erdő* ‘forest’ and an old postposition *-elu*, *-elv*, hence *előtt*, *előre* ‘in front of; ahead’. The Hungarian form was fortuitously similar to Romanian, or this similarity supported the calque.

Ardeova NL (CJ). At.: 1375 – *possessio Erdeufolua*. Related to *Ardud*, *Ardusat* (see) and Slavic suffix *-ova*.

Ardúd NL (SM) At.: 1215 – *Herdeud*; 1216 – *Erdowd* (seemingly graphic deformations, presumably by the association with Hung. *erdő* ‘a forest’; see also s.v. *Ardeal*). Related to *Arad*, *Ard* etc. (see), from Preie. *AR- ‘big; high; deep’. De-

velopment as in *Abrud* (see).

Ardusát NL (MM). At.: 1231 – *Erdezad*; 1394 – *Erdewschada*. A compound *Ardu-sat*, see *Ardud*, *Arad*, *Ard* and *sat* ‘a village’ < Lat. *fossatum*.

Arduzél NL At. 1334 – *sacerdos de Ordo*; 1405 – *Ardo*, *Kysordo*. Same root as *Ardud* and *Ardu-sat*.

argeá, -ele s.f. (1) a covered pit; (2) the vault of a building; (3) structure of a house; (4) the margin of a roof. Archaic word, now with seemingly diverging meanings. The basic meaning seems ‘a pit, a hollow; something dug out’. Usually connected to ancient Macedonian *argella* ‘subterrean dwelling’ also NFl *Argeş* (see) and its ample etymological family. Cf. Alb. *ragal* ‘a hut’, which may be compared to the Romanian form if a metathesis **ar-gal* is postulated.

Argel NL (SV) Related to, or derived from, *argea* (see); surely related to *Argeş*/ *Arghiş*, *Argestru*.

Argestru NL (SV) A compound *Arg(e)-estru*, the first part of which is related to *Argel*, *Argeş*, *argea* (see), and the second part seems related to ancient (*H*)*istria*, also at-

tested on the Thracian territory. The ultimate origin seems Preie. *IS-TR-. Cf. *Iași*, *Ieș(u)*.

Árgeș, old *Arghiș* (1369, cf. Rosetti ILR 228) NFI An important river flowing in south Romania, a tributary of the Danube. Thracian, cf. numerous roots in *arg-*, such as Ἀργιζα, *Arcidava*, *Arkénna*, (as Pârvan 1923:12–16 suggested a long time ago), also NP Ἀρκίννα (see in Dečev 1957: 22 and 25). The word must be related to *argea*, archaic indigenous word with two basic meanings: (1) ‘a pit for preserving food’; (2) ‘a beam for supporting the ceiling and roof’. The ultimate root cannot be IE *arǵ-, but Preie. *AR-g-, very well documented in place- and river-names all over Europe. Cf. *Argestru*, *Arghiș*.

Arghiș NL, Cluj. See *Argeș*.

Ariés NFI, a river in the West Carpathians; NL At.: (NL) 1256 – *Aranyos*; 1292 – *Oronos*. Related to *Argeș*; Thracian of Preie. origin. Cf. *Anieș*. See also *Aar* (Elveția), *Ahr* (Coblenz), *Arve*, *Arvan* (Provence) etc., for which Preie. root *AR- ‘big; high; deep’ may be accepted. See

also Thracian NFI *Arzos*, *Arsus*, *Araros* (see s.v. *Rarău*) etc. • An explanation from *arin*, the plant *Alnus* or *anin* are incorrect, but an initial relationship with *arin* is probable.

arín, -i s.n. Plant *Alnus*, generic name for trees or bushes which live in wet and cool locations, and having reddish wood. Must be related to *Arieș* and *arțar*.

arșinic The ornamental plant *Lychnis chalconica*. Difficult to analyse, but probably indigenous. If not related with other names of plants like *arin* and *arțar*, then possibly from IE *ar-ǵ-, *ar-ǵ- ‘to shine, to glitter’.

arțar, -i s.n. The tree *acer platanoides*, with white and hard wood. The usual explanation from Lat. *acer* is impossible from phonetic reasons. Related with *arin*, *Arieș* (see), Preie. root *AR-.

aruncá, Arom. **arúc** vb. ‘to throw, to cast away; (fig.) to get rid of’. A prototype *ar-uk-, nasalised *ar-unk must be accepted. The basic meaning of root *ar-* seems ‘far away, over’, and is thus related to the first part of compound *Ardeal* (*Ar-deal). The ultimate origin is rather Preie. For

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the specific forms, see also *apuca/apuc*.

Asău NFl and NL in the Tarcău Mts. At.: 1494 – *Hozijwazo*; 1854 – *Hossuasszó*, *Hususău*. Preie. *AS-, chromatic meaning: ‘black, dark colour’, as in Greek forms *Asos*, *Astale*, *Aisōpos*, *Asai*, *Asaia*, *Asea* etc. Of the same origin is probably Gr. ἄσις ‘mud, marsh’ (< ‘black colour’). • The current explanation holds the form for a borrowing from Hung. *aszú* ‘dry’ derived from *aszik* ‘to get dry’ (thus in Drăganu *Top. ist.* 69; Jordan 1963: 498; Petrovici, *Balkanica* 7: 483). The form seems to continue ancient Thracian forms NL *Asai*, NL *Assa*, NL *Aisa*, NP *Aisaios*, NFl *Ais-epos*, *Aes-opus*, also with close related forms in Greece: NFl *Ais-epos*, *Asōpos*, NL *Asos*, *Astale* (Creta), NL *Asai* etc. The ultimate origin must be Preie. *AS- ‘black; dark colour’, also in Greek *ásis* ‘mud’. See also *Asuaj*.

asmuṭí ‘to incite a dog to attack; fig. to instigate’. With prefix *a-* (< Lat. *ad*, but sometimes perhaps also reflecting a parallel indigenous form) and the same root as in *semeṭ*, verb (*a se*) *semeṭi*; the alternating *e*/zero grade may be archaic, prehis-

toric; suffix *-(u)ṭ-* as in other indigenous forms.

Asuaj NFl (MM), NL At.: 1391 – *Azzywag*; *possessionis olachiales duo Azzywag in districtu de Erdeud*. Unexplained so far, related to *Asău*; oldest form must have been **Asuaş*, as in *Blaj* < **Blaş*, *Cluj* < **Cluş* etc.

aş(i) ‘no’. Alb. *as*, same meaning. Archaic forms in both languages, without clear etymon, maybe Preie.

-aş -aj, -aş, -eş, -iş.

at- See *ad-* above.

-ate Suffix in some substratum forms. Probably of Preie. origin as once suggested by Battisti 1959: 33.

Atéa NL Satu-Mare; 1334 – *possessio Athya*; 1343 – *Atya*, *Atthya*, *Atthye*. See *ad-*, *at-*.

Atia NL, Hunedoara; 1567 – *Attijha*; 1576 – *Athya*. See *ad-*, *at-*.

au, ău interj. Old exclamation preserved in various languages, expressing pain or fear: Old Persian *au*, Avestan *ao*, *əu*, Skr. *o*. An indigenous origin is to be postulated.

-ău, -eu Ending specific to some indigenous place-names: *Inău/Ineu*, *Asău*, *Bîrgău*, *Buzău*, *Ilteu*, *Mineu*, *Paleu*, *Rarău*, *Tarcău*, *Tărtărau*,

Vişeu, Zalău. All these must have been *masculina* in *-á* or *-é* (stressed), assimilated to the first and third Latin declension and articulated with *-u* (definite article masculine singular). In no case do they reflect Hu. *-ó, -ő* as many linguists hastened to postulate. In the quoted examples, and other forms in this lexicon, *-ău, -eu* reflect archaic, indigenous forms. Later on, some Hungarian forms borrowed into Romanian were indeed adapted to this type.

avát The prey-fish *Aspius Aspius*, Obscure, presumably indigenous. Cf. *Avrig*.

Avrig NM; NSt (Făgăraş) At.: 1364 – *Affrica*; 1370 – *Ebrek*; 1379 – *Africa*. The association with continent Africa is, for certain, a folk etymology. Place-names in *avr-*, *awr-* are largely spread, e.g. *Aurent*, *Aurons*, *Aurel*, in Provence, Preie. **AWR-*, a variant of **AR-*, cf. *Argeş*, *Arieş*, *argea* etc.

azvîrlí ‘to cast, to throw’. Prefix *a-* and *zvîrlí* (see). • DEX incorrectly explains as a contamination between *arunca* and *zvîrlí*.

babán ‘very big’ (colloquial). Seems related with name of fish *bibán*, incorrectly held for a borrowing from Bulgarian. The form is a result of reduplication, *ba-ba-*, and the original meaning leads to a root *ba-* ‘big; to swell, to inflate’, perhaps the same as in *bubă* and *îm-buibá*. Alternatively, perhaps the name of fish *bibán* is the oldest, and *babán* is an expressive derivative from the size of this big fish. Anyway, the primitive root seems to be as suggested.

Bacău NFl, NL Iordan 1963 assumes a relation with *băcan* ‘grocer’, and ultimately a borrowing from Turkish *bakan*, which is phonetically impossible and does not explain the river-name. Root *bac-*, which develops a masculine form *Baca*, with *-u* as definite article, seems related with *Băicoi* and NP *Baicu*. Ultimate etymon unclear, must be an archaic *bak(h)-*, possibly of Preie. origin. See also *Asău*, *Buzău*, *Rarău* etc.

baci s.m., sg. and pl. ‘a head of shepherds’; Arom. *baciu*, *bagiu*; Megl. *baciu*; Istrorom. *bațe*; NP *Baciu*, *Bacea* etc.; der.: *a băci*, *băciță* etc. One of the words usually held

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for indigenous, cf. NP Thr. *Batsinis*, f. (Rom. *băciță*). Related to *bade* (see), with the alternance *t/č/d* as confirmed by extra-Thracian parallels. See also s.v. *bade*. The original meaning seems to have been ‘a local leader’ hence ‘a leader of shepherds’. • Hung. *bács(i)* is borrowed from Romanian, also the whole series of various forms in neighbouring Slavic languages (*bač*, *bača*), also in various Slavic place-names.

bade s.m. (only singular, unused in the plural) A term for calling or addressing an elder or older man, or a term used by a girl in addressing the beloved man. NP *Badea*, *Bădescu*, *Bădulescu*, *Bădicuț* etc. The basic, archaic meaning seems to have been ‘a leader, a head of a group of persons; a master (of)’. Seems related (urverwandt) to *baci* (see). One of the words usually held for indigenous. Hung. *bátya* is borrowed from Rom. *bade* or may reflect a Panonian, Pre-Hungarian form, cf. Thr. *-bates* in *kapnó-batoi* ‘priests of the Moesians’ (priest = ‘leader of a community’) and ND *Batalde-ouēnós* ‘an epithet of Dionysos’. Outside Thracian, we may identify other similar, presumably related, forms, e.g. Libyan *battos* ‘a king, a

leader’ (cf. Herodot 4. 155: Libyegar basiléa *bátton* kaleousi ‘the Libyans call the king a *battos*’); also Gr. *basileus* is derived from **batileus*, root **BaT(T)-*, presumably of Preie. origin. In the Greek mythology, *Battos* also appears as a shepherd turned into stone by Apollo. • We surmise that Preie. **BaT(T)-* was the term for denoting a local leader, as preserved in Greek *basileus* < **batileus* and Thracian, hence inherited in Romanian.

Baicu NP See *Bacău*.

baier ‘a thread of variable thickness; a rope’. Origin debated; most linguists hold it for a Romance element, I. I. Russu includes the form in his list of Thracian elements. The Latin origin seems indeed improbable, so an indigenous etymon is acceptable.

baláur(e), *-i* See *bală*.

bală, *-e* s.f. and **balaure(e)**, *-i* ‘a dragon, a monster’. A ‘technical’ term of the Romanian folk-tales. Must be related to Alb. *bollë* ‘a (big) snake, a serpent’ and *bullar* ‘a water snake’. NP *Bală*, *Balău*, *Balaure(e)*, possibly also *Balcu*, *Balcea*, *Bălcescu* (if not related with root *bal-/băl-* in *bălan*). Cf. Thr.

Balas, Bales, Tri-balloi ‘three dragons’ (name of a Thracian ethnic group), *Baleos* (epithet of Jupiter), *Balis* (epithet Dionysos) etc. Intervocalic *l* is normal in an indigenous Thracian element of Romanian. Ultimate origin is IE **bhel-* ‘to swell, to inflate; giant’, hence Lat. *bal-laena*, etc. • Intervocalic *l* is normal in a Thracian element; as this is one of the indigenous forms included in all the lists of the Thracian elements of Romanian, it may be used as a reference point that indeed intervocalic *l* (just like intervocalic *b* and *v*) are preserved as such in Romanian. See also *căciulă, abur(e)* etc.

bale (only plural) ‘slobber; saliva’. Obscure; possibly related to *bală, balaur*, and imagined as beings with slobber. Alternatively, possibly from the same root as *baltă*, in which case the basic meaning is ‘liquid’ = ‘slobber, saliva’. It is just a guess. Definitely archaic and closely related to traditional life. Intervocalic *l* is normal in a substratum form.

Balica NP Root *bal-* may be the same as in *bală, balaur*, or *peleag, Paliga, Paluga, Paligora* (the last form only with the Aromanians) or indeed *baligă* (see all these).

băligă, *-i (-e)*; sometimes spelled *balegă* s.f. ‘cow excrement, dung’; Alb. *bajgë, bagël*. Currently held for a Thracian element in Romanian, and intervocalic *l* is indeed normal. It has seemingly been more difficult to identify a plausible etymon, for which we suggest a Preie. origin, root **BaL-*, **PaL-* ‘an elevation’, and the basic meaning is still preserved in many place- and mountain names, e.g. *Balica, Paliga, Paligora, Paluga, peleag(ă), Peleş* (see all these). • As we may analyse the related forms and meanings, the archaic sense had nothing pejorative: ‘elevation, elevated excrement’, indeed similar to a hillock. We may surmise that the shift took place maybe after Romanisation.

bălmoș, also **bălmuș** Typical shepherd’s food prepared of sweet cheese and boiled in milk, with maize flour (initially millet flour). The basic meaning seems ‘liquid food’, in which case must be the same root as in *baltă*. Alternatively, may be akin to *băl, bălan*. • Hung. *bălmos* is borrowed from Romanian (not vice-versa as DEX would suggest).

băloș adj. rare, dial. See *bălan*.

balmuș See *bălmoș*.

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Balș, NL (several locations, IS and OT districts); also **Balșa** (HD); NP The same root as in *baltă* and *balmoș/balmuș*, or perhaps akin to *băl*, *bălan*. A third similar root, in *bală*, *balaur*, does not seem probable. Beside such hesitations, very probably a substratum place- and personal name.

baltă, *bălți* s.f. ‘a pond; a lake’, related to Alb. *baltë* ‘mud’. Cf. NL Thr. *Di-baltum*, *De-beltos* ‘two ponds, two lakes’, similarly in *Di-mallum* ‘two river-banks’ or ‘two cliffs’ (see s.v. *mal*). Also related to Lith. *balà* ‘a marsh, a moor’ and Sl. *blato* ‘mud’. IE **bh₁al-*, **bh₂al-* < **bhel-* ‘to shine, to glitter’. • The Slavic form, sometimes held for the origin of the Romanian form, cannot be accepted from reasons of phonetic evolution. Cf. *daltă*.

ban ‘a local leader in the Middle Ages, specifically in Oltenia’; ‘a coin, money, also the subdivision of the national Romanian currency’. Hasdeu convincingly explained that the basic meaning must have been ‘leader’, whereas ‘money, coin’ was derived later, as *sovereign* in the United Kingdom. Various explained, often considered of either

Serbian or Hungarian origin, even though the form is not typical in any of these languages. In fact, *ban* stands for the generic base of some archaic compound forms, with either *ban* or *pan*: *cio-ban* [čoban], *ju-pîn* (< *ğu-pîn*), *stă-pîn*. Out of these, only *stăpîn* was correctly ascribed to the Thracian heritage by Philippide. • The most problematic of all has been *cioban*, but only on the erroneous assumption that intervocalic *-b-* could not be preserved in the indigenous elements of Romanian. As proved by many other examples in this lexicon, this was a false assumption. If the indigenous origin of *cioban* is to be rejected, then other arguments should be identified. Note also that Turkish *çoban* is a relatively new word, considered of Persian origin, and should be also noted that *cioban* is unknown in Aromanian, while a Turkish origin would have implied the presence of this form first of all in Aromanian. It is also interesting that dialectally (Transylvania), *cio-ban* also means ‘a recipient for liquids’, an ‘enigmatic’ meaning unexplained so far, but it must be the same root as in Czech and Slovak *džbán*, for which we assume a Ro-

manian origin. • The form *stăpîn* and *jupîn* (< *ġu-pîn*) seem to have been accepted as indigenous by more and more linguists. They are obviously similar in their structure, and with quite clear IE origin, as the whole family. Therefore: (1) *ban* reflects IE **pā-* ‘to protect, to feed’, also *pōi-* ‘to protect the cattle’ (Pokorny 1959: 782 and 839; in AHD 1979: 1532 and 1535, with the note that both forms are probably related). The sonorisation of *p* in initial position took place, in certain circumstances, as in the similar situation IE **pō-* ‘to drink’, depending on the laryngeal (or velar spirant). (2) We assume that both *cioban* [*čoban*] and *jupîn* (formerly *ġupîn*) are related, and built on the same structure from IE **(s) keu-* ‘to cover, to protect’, Slavic *županъ* is borrowed from Romanian, with the adaptation *ğ* > *ž*. (3) The form *stăpîn* (*stă-pîn*) is built again on the same structure, the first part of which is – beyond any doubt – IE **stā-* ‘to stay, to be’. • The forms *ban*, *cioban*, *jupîn* and *stăpîn* represent a compact etymological family and should be analysed together. I hypothesise that Thracian form *Di-*

urpaneus, *Diupaneus*, *Diopanes* etc. (see in Dečev 1957) are just attempts to note in Greek and/or Latin the original form **ġupān*, the reconstructable Thracian form, the prototype of Rom. *ġupîn* > *jupîn*. The spread of modern forms mainly in Romanian and South Slavic cannot be the result of hazard.

bănă ‘a piece of wood used by fishermen to mark the trawl’. The root *bân-* with this meaning seems the same as in *bandulă* and *bandură*.

bandulă ‘a thick and heavy piece of wood used for fixing or anchoring a boat to the shore’. Obscure. Seems related with *bană* and *bandură*.

bandură ‘a thick and hard cloth; (fig.) a hore, a prostitute’. Seems derived from *bandulă* ‘piece of wood’, first – applying to cloth – ‘thick and hard as wood’, then figuratively to prostitutes.

Bara NFI (Lotrița Mts; flows into Vidra lake). The same root in *Baraolt* (*Bara-Olt*). The same root as in *bară* (see below); probably the same root also in *Bărăgan* (< **Bār-ag-an*).

bară, *-e* s.f. ‘a moorish land/region’; rare in contemporary Romanian. Seems related to Alb.

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bërrák ‘id.’. Also, similar forms in Bulgarian and Serbian-Croatian, where they may be Romanian borrowings. Czech *bařina*, Polish *barzyna* ‘moorish land’ are clearly related; they are Pre-Slavic (Machek 47: ‘Psl. *bara* je slovo substratové’). The archaic meaning seems to have been ‘moorish, wet region’, and perhaps of Preie. origin. NFl *Bara*; NP *Bara*, *Barău*. NR *Bărăgan* may be also derived from this root; formerly, the *Bărăgan* was a vast forested and moorish region. Cf. *bîlc*.

bártiță ‘a thin film of mould on bortsch or brine’. Seems related to the meaning ‘wet, moorish’ as in *bară* (above).

barz adj. (about birds) ‘whitish’; related to Alb. *bardhë* ‘white’. Derived: *barză*, pl. *berze* (with alternating *a/e*) ‘the bird *Ciconia c.*’. NP: *Barză*, *Bărzoi(u)*, *Bîrzoiu*, *Berza*, *Berzeanu* etc. IE root **bherǵ* ‘to shine, to glitter’ > Thr. *bher-z-*. See also NFl *Bîrzava*. • The old form may have been *bardz(ă)*, as in Arom. *bardzu*, but this may also be an innovation based on the parallel forms of Latin origin where, in certain circumstances, Lat. *d* turned to *dz* then to *z* in Romanian. A similar

case maybe in *zîină*.

barză See *barz*.

Basaráb NP Various explained by linguists (see Ionescu MEO 61). Root *bas-*, *bes-* is well attested in Thracian (cf. Alb. *besë* ‘creed, faith’). Despite many opposite hypotheses, *Basarab* may be one of the Thracian anthoponymical relics in Romanian. Numerous derivatives: NR *Basarabia*, NL *Basarabasa* (HD), *Basarabi* (< NP, several locations in districts DJ, SV etc.).

bască s.f. ‘fleece’ (singular only). Related to Alb. Tosc *bashkë*, Geg *mashkë*, *baskë* ‘id.’. Seem to reflect IE **bhasko-* ‘a bind, a link of’, perhaps also in ancient Mac. *báskos* ‘timber bound together, wood’, Lat. *fascis* ‘a package’. It may be assumed that Alb. *bashkë* ‘together’, *bashkonj* ‘to unify’ belongs to the same root.

Bata NL (Arad). Seems derived from a personal name related with NP *Baci*, *Bade* < *baci*, *bade*; or perhaps from the same root as *batál*.

batál ‘a pit for storing crude oil’. As crude oil was available at the surface of land until late in the 19th century, we may count on an archaic

word, perhaps of Preie. origin, reminding of Neolithic technology. The root **B-T-* with a possible meaning ‘a hollow, a pit, a concavity’ may be identified in southeast European place naming.

bă interj. used for calling someone; considered vulgar in normal speech. Seems an archaic interjection, which may be the root of *băiat*. Cf. *fă*, the equivalent for calling girls or women. If *bă* is indeed related to *băiat*, and *fă* is related to *fată* (< Lat. *feta*), then both *bă* and *fă* are expressive creations built in Romanian, not inherited from the substratum. If yet *bă* in relation with *băiat* may be accepted as archaic, then *fă* – *fată* may be a more recent build, which follows the same derivation or relation like *bă* – *băiat*.

băcuiăță ‘a pillow case used as wallet’. Archaic, without a clear etymon; anyway, the root seems **băcui-* followed by an expressive suffix.

băgá ‘to introduce, to insert, to thrust’. Obscure, but undoubtedly archaic, indigenous verb. A root *bag-/băg-* may be of Preie. origin.

băiát ‘a boy, a (male) child’. Etymon debated and still debatable.

The relation with *baie* ‘a bath’, *a îmbăia* ‘to wash, to take a bath’ seems a mere hazard, though some linguists assume the forms are related. Seems rather derived from interj. *bă*, and suffix *-at* as in *mînzat* < *mînz* etc.

Băicóji NL See *Bacău* and *Baicu*.

băl adj. See *bălan*.

bălái adj. See *bălan*.

bălán adj. ‘blond’ (about people); ‘white’ (about animals). Also: *băl*, *bălaș*, *balos*, *bălai*. Alb. *balash*, *balosh* ‘a horse (or another animal) with a white sign on its forehead’, *ballë* ‘forehead’; Eng. *bald* (< Germanic **bala* ‘white sign’); sl. *běl-* ‘white’; Celtic *belo-* ‘white’. • Intervocalic *l* is normal in an indigenous element.

băláš adj. rare, dial. See *bălan*.

bălăbăní ‘to dangle, to swing’ (expressive and mainly colloquial). As in other cases, a reduplication followed by haplology and metathesis: **băl-băl-ă-n-*. Presumably indigenous, without etymon; or an expressive creation, which must be old anyway.

bălăríe ‘weed(s)’. For long of unknown origin, presumably left as such because of intervocalic *-l-*,

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which is indeed normal in an indigenous element. The root *bal-/băl-* with this meaning seems related to the same root as in *bală*, *balaur* ‘dragon’, from an archaic root ‘big, huge’. If so, then the original meaning was ‘big, malefic plant’, which – in this sphere – counterparts the malefic meaning of *bală* and *balaur*.

bălăştioágă ‘a pond’. Obviously a compound, the first part of which is related with *baltă*, and an expressive suffix *-oacă*, *-oagă*. See *baltă*.

bălbísă The plant *Stachys silvatica*. The root of this form must be related with *băl*, *bălan*; suffix *-is-*, *-iş-* as in other cases.

bănică The plant *Phyteuma orbiculare*. A diminutival form derived from either (1) root *ban-* ‘coin’ (from the shape of its flowers), or (improbably) from root *ban-/băn-* as in *bánă*. The roots are archaic, but the derivation may be newer, or re-shaped based on an archaic root.

Bărán, also **Berán** NP Related with (or less probably derived from) *bîr* ‘sheep’ (see); also related must be *Berea*, *Berinde*, *Berindei*.

bărăgán ‘a vast plain region’. See *Bărăgan*.

Bărăgán NR covering an important area in south Romania east of Bucharest. Unexplained so far. Probably related to dialectal form *bară* ‘a pond; marsh, moor’ (see above, under *bară*) and, if so, cf. Prov. *brac*, *brasc* ‘a marsh’, NL *Brasque* considered of Preie. origin in Rostaing 1950: 101, root **B-R-*, **P-R-*. See also *Bîrgău*, *Parîng*. • The older hypotheses, which assumed various Altaic (Turkish or Turkic) origins cannot be accepted, despite their once frequent occurrence in linguistic analyses.

bărăní ‘to insist, to tease by talking too long’. Obscure; does not seem a borrowing from Hungarian, as it may possibly look. We assume it is derived from *bîr*, an appellation for the sheep, originally the name for ‘sheep’ in Thracian. The meaning may be derived from the stubborn behaviour of sheep.

Băsescu NP The same root as in *Băseu* and *Basarab*, with the common suffix *-escu*.

Băséu NFl (north Moldavia) Must be from the same root *bas-* as *Basarab* or *bască*.

bășcălie Colloquial, especially in the phrase *a lua în bășcălie* ‘to make fun of someone, to ridicule someone’. Seems derived from *bască* ‘fleece’, probably based on a traditional habit of children to play with fleece. It is just a guess.

băț ‘a stick, a rod’. If not a back-formation from *a bate* (< Latin), then possibly indigenous, related with Eng. *bat* ‘a heavy stick’. Such a relation, which assumes a common etymon for *a bate* and *băț*, would be normal as an independent IE heritage.

Becheánu NP. Unclear, root *bec-* (*bek-*). Perhaps related with *Bichiș*.

Becheni NL Derived from NP.

bedreág (1) A synonym of *buturugă* (see); (2) A wooden stool. Must be from the same root, with a different suffix, like *butuc* and *buturugă*, with alternating *d/t* as a result of phonetical syntax. Suffix as in *meleag*.

Belci NSt (on the Tazlău river). Probably related with *bîlc* and NP *Belcea* (also *Bercea*, *Berceanu*, *Bercescu*).

berc¹ ‘with short tail or without tail; a low cap’. Definitely archaic and related to animal breeding. A root *bar-/ber-* is frequent in place-names; if so, the archaic meaning may be related to the resemblance with a low hill. Suffix *-c* as in *melc* etc. See *berc²* below, also *bîrcoace*.

berc² ‘a small forest, a small group of trees’. DEX assumes a borrowing from Hung. *berek*, which is phonetically impossible, it rather seems of Romanian origin, with the regular svarabhakti (i.e. epenthetic vowel between two consonants). Both this meaning and *berc¹* seem derived from a prototype meaning ‘small, little’.

Berea NP Related with, or derived from, *bîr* ‘sheep’.

beregătă ‘neck’ (colloquial, expressive). Seems closely related with Gr. φάρυγξ, -υγος ‘throat, trachee’, Lat. *frūmen* (< **frūg-smen*), IE **bherug-* ‘neck, throat’. For suffix *-ată*, *-ete* see the grammatical part of the volume.

Berinde, Berindei NP Related with, or derived from, *bîr* ‘sheep’.

bibán A large prey-fish. See *babán*. Bulg. *biban* is either from Roma-

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nian or, less probable, preserves the same Thracian element.

Bichiș NL Unclear, perhaps related with *Becheanu*.

Bihărea NL (BH) Beyond any doubt an old place-name, with an important Mediaeval fortress, from which the whole region of *Bihor* took its name; modern form *Bihor* has a Hungarian influence, with *o* v. *a* in *Biharea*. Etymon unclear, very probably indigenous (despite the attempts to explain it from Hungarian). A reference to NM *Vaihāra* < *Vi-hāra* (India, Magadha); if such a relation may be possible (which would support once more the satem character of Thracian), then *bi-* v. Old Indian *vi-/vai-* means ‘two’, and *hārati* ‘to take, to bear, to carry’; therefore, the meaning would be ‘two possessions, two locations’. If indeed a substratum form, phoneme *h* in *Biharea* would indicate an original velar spirant *X* > *h*. • If this relationship is not possible or confirmed, then we must look for another basic root to satisfy dependencies.

Bihór NR With Hungarian phonetic influence (*o* v. *a*) from *Biharea*.

bir ‘tax, tribute’. One of the most debated Romanian forms. The word

is currently held for a Turkish borrowing, from a supposed **buyur-*, **biyur-*, *büyür-* ‘to command, to order’ (with ref. to Räsänen, *Et. Wb. Türkspr.* 87; Clauson, *Et. Dic. pre-13th c. Turkic* 387–388). On the other hand, V. Polák, *Omagiu Iordan* 1958: 693, assumes that both Rom. and Alb. inherit a linguistic relic. TESz 1: 304 also assumes an unknown origin for the Hungarian parallel, even if does not accept – as usual in the Hungarian linguistic studies – a possible Romanian origin. • The form should be analysed together with verb *a birui* ‘to prevail upon, to be victorious’ (for which ending *-ui* seemed sufficient for postulating a Hungarian origin automatically). Discussions and debates will surely continue until a consensus may be possibly achieved.

birui See *bir*.

bîguî ‘to stammer, to mumble’. Skok reports a colloquial Latin form **bergolare* in South Slavic (Croatian) area, which seems an ‘intruder’ from Illyrian and/or Thracian into Late Latin. Rom. *bîgui* may be from **bîrgui*, though this is not certain. Anyway, Gr. *βάζω* (< **βαγ-jaō*) ‘to say, to utter’ (Chain-

traine 155) seems closest to Rom. and Southeast European forms. A Greek borrowing into Late colloquial Latin is also possible, even if this cannot be clearly explained. • References in DA to Hung. *boly(o)gni* ‘to lose one’s way, to tramp about’ cannot be considered, also reference to dial. form *a bādādāi* ‘to tramp about’, Hung. *bodologni*, *bodorogni* ‘to tramp about’, with a presumed shift to meaning ‘to speak nonsense’ cannot be accepted.

bîlc, *-uri* s.n. ‘a marsh; narrow and marshy valley’. Seemingly related with Alb. *pellk*, *pellgu* ‘a marsh, a moor’. Gr. *pélagos* ‘sea’ was sometimes suggested as the origin of Albanian and Romanian forms, which seems improbable. On the other hand, the Romanian-Albanian correspondences Rom. *b* – Alb. *p*, Rom. *c* – Alb. *g* cannot be easily explained. The forms seem indigenous, maybe of Preie. origin, root **B-L-*, **P-L-* ‘earth’, related with **B-R-*, **P-R-* (see *bară*, *Bărăgan*). The Albanian form seems derived from a parallel root **B-R-*, **P-R-*, with the evolution *r* to *ll*, as in other examples. It is also possible, for which we incline, to

define the Albanian form as borrowed from Romanian.

bîr A call for the sheep to come; Alb. *berr* ‘a sheep’. Beyond any doubt, an archaic word well represented in other languages too: Czech *beran* ‘ram’, also in Polish, Ukrainian and Russian *baran* ‘id.’, dial. Italian *bero* ‘ram’, *bera* ‘sheep’, dial. French *berri* ‘ram’, Basque *barra* ‘id.’, Lat. *vervex* and *berbex*. The Romanian form cannot be borrowed, but its meaning gradually shrank, as in the case of *șo* (see). The ultimate origin seems Preie. See also *Bîrsa*.

bîrcoáce The bushy plant *Cotoneaster integerrima*. Seems derived from *berc* and an expressive suffix. The modern form looks like a plural, but this may be due to a uniform treatment of the final part.

bîrdán ‘the stomach of rumigators’. See *burduhán*, also *burtă* and *burdúf*. The alternating *h/f* and zero suggest the original existence of a velar spirant (laryngeal) **X*.

bî’rfă ‘gossip, slander’. See *bîrfí*.

bîrfí ‘to gossip, to slander’. Seems derived from *bîr*, an appellative for sheep, initially the word for ‘sheep’ in Thracian. If so, the pejorative

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meaning was derived from the basic one ‘to utter sounds similar to those of sheep’. Phoneme *f* reminds the archaic velar spirant (laryngeal) *X.

Bîrgău NM, NL (MM) Reflects Preie. *B-R-, *P-R- in various hill- and place-names with the basic meaning ‘hill, mountain’. The relation with German *Berg* may be eventually considered as an *Urverwandtschaft*. Cf. *Bărăgan*, *Parîng*. Seems etymologically related with NL *Bergamo*.

Bîrlád NFl, NL Philippide, OR, 2: 362 suggested a Cumanic origin: *beled*, pl. *belat*, *bîlad* ‘a market, a market place’. Pătruț, more rationally, refers to ‘an onomastic root *Bîrl-*, *Borl-*, as in NP *Borlea*, *Bîrlea*. The relation seems indeed with an indigenous root *bîr-* as in *Bîrgău*, *Bîrsa*, *Bîrzava*, being difficult to identify closest relationship, as there are at least two different indigenous roots in these examples. Anyway, the relation NL *Bîrlad* – NP *Bîrlea* seems certain, furthermore *Bîrlad* – *Bîrsa/Bîrgău* most probable.

bîrligá (about cattle) ‘to raise the tail’. Obviously archaic. The original meaning must have been related to the mating period, or rut. The

root seems to be the same as in *bîr* ‘sheep’, in modern Romanian used as only appellative. See also *bîrzoii*, also *îm-bîrliga* (ie. prefix *în-* and *bîrligá*).

Bîrsa NFl, NM (Zărnești area), hence *Bîrsa lui Bucur*, *Bîrsa Groșetului*, *Bîrsa Fierului*, all referring to brooks. Derived from *bîr*. The construction *oiță bîrsană* ‘a specific sheep with long and soft fleece’ also reflects the archaic meaning of *bîr* ‘sheep, ram’.

Bîrzava NFl (Semenic), NL (AR, HR). At.: 1471 – *Bozova*; 1479 – *Nagbozova*. Cf. Thr. *Βέρζαβα*, a castle in Dardania, NL *Bersovia*, *Bersobis*, a township in southwest Dacia; the latter is seemingly the ancient form for modern *Bîrzava*. Related to *barză* ‘stork (*Ciconia*)’ and Alb. *bardh*, *-i* ‘white’ < IE **bherǵ-* ‘to shine; white, bright’. The preservation of intervocalic *-v-* is normal in an indigenous Thracian word. The association to Sl. **brъzъ* ‘quick, fast’ is fortuitous, and *-ava* must not automatically lead to the idea that the etymon is Slavic.

bîrzói Now in expression *cu coada bîrzoii* ‘with tail up’. Must be related

to *bîrliga*, which confirms the original meaning of this verb too: the mating period, or rut. • The similarity with NFI *Bîrzava* and/or with Slavic forms derived from root *brz-* must be fortuitous.

Blaj At. 1271 – *terra seu villa Herbordi vaivode*; 1313 *terra Blasii filii Herbordi*; 1332 *sacerdos de villa Blasii, sacerdos de villa Blasy*; 1346 *Balasfalva, Balaschfalva* (and other later forms); *Blaş* (a. 1900). It is indeed difficult to analyse the spelling *Herbord* (= ?*Arbore*). A generation later, the location was led by his son, recorded in the genitive *Blasii* (nom. **Blasius*), with a reconstructed pronunciation *Blaş*, as in 1900 (cf. *Cluj*). Half a century later the name is Magyarised as *Balas/Balasz* (spelled *Balas* in the Mediaeval documents), compound with *falu* ‘village’, therefore ‘the village of *Blaş*’. The Hungarian name *Balázs* is, we may surmise, of Romanian origin, in its turn re-borrowed in Romanian as *Bălaj*. Iordan (1983: 66) assumes that NP *Blaj* is derived from Sl. *Blaž* while *Blaja* would be the feminine [sic!] of *Blaj*. The existence of Slavic personal names *Blaž* (-a, -o) cannot impede

our analysis, as they are anyway of non-Slavic origin (Mediaeval Latin *Blasius*). NL *Blaj* (*Blaş*), as well as *Cluj* (*Cluş*), were initially personal names, with the difference that *Cluj* reminds of an emperor (see), whereas *Blaj* reflects a local leader. • NL *Blaj* should be related to Thracian names *Blasa, Blasas*, the latter one perhaps an Illyrian name (Dečev 1957: 73; Russu 1969: 181). The Mediaeval spelling for *Blaş/Blaj* (*Blasius*, gen. *Blasii*) also clarifies the real Thracian sounds, which may be reconstructed as **Blaš(a)*, **Blaš-as*. See also NL *Blaja* (near Carei), attested later: a. 1454 – *Balashaza*, 1733 – *Blasa*.

Blaja See *Blaj*.

Blájova See *Blaj*. Suffix -ova is Slavic.

bleg (about animals) ‘with years down; flap-eared’; generically ‘in bad mode, sick’. DEX refers to Serbian *bleka* (?), which cannot explain anything, and may well be of Romanian origin. Isolated form, probably indigenous, as many forms referring to animal breeding.

Bléndeia NP Seems constructed on the same structure as *Brendea*; otherwise, cf. *Blaj* (* < *Blaş*), ancient

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Thracian names like *Blasa(s)*, *Blebois*, *Bleptes* etc. Ending *-ea* reflects the archaic definite article superposed over the feminine definite article < Lat. *illa*. See above under *-a*.

boǎmbă A variant of *bumb*, to which is related, with nasal infix.

boǎre ‘a soft, cool wind, a breeze’. Russu assumes a certain relation with *abur(e)*, i.e. possibly a common root *bor-/bur-*, hence *a-bur(e)-* and *boare*. Though the ultimate origin is obscure, or at least debatable, this may be possible. A reference to Latin *boreas* was also unconvincingly suggested (DEX, among others), even if a remote relationship is also possible. • The form seems archaic, probably of Thracian origin (just like *abure*), but a clear etymon is not available. If a Preie. origin is accepted or acceptable for *abur(e)*, the same origin may be possible for *boare*.

boǎrfă ‘a rug; old clothes; a prostitute’. Must be analysed in relation with *borşı* and *borhot* (see); alternating *f/ş* indicate the existence of an initial velar spirant (laryngeal), and a good hint that the forms should be indigenous. Etymon unknown; a basic **bor-X-* ‘old, out-

dated’ may be reconstructed for a prehistoric form; this covers the modern meaning ‘rug, old clothes’ and ‘sour liquid’ for the forms in *bor-ş-*.

bojdeúcă See *bujdă*.

bolboşă ‘to stare at (someone)’, lit. ‘to inflate (i.e. make big) eyes’. Related with *bulgăr*. Modern form is a result of reduplication and haplology: **bol-bol-ş-* > *bolbo-ş-*.

bordéi ‘a semi-subterrean hut, covered with mud or straw’ (this was indeed a common dwelling down to the 20 century in many rural, poor areas of Romania). The word belongs to the semantic sphere ‘archaic, primitive dwelling’ like *co-cioabă* and *colibă*; Lat. *casa* > Rom. *casă* also meant ‘small, rural dwelling’. The etymon is unclear, but a root *B-R-* ‘earth, stone cliff’ may be identifiable in the Preie. stratum.

boreásă, *borese* s.f. ‘a wife, woman’ (today rare, dial.) Unclear, at common sense interferes with *boiereasă* (derived from *boier*). Seems related with Alb. *barëshë* ‘woman shepherd’, derived from *bari* ‘shepherd’. • Root *bor-* with the basic meaning ‘woman’ may be explained from root *bort-*, *burt-*

hence *burtă*, *borȝos* ‘with big belly = pregnant’ etc. If the original meaning was related to ‘sheep, sheep breeding’, then the presumed relationship is with *bîr* ‘sheep’, NM *Bîrsa*.

borhót ‘marc, husks’. A traditional term used as referring to brewing of various fruit. Seems related with *boarfă* < **bor-X-* ‘old, outdated’; also related *borș* and *zborși*, with alternating *h/f/ș* < velar spirant **X*.

borș ‘bortsch; sour soup’. Traditional word. The basic meaning is ‘the basic liquid used for some types of soup, made of corn husk or bran in lukewarm water’. Most linguists hold it for a Slavic borrowing, even if its etymological family seems related with *borși* (also *zborși*), *boarfă* and *borhot*, which are obviously non-Slavic.

borși ‘to get sour; to get a bad taste’. Traditionally assumed as derived from *borș*, in its turn assumed of Slavic origin. It seems that *borși* is rather related with *boarfă* and *borhot* (< **bor-X-*); further analysis should also clarify whether *borș* is not again a derivative of this root too, and not a Slavic element, but a Thracian element in Slavic, as its

etymological family is richer in Romanian, and reflects a compact etymological group, represented by *boarfă*, *borhot* and *borși*. See also *zborși*.

bortă ‘a round place, a round hollow’. Seems closely related to *burtă*. Also NP *Borta*. • A Ukrainian origin, as suggested in DEX, is not acceptable.

borȝ Now rare, and dial. ‘a pregnant woman’s belly’. Same root as in *borȝos*, then both related to *burtă* and *burduf*. A back formation from *borȝos* is possible, but the reverse (i.e. *borȝos* < *borȝ*) is more probable.

borȝós, fem. *borȝoasă* ‘fat’; about women: ‘pregnant’. Derived from the same root as *burtă* and *burduf* (see).

bosumflá ‘to be in the sulks, to pout’. The verb is used referring to upset, discontent people. Derived from *bot* (see) and (*a*) *umfla* ‘to inflate’; the basic meaning is lit. ‘to inflate his/her muzzle’, ironically used for upset, usually discontent people. The shift *t/s* is not usual, but expressive, non-etymological.

bot ‘muzzle’; Ironically ‘mouth’. Also generically used for the front part of an

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engine or machine. Enigmatic etymon, very probably of indigenous origin. Cf. NP *Boto*, *Boț'o* in Lexicon C.

br-, bre-, bri- The first component, or root, in several names of plants and personal names derived from them. See *brad*, *brăbin*, *breabăn*, *brei*, *briboi*, *brie*, *brioală*, *brînduș(ă)*, *brîncă*, *brustur(e)*, and NP *Brînduș*, *Brîncuș*, *Brendea* etc.

brad, *brazi* s.m. 'a fir-tree' NP *Brad*, *Brădean*, *Brădescu* etc. NL *Brad*, *Brazi* etc. Also *bread* 'a specific dance prior to a wedding, when a fir-tree is used'; *brădișoară* 'the bird *Tetrao urogallus*'; *brădet*, firs taken collectively. Related with Alb. *bređh* 'id.'; also 'to appear, to spring out', Eng. *brad* 'a nail with a blunt head' < ie. **bhar-* 'a projection, nail'. Cf. Thracian names NP *Brazaca*, *Brais* f., *Braiades* m., *Brasais*, *Brasus* etc. Cf. *molid*.

brăbin, **brăbîn** The plant *Bunias orientalis*. From the root *br-*, *bre-*, *bri-* specific for several names of plants. See closest *breabăn*.

brădet See *brad*.

brădișoară See *brad*.

breăbăn The plant *Dentaria glandulosa*. Closely related with *brăbin*

(*see*), in a larger context also derived from root *br-*, *bre-*, *bri-* specific for names of plants.

brei The plant *Mercurialis perennis*, frequent in forests and shadowy places. Sometimes also called *trepădătoare*. The same root as in *brie*; see also the references under *br-*, *bre-* as root of several names of plants. • A Bulgarian origin, as suggested in DEX, cannot be acceptable; an indigenous, Thracian origin in both languages is probable.

Bréndea NP Seems the same construction as in *Blendea*, and probably akin to either *brîndușă* or *brînză*.

bribóji The plant *Geranium silvaticum*. Related with other names of plants derived from root *br-*, *bre-*.

bríe The plant *Meum athamanticum*. The same root as in *brei*; see also the references under *br-*, *bre-* as root of several names of plants.

briqálă The plant *Ligusticum mutellina*. Related with other names of plants derived from root *br-*, *bre-*.

brîănă, -e s.f. 'a path'; see s.v. **brîu**.

brîncă The plant *Salicornia herbacea*; also a name of a disease of pigs. Must be the same root, specific

for names of plants, as in *brîndușă*; NP *Brîncuș(i)*, *Brâncuș(i)*. See also the references under *br-*, *bre-* as root of several names of plants.

brîndușă A generic name for the plant *Crocus: heuffelianus, aureus* or *reticulatus*. Formally related with NP *Brîncuș*, *Brâncuș*, also *scoruș* – *scorbură*; *brînză* ‘cheese’ seems also derived from the same or similar root, etc. The root *brî-n-c-* / *brî-n-d-* may be variously explained, seemingly related to vegetation. The plant is well consolidated in folklore and various other folk creeds. See also the references under *br-*, *bre-* as root of several names of plants.

brînză ‘cheese’. From Romanian, spread over a large area in Central-East Europe. One of the little debated forms of Thracian origin, without a clear etymon. If related to fermentation and/or other natural processes, may reflect the same root as in *brîndușă*, *Brîncuș*, see under *bre-*, *bri-*.

brîu, *brîne* s.n. 1. ‘a belt’; 2. ‘a horizontal beam in a wall; an ornamental strip’. Seems related to Alb. *mbrenj* ‘to fasten a belt’ and, perhaps, with Alb. *brinjë* ‘a hill side’,

in its turn relatable with Rom. *brînă* ‘a path, „brîu“ = a path on an abrupt hill side’. • The forms clearly refer to the archaic, traditional vocabulary. The phonetic evolution is similar to *frîu* < lat. *frenum* and *grîu* < lat. *granum*; if a Thracian origin is assumed, then the etymon may be IE **bhreu-*, **bhrəu-* ‘an arcade; eye-brow’ and ‘a beam of a building, a bridge’. The word is archaic, probably Pre-Romance, therefore Thracian.

bręád See *brad*.

Broaga NFL, a tributary of *Tîrnava*. Also *Broga*. Derived from root *br-*, with numerous representatives in the substratum elements, possible including different initial meanings. For a river-name, closest may be the root *br-* in *brînză* and/or *brei*. Further development in *-g-*, quite frequent in the indigenous forms.

broancă s.f. reg. (Banat) An old string instrument. Cf. ancient *brynachon* ‘the Thracian guitar’, as a glosse in Hesychius. IE **br-*, **brenk-*, **brank-*, imitative for various sounds.

Broga See *Broaga*.

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brudíu ‘immature male, a young boy’. Now rare and dialectal, it must have been once more spread. Obviously related with Germ. *Bruder*, Eng. *brother*. A German origin is improbable, but not excluded, if further arguments may be invoked. The indigenous character is supported by the adjective *brúdnic*.

brúdnic ‘immature, specific to a young male or boy’. Related with *brudíu*.

brústur(e) s.m. Also: *brustan*, *brostan*, *bruscan*, *bruscălan*, derived with suffix *-an* from root *brust-*. The plants *Lappa* or *Petasites officinalis*. Related with Alb. *brushtull(ë)*, the plant *Calluna vulgaris*; it is *bruştur* in Aromanian, maybe under the Albanian influence or, on the contrary, the Albanian form may have been borrowed from Aromanian or ‘modelled’ after it. The forms must be related with ancient *riborasta*, *ribobasta*, *peribobasta*, *peripomasta*. As the spelling of Thracian forms was usually deformed, an accurate analysis is difficult, but root *bru-*, *br-* is also met in other names of plants, cf. *brad*, *brînduş(ă)*, and suffix *-ur* is specific to many in-

digenous forms. • Note Rom. *r* – Alb. *ll*, also met in other cases, which stresses our hypothesis that Alb. *ll* is the evolution of an older *r*, preserved in Romanian. • See also the references under *br-*, *bre-* as root of several names of plants.

bubă, *-e* s.f. ‘a prominence on the skin, a wound’. Thracian **būba* < IE **beu-b-*, root **b(h)eu-* ‘to swell, to inflate’, as Germanic **puk-*, Old English *pocc*, Lat. *bullā*, *bullire* ‘to boil’ etc. Intervocalic *b* is normal in a Thracian element. Alb. *bubë* and Serbian-Croatian *buba* are of the same origin, via Romanian.

buburúză ‘lady bird’. From the same root as *bu-b-ă*, with reduplication.

buc¹ ‘immediately’. Only in the expression *într-un buc*. Obscure, presumably indigenous. The original meaning may have been ‘fast, speed’. Seems no etymological relation with *buc*².

buc² s.m. ‘chaff’. Akin to Alb. *byk* ‘straw, chaff’. Possibly IE **b(h)eu-* ‘to swell’. Cf. *bubă*, *bumb*. Seems no relation with *buc*¹. See also *bucşi*.

bucium ‘piece of wood; trunk’. A semantic equivalent of *butuc* and *buştean*. Seems derived from the same root as *buc*².

bucşi ‘to press (down), to pack, to stuff’. Probably derived from *buc*².

Búcur NP The same root (*buc-*) as in *bucura*.

bucurá vb. ‘to be glad, euphoric’. Many: *bucurós* ‘glad’ adj., *bucurie* ‘joy’, s.f., NP *Bucur*, *Bucurescu*, *Bucureanu* etc. Akin to Alb. *bukuronj* ‘to adorn, make beautiful’, *bukurí* ‘beauty’, *bukur*, *bukurosh* ‘beautiful, pleasant’. The basic, archaic meaning should have been ‘beautiful’, e.g. NL *Bucura* akin to Alb. *Bukurisht* (cf. *Bucureşti*). • Beyond any doubt an archaic word, unclear etymon, perhaps of Preie. origin, root **BuK-*, **BuG-* ‘beautiful, bright’.

Buda NFl, NL (several locations, in Romania and elsewhere in Central and Southeast Europe). Seemingly related to *Budva* (Lexicon A) and *Buda-Pest*. Kiss (1980) assumes that *Buda* (Budapest) is a ‘simple Hungarian personal name’. The quite extended area on which forms *Buda*, *Budva* are attested lead to the

hypothesis of an archaic origin, IE or even Preie., rather than a new, Hungarian stratum. See also *budă* below.

Budác NL (Trans.) At. 1228 *Budacul-de-Jos: Bodagd*; 1292: *Budak(k)*. Unclear, cf. *budă* and other, presumably related forms based on root *bud-* as in *Buda*.

budă, -e s.f. Rare, dial. 1. (Mold.) ‘a hut in a forest’; 2. (Mold.) ‘a small shop, a deplorable house’; 3. (Trans.) ‘a toilet’. A Russian and/or Polish borrowing has been sometimes invoked, though the origin in these languages is not clear either. The meaning ‘toilet’ seems a local, pejorative innovation, starting from the seemingly basic meaning ‘small building, a hut’. We assume that the oldest form must be analysed together with the place-names like *Buda*, *Budva*, well documented in the area. If so, the archaic meaning must have been ‘a small building/house’, also as place-name. • Similar forms are spread in Hungarian and German (*Bude*); in all cases, we must assume a substratum heritage. Cf. *budur(ă)*.

búdur(ă) Usual in hunter’s vocabulary: ‘elevated cliffs/rocks, on which

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wild goats use to stay’. The same construction as in other archaic forms, e.g. *but-ur-ă*, *but-ur-ug-ă*, (*a se*) *gud-ur-a*, *măt-ur-ă* etc. The root *bud-* seems the same as in *budă*, NL, NFI *Buda* and may be of Preie. origin.

buf Imitative of a fall down, approx. ‘bang’. The word originally was imitative-onomatopoeic, nevertheless its archaic origin is most probable. The root is **b(h)uX-* initially denoting a powerful air flow, like a gust of wind or air when speaking. See *buflei*, *buft*, *bufni*, *bufniță*; *buh*, *buhă*. The alternating *f/h* is specific for the treatment of the archaic velar spirant in Romanian, via Thracian. See also *puh*, *pufăi/puhăi*, probably from the same root.

buflei ‘a fat, plumpy child or animal’. From the same root as *buf*, *bufni*, *buși*.

buft ‘stomach’. From the same root as *buflei* ‘fat, plumpy’, and largely to the root represented by the related forms derived from root **buX-*: *buf*, *bufni*, *buh*, *buși*, *pufăi* and *pufni*, with the original meaning ‘to swell, to explode (air through mouth etc.)’. Alternating *f/h/ș* stand for the original **X*, a specific velar

spirant (laryngeal).

bufni ‘to sulk, to pout’ (usually referring to small explosions, also figuratively, as when furious). From the same root *buf-/buh-/buș-* as in *buhă*, *bufniță* and *buși*; also the parallel form *pufni* is attested. The alternating *f/h/ș*, sometimes also *v*, indicate the existence of a velar spirant (laryngeal). The family represented by these forms, with alternating *f/v/h/ș*, is the best example of how prehistoric velar spirant developed, and finally changed into historically later phonemes. Similarly *vătaf/vătah* but the verb *a vătăși* and NP *Vătășescu* v. NP *Vătafu*. Cf. *pufni*, *pufăi/puhăi*.

búfniță ‘owl’. The root *buf-/buh-*, also in the parallel form *buhă*, with alternating *f/h*, also with alternating *f/v/h/ș*, the indication of prehistoric and perhaps also historic velar spirant (laryngeal). The root **buX-*, was initially onomatopoeic, imitative of the sound made by owls and then generalised as in the verbs *a bufni* and *a buși*.

buh Now only in expressions: *a i se duce buhul* ‘to become known as...’, usually pejoratively. Derived from

root **buX-* ‘to explode, to inflate, to make a noise or specific sound’. Here *X* stands for the archaic velar spirant (laryngeal).

buhă ‘owl’. A parallel form of *bufniță* (see). Cf. *a bufni* and *a buși*.

buiéstru ‘a specific walk of horses with both left legs, then both right legs, at the same time’. Considered by Russu indigenous, even though it seems derived from, or rather related to, *bis-eo*, indeed with unexplained phonetic evolution. The indigenous origin may be accepted though, if we admit that *bu-* is related to Latin *bis* and *(i)estru* related with *eo*, *ire* as remotely related Indo-European forms.

bújdă ‘a small house or dwelling, a hut’. Also *bojdeúcă*, with a development with suffix *-uc-*. Archaic term referring to small, traditional dwelling. Root *buj-*, *buș-* ‘dwelling’ is unclear, but both *bujdă* and *bojdeucă* seem indigenous. Cf. *budă* and the place-names derived from it. Forms *budă* and *bujdă* seem related.

búlgăr(e) ‘a round form as a ball’, e.g. *bulgăre de zăpadă* ‘snow ball’. Root *bul-g-* seems related to the basic meaning ‘to grow, to inflate’ as also in *bolboșa*, with reduplication

and haplology.

bulhác, *-e* ‘a pond’. From the same root as *baltă*, with development in velar spirant (laryngeal) **X* and suffix *-ac*.

bumb, *-i* s.m. ‘a round small object, a button’. Der.: *bumbărează*, *bumbăreață* ‘a prominence’. Cf. Phrygian *bambalon* ‘genital organ’, Lith. *bamba* ‘navel’, Latvian *bamba*, *bumba* ‘a (small) ball’. Seemingly related with *bubă*, with nasalised vowel in the first syllable. See also *boambă*.

búmben Now only in expressions like *a dormi bumben* = *a dormi buștean*, lit. ‘to sleep like a log’ (= profoundly). Derived from *bumb*.

bunget s.m. (collectively) ‘a thicket’. Seems related with Alb. *bunk*, art. *bungu* ‘an oak-tree’, formed as *brădet* (from *brad*, also indigenous), from root **bung-*, and possibly suffix *-et* from Lat. *-etum*; alternatively, also the indigenous suffix *-at(e)*, *-et(e)*, *-ăt(e)*. There are also place-names derived from root *bung-*. The basic meaning in Thracian must have been ‘tree, wood, timber’. • The same construction as in *brădet*.

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búrcă ‘a specific cake’. The initial meaning seems to have been ‘swollen cake’, therefore from the same root as *burduf*, *buric* and *burtă* ‘stomach’. See *Burcea*, *Burcu* below.

Burcea NP Der. *Burcescu*. See *burcă* and ND *Borkēithias*, Lexicon E, part B.

Burcu NP See *Burcea*.

burdúf, *-uri* s.n. Akin to Alb. *burdhë* ‘a bag’ (cf. Rom. *burtă*). The basic root *bur-* must have had the meaning ‘swollen’, cf. *burtă*, *borț*, IE **bher-*, **bhor-* ‘to bear, to carry’, initially applied to the belly of a pregnant woman, later associated to any swollen, big object, resembling a pregnant woman's belly. • Rom. final *f* reflects an initial velar spirant (‘laryngeal’); cf. *a pufăi/puhăi*, *vătaf* etc. originally with the same velar spirant. See Part II for discussions regarding the Thracian velar spirant.

buríc ‘navel’. Usually considered a colloquial Latin element, via a complicated evolution: *ombilicus* > *umbilicus* > *umbulicus* > *un* (i.e. assimilated with *un* < *unus*) + *bulicus* > *buric*. • Against this quite tortuous explanation, we suggest a close relationship with *burtă* ‘belly,

stomach’, i.e. root *bur-* and suffix *-(a/e/i)c*. The relation *bur-tă* – *bur-ic*, on the one hand, and *burtă* – *burduf*, *burtă* – *borț* – *borțos*, on the other hand, seems much more probable than the usual explanation, little probable, if not entirely absurd.

burlán ‘a tube’. The word seems archaic, and included by Russu in his list. Other linguists have denied the indigenous origin on the unargued ground that, in such a case, final *-án* should have been closed and nasalised, which is not necessary: some archaic forms preserve indeed *-án* in final position; also final *-án* may be reshaped at a newer date. No clear etymon, probably akin to *burcă*, *buric*, *burduf*, *burtă*.

burtă ‘stomach; belly’. Quite clearly reflects IE **bher-* ‘to bear, to carry’, with the specific change IE **r* > Thr. *ur*. Related with *burduf*. The word was probably used initially for the belly of pregnant women, as proved by *borțos*, fem. *borțoasă* ‘fat; pregnant’.

buruiană ‘weed’. Currently held for a Slavic borrowing, even if the origin in Slavic is not clear (Machek 77, on Czech *buřina*, *buřeň*: ‘původ

nejasný'). Cf. Lith. *bur̃ya* 'a heap', Latvian *būra* 'a heap'. The forms in Romanian and Slavic seem related, not borrowed from. Until further arguments are invoked, we incline for an indigenous, substratum origin, which is well supported by the other parallel forms.

buși 'to make a specific noise, e.g. when falling down; to cuff, to thump'. With alternating *ș/f* and different development, from the same root like *bufni*, further from the same root like *buhă* and *bufniță*.

buștean An equivalent of *butuc*. The original form seems to have been **buč-t-ean*, and would therefore be a derivative of *buc* and/or somewhat related with *butuc*, *buturugă*, even if the alternating *buș-* with *but-uc/but-ur-ug-* is not comfortable. Anyway, the substratum origin seems probable. The suggested IE root is **bheu-* 'to swell, to grow'.

buștihan A dialectal form of *buștean*, with *h* showing an initial velar spirant (laryngeal).

bușumá 'to scratch and clean a horse with a wisp of straw'. Archaic term, etymon unclear. If the original meaning may be related to the

sound produced in scratching the horse, then a derivative from the same root as *buși*, *bufni*.

butălcă A specific wooden rod with two crossed pieces used for preparing cheese. From the same root *but-* as *butuc*, *buturugă*.

butoarcă A regional variant of *butură*.

butúc 'a trunk of a felled tree; a stump; a piece of wood'. Also *butură*. The root *but-* seems related to a basic, archaic meaning 'piece of wood; the trunk of a tree', hence the most probable etymon is IE **bheu-* 'to grow; to swell', usual for some terms referring to vegetation.

bútură From the same root as *butuc*.

buzăină A shelter for keeping various recipients. Seems derived from *buză* (see), with the basic meaning 'a lip-like shelter' or 'a shelter on the lip (= front) of the courtyard'. See also *Buzău* and *buzunár*.

buză, -e s.f. 1. 'lip'; 2. fig. any object at the limit of something etc. NL *Buza* (numerous locations, with the generic meaning 'hillside'), NP: *Buzea*, *Buzescu*, *Buzilă*, *Buzatu* etc. Akin to Alb. *buzë* 'id.' Cf. NP Thr. *Byzas*, *Byzes*, *Byzos*, a Thracian

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leader with this name being also the creator of the city of *Byzantion*. IE **bheu-ə-* ‘to swell, to bend, to curve’, hence also Lat. *bucca* ‘cheek’, Irish *bus* ‘lip’, eng. *bosom* etc. See also *Buzău* and *buzunar*. • Bg. *buză* ‘cheek’ is from Romanian, rather than a direct preservation of the Thracian form, but reflects the meaning of Lat. *bucca* ‘cheek’. The evolution ‘lip’ – ‘cheek’ seems a Bulgarian innovation as Lat. *bucca* had a peculiar evolution in East Romance (i.e. Romanian): ‘buttocks’. Cf. *Buzău* below. • Development in *-ză* (*bu-ză*) as in *brînză*, *cînte-ză/-zoi*, *pupă-ză* etc.

Buzău NF1, NL on the river *Buzău*. Attested in the antiquity as *Mou-saĩos*, *Μουσείος* probably “instead of **Bovséios* considers Dečev (1957: 320, as already suggested by Tomachek a century ago). Related to *buză* ‘a lip’, NP *Buzea*, *Buzescu* and to NP Thr. *Byzas*, *Beuzas*, *Busa*, Gr. spelling *Βύζας*, hence *Byzantion* ‘the town of Byzas’, according to the legend. All reflect ultimately IE **b(h)eu-* ‘to swell, to curve’. • Kiss (1980: 115) suggests a Slavic *Bъzovъ* as the intermediary between

Dacian and Romanian [?!]. • A certain oscillation *b/m* in ancient spellings referring to Thracian names may be rarely observed as in the case of *Timiș*.

buzunár, *-e* s.n. ‘pocket’. A derivative of *buză*. • The various hypotheses, which assume a (neo-) Greek origin, are unjustified; the Greek word is also borrowed from Romanian.

cáciur (noun and adj.) ‘lamb with black fur on the body and grey on the muzzle, ears, paws and tail’. Obviously archaic, with a probable derivation prefix *ca-* (unknown meaning) and *ciur* ‘black’ as in *cioară* ‘crow’ (i.e. ‘black’).

căier ‘a tow; a hemp bundle’. Seems derived in the same way as *baier*. Basic, archaic term, closely connected to basic house activities specific to women. Etymon unclear. The original meaning seems ‘a confuse heap of something, e.g. hemp or wool’, as proved by the verb (*a se*) *încăiera* ‘to skirmish, to fight’.

Caraimán and **Caramán** NM, NP As mountain name, refers to the highest peak in the Bucegi. Preie.

**KaR-* ‘a stone, cliff’ (see also s.v. *Caransebeș*, *Caraș*, *Carpați*) and suffix *-man*. Similar forms, also with suffix *-an*, also spread in the South Slavic archaic, indigenous placenames. • *Caraorman* is of Turkish origin: *kara* ‘black’ and *or-man* ‘forest’: ‘black forest’, and should be not included in the category of archaic forms.

Caransebeș NL Related to *Caraiman*, *Caraman*, *Caraș* and *Carpați*, Preie. root **KaR-*, **GaR-* ‘a stone, cliff’; for the second part of the compound see *Sebeș*, *Sibiu*.

Caramán See *Caraiman*.

Cáraș NFl, NL Preie. **KaR-* ‘stone, cliff’. see s.v. *Carpați* and *Caransebeș*. Cf. NL Thr. *Karas-ura*, *Carsi-dava*.

carîmb, *-i* s.m.; **carîmbă**, *-e* s.f. ‘the part of a boot which surrounds the leg’; (rarely) ‘a rod, a twig’. Seemingly archaic, cf. glosse in Hesychius ‘*karambas* means a shepherd’s rod [in Thracian]’. • The (sometimes) suggested Latin origin, from *calamus*, cannot be accepted.

Carpați NM Ancient *Karpates oros* ‘the Carpathians’. Archaic Preie. name, root **KaR-* (and **KR-*, **KuR-*)

‘stone, cliff; mountain’, hence the Thracian ethnicon *Carpi*, *Korpiloi*, located on the East Carpathians. The same root is in *Caraș*, *Caran-sebeș*, *Carașova*, *Cara(i)man*, *Cărand*, *Cîrpa* (mountain name) and *crap*, the fish carp. Alb. *karpë* ‘a cliff’ also belongs to this group; cf. NM *Cîrpa*, infra.

cață ‘a long rod, approx. 2.5 m, with a hook in order to catch sheep’. Another basic word belonging to the archaic activity of sheep keeping. One may surmise a connection with *a acăta/agăta* ‘to catch’ (*a-caț-/a-gaț-*), but cannot be held for certain, though tempting indeed. The form is, beyond any reasonable doubt, archaic, but there is no clear etymon, possibly of Preie. origin.

căciulă, *-i* s.f. ‘a fur cap’; related to Alb. *kësulë*, *kësuljë*, if the Albanian form is not rather borrowed from Romanian, as Rom. *ci* (č) – Alb. *s*; a reverse sense of borrowing, from Albanian into Romanian, is not acceptable. The ultimate origin seems IE **kadh-* ‘to cover, to protect’, as in Eng. *hat*. The archaic, Proto-Thracian form must have been **kadh-keu-l-ā*. Intervocalic *-l-* is normal in the case of an

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indigenous element. Alternatively, a prefix *ca-/că-* and root *ciul-* as in *ciuli*.

căfălie Dialectal and expressive. Seems related with *ceafă*, even if the alternance *ce* [č] \approx *c* [k] is not comfortable, and would indicate that some Thracian dialects had a centum-like, not satem-like, phonetic evolution, a detail furtively noted by Ivănescu 1980, but not further argued. Cf. *scăfălie* and *scăfîrlie*, in which latter case *-r-* seems epenthetic. See also NM *Cheafa*, Parîng Mts.

Călacea NL (several locations: BH, TM, SJ). The same atymon as *Călan*.

Călân NL (HD). At. 1387, *kenezius de villa Chalanteluch*. Intervocalic *l*, still commonly held impossible in the indigenous elements, has impeded further analysis. As this assumption is erroneous, see NP *Călin*, NL *Călacea*, NM *Căliman* etc. Probably archaic, Preie. origin, root **K-L-*, related with **K-R-* ‘stone, cliff’.

Călata NL (CJ). At. 1213, *villa Kalatha*. Drăganu erroneously assumed a derivative of NP *Călata* < Sl. *kalota* (as in NP *Calotă*, which is

improbably of Slavic origin too). Related with *Călan*, *Căliman*, ultimately of Preie. origin. • Sl. root *kal-* ‘mud, a moor’ is anyway of obscure origin, perhaps of archaic Pre-Slavic origin too.

călbează See *gălbează*.

Călimán NM. Built as *Caraiman*, in both situations with suffix *-man* (also in archaic place names south of the Danube, e.g. *Igman*, Lexicon A). Related with *Călan*, *Călata*, Preie. **K-L-* ‘stone, cliff’. • Der. NL *Călimănești* (MS, VS, VL, VN); *Călimăneasa* (VN).

Călîn NP. Der. *Călinescu*. From the same root as *Călan*, *Căliman*.

călúș ‘a typical, male only, folk dance’. Der.: *călușar* ‘a dancer of *căluș*’. There seems to be a general consensus that the relation with *cal* ‘horse’ (< Lat. *caballus*) is a result of mere hazard. Beside this, there have been numerous attempts to plausibly explain the meaning, all of them starting from the erroneous idea that intervocalic *-l-* cannot be accepted for a substratum word. • Our hypothesis is that *căluș* should be discussed together with the numerous forms derived from Preie. **K-L-* ‘stone, cliff; earth’, i.e. ‘the

dance of the earth'. Suffix *-uș* also supports this archaic origin. Typologically also, the dance of *căluș* reminds of archaic times, for which see the numerous descriptions of the dance. • See *Călăcea*, *Călan*, *Călin*, *Căliman*.

căpșună The plant *Fragaria moschata* or *viridis*; 'strawberry'. Colloquially also *fragă*. DEX suggests a derivative of *căpușă*, which may be ultimately possible, but also very debatable. This seems rather a fortuitous similarity, just like – possibly – the similarity *căpușă* – *cap* (see below under *căpușă*). Also, the relation *căpșună* – *cap* seems the same result of hazard. If really etymologically related, we lack the semantic evolution and/or initial connection. • Possibly indigenous, as many terms related to flora and fauna.

căpușă, *-e* s.f. *melophagus ovinus*, a parasite of sheep. Alb. *këpushë* 'id' seems borrowed from Romanian. Some linguists hold the forms for Thracian, though they seem derived from *cap* 'head'. Also, Bg. *kăpuș*, S.-Cr. *krpuša* seems also of Romanian origin. Nevertheless, we may accept a Pre-Romance origin,

and admit that there is a simple interference with *cap* 'head'.

căpută 'the foremost part of; upper'. Russu holds it for indigenous, though it rather seems derived from *cap* 'head', also in figurative constructions e.g. 'the foremost part; a leader'.

Cărănd NL (AR) Built like *Șimand*, *Zarand* etc. Etymologically related with the Preie. forms derived from **K-R-*, *G-R-* 'stone, cliff', see *Cara(i)man*, *Caraș*, *Caran-sebeș*, *Carpați*; cf. Alb. *karpë* 'stone, cliff'.

cătún, *-e* and *-uri* s.n. 1. a very small village, a hamlet; 2. a hut. The word is largely spread in southeast Europe: Alb. *katun*, *katund*, *kotun* 'a village; dwelling'; Ngr. *katouna* 'a tent, a tent camp'; S.-Cr. *katun* 'a village of Romanian or Albanian shepherds' etc. The ultimate origin may be IE **kadh-* 'to hide, to protect' (cf. *căciulă*, *codru*), but a Preie. origin is also feasible. • Root *kat-* with reference to 'dwelling' seems to have had a major expansion in prehistory, cf. Finnish *koti* 'house', *kotona* 'at home'; Hung. *ház* 'house' (with final *z* as in *száz* v. Finnish *sata* 'one hundred'); NFI *Katun*, in the Altai Mts, at the bor-

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der of China, Russia and Mongolia. A form *katun* ‘house’ seems also attested in Ainu. If these forms are etymologically connected, then **katun* must have been the pre-historic term for primitive dwelling in the Euro-Asian vast space. • Romanian undoubtedly inherits *cătun* from the Thracian substratum. Cf. *cătur*.

cătúr ‘a young tree’. Seems derived from the same root as *cătun*, with a reconstructable parallel meaning ‘tree’ – ‘dwelling’ at a time when wooden dwellings were the rule. The derivation *căt-ur* is the same as in *caci-ur* (with *ci* for /č/).

căulă ‘a small raft used as a mobile bridge’. Archaic, etymon obscure. The derivation seems *că-ul-ă*.

ce pron. invar. 1. interrogative; 2. adverbial, with conjunctive function. Most linguists assume it simply reflects Lat. *quid*. In fact, a deeper analysis shows that the Romanian form cannot be isolated from Alb. *çë* ‘what, which’. It seems that both Romanian and Albanian preserve Thracian **če*, **čə* < IE **k^wi-d-*, as in Old Indian *çit*, Avestan *čē* ‘how’, Slavic **čb* (> *čo*, *co*). In this perspective, we assume that both Romanian and Albanian pre-

serve the Thracian form, upon which some Latin meanings of *quid* were engrafted. The evolution IE *k^w* > Thr. *č* > Rom. *č* (spelled *ce*, *ci*) is normal. Cf. *ciot*, *cioc* etc.

ceafă, *cefe* s.f. ‘(back part of the) neck’. Related with Alb. *qafë* ‘neck’. The ultimate etymon is unclear, perhaps of Preie. origin (as we believe). Phoneme *f* probably reflects the archaic velar spirant **X* (or laryngeal in the traditional terminology), the result of which was *f*, *h*, *v* and zero in Romanian. This velar spirant is responsible for a series of specific phonetic changes, among these the alternation *f/h*, hence *ceafă*/*Ceahlău*. As argued elsewhere, *Čechy* ‘the Czech lands, Bohemia’ (as part of Czech Republic) seems also derived from this archaic root, with the specific meaning ‘the neck of a hill’ = ‘mountainous region’ (Lexicon D). • There is a series of seemingly related forms without palatal *č*, i.e. NM *Cheafa*, *căfălie*, *scăfălie*, and which are closer to Alb. *qafë* and Arabic *qafā* ‘neck’. If this relation is accepted, then we must assume a Pre-Semitic, Circum-Mediterranean term.

Ceahlău NM One of the examples showing the alternating *f/h*, remnants of the archaic velar spirant (laryngeal), therefore the same etymon as in *ceafă* and NL *Cefa*, further NR *Čech* ‘Czech’ (see Lexicon D). Similarly, *buhă/bufniță*, *ferăstrău/Herăstrău*, *vătaf/vătah*, *vuí/huí* etc. with alternating *f/h/v*. • Drăganu, *Rom.* 347 refers to Hung. *csahló* ‘bald eagle’, which should be anyway re-analysed.

Cefa NL (BH) Same etymon like *ceafă*. See also *Ceahlău*, with alternating *h/f*, remnants of the archaic velar spirant (laryngeal) *X.

cegă The fish *Acipenser Ruthenus*. Skok 2: 72, discussing S.-Cr. forms *kèčiga*, *kèčika*, *kèsega*, *čiga* defines the words as ‘Balkan words of Hungarian origin’ (Balkanska riječ madžarskog podrijetla); in their turn, the authors of the Hungarian Etymological Dictionary (TESz 2: 602) define the word as ‘difficult’ (‘származékszó... Más finnugor egyeztetése, török, valamint kaukazuusi származtatása téves’); and the research seems to turn around a vicious circle. • We assume that the forms were spread from the Thracian and/or Illyrian substratum, without a clear etymon, possibly of

Preie. origin.

Ceia, also *Ceie*. NFl, a tributary of Tîrnava. Unknown origin, probably indigenous, if not (improbably) derived from the plural form of *cel*, *cea*, *cei*, *cele* < Latin; this rather seems a fortuitious similarity.

Cheafa NM (Parîng) Related with *ceafă*, NM, NL *Cefa*, with a difficult to explain alternance *c[k] ≈ č*, as in *ceafă – căfălie*, *scăfălie*.

chel ‘bald(-headed)’; from the same root also: *chelic* ‘baldness’; *chelos* ‘bald’; *chelb* ‘bald’; *chelbe* ‘scald head, porrigo’; probably also *chelfăni* ‘to scold’ (< ‘to tear someone’s hair until bald’). Form *chel* is currently held for a Turkish borrowing, whereas *chelbe* is held for unknown origin; also currently, linguistic analyses have not noted the obvious relationship of these forms, and further their clear relationship with German *Geld* and *Gold*, English *gold*, *gild*, *gleam*, *glimpse*; Latin *galbinus* > Rom. *galben* ‘yellow’, etc. all from IE **ghel*-2 ‘to shine’, hence derivatives related to names of colours and forms related to the semantic sphere ‘bright; to shine; yellow’. Thracian preserved

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the semantic sphere ‘bright, to shine’, and associated it to a ‘bald head’. • Given the rich family of related forms in Romanian, via Thracian, the hypothesis of a Turkish origin of *chel* should be definitely abandoned. Note the evolution of IE **gh* > Thr. *gh*, *kh* > Rom. *ch* (*k*), which does not palatalise to *č*, a feature specific to other forms as well.

chelbe ‘baldness’. See *chel*.

chelfăni ‘to drub, to scold’. Expressive derivation from *chel* ‘bald-headed’, from the basic meaning ‘to tear someone’s hair to get him/her bald-headed’. See *chel* for further related forms.

chelié ‘baldness’. See *chel*.

chelós ‘bald’. See *chel*.

chercheli ‘to get drunk (a little bit), to get dizzy’. As in other instances, formed by reduplication and haplology: **cher-cher-l-i* (*ker-ker-l-i*). The ultimate etymon must be IE **(s)ker-* ‘to turn, to bend, to curve’, a figurative association when drunk: the world around seems to be curved or bent around.

chin ‘pain’. Der. *a chinui* ‘to torment’; *chinuitor*, adj. ‘tormenting’. There were two directions of expla-

nation: (1) an old Turkish origin, accepted for Romanian and Hungarian forms, from *qiyin*, **qĩn*; (2) indigenous, related with Lith. *kentėti*, *kentėjimas* < IE **ken-k-* ‘to burn; thirst, hunger’. We incline for this latter solution, as the Turkic origin cannot explain the obviously related forms in Romanian and Baltic.

chirci vb. ref. ‘to crouch, to cower’. Reflects IE **(s)ker-* ‘to curve, to bend’, hence also via Thracian *Crăciun*, *creț* and *Criș* (see); from the same IE root, also Sl. *krčiti*; Rom. *cîrcel* ‘a cramp’ is also indigenous, though some linguists still hold it for a Slavic borrowing. Related to all these, Eng. *crouch* ‘to cower’. • See *cîrceie*, *cîrcel*, *creț* and *Criș* from the same IE root.

chirfosí ‘to turn around, to meddle in something dirty’. Expressive derivation from the same root as in *chirci*.

chiș s.m. (dial.) ‘wickerwork, a pen’. Unclear, seemingly indigenous of Thracian origin. Cf. NL *Chișinău*.

Chișinău NL (BH, Rep. Moldova). At. (in BH): 1331 *villa Jeneusol* (deformed, instead of expected

**Jeneufol/wal*; *falū* ‘village’); 1333 *sacerdos de villa Jeneu*. Mediaeval forms show that the initial word was seemingly *Ineu*, *Inău* (see). The first part of the compound, *chiş*, cannot be explained as borrowed from Hungarian *kis* ‘small, little’, but related to dialectal form *chiş*, which also clarifies the meaning of the place-name. Hungarian *Kisjenő* is adapted, via folk etymology, to a Hungarian specific form.

cimilî ‘to say riddles’. Root *cim-* / *cin-* (alternating *m/n* reflect syntactical phonetics) must be the same as in *cimpoi* and *cinteză* < IE **kan-* ‘to sing’. Der. *cimilitură* ‘riddle’ leads to the idea that riddles were initially melodies.

cimpói ‘bag-pipe’. Seems related with *cinteză* (see), both from IE root **kan-* ‘to sing’. See also *cimilî*.

cinteză The bird *Fringilla coelebs*; ‘chaf-finch’. Masc. *cintezoi*. Built with suffix *-ză/-zoi* (fem.–masc.), e.g. *pupă-ză/-zoi*; same development in *bu-ză*, *Bu-ză-u* etc. Etymon unknown, possibly IE **kan-* ‘to sing’ (as in Lat. *cano*, *-ere*; intensive *canto*, *-are* etc.); belongs to the large category of indigenous names

of birds, e.g. *cioară*, *erete*, *uliu* etc.

• Var. also *cîntiță*.

cîntiță See *cinteză*.

cioacă ‘each of the two horizontal consoles of a loom’. Seems related with *cioc* ‘beak’, i.e. ‘prominence, protuberance’.

cioancă ‘a pipe with a short trunk’. The original meaning must have been ‘a piece of wood’, therefore related with *ciot*, *cioc* and *cioancă*.

cioară, *ciori* s.f. ‘a crow’. Related to Alb. *sorrë* ‘id’, or the Albanian form was borrowed from Romanian? IE root may be **ker-*, **kor-*, **kr-*, also with palatalised *k*, the result of which is Thracian *č*. Hence also interjection *cra*, imitative of a crow’s noise. • The relation between Rom. *č* and Alb. *s*, as in *căciulă* v. *kësulë* should be carefully analysed.

• There is also Friulan *čore*, *sore* ‘crow’, which is obviously from the same etymon; REW (2449) also records Alpine-Balkan *čaola*, which cannot explain the Romanian and Albanian forms, and we dare say neither Friulan. The complex relationship between Romanian, Albanian and Friulan should be analysed carefully by future research.

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ciǎăreci s.m. pl. (unused as singular) A kind of Transylvanian trousers; also ‘socks’. IE **(s)keu-* ‘to cover, to protect’, hence also *cioban* ‘a recipient (especially for milk)’, *ciubăr*, *căciulă*. The evolution from IE **(s)keu-* to Thr. **ču-r-*, *čo-r-* is normal, specific to Thracian.

cio-, ciu- Basic root of several forms with the original meaning ‘cut short’, i.e. ‘stump, hornless’. See: *cioc*, *ciocan*, *ciot*, NL *Ciuc*, NM *Ciucăș*, NL *Ciucea*, *ciucur(e)*, *ciuf*, *ciufuli*, *ciut*. The oldest meaning seems best preserved in *cioc*.

cioban (1) a shepherd; (2) a recipient for liquids. Second meaning currently absent in most dictionaries. See *ban*. Current dictionaries, like DEX, simply ignore the meaning ‘recipient’, and for sure assume a Turkish origin for meaning ‘shepherd’ on the erroneous ground that intervocalic *-b-* cannot be preserved in a substratum word.

cioc, *-uri* s.n. ‘a beak, a bill’. Alb. *çok*, with the same meaning, is borrowed from Romanian. IE basic root is **kwe-*, **kwo-* ‘sharp, a sting’, as in *ciocan* ‘hammer’ (obviously derived from *cioc*), *ciot*, *ciuc*, *ciucă* (as mountain-name *Ciuc*, *Ciucăș*),

ciuf, *ciut* (cf. *ciot*), *ciump* (*ciomp*), *ciută* (see s.v.).

ciocán ‘hammer’. From *cioc* + *-an*, a derivation frequent in the indigenous elements. • Current dictionaries erroneously assume a Slavic origin, even if the relation *cioc* – *ciocan* is obvious.

ciocléj ‘the lower part of maize trunk after harvesting’. Derived from *cioc*.

ciont See *ciunt*.

ciocóji A pejorative term, now out of use, referring to greedy, unscrupulous people. Expressive derivative from *cioc* ‘beak’, with the basic meaning ‘to peck (= steal) from people, to exploit’.

ciolpán A tree felled down by wind; an old tree. Seems derived from the same root *cio-/ciu-* as in *ciot*, *ciut*, *ciont*. Alternatively, from **ciop-la-n* (as in *ciopli*), with metathesis.

ciopîrți ‘to cut into pieces’. Related with *ciopli*.

Cióplea NM, NL (Bucegi) Related with *ciopli* and *ciopîrți*.

cioplí ‘to cut wood, to engrave’. Archaic, without clear related elements, cf. Votyak *čapo* ‘to cut’,

Zerene *čup-* ‘to make a notch, to cut’ (Collinder, CoGr 402). Cf. *ciopîrîți*. The root *ciop-* [čop-] meant ‘to cut; a cut piece of’.

Cioprăga NP From the root *ciopli*.

cioráp, -i s.m. ‘a sock’. Related with *cioareci*. Turkish *çiorab* has been sometimes assumed as the origin of the Romanian word; the sense of borrowing seems reversed, as the case of Rom. *copil*. In fact, *ciorap* and *cioarec* are specific terms related to a more northern region, and their archaic relationship is obvious. Forms *ciorap* and *cioareci* must have the same origin.

ciorovái Pejorative for ‘to speak nonsense, to gossip’. Expressive derivation from *cioară* ‘crow’, with the basic meaning ‘to speak like a crow’. Intervocalic *v* is normal.

ciot s.n. ‘a knot, a gnarl’. Related with *cioc*. Skok 1: 335 ‘*čokot*, *čot* su pred-rimske panonske riječi’.

ciúbăr ‘a recipient, usually for milk’. Usually held for a Slavic borrowing, hence would be also German *Zubar*, *Zuber*. Furthermore, the origin of the Slavic form is obscure.

- It is probable that this word is closely akin to *cioban* ‘recipient’ and ‘shepherd’, in its latter meaning

(ignoring the former) is held for a Turkish borrowing. The substratum origin is probable, and intervocalic *-b-* is normal in an indigenous form.

Ciuc NM See *ciucă* and *Ciucaș*.

Ciúcaș The same root as in *ciucă*; see also *Ciuc*.

ciucă rar, dial. ‘a peak’; also NM *Ciuc*, *Ciucaș*. Closely related to *cioc*, *ciuf* (see), as a term with the same archaic meaning ‘prominent, sharp, pointed’. • Alb. *çukë*, S.-Cr., Bulg. *čuka* ‘a hill’, Hung. *csúcs* ‘a peak’ are borrowed from Romanian.

ciúcur(e) ‘tassel’. Also the plant *Campanula glomerata*. From the same archaic root like *cioc*, *ciucă* and suffix *-ur*, frequent in the indigenous elements.

ciucușoară Name of various plants of the family *Alyssum*. Derived from *ciuc* with diminutival suffix.

ciuf s.n. ‘a tuft (of hair)’. Also used for various night birds like owls with two tufts above eyes; named also *ciuhurez*. Related with *cioc* (see) with the same basic meaning ‘pointed, prominent’. Final *f* as in *burduf* and *vătaf*, a remnant of an initial velar spirant (or laryngeal) *X. Similarly, in intervocalic position, *ceafă*. The variant

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ciuhurez, with intervocalic *h*, also witnesses the initial velar spirant, with different suffix *-ur-ez*, as in *huhurez*, also another name for owls.

ciufă ‘eagle owl’. Derived from *ciuf*. A parallel name of the eagle owl is *huhurez*; see also *bufniță* and *buhă*.

ciufulí ‘to have uncombed hair, as in tufts’. Derived from *ciuf*.

ciugulí (about birds) ‘to eat grains, to pick up grains with the bill, to peck’; fig. ‘to pick up or steal small quantities; to learn from other’s methods by stealing technology’. Archaic, seemingly derived from *cioc*, with a normal evolution *o>u*, and unexplained evolution *-k-* (*-c-*) *> -g-*: *cioc* [čok] *> ciocoli* [čokoli] *> čuguli*. • The root must be archaic, perhaps already in the Proto-Boreal age, cf. Finno-Ugric *čüng*, *čogjul* ‘to peck’. Hung. *csokolni* ‘to kiss’ cannot explain the Romanian form.

ciuhuréz A specific kind of owls with two tufts above eyes. See *ciuf*.

ciul adj., obs. ‘with short ears (about animals)’; other meanings are equivalent with *ciut*, *ciunt*, with which the form is closely related, with a different suffix. Cf. *căciulă*.

ciuléi A small plant (*Ceratocapus arenarius*) with thin and thorny leaves. Derived, together with *ciulín* (see), from the same root as in *ciul* and *ciulín*.

ciulí ‘to prick up (about animals)’, mainly in the expression *a ciuli urechile* (with frequent reference to dogs). Closely related with *ciul*, further with its co-radical forms. Cf. *ciufuli*.

ciulín ‘thistle’ (the plant *Carduus*). Related with *ciulei*, both derived from *ciul*.

Ciuleándra A specific dance. In expressions: *a umbla ci(u)leandra* ‘to tramp about’. Related with *ciul*, *ciuli* and suffix *-andr-a*. • DA 1: 405 refers to Hung. *csellengi* ‘to tramp about’, which neither explains the Romanian form, nor its obvious etymological family.

ciumízá The plant *Setaria italica maxima*. The root *cium-* (pron. *čum-*) seems the same as in *ciump*, further *ciunt*, *ciot* etc.

ciump and **ciomp** ‘a knot, a gnarl; part of a cut limb’. Alb. *thump*, *thumbi* ‘a thorn’. Related with *ciot* (see). The correspondence Rom. *ci/ce* [č] – Alb. *th* is normal in some archaic elements.

ciung ‘with one arm, one-armed’. Related with *cioc*, *ciot*, *ciont*.

ciunt Variant of *ciung* (see); also ‘shortly cut’, which a semantic variant of *ciung/ciunt*.

ciupercă ‘mushroom’. Commonly held as a Slavic or Hungarian borrowing, even if of obscure origin in these linguistic families. It should be explained as co-radical with either *ciupi* or *ciump/ciomp* and suffix *-erc-*. The form has related forms in Romanian, not in Slavic or Hungarian, where we should assume a borrowing from Romanian.

ciupí vb. ‘to pinch, to sting’. The root **čo-*, **ču-* may be the same as in *ciopli* or *ciot* (both see) and their rich etymological family. Albanian *çupis* ‘to peck; to pinch’ is borrowed from Romanian, as the normal parallel would be Rom. *ce*, *ci* (*če*, *či*) – Alb. *sh* (*š*); see also s.v. *ciut*, *ciută*.

Ciurila NL (CJ) At. 1733 – *Csurila*; 1750 – *Tsurila*. Improbable to be derived from *ciur*, but rather from the same root *cior-*, *ciur-* [*čor-*, *čur-*] as in *cioară*, with an evolution *o* > *u* in unstressed position; or it may be related with *ciurlán*.

ciurlán The plant *Salsola ruthenica*. Closely related with *ciulin* and the other forms derived from root *cio-*, *ciu-* (see *ciot*, *ciunt*, *ciump* etc.). The difficulty consists in a seemingly epenthetic *-r-* for a more plausible **ciulán* (as in *ciulin*). There may be an interference with *ciur* ‘a sieve’ (< Colloquial Lat. *cibrum*, classical *cribum*). Nevertheless the sequence *ciu-r-l-án* may be inherited from the substratum as such.

ciut dial. also **șut** adj. ‘(animal) without horns’. Related with Alb. *shut* ‘id.’, from Thracian **čo-*, **ču-*, as in *ciot* (see) and *ciută*.

ciută, *-e* s.f. ‘a female deer’ (i.e. ‘without horns’). See *ciut*.

cîlți (only plural) ‘tow, oakum’. Unexplained so far. The derivative *a încâlci* ‘to tangle, to put in a confuse situation’ leads to a basic meaning ‘confuse, a heap of something’. Etymon unclear, the Slavic origin improbable (even if accepted by some linguists).

cînepă ‘hemp’, usually held for reflecting Lat. *cannabis*. This is debatable. We are rather inclined for an indigenous, Thracian form akin to Latin, and to be included in the specific category of European-only

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terms referring to farming and plants.

cîrcéje (pl.) ‘a piece of the cart when four oxen are attached’. Related with *cîrcel*, *chirci*, *creţ* and *Criş*, all from IE **(s)ker-* ‘to turn, to bend’.

cîrcél ‘a cramp’. Closely related with *cîrcei*, *chirci*, *creţ* and *Criş*.

cîrlán ‘A small weaned lamb; a weaned colt’. The basic, archaic meaning seems to have been ‘off-spring in course of maturing’, and the form belongs to the basic, archaic pastoral life. There is no clear etymon. Formally, it may belong to the same root as *cîrlig*, but the semantic evolution is not clear.

cîrlig ‘a hook’. Related to *creţ*, *Criş* from IE **(s)ker-* ‘to bend, to curve’. The present form must be viewed as an evolution IE **(s)ker-* > **k̑-l-* > Thr. **kur-l-* as proved by other examples. See also *cîrcei*, *cîrcel*.

cîrlionţ ‘ringlet; kiss-me-quick’. From the same IE root **(s)ker-* ‘to bend, to curve’ as in *cîrcei*, *cîrcel*, *chirci*, *creţ*, *Criş*.

Cîrpa NM Alb. *karpë* ‘a cliff’. Related with NM *Carpaţi*, NFI, NL *Caraş*. The possible association

with *cîrpă* ‘a rag, a cloth’ is a folk-etymology.

cîrşă (rare, dial.) ‘peak’. Same root as *Cîrpa* and other forms quoted there. Cf. *Hîrşova*.

cîrtí ‘to grumble, to protest’. Seems akin to the group derived from IE **(s)ker-* ‘to bend, to curve’ as in *cîrcei*, *cîrcel*, *chirci*, *cîrlionţ*, *Criş*. If so, the basic meaning was ‘to bend, to get curved by protesting’.

clintí vb. refl. ‘to move (of its initial place), to begin moving’. Reflects IE **kel-* ‘to move, to initiate’, hence also Lat. *celer* ‘fast’ and Gr. *klonos* ‘agitation’. The preservation of the sequence *cl-* from Thr. *kl-e-* is normal (in the Latin elements it should be *che/chi*, i.e. *ke/ki*).

clipă ‘a moment, an instant’. Related with *clipi*.

clipí ‘to blink; to wink’. Closely related with *sclipeţ* and *sclipí*, and the best argument that *clipí* cannot be of Slavic origin, as in DEX and other authors. The preservation of sequence *(s)cl-* + vowel *e/i* is normal in an indigenous element.

cloambă A branch, a twig. Seems related with *clintí* from IE **kel-* ‘to move’, with a different vowel grade.

Cluj NL At.: 1183 *Culusienses comes*; 1213 *Clus, castrum Clus. Claudiopolis*, in the Middle Ages. Various explained. Nevertheless any tentative should start from the basic meaning, ‘the town/fortress of Claudius’. A direct evolution from the Latin name *Claudius* > *Cluj* is not possible, but it gives the clue to the topic. Lat. *Claudius* is derived from *claudico* ‘to hobble, to be lame’, *Claudius* means ‘lame’ from IE **kleu-* ‘to curve, to bend’, hence two basic meanings were derived: (1) ‘an enclosure, a fortress’, e.g. Thracian place-names *Clev-ora*, *Cleb-ora*, *Cles-bestita*, *Clepi-dava* and (2) ‘curved; lame’, hence Thracian personal names *Kleous*, *Kleus*, related to Lat. *Claudius*. We assume that the reconstructable, real pronunciation in Thracian was **Kluš* or *Kluž*; *š* and *ž* were, as always in similar cases, approximated in the Greek and Latin texts. • If we admit that basically the origin of the place-name must be a Thracian personal name, as calque of Lat. *Claudius*, i.e. *Kluš* or *Kluž*, the next question is to which Claudius refers the place-name. We assume that this must be emperor Claudius II Gothicus (268–270), a legendary

figure after his death. Similarly perhaps in the case of *Blaj*.

coăcăză, -e s.f. The plant *Ribes*, gooseberry. Related with Alb. *koqë* ‘berry; fruit’, *koqëzë* ‘bonbon’. The archaic meaning seems to have been ‘round’, in which case the ultimate origin may be Preie. **K-K-*, **G-G-* ‘round, ball-like’, cf. *cocoașă*, *gogoășă*, *cocon*. • The word also has suffix *-ăză*, as in *brînză*, *pupăză*, *rînză* etc.

coborî ‘to go down, to descend’. Intervocalic *-b-* was probably the main reason in assuming that it cannot have a substratum origin, as most linguists erroneously assumed. The verb is formed on the structure *cob-or-* (see suffix *-or/-ur*), while *cob-* seems indeed isolated, perhaps of Preie. origin (cf. *urca* ‘go up, climb’, where the Preie. origin is much clearer).

cocă ‘dough, paste’ (for bread or various other similar food products based on flour). The form must be derived from the usual ball-like form of such a paste during preparation, therefore is closely related with *cocoașă* and *gogoășă*, each group with numerous related forms and derivatives, and from Preie.

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*G-G-, *K-K- ‘to swell, to inflate; an inflated form, like a ball’.

cocîrlă The small mushroom *Marasmius scorodoni*, having a smell similar to garlic. The root *coc-*, with the basic meaning ‘inflated, a ball’ is the same as in *cocă*, *cocoaşă* and *gogoasă* (see).

cocioabă ‘a small house, a hut’. Similar to *colibă*. There are two ways to explain this form: (1) a prefix *co-* and the root **cioabă*, which makes no sense; (2) a compound of IE root **(s)keu-* and **kadh-*, both having the meaning ‘to cover, to protect’. The form is archaic, its non-indigenous character has long been ignored because of intervocalic *-b-*, which is a normal situation for the substratum elements.

coclăuri ‘lost, isolated places or regions’. Obscure, with little doubt of indigenous character. One may think at the same Preie. root *K-K- ‘to swell, to inflate; a ball’, as in *cocă*, *cocoaşă* etc., which satisfies the form, less the meaning.

coclét A part of the loom, in form of a net. Obscure, presumably archaic; perhaps from the same root like *cocă*.

cocoană Feminine form of *cocon*.

cocoaşă, *-e* s.f. ‘a hump, a hunch’. Der.: *a (se) cocoşa*, lit. ‘to get a hunch’, especially with the connotation ‘to get old’. Related with *cocon/cucon*, *gogoasă*, from Preie. *KoK-, *GoG- ‘to swell, to become big’, hence ‘a prominence, a hunch’. This root is richly attested in southeast Europe.

cocon, *-i* (also *cucon*) s.m. 1. obs. ‘a (small) child, a baby’; 2. obs. ‘a young boyar’, as a polite term, later completely replaced by *boier*. Fem. *cucoană*, *cocoană*. 3. (silk) cocoon. The neighbouring language have similar in the feminine only: Bulg. *kokona*, *kokonica* (hence re-borrowed from Romanian or re-shaped after the South Slavic model), Gr. *kokona*, *kokonitsa*, Turk. *kokona*. All these forms were borrowed, beyond any reasonable doubt, from Romanian, where – via Thracian – it must reflect the archaic Preie. root *KoK-, *KuK-, as in *cocoaşă*, *gogoasă* (see all these). The basic meaning was ‘to swell, get big’.

cocór ‘crane’; the bird *Grus grus*. Closely related with *cucoră*, a kind of swan, further to the rich group in *coc-*, *cuc-*: *cocoaşă*, *cocon*, *cucă*,

cucui etc., all reflecting Preie. root *K-K-, *G-G-.

cocoṭă, especially reflexive *a se cocoṭă* ‘to climb up’. Seems derived from the same root *coc-*, ultimately from Preie. *K-K- ‘to swell, to inflate’, as in *cocă*, *cocoașă*, *gogoășă*; in this case, the basic meaning must have been ‘swell = go up, climb’.

codru, -i s.m. 1. dense forest; 2. in *codru de pâine* ‘big piece/loaf of bread’ is derived from (1). Related with Alb. *kodër*, *kodrë* ‘a hill’. There are two basic explanations: (a) from IE *kadh- ‘to cover; to protect’; (b) an ‘expressive’ construction with *co-* and Thracian root *-dru* ‘wood, forest’ (as A. Poruciu believes). • The old explanation from Lat. *quadrūm* ‘a square’, starting from meaning (2) is erroneous. We rather incline to explain the form from IE *kadh-.

colb ‘dust’. For sure archaic, derived of the type *col-b-*, perhaps from Preie. *K-L- ‘stone, gravel’. Cf. entry *colibă*.

colibă, -e ‘a small house, a hut’. Southeast European ‘technical’ term: Alb. *kolibë* and *kalivë* (in the latter case with Neo-Greek phone-

tism); S.-Cr. *kòleba*, *koliba* (also in place-names); Bulg, Mac., OCS *ko-liba*; also Czech, Slovak *koliba*; always the meaning is ‘small house’. The forms are archaic, and refer to a traditional type of dwelling, usually explained from Gr. *kalybe* ‘id.’ related with *kalypto* ‘to cover’, hence also *Kalypso*. BER (2: 555) compares it with Czech *chalupa*, Pol. *chalupa* ‘a hut’, but these forms are unclear (thus in Machek and Holub-Kopečný. Skok ultimately assumes that “it is a Greek word borrowed at an early time by Balkanic Latin, perhaps via Thracian”. (For Greek, see Chantraine 1968-1980: 487, s.v. *kalypto*). Nevertheless, details like *b*, not *v* (with the exception of Alb. *kalivë*), indicate an Old Greek element. If Thracian transmitted the word from Greek to Balkanic Latin, the evolution *a* > *o* may eventually be a South Slavic influence, but late Thracian also has this evolution in some situations. In Czech and Slovak, the term is of Romanian origin (Machek 269) and seems to have the same status as *vatră* and *strungă*: terms referring to the archaic, traditional dwelling. Intervocalic *l* is normal, see *bală*, *balaur*,

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baligă and *căciulă*. Disregarding the ultimate origin, the word seems to have spread from Thracian.

cop- A basic root supposed to be reflected in *copac* ‘a tree’, *copil* ‘a child’, and a rich series of place-names: *Copalnic*, *Copălău*, *Copand*, *Coplean*, *Copleand*, *Copru*, *Copşa*. We assume a Preie. origin, from **KoP-*, **KuP-* ‘small, little’; hence (1) ‘child’ and (2) ‘bush, a small tree’, then ‘tree’ (in general). • Root *cop-*, *kop-*, *kup-* is attested in Thracian, cf. place-names *Kopoustoros*, *Koupous*, *Cuppae* and personal name *Kobos*.

copác, *-i* s.m. ‘a (forest) tree’; Alb. *kopaç* ‘a knot, a stump’. Also in numerous place-names: *Copaci* (HD), *Copacu* (IF), *Copăceana* (VS), *Copăcel* (BH, BV), *Copăcele* (CS), *Copăcelu* (VL), *Copăceni* (several districts), *Copăceşti* (VN), *Copăcioasa* (MH). Undoubtedly indigenous Pre-Romance, but a clear etymon is difficult. Outside Romanian and Albanian, where the forms are clearly related (or borrowed in Albanian from Romanian), another plausible approach may be to Gr. *kyparissos*, Lat. *cupressus* ‘cypress’, probably from Preie. root

**KoP-*, **KuP-* ‘small’ > ‘small (tree)’, then ‘tree’ in general. Also related seems NI *Kypros* ‘Cyprus’ (hence *aes cyprium*, *cuprum* ‘copper’), maybe also *kýpros* ‘a measure for corn’. The form is archaic in Romanian, and according to some views, the modern singular *copac* is re-reconstructed from plural *copaci* (read *kopač*). See further cross-references s.v. *cop-*.

Copálnic NL (MM): *Copalnic-Deal*, *Copalnic-Mănăştur*. At.: 1405 *Kwzepszew Kopalnok*; 1424 *MonosthorosKapolnok*; 1527 *Monostoros Capal*. Probably, as most forms derived from root *cop-*, reflects Preie. **KoP-*, **KuP-* ‘small, little’. See references s.v. *cop-*.

Copălău NL (BT) Related with, or derived from, *copil* with augmentative suffix (with pejorative meaning now) *-ălău*, ca în *fătălău*, *hăndrălău* etc.

Copánd NL (AB, MS) At.: 1288 *possessio Coppan* (AB); 1285 *villa Coppan*, *Cuppan* (MS). See under *cop-* and suffix *-and*.

copîl, *-ii* (dialectally also *cupil*) s.m. ‘a child’. Derivatives: *copilă*,

copilăros, copilărie, a copilări. Probably one of the numerous forms derived from Preie. root **KoP-*, **KuP-* ‘small, little’ (see also Selkup, Uralic, *kypa* ‘small’). Further references s.v. *cop-*. • Borrowed from Romanian in all the neighbouring languages, including Turkish.

Copleán NL (CJ) At.: 1348 *possessio Kaplyon, Kopylon*. See references s.v. *cop-*.

copleşi vb. ‘to overwhelm (also figuratively), to surround; to impress’. Usually explained from Lat. **complexire*, which is difficult to accept. The basic, archaic meaning seems to have been ‘to make small, to press, to compress’, and seems derived from root *cop-* (see s.v.). • The ultimate origin is probably Preie.

Copru NL (CJ) At.: 1329 – *terra Copur*; 1379 – *Capurd, Kapur*. Derived, as many other forms, from basic root *cop-* (see). Cf. NI *Kypros* ‘Cyrpus’, hence also the name of copper via Latin.

Copşa: Copşa Mică, Copşa Mare NL (SB) At.: (Copşa Mare) 1283 – *Copus*; 1289 – *villa Kolx [Kops]*; 1345 – *Capus*; (Copşa Mică) 1402 –

Parva Kabaz. Another place-name derived from root *cop-*.

cor- Basic root with the reconstructable meaning ‘round, ball-like; to roll down (like a ball); (round) fruit; insect’. See *corcoduş, corcolí / corconí, corhan, corhăni, corobană (?)*, *corobeacă, corozbină*.

corcoduş The tree *Prunus cerasifera*. Seems reduplicated with haplology from **kor-kor-d-uš* > *corcoduş*. The root *cor-* in a name of tree is otherwise obscure. Its basic meaning may have been connected to its fruit, therefore see other forms with root *cor-* below. If so, the meaning of *cor-* may have been ‘round, ball-like; fruit’.

corcolí, also **corconí** ‘to caress someone, to spoil (a child)’. Etymon obscure, probably an indigenous element. If we accept the basic meaning ‘round, ball-like’, hence ‘to play with a ball, with a child’, the root may be the same as in *corcoduş*; also, the derivation, as in other cases, by reduplication followed by haplology: **cor-cor-l-*, **cor-cor-n-* > *cor-co-l-*, *cor-co-n-*.

corhán The insect *Blatta germanica*. The root *cor-* ‘round, ball-like’ seems the same as in *cor-*

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coduș and *corcolí/corconí*; phoneme *-h-* seems to witness the original velar spirant (laryngeal). Though apparently without any etymological relationship, but probably indeed so, see *corhăní* below.

corhăní ‘to roll down felled logs or stumps to a river or road (where they may be further carried on with a cart or raft)’. Even if without an apparent relationship, seems derived from, or closely akin to, *corhán*, and confirms the basic meaning of root *cor-* ‘round, ball-like’, hence ‘to roll down (like a ball)’.

corobăná (reg.) ‘a hollow (in a tree)’. Either derived from the root *cor-* (see further references there) or to *scórbură*, with identical meaning, from IE **(s)ker-*, ‘to cut’, in this case with *o*-grade vowel.

corobeățá ‘wild apple’. Derived from root *cor-*, also in another fruit name *corcodușă* (with reduplication).

corozbínă The small multi-coloured fish *Blennius sanguinolentus*. Seems derived from the same root *cor-* (see there further connections).

corúncă A device used in crude oil extraction for pulling out pipes or beams still in place after an accident. The term is archaic, and connected to prehistoric activity of crude oil extraction in the Carpathians (until the 20th century, crude oil was still exploitable at the surface of earth or at little depth). The root seems the same as in *cor-* (see further connections there). The original meaning must have been ‘round, claw’, from the form of the device.

coșcăná The root and part of the reed or rush trunk after harvesting. The root *coș-* with the reconstructable meaning ‘knot, gnarl’ (see also *ciot* and the references) seems the same as in *coșmagă* and *coșmelie*, both having the meaning ‘small house, hut, modest shelter’.

coșmágă ‘a small, humble hut’. Seems the same root as in *coșcăná*.

coșmelíe ‘a small, humble hut’. See *coșcăná* and *coșmagă*. Var. also *cușmelíe*.

cotárlă ‘bad and skinny dog’. The root *cot-* for a domestic animal must be the same as in *cotoi* and *co-toșman*.

cotói ‘tomcat’. Commonly explained as a derivative from Sl. root

kot- ‘cat’ (as in Czech *kotě* ‘kitten’), even if such a derivation is not easy to explain, as words in *-ai/-ăi*, *-ei*, *-oi*, *-ui* are often indigenous, not borrowed (see *mălai*, *vătrai* etc.). As in the case of *motan* v. *mîţă*, and *pisică*, it is rather probable an indigenous root akin to, not borrowed from, Slavic; also related with Lat. *cattus*. See further discussions under *mîţă*. Form *cotoşman* is from the same root.

cotolán ‘maize cob’. Formerly with the meaning ‘stump, stub, tab’, as in *cotor*.

cotór ‘stub, tab; stalk, stump’. The root *cot-* is also in *cotolan* and *cotoroanţă*, and must be indigenous. The semantic sphere is tangent with the family derived from *ciot*, but a closer relationship is not possible, unless we assume a typically satem evolution in *ciot* v. a centum evolution in *cotor*, which is not supported by other possible examples. The root *cot-*, with suffixes *-or/-ur-* and *-ol-* may be of Preie. origin.

cotoroánţă ‘old, ugly and wicked woman’. An expressive, pejorative derivation from *cotor*.

cotoşmán ‘tom-cat’. See *cotoi*.

cotrobăi ‘to fumble, to rummage’. Used mainly pejoratively when someone illegally peeks into a person’s objects. There are two ways of explaining it: (1) Either an ‘expressive’ prefix *co-* and *trob-*, of obscure origin; (2) or rather related with *cotropi*, with expressive and pejorative deformation of the initial form. It is probable that initially *cotropi* and *cotrobăi* were variants of the same root.

cotróg reg. ‘a shelter, a refuge’. If the original meaning referred to an animal’s shelter, then must be derived from the same root as in *cotoi*, *cotarlă* and *cotoşman*.

cotropí ‘to invade’ (the traditional term for invading a territory). Held by Russu for indigenous, though other linguists assume a Romance derivative from *con* + *torpeo*. Both the indigenous and Latin theories put problems of phonetic evolution. Obviously, initial *co-* (assumed by some linguists like Poruciuc to reflect an indigenous contruction, as in *co-pil*, *co-dru* etc.) and second part *trop-* offer a way to explain the form by a prefix and the root *trop*, as in *a tropăi* (about horses) ‘to make the specific noise when run-

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ning’, which is in full accordance with the basically military meaning of the verb; also *trop-trop*, *tropa-trop*, interjection, imitative for the noise of horses at high speed. The basic root may be the same as in Latin *tereo*, *terere*, but the Romanian form seems to rather reflect an indigenous root + the Latin prefix *con* > *co*, if not just related with its Latin counterpart, not derived from it, as shown by the quite numerous forms of indigenous origin with initial *co*-.

crap, *-i* s.m. Fish *Cyprinus carpio*. Similar forms in other languages too: M. Lat. *carpa* (sec. VI e.n.), Fr. *carpe*, Eng. *carp*, Gm. *Karpfen*, Sl. *korpa*, Lith. *karpa*, Latvian *karpe*, *kārpa*, Alb. *krap*. Usually considered a Slavic borrowing. The name of this fish reflects an archaic, complex situation. Wasserzieher (115) correctly noted that the name should be related with *Carpathians*, Rom. *Carpați* (see), the fish *Cyprinus Carpio* being therefore ‘fish of the Carpathians’. In this perspective, it seems that the Slavs borrowed the word from either Romanian or even Thracian. Cf. *nisetru*, *țipar* and, on the other hand, *cumătră* and *colibă*, archaic indigenous or Latin forms in

Romanian, respectively, also borrowed by the Slavs.

crapán A device formed of ropes and hooks used for loading or unloading heavy objects. Related with *cîrlig* ‘hook’, with a different vowel grade.

creangă, pl. *crengi* s.f. ‘a branch, a twig’. Seems related to the group derived from IE **(s)ker-* ‘to bend, to curve’, e.g. *creț*, *Criș*.

Crenguța NP Derived from *creangă* and/or NP m. *Creangă*. • In folk beliefs, NP *Crenguța* is considered a symbol of freshness, fragility and continuity (Ionescu 1975: 95).

creț adj. ‘curly-haired; bent’. NP *Crețu*, *Creția*, *Crețeanu*, *Crețulescu* etc. Der.: *a încreți*, *descreți*. From IE **(s)ker-* ‘to curve, to bend’, hence also *Criș*, *cracă*, *creangă*, *Crăciun*, *curcubeu*, *cursă*, *curpen* (see).

Criș NFl Important river with three ramification: *Crișul Alb* (White Criș), *Crișul Repede* (Swift Criș) and *Crișul Negru* (Black Criș). Ancient *Krisos*, *Crisia*, *Grisia*, *Gresia*. Reflects IE **(s)ker-* ‘to curve, to bend’. Related with *creț*, *cracă*, *creangă*, *Crăciun*, *crivăț*, *curcubeu*, *cursă*, *curpen* (see). Hung. *Körös* is borrowed from Ro-

manian, with svarabhakti (epenthetic vowel).

crivác A rudimentary device formerly used for loading salt boulders to the surface. From IE **(s)ker-* ‘to curve, to bend’, hence ‘crook’ as in *cîrlig* (and also Eng. *crook*). • Sl. root *kriv-* ‘curved, bent’ is related with this, but does not seem to be the origin of Romanian form, but an interference is of course possible.

crívăţ ‘a powerful stormy wind blowing from the east in winter’. The original meaning must have been ‘a powerful wind which curves, bends and/or destroys’, so the form must belong to the family represented by *creţ* (see), *Criş*, etc. < IE **(s)ker-* ‘to bend, to curve’. Cf. *viscol*.

crîmpéi ‘a flash, a glitter’, figuratively also ‘a selection, a moment’. The basic meaning seems ‘a glitter, flash’, and therefore probably related with *scrum* (see). • DEX incorrectly refers to a supposed Sl. *krǫmpъ* ‘small’.

crîmpoşie An indigenous type of vine, and the wine produced of its grapes. Seems derived, in obscure circumstances, from *crîmpei*.

crîncen ‘terrible, violent, passionate’. The original meaning seems to have been connected to ‘to bend, to curve’, and therefore is related to the group represented by *cîrceie*, *cîrcel*, *cîrlig*, *cîrlionţ*, *cîrti* (see all these), with metathesis of liquid *r*, which may be based on a Thracian prototype.

crută ‘to spare, to take care of, to defend someone’s life’. Archaic, basic term of a traditional society. The initial meaning seems to have been ‘to protect, to defend’, so the etymon might be the same as in *creţ*, *Criş* etc. < IE **(s)ker-* ‘to turn, to bend’, hence ‘to curve, bend in order to defend’.

cubélc Variant of *culbec*.

cuc- Alternating with *coc-*. A root, ultimately of Preie. origin, present in numerous forms with the basic meaning ‘peak, prominence’, in both vocabulary and place-names. See mainly *cucă*, *cucoră*, *cucui* and the parallel forms with radical *coc-*.

cucă 1. ‘high and isolated hill or mountain’. 2. A specific high cap held in the Middle Ages during ceremonies. Archaic, Preie. origin, related with *cocon*, *coacăză*, *co-coaşă* (see), root **K-K-*, **G-G-*

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‘round, prominent, peak’. DEX assumes a Turkish origin for *cucă* ‘cap’, and unknown origin for *cucă* ‘mountain’, even if the derivation ‘hill, peak’ > ‘a (high) cap similar to a peak’ is obvious. • Turkish *kuka* is a borrowing from Romanian (despite the reverse hypothesis advocated in DEX). This is obvious by comparing the rich family of the forms in Romanian, all of Preie. origin, against the isolated form in Turkish.

cúcoră ‘a species of swan with a black protuberance on the beak’. Related with *cocor* and akin to the large family represented by *cocon*, *coacăză*, *cocoaşă*.

cucúi ‘bump’. Akin to *cucă*, *cucoră*, ultimately reflecting Preie. root *K-K-, *G-G-.

Cucu(i)eţi Derived from the root *cuc-* as in *cucă*, *cucui*, *Cucora* etc.

Cucurís NL (HD) From the same basic root *cuc-* as in *cucă*, *cucui*, *Cucora* etc.

Cugír NFl, NL Must be derived from the same archaic Preie. root *K-K-, *G-G-, as in *cucă*, *gogă*, in this case with alternating *c(k)/g* in the root.

culbéc Reg. ‘snail’ (cf. usual form *melc*). Also *cubelc*. One may wonder which is the basic form, and which one is by metathesis. In our view, *cubelc* is newer, via metathesis and influenced by *melc*, which is the basic word for ‘snail’ in Romanian (also indigenous). Form *culbec* seems derived from a root *cul-*, perhaps of Preie. origin, root *K-L- ‘elevation, prominence’, which would be in accordance of the basic root *M-L- for *melc*, also of Preie. origin. Note suffix *-c* in both *culbec* and *melc*. Form *culbec* seems therefore archaic and isolated in Romanian.

culíc The bird *Numenius*, with a long and curved beak and with brownish feathers. Seems derived from Preie. root *K-L- ‘elevation, peak’, the same as in *culbec* above.

cupil See *copil*.

Curcubáta NM (1848 m, the highest peak in West Carpathians). Related with *curcubeu* (see).

curcubéu, *-ie* s.n. 1. ‘rainbow’; 2. the plant *Lychnis coronaria*. Reduplicated, as other indigenous forms, **kur-kur-b-*, IE *(s)*ker-* ‘to curve, to bend’; the archaic meaning must have been ‘bow [bent] in the sky’.

Essential term of folk beliefs. The plant is such named probably from its capsule-like fruit, perhaps also influenced by *curcubétă* ‘pumpkin’ < Lat. *cucurbita*.

curmá ‘to cut wood across; to cut in general; to stop an action’. Seems related with *a scurma* ‘to dig the earth (e.g. referring to pigs); to scrutinise an action’. If this relation is accepted, then the ultimate etymon may have been the same as in *creț*, *Criș* etc. < IE **(s)ker-* ‘to turn, to bend, to curve’. See also the probably related forms *zgârma* and *zgâria*, with alternating *c/k* according to phonetic syntax. • Alb. *kurmue* may be borrowed from, not precisely related with, *curmá*.

cúrpan, curpen -i s.m. 1. branch of a creeping plant; 2. various species of plant *Clematis*. Alb. *kulpër(e)*, *kurpur*, *kurpen*. the archaic meaning must have been ‘bent, curve’, IE **(s)ker-* ‘to bend, to curve’. • Related with *cracă*, *creangă*, *Crăciun*, *curcubeu*, *cursă*, *curpen* (see). Alb. *kurpen* seems rather borrowed from Romanian.

cursă, -e s.f. ‘a trap’, an archaic mechanism for catching animals. Alb. *kurthë* ‘id.’ from IE **(s)ker-*

‘to curve, to bend’. Related with *creț*, *cracă*, *creangă*, *Crăciun*, *curcubeu*, *curpen*, *Criș* (see).

custură, custure ‘a cutting edge; a specific knife; any cutting object’. Held by Russu for indigenous; other linguists hold it for a folk derivation from *cuțit* > *cuțitură* (from Latin). If the Latin origin is to be rejected, then we may surmise a form related with Latin.

cușmelie See *coșmelie*.

cuțu 1. interj. a call for dogs; 2. a (small) dog. An archaic root for denominating dogs, also related with some Uralic forms: Vogul *kuču* ‘small dog’, Ziriak *kuti* ‘dog’, Hung. *kutya* ‘dog’. The phonetic structure does not allow the hypothesis of a Hungarian borrowing. Cf. *șo*.

-d- Suffix, especially toponymical, e.g. *Deda*, *Turda*; seems from the same root as *Deva*, Thracian *dava*, *deva*, *dova* ‘fortress, castle’.

da-, da-da-, also **do-, du-** Archaic root, probably of Preie. origin, in some forms reflecting mainly the musical sphere, or derived from it: *dadă/dodă*, *doică/duică*, *daină/doină*, *a dăinui*, *duios* (also *doios*, dial.). The root is also frequent in

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feminine personal given names and some family names, e.g. *Daina*/*Doina*, *Doinaş*, *Doineanu* etc. The main representative of this group is *daină*, *doină*, the specific Romanian song. The origin is Preie., root **DA-*, **DO-* with the reconstructable meaning ‘to sing; to play an instrument’, hence ‘to lull a baby asleep; wet nurse’. The words derived from this family formed a compact etymological group. As such, *da*, *da-da* is also an interjection imitative of long, lament songs.

• The linguists who simply assumed an interjection specific to children’s language are wrong, even though its ultimate origin points to it; yet in many similar situations the evolution had an early start towards independent developments, cf. *ga-ga*.

dadă, also **dodă** Derived from the basic root *da-*, *da-da-*, also *do-*, *du-* as in *daină*, *doină*.

Daia NL (AB, HR, IF, MS, SB). Must be derived from the root *da-*, *da-da* (see), and therefore related with the rich group derived from it.

daică (dial.), usually literary form is **doică**, also rarely **duică**. Derived from the root *da-*, *da-da-*, and is closely related with *dadă/dodă*,

doios/duios, *daină/doină*, *a dăinui*.

daină (dial.), **doină** The specific Romanian song. Related with Lith. *dainà*, Latvian *daiņa* as long noted by Hasdeu at the end of the 19th century. The root seems to be *da-da*, *dai-* ‘to sing, to lull a baby asleep by singing’, and belongs to the basic, archaic vocabulary. The Albanian parallel is perhaps *dajrë* ‘a tambourine, a drum’ (with rotacisation of intervocalic *-n-*). The same root must have been in *Dacus*, *Daci*, the Dacians (the northern branch of the Thracians), the most plausible meaning of this ethnic name, as the Thracians in general, and the Dacians in particular, were known as good musicians; also in *Dece-neus*, the attested priest of king Decebalus. Also related must be *dadă*, *dodă* ‘a polite term for a beloved girl or older woman’, *duios*, *doios* ‘soft, sweet, mild’ (about songs). Also frequent as personal, given or family, name: *Doina*, *Doinaş*, *Doineanu* etc. (detailed in S. Paliga, Actes du XIV^e symposium national de thracologie, reprinted in Paliga 1999). • The various, local typologies of the *doinas* were analysed and classified by Béla Bartók (see

his correspondence with the Romanian musicians).

Dalu NP The same root as in *deal*.

dar Conj. ‘but’. Obviously related with *iar* (see). We assume a compound with *de* (< Latin *de*, very frequent in Romanian derivatives) and *iar*.

dará Rare. From the same root as *adaru* (mainly Aromanian).

dárie The plant *Pedicularis campestris*. Origin obscure, presumably indigenous. The root *dar-* for a name of plant seems isolated.

daş ‘home lamb’ (dialectal); related with Alb. *dash* ‘a ram’. Seems derived from IE **dh̥ē(i)-* ‘to suck’, hence also Alb. *delë* ‘a sheep’. Some linguists assume that Romanian form may be a recent borrowing from Albanian, which – as in all similar cases, of supposed borrowings from Albanian – should be now considered erroneous, as there is no historical or cultural background to admit such borrowings. It may be rather a Romanian borrowing in Albanian.

Daşa, also **Daşea**, **Daşu** NP The same root as in *daş*.

Daşova NL From the same root as *daş* and Slavic suffix *-ova* (as in *Hîrşova*, *Drencova*).

dăhulá See *dăula*.

dăinuí ‘to last, to keep for a long time’. Derived from *daină/doină*, the specific Romanian song, which is typically *a long song of lament*.

dărîmá ‘to put down, to demolish, to destroy’. Alb. *dërmón*. The hypothesis of a local derivation starting from Latin *de* and *rimo* does not seem to make sense. The basic meaning may be reconstructed as ‘to put down, to destroy to earth’, or, better, ‘to make earth’. In such a case, the root must be reconstructed as **D-R-* and seems the same as **T-R-*, as in *tărîm*. The origin seems to be Preie., from the basic meaning ‘earth, ground’, for this verb ‘to destroy to the ground, to make (a building) earth’. • Yet a colloquial Latin and East Romance form **de-rimare* cannot be rejected, even if improbable.

dăulá ‘to exhaust, to get rid of physical power’. Obscure, very probably archaic. The form may be either interpreted as built with prefix *de-*, *dă-* and the basic root *ul-*, which may be the same Preie. root as in the forms quoted under root *ol-*, *ul-*, having the basic meaning ‘high, peak, mountain’. If so, *dăula*

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may have meant ‘to get down from the peak’ = ‘to exhaust power’; alternatively, a root *daul-*, obscure, may be postulated. • The archaic origin is probable. The dialectal variants *dăhulă*, *dehulă*, with intervocalic *-h-*, may indicate an original velar spirant **X > h*. If so, a root **Xul-* may be postulated, non analysable. Cf. *dăulî*.

dăulî ‘to bewail, to lament’. Var. *dăolî*. We may think that this form is built with prefix *de* and *aoleu*, an interjection of bewail or lament. Even if the derivation is newer, interjection *aoleo*, *aoleu* may be indigenous, and the form may be archaic. DEX simply assumes that *aoleu* in onomatopoeic. Another possibility is to see the verb closely related with the forms derived from *da-*, *do-*, *du-*, hence the most common is *doină*, *daină*, *duină* (see for further references of this rich family), the typical Romanian folk song; from the same root also the ethnonym *Daci*, *Dacisci*, the northern branch of the Thracians. We are inclined to supporting this latter explanation, which is in full accordance with other data and preserving the tradition of the Thracians as good musicians, and whose burial

rites were accompanied by music.

de Used as a relative and in certain linking constructions. With this meaning, it must be discriminated against *de* < Lat. *de*, usually a preposition or a prefix, and rather linked to Alb. *dhe* ‘and; also, too’. With this meanings, this must be held for indigenous, and interfering with *de* of Latin origin.

Deaj NL (MS) The same as in *Dej*. Pron. *de-aj*, which confirms that *Dej* also was pronounced with two syllables.

deal ‘hill’. Basic word of the vocabulary; very frequent in place-names (also in the long debated form *Ar-deal*, see). Long, and erroneously, held for a Slavic borrowing. It reflects the archaic Preie. root **D-L-*, **T-L-* ‘hill, mountain’, largely spread in European place-names. The Slavic roots *děl-¹* ‘to make, work’ and *děl-²* ‘to divide’ have nothing to do with the Romanian form; we must assume an interference when forms of Slavic (or possibly Slavic) origin interfered with the indigenous forms, e.g. *Pre-deal*, which is improbably Slavic, but rather created in Roma-

nian, with the meaning ‘on the hill’, as opposed to *sub deal* ‘under the hill’.

Deda NL (MS) At. 1393 – *possessio Deda*. Cf. Thr. *Δάτος* (quoted in Pokorny 235) < IE **dhē-* ‘to set, to put’, as in *Deta* and *Deva*.

dehulá See *dăula*.

Dej NL (CJ) At. 1214 – *Dees*; 1261 – *Deeswar*; 1284 – *villa Deeswaar*. Earliest attested forms indicate an original pronunciation **De-eş* > **De-ej* > *Dej*. Related with *Deda*, *Deja*, *Deta*, *Deva*, *Deve*. See also *Deaj*, two syllables, which confirms that initially *Dej* had two syllables as well.

Deja NL (SJ) Related with *Dej*.

derdeluş ‘a coast, an elevated place where children sledge’. By reduplication, then haplology, **der-der-l-uş*, Preie. root **D-R-*, akin to **D-L-* ‘hill, hillock’. Archaic. Intervocalic *-l-* is normal in a substratum word.

dereticá Held by Russu for indigenous, even though the Latin origin is rather probable: *de-radicare*. If not a local creation in colloquial Latin, then just Latin prefix *de-* and a root *ret-*, *rat-* with the reconstruc-

table meaning ‘confuse, unclear’, with prefix *de-* changing sense.

Derna NL (BH) At. 1406 – *possessio walachalis Olahdarna*. Seems the same archaic Preie. root as in the reduplicated form *derdeluş*, Preie. **D-R-*, **D-L-* ‘hill, elevation’; cf. *Dorna*, seemingly the same root with alternating *elo*.

desbărá, dezbăra ‘to get rid of; to cast/put away’. Unclear, probably indigenous. Seems derived from a root **băr-/ber-* with prefix *de(s)/de(z)*, and also presupposes an older form **îmbăra* on the parallel *a deschide* ‘to open’ – ‘*a închide*’ ‘to close’, both on the basis of Latin root ‘to close’ – *claudo*. A Latin origin of *desbăra*, *dezbăra* does not seem probable, except for the prefix (which may ultimately be indigenous too, and related with, not derived from, Latin). If the basic meaning of *desbăra* is ‘to put away, to get rid of’ (as opposed to the presupposed, unpreserved form **îmbăra*), then the IE root may be **bher-* ‘to bear, to carry’, as in *burtă*, *borţos/borţoasă*. If so, the original meaning may have been, with specific reference to pregnant women, ‘to get rid of pregnancy, to

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abort a baby', i.e. 'to put away the baby', hence a generalised meaning 'to get rid of'. The semantic sphere is colloquial, and the term presumably referred to young, unmarried girls who remained pregnant and found solutions to get rid of pregnancy. Beyond any doubt archaic.

descurcă The opposite of *încurca* (see).

dezghină See *dezghina*, as opposite of *înghina*.

desmierdă, dezmierda 'to caress'. There is a long debate on this word, theoretically derived, or derivable, from Latin *de* and *merdum*. For many linguists, this cannot be a 'scientific' explanation, therefore the analysis has remained peripheral. Nevertheless if we admit that the word referred to 'cleaning up a baby', then the basic meaning 'to clean up a baby's *merdum*', which – in practical terms – means 'to make a baby happy, to make a baby feel good', hence the generic, and erotic, meaning 'to caress'. In this perspective, *a desmierda* is indeed a local derivative in Late, Post-Classical Latin, not an indigenous, Thracian element.

destrămă 'to unravel, to tear', mainly referring to threads of a tissue, like clothes. With prefix *de-* from the same root of *strai* 'clothes' and *stramă* 'thread'.

deșela Derived from *șale* (see).

Deta NL (TM) At. 1360 – *Deed*; 1411 – *Ded*. Related with *Deda*, *Dej* and *Deva*.

Deva NL (HD) At.: 1269 – *castrum Deva*; 1303 – *Dewa*. Undoubtedly reflects Thracian *deva*, *dava* 'a fortress' (also *deba*) < IE **dhē-* 'to set, to put'. Cf. *Deve*, *Dej*, *Deda*, *Deta*. • Intervocalic *v* is normal in an indigenous element. In South Thracian, NL *Pulpudeva*, now *Plovdiv* in Bulgaria.

Deve NL (AB) Related with NL *Deva*.

dezghină 'to unmount, to put pieces, components apart'. The verb *dez(des)-ghina* is the opposite of *în-ghina*, which is a common parallel derivation in Romanian, e.g. *închide* 'to close' – *deschide* 'to open' etc.

dibaci adj. 'deft, skillful'. Der.: *a dibăci*, *dibăcie*. Related with first part of *Dabato-peios* 'the Deus Faber of the Thracians', i.e. 'the skill-

ful god' < ie. **dhabh-* 'to set, to match, to fit'. • Intervocalic *b* is normal. Cf. *dibui*.

dibuí vb. 1. 'to hesitate, to search hesitatingly'; 2. 'to guess, to fit'. Must be co-radical with *dibaci* (see). It is less probable to be derived from a Germanic idiom, cf. Germanic **duppan* (> Eng. *to dip*), **diub-*, **dub-* 'id.' < IE **dheub-* 'deep; a hollow'; the hypothesis of a Germanic borrowing in Thracian or Post-Classical Latin is indeed difficult.

dîmb 'a hillock'. Akin to Gr. *τάφος* 'grave' < IE **dh̥mbh* 'elevation, hill'. The sometimes invoked Slavic origin, from *dъbъ* 'oak', is not acceptable. (Poghirc RRL 12/1968: 210; LR 17/1968: 19).

dîrloágă 'a jade, a bad horse'. Akin to *dîrlog*.

dîrlóg '(bridle) rein'; also variant of *dîrloagă*. Archaic, specific term of horse use in traction. The root *dîr-* seems the same as in Avestan *dražaitē* 'he holds, keeps', Slavic *dъrъžъ, dъrъžiši, dъrъžati* 'to hold, to keep'. The same root in *dîrz*.

dîrmóz The bushy plant *Viburnum lantana*. Seems akin to *dîrlog*, from the same root *dîr-* 'to hold, to keep',

but the semantic association is not clear. If not so, another root *dîr-m-* probably of indigenous origin too.

dîrválă 'exhausting, hard work'. Used for referring to both humans and animals, especially horses, in the expression *de dîrvală* 'for hard, exhausting work'. The word was initially specific to the hard work of horses, by extension later applied to humans. If so, it must be derived from the same root as *dîrlog*, a specific term applied to horses.

dîrz 'bold, steadfast, enduring'. Also related is Thracian ND *Derzelas* 'the bold, steadfast god'. Related with Avestan *daršyu-* 'bold, powerful', Lith. *drqsùs* 'bold' etc. • Slavic *dъrъžъ*, often held for the origin of the Romanian form, is rather again a substratum, Thracian, element in Slavic, as proved by the phonetic evolution and the general comparative tableau of the forms. Also, the Thracian god-name does not support the hypothesis of a Slavic element in Romanian.

dodă See *dadă*.

dódij Now only in expressions *a vorbi în dodii* 'to talk or speak nonsense'; *a lăsa în dodii, a lăsa în do-diile lui* 'to let someone with his

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whimsical behaviour' etc. The form is surely connected to the root *da-*, *do-*, *du-* as also în *dodă* and *doină*. The root is connected to the semantic sphere 'to sing (a typical long and lamenting song)', hence 'person singing', formerly also presumably 'sacred song', and the association with the persons fallen into magical trance. When the original pre-Christian connotation was lost, the form became periphereal and got pejorative connotations. See also *dăuli*.

doică See *daică*.

doios Dialectal. See *duios*.

dolcă rare today, dial. 'a bitch, a she-dog'. Usual in rural areas as a (she-)dog name *Dolca*. See *dulău*.

dolofán 'fat, plump'. An expressive equivalent of *durduliu* (see). The root *dol-* 'fat' is isolated, and intervocalic *-f-* indicates an original velar spirant (laryngeal). It is possible to see in *dol-* a variant of *dor-*, *dur-* as in *durduliu*, which are semantically identical. See also *duluță*.

Domald NFl, a tributary of Tîrnava. A German (Saxon) or Hungarian origin does not seem plausible. The form would indicate **do-mal-d-*, with *do-* 'two' and *mal-d-* as in *mal*

'river-side'; if so, *Do-mal-d* may have meant 'two river-sides'. Both components of the compound are indigenous.

dop 'a cork'; any object similar to a cork used for closing up a recipient. Sometimes held for a borrowing from German (the German dialects in Transylvania), which does not seem probable. Saxon (Transylvanian) *Tap* may rather seem a related form. The derived verb *a îndopa* 'to feed up (an animal, pejoratively about humans)' does not support the German origin either. Etymon and origin still debatable. Possibly, as Russu suggests, IE **dheubh-* 'a stake, a peg' (Pokorny 268) or **dəp* 'a cut part, a piece'.

dord Also *durd*. See *durduliu*.

Dorna NFl The same root as in *Derna*, with alternating *e/o*. A Slavic origin, from a supposed root *dor-*, is not probable, as some linguists still assume. Iordan 1963: 510 refers to a dialectal form *dornă* 'a whirl'.

Drancea NL Also *Drîncea*, *Drînceni* (Iordan, 1963: 65). Akin to *Drencova*, which has the oldest attested forms.

Drencova NL (CS) Probably related with NFI *Drina* (Serbia). Similar forms are attested in Thracian: *Δρέγκων*, *Δρηκων* (Priscius), with the alternating $\varepsilon - \eta$ as a hesitation given to a sound absent in Greek. Similar forms are attested in Illyrian: *Δρακονίνα*, *Δαρκονίνα*. • The Romanian place-name is attested as *Dranka* in 1451 and as *Drenkova* in 1693. The suffix is Slavic. Cf. *Hîrșova*, *Orșova* etc.

drețe The aquatic plant *Nymphaea lotus thermalis*; also the plant *Lysimachia nummularia*, used in folk medicine. The form should be akin to *Drencova* and other river-names derived from the root *dre-*, *dri-*, which would satisfy at least the meaning for the aquatic plant. We may assume another etymon, for the time being obscure, but the form is very probably archaic. See also *drog*.

Dridu NL The same etymon as in *Drava*, *Dreta*, *Drina*, *Drinjača* (Lexicon A).

droaie ‘a large quantity, a lot of’, like in sequence *o droaie de copii* ‘a lot of children’ etc. Compared with Alb. *droe*, *droje* ‘fear, fright’. In this view, the archaic meaning

may have been ‘fear’, hence ‘a frightful quantity’. Nevertheless, an Albanian origin is at least debatable, if not outright impossible. See Brâncuș, SCL 12/1961: 198 ff.

drog The plant *Genista albida* or the plant *Genista oligosperma*. As a name of plant, must be akin to *drețe*.

druete rar, dial. (Oltenia) ‘wood; timber’. Alb. *dru*, pl. *drutë* ‘id.’. Seemingly from the same root as ancient Thracian NL *Drubeta*, *Drobeta*, cf. *drys* ‘wood; timber’, Sl. *drěvo* ‘id.’. Thracian root *dro-*, *dru-* may be identified in several forms. See also *codru*, if a derivation *co-dru* may be accepted. Suggested IE root is **derew(o)-* ‘tree’, perhaps specifically ‘oak-tree’.

drum, *-uri* s.n. ‘a road, a street’. Similar Alb. *dhrom*, Bg. *drom*, S.-Cr. *drum*. It is commonly assumed that southeast European forms reflect Gr. *dromos*, in Old Greek having the meaning ‘(horse) race’, ‘race track’, and in Modern Greek ‘a road’. In such a case the evolution Gr. *o* > Rom. *u* (stressed) is not clear and without other example. • Our hypothesis is that the forms are of Thracian origin, cf.

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Thracian NL *Ana-draimos*, translated in the Antiquity as *ennea hodoi* ‘nine roads’. The Modern Greek form may be re-modelled after Romanian. In any case, the forms are old all over southeast Europe, and early attested in East Romance (Proto-Romanian). In modern Romanian, another equivalent is *cale*.

dughie The plant *Genista oligosperma* used as fodder. Obscure, presumably indigenous.

duică See *daică*, *doică*.

duios ‘mild, soft’ (with special reference to songs). Derived from the same root *da-*, *da-da*, *do-*, *do-do*, the base of a series of words like *daină/doină*, *dadă/dodă*, *a dăinui* etc.

dulău, *dulăi* s.m. ‘(big, wicked) dog’. Held by Hasdeu for a Thracian element by comparing it with Lydian *Kan-daules* ‘dog killer’, Thracian *Kandaon*, *Kandaios* ‘epithet of Ares’. The approach may be doubtful, but most linguists have denied its obvious archaic origin, disregarding the etymon, on the erroneous ground that intervocalic *l* would show its newer origin. As proved by the numerous examples in this lexicon, intervocalic *l* is

normal in ALL the indigenous elements of Romanian, cf. *căciulă* etc. See also *dolcă*, the feminine form of *dulău*. Very probably, the same root *dul-*, *dol-* is in the verb *a adulmeca* (see).

dulută Only in expressions like *a se duce duluiță* ‘to roll down like a ball’. Must be from the same root as *dolofan* ‘fat, plump’, root *dol-*, *dul-* ‘round, ball-like, fat’.

dumbet Another name of plant *sclipeț* (see). Obscure, perhaps from the same root as Sl. *dqbъ* ‘oak’, yet a Slavic origin does not seem possible.

Dunăre(a) NFI The indigenous Romanian name of the Danube. See *Dunav*, *Dunava*, *Dunaj* in Lexicon A. Also indigenous are *Chilia* and *Sulina*, two branches of the Danube Delta, and also *Tulcea*, the most important town of the Danube Delta region. Cf. *Mureș* which reflects the same evolution Thr. *ā* > Rom. *u* (via a phoneme like *ô*) and *a mura* ‘to pickle’. The reconstructable etymon for (late) Thracian is *Dān-ar-* with evolution *ā* > *ô* > *u* and *o* (in some dialects). • Slavic and Hungarian forms with root *Dun-* reflect their Romanian origin.

durd Variant of *dord*; see mainly *durduliu*.

durduliu ‘fat’ (colloquial, approx. ‘plumpy’). The root is connected to the archaic conception ‘to swell, to get fat’. Muşu (1982: 64 ff.) explained the historical and semantic context of this form, undoubtedly of archaic, indigenous origin. The IE etymon is probably **dher-*, **dhor-*, **dhr̥-* ‘to come out, to get out’. For Thracian, we must start from a zero-grade **dhr̥-*, with evolution IE **dhr̥-* > Thr. *dur-*, which is normal. The modern form, probably reflecting the original form, is a reduplication, followed by haplology: **dur-dur-l-* > *dur-du-l-*. Intervocalic *-l-* is normal in an indigenous element. Cf. *dolofan*.

duşmán ‘enemy’. Old Indo-European word, from unknown reason considered of Turkish origin in Romanian. Turkish *düşman* is from Persian (for a similar case, see also *cioban*). The Romanian form has clear parallels in Gr. *δυσμενής*, Sanskrit *durmanāḥ* ‘enemy’ = Rom. *duşman* (Simenschy-Ivănescu 208). IE prefix **dus-* is privative, ‘il exprime une idée de mal, manque’. The form is therefore a compound

duş-man, the second part of which is related with NP *Manea*, *Manu* etc. • The hypothesis of a Turkish borrowing is not justified; not even a possible Greek influence cannot be ultimately accepted.

eréte ‘harrier’ (bird *circus*). Related with Lith. *erelis* ‘eagle’, further Sl. *orelb* ‘id.’ Belongs to the important group of substratum words referring to flora and fauna (e.g. *cocor*, *mistreţ*, *raţă*, *ţap* etc.).

-esc Very productive adjectival suffix; *-escu* typical for personal names; *-eşti* is the plural of *-escu*. See also *-eşte*. Attested in Thracian as *-isko-*, cf. Alb. *-ish*. Interferes with Latin *-escus*. (Gaur, *Romania* 53/1927: 539 ff.; Poghirc RRL 12/1967: 31).

-eş, also *-aş*, *-oş*, *-uş* Suffix frequent in indigenous, substratum place- and river-names.

-eşte Adverbial suffix. Alb. *-isht*. Derived from, or akin to, suffix *-esc*.

fă See the discussion under *bă*.

fărî'mă ‘a small piece of; a small quantity’. Alb. *thërrimë*, with simi-

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lar meaning. Rom. *f* – Alb. *th* (as English *th* in *thin*) speaks of an old phoneme *X, a velar spirant or laryngeal, held responsible for the alternating *f/h/v* in Romanian v. *f/h/* *th* in Albanian. (In this sense, see also *vătaf*). The forms are archaic, as proved by the verbal derivatives *a fărîma*, *a sfărîma*. No clear etymon, but the indigenous origin is beyond any reasonable doubt. See also Reichenkron, 1966: 118–119.

Feleac NL (CJ) At. 1310 – *Fellok*, *Fellak*; 1377 – *villa Olachorum Felek*. The explanation from Hung. *fél* ‘half, a half’ is not plausible. Cf. NL *Filisa* – *Pelesa* and *Fala* – *Pala* (Schmid IF 77/1972: 10). The ultimate origin is probably Preie., root *P-L- ‘mountain, hill’ (see *peleag*, *Peleş* etc.) The alternance *f* – *p* is not comfortable, but should be analysed as such.

ferí, also reflexive *a se feri* ‘to avoid, to stay/stand/keep aside (a danger etc.)’. Obscure. Initial *f* indicates an initial velar spirant (laryngeal) *X, so the archaic form should be reconstructed as *X-R- ‘to avoid (a danger), stay afar from/of’, and must have referred to prehistoric hunting or war state.

fişte Now only in expressions like *a face fişte* ‘to be whimsical, to expect others make the first step in an action’. Expressive form, related with *fiţ* and *fiţii*.

fîsă¹ 1. The fish *Cobitis taenia*; a cheerful, sprightly person. The usual form for this fish is *zvîrlugă*, in relation with *zvîrli*, *azvîrli* ‘to cast, to throw’; also with the meaning ‘cheerful, sprightly person’. The form is isolated, improbably derived from *fîs*, onomatopoeic, imitative for any fizzing sound; the verb is *a fîsîi* ‘to fizz’. A relation may possibly be if we accept an original meaning ‘a quick move’, hence the sound of a quick move, which may explain both the name of fish *Cobitis taenia* and ‘cheerful, sprightly person’. Initial *f* indicates an original velar spirant (laryngeal) *X, which later changed into *f*, *v*, *h* and *ş* in the indigenous elements of Romanian. The archaic form must have then been *X-s ‘quick, fast; a quick move’.

fîsă² ‘a small, quick bird, similar to skylark, of the family *Anthus*. Associated to the meaning ‘quick’ of *fîsă*¹.

fiț ‘quick move’; hence *a (se) fițîi* ‘to move to and fro’ (usually pejoratively). Incorrectly assumed a simple onomatopoeia in DEX and other works. Initial *f* indicates and archaic velar spirant (laryngeal) *X, later changed into *f*, *h*, *v* and *ș*. See also *haț* and *hoț* ‘a thief’.

fițîi ‘to move to and fro’. See *fiț*.

flămînd ‘hungry’. Root *fla-/flă-* has two basic meanings: 1. ‘mouth – to speak’; 2. ‘mouth – hungry’. Initial *f* reflects the archaic velar spirant *X > *f*, *h*, *v* and *ș*. The archaic form must have been *X-L- ‘mouth’ – ‘to eat; to be hungry’ and ‘to speak, to gossip’. See also *fleac*, *fleancă* and *flecări*.

fleac ‘unimportant thing or details’; in the plural ‘simple gossiping, just words’. The original meaning is connected to the sphere ‘to speak, to gossip’, for which see *fleancă* and *flecări*. See also *flămînd*.

fleancă Pejorative for ‘mouth’. See *flecări*.

flecări ‘to gossip, to speak nonsense’. The archaic root *fle-* is related to the meaning ‘mouth’ – ‘to speak, to gossip’ (hence also Alb. *flet* ‘he/she speaks’) and ‘mouth – be hungry’ (see *flămînd* above).

Romanian preserves, via Thracian, both semantic spheres: one the one hand *flămînd* ‘hungry’, and *fleac*, *fleancă* and *flecări* on the other. Initial *f* in all these forms stands for an archaic velar spirant (laryngeal) *X > *f*, *h*, *v* and *ș*. The root was *X-L- ‘mouth; to speak; be hungry’, also preserved in Alb. *flet* ‘(he/she) speaks’.

fleț Pejorative and expressive: ‘naïve, a little bit stupid’. Seems derived from the same root as *fleac*, *fleancă* and *flecări*, with the basic meaning ‘person who gossips, unable to express his/her thoughts’.

flit ‘muzzle’. Regional and dialectal for *bot*. With the basic meaning ‘animal mouth’ closely related with *fleancă* and *flecări*. • In contemporary Romanian, it interferes with other forms *flit*, of various origins.

flúier ‘a flute’. Alb. *flojere* ‘flute’. Seems a back-formation from the verb *a fluiera* ‘to whistle’. The relation with Lat. *flo*, *flāre* is doubtful or, if a colloquial Latin form is acceptable as origin, the phonetic details are difficult to reconstruct. Cf. *fluture* and *a flutura*.

fluierá ‘to whistle’. See *fluier*.

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flútur(e) ‘butterfly’. Also NP *Flutur(e)*, *Fluturescu* etc. Closely related with *a flutura* ‘to wave, to flutter’. Currently unexplained. There must be an etymological relation with Eng. *fly*, *to fly*, *to flutter* as a common Indo-European heritage. Compare the parallels *fluier* – *a fluiera* v. *flutur(e)* – *a flutura*; and Eng. *fly*, *to fly* – *to flutter*. See also *fulg*.

flutură See *flutur(e)*. See also *fulg*.

frișcă ‘cream’, specifically the fresh fat part of milk, which – if whisked – the specific milk cream is obtained. The term is archaic and closely connected to milk production, where the Romanian terminology is basically Latin and indigenous (Thracian). Initial *f* indicates an original velar spirant (laryngeal), so a root **XR-* should be postulated. The analogy with *a freca* < Lat. *freca* may have consolidated the form.

foac The fish *Squalius leuciscus*. Obscure. Initial *f*, if accepting the hypothesis of an indigenous element, which is most probable, stands for the archaic velar spirant (laryngeal) **X*. Isolated, no related form identifiable.

fúfă 1. ‘small fish’, especially fish fry (*Leucaspius delineatus*); 2. a whore. Obscure. The term seems archaic, and very probably indigenous. Initial and internal *f* may stand for the original velar spirant (laryngeal), so the original root must have been **X-X-* ‘small’, ‘small fish’, then pejoratively ‘whore’. Cf. *huhurez*, with alternating *f/h*.

fuiór ‘tow; hemp or flax bundle’. Obscure, presumably indigenous. Initial *f* stands for an archaic velar spirant (laryngeal) **X*.

fulg ‘flake’. Must be related with *fluture*, *a flutura*.

Fulga NP, mainly family name. See *fulg*. As many family names, ending *-a* rather reflects the invariable definite article *-a* (see).

funigél mainly used in the pl. *funi-géi* ‘gossamer’. Often held for unknown origin, but an indigenous character is debatable. It rather seems a local derivative based on a colloquial Latin form derived from *fungus* ‘mushroom’ and diminutival suffix *-el*.

ga-ga Onom. Imitates the sound of geese, and is also the root of other names of birds or related to similar

sounds. See *gaie*, *gaiță*, *gălăgie*, *gîscă*.

Gagu NM (Baiu Mts, PH); NL (IF). The same etymon like *gogă*, *Gogu*, *Gogiu* etc. ultimately of Preie. origin.

gáie The bird *Milvus* ('kite'); sometimes also 'jackdaw' (*Corvus monedula*). Derived from root *ga-*, also in *gîscă* and onomatopoeic *gaga*, imitative for goose sound. See also *gaiță*.

gaiță The bird *Garrulus glandarius*, 'jay'. From the same root as *gaiță*. • DEX incorrectly refers to a Serbian origin, as the numerous related forms in Romanian, but absent in Slavic, do not support such a hypothesis.

Galat(i) NL, several locations: AB, BN, GL, HD, SV). There are numerous place-names with radical *gal-* all over Europe (e.g. *Galata*). They are usually held for Celtic as the result of their expansion in the antiquity. Root **G-L-* is otherwise, in most instances, of Preie. origin. For the Romanian forms, we may accept an archaic substratum, Preie. heritage, and/or a later Celtic influence, even if the Celts left very few traces in Romanian place-names.

Another rare case would be *Iza*, if not a Thracian river-name. Cf. *Cal-latis*, the ancient name of Mangalia. Philippide *OR* 2: 374 and Drăganu *Rom.* 280 assume a Cumanic origin (*gala* 'fortress'), which is doubtful (among others, cannot explain the large extension of similar place-names all over Central- and South-East Europe). Intervocalic *-l-* is normal in a substratum element.

gard 'a fence, an enclosure'. Alb. *garth*, *gardhi*. Archaic term, related with Sl. *gradъ* (once held for the origin of both Romanian and Albanian forms), Gothic *garda* 'an enclosure for animals' etc. All reflect IE **gherdh-* 'to enclose, to surround'. Thracian may have also had the palatalised parallel **zerd-*, **zard-* as shown by forms like *Zerdenós*, if the etymon may be the same, as Russu believes. See *în-grădi* and *z-gardă* (*z-gard-ă*).

gărdină 'the cut at the end of a beam in order to be fixed'. Listed by Russu, and rejecting the possible derivation from *gard*, as it seems probable. The basic meaning seems to have been 'a method to fix beams, fences etc.'

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gata ‘ready’. Many derivatives: *a găti* ‘to cook, to prepare food’: refl. (*a se găti*) ‘to prepare, to make ready; to adorn oneself (about women, especially). Must be related with Hittite *qati, kati* ‘ready’ (Friedrich, *Heth. Elementarbuch* 2: 113) and Sl. *gotovъ*, both meaning ‘ready’. • A late Thracian or Proto-Romanian origin of Slavic forms is possible.

găgăuță ‘stupid person’. Derived from imitative, onomatopoeic root *ga-ga-*, also in *gîscă* ‘goose’, *gaie* and *gîgîlice* (see all these).

gălăgie ‘noise, hubbub’; also dial. *hălăgie*. Archaic form from IE **ghel-* ‘to shout, to yell’, hence Eng. *yell* and *nightin-gale*. Note preservation of IE **gh* to Rom. *g*.

gălbează and **călbează** s.f., unused in the plural. ‘sheep pox; the plant *Hepaticae*, liverworts’. Related with Alb. *këlbazë, gëlbazë, klëbacë* ‘sheep pox’. There are two basic hypothesis regarding the Romanian and Albanian forms: (1) A common Thracian and Illyrian heritage (starting from the unproved assumption that Albanian is a Neo-Illyrian idiom, which is at least debatable), or (2) the Romanian forms are borrowed from Alba-

nian (in the series, once common, that there would be ‘Albanian elements in Romanian’). As the basic meaning refers to a liver disease, human or animal, the forms are rather derived from *galben* ‘yellow’, of Latin origin, in which case the Albanian forms are borrowed from Romanian. • Nevertheless an archaic, Pre-Romance origin is not excluded, and in this case we may surmise an interference with the forms derived from *galben*. We are rather inclined for a local derivation from *galben* ‘yellow’.

gârî-nă, *-e* s.f. (dial. Banat) ‘oak-tree’. Related with *gorun* (see). NL *Gârîna, Garîna*. • Some hypotheses refer to Slavic *gorěti* ‘to burn’, which definitely is a hazard, as the basic meaning of the word has no connection with the meaning in Slavic.

găsi vb. ‘to find’. A common explanation refers to Slavic *gasiti* ‘to extinguish (fire); fig. to identify, to consider’, which is again (see *gârî-nă* above) the result of hazard. The verb *a găsi* is related with *a ghici* ‘to guess’ and with *a gîndi* ‘to think, to consider’, a mental relationship ‘to find’ – ‘to guess’ – ‘to get’ identifiable also in the parallels

like Eng. *to get* – *to guess*, also etymologically related, from IE **ghe(n)d-* ‘to get, to catch’, hence ‘to get by mental concentration = to guess, to find, to identify’. • Cf. *a ghici*, *a gîndi*.

genúne, obsolete, dial, **gerúne** ‘an abyss’. Held by Russu for indigenous, even though the rotacised parallel *genune* – *gerune* cannot support this hypothesis, as rotacisation of intervocalic *-n-* is specific to only the Latin elements of Romanian, and also in Albanian. There is no convincing example that the Thracian elements may have ever had this treatment too. The etymon is obscure, but the Thracian origin, even if tempting (given the archaic character of the word), is difficult. It may be yet re-considered if further arguments may be invoked.

Gersa NFl (Rodna Mts) and NL on this river. Unclear, presumably indigenous, cf. Thr. NL *Germisara*.

gheară ‘a claw’ (of both mammals and some birds). Seems related with English *claw*, which is the closest translation of *gheară*. If not so, the next possibility is Greek *kheir* ‘hand’, from an IE root **khe(i)r-* ‘to get, to grasp’.

gheb 1. pl. *-uri* ‘a hump, a hunch; an elevation’; 2. pl. *-e* ‘eatable mushrooms of the family *Armillaria*, *Lepiota* or *Collybia*. Derivatives: *ghebos*, *gheboşat* ‘a humped person’. NP *Ghebu*, *Gheba*, *Ghibu*. Undoubtedly indigenous from IE **ghebh-* ‘elevation, head; end’. Related with *ghimpe* (see). • The attempts to explain the form from Lat. *gibbus*, *gibba* ‘id.’ or Hung. *göb* (this must be a borrowing from Romanian) cannot be accepted, but a relationship with the Latin forms is probable.

Gherla NL At.: 1291 – *Gerlahida*; 1410 – *Gherlah*. Unexplained. A possible explanation from *gheară* ‘a claw’ does not seem acceptable. The form must be related to/with *Gherţa*, *grui* and *Gurghiu* (see) and NL *Gerla* in Hungary: 1259/1466 – *Gwrla*, seemingly for a real pronunciation **Gurla* (cf. Rom. *grui*, Alb. *gur*); the Hungarian place-name must be Pre-Hungarian just like *Gerlah* in the Tatra Mts. All these seem to reflect Preie. root **G-R-* ‘stone, cliff’. In Romanian, the Thracian origin is the only plausible. See further discussions s.v. *Carpaţi*.

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ghermeá A piece fixed in a wall, allowing to consolidate further attachments. Closely related with the root in *gheară* ‘claw’.

Gherța NL (SM) There are two neighbouring locations: *Gherța Mare* and *Gherța Mică*. Related with *Gherla*.

ghibórt The fish *Acerina cernua*. Derived from the same root as *gheb*.

ghicí vb. ‘to guess, to anticipate’. Related with Alb. *gjeça* ‘I find’ (3rd person *gjen*). The forms should be discussed together with *a găsi*. We should compare the parallels in Germanic languages: Germanic **getison* > Eng. *guess* from IE **ghed-*, nasalised **ghe-n-d-* ‘to get, to catch’ hence also Eng. *get*, with many meanings in modern English, and the basic meaning ‘to catch’. As this is a general mental process (i.e. ‘to get’ - ‘to find’ - ‘to guess’), we assume that a similar relationship was in Thracian: IE **ghe-(n)-d-s-* > Thr. **gəs-* (cf. *a găsi*) and **gəč-* > Rom. *a ghici*, related (urverwandt) with *a găsi*. From the nasalised form, Thracian had also *a gîndi* ‘to think, to consider’ (see). See also *a găsi*, *a gîndi*.

ghimpe, *-i* s.m. ‘a thorn’. Alb. *gjemp* ‘id.’. From IE **ghebh-* ‘thorn, prominence’ (> Gr. *kephale* ‘head’, Gothic *gibla* ‘a peak’ etc.), nasalised **ghe-m-bh-*. Related with *gheb*, which preserves the non-nasalised form.

ghin A kind of chisel, ‘crozer’; a curved knife used in carving wood. The same root as in *ghimpe* (nasalised) ‘thorn’ and in *gheb*. See also *ghinț*.

ghinț A curved tool used for enlarging footwear. Must be the same root as in *ghinț*.

ghioagă, *-e* s.f. ‘(approx.) a club, a mace’. Alb. *gjegë*. Old, traditional weapon made up of a wooden or iron club, with an arched head. Technical military term, probably of Preie. origin from root **GoG-* ‘to swell, to get big; expanded’. Seemingly related with *gogă*.

ghionoáie ‘woodpecker’ (any bird of the *Picidae* family). The usual word is *ciocănitoare* (from *cioc* ‘a bird’s bill’). Alb. *gjon* ‘an owl’. Archaic, even if the Albanian form, with final *n*, would rather show a borrowing (from Romanian), even if Russu assumes that the Romanian form is borrowed from Albanian.

The root is *ghion* (pron. *g'on-*, *gy-on-*), of unclear origin. The basic meaning may be connected either to a bird's bill or to the specific activity of a woodpecker, like 'to drill'. Cf. *ghionoi* and *ghiont*. See also the parallel *cioc* – *ciocan*.

ghionoi Now rare, dialectal: 'hammer'. Same root as *ghionoaie* and *ghiont*.

ghiont 'a nudge'. Seemingly related with *ghionoaie*, supporting the meaning 'to strike, to hit' of the root **ghion-*.

ghirín The plant *Halimane pedunculata*. Seems the same root as in *gheară*.

ghiuĵ, *-i* rare today; dial. *vîj*; Arom. *ghiuş* 'old man'. Alb. *gjush* 'old man; grand father'. Without many doubts indigenous, etymon unclear. Aromanian (Macedo-Romanian) form is not necessarily borrowed from Albanian, as some linguists assume, as the alternating *j/ş* are met in other cases too, e.g. *Arghij/Arghiş*, *Blaj/Blaş*, *Cluj/Cluş* etc. We assume that, as in most cases quoted here, the Albanian form is borrowed from Romanian.

giugiulí See *guguli*.

giupî'n The old form of *jupîn*. The original pronunciation was *ĵupîn*.

ġide, *ġîzi* s.m. 'executioner (in the Middle Ages)'; equivalent of *călău*, currently considered of unknown origin too. Obscure, undoubtedly an old 'technical' term usual until late in the Middle Ages. It seems a regressive derivative, with ironical and euphemistic motivation, from *a ġidila* 'to tickle'. (see below). Also we may assume an archaic form which eventually interfered with *a ġidila* related with Eng. *cut* (Old English *cuten*, *kitten*), Icelandic *kuta* 'to cut with a knife'. • A Germanic origin is not plausible, though suggested by some linguists.

ġidilá vb. 'to tickle'. Alb. *gudulís* 'id.' (See also s.v. *ġide*). Seemingly related to *a (se) gudura* 'to fawn upon somebody' (basically the word refers to dogs, ironically to people who flatter their boss); these forms must reflect IE **ghed-*, **ghend-* 'to get, to catch', zero grade **ghnd-* > Thr. **gud-il-*, **gud-ur-*. The evolution IE **ŋ* > Thr. *u*, *un* > Rom. *u* is normal. See also under *ġăsi*, *ġhici*, *ġînd*, *ġîndac*. Cf. *ġide* and *z-guduí*. • Common dictionaries (DA, DLRM, DEX) assume a borrowing from

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Bulg. *гъдел ми ъе* ‘it tickles me’, which does not explain the origin of the Bulgarian form either. If not borrowed from Romanian, as we are inclined to believe, then a common Thracian heritage in both languages.

gîgîlîce ‘small person or object’ (usually applied to kids or animal offspring). Seems derived from the root *ga-*, reduplicated *ga-ga-*, which is imitative for goose sound. This supports the indigenous character of *gîscă*; the same root is in *gaie*.

gînd, *-uri* s.n. ‘a mental activity: a thought’. Der.: *a gîndi* ‘to think’, *gîndire*, *gînditor*. It is usually held that Romanian form was borrowed from Hungarian *gond* ‘preoccupation’, even though the very origin of the Hungarian form is unknown. The Romanian word is related to Lithuanian *godýti* ‘to feel, to have an intuition’, *godóti* ‘to make an effort; to think’, *godelė* ‘a thought’. Sl. *gadati* ‘to guess’, Lat. *(pre)hendo*, Lith. *(pasi)gendu* ‘to get, to catch’ etc. The ultimate root is IE **ghed-*, nasalised **ghe-n-d-* ‘to get, to catch’ with semantic evolutions – in various linguistic areas or the same area – ‘to get – to get with the mind = to think, to guess, to

find’. • See also *a ghici*, *a găsi*, also *gîndac*. In *zgîndări* (also see), the original meaning of the IE root is preserved. • Hungarian *gond* is borrowed from Romanian.

gîndác, *-i* s.m. A generic name for (black) beetles and cockroaches, e.g. *~ de bucătărie*, *~ negru* etc. Obscure, probably indigenous from IE **ghed-*, nasalised **ghend-* ‘to get, to catch’. It seems, though not easy to identify the archaic derivation, related with *gînd* (see), with a reconstructable evolution ‘to get with the mind = a thought’, whereas *gîndac* preserves the basic meaning of the root: ‘to get, to catch’, i.e. ‘to catch/crawl’.

gîngurí vb. (about children) ‘to babble’; (about birds, especially doves) ‘to coo’. Related to Gr. *gyg-* e.g. *goggýzo* ‘to murmur’, *góggysis*, *goggysmós* ‘a murmur’. In Romanian the form must be explained from Thracian, from an archaic IE root of onomatopoeic character, as in *ga-ga*, (cf. *gîscă*). • Formed by reduplication, then nasal infix in the first component.

gînsác, *-i* s.m. ‘goose male’. See *gîscă*.

gîrgîr A specific device used in fishing for encircling and gathering groups of fish. Reduplicated form derived from the same root as *gheară* ‘claw’.

gîscă, gîște s.f. Masc. *gînsac, gîscan* ‘goose’. Similar words in many European languages: Alb. *gogësirë, gogësimë*, Sl. *gōsb* (Russian *gus*’, Pol. *gęś*), Lith. *žqsis*, Latvian *zuos*. Lat. *anser* (< **hanser*), Gr. *chēn*, Germanic **gans-* (Eng. *goose*, German *Gähne*), etc. It is currently assumed that the origin of the Romanian forms would be Bulgarian *găska*, S.-Cr. *guska*. The Balkanic South Slavic forms rather seem to be inherited from the substratum language; we may label them ‘Balkanic Thracian forms’. The Slavic origin of Romanian forms is at least debatable, if not entirely erroneous; they must reflect the archaic IE root **gha-gha-*, **ghe-ghe-*, **ghi-ghi-*. Romanian also preserves and uses onomatopoeia *ga-ga*. There were of course Romanian-Slavic interferences in Southeast Europe, but the basic forms must be of Thracian origin all over this part of Europe. Cf. *rață* ‘duck’.

glugă ‘hood’. Most references are to Bulg. *gugla, gugla*, which is of unknown origin either. Both Rom. and Bulg. form seems related with Germ. *Gugel* and Lat. *cuculla*, but a borrowing from German or a colloquial Latin heritage does not seem plausible. The word may be indigenous.

goangă ‘insect, bug’. Must be derived from Preie. root **G-G-*, **K-K-* ‘to inflate, to swell; round, ball-like’, with nasal infix, as in *gogă, gogoasă* (which also has the meaning ‘cocoon’) etc. • DEX incorrectly labels it as ‘onomatopoeic’.

Gog, Goga See *gogă*.

gogă, -e s.f. ‘a ghost, hobgoblin’. Alb. *gogë* ‘a ghost’. Basic term of folk beliefs. Romanian and Albanian forms must be related with Gr. *Gigas, Gigantes* ‘the Giants’ from Preie. **GoG-*, **GuG-*, **GiG-* ‘to swell, to inflate; round, ball-like; big, huge’. Cf. *ghioagă, gogoasă, cocoașă, cocon*. There is a difficult phonetic detail: *o* in the pre-final syllable should have turned to diphthong *oa* in the case of a feminine noun. The absence of this phenomenon may be attributed to either linguistic taboo or perhaps to the

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initial masculine gender of this noun, cf. *popă* (not **poapă*), *vodă* (not **voadă*). The modern form may be therefore derived from an older masculine form **gog* as in NP *Gog*, *Goga*, *Gogu*, *Gogiu* etc.

Gogiu Funerary representation in southern Moldavia, Adjud area, in which the main character is called *Gogiu*. Must be related to *gogă*.

gogoășă, *-e* și *gogoși* s.f. 1. doughnut; 2. pl., fig. *gogoși* ‘lies’; 3. a cocoon; 4. an excrescence on oak-tree leaves. The archaic meaning must have been ‘excrescence, to swell’, and thus related with *co-coașă*, *cocon/cucon*, *gogă*, *Goga*, *Guga*, *Gugu* from Preie. **KaK-*, **KoK-*, **GoG-* ‘to swell, to inflate’. Built on the same structure as *co-coașă*, with alternating *k/g*, as in other cases of the Preie. heritage.

gogolói ‘a spherical, ball-like object’. Closely related with *gogoășă*.

gogón (now obsolete) ‘a small round object’. See *gogoloi* and *gogonea*.

gogonéa ‘immature tomatoes used to be later pickled’. Closely related with *gogoloi* and *gogoășă*. The basic meaning was ‘spherical, ball-like’.

gógoriță (also stressed *gogorítă*) ‘a figure of the fairy-tales, which scared children’; in modern Romanian used especially with the figurative meaning ‘imaginary, unfounded threat’. The basic meaning was ‘round, spherical’, and is closely related with *gogă*, *gogoloi*, *gogon*, *gogonea*.

gorun, *-i* s.m. Oak tree, especially *quercus petraea*. Variant: *gărîndă*. Must be related with Gr. *grynós* ‘trunk of an old oak tree’, Basque *haritz* (*k > h*), Port. *carvalho*, Sp. *carrasco*, *carrasca* all having the meaning ‘(little) holm oak’ (*ilex*, Sp. *encina pequeña*). Preie. root **K-R-*, **G-R-* ‘stone, cliff’, hence ‘a tree growing on stones and cliffs, a tree of hard essence’. The same archaic root also in *Carpați*, *Gurghiu*, *grui*. • Also frequent as place-name: *Goruni*, *Gorona*, *Goronet*, *Goronețe*, *Gorunești* (< NP *Gorunescu*); NP: *Goron*, *Gorun*, *Gorunea*, *Goruneanu*, *Gorunescu* etc. See also the dialectal form *gărîndă*.

grai, *-uri* s.n. ‘speech; a local dialect’. Der.: *a grăi*, *grăitor* ‘eloquent’. Related with Gr. *gérys* ‘voice’, *géryma* ‘sound’, root *gar-* ‘to shout, to speak’, Old Irish *gair*

‘a shout’, from IE **g(h)er-*, **gre-*, **gra-*, initially with onomatopoeic values. • Bg. *graja* ‘id.’ has been sometimes invoked as the origin of the Romanian form; we assume that the sense of borrowing is from Romanian to Bulgarian, or we may accept a common Thracian origin in both Romanian and Bulgarian.

grapă ‘a harrow’. Basic farming tool. The old meaning should be connected to sphere ‘to dig, to plough’, therefore a plausible root is IE **ger-* ‘to turn up, to plough’ or rather the same root as in *groapă* (see below). Possibly related is verb *a zgîria* ‘to scratch’ (**z-gîr-*, **s-gîr-*), and related to its English equivalent: *to scratch*, Latin *scribo* (< ‘to scratch, to engrave symbolic signs on objects’). • Alb. *grep* ‘fishing rod; hook’ seems related too. See also *z-grep-țână*.

grésie ‘sandstone’. Alb. *gërris*, *gris*. From the same root as *grapă*, *groapă* or rather the same root as in *z-gîria* and English *grind*.

Grevel NM (Tîrnava-Medias) Seems related with Eng. *gravel* < Celtic *ghrau* < IE **ghrēu-* (Pokorny 460 and AHD 1521). A Celtic origin is not excluded (see the case of *Iza*

and *Galăț/Galați*). A newer, German (Transylvanian Saxon) origin is also possible for that area.

groăpă, *-gropi* s.f. ‘a pit; a grave’. Der.: *gropar*, *a în-gropa*. Alb. *gropë* ‘id.’. Related with Gothic *graban* ‘to dig’, OCS *grobъ* ‘a grave’ from IE **gher-* ‘to dig, to scratch’, with later developments *a*, *e* and *o*: **ghrebh-*, **ghrabh-*, **ghrobh-*. For Thracian we must reconstruct an *o*-degree development and evolution *bh* > *p*, as in *giupîn/jupîn*, *stăpîn*. • The word is specific to folk beliefs related to burial rites.

grui, *-e* s.n. ‘a peak; a hill; hill-side’. Related with Alb. *gur* ‘stone, cliff’, of Preie. origin, root **G-R-*, variant of **K-R-* ‘stone, cliff’. Cf. *Gurghiu*, *gorun* and *Carpați*.

grumáz, *-uri* s.n. (and pl. *grumaji*, s.m.) ‘neck’. Alb. *gurmas*, *grumas* ‘id.’. Reflects IE **gwer-* ‘to swallow’, zero-grade and evolution to Thr. *gur-* > *gru-*, so an initial form **gurmaz*, **gurmas* is probable. Seems related to *grai* (see); the two forms and meanings may have interfered across time: to swallow – to speak. The Albanian forms seem rather borrowed from Romanian.

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See also *su-grum-a*; cf. the similar parallel *gușă* – *su-guș-a* and *flămînd* – *flecări*.

grunz, *grunji* s.m., arom. *grundă*, pl. *grundz*, megl. *grus* ‘a small round object’. Alb. *grundë*, *krundë* ‘husk, chaff’. Form *grunz* seems reconstructed from the plural form, as suggested by the other parallels. The archaic root seems IE **ghren-*, **gh^wren-* ‘to grind’ (cf. Eng. *grist* and *grind*). Oldest reconstructable form in Thracian is **grun-d-*. Cf. *bulz*.

gudurá vb. (mainly about dogs) ‘to fawn’; figuratively ‘to flatter’. Related with Alb. *gudulís*, both probably related with *a (se) gîdila* (see); the alternance *l/r* is old, not at all the specific Romanian evolution of intervocalic *l > r*, which affects the Latin elements only. • Russu (1981: 328) relates it to Lith. *gedáuju* ‘to wish, to desire’ from IE **g^whedh-* ‘to ask for, to beg’, highly improbable. The forms are archaic, and specific to shepherd life. Cf. *gîdilá*, *z-guduí*; also *cuțu*, *șo*.

Guga NL (CJ) At.: 1592 – *Guga*. See *gogă* and *Gugu*.

gugiulí See *guguli*.

Gugu NM (2292 m altitude, delimited by Godeanu, Țarcu and Retezat). Der.: *gugan* ‘an inhabitant of Gugu peak area’. Same etymon like *gogă*, ultimately of Preie. origin. Etymologically related to NM *Kogaionon*, the sacred mountain of the Dacians.

gugulí, also *giugiulí*, *gugiulí* ‘to caress’. The basic root *gug-* is closely related with Preie. root **G-G-*, **K-K-* ‘round, swollen’. The oldest form is *gugulí*, while *gugiuli* and *giugiuli*, are newer, even if *giugiuli*, deformed by similarity with other words, is the most usual now.

gugulói See *gogolói*.

Gurghiu NM (MS); also NP *Gurghianu*. Closely related with *grui* and Alb. *gur*, all ultimately of Preie. origin.

gușă, -i s.f. ‘goitre; crop (of birds); fig. double chin’. Alb. *gushë* ‘id.’. Beyond any doubt archaic, with two possible IE roots to consider: (1) **geu-* ‘to curve, to swell’, hence New Persian *gōša* ‘a corner’, Norw. *kūs* ‘a hunch, a hump’, Gr. *gyíon* ‘a curve; knee’; (2) **gheu-* ‘to open wide’, hence Eng. *to yawn*, *to gape*. • Italian *gozzo* ‘id.’ seems related to

the Romanian form; its origin is unclear. It may be surmised a borrowing from southeast European Thraco-Illyrian substratum. See also *su-gușă*; cf. the similar parallel *grum-az – su-grum-a*.

Gutî'i NM From the same root as *gutui* (Ján Blaho, *Linguistica Slovaca* 3/1941: 28).

gutúi The tree *Cydonia oblonga* or *vulgaris*; 'quince tree'. Unknown origin; a root *gut-* for a name of tree or plant seems isolated in Romanian, and is replicated in NM *Gutîi*. The tree requires a warm climate, so – if borrowed – its origin must be Mediterranean, but this may have happened in prehistoric times.

hai 'let's go!'. Also variants like *haide*, *haidem*, *haidi*. Spread all over southeast Europe (South Slavic and Turkish *haydi*). Held for an onomatopoeia in DEX and other dictionaries, with the suggestion that all these languages borrowed the form from Turkish, which is at least debatable, if not outright erroneous. • Obviously South Slavic *haj*, *hajdi*, *hajdem(o)* is an interference with the forms of *iti*, *idem*, *idemo*, *idi!* 'to go', therefore Turk-

ish *haydi* seems rather a borrowing from Bulgarian and/or Serbian, with *haj+(i)di* (the imperative of *iti*), also mirrored in Romanian in *haide*, *haidi*, *haidem* (*hai* + *idemo* 'we go'). The basic form *hai* is rather remnant of an old verb with the meaning 'to go', imp. 'go!'; also initial *h* stands for an original velar spirant (laryngeal), and the forms may be globally related to the same root as Lat. *eō* (< **eyō*), *īs*, *īre* 'to go' < IE **ey-/i-* 'to go', which would satisfy the meaning, and partially the existence of initial *h-*, which does not seem etymological (if accepting this hypothesis); alternatively, *hai* reflects another root, with the basic meaning 'to go', which eventually interfered with those quoted above.

hai-hui adv. Especially in constructions like *a umbla hai-hui* 'to err, to go to and fro, without any plan'. Expressive, with reduplicated base *hai-hui*, for which see *hai* and *hui*, also *vui*. This form, together with *a hui/vui*, *huiet/vuiet*, *huidui* reflect the alternating velar spirant developed in Romanian as *f/h/v*, sometimes also *ș*. See *hai* and *hui/vui*.

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halí ‘to eat, to devour’ (expressive, colloquial; also referring to animals, especially to wolves). Alb. *ha* ‘he/she eats’, both forms related with *hameş* and *hămesit* ‘hungry’.

hameş ‘hungry’. Alb. *hamës* ‘eater, greedy’. The root *ha-* is also preserved in Albanian: *ha* ‘he eats’; *hejë* ‘food’, corresponding to Rom. *a hali* (colloquial, pejorative, as compared to *a mânca* < *manducare*, the usual form), *hămesit* ‘hungry’. Initial *h-* leads to an archaic velar spirant (laryngeal) *X. No clear etymon, but these archaic forms show that phoneme *h* was inherited in Romanian from the substratum. A relationship with Lat. *fames* ‘hungry’ is possible.

haţ Interjection with the basic meaning ‘to take abruptly, to seize, to steal’ as confirmed by the derived verb *a în-hăţ-á* ‘to seize’ and the probable parallel *hoţ* ‘thief’, with alternating *a/o*. Phoneme *h* would indicate an original velar spirant (laryngeal) in Thracian. DEX suggests an onomatopoeia for this form, which is of course possible for an archaic period (as in many other cases), yet the parallels *haţ*, *a înhăţá* and *hoţ* show that the meaning ‘to seize, to steal’ is well con-

solidated and is definitely old, if not archaic, prehistoric. A second root *haţ*, *hăţ-* is in *hăţiş* and NM *Haţeg*, with seemingly a different meaning, also well consolidated from prehistoric times.

Haţeg NM Related with *hăţiş* ‘thicket; bushes’; the root *haţ-/hăţ-* ‘thicket’ should be discriminated against root *haţ-/hăţ-* ‘to seize, to steal’ in *haţ*, *hoţ* and the verb *a înhăţá*, unless an archaic, prehistoric evolution between the two semantic spheres may be reconstructed.

Hăbăşeşti NL Derived from a supposed personal name as most forms in *-eşti*. The root *hăb-* must be related with *hău* ‘abyss’ and *hobîc* ‘a hollow, a pit’; NL *Hobiţa*. Initial *h* reflects the archaic velar spirant (laryngeal) *X.

hămesit ‘hungry’. Same root as *hameş*.

hărean (rare, dial.) ‘whey’. Alb. *hirrë* ‘whey’. Etymon unclear, but archaic, beyond any doubt.

Hăşdate NFl, NL (CJ, near Turda; HD). If not a deformation of German *Hochstadt*, which is doubtful, then indigenous. The archaic suffix *-ate* would also indicate an archaic

origin, and initial *h-* would indicate an original velar spirant (laryngeal) *X. No clear etymon. The Preie. suffix *-ate* was analysed by Battisti 1959: 33. Cf. *Hăşmaş*, *hojma* and *hojmalău*.

Hăşmaş NM Seems related with *Hăşdate*, *hojma* and *hojmalău*; if a relation with German *hoch* is in view, then it should be accepted for all these forms. Currently, they are held for unknown origin or not analysed at all.

hăţ ‘bridle; reins’. Must be akin to *haţ* and *hoţ*, also with the verb *a înhăţa*, with the basic meaning ‘to fix, to seize’.

hăţaş ‘a path in abrupt, mountainous locations’. Must be the same root as in *hăţiş*.

hăţiş ‘thicket’. The same root as in NM *Haţeg* and *hăţaş*.

hău ‘abyss’. Root *ha-/hă-* reflects an initial velar spirant (laryngeal) *Xa-* with the reconstructable meaning ‘hollow; abyss’. Gh. Muşu, *Voci din depărtări*, analysed similar forms in the Pre-Hellenic and Pre-Semitic area. Cf. *Hăbăşeşti*, *hobîc*, *Hobiţa*.

hîrîi ‘to rattle; to growl’. Akin to *a s-fîr-îi* ‘to sizzle’; the alternating *h-/sf-* indicate an original velar spirant (laryngeal). May be ultimately related to Latin *hirrîre* ‘to snarl’. The root *hîr-/sfîr-* is imitative, and had an onomatopoeic origin, as many other forms.

hîrîi ‘to wore out’. Colloquial and expressive. Akin to *hîrîi* and *hîrîi*.

hîrîi ‘to scrape, to grate’. Akin to *hîrîi*.

Hîrşova NL Dobrudja. Reflects ancient *Carsium*, with an unexplained change *k > h*, and Slavic suffix *-ova*. We assume, on the one hand, that – in several instances – phoneme *h* is inherited from the substratum, and, on the other hand, that in alternance with *f*, *v* and zero, it reflects a Late Thracian laryngeal or velar spirant. • Iordan, 1963: 89 (quoting Bogrea) refers to *cîrşe* ‘peaks’, but he does not even try to explain the alternating *c-h*, which is not so simple. In their turn, *cîrşe* may be indigenous too (see *Cîrpa*, first of all, and the other place-names derived from Preie. *K-R-, *G-R- ‘stone, cliff’). Ancient spelling *Carsium*, with *c* in-

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stead of an original velar spirant, is normal, as such a phoneme was absent in both Greek and Latin.

hoáspă The cover of cereal grains and other vegetables, like peas or beans. Seems related with Gr. *φάσηλος*, the plant *Vigna sinensis* but also referring to other plants. Hence is Rom. *fasole* ‘bean’ and generally post-classical Latin *phasēlus*, hence spread in other languages as well, e.g. Czech *fazole* etc. The Greek form is Preie. Initial *h* in Romanian usually reflects an archaic velar spirant *X*. In the case of a Preie. element, the root *X-S-*, Thr. **X-s-* > Rom. **hos-*, later *hoas-* in prefinal syllable required by the feminine gender, may reflect a specific archaic sound. The correspondence Rom. *h* – Gr. *φ* is not usual. See also *păstaie* and *păstra*.

Hobîța NL See *hobîc*.

hobîc ‘a hollow, a pit’. Related with NL *Hobița*, further with *hău* ‘abyss’. Initial *h* reflects the archaic velar spirant (laryngeal) *X*.

hojma adv. ‘continuously, repeatedly’. Unexplained, presumably indigenous, with initial *h*, a former velar spirant (or laryngeal). Ukr. *hožma* is from Romanian. See

Hășdate and *Hășmaș* above and *hojmalău* below.

hojmalău ‘big, very tall’ (pejoratively, about too tall people). Seems related with *hojma* and NM *Hășmaș*. If we accept the archaic opposition ‘deep’ – ‘high’ (i.e. the extremes), then a relation with *hău* ‘abyss’ is probable.

hotăr ‘border, frontier’. Usually held for a borrowing from Hungarian *hotár*, even if the origin of the Hungarian form is obscure. There are two Albanian forms which support the indigenous origin in Romanian: *hatër*, (1) ‘border, frontier’, and (2) ‘pleasure’; the second meaning shows that in Albanian two initial forms merged into one, one archaic, common to Romanian, the other one of Turkish origin (*hatır* ‘pleasure’), Rom. *hatîr*. In our view, Rom. *hotar* and Alb. *hatër* ‘border, frontier, margin’ belong to the same archaic heritage; Hung. *hotár* is borrowed from Romanian. • Initial *h* speaks of the same velar spirant **X* (or laryngeal) later treated in Romanian as *f/h/v* and as *f/h/th* in Albanian. For this treatment see *fărîmă* and *vătaf*.

hotărî ‘to decide’; initially ‘to draw a line, border in an action’. Derived from *hotar*.

hoţ ‘thief’. Closely related with *haţ* and verb *a înhăţa*, with alternating *a/o*.

hudubáie ‘big house or dwelling’. The root *hud-* ‘big, large’ is best reflected in *huidumă*.

hudubleájă ‘large, prey bird’. Related with *hudubaie* and *huidumă*.

huhuréz ‘eagle owl’ (the bird *Strix*). From the same root as *huí*, with reduplication. The form originated in an imitative interjection.

huí ‘to hum, to din; to roar’; also *a vui*. The alternating *h/v*, sometimes also *f* and *ş* (*ş*), is the indication of an initial velar spirant (laryngeal) in a reconstructable root **Xu-* ‘to hum, to roar’. The derived verb, by reduplication and internal haplology/alternance, is *a huidui* (< *hui-hui-*); cf. *hai-hui* and *huhurez*, also *ră-fui*.

huidúmă ‘big, fat or very tall person’. The root **hu(i)d-* ‘big, large, tall’ is met in *hudubaie* ‘big house, big dwelling’, *hudubleajă* ‘big, prey bird’ and, with the generic sense of the root, in *huidumă*. Initial *h* reflects an archaic velar spirant (laryngeal) **X*. Otherwise, the forms

are isolated in Romanian, and no further relation has been identified so far.

hutupí ‘to eat gluttonously, to swallow up’. With a different vowel grade, must be related with *hali*, *hămesit*, root **Xa-*, **Xu-* ‘to eat; to be hungry’.

hututúi ‘amazed’. Alb. *hutón* ‘to amaze’. The prototype was **hut-hut-úi*, then by haplology *hutu-tui*. Etymon unknown, forms isolated in Romanian and Albanian.

iar 1. conj. ‘and’ (in certain constructions, otherwise *şi*); 2. adv. ‘again, once more’ (with this meaning, also *iărăşi*). Related with Lith. *ir* ‘and’. Cf. *dar* ‘but, on the other hand’. Beyond any doubt, an indigenous word.

Iara, gen. *Ierii* NFI (West Carpathians) Probably related with the forms derived from Preie. root **AR-*, with iotacisation in initial position.

iărăşi adv. ‘again, once more’. See *iar* + suffix *-aş/-ăş*. Final *i* is non-etymological, just a graphical convention, and – in this case and other similar ones – incorrect; the correct spelling should be *iarăş*.

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Iaş(i) NL (AG, GJ, IS), NM (Parîng Mts). The analyses regularly refer to only the important town of Iaşi, but the other forms are equally relevant, mainly the mountain name. Cf. NPp *Iassii*. Most linguists assume, referring to the town of Iaşi, that the name reflects the Alans after the 9th century. Poghirc ILR 2: 360 is the only who assumes a substratum origin, though he again does not refer to the other forms. We also include to the hypothesis that all these indeed reflect an archaic origin; akin to *Ieş*. See also *Iž* (Lexicon B, II, 5 and II, 7).

Ieş NM (Parîng). Akin to *Iaş(i)*.

Ibru NFl, NL (AB) Closely related with similar forms in Bulgaria (*Ibăr*) and Serbia (*Ibar*). Also, Ukr. NFl *Ibr*, *Ibra* reflects the same Thracian origin, directly or via Romanian. Thracian forms spelled *Ebros*, *Hebrus*, *Ebrus* as the prototype of modern forms. See also Lexicon A. The preservation of sequence *-br-* is normal for a substratum form.

iga Variant of *inga*.

Inău, also **Inéu** NL (AR, BH, HR, MM); NM (MM). Early records of the names: (1) in the district of Arad: 1214 – *villa Ieneu*; 1236 – *terra Ie-*

neu; 1256 – *villa Ienw, Jenw*; (2) in the district of Bihor: 1202–1203 – *villa Jeneu*; 1332 – *villa Jeneusol*; 1333 – *sacerdos de villa Ieneu*. Also, the root is the second part of the compound *Chişinău* (*Chiş-inău*). Related with Gr. ND *Inō* = *Leukothea*, which leads to the Preie. root **AN-*, **IN-* ‘white; bright colour’. Related forms are NFl *Inn*, a tributary of the Danube (At. 1150 – *Hin*), German *Inn*, NFl Lat. *Aenus*, possibly Epirotic *en* ‘water’; see also NFl *Engadin*, a tributary of Inn, Reto-Roman *Engiadina* < ** en cò d’Oen* ‘at the beginning of Inn’, Latin *in capite Oeni* (Kiss 1980: 203).

inga ‘look here! here it is!’. Also *iga*. Archaic, isolated, probably an archaic relic without identifiable etymon. If the basic root is *ig-*, nasalised *ing-*, then we may relate it with *ago*, *agere*, but this is just a guess.

Inuc NL Cluj See *Inău*, *Ineu*.

inc ‘a wish to play, make fun or laugh’. Also *încot*. Obscure indeed. There seems to have been an archaic root *enc-*, *inc-* ‘play, laugh’.

încot Variant of *încot*; same root as in *inc*.

Ineu See *Inău*.

Ip NFl, NL (SJ); At. 1208 – *venatores bubalorum de villa Ypu* (in which final *-u* is the Romanian definite article, see the case of NFl *Ipoly/Ipel/Eipel*; Lexicon D); 1213 – *villa Ip, Ipu* (again *-u* is the definite article). Probably related and derived from the same root are NL *Ipotești* (several locations), NL *Ipa-tele* (IS). Related with NFl *Ipoly* (Hungarian spelling), *Ipel'* (Slovak spelling), *Eipel* (German spelling) at the Slovak, Hungarian and Austrian border, At. in 1135–1262 – *Ipul* (which seems the Romanian form with the definite article *-ul*). The ultimate origin is probably related with IE **ap-* ‘water’ or rather Preie., from a reconstructable root **AP-*, **IP-*, of unknown meaning.

Iza NFl (MM) Closely related forms are in the Celtic area: French *Isère* < Celtic *Isara*; Fr. *Oise* < **Isiā* etc. A Celtic river-name cannot be excluded in that part of Romania, but it rather continues a Thracian form, related with Celtic.

îm-, în- Many forms quoted under *î* reflect prefix *îm-*, *în-* (< Latin *in*) +

roots analysed elsewhere in this volume. Please refer to the basic roots for further references. There may have been a similar prefix *in* in Thracian too, which have later merged with the Latin form. The derivatives with initial *îm-*, *în-* are mainly verbs, and are very frequent in Romanian. Some of them are used with the prefix *îm-*, *în-* only. The forms analysed mainly refer to this latter case.

îmbîrligă See *bîrliga*.

îmbuibă vb. ‘to eat too much, excessively; to gorge’. Compounded with prefix *în-* and an indigenous form probably derived from IE **b(h)eu-* ‘to swell, to inflate’; the same IE root in *bubă*.

încăieră ‘to skirmish, to fight’. Derived from *caier* with prefix *în-*, and supports the archaic, substratum origin of *caier*, with the basic meaning ‘confuse heap of something, confuse situation’. Cf. *în-curca*, *în-curcătură*; *în-cîlci*, *în-cîlceală* etc.

încîlci ‘to tangle; to put in a confuse situation’. Built with *în* + *cîlți*.

încot Same meaning and origin like *inc*, *incot*.

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încotoşmăná ‘to put on large and heavy clothes’. Prefix *în-* + *co-toşmán* ‘big and fat cat’. Colloquial and expressive. The basic meaning is ironical, and may be translated as ‘to put so many clothes on, that he/she may look like a big and fat cat’.

încreţí Prefix *în-* and *creţ*.

încurcă vb. ‘to mix in a confused way, to deorganise’. prefix *în-* (from Latin *in*) and root **curc-* ‘curved, wry, crooked’ from IE **(s)ker-* ‘to curve, to bend’, development **kṛk-* > Thr. **kurk-*, also preserved in other indigenous words: *cursă*, *cruţa* (with the same evolution IE **ṛ* > Thr. *ur*, specifically Thracian), also, with a different phonetic evolution, *crac*, *cracă*, *Crăciun*, *creţ*, *Criş*, *cursă*. All these must reflect IE **(s)ker-*.

îndeléte ‘slowly’. Especially in constructions, e.g. *pe îndelete* ‘slowly, calmly’. Formed from joining: *în-de-lete*, see *lete*.

îndeletnici Especially reflexive: *a se îndeletnici (cu)* ‘to deal with’. Akin to *îndelete*, and both derived from *lete*, now obsolete.

îndopá See *dop*.

îndreá See *undrea*.

înfolí ‘to put many, think clothes on’. Prefix *în-* and *fufă*, pejorative for ‘clothes, cloth’ (also means ‘whore’). See also *încotoşmăna*.

îngăimá ‘to speak with difficulty (like a wounded or sick person); to utter nonsense’. Prefix *în-* and basic root *ga-* (see), as in *ga-ga* imitative for goose sound and other derivatives quoted under *ga-*, *ga-ga*. See also *îngăla*.

îngălá ‘to work slowly and without method; to speak with difficulty (with this meaning, a synonym of *îngăima*). Closely related with *îngăima*.

înghina ‘to unite, to join’; the opposite is now rare form *desghina*, *dezghina* (but still frequent in Romanian); for such parallels, see *închide – deschide* ‘to close – to open’ (Latin origin), *încurca – descurca* ‘to confuse – to make clear’ (probably indigenous Thracian) etc. The origin may be archaic, without any clear etymon. A folk derivative from Latin *imbinare* may not be excluded, though difficult to prove. The root **ghin-*, unused as such,

must have the original meaning ‘to match, to put together’ (such as the components or parts of a mechanism).

îngrădî Prefix *în-* and *gard* (see), then metathesis. Cf. *în-gurzi* with a similar construction.

îngropă ‘to bury’. Prefix *în-* + *groapă* ‘a pit; a grave’.

îngurzi, also **îngruzi**, **îngorzi** vb. ‘to wave, to curl, to ripple’. Prefix *în-* < Lat. *in* and an indigenous root **gurz-* (possibly also **gord-*, with the evolution *d > dz > z*) from IE **ger-* ‘to wave, to curl’, a variant of **(s)ker-* (see above *încurca*). The phonetic evolution from IE **gr-* > Th. *gur-*. Form *îngruzi* is a metathesis *ur/ru*, and *îngorzi* reflects either an opening evolution *u > o*, or perhaps a parallel evolution to stressed *o*. See also similarly the relationship *gard – a îngrădi*.

înhăță ‘to seize’. Derived from *haț*.

însăilă, **înseilă** ‘to sew’. Seems a quite clear construction with prefix *în-* and an indigenous root perhaps akin to English *sew*. The form *desăila* ‘to un-sew’, i.e. ‘to go back unsewing for sewing again’. The

basic root is **săil-*, **seil-* ‘to sew; thread’. See also *saiă*, also related to this form.

înșiră See *șir*.

întări See *tare*.

întărită ‘to incite, to stir fury’ (especially referring to incite dogs in order to attack). Seems derived from *tare* ‘hard; solid’ and a suffix *-ət-*.

întîmpină ‘to welcome someone; to come from the opposite side’. Often held for a folk derivative from a Latin root difficult to define. A possible relation with *tîmp*, *tîmpit* ‘idiot, fool’ does not seem real, but mere hazard. Yet a relation with *tîmplă* ‘the right or left side of head near the eyes’ cannot be excluded. The archaic meaning must have been ‘to come (from opposite side), to meet’. Russu assumes there was an indigenous root akin to Latin *tempus* (< ‘time span, time length’) and *templum* ‘space’, which may be indeed debatable, but not impossible. See also *întîmplă*. DEX holds it for a derivative *în* (< Lat. *in*) + *tîmpină*, of Slavic origin. The latter explanation may be plausible, the initial meaning being ‘to play in-

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struments upon the arrival of an official guest’.

întîmplá ‘to happen; to occur’. Usually held for a derivative from *tempus* or *templum* (for which see *întîmpina* above). Russu holds it for indigenous. The ultimate Latin origin, based rather on *templum*, cannot be excluded, so the basic meaning may have been ‘to present in the temple’, hence ‘to happen, to occur’. The form must be anyway discussed together with *întîmpina* and *tîmplă*.

întremá ‘to recover (after a disease), to get well’. Prefix *în-* and root **trem*, perhaps the same as in *tare* ‘strong, solid’. It seems the opposite of *destrăma* ‘to come into pieces, to get apart’ (as often with the verbs in the pair with prefixes *în* v. *de*, *des*, *dez*, of various origins). The root seems the same as in *tare*, so the form must be indeed based on an indigenous, Thracian root.

întunecá ‘to get dark’ (as sunset; the opposite of *a se lumina* ‘to get light’, i.e. dawn. Der.: *întuneric* ‘dark; night’. The root is **tunec-*, which has been tentatively explained from a Latin colloquial form

derived from *tenebrium* or *in-tunicare* ‘to cover with a *tunica*’; or from *toneo*, *-ere*. All are unconvincing. The possible relationship may be with German *Dunkel*, even if the phonetic correspondences are obscure. We suggest IE **dheu-* ‘to rise in a cloud’, i.e. dust, vapour, smoke; for Thracian, an evolution **dheu-n-ko-* > **dh-ŋ-ko* is feasible. The modern form may be derived from **în-tumn-ec-a* > *în-tun-ec-a*, by de-nasalisation.

întărcá ‘to wean; to stop milking offspring’, i.e. ‘to put offspring in a pen or enclosure’, therefore derived from *țarc* ‘an enclosure, a pen for sheep or animals in general’.

întepá Prefix *în-* + *țepă*.

-îrl-, -îrl-ă Non-productive suffix as in *ciocîrlă*, *ciocîrlie*, *șopîrlă*, *a năpîrli* etc.

jánghină (now obsolete) ‘a disease of horses’. Hence *janghinós* (pejorative and colloquial) ‘dirty and lacking self-care’. Obscure, presumably indigenous.

janghinós See *janghină*.

janț The greasy whey upon preparing certain types of cheese. Starting from the basic meaning ‘liquid’, seems related with *jelț*, *jilț*, *Jijia*, *jintiță* and *Jiu*.

jelț Rare, dial. ‘a brook, a rivulet’; also *jilț*, *jîlț*. Probably from the same root as NFI *Jiu*.

jilț See *jelț*.

Jigureasa NFI A tributary of *Jiu*, in the Orăștie Mts. A compound: *Ji-gureasa* or *Ji-g-ureasa*; the first part is related with *Jiu*, *Jijia*, and the second part, depending on how we analyse it, unclear: *-gureasa*, derived from *gură*?; or we should assume an epenthetic, linking *-g-*, and *-ur-easa*, see *or-*, *ur-*. See also *Jiu*, *Jijia*, *jelț*.

Jijia NFI Related with *Jiu*, with reduplication, as in *curcubeu*, *Curcubăta*, *Săsar*, *Rarău* etc.

jîntiță ‘milky product obtained by gradually warming up whey’. Related with *janț*.

jirăví ‘to let colours on pottery flow from margins towards centre’. The basic meaning may be reconstructed ‘to flow’ (referring to colours used in pottery ornaments),

therefore the root must be the same as in the group derived from *ji-* ‘to flow; river; whey’: *janț*, *Jiu*, *Jijia*, *jelț*, *jilț*. The technique thus used is called *jirăvíre*.

jirăvíre See *jirăví*.

Jiu NFI Unclear, probably indigenous from IE *ǵel-* ‘to glitter’. Seems related with *jelț* ‘a brook’ and NFI *Jijia*. • The hypothesis of a borrowing from Sl. *živ-* ‘alive, live’ is not plausible.

jîlț See *jelț*, *jilț*.

joiănă The plant *Oenanthe silaifolia*, having a yellowish-orange liquid in its roots. The basic meaning seems to be connected to the colour of the liquid in its root, therefore a root *jo-* with chromatic meaning. This form is also used for cow names, and would thus confirm that the basic meaning was related to colours.

jumate, **jumătate**; reg. *giumătate* [*ǵumătate*]; Arom. *ǵumitate*. Alb. *gjýsmë*, *-a* ‘id.’. It is commonly held for a substratum element, and also assumed that variant *jumate* is a haplology (omitting a similar sound). Indeed, the Albanian paral-

lel would indicate a root *jum-*, with two development variants: *jum-ate* and *jum-ăt-ate*. On the other hand, we may admit a prefix *ju-*, Alb. *gjys-* and *mat-/măt-*, which may reflect IE *me*⁻², ‘in the middle, half-way’, as in **me-dhi*, English *mid-wife*, or Greek *me-ta* ‘between, with, aside’. The Albanian form seems newer, but would also support the hypothesis of a prefix *gjys-* and *me* ‘half’. If the basic root is supposed to be *jum-*, then we may accept a Thracian form akin to Lat. *duo*, *duae* ‘two’. We are rather inclined for the hypothesis of a prefix *ju-*, Alb. *gjys-* and *me-dh-* ‘half’. The role of *ju-* is obscure.

jupîn Formerly *ğupîn*. See *ban* and *stăpîn*.

jupuî ‘to flay’ (also fig.: ‘to exploit, to exhaust someone’s energy’). Probably indigenous, though sometimes referred to Bulg. *župja* ‘I peel (off)’. The two words may be related as an indigenous substratum heritage in both languages, even if we may assume either a direct heritage from Thracian in Bulgarian, or a Romanian intermediary.

labă, *-e* s.f. ‘a paw; pejor. hand’. Usually held for a borrowing from Hung. *láb* ‘a leg’, though the etymon of the Hungarian form is obscure, and references to Samoedic and *laamb*, *lamb* ‘the sole (of footwear)’ raise major difficulties of phonetic correspondences. • We incline for an indigenous origin, seemingly related with Gr. *labé* ‘getting, catching’, from IE **(s)lagw* ‘to get, to catch’. As the evolution IE **gw > b* is natural for Greek, not for Thracian (at least as we may deduce from existing data), the hypothesis of an old Greek word borrowed in Thracian cannot be excluded. A second view is to consider a fortuitous similarity with Greek, and refer to Preie. **L-B-*, **L-P-* ‘stone, cliff’, but in this case the semantic evolution is indeed difficult. • Hung. *láb* should be anyway considered borrowed from Romanian. • Intervocalic *b* in Romanian is normal in an indigenous element. See also *lăbărța*.

Lala NSt, NM (MM) Probably from an initial form **Alala* (**Al-al-a*) > Rom. *Lala* (similarly in *Rarău*). The ultimate origin must be

Preie. *AL- ‘elevation, peak’. NP f. *Lala* seems from the same root.

lațe pl. ‘long hair; tuft’; der. *lățos* ‘furry, with long hair’. Alb. *lesh* (from **lash*) ‘wool; hair’. Seems related with Gr. *lasios* ‘furry, long-haired...’, *lachne* ‘hair’, Sl. **vlasъ* ‘hair’ etc. Most probably indigenous.

lăbărtă (usually referring to footwear) ‘to get (too) large (by daily or frequent use)’. See *labă*.

Lăpúș NM (MM); NL (*Tîrgu-Lăpuș*). Many related forms: *Lăpușnic* NFl, NL (Semenic Mts), *Lăpușna* NL (Gurghiu Mts, and a similar form in the Rep. of Moldova); *Lăpușata* and NP *Lăpușeanu*, NL *Lăpușești* < NP *Lăpușescu*. Some of the forms have early attested forms: 1320 – *Lapis Sanctis Michaelis* (a location which later disappeared). The mountain-name, at least, as well as the numerous forms spread on a large area indicate a well consolidated mountain- and place-name. The etymological explanation usually refer to Sl. *lopuchъ*, the plant *Arctium* or *Rumex*, hence would be Sl. NL *Lopušna*, *Lopušnik* etc. (Šmilauer, *SITop* 114). Kiss 1980: 373 rejects

the Slavic origin of the Romanian forms, and suggests a Hungarian origin, from *lápos* ‘a marsh, a moor’. We may admit that form *Lăpușna*, even though derived from *Lăpuș*, which for sure is NOT a Slavic or Hungarian borrowing, is an interference at folk level. Nevertheless NM, NL *Lăpuș* and *Lăpușata* must reflect an indigenous heritage, Preie. root **L-P-*, **L-B-* ‘stone, cliff, mountain’, which is in Lat. *lapis* ‘stone’. From this reason at least, the Mediaeval attestation *Lapis Sancti Michaelis* is interesting, and would indicate the preservation of meaning ‘stone, cliff’ until late in the Middle Ages. • The forms *Lăpușnic* may indeed reflect a Slavic origin, or a Slavic influence in adapting the pre-existing form(s). See also *lespede* (< **lepsede*, probably, with metathesis).

lățós ‘hairy, wearing (too) long hair’. See *lațe*.

leágăn, -e s.n. ‘cradle (also figuratively, calque after French *berceau*). Der.: *a se legăna*, *legănat*, *legănare*. Related with Gr. *léchos* ‘id.’, *léktron* ‘a bed’, Lat. *lectica*, Germ. *liegen* and Eng. *lay* etc. The Thracian prototype must have been **légh-an*.

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legănă ‘to rock a child, to balance’. Derived from *leagăn*.

lehămite ‘nausea’; fig. ‘disgust’. Related with *lehăi* and *leșina*.

lehăi vb. ‘to speak nonsense; to prattle’. Related with Alb. *leh* ‘to bark; to bay, to yelp’. Unclear etymon; intervocalic *h* reflects an archaic velar spirant (laryngeal), cf. *hămesit*, *Hîrșova*; in this perspective, related with *leșina*, with alternating *h/ș*, another proof – if accepted – of the original velar spirant.

lepădă ‘to cast, to throw; to put away; to miscarry a baby’; refl. ‘to abjure, to get rid of a former opinion’. The former relations to Latin *lapidare* and *liquidare* have been abandoned, even if a derivative from *lapis* ‘stone’, hence ‘to cast a stone’, then ‘to cast’ in general is tempting. The etymon is obscure, and the Latin origin still possible. Russu rejects all these in favour of an indigenous element, yet a colloquial Latin **lapidare* seems the most probable.

léspede ‘a large piece of stone, especially the stone cover of a tomb; a large piece of stone in general’. The modern form seems the result of a

metathesis from **lepsede*, therefore a relation, in the sense of *Urverwandtschaft*, is probable with many other forms having root **L-P-*. The ultimate origin may be Preie., via Thracian. The same Preie. origin for Latin *lapis*. See also *Lăpuș*.

leșială Now obsolete and dialectal: ‘state of weakness or sickness’. See *leșina* and *leșie*.

leșie Now obsolete. A variant of *leșială*.

leșină ‘to lose conscience, to faint’. Sometimes held for a derivative from *leș* ‘corpse’, of Turkish origin, and spread in many southeast European languages. Russu, on the opposite side, assumes that the similarity is fortuitous. The verb is obviously derived from the same root as *leșială* and *leșie*. Also, all these forms with root *leș-* are related with *lihni* (see). The alternating *h/ș* (in other cases, the alternating phonemes are *f/v/h* and *ș*) are remnants of the original velar spirant (laryngeal) **X*. The original meaning of root **leX-*, **liX-* must have been ‘weak; hunger’.

lete ‘free time; respite, leisure’. The basic root of the more frequently used *îndelete* (*în-de-lete*).

As such, completely obsolete. Etymon unknown, but probably archaic. Frequent in derived forms and constructions: (*a se*) *îndeletnici* (*cu*) ‘to deal with’; (*pe*) *îndelete* ‘slowly, calmly’. Alb. *lehtë*, adj., adv. ‘slight(ly)’. Beside the Albanian parallel, no clear relation. Starting from the basic meaning ‘slow, mild’, one may refer to either *lēnis* or *lentus*, but this is a mere guess; Slavic *lěto* ‘year’ may be another possible relationship (not a borrowing though), which would fairly correspond to the structure of this archaic term.

leúrdă, -e The plant *Allium montanum*. Bulg. *levurda* is from Romanian (less probably directly from Thracian). Seems related to Alb. *hudhër*, *hudër*, with the same meaning, but a common prototype is difficult to reconstruct. In Albanian, the relationship may rather be *hudhër*, *hudër* – *hédhë* ‘(corn) ear’. The IE root seems **leud-* ‘small, little’, later **leud-er-*, then metathesis. • Does not seem a construction based on a prefix *le-* and *urdă*.

licărí vb. ‘to glitter, to glow’. Der. (regressive): *licăr* s.n. From IE **leuk-*, **lek-* ‘to glitter’, as in Lat.

luceo, -ēre, hence Rom. *a luci*. Cf. *licurici*. See also *nă-lucă*.

licuríci, ~ s.m. ‘glow worm’. Related with *a licări* ‘to glitter, to glow’.

lihní ‘to feel weak or without power, especially when hungry’. The root *lih-* is related with root *leṣ-* in *leṣială*, *leṣie* and *leṣina*. The alternating *ṣ/h* reflect the archaic velar spirant (laryngeal) **X*.

Lotru NFl Obviously built like *Motru*; a derivation from *lotru* ‘thief’, does not seem either possible or probable. I am rather inclined for a relation with Cretan *lat* ‘a marsh, a moor’, NL *Latsida*, both of Preie. origin. A root **L-T-* is not immediately identifiable, so further research is necessary. Probably related with NFl *Loire*, in France.

macioálă ‘ugly, wicked woman; an ugly, sick and non-performant cow’. Seems closely related with the root in *măciulie*.

mal, -uri s.n. ‘river bank’. Very frequent also in place-names, and borrowed by the neighbouring languages. Also related with Alb. *mal* ‘hill, mountain’. The ultimate origin is Preie. **M-L-* ‘hill, cliff’. The ar-

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chaic meaning in Romanian must have been ‘rocky river-bank’, cf. Roman province *Dacia Malvensis* = *Dacia Ripensis*. • Also attested in ancient place-names: NL *Malva*, NL *Malontum* (southern Illyria); NL *Di-mallum* ‘two hills’ or ‘two river-banks’ etc. One of the substratum forms with ancient and continuous attestation through ages. See also *maldac/măldac*, *maldăr*, *mălai*, *Măleia*.

maldác and **măldác** rare, dial. ‘a bunch of hay’. Seems related with Neo-Greek *mandakes* ‘a bunch of osier’. It is not clear whether we may assume a borrowing from either sense. The origin seems archaic, Thracian, also with Illyrian parallels. The first part of form *mal-dac* seems related with *mal*, therefore the basic meaning may have been ‘a hillock of hay/osier (or any similar product of farming)’. A Romanian origin of Neo-Greek form is possible. See also *mal* and *maldăr*.

măldăr ‘a heap (of), a large, undefined quantity of’. From the same root as *mal* and *maldac/măldac*, and also supporting the archaic, substratum origin of these forms. The ini-

tial meaning must have been ‘a hill(ock) of = a heap (of), a large quantity of’.

măldur Dialectal variant of *maldăr*.

Málnaş NL (CV) At.: 1366 – *terra Malnas*. The first part is the same as in *mal* from Preie. **M-L* ‘hill, cliff’.

-man Suffix or rather second element in compounds: *Căliman*, *Caraiman*, *duşman* etc. Seemingly related to the second part in *ortoman* ‘rich’ (regional and obsolete). This is also specific for some archaic place-names south of the Danube, e.g. *Igman*. Poghirc ILR 2: 363 refers to related forms Iranic *-manes*, Sanskrit *-manas* and Greek *-μενης*, which seems a reasonable etymon, even if not clear for all forms. • Should not be confused with Turkish *orman* ‘black’ in some more recent place-names like *Car-aorman*, *cara* ‘black’ and *orman* ‘a forest’. See also *Manea* and the related forms quoted there.

Mandra NL (OT), NP. See *Manea*, also *Manu*, *mendre*, *Mendrea*. Cf. *mandră*.

mandră Obs., archaic ‘a flock of sheep’. NP *Mandrea*. Obscure; perhaps related with *Manea* and/or *-man*, even if the semantic sphere is difficult to circumscribe to these forms.

Mándrea NP See *Mandra*, *Manea*.

Manea NP Also *Man*, *Manu*, *Mănescu* etc. Similar forms attested in Thracian: *Manes*, *Manis*, *Mannis*, *Manites* etc. (Dečev 285). Probably related with Eng. *man*, German *Mann* etc. < IE **manu-s* ‘man’. See also *duşman* (*duş-man* ‘enemy man’). • Bulg. NP *Manto* is also related with these forms; cf. Rom. NP *Manta*. It is not clear the relation between these forms and suffix *-man* (above). See also *Mandra*, *Mandrea*, *mendre*, *Mendrea*.

Manga NL (DB). Akin to *-man* and/or *Manea*; a personal-name is probably the origin of this place-name.

Mangália NL An important town on the Black Sea shore, some 35 kms south of Constanţa; continues the ancient Callatis. Seems related to *Manga*, *mangă* and the other forms referred to under these entries.

mangă ‘a stubborn person’. Obscure, probably related with *-man* and/or *Manea*.

Manta NP Probably related with *Manea*. Cf. NP Thr. *Manta*, Etruscan ND *Mantus*, a subterranean deity (Dečev 1957: 286–287). The attestation of Thracian personal name, and other related forms, is precious in underlying the tradition of this name in the area, even if the relation with the Etruscan name may be doubtful.

mantică Rare, obsolete: ‘milk cream’. Cf. Iberian *manteca* ‘id’ and perhaps Dravidian *māntana* ‘sheep butter’ (Lahovary RIO 3.1951: 191). The relation with Sl. *smetana* is unclear, and is debatable that Rom. *smântână* is a Slavic borrowing. If Lahovary’s approach may be accepted, then an archaic Preie. term.

Mara NFI Maramureş. Also the first part of the compound *Mara-mureş* (for the second part see *Mureş*). The approach to the Pan-Christian NP *Maria* can only be a folk etymology, though many linguists incline to such a hypothesis. Also the river-name cannot be related (urverwandt) to *Mureş* as the root does not allow this approach. *Mara* must be

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derived from Preie. **M-R-*, also **M-L-* ‘stone, cliff’ (see the forms with root *mal-*). If rejecting the Preie. origin, then we must reconstruct a Thracian root with short *a* (*ă*), as Thr. *ā* regularly turns into Rom. *u* and/or *o*, as in *Mureș* or *mumă*, but NM *Codru Moma* (*momă* = *mumă*). It is not clear whether it may be related with *mare*, but – if so – the hesitating hypotheses regarding the origin of *mare* may find a conclusive answer. See also *Maramureș*.

Maramureș NR Obviously a compound from *Mara* and *Mureș* (see both). The region has early attestations as river-name: 1199 – *Maramorisis*; *fluvium Maramors*; 1231 – *fluvium Maramorosu*. It is probable that the river-name referred to as *Maramorisis* etc. is the river *Mara*.

mare ‘big, great’; a different origin than *mare* ‘sea’, from Latin *mare*, *maris*. The origin has been hotly debated for 150 years. Some linguists assumed a simple derivation-association on the principle *mare* ‘sea’, the sea is big, therefore the meaning ‘big’ associated with ‘sea’ would be a Romanian innovation. Other lin-

guists have firmly rejected such an explanation, and assume that the form is of Thracian origin, from IE **mēr-os*, **mōr-os* as in Old Irish *mōr*, *mār* ‘big, great’. The discussions are still hot and in progress. See also *Mara* and *Marmația*. The Thracian NP *Beri-maros*, *Maron*, NL *Maroneia* (?) and ND *Pyr-mērula* (with first part *pyr-* ‘fire’, see *pururi*, *pururea*) would also support the hypothesis of an indigenous, substratum heritage.

Mareș NP A frequent family name of the Romanians. Related with *mare* or *Mara* or *Mureș*, in this latter case only if we accept an old alternating *mār-/măr-* of the root. As personal family name, also met in Czech and Slovak (*Mareš*), which should be accepted as an adapted name from Romanian. Very probably an indigenous name, as other forms support this origin.

Marmanu NL (MH). A compound *Mar-man-*, for which see *Mara* and *Marmația* for the first part, and *-man* or *Manea* for the second part.

Marmăția NR Traditional, historical region in northern Romania. Obviously a reduplication **Mar-mar-ț-ia* > *Marmația* by hap-

lology. The root *mar-* must be the same as in *Mara*, *Mara-mureș*. Cf. *mare*.

Marna NL (SM). From the same root as *Mara* and *Marmația*. Cf. NFI *Marne* (France).

Marpad NL (SB). From the same root as *Marna*, *Mara*, *Marmația*; or from Hungarian?

mășteră ‘step-mother’; generically ‘wicked, aggressive person’. Also used as an adjective: *mașter*, *mașteră*. The ultimate root must be, of course, IE **māter-* ‘mother’. There are two details to be explained: 1. IE **ā* usually results in Thracian *ā*, then Romanian *ō* and *ū* (presumably via a non-attested phoneme **ô*), as in *Dunăre*, *mumă*, *mura*, *Mureș* etc.; 2. The non-etymological (epenthetic?) *ș*. The archaic origin seems probable though, and the stress on the first syllable is in agreement with other indigenous forms like *mătură*.

matahălă (colloquial and pejorative) ‘too fat and/or tall person; a giant, any giant being in the tales’. The same root in the verb *mătăhăi*, otherwise obscure. Phoneme *h* reflects the archaic velar spirant (laryngeal) **X*. A root **mat-aX-* ‘huge,

very big, giant’ must be postulated.

maț, especially pl. *mațe* ‘bowels’. Obscure, seemingly related with Eng. *maze*, of obscure origin as well. If so, the archaic meaning must have been ‘intricate, confuse’, hence also Eng. *a-maze*, originally ‘to put someone in a confuse, intricate situation’. The pair *maț(e) – a ameți* ‘to get dizzy’ seems to correspond to English pair *maze – amaze*. The preservation of these forms in English and Romanian seems independent and based on archaic human psychology. See also *ameți*.

mázăre, Arom. **madzire** s.f. The plant *Pisum sativum*, the pea. Alb. *modhullë* ‘id.’, with the not rare, but irregular, correspondence Rom. *z* – Alb. *dh*. The forms seem related with Thracian names of plants *mozoula*, *mizela* ‘savory (*Satureia hortensis*)’. It may be assumed that in old Romanian there was *dz*, at least in some dialects, corresponding to Alb. *dh* (as in Eng. *the*); the correspondence Rom. *r* – Alb. *ll* is met in other examples too (in all these cases, Romanian *r* is older than the evolution *r > ll* in Albanian). In some instances, *z* in the indigenous elements seems to re-

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flect the original sound, and *dz* is rather influenced by the evolution from Latin to Romanian (e.g. *dies* > *dzi* > *zi* ‘day’); see also *zîănă*. Our hypothesis is that *z*, not *dz*, is the original phoneme in both *măzăre* and *zîănă*. See also *măzărîche*.

mă, also **măi** An appellative for a man or for a boy. See also the situation of *bă*, *băi* (and its possible relation with *băiat*) and of *fă*, *făi*, the appellative for women or girls. All these forms are now periphrastic and vulgar, even if frequent in colloquial Romanian. Given the symmetrical forms *bă(i)*, *mă(i)* and *fă(i)*, they seem to reflect an indigenous heritage.

măceş The plant *Rosa canina*, sometimes also *Mespilus germanica* or *Crataegus oxyacantha*: ‘hip rose’. Archaic, probably derived from the IE root **mak-*, the plant *papaver*, Eng. *poppy*; the possible explanation would be that flowers of both *Rosa canina* and *Papaver* are similar. The form is archaic, and its indigenous origin in Romanian seems most probable, even if the etymon may be uncertain. If an evolution **mat-č-eš* is accepted, then the basic root is *mat-* as in *maţ* and other names of plants

from Preie. root **MAT(T)-*, **MATs-*. This root was probably related to bushes, hence various names of plants derived from this archaic meaning. A third possibility is to accept a root *mak-*, *mač-* in *măceş* and also *măcriş* (mainly the plant *Rumex acetosa*), perhaps also *măciulie* ‘knob’, a meaning derived from the usual form of fruit of various plants. This last possibility seems to be the common denominator of all the forms with root *mac-*, *măč-*.

Măcin NM (TL). The oldest mountains in Romania, northern Dobruja. Etymon obscure, probably the same as *măceş*.

măciulie ‘knob’. Seems derived from the same root as *măceş* and *măcriş*. The word is also used for referring to the form of various fruit, as *măciulie*.

măcriş The plant *Rumex*, and its variants *acetosa*, *acetosella* and *conglomeratus*; sometimes also the plant *Oxalis acetosella*. As a name of plant, seems to derive from the same root as *măceş*.

mădăriţ ‘to ridicule someone; to lose usual temper; to caress’. Russu assumes the indigenous origin, by

criticising the suggested Hungarian origin from *madár* ‘a bird’ (Lajos Tamás), but he fails to offer a convincing etymon, perhaps IE **med-* ‘to measure, to invent, to judge’, as in Armenian *mit* ‘a thought, a consideration’, Greek *médō* ‘to take care of, to protect’, even though these do not seem to support Russu’s hypothesis. • The form is now dialectal and with pejorative meaning; the archaic origin is possible, but difficult to prove. Does not seem related with root *med-* in *Mediaș* and its related forms.

măgár The *equus asinus*: ‘donkey, ass’. Alb. *magár*, *magác*, *magjár* and *gomár* m., *gomáre* f. Origin debated, and never explained satisfactorily. The word seems archaic, and the Romanian form is oldest; Albanian rather shows a borrowing from Romanian, and – for some forms – a metathesis. We hypothesise a relation with *măgură*, and an original meaning ‘mountain animal’, i.e. ‘used for traction in mountainous areas’. If this approach is accepted, one may also note that Alb. *ll* should have reflected Rom. *r* in an old element, as the parallel Rom. *măgură* – Alb. *mogullë*.

măgădán (pejorative; now rare and dialectal) ‘(too) tall, huge person’. See *măgădău* and *măgădaie*.

măgădău ‘(too) tall, huge person’; also *măgădan*. The root *măg-*, with the basic meaning ‘(too) large, huge, tall’ is also met in *măgăoaie*. The closest connection is Gr. *megas*, *megalos* ‘large, big’, but a Greek borrowing is not possible, unless we accept an old borrowing from (Old) Greek in Thracian. This seems to be the rational hypothesis, as IE. **meg-* would have resulted in Thr. **mez-* or *mež-*. The centum-specific preservation of this IE root, which is rare indeed among the Pre-Romance elements in Romanian, should be further analysed. We may also admit a late IE root **meg(h)-*, and in this case the phonetic evolution would be normal, even for a satem idiom like Thracian.

măgăoaie 1. ‘a too large, huge person or object’; 2. ‘a fright, scarecrow’, or any similar frightening object. See *măgădan* and *măgădău*.

măgură ‘a small hill, a hillock, a tumulus; a small hut’. Alb. *magullë*, with the expected *ll* for Rom. *r*; as shown by other examples, Rom. *r* must be older and the original pho-

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neme as in *mazăre* v. *modhullë* etc. The root seems related with *mu-gur(e)*, both from a Preie. root **M-G-*, **M-K-* ‘a prominence, a hill, a tumulus’, which explains both basic meanings: ‘prominence = hill(ock)’ and ‘prominence = blossom’. The form *măgură*, art. *măgura* is very frequent in place-names in mountainous areas.

măi See *mă*.

mălăi ‘maize flour’, replacing the old meaning ‘millet flour’. Obviously derived from the Preie. root *mal-*, with the basic meaning ‘hill, mountain’, hence ‘ground stone (as on a hill-side)’ = something resembling ground stone, i.e. flour. For the construction, cf. *vătrai* < *vatră*. See also NFI *Măleia*, which helps in clarifying the archaic mentality, which led to associations of this type: hill – ground stone on a hill-side – flour.

măldac See *maldac*.

Mălăia NFI (Parîng Mts., a tributary of Jiu). From the same root of *mal* and *mălai*.

măligă Dialectal variant of *mămăligă*.

mălură ‘smut’. Closely related with *mal*, *mălai* and *măldac* (see all

these). The construction is *măl-ur-ă* as in *măg-ur-ă*, *măt-ur-ă* etc.

mămăligă ‘maize flour bread’; initially ‘millet flour bread’. An essential term related to traditional cook. The modern form is a reduplication of **măl-măl-ig-ă* > *mămăligă*, by haplology. The root is Preie. **M-L-*, the same as in *mal*, *mălai*, *măldac*, and reflects a visual association between the *mămăligă* and a hillock. A dialectal form *măligă* is also attested.

mărar The plant *Anethum graveolens*: ‘dill’. Alb. *maráj*, *mërajë* ‘dill’. Poghirc ILR 2: 345 rejects, with arguments, the explanation from Post-Classical Latin **marathrium* < *marathrum* < Gr. *μάραθρον*, Mycenaean *ma-ra-tu-wo* (Chantraine 666: ‘il faut partir de **μαραθρ-*; probablement terme indigène emprunté). It seems obvious that in Thracian (hence in Romanian and Albanian) and in Greek we must reconstruct a root **mar-*, of Preie. origin. The hypothesis of a colloquial Latin heritage cannot be accepted as the phonetic evolution is not supported by any Romance language. In change, an independent heritage in both Greek and Thracian (hence in Romanian and Albanian) is

the only feasible, as correctly noted by Poghiric. See also *mărat* below.

măráť ‘a poor man/person’. Alb. *mjerë* ‘unhappy, miserable’. Unclear, held by Russu for indigenous, without offering a plausible etymon. A colloquial derivation from *amărít*, in its turn from *amar* ‘bitter’ is not excluded, but the Albanian parallel would indeed indicate an indigenous, archaic origin. If we accept that the plant dill is ‘bitter’, then the closest relationship is with *mărar* ‘dill’.

măracíne ‘bramble’. It is commonly accepted that it may reflect a colloquial latin form **marrucina* or **marricina* < *marra* ‘a kind of hoe’. The Latin origin is supported by Italian form *marruca* ‘bramble’ and Alb. *markyin* ‘a kind of hoe’ (Alesio, *Omagiu Iordan* 6–7). It may be also acceptable to assume a substratum element ‘intruded’ into colloquial Latin, and therefore a Thracian and/or Illyrian element cannot be excluded; in such a case, a relation with *măr-ar* is acceptable.

Măráu NL (Deva-Sibiu area) If not derived from *măř*, which is improbable, then related with *Mara*, and a development like *Buzău*,

Rarău etc.

mărcát Only in Aromanian: ‘a certain type of processed milk, a kind of yoghurt’. Russu suggests a derivation from IE **merē-* ‘to coagulate’, which may be a plausible explanation. Some linguists admit a colloquial Latin origin, from *marcidus* ‘altered’, which does not seem possible. If accepted as indigenous, it may be related with *mărar* and *mărat*, with the basic meaning ‘bitter’ of Preie. root *mar-*, in this case ‘bitter milk’ (against the ‘sweet’ taste of fresh milk, Rom. *lapte dulce*).

măťahái ‘to move with difficulty, e.g. a giant or huge person’. See *matahală*.

măťreáťă 1. ‘dandruff’; 2. a generic name of alga randomly growing on lakes or ponds; 3. The plant *Peplis portula*; 4. The lichen *Usnea barbata*. The archaic meaning of this root may be reconstructed as ‘confuse grow of plants’, hence ‘dandruff’. If so, may be related with *mať*, from a Preie. root **M-T(T)-*, **M-TS-* ‘confuse, labyrinthine; bush’ or rather with *măť-ur-ă* (see).

măťurá ‘to broom’. See *măťură*.

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mătură ‘a broom’. Also the plants *Sorghum vulgare* and *saccaratum*, and *Kochia scoparia* used for manufacturing brooms. Alb. *nëttullë*, with expected *ll* for Rom. *r* (cf. *mazăre*, *măgură*). One of the clear indigenous elements in Romanian, related with (not borrowed from) Slavic *metati* ‘to broom’. The Rom. derived verb is *a mătura*.

măzărice ‘vetch’ (the plant *Vicia*); also ‘sleet’. Derived from the same root as *mazăre*.

Médiaş NL (near Sibiu). An indigenous root **med-*, as in other place-names in southeast Europe, see *Medija*, *Medulin* (Lexicon A) and *Mežanj* (Lexicon B, II, 8).

melc ‘a snail’. A clear indigenous element. Russu explains the form from IE **mel-* ‘to grind’, which is improbable. The word is rather of Preie. origin, root **M-L-* ‘a prominence, a hill’, and is therefore related with *mal* ‘riverside’ < ‘hill’, ‘rocky riverside’. The archaic meaning was that snails were a kind of moving, vivid hillocks. A possible relationship may be with Lat. *mollis* and *mollusca* < **mel-d-*.

meleag ‘a land, a region’ (traditional and colloquial; frequent in

folk tales). The explanation from Hung. *mellék*, in its turn unclear and unexplained, is debatable. It seems rather related with *mal* ‘river-side’ and Alb. *mal* ‘hill, mountain’; if so, as we believe, then the original meaning was ‘mountainous land’, hence ‘land, region’ in general. • The Hungarian form is rather borrowed from Romanian. See also *Meleia* and *Măleia*.

meleán ‘tall, young man’. Seems derived from the same root of *mal*, the initial meaning was ‘hill’, i.e. ‘man like a hill’, i.e. ‘tall and healthy’.

melegár A wooden basin used for collecting ground ore extracted from a mine. Seems to be the same root as in *mal* ‘river-side’ < ‘rocky (i.e. ground gravel) river-side’. The original meaning of root *mal-* was ‘hill, mountain’. See *mal*, *mălai*, *meleag*, *melean*.

Meleia NM, Orăştie Mts. See *Măleia*.

méndre Now only in compounds *a-şi face mendrele* ‘to take pleasures; to rape a woman’. Now peripheral, seems to be derived from IE **manu-s* ‘man’. Also preserved in some family names like *Mendrea*.

The archaic meaning may be reconstructed as ‘to behave like a man’, i.e. ‘to have sexual intercourse’.

Méndrea NP See *méndre*.

Mera NL (CJ) At. 1299 – *Mera*; 1334 – *villa Mera*. Iordan assumes a borrowing from Bulg. *mera* ‘pasture’, which is highly improbable. It must be related with *Mara* and the first part of *Mara-mureş*, eventually to the root in *mărat* and *măracine*.

meteáhnă ‘a fault, a flaw; a bad habit’. Phoneme *h* leads towards an original velar spirant *X. The form is related with *matahală* and *mătăhăi*(see). The modern meaning is derived from *mătăhăi* ‘to move slowly, with hesitations’.

miărță (pejorative) ‘a small, almost dead being’. Must be closely related with *mierli* ‘to die’.

mic adj. ‘small, little’. Many derivatives: *micuț*, *micuțel*, *mititel* etc. Indigenous, presumably related with ancient NL *Micia* (NPp *Micenses*), NP *Miccos*, *Miccas* etc., IE root *(s)*meik-*, *(s)*mik-* ‘small, little’, as in Gr. *mikros* (see further Thracian examples in Dečev 1957: 304). • The word may have been early borrowed in Post-Classical Latin, where a form **mic(c)us* may be re-

constructed. The form belonged to colloquial Post-Classical Latin, and seems built on the same source like *pic*, *un pic* ‘a little, little bit’, *pici* ‘a small child’.

mierli, especially in the reflexive construction *a o mierli* ‘to die’, including figurative meanings, e.g. ‘to be in trouble’. Absent from current lists of indigenous elements, probably on the erroneous ground that it may have a connection with *mierlă* ‘blackbird’, of Latin origin. • The verb obviously belongs to the family represented by Latin *mors*, *mortis*, Slavic *sъmrъ* ‘death’ etc. The form is well established at colloquial level, and surely belongs to the archaic vocabulary. Cf. *mieru*.

mieru Now rare, dialectal ‘light blue, bluish’. Seems to belong, as Russu believes, to the group derived from IE **mel-* in various names of colours, e.g. Gr. *mélas* ‘black’, even if there does not seem any example of any change *-l-* > *-r-* in intervocalic position (despite many attempts to show this). The ultimate etymon may be different, a root **m(y)er-*, **mur-* with chromatic meaning; cf. *murg*. • May be eventually related with *mierli* ‘to die’, i.e. ‘colour of death’.

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Mieru, also **Mieruț** NM, Parîng Mts. See *mieru*.

migăi Variant of *migăli*.

migăli ‘to work meticulously, carefully’. Also *migăi*. Unexplained. Must be indigenous, related with Eng. *make* and Germ. *machen*, Lat. *mācerāre* < IE **mag-*, **mak-* ‘to knead; to fit’.

migălós ‘meticulous’; see *migăli*.

mihălț The river prey fish *Lota lota*. Obscure. Definitely, there cannot be any connection with root *mih-* in personal and Biblical name *Mihai* ‘Michael’. Phoneme *h* suggests an original velar spirant **X*, which resulted in Romanian alternating *f*, *v*, *h* and *ș*. A root **miX-* should therefore be postulated, with unknown meaning.

Mina NP Related with *Miniș*. Bulg. NP *Mino*, *Mina* may be from Romanian or, possibly, a direct continuation of the Thracian personal names.

Minea NP Same root as *Mina*, *Miniș*. The root is quite frequent in family names.

Minéu, **Mînąu** NL (SJ), related to *Mina*, *Minea*, *Miniș*. At. 1335: *sacerdos de Mened*; 1435: *Menye*, *Menew*, *Meney*. Iordan DNFR 307–308

explains it from *mîner* ‘a handle’, which is impossible.

Miniș NFI Archaic river-name related with many other Thracian forms, e.g. NL *Mende*, *Menda*; ND *Mendeis*, name of a nymph, and NP *Mendi-doros*; NP *Minacos*, *Minas*, *Minno*. Archaic Preie. root **M-N-* ‘to cover, to protect’, i.e. ‘covered, protected place’.

Miniș NL (BN). At. 1302 – *villa Menesy*. Same etymon as NFI *Miniș*.

Mîntia NL Related to *Miniș*. At. 1330 – *terra Nempty*; 1381 – *possessio Nymiti*. The forms are corrupt, as often in Mediaeval documents. Drăganu, 1933: 21 explains it from Hung. *német* ‘German’, which is an impossible etymon. The form is obviously related with *Mina*, *Minea*, *Miniș*, *Mintiu*.

Mintiu NL The same etymon like *Mintia*, and further *Miniș*. At. 1332 – *sacerdos de Fulnempty*; 1380 – *possessio Nemetu*.

mire ‘bridegroom’. Fem. *mireasă* ‘bride’. There is a long history of debates whether to hold this form for indigenous or derived from Latin *miles*. We may surmise that, after the conquest of Dacia, most

bridegrooms were represented by the Latin *miles* who married indigenous girls. On the other hand, the relationship with Old Indian *márya* ‘a man, a young man’ from IE **meria-* ‘man, young man, a beloved man’ is tempting; hence also feminine nouns, e.g. Lithuanian *martì* ‘bride, virgin girl’. The form seems indigenous rather than derived from *miles*, even though such a possibility cannot be excluded. Alb. *mërkosh* ‘young man’ seems to belong here as well. • A contamination of an indigenous form and Lat. *miles* is also possible. Essential term of family relations.

mistrëţ ‘a wild boar’. Isolated in Romanian, undoubtedly an archaic term. Various attempts to explain the form (see in Russu). For the construction, cf. *creţ*. Among various attempts, we assume the word is of Preie. origin, root **M-S-*, **N-S-* ‘round, curved’ (as also in *mişca*, *muşuroi*, and *Nistru*, *nisetru*). This basic meaning was connected to either the habit of this animal to dig the earth or rather to its meandering strips when young. • An archaic word referring to indigenous fauna.

mistuí ‘to digest’ (the standard, colloquial term, lately replaced by *a*

digera); fig. ‘to consume, to burn’. Hung. *emeszt* ‘to digest’ is borrowed from Romanian (not vice-versa, as some linguists erroneously claim). Seems related with, not derived from, Lat. *misceo*, Lith. *miešiu*, *mięšti* ‘to mix’, Sl. *měsq*, *měšiti* ‘to mix’ < IE **mei-k-* ‘to mix’. Alternatively, it may be related with *mistreţ* and *mişca*, in which case a Preie. origin is also possible. • Archaic term.

mişcă, also refl. *a se mişca* ‘to move, to move oneself’. Belongs to the basic vocabulary. We assume it is derived from the same archaic root **M-S-*, **N-S-* ‘round, curve’, as in *mistreţ*, *Nistru* and *nisetru*. Closely related with *muşca*.

mişcă¹ ‘a twig; a thing whip’. Related with the verb *a mişca*. DA, lit. M, 1: 628 refers to Bulg. *miška* ‘small mouse’, which is – for sure – a fortuitous similarity.

mişcă², pl. *mişte* ‘a heart-like piece of stone used for anchoring’. Unexplained. Seems an archaic derivation from the verb *a mişca*, and would be therefore related with *mişcă¹*.

mîhni ‘to make someone sad or depressed’; (passively) ‘to be sad or

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depressed'. Obscure and isolated. Phoneme *h* indicates an original velar spirant, which leads to reconstructing a root **m-X-* 'sorrow, grief'.

mînz, *mînji* s.m. 'a colt'. Alb. Gjeg *mës*, art. *mëzi*; Tosc *maz*. Related with Illyrian ND *Menzana* 'an epithet of Jupiter', to whom horses were sacrificed. See also Basque *mando* 'mule'. Similar, related forms are also: It. *manzo*, Sard *mendzu* 'calf', Bavarian German *manz*, *menz* 'barren cow' etc. It is difficult to assume if all these forms may be derived from the same prototype. Obviously, there is a common origin in Romanian and Albanian, and this should be the Thracian substratum (with a probable parallel in Illyrian). Also *mînzat* 'calf meat', Alb. *mëzat* 'cow, cattle', which is very close to the semantic sphere 'cow'. The forms may be borrowed in Post-Classical Latin, and also in other languages. • The IE origin must be **mend-*, **mond-* 'to suck', cf. Alb. *ment* '(he, she) sucks', *mëndeshë* 'wet nurse'. If Basque *mando* should be included in this group, then the ultimate origin may be Preie., with the reconstructable meaning 'calf, small ani-

mal'. • The Thracian origin in Romanian seems certain; an Illyrian parallel, proved by god-name *Menzana*, is probable.

mînzát 'weanling'. See *mînz*.

mîr Imitative for a dog's bark. Hence *a mîrîi* 'to bark'. Often held for a simple onomatopoeia. Nevertheless its origin must be archaic, proved by the derivatives *mîrlan*, *mîrtan*. These forms must have developed together in an archaic period.

mîrîi 'to bark'. See *mîr*.

mîrlán 'a boorish, bad-mannered person'. Used always critically and pejoratively. Also *modorán*, *modîrlán*. Etymon obscure, but the forms seem indeed archaic and indigenous. Cf. *mîrtan* 'tom-cat', which itself is seemingly deformed from *mîrlan* and *motan* 'tom-cat'. If root *mîr-* should be accepted as archaic, its meaning may be reconstructed as 'something unpleasant, abhorring'. It may also be derived from *mîr*, imitative for the sound of a barking dog; also *mîrîi* 'to bark'. If so, the basic meaning of root *mîr-* may have been 'ugly, abhorring' < 'frightening = barking'.

mîrtán Dialectal form of *motan* ‘tom-cat’. Liquid *r* seems epenthetic and expressive, and/or an interference with *mîrlan* ‘a boorish, bad-mannered person’. Cf. *mîr*, *mîrîi*.

mîşîi (about animals) ‘to smell, to track hunt’. The root *mîş-* seems to be the same as in *a-muş-in-a* and *muşca*, with evolution *u* > *î* (close neutral vowel).

mîţă ‘cat’. Alb. *macë* and German *Mieze* are the only related forms. Romanian has 4 terms referring to ‘cat’: *mîţă*, *motan* ‘tomcat’, *pisică* ‘cat’ (the most used, the ‘classical’ term, with derivatives, e.g. *pisoi* ‘kitten’) and *cotoi* ‘tomcat’. Therefore, two terms for the female animal, out of which one generic (*pisică*) and other two for the male animal. All seem old and well consolidated in the common vocabulary, with regional and dialectal differences regarding their frequency. Obviously, only the wild cat may be in view in search of a substratum element, possibly with an initial reference to another animals. Form *cotoi* is akin to Eng. *cat* and Lat. *cattus*, but a direct continuation of Lat. *cattus* > *cotoi* ‘tomcat’ is not

phonetically possible. In its turn, *pisică* is constructed as *pis-ic-ă* (the back-form *pisic* ‘small tomcat, male kitten’ is also used), with *pis-pis* as the appellative, approx. ‘come to me, cat’; root *pis-* must be related with Sl. *pъsъ* ‘dog’, and probably the root initially referred to a common, domestic animal like a dog or rather its offspring, i.e. ‘small animal’ (note small or weak *jer*, initially short *i* in Proto-Slavic, v. Rom. *î*). It may be assumed that form *mîţă* consolidated in the Middle Ages, and its origin may be searched in the imitative sound *mî-* specific to cats. The form *motan*, the male cat, is still more difficult to explain as it is isolated in Romanian, and a substratum origin is most probable. And *cotoi*, the other parallel form for ‘tomcat’, probably a substratum element too, closely related with Lat. *cattus*, Eng. *cat* and Sl. *koť* ‘kitten’.

moacă 1. ‘bludgeon’; 2. (colloquial) ‘face’ (similar to *mutră*); 3. used pejoratively for a person whom the speaker despises (for his/her behaviour or look) – this meaning is obviously derived from (2); 4. The fish *Cottus gobio*. The root *moc-*,

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moac-a (diphthong *-oa-* if *a* is in the final syllable) is met in several archaic forms, which probably reflect Preie. **M-K-*, **M-G-* ‘round; a form’, hence ‘knob, bludgeon; face; round object in general’. See also root *mug-* in *mugur(e)*.

moaşă See *moş*.

mocăi Mainly reflexive *a se mocăi* ‘to work or move slowly’ (used exclusively pejoratively in modern Romanian). Derived from the same root *moc-* like *moacă*; see also *mo-cofán*.

mocofán ‘silly, idiot; bad mannered person’. Derived from *moacă*; see also *mocăi*.

modru ‘mode, a way or means, possibility’. Now rare and dialectal, isolated. Seemingly an archaic form. Russu derives it from IE **med-* ‘to measure; to think, to consider’, therefore akin to, not derived from, Latin *meditor*, *modestus* and *moderare*. Nevertheless a post-classical derivation in colloquial Latin from a root akin to *moderare* is possible, and may explain the Romanian form.

mogîldeăţă ‘a small, unclear object or person (usually pejoratively applied to people); a small hill or hill-

ock; something like a small protuberance’. The root *mog-* ‘(small) protuberance must be the same as in *mugur* and *moacă*, with other related forms, all from Preie. **M-G-*, **M-K-* ‘protuberance, something evidenced’.

molid ‘a spruce tree’. Preie. origin, root **M-L-* ‘elevation; hill, mountain’. Akin to *mal*. Both *molid* and *brad* reflect archaic terms related with the specific flora of the Carpathians.

Moldova The region between the East Carpathians and Nistru (Dnjester). Currently considered derived from *molid* (Iorgu Iordan), even if such an evolution is unacceptable. The form seems a compound **Mol-dova*, in which the first part must be related to *mal*, while the second must be related to *Dava*, reflecting the traditional Thracian word for ‘fortress’ (*dava*, *deva*, *dova*). If this explanation is accepted, the oldest meaning of the place-name was ‘the fortress on the hill/mountain’, and was presumably applied to an old military centre on the river *Moldova* or somewhere in the neighbourhood. • The relation with *molid* must be seen in the context of the complex, archaic heri-

tage, not as a simple derivation, anyway impossible in the way presented by Iordan.

Moldova NFI An important river of *Moldova* (see).

molíd The tree *Picea abies* or *excelsa*; ‘spruce’. Like *brad*, with which it is often confused, indigenous, related with *mal* and *Moldova*, with alternating *a/o* of the root. Ultimately, of Preie. origin.

Moma in place-names, e.g. *Codru Moma*. See *momă*.

momă (obsolete, dialectal) ‘mother’; closely related with *mumă*. See also *Moma*. The root *mom-*, *mum-* ‘mother’ < Thr. *mām-* is parallel to *mamă* < Lat. *mamma* and *maică* < Slavic *majka*.

momí ‘to entice, to attract’. Derived from *momă*; see also *mumă*.

momîiăță A regional synonym of *mogîldeață*. For the etymon, see *momîie*.

momîíe ‘a wooden skeleton on which cloth and other objects are hanged as a fright or scarecrow; a pejorative epithet for a weak or ugly person’. Derived from *momă*, also *mumă*, the indigenous form for ‘mother’, which gradually acquired pejorative or negative connotations.

The form *muma pădurii*, lit. ‘forest mother’, is regularly an ugly old woman, who attracts, torture and kills innocent people.

mormán ‘a heap, a multitude of objects one above another’. We also incline for Russu’s hypothesis, who holds it for indigenous. Nevertheless, if accepted, this form leads to reconsidering the origin of *mormînt* ‘a grave’, commonly held for reflecting Latin *monumentum*. We assume that both *morman* and *mormînt* belong to an archaic root **mor-m-*, with the original meaning ‘a prominence of earth, a hillock’, later ‘a heap of’.

mormînt ‘a grave’. Usually held for a Latin element, derived from *monumentum*. See *morman* above. If *morman* is accepted as indigenous, as we believe, then the origin of *mormînt* should be also reconsidered; an interference, at the level of folk etymology, may have occurred too.

morói¹ Dial. (Moldova), rare in literary Romanian: ‘a kind of fish living in lakes’. Etymon unclear, probably related with the root in *Mureș*, with alternating *o/u* < Thr. *ā*.

morói²; *moroaie*, fem. ‘a ghost of the Romanian tales, usually held for

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affecting children's fate'. Der. *a moroi* 'to daunt'. Alb. *mora*, and similar forms in some Slavic languages, e.g. Russian *kiki-mora*, *mora*, generic for referring to ghosts. A Slavic origin in Romanian is highly improbable, rather vice-versa. The ultimate root must be the same as in Lat. *mors*, *mortis*; cf. *a mierli*, with different vocalism.

moș 'an old man'; the feminine **moașă** has specialised for the meaning 'midwife'. Der. **moșie** 'a property of land'; **moșiér** 'land owner'. Alb. *métshë* 'grey-haired, old'. The original meaning is well preserved in *moș* 'old man', and we assume a Preie. origin, from root **M-S-*, **N-S-* 'curved, bent', i.e. 'with curved back = old'. Archaic, belongs to the basic and traditional vocabulary.

moșmón The plant *Mespilus germanica*; 'medlar'. Must be related to the verb *moșmondi*, and both derived from the same root as in *moș*, *moașă* (see).

moșmondí, also *moșmoli*, *moșmoní* 'to potter about'. The basic meaning is 'to move slowly, inefficiently, as an old man', therefore the root must be the same as in *moș* 'old man'.

The modern form, as in other cases, is a reduplication **moș-moș-d-*, **moș-moș-l- > moșmond-*, *moșmol-*. The verb is colloquial and expressive, and archaic, beyond any reasonable doubt. The name of plant *moșmon*, the *Mespilus* 'medlar' must be derived from this root too.

motán 'tomcat'. Obscure, very probably indigenous, and in a way or another related with *mîță*. See also *pisică* and *cotoi*.

mototolí 'to crump, to turn (a cloth) over'. Obscure, perhaps from the same root as *moș*; or related with *motan* 'tomcat', but a common denominator, which may explain two quite different semantic spheres, 'tomcat' v. 'to crump' is not easy to identify. The modern form is a result of reduplication, followed by haplology: **mot-mot-ol- > *moto-tol-*. See also *s-motoci*.

Motru NFI It has always been clear that the modern form continues ancient Thracian NFI spelled *Amoutrion*, *Amutria*, *Amytron*, and that it is related with similar river-names in France, e.g. *Matra*, *Moder*, *Marne*, *Meyronne* (Dauzat, *Noms* 199) < IE *māter* 'mother'. See also *Modrejce* in *Lexicon A*. From rea-

sons connected to a shallow analysis, it has often been assumed that the Romanian form would indicate a Slavic intermediary; in fact, vocalism *o* (and *u*) is normal when Thracian had *ā* (long *a*). See the similar situation in *Mureș* and *Moma* (NM *Codru Moma*); *moma* is the substratum form, whereas *mama* is from Latin. The river-name is beyond any doubt archaic, and no Slavic intermediary is necessary. If such an intermediary is to be considered, the only case would be *Olt* and *Oltina* (see). Cf. *Lotru*.

moț¹ ‘tuft of hair’. Obscure, probably Preie., akin to forms like *a moțai* and *a mototoli*, from an archaic root **M-T-* ‘unclear, obscure, labyrinthine’.

moț² An inhabitant of *Țara Moșilor*. The name of the *moși* must be derived from *moț¹*, having the original meaning connected to either their specific hairdress or referring to a region of *moț* ‘region with tufts’.

moțai ‘a doze off, to take a nap’. Obscure, probably akin to *moț*.

múgur(e) ‘a blossom’. Alb. *mu-gull*. Archaic, from the same root as *măgură*, of presumably Preie. ori-

gin. Der. *a în-muguri* ‘to be in blossom’. Note the parallel Rom. *r* – Alb. *ll*, as in other cases, with Rom. *r* older and the original phoneme.

muián Coll., vulg. ‘face’. See *muie* and *mutră*.

muie Coll, vulg. ‘face’; der. meaning ‘fellatio’, in expressions. The forms *muian*, *muie* and *mutră* seem related and archaic, from a root **mu-* ‘mouth’; form *mutră* may be yet of Preie. origin, while *muie*, *muian* may derive from the same IE root as Eng. *mouth* and Gm. *Mond*.

mumă ‘mother’. Also *momă* in NM *Codru Moma*, lit. ‘mother forest’. Indigenous, with the normal evolution Thr. *ā* > Rom. *u* and *o* (dialectally) < **mā-m-*, as in Lat. *māter*. The same evolution Thr. *ā* > Rom. *u/o* is in *Dunăre*, *Mureș*, *a mura*. See also *momă*, *Moma*, *moni*, *momîie*. DEX incorrectly assumes that *mumă* is a simple variant of *mamă* (< Lat. *mamma*); the forms *momă*, *Moma*, *moni*, *momîie*, *mumă* reflect the indigenous heritage, whereas *mamă* reflects the Latin stratum. The forms are of course related as a large, common Indo-European heritage.

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munúnă dial. **murúnă** ‘an ornamental strip; an ornamental crown’. Held by Russu for indigenous, but the alternance *n/r*, specific for the only elements of Latin origin of Romanian, leads to rather reconsidering the Latin origin, perhaps a colloquial deformation of *cunună*, from *corona*. Cf. *genune*.

Mureș NFl Ancient *Marisia*, *Maris*, later *Μορῆσεξ*. From IE **māro*, **māno* ‘wet’. Related to *Marica* (Lexicon A) with the evolution north Thr. (Dacian) *ā* > Rom. *u* (via a phoneme like *ô*) as in *Dunăre*. This evolution is specific to only the north Thracian (Dacian) dialects. Related to *a mura* ‘to pickle’ (specific traditional term). See also *Mura* and *Murva* in Lexicon A.

murg, -ă adj. 1. (about horses) ‘dark-coloured...’; 2. (rare) = *amurg* ‘sunset’, see). Alb. *murk*, art. *murgu* ‘dark’. Undoubtedly archaic, sometimes referred to IE **mer(ə)gu* ‘to get dark’. If related to *amurg*, then a Preie. origin is acceptable. Both the archaic and modern meaning is in the chromatic sphere. Cf. *mieru*.

mușăt adj. ‘beautiful, handsome’; NP *Mușat*, *Mușata*, *Mușetescu*,

Mușetoiu etc. Archaic, probably of Preie. origin, root **M-S-*, **N-S-* ‘bright, shining; beautiful’; cf. *Mușata*, *Mușea*, *Mușlea*, *Mușu*, *mușetel*.

mușcă ‘to bite’ (especially about dogs and insects; also about people). Archaic, from the same root as *mișca*, from Preie. **M-S-*, **N-S-* ‘round, curve’, from the usually round form of a dog’s bite.

Mușea, **Mușlea**, **Mușu** NP Archaic personal names, from the same root in *mușat* ‘beautiful, handsome’.

Mușata NFl (Mold.) From *mușat* ‘beautiful, handsome’ (cf. NP *Mușat*, *Mușu*, *Mușlea*).

mușcói, rare *mîșcoi* ‘mule, animal for hard traction’. Alb. *mushk*, pl. *mushqe*; Venetian *musso*, Friulan *muss* ‘donkey, ass’. Meyer EWA 294: ‘illyrische Alpenwort’. As an Illyrian term in Romanian cannot be accepted (there is no other example), we may think at a common Thracian-Illyrian element, which was early borrowed into Post-Classical, colloquial Latin. In Romanian, it is built like *mușuroi* or *moroi*, etc.

mușetél adj. Plant camomile (*Matricaria chamomilla*). From the same root as *mușat*.

muşină (about animals) ‘to sniff, to smell’. Also *amuşina* (with prefix *a-*). The root *muş-* ‘to sniff, to smell’ must be related with *muşca*, with the basic meaning ‘to move, to make a round move’. The relation *muşca* – (*a*)*muşina* is clear if we consider other forms referring to animals and their specific behaviour.

muşurói ‘ant- or mole-hill’; fig. ‘any object similar to this’. Akin to the forms derived from Preie. **N-S-*, **M-S-*, e.g. *Nistru* and all the forms quoted there.

mutră pej., coll. ‘face’ (against usual *faţă* < Latin *facies*). Obscure, seemingly related with Basque *mutur* ‘face’, in which case we may surmise a Preie. origin. Cf. *muie*, *muian*. If such a relationship is possible, the archaic root may be **M-T-* ‘face (?)’. Cf. Eng. *muzzle*.

nană A traditional, polite term for addressing an elder woman, e.g. the elder sister or the beloved girl. The masculine form **nene** is used for an elder man. Similar forms spread in the neighbouring languages: S.-Cr. *nana*, Russian *njánja*; related forms are Sanskrit *nanā* ‘mother’, Persian *nana*; Lat. *nonna* belongs also here.

Initially it was, beyond any doubt, an infantile term, just like *mama*, as proved by similar forms spread in the Uralic languages: Uralic **ñiñä* > Hung. *nő* ‘woman’, Finn. *nainen* ‘woman’ (Collinder 1960: 408). In Romanian, it must be assumed an indigenous, Thracian origin; a similar term probably existed in Illyrian too. Alb. *nanë* is borrowed from East Romance (Proto-Romanian) as the other forms in the Southeast European languages, like South Slavic. Similar infantile forms, but archaic beyond any doubt, are *dadă*, *dodă*; also *mumă* (indigenous) v. *mamă* (< Latin). It is probable that the feminine form is the oldest, while the symmetrical masculine form was derived later, as *cumătru* < *cumătră* < Colloquial Latin **cumatra*, classical *commater* (French *commère*, Spanish *comadre* etc).

Nandru NL, NP; as personal-name, also *Nandriş* etc. Presumably from the same root as *nană*.

násture ‘a button’. Akin to *Nistru* and other forms quoted there, Preie. root **N-S-* ‘round, curve’.

nălúcă ‘a ghost’. Built of type *nă-lucă*; prefix *na-/nă-/no-*, with

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augmentative or stressing value, is also met in *nă-mete* v. *omăt*, *noian* – v. Alb. *ujë* ‘water’. The origin of prefix *na-* /*nă-* /*no-* must be indigenous Thracian, related with Gr. *anā* or Sl. *na*; the second part **-lucă* is not used standalone, and must be related with Lat. *luceo* > Rom. *a luci* from IE **leuk-* ‘to shine’. The same root is in *licurici* and *licări*, therefore Thracian preserved the root with radical vocalism *i* and *u*.

năméte, *nămeți* ‘snow hill’. See *omăt*.

năpîrcă ‘an adder, a viper’; fig. ‘a wicked person’. Alb. *nepër(t)kë*, same meaning. Archaic, belongs to the basic vocabulary. Probably akin to NL *Napoca*, the ancient city of modern Cluj, Transylvania. The ultimate origin is Preie., root **N-B-*, **N-P-* ‘stone, cliff’, which explains both the place-name and the indigenous viper’s name: a snake living on stones, which is a known habit of vipers.

năpîrlî ‘to moult, to shed’. From the same root as *năpîrcă*, viewed as typical for the recurrent phenomenon of moulting specific to adders or vipers, and then held for generic.

năruî ‘to fall down, to demolish; (fig.) to vanish, to die’. The root *nar-/năr-* with this meaning does not seem related with *nar-*, *năr-*, *ner-* in *Năruja*, *Nera*, *Neretva*, which seems specialised for river-names. Nevertheless, this is not excluded if we accept an initial meaning ‘to be smashed away by flood, to destroy during a flood’. The form is most probably archaic. Alternatively, a prefix *na-* / *nă-* (see above further cross references) and a possible root **ru-* ‘to fall down; to destroy, to ruin’, as in Latin *ruere*. A local innovation based on this Latin root does not seem possible, and is not supported by other parallels, yet it may be eventually considered if other arguments may be invoked.

necheză ‘to neigh’ (specific for horses, pejoratively for persons). Archaic form, initially onomatopoeic, just as Eng. *neigh*, OE *hnægan*, MHG *nēgen*.

Năruja NFI Related to *Nera*.

nene See *nană*.

Nera NFI (BN, TM). Flows at the Romanian-Serbian border. See Lexicon A s.v. *Nera*, also *Nerav*, *Neret*, *Neretva*.

Nerău NL (TM, near Sînnicolau Mare) Derived from NFI *Nera*.

nisétru The fish *Acipenser*, especially *Acipenser Güldenstaedti* and *Sturio*; ‘sturgeon’. Akin to *Nistru* and other forms quoted there. Some linguists, accepting the archaic origin, assume an Indo-European root; we maintain our view that it reflects a Pre-Indo-European origin.

Nistru NFI (beside the well-known big river in the Republic of Moldova, also a small river in northern Romania). Archaic river-name of Preie. origin, related to many other forms with initial *n*- and *m*-: *nisetru*, the fish *Acipenser*; *nasture* ‘a button’; *mistreț* ‘a boar’; *a mișca* ‘to move’; *a mișuna* ‘to move to and fro, to swarm’; *a mușca* ‘to bite’; *mușuroi* ‘ant-hill’; *moș* ‘old man’ and its feminine equivalent, but with a changed meaning in modern Romanian, *moașă* ‘a midwife’. Archaic Preie. root **M-S-*, **N-S-* ‘to bend, to curve’ (also with a parallel root having the meaning ‘to be bright, to shine’). Akin to *Niš*, ancient *Naisus*, and other forms spread over southeast Europe (see Lexicon A).

nițel ‘a little bit, a small quantity’ (mainly adverb, rarely adjective). Similar to *un pic*, see *pic*, *pici*. Russu holds it for indigenous, which may be possible. Difficult to analyse. Apparently, it is a compound **ni-țel*, in which **țel* may have had the meaning ‘small; a little quantity’, in which case would be related with *țic* ‘small child, baby’, NP *Țica*, *Țicu*; *țînc*, the nasalised form of *țic*, similar in meaning with *pici* (see). The forms are colloquial, well consolidated in the vocabulary.

noián, pl. *noianuri* or *noiene* ‘a large surface of water; a large quantity in general’. Sometimes connected with Alb. *ujë* ‘water’, therefore the Romanian form would be built as *no-ian*. This is not a frequent build, but may be considered as a linguistic relic. The original meaning was ‘water’ or ‘large, big’. The form seems indeed archaic, but no clear etymon may be offered. A similar construction, with prefix *na-/nă-*, *no-* is in *nălucă*: *nă-luc-*. It seems that this prefix, with augmentative meaning, had a certain role in the substratum (Thracian) elements.

norói ‘mud, mire’. Bulg. *naroj*. Both forms must be related with

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NFI *Nera*, *Năruja*, also *Neretva* (see further examples in Lexicon A), *o*-grade of IE root **nar-*, **ner-*.

oácăr (about sheep) ‘with black dots on the muzzle’. Obscure. A root **ok-* ‘? black; ? dot’ should be postulated.

Oana NP, feminine. By folk etymology, associated to *Ioana*, the feminine of *Ion* ‘John’. Unclear etymon, presumably indigenous, cf. *oină* and suffix *-oane*. The masculine parallels are *Onea*, *Onu*, *Onescu*, which support the indigenous origin of this group of personal names.

-oane Motional feminine suffix. Seems related with Alb. *-onjë*, as *ujk* ‘wolf’ – *ujkonjë* ‘she-wolf’ etc. Similarly, Gr. *λόκαινα* < *λόκος*; Lith. *vilkenė* < *vilkas* ‘she-wolf – wolf’ respectively.

Oar NL (SM). One of the numerous place-names derived from *oar-*, *or-*, *ur-*, from Preie. root **OR-*, **UR-* ‘great, big, huge’. See *-oar*, *-oara*, *Oarba*, *Oarța*, *oraș*, *urias*.

oar-, or-, ur- Numerous place-names witness a root derived from Preie. **OR-*, **UR-* ‘big, huge’ spread over

Europe; see also *Orga* and *Vrbas* (Lexicon A) and *Vir* (Lexicon B, I, 5).

Of the same origin must be the series of Hungarian place-names in *or-* quoted in Kiss 1980 s.v. In Romania some place-names witness the same root (see below the forms with root *or-*, *oar-*, *ur-*). • There is also the parallel root **OL-*, *UL-*, for which see the forms derived from root *ol-*, *ul-*.

Oarba NL, Mureș district, east Transylvania; related by folk etymology to *oarbă*, fem. of *orb* ‘blind’ (‘etymological substitution’; for definition see Skok 1950 and other examples in Lexica A and B); Preie. root as in *oar-*, *or-*, *ur-*.

Oarța and **Orțița** NL, both in Maramureș. At. in 1391 as *Trywarcha* and then *Warcza* in 1475. Preie. root as in *oar-*, *or-*, *ur-*.

oină A traditional game similar to baseball. Unknown origin, possibly indigenous, if not derived from *oaie*, pl. *oi* ‘sheep’ (< Lat. *ovis*, Acc. *ovem*), assuming that it was a game specific to shepherds. If indigenous, as we incline to believe, see also NP *Oana*, *Onea*, *Onu*, *Onescu* and feminine suffix *-oane*. • The game once had a general spread, and has various other local names: *matca*

mare, *hîlca*, *lapta-lungă*, *baciul* (Blaj area); *fuga* (Sibiu); *hopaciu* (Dej); *apuca*, *ogoiu* (Suceava); *de-a lungă* (Șcheii Brașovului); the forms *hoina*, *oina* are specific to southern Romania, the dialect of which is also the base of literary Romanian. The dialectal initial *h-* may indicate a former velar spirant *X; it is also true that the remnants of this archaic phoneme, which later turned into *f/v/h* in Romanian is also applied to words of Latin origin as a reflex in initial position, e.g. *haia*, *haie* < *aia*, literary *acea*, *aceea*.

olát ‘region, territory; property’. The root *ol-* with this meaning must be the same as in *Olt*, *Oltet*, *Oltina*, Preie. **OL-*, **UL-* akin to **OR-*, **UR-* ‘high, big; peak; vast region’. See parallel forms with root *or-*, e.g. *Orad-ea*, *Or-lat* etc.

olm (obsolete) ‘smell; odour’. Must be related with **-ulm-* in *adulmeca* (**ad-ulm-ec-a*), also supporting the archaic origin of *adulmeca*.

olog ‘lame’. Alb. *ulok*. Der. *a ologi* ‘to make someone lame; to break someone’s leg/arm’. Isolated in Romanian and Albanian, etymon unknown, probably indigenous. Alb. form seems borrowed from Roma-

nian.

Olt NFl One of the most important rivers of Romania. Attested in the antiquity as *Alutas*, *Alutus*, *Alutum*, Ἀλουτας. Related to *Oltina*, a lake in Dobrudja, attested in the late antiquity as Ἀλτῖνα (Procopius) and *Altinum* (Notitia Dignitatum). There is no doubt that the modern form preserves the old Thracian river-name. Problems have been raised by vocalism *o* against *a* in Thracian, considered by most linguists as reflecting a Slavic influence, i.e. a Slavic intermediary. If so, it would be the only ancient river-name of Romania affected by Slavic vocalism. Cf. NFl *Alta* in Russia, of Iranian origin, and without the shift *a* > *o* in an area with powerful okania. Cf. also NFL *Olt*, *Oultet* in Occitany. I am rather inclined to consider an ancient vocalism *o* (a dialectal form) against *a* attested in documents. Alternating *a/o* are not rare in the indigenous forms. Also, if starting from an initial Thracian *ā*, the result *o/u* in Romanian is normal (see *momă* / *mumă*, *mura*, *Mureș* etc.) The archaic root is Preie. **AL-*, **OL-* ‘high, elevated; deep’.

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Olteț NFl Deminutival derivative from *Olt*.

Oltina NSt (CT) At. : *Altina* (Procopius), *Altinum* (Notitia Dignitatum). From the same root as NFl *Olt* (see).

omág (pl. unused) Various species of plant *aconitum*: *a. moldavicum*, *a. napellus*, *a. vulparia* etc. Also *omeag* (especially species *a. variegatum*), *omec* (*a. napellus*), *omac*, rarely *oman*. A plant with bluish-violet or yellow flowers, frequent in folk beliefs and used in folk medicine against various diseases. Romanian form has parallels in Slavic: Pol. *omeg*, *omięg*, Czech *oměj*, Slovak *omich*, *omega*, *omeda*, Russian *omeg*, Slovene *omeg*. Slavists generally assume that the forms are derived from *omiežditi* ‘to poison’, which is at least debatable. The plant is not reported as being poisonous, on the contrary. Secondly, the name has interesting parallels in Romanian, not in Slavic, namely a series of seemingly archaic words with root **OM-*, of course not related to *om* < Lat. *homo*: *omăt* ‘snow’ (= Rom. *nea* < Lat. *nix*, *nivis*, and *zăpadă*, Slavic), *oman* (see below), NM *Omu(l)*, reflecting Preie. **AN-*, **AM-*, **OM-*

‘white, bright’; see also *Ampoi*, *Anieș*, *Ineu*.

omán Plant *Inula helenium*; rarely plant *aconitum* (see s.v. *omag*), also called *iarbă mare* lit. ‘big, great grass’, and *iarbă neagră* ‘black grass’. Used in folk medicine against cough, baldness, and associated to various creeds. Related with *omag* (above).

omăt, *omeți* s.m. ‘snow’. Usually explained from Sl. *o-mět-*, *o-* and *mět-* ‘to broom’ (cf. *mătură*). • The root seems related to the important series derived from Preie. **AM-*, **AN-*, **OM-* ‘white, bright’, see *omag*, *oman*, *Omu(l)* and *Ampoi*, *Anieș*, *Anina*, *Inău/Ineu*. Cf. NP Thr. *Oimedes*. See also *nămete*. • Slovene *omet* ‘mortar, plaster’ cannot explain the Romanian form.

omătúță, *-e* s.f. Name of two species of snowdrop, with white flowers: *Leucojum aestivum* and *L. vernum*. Derived from *omăt*.

Omu NM, the highest peak in Bucegi Mts; similar names in other mountains too. By folk-etymology related to *om*; similarly, NI *Man*, the British island, in fact an unexplained archaic Pre-Celtic form. NM *Omu* must be related with

omăt, omag, oman, Preie. *OM-, *AM-, *AN- ‘white, bright’. • The oldest may have been *Am(u), replaced by *Om(u)* as a result of folk-etymology, but this is not necessary. Cf. *Ampoi, amurg; Oarba*.

Onea, also **Onu, Onescu** Related with *Oana*, feminine (by folk etymology associated with *Ioana*), and probably also with *oină*.

opăiț A primitive lamp, approximately ‘earthen lamp, rushlight’. Also used to denote the plants *pratense* and *memorale*. Possibly akin to *văpaie*, even if the phonetic evolution is not comfortable; more probably a Preie. relic, root *OP-, *AP- identifiable in some place- and river-names. Archaic, indigenous.

Orad NL, today vanished (located near Suceagu, Cluj district). At. 1343 – *possessio Orad*; 1350 – *putiula terre Orath, Oraath*. Obviously built like *Arad* and related with *Oradea* and other forms derived from Preie. root *or-*, *ur-*. A Hungarian influence in pronunciation is possible, yet note that Romanian preserves both forms with *a* and *o* in the same area.

Orádea NL, Bihor. At. in 1103 – *Varadinus*. The Latinised form re-

flects Hung. *Nagyvárad*, lit. ‘Great *Várad*’ as Germ. *Großwardein*. Kiss 1980: 453 assumes that Rom. *Oradea* is borrowed from Hungarian, which is phonetically impossible (just like Rom. *oraș* from Hu. *város*, almost a legendary, but equally erroneous, etymology). *Oradea* is built like *Vedea, Vrancea* (see both forms). The key to understanding this form is the general context of the Preie. root *OR-, *UR-, as presented here and its relations to both *oraș*, dial. also *uraș* ‘township’ and *uriaș*, dial. also *oriaș* ‘huge; giant’ (the latter sense typical in folk-tales).

orăș also now rare, dialectal **urăș** ‘town, city; township generically’ Der.: *orășean, orășenesc, a orășeniza*. • The word has had a tremendous ‘career’ in the linguistic literature, and has been almost exclusively considered a Hungarian influence. Hungarian *város* ‘id.’ seemed similar enough in order to be considered, in the 19th century, the origin of the Romanian form *oraș* (the dialectal form *uraș* has been regularly disconsidered). In its turn, Hung. *város* is derived from *vár* ‘fortress’. A genuine analysis shows that: (1) Hung. *vár* does not

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have a clear etymon in Hungarian, as – in fact – some other forms common to Hungarian and Romanian; (2) if Hungarian could be the origin of Romanian forms, then the result should have been **văraş*, not *oraş* or *uraş*; (3) the basic idea that Hungarian may have had a specific term for ‘township’ before the 10th century A.D. is anachronical, as most ancient languages, e.g. Latin or Greek, borrowed these terms from the indigenous inhabitants: Latin borrowed *urbs*, *urbis* from the Etruscans, and Greek *asty* is for sure a Pre-Hellenic term. Finnish uses *kaupunki* ‘township’ and *kauppala* ‘a market place, a town’, which is borrowed from Germanic. The attempts to explain Hung. *város* as an old Finno-Ugric term related to Ostiak *voš*, *vaš* ‘township’ or a borrowing from Avestic *vāra-* ‘a shelter’ have been abandoned, and with the argument that such attempts have proven their false background.

• Rom. *oraş*, *uraş* is a typical representative of Preie. **OR-*, **UR-* ‘huge, big’ hence ‘big settlement, township’. An additional proof is offered by the Thracian place-names attested in the Antiquity: *Az-oros*, *Al-oros*, *Tarp-oron*, *Cep-ora*,

Cap-ora, *Clev-ora* (cf. *Cluj*, *Cleja*), *Scap-ora*, *Ur-briana*, in which the second element is *-ora*, *-oros*, *-oron*, beyond any reasonable doubt the precursors of the Romanian forms *-oara* (now in place-names only), *oraş*, *uraş*. The basic meaning must have been ‘fortress, urban settlement, township’, with a certain difference as compared to the similar meanings of *deva/dava*, *bria*, *poris* etc. Comparative analysis allows to postulate that Thracian had at least two forms: **ora* hence Romanian *oara*, now preserved in place-names only (presumably because of its interfering with *oară* < Lat. *hora*); **oraş*, **uraş*, hence Rom. *oraş*, *uraş*. All these forms must reflect Preie. **OR-*, **UR-* ‘huge, big, giant’, hence also Gr. *oros* ‘a hill, a mountain’ and Lat. *urbs*, *urbis* ‘township’ (of Etruscan origin). In this perspective, the Romanian forms are not isolated, on the contrary, they must be included in the large category of forms derived from Preie, **OR-*, **UR-*; see further cross-references under *oar-*, *or-*, *ur-*: *Oradea*, *Orăscu*, *Orescu*, *Orăştie*, *Orlat*, *Orlea*, *Orman*, *Orşova* (with Slavic suffix), *orto-*

man, Orțița. • Hung. *város* ‘township’ is derived from *vár* ‘fortress’, in its turn derived from Rom. *oara* ‘township, fortress’, now preserved in place-names only. Hungarian borrowings do not preserve final *-a*, as Hungarian *-a* is used for the genitive construction, when vowel harmony requires this (similarly Rom. *labă* > Hung. *láb*; Rom. *talpă* > Hung. *talp* etc.). See also the forms with root *ur-*: *Urcă, Urcu, Uric, Uria, Urlea, Urleta, Uriu* and *uriaș, urcă, urdă* (for which see dialectal *uraș*). • The hypothesis of the Hungarian origin of *oraș/uraș* must be abandoned.

Orăscu and **Orescu** NP Belong to the numerous forms derived from *or-/ur-* and anthroponymical suffix *-escu*, of Latin or Thracian origin, possibly a contamination of both; suffix *-iskos* is attested for Thracian.

orăstică, also *orăștică* ‘black-eyed pea; everlasting pea’. The plants *Lathyrus niger* and *vernus*. Also called *măzărice neagră*. The name derives from the Preie. root **OR-*, **UR-*, as in *oraș, Orșova* etc.

orăștică See *orăstică*.

Orăștie NL (HD) At.: 1224 – *Waras*; 1283 – *Warasium*. Derived from *oraș*. The Mediaeval forms show that the genuine pronunciation must have been **Oraș*, Latinised **Orașium*. See further discussions under *oraș*. Spelling *Waras* is for **oraș*, and *Warasium* is a further latinisation.

orceág ‘chive’ (the plant *Allium schoenoprasum*). Like *orăștică/orăștică*, derived from Preie. root **OR-*, **UR-* ‘big, elevated’; see further cross-references under *or-*, *ur-*.

oreáv A valley with flowing brooks or rivulets after rain. From Preie. root **OR-*, **UR-* ‘big, great; high or deep’; see cross-references under *or-*, *ur-*.

ori conjunction expressing alternatives, ‘or’; also *sau*. Indigenous, see also *dar* ‘but’ and *iar* ‘and; again’. The similarity with Eng. *or* seems fortuitous as the oldest form is *oththe*.

oriaș See *uriaș*.

órie A net for fishing in form of a bag. Archaic term, probably derived from the same Preie. root **OR-*, **UR-*; see cross-references under *or-*, *ur-*.

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Orlát NL (BV) At.: 1317–1320 – *ecclesia de Monte Civinii*; 1322 – *villa Warolyafolw* (with deformed spelling specific to Hungarian; second part *folw* reflects Hung. *falu* ‘a village’). See the references under *oar-*, *or-*, *ur-*. Cf. *Orlea*, *Urlea* etc.

Órlea NL (OT), NP Derived from root *oar-*, *or-*, *ur-*; see also *Orăscu*, *Orescu* etc. The name seems to reflect ancient Thracian personal-name *Oroles*, name of a Thracian king and also the name of Thuchydides’ father etc.

Orliga NM (TL, Măcin Mts). Belongs to the rich category of names derived from Preie. root **OR-*, **UR-*, see mainly *oraş* and the references under *or-*, *ur-*.

Orman NL Cluj. At. in 1292 as *Urlman*, then *Urman*, *Orman*; 1312 – *possessio Urman*; 1333 – *Orman*. For the ending *-man* see also South Slavic forms in Lexicon A. If it is not an erroneous spelling, as often in such cases, then it may really be an archaic prototype form **Urlman*, as backed by NM, NP *Orlea*, *Urlea*. The place-name may be included in the category of the numerous forms derived from Preie. root *oar-*, *or-*, *ur-*. Suffix *-man* is also met in some

archaic Thracian forms (including the region south from the Danube).

• Later spellings: 1312 – *Urman*; 1333 – *Orman*. The oscillating and/or hesitating spellings may reflect local or regional pronunciations.

oropsí ‘to persecute; to exploit; to scold’. Seems derived from the same Preie. root **OR-*, **UR-* ‘big, great’, with this meaning ‘great pressure, intolerable weight’. See *or-*, *ur-*.

Órşova NL (MH, MS) At. (in MH): 1349 – *castrum Vrsoua*, *Orsuua*. Related with, or derived from, *oraş* (see) and Slavic suffix *-ova*. It is possible, given its occurrence in some archaic place-names, that an indigenous Thracian suffix *-ova*, *-ava* may have existed too, as suggested by NFl, NL *Bîrzava*, ancient *Bersovia*, *Bersobis*, where the Slavic influence is excluded. An interference with the later Slavic forms seems the most probable.

ortomán adj. (rare today) 1. (about shepherds) ‘rich, with many sheep’; 2. (about boys or young men) ‘handsome’; 3. (about horses) ‘of great speed, good horse’. A compound of *orto-*, which reflects *oar-*, *or-*, *ur-*, of Preie. origin and suffix

-*man*. Preie. **OR-*, **UR-* ‘big, giant’, paralleled by **OL-*, **UL-* ‘id.’, hence Gr. *ólbos* ‘rich’, with identical meaning in Romanian *or-toman*. • The form is rare and dialectal, and introduced in the literary language by Vasile Alecsandri in processing *Miorița*.

Orțița NL (MM) At.: 1391 – *Trywarcha* (cf. *Oarța*). Derived from *Oarța*.

pălă¹ 1. a small heap of hay (i.e. the quantity taken by a scythe once); 2. a blow of wind. Related with Alb. *pale* ‘fold, plait; pleat’. The initial meaning may be reconstructed as ‘hillock of hay’, therefore the root must be Preie. **P-L-*, also **P-R-* ‘hill, hillock; elevation’. See *Paleu*, *pălărie* and the numerous forms with root *par-*.

pălă² ‘a whim, a caprice’. Seemingly related with *pală*¹, but the evolution is not clear, perhaps an association like ‘an elevation in thought or thinking’.

Paléu NL Bihor. Seemingly related to *Peleaga*, *Peleş*; the approach to Hu. *palló* ‘a small bridge’ or Sl. *paliti* ‘to burn’ cannot be invoked. See *pală*¹.

paparúďă, also *păpărudă*. Fantastic female figures of the indigenous creeds, also borrowed in the neighbouring languages as *peperude*, *pa-parude* (mainly in South Slavic; analysed by Ovsec 1991: 170, 291); also Albanian *perperone*, Neo-Greek *perperina*. The form has spread over Southeast Europe, beyond any doubt from the Thracian substratum, directly or via Romanian. The modern form is the result of reduplication, *pa-pa-* or rather reduplication followed by haplology, *par-par-* > *papar-*. The prehistoric root cannot be identified, but the meaning ‘female, woman’ seems the oldest reconstructable; see also *paparugă* ‘lady bird’, where the association between the semantic sphere ‘female, woman’ and insect *Coccinella* is also met in English.

paparúgă ‘lady bird; *Coccinella*’ (usually called *buburuză*, also indigenous, see). Must be related with *paparudă*, *păpărudă*.

paríng The plant *Panicum* or *Lithospermum*. See *Parîng*.

Paríng NM, an important chain in the South Carpathians. Obviously reflects Preie. **P-R-* ‘mountain, hill’; hence also NL *Praha* (<

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**Paraga*, Lexicon D) and *Pirin* in Bulgaria, Lexicon A. • At. 1470, July 28: ПАРЪГЪЛ.

pátă ‘stain’. Obscure and isolated. No etymon, presumably indigenous.

pă-, po-, pî- Expressive prefix of indigenous origin, used for derivational means, mainly for verbs. Seemingly related with *păi*. It interferes with Slavic *po-*, nevertheless in most instances its situation and origin may be fairly well discriminated against the Slavic borrowings. In a form like *pîrîu* ‘brook, rivulet’ (see) we may identify its role in conjunction with *rîu* ‘river’, even if most Thracian studies analyse *pîrîu* as a form in itself, and not as an obvious derivative from *rîu*. The etymological analysis should also discriminate the situations in which *pă-, po-, pî-* is a prefix against the situations in which this sequence is a part of the root.

Păcălă A witty guy of the Romanian tales; see *păcăli*.

păcăleală See *păcăli*.

păcălî ‘to hoax; to cheat’. Obscure. The word may be analysed either as compound with prefix *pă-* (cf. *păi*) and root *kal-* ‘to cheat’, or as a root *pak-*; in both cases, obscure. Isolated in Romanian, presumably ar-

chaic. Hence *Păcălă*, a witty hero of the Romanian tales; *păcăleală* ‘a cheat, a hoax’ etc.

păi conj. Used after a question, and noting a hesitation. In DEX, considered a simple form of adverb *apoi* (< Lat. *ad post*) ‘then, after that, afterwards’. Obviously related with Alb. *po* ‘but, only that’; also ‘yes’ and particle for building the progressive form and also with emphatic role. From the same root is probably also the, mainly verbal, prefix *pă-, po-, pî-*. • It is indeed debatable, as DEX assumes, that *păi* is a simple derivative of *apoi*, even if – at dialectal level – *păi* and *apoi* interfere as *apăi*, which is a variant of *păi*, not of *apoi*. If indeed *păi* may be accepted a colloquial Latin form, then we must demonstrate that Alb. *po* is a simple heir of Lat. *post*. Note also the specific position of *păi* and *po-*, a prefix recorded in several indigenous forms; in these situations, *po-* does not seem to reflect Slavic *po-*, which is otherwise absent as a borrowing. See the situation of prefix *po-* under *podidi*, *popîndac*, *popîndău*.

pălărie ‘hat; the upper part of some mushrooms looking like a hat; the

upper part of sunflower'. The root *pal-*, *păl-* derives from Preie. **P-L-* 'elevation, peak; hill'; see *pală* 1, *Paleu*.

păpărúďă See *paparúďă*.

păstăie 'a pod' (as of beans or peas). Alb. *pishtajë*, *bishtajë*. The basic meaning must be connected to the meaning 'to cover, to protect', therefore should be analysed together with *păstra*. The original form may have been **păstraie*. An archaic root **pes-*, **pis-* 'to cover, to protect' is suggested by some Uralic forms, e.g. Estonian *pesa* 'nest', *pesitama*, *pesitsema* 'to protect in a nest', Finnish *pesä* 'nest'; all these would suggest a pre-historic Proto-Boreal root as defined and analysed by N. D. Andreev. See also Gr. *písos* = Lat. *pisum* 'pea', from the fact that pea is protected, covered in a pod. Cf. *mazăre* 'pea'.

păstră 'to keep, to preserve'. Archaic, unclear etymon. We assume it to be of Preie. origin, root **P-S-*, **B-S-* 'to protect, to cover'; the same root seems to be in *păstaie*, probably from **păstraie*.

peleágă, also **pelég** 'hill, hillock, elevated location'. Possibly related

with Alb. *pellk* 'marsh, moor'. Closely akin to *Peleaga*, *Peleş* etc., ultimately Preie. root **P-L-* 'hill, rock'. • Alb. *pellk*, with *ll*, which would denote an older *r*, may be rather related to the parallel Preie. forms with root **P-R-*; the modern meaning 'marsh, moor' may be an innovation from 'moorish region in the mountains'.

Peleaga NM Banat. Related to *peleg*, *peleagă* 'a small hill, a hillock', cf. Thr. and Ill. NL *Pelen-dova*, *Pelva*, *Pala*, *Palae*. Reflects Preie. root **P-L-*, also **P-R-* 'a hill, a rock; mountain', spread all over Europe. The preservation of intervocalic *-l-* is normal in indigenous Thracian words. Cf. *Peleş* and *Pula* in Lexicon A.

pelég See *peleagă*.

Péleş NL Maramureş, also Alba; NM in Sinaia, Prahova. Related to *Peleaga*. Considered as derived from Hu. *pilis* 'baldness' by Iordan 1963: 118–119, which is a mere similarity by hazard.

Péreg NL (AR) The same Preie. root **P-R-*, related to **P-L-* 'mountain, cliff' as in *Parîng*, *Perşani* and *Pereţ*; built as *Peleg*, *peleg*, *peleagă*.

Pereţ NP Same root as in *Pereg*.

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perpeli ‘to roast, to grill’; also *pîrpăli*. The basic meaning is ‘to burn/roast (e.g. meat) by turning it around’; fig. also ‘to make someone upset, curious’. DEX refers to Bulg. *pripalja* and S.-Cr. *pripaliti*, from root *paliti* ‘to burn’ and prefix *pri-*. The main problem of this explanation is that the phonetic evolution is not possible. The word is created by reduplication, then haplology (as in other cases), **per-per-l-* > *perpeli*, *pîrpăli*. The same root also in *pîrli*, *pîrjoli* and *şperlă*, which definitely reject the hypothesis of a Slavic origin.

Perşani NM, Vrancea region. If not derived from a family-name *Perşanu*, then it should be derived from Preie. root **P-R-* as in *Parîng*. At. 1355 – *Persani*; 1527 – *possessio Persány* (influenced by Hungarian spelling).

Peştiş NL Seems derived from the same root as (a) *păstra* and *păstaie*. The similarity with *peşte* ‘fish’ seems the result of hazard.

pic ‘little bit, a small quantity’, especially *un pic* ‘a little bit’. Form *pici* ‘a small child’ belongs here too. Seems built on the same source as *mic* ‘small’, *mici* ‘small meat-balls’

(a specific Romanian and SE European food). Must be related to Italian *piccolo*; it may be surmised that all these forms were borrowed, from an unknown source, presumably Thracian and/or Illyrian, in Post-Classical, colloquial Latin.

pici m. ‘a small child’. See *pic*.

picotî ‘to doze, to drowse’. Also *pirotî*. The oldest form seems *picoti*, which may be derived from *pic* with the basic meaning ‘small sleep; to sleep for a short time’, which is the basic meaning until modern Romanian. Dialectal form *pirotî* seems deformed, with non-etymological *-r-*.

pigulî ‘to peck; to pick (a small quantity)’. If not derived from a colloquial Latin form derived from **picāre*, then indigenous, as we are inclined to believe. See also *ciuguli* and *cioc*. Probably akin to *pic*.

pipirîg Name of several plants: *Schoenoplectus lacustris*, *Scirpus silvaticus*, *Equisetum hiemale* and *Holoschoenus vulgaris*. Eng. ‘Dutch rush, pewter’. Also sometimes called *ţipirîg* (see, usually used for the ammonium chloride, Eng. ‘salmiac’). The modern form may be either interpreted as deriving from a root *pip-* or rather derived

from reduplication and haplology **pir-pir- > pipirig* (for the frequent reduplication and haplology phenomenon in the indigenous elements, see Part II). It is therefore questionable whether *pipirig* may be etymologically connected to *pi-potă*. In change, it seems related with *pir* ‘couch grass, twitch’ (*Agropyrum repens*), which DEX assumes of Bulgarian origin. We doubt this hypothesis; given the richer etymological family of these names of plants in Romanian, the Bulgarian origin of *pir* should be revised. It may be a Thracian relic as well, directly or via Romanian. In such a view, the root *pir*, as such with the meaning ‘couch grass’ and by reduplication and haplology **pir-pir-ig > pipirig*, may be safely held for indigenous. Etymon unclear, possibly Preie., as many other forms created by reduplication and haplology.

pípotă ‘gizzard’; ironically ‘stomach, belly’. Obscure, isolated, presumably an indigenous relic. A Preie. origin may be possible, even probable.

pir ‘couch grass, twitch’; the plant *Agropyrum repens*. Usually held for a borrowing from Bulgarian. See

further discussions under *pipirig*.

pirotí ‘to doze, to drowse’. Also *picoti*. There does not seem to be any connection with root *pir-* in *pir*, **pirpirig > pipirig*. This form seems deformed against what seems the original *picotí*.

pisc ‘peak’. Cf. Helvetic NM *Piz d’Aquo*, with the second element of Preie. origin, root **AK-* ‘hill, peak’. The root *pis-k-* is spread between the Carpathians and Alps. Czech *pysk* ‘mouth, muzzle’ may also belong here.

piscói 1. a tube used for some musical instruments; 2. a small person (pejoratively). Derived from *pis*, the apelative for ‘cat’; see also *pisică* ‘cat’, *pisói* ‘kitten’.

pisică ‘cat’. Root *pis-* is also the usual appellative for cats. Related to, not borrowed from, Sl. *pъsъ* ‘dog’. Indigenous, with initial reference to small, domestic animals. See further examples and discussions under *mîță*.

pistră ‘thick cloth used for mattresses’. Related with *păstra* and *păstaie*, and confirming both the basic meaning of Preie. root **P-S-* ‘to cover, to protect’, and also that

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păstaie is derived from **păstraie*. • Definitely, no connection with Sl. *pestr̥b* ‘multi-coloured’, which is a fortuitous resemblance.

pișcă ‘to pinch; to sting, to bite’. The basic meaning may be reconstruct ‘to bite A LITTLE BIT’, therefore the verb seems derived from *pic* ‘a drop’; *un pic* ‘a little bit, a small quantity’ (see *pic*). The oldest form was **pič-k-* > *piš-k-*.

pișcă a device used for manoeuvring ships, especially where rivers make a turn. Must be derived from verb *a pișcă*.

pișleág a kind of nail which fixes spokes. Seems related with *pișcă*, *pișcă*.

pită ‘a kind of bread’. Related to *pitic*, *pițigoi*, *puțin*, *puță* from a root *pit-*, *piț-*, *puț-* ‘small, little’. Seems related with Italian *pizza*, which we hypothesise a borrowing in colloquial Latin from late Thracian or Illyrian; cf. the case of *pic*, *pici*, *pițigoi*.

pití Mainly reflexive *a se piti* ‘to hide’, sense derived from ‘small, little’, i.e. ‘to make himself/herself small’; see *pitic*. Cf. Thr. *πιτύη.θησαυρός* (Dečev 1957: 372), therefore *πιτύη* ‘something hidden’.

pitic ‘a dwarf; small’. From a root *pit-*, *piț-*, *puț-* as in *pită*, *puțin*, *pițigoi* (see).

pițigoi The bird *Parus maior*; ‘tit’. The root *piț-*, *puț-* basically means ‘small, little’, as also in *puțin* and, beyond any doubt, *puță*. With alternating *t/ț*, also in *pitic* ‘dwarf’ and, very probably, *pită* ‘a kind of (small) bread’. Italian *pizza* seems to belong here too. If so, we hypothesise a Thracian and/or Illyrian word, which also ‘intruded’ into West colloquial Latin, if we accept that *pizza* is also derived from this root.

pîlnie ‘funnel’. Related to, not borrowed from, Sl. *pъlnъ* ‘full’ < Thr. **pul-ny-ā* < IE **pel-* ‘to fill’, zero grade **pl-* > Thr. **pul-*, with the evolution IE **l* > Thr. **ul*.

pîndár ‘guard, watcher’; derived from *pîndi*.

pîndí ‘to still-hunt; to stay hidden for hunt’. It is doubtful that this word reflects a Slavic borrowing (*pōnditi*). The word reflects an archaic activity, and may refer to Proto-Boreal **Ghw-N* ‘to run for hunt; to still-hunt’, wherefrom Slavic *goniti* ‘to run (for hunt)’ indeed. The evolution PB *Ghw* > Sl. *g* and Thr. *p*

is normal, and confirmed by other examples. From this root, Thracian (and hence Romanian) independently preserve *pîndi* v. *goniti* (hence *a goni* in Romanian, as a Slavic borrowing). Alb. *pëndár* ‘guard’ is probably from Romanian.

pînză ‘a cloth, a tissue; spider-web’, from IE **pan-* ‘a cloth’. Archaic, related to Lat. *pannus*, etc. The original meaning was connected to sewing and/or weaving. Built as *brînză*.

pîrî ‘to denounce, to tell on someone’. DEX refers to a Sl. *prěti* without any other motivation, which is at least debatable. Etymon rather unknown, probably archaic, with a reconstructable meaning in the sphere ‘to speak (in), to tell’ or, possibly, derived from the same root ‘to burn, to scorch’ as in *pîrli*, *pîrjoli*, *pîrnaie*; also *perpeli* and *şperlă*. In this case, the evolution may be reconstructed ‘to burn, to scorch’ > ‘to burn/scorch with words, by denouncing, telling on someone’.

pîrîu ‘a small river, a rivulet’. Alb. *përrúa*, art. *përroj*, pl. *perronje* ‘river bed’. The forms seem archaic, without a clear etymon. On the other hand, the relation with *rîu* ‘river’ (< Lat. *rivus*) has never been

satisfactorily explained, therefore a Romanian innovation **pə-rîu* > *pîrîu* or abridged from *pînă-n rîu* ‘until (it get to) the river’ should not be put down; if so, rather a Latin element, derived at the level of colloquial East Romance. Starting from the same Latin form *rivus* > *rîu*, we may also surmise a built with indigenous prefix *pă-*, *po-*, *pî-* (see) and *rîu*. If so, the Albanian form is borrowed from Romanian.

pîrjolî ‘to scorch, to burn’ (especially with reference to the military technique of burning land in order to stop or slow down an invasion). DEX assumes a borrowing from Hung. *pörzsölni*, *perzselni*, in its turn of unknown origin; it is, beyond any reasonable doubt, a borrowing from Romanian, as *pîrjoli* is obviously related with *pîrli*, *perpeli* and *şperlă*.

pîrlî ‘to singe, to scorch’; fig. also ‘to get cheated’. The archaic root is Proto-Boreal **Ghw-R-* ‘to get warm, to burn’ > IE **ger-*, **gor-*, which resulted, on the one hand, in Sl. *goreti* ‘to burn’, and Thr. **per-*, **pir-* ‘to burn’, with the evolution IE **gh* > Thr. *p* (as in *pîndi*). Note that the treatment of IE *k^w* and *g^w* was NOT

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symmetrical in Thracian. See further considerations in the chapter on Phonetics. The same root is in *pîrjoli*, *pîrnaie*, *pîrpăli/perpeli* and *şperlă*. • The hypothesis of a Slavic origin, as advocated in DEX, should be definitely rejected. Bg. *пърля* is related to Romanian as a common Thracian heritage or rather borrowed from Romanian. • See also *pururi*, *pururea*.

pîrnăie ‘large pot for preparing food’. Closely related with *pîrli*, *pîrjoli*, *pîrpăli/perpeli* and *şperlă* from an archaic root ‘to burn, to scorch’, hence ‘to prepare food by burning, under fire’.

pîrpăli See *perpeli*.

plisc ‘beak, bill’. Probably from Preie. root **P-L-* ‘elevation, peak’ as often in place-names (e.g. *Peleş*, *peleagă*), with zero grade and development **pl-is-k*.

plug Archaic farming term spread in the European languages only, Sl. *plugъ* and Germanic, e.g. German *Pflug*, Eng. *plough*. The ultimate origin is Preie., root **P-L-*, ‘stone, cliff’, and initially referred to stone ploughs. The Slavic origin is at least debatable, as Rom. *plug* is related to other forms like *Peleş*, *Peleaga*, *peleagă*, *Paleu*, all derived from the

same Preie. root. Their archaic origin has been long denied on the erroneous grounds that intervocalic *-l-* cannot be preserved in such words. As proved in this lexicon, and in other works, this was a fundamentally erroneous assumption, unproved by any example at all. Forms like German *Pflug*, Eng. *plough*, Rom. *plug* and Sl. *plugъ* reflect the wheeled plough, Gr. *πινθηνα* ‘a kind of archaic, primitive plough’, is of Preie. origin, root **P-N-* ‘to curve, to bend’. • Romanian, Slavic and Germanic are a quite compact area, which preserves this archaic term of Neolithic Europe. Cf. the case of *grapă*. • This is a typical example, which shows that the whole topic of ‘Slavic borrowings in Romanian’ should be fundamentally revised.

pod 1. ‘bridge; any device similar to a bridge’; 2. ‘attic’. Incorrectly held for a borrowing from Sl. *pod* (OCS *podъ*) ‘under, below’. See further discussions under *podea*.

podéa ‘floor; low plain surface in general’. Long held for unknown origin, probably because it seems, or may seem, derived from Sl. *pod* (OCS *podъ*) ‘under, beneath, be-

low'. Nevertheless Romanian did not generally borrow Slavic prepositions or prefixes, therefore we may suspect an indigenous form related with Sl. *pod*, which seems the most reasonable assumption. Note that in oldest Slavic forms, *pod* did not mean a subordination, but rather 'close contact', which seems to have been the original meaning in Romanian via Thracian, as we are inclined to believe. We also assume that the analysis of *podea* is also connected to the etymological analysis of *pod* 'bridge', in our view erroneously explained from Sl. *podъ* 'below, under', as this meaning is not Slavic. For 'bridge' Slavic has *mostъ* from **mot-to-s*; it seems to be, according to some views, in relation with *metъ*, *mesti* 'to throw, cast; to broom'. This is, of course, a secondary debate. The relation *pod* – *podea* is specific in Romanian only, and obviously is not a Slavic borrowing. For further discussions on the confusion between some Thracian forms, preserved in Romanian from the substratum, on the one hand, and the Slavic borrowings proper, on the other hand, see the *Introduction* and Part II.

podidî (followed by a noun) 1. 'to overwhelm; to burst; 2. to be preoccupied. In modern Romanian, the verb *podidi* must be followed by a noun, which is also the grammatical subject; it also requires an accusative, e.g. *l-a podidît plînsul* 'he burst into tears (= crying)' etc. Etymologically, there seems to be prefix *po-* (see *pă-*, *po-*, *pî-*), and a reduplicated form *di-di*, of Thracian origin, probably akin to Lat. *do*, *dāre*. The original meaning must have been, as reduplication shows, an intensive of 'to give', i.e. 'to give a lot, too much'. • Prefix *po-*, which may be etymologically related with *păi* (see), cannot be of Slavic origin. As it occurs in some forms of Thracian origin, we hypothesise to reflect an indigenous form as well.

popîndăc A vegetal accumulation of sedge or bulrush on lakes, which give the impression of an island. Just like *popîndău* (see), formed with prefix *po-* (for which see also *podidi*) and the root in the verb *pîndi*.

popîndău 'ground squirrel' (*Citellus citellus*). Just like *popîndăc* and *podidi*, built with prefix *po-*, also of indigenous origin rather than Slavic,

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and the root in *pîndi* ‘to lie in wait, to still-hunt’; see *pîndi*.

popîndóc 1. ‘field mouse’; 2. another variant of *popîndău*. See *popîndău*.

poponét¹ 1. field or forest mouse; 2. a variant of *popîndău*. Same etymon as *popîndău*, with adjustments in association with *popou* ‘buttocks’, diminutival *poponeţ* ‘a baby’s back, buttocks’.

poponét² ‘wick, mainly the wick for a primitive earthen lamp’. Derived from *poponeţ*¹ with its meaning ‘ground squirrel’, as the wick was figuratively associated with a squirrel.

posomorî ‘to become sad’. Obviously built with prefix *po-* (see *pă-*, *po-*, *pî-*) and a form related with Hungarian *szomorú* ‘sad’. The etymological explanation relies on whether to hypothesise a borrowing from Hungarian in Romanian, which is not supported by a parallel example, or to accept a Romanian borrowing in Hungarian, which is what we believe. • The root *som-* ‘sad’ is the same as in other forms like *Someş* etc. < Preie. **S-M-* ‘deep’ or ‘high’; meaning ‘sad’ must be derived, if accepting our view,

from ‘deep’ > ‘sad’.

poşîrcă Pejoratively used for a bad alcoholic drink, usually referring to wine. Built with prefix *po-* and the same root as in *şiroi*, for which see both.

poşovoaică A dance specific for the Caransebeş region. Built with prefix *po-* and the same root as in *şovăi*.

potăie 1. ‘cur, tike, vile dog’; 2. fig. ‘scoundrel, rascal’. It seems built with prefix *po-*, also *pă-*, *pî-* and a root *ta(i)-*, which does not seem to be the same root as in *tăia*, *tai* ‘to cut’ (< Latin **taliare*). The form is expressive and seemingly built on an indigenous pattern, possibly preserving a Pre-Romance form.

póznă ‘folly, prank’. Usually applied to children’s actions. Formally, it seems derived from Slavic *po-znati* ‘to know’, which does not make any sense. The word seems to reflect an indigenous model, built with prefix *pă-*, *po-*, *pî-*, which may indeed be related with its Slavic counterpart, and a root *zna-* ‘witty; action’, which may eventually be related with Sl. *znati* ‘to know’ and Lat. *gnosco*.

prăjină ‘pole, staff; a Mediaeval length unit of 5–7 m; a Mediaeval surface unit of approx. 180–210 sq.m.’ Forms *prăjină*, *prăştină* and *prepeleac* seems related, all having the basic meaning ‘pole, staff’. In all of them, the root may be reconstructed as **prə-*, *pră-/pra-* ‘a stick, a pole’. There does not seem to be an etymological connection with *par* ‘stake, pole’ < Lat. *palus*, as such derivations are not attested for the Latin stratum of Romanian. If indeed derived from the Latin form, then all these three forms follow an indigenous pattern.

prăştină ‘a pole, staff’. See *prăjină*.

prepeleác, prepeleág a variant of *prăjină* and *prăştină* (see). The ending *-ac/-ag* supports the hypothesis of an indigenous element, and also the indigenous character of the other two forms, rather than a derivation from *par* < Lat. *palus*.

présură ‘bunting’ (the bird *Emberiza*). A small singing, migratory bird with a long, bifurcated tail. If the name was associated to its tail, then may be the same root as in *prăjină*, *prăştină* and *prepeleác* / *prepeleág*. If this association is not

acceptable, the etymon must be looked for elsewhere, but the indigenous character of the form seems certain. The stress and suffix *-ur-* as in *măt-ur-ă*.

preş ‘a carpet’ (especially the traditional carpet in the countryside). Unexplained, obscure. If related to the sphere ‘object spread on earth’ (as usual in traditional houses), then it may reflect Preie. root **P-R-* ‘earth, stone’, as in *Parîng* and *Perşani*.

Proca NP Iordan 1983: 380 explains it from Ukrainian, even though this origin should be proved first. Name rather indigenous, cf. ancient Dacian NL *Napoca*, Rom. *preş* < Preie. **P-R-*, with zero grade development **PR-oc-*.

proháb ‘fly (opening)’ (of male trousers). Isolated and obscure form. Given its situation, very probably indigenous. If so, phoneme *h* reflects the archaic velar spirant **X*. A root **proX-* ‘opening, a hole’ may be hypothesised.

prunc ‘a small child, a baby’. From the same root as NFI *Prut*, with a nasal development, IE **preu-* ‘to spring, to come out’. The term ini-

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tially ‘sprung out from mother’s belly’ = ‘baby, recently born child’.

Prut NFI Ancient Greek *Πυρετός*, by the Scythians as *Ποράτα*, *Βροῦτος* (first centuries A.D.), *Βουράτ* (by the Pecenegs). Reflects IE **preu-* ‘to spring out’, as in *prunc* (nasalised) ‘a baby’ (< ‘sprung out from mother’s belly’), hence also Skr. *pru-th* ‘to spring out, to explode’.

puchi ‘bleary eyes; a stain’. Also *puchínă*, same meaning. Der. *puchinós*, adj. A root *puk(h)-* may be reconstructed, but no further relationship available. The similarity with Eng. *puck* < ME *pouke* < OE *pūca* seems mere hazard, unless there may be a common denominator for a common origin of both.

puchínă See *puchi*.

puchinós See *puchi*.

pufní ‘to snort; to burst (into laughing), as in *a pufní în rîs*. The same origin and etymon like *bufní*, with alternating *b/p*; phoneme *f* reflects the archaic velar spirant **X*.

puhăi ‘to push our air with force; to inflate, to release air with force’. From the same root as *pufni* and *bufni*, from an archaic root **b(h)uX-*, see *buf-*, *buh-*.

pulă ‘penis of a mature man, penis in erection’. Given the taboo character of the word, rarely analysed. Probably closely related with NL *Pula* < Preie. **P-L-* ‘elevation, peak’, hence figuratively the penis in erection, seen as ‘erotic peak’. See also *puță* ‘a little boy’s penis’. Romanian discriminates a child’s penis (*puță*) against a mature man’s *pulă* (vulgar and taboo in usual speech). • The relation with Lat. *puella* is, most probably, mere hazard.

púngă ‘a bag, purse; any object similar to a bag or purse’; in some compounds, e.g. *Punga-babei*, the plant *Pulicaria dysenterica*. Isolated and etymologically obscure, presumably indigenous. The sequence *pun-g-* may either reflect IE **pŋ-g-* > **pung-*, or a nasalised form of **pug-*.

púpăză The bird *Upupa epops*; ‘hoopoo’. The word started from an onomatopoeia, as Lat. *upupa*. It should be labelled indigenous, as is built like *cinte-ză* or *bu-ză*. • A derivation from Lat. *puppa*, *pūpa* ‘a girl, a doll’ is not feasible. Alb. forms are similar: *pupë*, *pupzë*, *pupcë*.

Puru NFI (Latorița Mts; flows into lake Vidra); NL (VL) Preie. origin

via Thracian, root **P-R-* ‘stone, cliff’; cf. *Parîng*. • Root *pur-* ‘fire’ is in *pururi*, *pururea* ‘eternally, for ever’, of IE origin (see). This root does not seem to be the origin of this river-name, but this possibility cannot be excluded, even if semantically improbable, unless the local inhabitants referred to a possible fire-like colour?

púrurea See *pururi*.

púruri, also **pururea**, **de-a pururi**, **de-a pururea** adv. ‘eternally, for ever’. Alb. *përhërë* ‘id.’. From Thracian root *pur-* ‘fire’, fairly well attested in Thracian, especially in personal names, probably with the sense ‘fire-like hair, fire-like reddish hair’: *Pyroulas*, *Pyrula*, *Purula*, *Pirurus* etc. Thr. *pyr-*, *pir-* (*pur-*) is related with Gr. *pyr*, *pyrós* ‘fire’, also German *Feur*, Eng. *fire* ‘id.’. *Pururi* was initially, as it still shows now, the plural of **pur* ‘fire’. Form *pururea* is newer, by association with adverbs like *ades* – *adesea*, when the basic meaning ‘fire’ was lost (see also entry *-a* for the quite frequent situations of this definite article of adverbs and demonstrative adjectives, specific to Romanian). Albanian preserves too the parallel

‘eternally, for ever’ – ‘fire(s)’: *përhërë* ‘eternally’ related with *përhin* ‘to cover with ashes’. • The change of meaning from ‘fire(s)’ – ‘eternally, for ever’ should be explained in a religious context in which fire was considered eternal, hence the evolution ‘(eternal) fire’ > ‘eternal (in general)’. • To note that cremation was the usual burial rite of the Thracians, therefore fire, Thr. *pur-*, and associated beliefs must have had a crucial role in their religious life.

Putna NFI (several locations), NL (several locations too) Cf. NL Thr. *Pydna*, *Πύδνα*. Etymon unknown, possibly Preie.

puță ‘a little boy’s penis’. Must be closely related with the words derived from root *piț-*, *puț-* ‘small, little’, as *puțin*, *pițigoi*, *pitic* (with alternating *t/ț*). Romanian clearly discriminates *puță* against *pulă* (see), which – despite initial *pu-* – do not seem related, but rather a result of hazard, which may have supported the association at popular level.

puțin ‘a little (bit), a small quantity’. From a root *puț-*, *piț-*, also *pit-* ‘small, little’ as in *pită*, *pițigoi*, *puță*,. Cf. *pic*, *pici*, *nițel*, all having

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the basic meaning ‘small, little, a little (bit)’.

ra-, ră- Indigenous prefix of nouns and verbs, related with – but probably not reflecting – Lat. *re-*. It may also be used with roots of other origin, not necessarily indigenous: *ră-fui* (< indigenous root **Xu-* as in *vui*), *ra-zem*, *ră-guși* (*gușă* < Lat. *geusiae*) etc.

răcilă 1. ‘serious disease; 2. fig. ‘problem, fault’. Seems related with Slavic *rak* ‘crayfish, crab’, also ‘cancer’. The dual meaning ‘crab’ and ‘cancer’ is also attested for some Romanian dialects. Otherwise, Czech *rakovina* ‘cancer’, derived from the same root. If a root **rak-*, and followed by *i*, *k* > *č*, may be accepted as Slavic, there are real difficulties in explaining the Romanian form. If indeed archaic, we must hypothesise an indigenous root **rak-* ‘serious disease, cancer’, hence generically and figuratively ‘main problem, fault’. We are inclined to admit an indigenous inherited form akin to Slavic *rak*, not borrowed from Slavic. See also *răcovină*, *răcuină*, *răcoină*.

răngă ‘crowbar’. The original meaning seems to have been ‘rod’, therefore akin to *rîncă* (see).

rântie ‘a long overcoat’. DEX holds for a possible Ukrainian origin (*rantuh*), which is at least debatable. If the basic meaning may be accepted as ‘long as a rod’, then related with *rangă* and *rîncă*. If a Slavic origin may be envisaged, then further arguments should be invoked. Until then, rather indigenous.

răpăn A disease, of humans, animals and trees. Referring to humans, an equivalent for *rîie* ‘itch, scab’; otherwise, used with the generic meaning ‘filth’. Referring to trees, the term reflects a specific fungus, which attacks trees. Must be analysed together with *răpciugă* ‘a disease of horses; an epithet for filthy, sick animals’; and with *răpciune*, the popular name of September. The basic meaning may be reconstructed as ‘disease; sick’; referring to September, imagined as the month when nature is ‘sick’, i.e. falling down to winter (cf. Eng. *fall* ‘autumn’). A root *rap-*, *rəp-* ‘disease, sick’ may be postulated.

Rarău NM (East Carpathians). The original form should have been

**ararə-*, of masculine gender, articulated **ararău*. Closest forms which explain the mountain-name are Thr. *Araros*, Ἀραρος, Ἀραυρος; cf. NFI *Arar* (France). The possible approach to *rar* ‘rare’ is, of course, a folk-etymology. The forms ending in *-ău*, *-éu* must have been *masculina* in *-a* or *-e* followed by the masculine definite article *-u(l)*.

raṭă ‘duck’. Alb. *rosë*. Isolated in Romanian and Albanian from IE **rās-*, **rās-* ‘to shout, to yell’ as in Old Indian *rāsati*, *rāsate* ‘to shout (about animals)’, Gothic *razda* ‘voice’, Old Icelandic *rodd* ‘voice’ etc. See similarly *gîscă*.

răzem ‘support, base’. Var. *reăzem*, *răzem*. Der. *a rezemă*, refl. *a se rezemă (de)*, dial. *răzemă* ‘to support, to lean (oneself) against’. Russu, by assuming its indigenous origin, rejects the possible association with Alb. *rëzë* and Arom. *aradzîm* ‘foot-hill, the lower part of a high mountain’, though such a connection is inevitable, and the forms must be indeed related. The explanation consists ultimately in correctly interpreting the form as a compound built with indigenous prefix *ră-*, *re-* and root *zăm-*, *zem-*

‘earth’, which also confirms the existence of this root in Thracian, as known from ND *Zamolxis* (the archaic and original form; *Zalmoxis* is a metathesis); also in *zmeu* and *zmeură* (see). Prefix *ră-*, *re-* seems also indigenous and without any identified parallel. • The original meaning of *reăzem* was ‘set, put on earth’; the verb *a rezema*, *a răzema* ‘to set, to fix on earth’, hence ‘to set, fix’ in general. • The construction is similar with other examples derived with prefixes like *în-* (< Lat. *in*, very frequent), also *co-*, *pă-/po-/pî-* (indigenous) etc.

răbdă ‘to endure, to suffer’. Der. *răbdare* ‘patience (< endurance)’; *răbdător* ‘patient, tolerant’. Archaic, probably of Preie. origin, root **R-B-* ‘to curve, to bend’, hence ‘to curve one’s back = to endure (physically, as under a burden)’. The same root is in NFI *Rebra* and *Raba*; NP *Ruba* seems also related to this group, and perhaps Sl. *ryba* ‘fish’ (from the curve form of most fish).

răcôină See *răcovină*. See also *răcunină*.

răcovină The plant *Galium rotundifolium* or, in some dialects, the plant *Stellaria media*. Also named

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răcoină, răcuină. A root **rak-* may be postulated, for which see *răcilă*. As in the quoted case, the Slavic origin is possible, but improbable. • The forms *răcoină, răcuină* are most interesting, as they witness the loss of intervocalic *v*, an exceptional phenomenon in the case of indigenous (Thracian) elements of Romanian. They prove that (1) the forms *răcoină/răcuină* are indeed old (Pre-Slavic) in Romanian, and (2) they were rather forwarded to Romanian via the initial colloquial Latin stratum, as there seems to be no other example of an indigenous (Thracian) element with intervocalic *b/v*, which may have been lost in Romanian.

răcuină See *răcovină* (also see *răcoină*).

rădică See *ridica*.

răfuí (mainly reflexive *a se răfuí*) ‘to settle accounts’; *a se răfuí cu* ‘to fight with’. Built with prefix *ra-, ră-* and the same root in *vui*, with alternating *f/v* < velar spirant **X*.

răgáz ‘free time; time-span’. The meaning is ‘time-span allowing to take a decision, mainly an important decision’. Seems built with prefix *ra-, ră-* (see) and an isolated root

**gaz-*, seemingly with the meaning ‘time-span’. Archaic and isolated, therefore the indigenous character seems probable.

răgălie Specific meaning: ‘thicket or bush made up of underwater trees or parts of a tree in a running water, e.g. a river’. Archaic and isolated. We may surmise prefix *ra-, ră-* (see) and a root **gal-*, in this context having the meaning ‘tree, part of a tree trunk’; possibly of Preie. origin. If of Preie. origin, the root **K-L-, *G-L-* should be invoked.

răguşí ‘to get hoarse’. Obviously prefix *ra-, ră-* (see) and *guşă* ‘a bird’s crop’, also ‘goitre’. A good example of Thracian-Latin co-habitation: an indigenous prefix and a Latin element: *guşă* < Lat. *geusia*, even if the form is not recorded by current Latin dictionaries; Ernout–Meillet’s dictionary quotes it as a Celtic element. If not a Celtic element in colloquial Latin, including East Romance (i.e. Proto–Romanian), we must look further for an indigenous element in the case of *guşă*, which would be not abnormal. A similar case in *Sînziene*.

rămf See *rîmf*.

răpciúgă 1. a disease of horses, manifest by ulcerous wounds on the nasal mucosity; 2. an epithet for a filthy, sick animal. Must be derived from the same root as *rapăn* (see); cf. *răpciune*.

răpciúne The popular name of September. See *rapăn* and *răpciugă*, with which seem etymologically related.

răscoáge The plant *Chamaenerion angustifolium*. Seems built with prefix *răs-* and root *k-g-* as in *gogă*, *Guga*, *Gugu*, *gogoasă* etc. The root *kog-*, *gog-* is of Preie. origin.

răsfúg 1. a contagious disease of sheep and goat, characterised by lack of milk; ‘agalactia’; 2. anthrax; 3. the plant *Chondrilla juncea* used in folk medicine against agalactia (see meaning 1 above). If not derived from the same root of *a fugi* ‘to run’ (< Latin) with prefix *răs-*, which does not make any sense, then probably indigenous. No further etymon.

răstí Mainly reflexive in the construction *a se răsti (la cineva)* ‘to bluster, to shout, to give (somebody) rough-house’. Obscure, probably indigenous, built with either prefix *ră-* and a root **st-* ‘to

shout’ or a root **rās-t-* ‘to shout, to yell’.

răsúra 1. ‘hip-rose (*Rosa canina*)’, otherwise *măc(i)eş* (see); 2. a larva of ephemerides. Obscure, built with either prefix *ră-* and a root **sur-* (which seems different from *sur* ‘greyish, black-and-white’) or a root **rās-* and suffix *-ur-*.

răşlui 1. ‘to peel; to scratch’; 2. to scratch; 3. fig. ‘to snatch, to take out’; 4. to destroy. Seems modelled after *a răzui*, in relation with *a rade* (< Latin), from an indigenous root identifiable as either **răş-l-* or prefix *ră-* and a root **şl-*, difficult to interpret. It may be also analysed as a deformed, dialectal form of *răzui*.

rătutí ‘to lose head, to get dizzy’. Reduplication followed by haplology, as in other cases, from **răt-rut-* > *rătut-*. The original meaning may be reconstructed as ‘to swirl (around)’, hence ‘to get dizzy, confused’. Cf. *ameţi*.

reazem See *razem*.

Rebra NFI, NM (Rodna Mts); NL (CJ, several locations). At. 1375 – *Rivulus Rebra*; 1440 – *Alsó Rebra* (Rebra Mică or Rebrişoara); 1440 – *Felseo Rebra*, *Felszőrebra* (Rebra

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Mare, Cluj). Closely related to NFI *Raba* (Lexicon A), NFI Thr. *Rabon* (Dacia), *Rēbas* (Bythinia), NP Thr. *Rebo-*, *Rabo-*; probably also related with *rābda*. The ultimate origin is Preie. **R-B-* ‘to bend, to curve’; Russu suggests IE **rebh-* ‘to move’, but he – and many others – regularly ignore(s) the Pre-Indo-European heritage.

récie The plant *Reseda lutea*, ‘weld, dyer’s weed’. Unknown origin, etymon non analysable for the time being. Probably archaic indigenous Thracian, word.

rédiu, also **rádiu** ‘small and young forest’. Obscure, probably indigenous. A root **rad-*, **rād-* may be postulated.

remf See *rîmf*.

retevéi a stick of wood, a club. Derived from the same root as *reteza*.

retezá ‘to cut (shorter)’; fig. ‘to get shorter, to interrupt’. Seems related with Czech *řetěz* ‘a link (of two parts)’, in its turn of unknown origin. The root *ret-* ‘to cut’ is difficult to analyse, but was seemingly the origin of this form in Thracian, possibly also in the substratum idiom of Czech (see Lexicon D). The form *retevéi* also supports the idea of an

indigenous, not borrowed, form.

rezemá ‘to lean (against)’. Derived from *razem*, *reazem*.

ridică ‘to take up, to extract’. Dial. also *rădica*. Russu holds it for indigenous, though it rather seems derived from colloquial Latin **eradicare*, as suggested by most linguists. Cf. *ridiche*, *rădiche* < *radix*, Acc. *radicem*.

Riza, also **Rizea**, **Rizescu** Frequent family name. The root must be a Thracian *riz-*, *ris-* attested in numerous forms. Cf. *rizafcă*, *rizeafcă*.

rizăfcă See *rizeafcă*.

rizeăfcă A species of herring or mackerel of the Black Sea, which migrates to the Danube for food and reproduction; the *Alosa caspia nordmanni*. The root *riz-*, *ris-* is attested in numerous Thracian elements. Cf. NP *Rizea*, *Rizescu*. Phoneme *f* probably reflects the archaic velar spirant **X*.

rîmf sg. The plant *Aristolochia clematitis*. Hasdeu already assumed an indigenous origin by approaching it to Thracian *rhomphaia* ‘a spear’, from spear-like form of its leaves. Later, G. Meyer compared Romanian form to Alb. *rrufé*, *rrëfé*,

rrfé ‘a lightning, a thunder’. N. Drăganu refers to Transylvanian Saxon (săsesc) *Rimfört* ‘plant *Tanacetum vulgare*’. As the form is dialectal now, a Saxon origin cannot be excluded, yet the indigenous origin is most probable.

rîncă 1. ‘bull’s pizzle’; 2. by extension ‘horse whip’; 3. a kind of ring by which the lateral parts of a cart are linked together. The basic meaning seems to have been ‘rod’, i.e. a rod or whip. It also seems related with *rangă* (see). A root **ran-*, **ren-* ‘rod’ should be postulated. Origin obscure, presumably indigenous.

rînză ‘rennet; gizzard; stomach (usually of animals and/or birds)’. Alb. *rendës*. Archaic, even if etymon unclear. Perhaps related with Eng. *rennet*, with identical meaning, < IE **er-* ‘to set in motion’, i.e. ‘to coagulate’. Construction as in other indigenous forms like *brînză*, *buză*, *pupăză* etc.

roabă ‘wheelbarrow’. One of the of the most obscure forms in Romanian. Definitely an indigenous form, derived from a root **rob-* with the reconstructable meaning ‘round, wheel’, probably the same root as in

răbda (see). If so, an archaic Preie. element from **R-B-* ‘round, to curve, to bend’. The Neolithic people of Central and Southeast Europe did know the wheel, and wheelbarrow was their usual construction device. Nevertheless the cart and domesticated horse were brought by the Indo-Europeans. • Intervocalic *b* is normal in an indigenous element.

rocoṭeă The poisonous plant *Stellaria graminea*. Seems derived from the same root as *răcovină*, *răcoină*, *răcuină*.

Roma NL (BT) Unclear. Does not seem a Mediaeval name simply copied after the city of Rome. If archaic, then related with Lat. *Roma*. There are Thracian names with this root, which would also support the hypothesis of an indigenous form: NP *Rome-*, *Roime-*, e.g. *Roimē-talkas*, *Roimos*, *Roimus* etc. (see further examples in Dečev 1957).

Rona NL (MM) At. 1360 – *Rona*; *Rona possessio Olachalis*; *Felseurona Stani filii Petri Olahi*. Iordan 1963: 132 refers to Hung. *róna* ‘field’. The forms seem rather indigenous, and supported by Thracian forms with this root: NPp *Ron-*

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dai, Rondaioi; NP *Rhondes*; NP *Ziri-ronyis* (see Dečev 1957).

rostogolí ‘to roll down, to turn down’. Seems an expressive innovation based on the model *rotocol*, coined from *roată* ‘wheel’ (< Latin) and *ocol* ‘round, turn around’ (< Slavic), even if phonetic details are not simple to explain. Alternatively, the form may reflect an indigenous heritage, possible re-shaped in association with *rotocol*, if we accept this quite unparalleled coinage.

Sabara NFI, NL (IF) See *Sabasa* and the references there.

Sabasa NFI (Stînișoara Mts). Related with *Sabara*, *Săbișă*, *Sebeș*, *Sibiu*, ultimately Preie. root **S-B-*.

Sadu NFI, a tributary of Jiu. Cf. Thracian forms like NP *Sadaios*, *Sadaeus*; *Sadalas*; NL *Sadame*, *Sadamia* (in ancient Astica); also as a second element *-sades*, *-sadas* in forms like *Bēri-sádēs*, *Bērei-sádēs*, *Mai-sádēs*, *Mēdo-sadēs*, *Parysádēs* etc. (Dečev 408–409). • The reference to Sl. *sadъ* ‘garden’ is wrong.

saiá ‘thread’ (dialectal, rare in literary Romanian). Must be related with the root in *în-săila* (see, usual

in literary Romanian too) and with Eng. *to sew*. Beyond any reasonable doubt, an indigenous relic.

sárbăd ‘without any taste, tasteless, unpleasant’. Alb. *tharbët* ‘acid-like, sour’. Archaic, in both Romanian and Albanian connected to the sphere ‘unpleasant taste, tasteless’. Etymologically related with Eng. *sour*, OE *sūr*, OHG *sour*, Lith. *sūrus* ‘salty’ etc. The original meaning seems to have been ‘(too) salty’, hence ‘tasteless, with unpleasant taste’. The Albanian meaning is closer to the prototype, whereas it has interfered with *sare* (< Lat. *salem*, accusative) ‘salt’. • Sometimes spelled *searbăd*. Note Rom. *s* against Alb. *th*.

Savu NFI (Parîng Mts, a tributary of Olteț). Closely related to *Sava* (Lexicon A), Eng. NFI *Severn*. Lat. form was spelled *Savus*, Gr. *Σάβοϋς*.

Săbișă NL, NM (MM) Closely related with *Sabasa* and *Sebeș/Sebiș*.

Săsăr NFI in N Romania (Maramureș). From **as-ar-ar-*, the same root as in *Asău* and *Asuaj*, i.e. Preie. **AS-* in words with chromatic meaning: ‘black, dark’, with redu-

plication as in NM *Rarău* (Preie. origin) and NM *Curcubăta* (related to *curcubeu* ‘rainbow’, IE origin). The component *-ar* is frequent in river-names, e.g. *Dunăre(a)*, *Argeș*, *Arieș* etc.

Sbîrlea NP also *Sburlea*; see *zbîrli*.

sburda See *zburda*.

scai sg. Plant *Dipsacus fullonum*. From IE **(s)kel-* ‘sharp; to cut, to scratch’. Ancient texts recording Thracian and Greek forms also witness other related forms, e.g. *skalme* ‘knife’, *skolops* ‘a sharp club’ etc. • The Latin origin should be rejected, and S.-Cr. *škalj*, *žkalj* is borrowed from Romanian, with *lj* for semi-vowel *i* as in other similar borrowings (e.g. *boljar* against Rom *boier* etc.)

scăfălie See *căfălie*.

scăli'mb ‘not even, crooked, worn out’. Seems related with *scîlcia* ‘to worn out, to make crooked’, and therefore we may identify a root **skel-* ‘crooked, uneven’.

scăpără ‘to strike a match, to send out sparks’ vb. Alb. *shkrep* ‘id.’, *shkrepës* ‘flint’. From IE **(s)kerp-*, **(s)krep-* ‘to cut, to scratch, to strike; sharp’. The Romanian proto-

type should have been **scărpăra*, **scrăpăra*, dissimilated to *scăpăra*.

• The initial IE meaning must have been ‘to strike two objects in order to produce fire’.

scărmănă ‘to card; to tease, to thrash; to beat someone (a little bit, especially referring to children)’. The root seems IE **(s)ker-* ‘to turn, to bend; crooked, meandering’ as also in *creț*, *Criș* etc.

schilav See *schilod*.

schilod, also *schilav*, *schilăvos* ‘cripple; maimed, mutilated’. The root *schil-* is isolated. The forms seem archaic and indigenous, probably related with Lat. *claudico*, NP *Claudius* etc.

schindúc The plant *Conioselinum vaginatum*. Related with *schindúf*, the plant *Trigonella foenum graecum*. The root *schin-* in these names of plants is isolated. the indigenous origin is probable.

schindúf The plant *Trigonella foenum graecum*. The final *f* would indicate an original velar spirant **X*. Related with *schinduc*.

scîlcia (especially about footwear) ‘to worn out, to get crooked by wearing out’. Seems related with *scălimb*.

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sclai part of a saw-mill, which keeps the log or tree-stump after having been cut by the saw. Obviously archaic, presumably indigenous. The sequence *scl-* + vowel does not turn to *sche-/schi-* or *șche-/șchi-* as in the words of Latin origin, another argument for its indigenous origin. Suffix *-i* (y, semivowel) as in *vătrai* (< *vatră*) or *mălai* (< **mală*), for which see both these forms. The root **(s)kle-* must have had the original meaning ‘to cut’ (if referring to the semantic sphere ‘saw, to cut’) or ‘to keep, to support’.

sclipet 1. The plant *Potentilla erecta*; 2. the plant *Teucrium chamaedrys* (otherwise called *dumbet*). Obviously related with *sclipi*, *clipi* and *clipă*, and also a good argument against the Slavic origin of *clipi/sclipi*, as erroneously assumed in DEX and in various other authors. The root *skle-*, *skli-* must have had the basic meaning ‘to glimpse, to glitter; a very short or brief action’.

sclipí ‘to glimpse, to glitter’. Related with *sclipeț*. Erroneously assumed of Slavic origin in DEX and other authors. See also *clipă* and *clipi*.

sclipuí ‘to earn (living, money) by effort and in small quantity’. Seems closely related with, and derived from, the same root as in *sclipi*.

scoabă ‘a clamp’. Related with *scobi*. DEX assumes a borrowing from Bulg, S.-Cr. *skoba*, which seems rather borrowed from Romanian.

scobí ‘to hollow, to cut (usually wood)’. Reflects IE **skei-*, **sek-* ‘to cut’, with *o*-root. The root is attested in Thracian, e.g. *Sko-panēs* and other forms quoted in Dečev 1957: 459–460. Cf. *scorbură*.

scociorî ‘to dig; to make a hollow’. The root *sco-*, with the basic meaning ‘to cut, to dig’, seems to be the same as in *scobi*, *scorb* and *scorbură* (see).

scorb Rare, dialectal ‘hollow, cavity’. See *scorbură* and *scobi*.

scórbură ‘a hollow (in a tree-trunk)’ (like for hiding or for wild bees). From the same IE root like *scobi*, *scoabă* < **(s)ker-* ‘to cut’, *o*-root in Thracian and development **skor-b-ur-*. See Thracian name *Scorilo* and the dialectal form *scorb*. Also related, with other suffix, in *scormoni*. Lat. *scrōfa* is from

the same root, from the habit of pigs to rummage; cf. *scormoni*.

scormoní ‘to rummage’, also figuratively ‘to dig (the past), to look for something’. From the same root as *scorb*, *scorbură*; see also *scurma* and *curma*.

scrînciob ‘a cradle (otherwise *leagăn*)’. Related with *scrîntí*.

scrîntí ‘to sprain, to dislocate; to wrick (the neck, the arm)’. The same root in *scrînciob* from IE **(s)ker-* ‘to turn, to bend’.

scorúş The plant *Sorbus (domestica, aucuparia)* ‘service-tree, rowan-tree’. From the same root as *scorb*, *scorbură*, *scormoni*. From Romanian, also borrowed in other neighbouring languages. The archaic character in Romanian is proved by the rich etymological family.

scrum ‘ash, ashes’. Alb. *shkrump*, art. *shkrumbi* ‘ash(es)’. Must belong to the same archaic IE family like Latin *cremo*, *-are* < IE **(s)ker-* ‘to burn, to be on fire’. Romanian and Albanian forms with the frequent initial *s-/z-*. Possibly related with *crîmpei*, from the same root.

sculá vb. 1. tr. ‘to wake up (someone)’; 2. refl. ‘to wake up, go up’; 3.

vulg. ‘to be in erection’. Alb. *shkul* ‘(he, she) raises’. From IE **skel-* ‘to curve, to bend’, *o* grade **skol-*, the alternance *o/u* being met in other cases too. The basic meaning must have been ‘to bend after waking up, to go up’; the vulgar sense is secondary, but very frequent now. • Intervocalic *l* is normal in an indigenous element.

sculă, *-e* s.f. ‘a tool (in general); hence ‘penis’ (only contextual and colloquial). IE **(s)kel-* ‘to cut’, hence also Lat. *scalpere* ‘to cut, to scratch’, *sculpere* ‘to cut, to sculpture’, *culter* ‘a knife’ (from **kel-tro-*). The reconstructable form in Thracian is **skul-* or **skāl-* (Thr. *ā* results in Romanian *u*, sometimes also *o*, cf. *mumă*, *Moma*, *Mureş* etc.). The basic meaning must have been ‘a tool for cutting wood’, then ‘a tool in general’. Cf. (*a se*) *scula*, from another IE root • Intervocalic *l* is normal in an indigenous element.

scurmá ‘to dig the earth (e.g. about pigs); to analyse, to scrutinise’. The root must be the same as in *curma* (see) with initial *s-* as in many other examples.

scuţ Rare, dialectal: ‘a thin crust or film on snow when frozen’. The ar-

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chaic meaning must have been ‘crust; to cover’. Etymon unclear, but the indigenous origin is most probable.

searbăd See *sarbăd*.

Sebe NP Akin to *Sebeş*, *Sebiş*, *Sibiu*.

Sebeş NFI, NL Alba; also **Sebiş** NL Arad, NL **Caran-sebeş** (see s.v. *Caransebeş*) and NL **Sibiu** For a long time the indigenous Thracian words with intervocalic *b/v-* and *-l-* have been denied this origin on the unproved assumption that these sounds would have been either lost in this position (the case of *-b/v-*) or changed to *-r-* (the case of intervocalic *-l-*) as usual indeed with the words of Latin origin. In reality these phonemes are never changed if present in a Thracian word; the explanation resides in the different situation of Late Popular Latin, on the one hand, and Thracian (or vernacular Thracian), on the other. See other similar situations, e.g. *Deva*, *abur(e)* etc. These forms must reflect Thracian root **sab-*, **seb-* as proved by Thracian forms like NL *Sabatium*, *Sabation*, NL *Sabin-iri-bes*, NPp *Saboces* etc. (Dečev 1957: 406). The name of river *Cibin*,

which flows in the area of *Sibiu*, was modelled under German pronunciation: **Sibin* > *Zibin* > *Cibin* (pron. *čibin*, Drăganu 1933: 552). Various explanations have been offered for each of these forms: *Sibiu* was tentatively explained from Bg. *sviba* > *siba* (?); *Sebeş* was explained from Hu. *sebes* ‘quick’ (Iordan 1963: 122) etc. The ultimate origin must be Preie. **S-B-*, possibly related with **S-M-*, ‘high’ or ‘deep, depth’; cf. *Someş*, *Semenic*.

Semenic NM Banat. Related to *semeţ* ‘high; proud and arrogant’; reflect Preie. root **S-M-* as in *Someş*.

semét ‘proud, supercilious’. Must be related with NM *Semenic* and *Someş*, from a Preie. root **S-M-*. The explanation from a would-be derivative from Slavic *sъmeti* is incorrect.

semeţí ‘to be proud (of); to make bold’. Derived from *semeţ*. Cf. *asmuţi* (*a-sm-uţ-*).

sfărîmá See *fărîmă*, *fărîma*; cf. *su-gruma* and *su-guşa* for *s(u)-* as prefix, for which see *su-*.

sfîrc ‘a prominence’, usually ‘nipple, teat’. The meaning ‘prominece’ of root *sfîr-* should be discriminated

against the meaning in *sfîrîi* and *hîrîi*, related to noise or specific sounds. In both cases though, phoneme *f* witnesses an initial velar spirant (laryngeal), which leads to reconstructing the basic root **sXər-* ‘prominence, nipple, teat’. The same root in *sfîrlă* and probably in *zvîrlugă* too, if not related with *sfîrîi*.

sfîrîi Akin to *hîrîi*, with the alternating *h-* – *sf-*, indicating the initial existence of velar spirant **X*.

sfîrlă (dialectal) 1. ‘flick; snub’; 2. ‘muzzle’. Must be closely related with *sfîrc*.

sfrijî ‘to lose vigour or power; to get lean’. Isolated, presumably indigenous. Phoneme *f* would indicate an original velar spirant, and a possible root **sXr-* ‘lean, lacking power’.

Sibiu NL; the most important town of the eponymous district. At. 1192–1196: *prepositus Cipiniensis*; 1211: *prepositus Scibiniensis*. See s.v. *Sebeş*.

Simeria NL Hunedoara. Cf. ancient *Samara*. Other discussions s.v. *Someş*. Preie. root **S-M-*; see also *Şimian*, *Şimleu*, *Şimand*, from the same Preie. root.

siminic, also *siminoc*. The plant *Gnaphalium* or *Halichrysum*, ‘xeranthemum’. Same root as *Semenic*. Ukr. *semenjak* is from Romanian, not vice-versa, as DEX assumes.

Sirebi NM (near Deva, on the Mureş) From the same root as *Siriu* and *Siret*.

Siret NFI Attested in the antiquity under approximately similar forms, e.g. *Τιάραντος*, *Ἡέρασος*, *Gerasus*. The modern forms must be explained from IE **ser-* ‘to flow’ as in *Séretos* (the name of *Siret* by Procopius, *aed.*), Ill. *Serétion* (Dalmatia), *Séretos* (Dardania). Related to *Siriu* and also to *şiroi* ‘a meandering water’, *a şiroi* ‘to flow out’. The opposition *s~ş* must be inherited as such from Thracian. See also *Serava*, *Srem* in Lexicon A. • Ukr. *Seret*, a tributary of the Nistru (Dnjester) is of Thracian origin too (Trubačëv 1968: 219).

Siriu NFI, NM, NL Vrancea region. Related to *Siret*. Similar forms, derived from the same root, also in Switzerland, NFI *Sierre*, NL *Crans-sur-Sierre*. • Iordan 1963: 531 erroneously explains it from Hung. *szér* ‘region, place’, while a

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similar form in Dobrudja is assumed of Turkish origin [?].

sîmbur(e) ‘core’ (the internal part of a fruit, also figuratively). Alb. *thumbullë* ‘a button, a knot’. Archaic, probably Preie., root **S-M-*, **S-B-* ‘deep’ or ‘high, elevated’, as in *semeț*, *Semenic*, *Someș* etc. The correspondence Rom. *s* – Alb. *th*, and Rom. *r* – Alb. *ll* is normal. The original sense in Romanian must have been ‘deepest part of a fruit = core’; Albanian meaning is newer, derived from the round form of any fruit core.

Sînziana NP Personal feminine name re-shaped after *sînziene*; see s.v. *zîină*.

sînziene ‘holy fairies’. The first part of the compound is Lat. *sanctus* and the second part *zîină* (see). Also the popular name of plants of family *Galium* (*mollugo*, *schultesii* and *varium*).

sîrmă Dialectal variant of *fărîmă*, one of the most convincing proofs that Romanian still had a velar spirant (or laryngeal) in its early phase of development. Here, Rom. *s* corresponds to Alb. *th*, while in the literary form Rom. *f* is opposed to Alb. *th* and dialectal *s*. In other

situations, Rom. *f* alternates with *v*, *h* and *ș*.

slai The beam linking the runners of a sledge or sleigh; any similar connecting or linking devices. Built with suffix *-i* as in *mălai* or *vătrai*. The form seems derived from the same IE root like Eng. *sledge* and *sleigh*, both being ultimately of Dutch origin: (1) *sleigh* < Dutch *slee*, variant of *slede*, from Middle Dutch *slēde*; (2) *sledge* < Dutch dialectal *sleedse*, perhaps diminutive of Dutch *slede*, sled, from Middle Dutch *sledde*.

smîntîină ‘milk cream’. Traditional form, related to Sl. *smetana*, not borrowed from it, as some linguists still believe. The indigenous character is supported by the numerous terms for preparing milk and cheese, many of them indigenous.

smotoci ‘to drub, to whack’. Unclear; sometimes referred to Serbian *smotok*, unclear as well. Perhaps from the same root as *mototoli*, with a construction *s-mot-oč-*. Root *mot-* may be the same in *mototoli* and *motan*. Verb *smotoci* is built like *scotoci*, in relation with *a scoate* < Lat. **excotere*, class. *excutere*.

soi ‘mud, filth’, usually filthy surface of an object. Seems related with Eng. *slough*, *slew*, *slue* < Middle English *slōh*. Perhaps *zoaie* ‘dirty liquid’ belongs to this etymological group too.

Someș The ancient river-name *Samos*, *Samus*. The root-vowel *o* against *a* in ancient texts can be hardly explained as a Slavic intermediary (see the case of *Olt*); it either reflects a local pronunciation with *o* or an evolution *a>o* in the vicinity of the nasal *m*. Cf. NFI *Somme* < *Samara* against NFI *Sambre* in the same area (Dauzat 1947: 197; Kiss 1980: s.v. *Szamos* and *Somme*). The primitive root is Preie. **S-M-* ‘high; a peak’ or ‘a hollow, a cave’ and may be the same as in the case of Sl. **somъ* ‘the fish *Silurus*’ and Rom. *somn* ‘id.’. Skok (1971–1974: 3, 305) also considers the origin as Preie. See also s.v. *Nistru* and its relationship with other ichthyologic terms. Cf. *Semenic*, *Simeria*, *Șimian*, *Șimleu*, *Șimand*, also *șoim* and *Șoimuș*.

somn The fish *Silurus*. Often considered from Slavic *somъ*, even though this hypothesis is at least debatable. We are rather inclined

to assume that the sense of borrowing is vice-versa, from Thracian and/or Proto-Romanian to Slavic. Rom. *somn* belongs to the same archaic Preie. root **S-M-* represented by *Someș*, *semeș*, *șoim*. The hypothesis of a Slavic origin must be abandoned.

Somúz NFI, a tributary of Siret. Related with *Someș*. • Iordan 1963: 58 refers to Sl. *šum-* ‘to rustle, to swish; to blow’, as in *šumeti*. The phonetic evolution suggested by Iordan is impossible though. The real impediment is ending *-uz*, which would indicate a Turkic origin, counterbalanced by the fact that place- and river-names with root *som-* are archaic over a large area of Europe, and often reflect Preie. **S-M-*, *Š-M-* ‘high’ and ‘deep’.

spăimă ‘acute, deep fear’. Der. *în-spăimînta* ‘to fill with (deep) fear’; *spăimos* (adj.) ‘who fears anything’. Isolated in Romanian, presumably indigenous, referring to a basic feeling of primitive man.

spelb adj. ‘yellow; pale’; fig. ‘insipide’. From *(s)p(h)el- ‘to glitter, to be bright’, development **sphel-b(h)-* > Thr. **spelb-*. See also Thracian

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forms NP *Spel...*, ND *Sp...ētlā* ‘epithet of Heros’. The chromatic meaning in Romanian developed parallelly to *galben*, of Latin origin, which also is the usual, generic form.

spînt See *spînz*.

spînz, -i dial. also *spînt* s.m. The plant *Helleborus purpureus*, with hanging, red flowers. Alb. *shpëndër*, *shpëndel*, with the same meaning. From **(s)pen-* ‘to pull, to hang’, hence also Lat. *pendere* ‘to hang, be hanging’; related with *a spînzura* (see). Russu, who correctly records the origin, did not observe the obvious connection between *spînz* and *a spînzura*, which must be analysed together, not separately.

spînzurá vb. ‘to hang; to be hanging’. From IE **(s)pen-* ‘to pull, to hang’, hence also *spînz*, *spînt* (see).
• The references to Lat. **expēndulare* or **expēndiolare* are not convincing.

Sprie NFl, NL (*Baia Sprie*) A prefix *s-* and the same root as in *Prut*, *prunc*.

spuză ‘hot ashes’. Alb. *shpuzë*. Sometimes assumed a Latin heritage, ultimately from Gr. *σποδός* ‘ashes; dust’. It seems a common heritage, in Romanian via Thracian,

rather than a borrowing from Greek, which puts phonetic difficulties.

stăpîn See *ban* and *jupîn*. Der. *a stăpîni*, *stăpînire*. A compound with IE *stā-* ‘to stay, to be’ and the same root as in *ban* (see). Similarly in *jupîn* (also see).

stărnút, dial. also *strănut* (about horses) ‘with a white spot on nose’. Seemingly archaic, a term belonging to the traditional vocabulary of horse breeding, essential across time. No clear etymon. The basic meaning must have belonged to the chromatic sphere, see also *mieru* and *sur*.

stejár ‘oak-tree’. There are two main hypothesis: 1. a borrowing from Bulg. *stežer*, in its turn of non-Slavic origin; 2. an indigenous, substratum heritage, which also explains the Bulgarian form. We incline to this latter way of analysis, in accordance with the consistent number of such indigenous terms in Romanian. The IE etymon may be **(s)teg-* ‘sharp, prominent’ or **sta-* ‘to stay, to be in a place’.

steregíe ‘scum; dross, waste’. The original meaning must have been connected to ‘dirty, waste’, therefore Russu’s connection to IE

***(s)ter-g-** ‘dirty liquid, dirt, waste’ (Gr. *στέργανος·κόπρον*, Lat. *stercus*) seems correct.

sterp ‘sterile, person who/mammal which cannot have offspring’; fig. ‘useless, senseless’. Alb. *shterpë* ‘id.’ If not Latin, from a root related to *exstirps*, which is the oldest theory, then indigenous, which seems most probable, akin to Latin *sterilis*. Cf. *știră* and *șterpelí*.

stinghér ‘isolated; alone; clumsy’. Obscure, very probably indigenous, no clear etymon. Also related with *stinghie* and *stîng*.

stinghie ‘perch, pole’. Seems related with *stingher*.

stîmpí ‘to stop (doing something)’. Seems derived from the same root of *tîmp*, *tîmpit* with prefix *s-*, frequent in the indigenous elements.

stîună ‘a traditional shepherd’s house, usually small’. Archaic term, etymologically related to (not borrowed from) Slavic *stanъ* ‘a tent; a dwelling’ (in modern Slavic, both meanings preserved, depending on language), IE **stā-* ‘to stay, to dwell’. See also *stăpîn* ‘a local leader, a master’ and (possibly) *stîncă* ‘cliff, rock’.

stîncă ‘cliff, rock’. Most probably related with Eng. *stone*, German *Stein*, Slavic *stěna* ‘wall’ (< ‘stone wall’); alternatively, related to *stîună*, and therefore related to IE root **stā-* ‘to stay, to dwell’.

stîng ‘left (side, hand)’. Definitely, not related to Italian *stanco* ‘tired’ as suggested in DEX, but related with *stingher* and *stinghie*.

stîngaci ‘left-handed; clumsy’. The meaning ‘clumsy’ is similar to the secondary meaning of *stingher* (see). Derived from *stîng*.

strai, mainly used in pl. form *straie* ‘clothes’. Related with *strămă* ‘thread’ and the verb *des-trămə* ‘to unravel, to tear’, fig. ‘to dissolve’.

strămă ‘thread’ (usually a thread torn off from cloth). From the same root is also *strai* and *destrămə*. The origin may be IE **ter₂-* ‘to twist, to drill; to rub’, as in English *thread*. If this etymon is accepted, prefix *s-* is also indigenous, whereas in *de-s-trăma* prefix *de-* reflects Latin *de*. See also *strai* and *de-străma*.

străghiătă (archaic, obsolete in literary language) ‘curd’; sometimes also ‘whey’. Archaic terms related to milk processing, in the sphere of

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which Romanian still preserves many terms of indigenous origin (cf. *brânză*). The IE root is probably **ster-* ‘stiff, hard; to coagulate’.

Strei NFI Closely related to *Stremț* and further to *Strima*, *Strjama*, *Struma*, *Struga* in Lexicon A. IE **ser-* ‘to flow’, zero grade *sr-* and evolution *sr-* + vowel > Thr. *str-*, as in the typical indigenous word *strugure* ‘a grape’. The same root, but with other vocalism, also in *Siriu*, *Siret*. • Ukr. *Stryj* is of Thracian origin too (Trubačëv 1968: 157, 196).

streii An indigenous race of pigs. From the same root as NFI *Strei*.

Stremț NFI Related to *Strei*.

strépede ‘a specific worm with black head and white-yellowish body growing in cheese’ (named *ver de fromage* in French, lit. ‘cheese-worm’). Alb. *shtrep*, art. *shtrebi* ‘worm’. Both forms may be derived from the same root as in Lat. *serpens* or from a root as in Lith. *trandis* ‘worm, cheese-worm’. Alternatively, possibly the same root as in *Strei*, *Stremț*.

strúgur(e) ‘grape’. Basic term of wine processing. Seemingly related to NFI *Strei*, NFI *Stremț* and NFI

Struga (see Lexicon A). Otherwise, with this meaning, isolated in Romanian. IE root is **ser-* ‘to flow; fluid’ as in *Siret* and *Siriu*. The forms with *str-i* (*strugure*, *Strei*, *Stremț*, *Struga* etc.) reflect the specific Thracian evolution IE **ser-* + vowel > Thr. **str-*.

strungă, *strungi* s.f. ‘a narrow place for milking sheep’. Archaic technical term. Alb. *shtrungë* ‘id.’. Borrowed from Romanian (perhaps also from Albanian) by all the neighbouring languages: Greek, Bulgarian, Serbian-Croatian, Hungarian, Slovak, Polish and Ukrainian. From IE **streng-* ‘narrow’. See also NL *Strynges*, in Remesiana, with Thracian population. Cf. *strînge*, of Latin origin, but from the same etymon. • Eric P. Hamp labelled the modern area corresponding to ancient extension of the Thracians as *vatră-urdă-strungă*; see therefore under *vatră* and *urdă*, all three terms related to archaic vocabulary and traditional activities. All these three terms have been borrowed, at various historical periods, by all the neighbouring languages.

su- Verbal prefix as in *su-grum-* (cf. *grumaz*), *su-guș-* (cf. *gușă*) etc. Re-

lated with Gr. *syn* and Sl. *sb*. Interferes with *su-*, *sub-* < Lat. *sub*. As form *s-*, related with *su-*, also in other indigenous elements, in which case it interferes with *s-* < Lat. *ex*.

Suceagu NL (CJ) From the same root as *Suceava* and *Suciu*, with archaic suffix *-(a)g-*.

Suceava NFl, NL in Bucovina. Related to *Suciu* and suffix as in *Bîrzava*, *Deva* (**De-va*) etc.

Suciu NFl Maramureş; also used as NP. NL Transylvania; two localities: *Suciu de Jos* and *Suciu de Sus*. Hungarian forms are *Alsószőcs* and *Felsőszőcs*. At. in 1325 – *Zuchtu*. Cf. Thr. NP *Sucus*, Σουκους, Σουκιος, must be related to *Suceava* and possibly to *Soča* (Lexicon A). If an IE root should be looked for, then we may refer to **keu-k-* ‘to shine; bright’ > Thr. *suk-y-* > *suč-*.

sugrumá ‘to strangulate’. Derived from *grumaz*: *su-grum-*. Similar built in *su-guşa* v. *guşă*.

suguşá See *guşă*.

Sulina NFl, a branch of the Danube, and NL, the most important locality of the area. This form should be connected to Thr. *-sula*, *-sule*, *syle* in place-names like *Scapten-sula*,

Enkiri-sula, *Scapte-sule*. I wonder whether the possible approach to *sulă* < Lat. *subula* should be considered a folk etymology or the Latin etymology is erroneous. Anyway the preservation of intervocalic *-l-* is normal in indigenous Thracian elements as in *căciulă*, *Călan*, *Chilia*, *Căliman* etc.

suméte ‘to roll, to turn up’ (usually referring to sleeves, before beginning work). The basic meaning seems connected to the idea of ‘up, above’, hence ‘to pull up, to roll up’. Related to *semeţ*, *Semenic*; *Someş*.

sur ‘whitish, with white and dark fur’ (about horses). See *Suru*.

surpá ‘to destroy, to demolish; to crumble’. DEX refers to **sub-ripare* < *rupes*, which is at least debatable, if not entirely wrong. Even if no clear etymon is available, possibly of Preie. origin, I am inclined to include it in the list of the substratum elements.

Suru NM in the Făgăraş Mts. Cf. Thr. NP *Sura*, *Surus*, *Suris* and Rom. *sur* (now only about horses) ‘with white and black fur’; also Basque *txuri* (*čuri*) ‘white, whitish’. Preie. **S-R-* in words with chro-

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matic meaning (other discussions and examples in Muşu 1981, chapter *Simfonia culorilor* ‘symphony of colours’). • Cf. *Sura*, a tributary of the Volga.

sută ‘one hundred’. For long considered of Slavic origin, even if Sl. *sъto* cannot explain the Romanian form. As shown in detail on another occasion (Paliga in *Slavistična Revija* 36, 4/1988: 349–358, and republished in Paliga 1999), Slavic *sъto* must be accepted of Proto-Romanian origin or Late Thracian (borrowed not later than *kъmotra* from colloquial Latin **cumatra* > Rom. *cumătră*). The indigenous character of *sută* is beyond any reasonable doubt now < IE **k̑mtóm* ‘one hundred’ > Thr. **suⁿtə*, **sutə*.

Sută NP Der. *Suteanu*, *Sutescu*. Derived from *sută*.

şale ‘loin(s)’. Alb. *shalë* ‘hips; legs’. Many linguists associated the form with *şa* < Lat. *sella* ‘saddle’, which rather seems the result of hazard. Lith. *šlaunis* ‘hips, lower part of the body’ seems closest to Romanian and Albanian (even though Albanian word is borrowed from Romanian, rather than an archaic, independent heritage). Inter-

vocalic *-l-* is normal in ALL the indigenous elements of Romanian, cf. *bală*, *balaur*, *căciulă* etc.

Şar NL, NM Several locations, e.g. *Şaru Dornei*. Akin to *Šar* in Lexicon A and, probably, *Škar* (Lexicon B, II, 2).

Şicula NL (AR) Probably an alternating *ş/č*, therefore from the same root as *ciucur(e)*.

Şieu NFI Possibly related with Lat. *saevus* ‘furious, violent, impetuous’, Latvian *sēvs* ‘sharp, hard’ or a more probable Proto-Boreal relic out of which is also Lithuanian NSt Lith. *Seivus*, cf. Fin. *saivo*, *saivokas* ‘stone idol located near a lake’ < root **SaiW-* ‘stone, gravel’. Cf. *Buzău*, *Rarău*, *Sibiu* etc.

Şimánd NL Arad. Same suffix as in *Cărand*, *Zarand*. Preie. root **S-M-*; see s.v. *Someş*.

Şimián NL Bihor. Seemingly same root as in *Şimand*.

Şimléu NL (SJ) Related with *Şimand*, *Şimian*.

şir ‘a row, a line’; fig. ‘succession, line of thought, sense, meaning’. The original meaning may have been related to either ‘line, thread’ or rather

‘water flow, course’, as we incline to believe, therefore see *şiroi*.

Şiria NL Seems related with *şir*, *şiroi*, then – with *s* vocalism – with *Siriu*, *Siret*.

şiroadă, -e s.f. ‘a trub, trough’, today reg., archaic. Seems related with Gr. *siros*, *seiros* ‘a pit for cereals’, Arm. *şirim* ‘a pit, a grave’ (as Hasdeu wrote more than a century ago). Cf. *Siret*, *şirimpîu*. • The indigenous origin seems certain, yet we incline for the IE root **ser-* ‘to flow, liquid’; see also *Siret*.

şirói ‘a meandering water’ and **a şiroi** ‘to flow out’. The same root as in *şiroadă*, *şirimpîu* and NFl *Siret*.

şirimpîu s.n. Rare, dialectal: ‘a channel, a canal’. Seems related with *şiroadă* and NFl *Siret*.

şo interj. an incentive for dogs to attack, especially in the formula *şo pe el* ‘go and attack him’. Related with Lithuanian *šuo* ‘dog’. Proto-Boreal root **Ky-W* ‘dog’, hence Skr. *çv-ā* ‘dog’, Vedic *çāu-vana-* ‘like a dog’ etc. • The word belongs to a category of indigenous forms replaced by Latin words, and which gradually acquired specialised meanings, cf. *bîr*, *bîrsan/Bîrsa*, *cuţu*, *ţap*, *uş(i)* etc.

şoim 1. The bird *Falco*; ‘falcon’; 2. A high wind, above us (folk creeds). Erroneously considered a borrowing from Hung. *solyom*, which is – for sure – borrowed from Romanian. The word belongs to the forms derived from Preie. **S-M-*, *Š-M-* ‘high’ and ‘deep’ as in numerous river- and place-names spread all over Europe. • A Hungarian influence in pronunciation, not a borrowing proper, is in dialectal form *şoium*. • See also NL *Şoimuş*, then *somn* and *Someş*; with other radical vocalism, see also *semeţ* and *Semenic*.

şopîrlă ‘lizard’. Alb. *shapí* ‘id.’. Presumably related with, not borrowed from, Lat. *seps*, Gr. *σήψ*, also modern forms like Sp., Port. *sapo*. All these seem archaic ‘Mediterranean’, i.e. Preie. terms, root **S-P-*, **S-B-*, without clear, reconstructable meaning, seemingly related to semantic sphere ‘snake, lizard, creeping being in general’. See also *şupurí*.

şoric Variant of *şorici*.

şorici 1. ‘skin of beacon’; the word refers to a long tradition of sacrificing animals, usually now pigs, on the eve of Christmas, and their

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burning after sacrifice; the skin thus prepared is called *șorici*; 2. 'bark; crust'. Origin obscure, beyond any doubt indigenous. The archaic root should be circumscribed under the semantic sphere 'cover, to protect' or 'to burn, to cook'. A Pre-Indo-European origin is possible; in this case, a relationship with *sur*, NM *Suru* is possible.

Șova NP Same etymon as *șovăi*^{1,2}. **șovăi**¹ 'to hesitate'. Archaic and colloquial, etymon unknown. Reichenkron considered it indigenous, a hypothesis rejected by other linguists, probably on the ground that intervocalic -v- would oppose it; in fact, intervocalic *b*, *v* and *l* are normal in the substratum words. • Der. *șovăială* 'hesitation'; *șovăielnic* 'hesitating', etc. See *șovăi*².

șovăi² 'to hiss'. Seemingly a meaning derived, in obscure circumstances, from *șovăi*¹.

șparlî 'to steal'. Seems related with, and derived from the same root as, *șperlă*, with the basic meaning 'abrupt move (to steal) like fire, a glimpse of a move'.

șperlă '(hot) ashes (which covers recently burnt coal)'. Related to *perpeli*, *pîrli*; in this case, as op-

posed to the others, a development **s-per-*; initial *s-/z-* (with positional pronunciation) is a frequent situation in the indigenous, substratum elements, which interferes with words of Latin origin with prefix *ex-* > Rom. *s/z*.

ștează, pl. *șteze* 'a primitive installation for processing tissues', approx. Eng. 'fulling mill'. Beyond any reasonable doubt an archaic, indigenous form, probably derived from IE **stā-*, **stē-* 'to be, to stay'.

șterpelî 'to steal'. Seems derived from the same root of *sterp* (see). The semantic evolution from *sterp* to *șterpeli* may be 'void, without offspring' – 'to get empty, to steal'.

știră 'sterile' (feminine only). Alb. *shtjerrë* 'lamb, calf' (rarely used). Unclear, but seemingly related with *sterp*, with the alternance *ster-știr-*, which would be acceptable for the substratum words.

știulête 'corn cob'. Obviously an archaic, indigenous term, even if now used for defining a cereal of American origin. It seems related with the root in *tuleu*, *tulei*, *Tulcea* with prefix *ș-* (in other instances -s), quite frequent in the indigenous elements. Also pronounced *ștulête*, which is closer to the original etymon.

şúbred ‘unstable; sickly, frail; fig. inconsistent, without arguments’. Archaic and isolated, presumably indigenous. Ultimate etymon obscure. If we admit a root *şu-* ‘thin’, fig. ‘flimsy, insecure’, then it may be related with *şui* and possibly with *şufan* as well.

şufán ‘a stake or pole to which the fishing net is fixed’. Obscure, perhaps built with a root *şu-*, which may be the same as in *şubred* and in *şui*. Phoneme *f* would indicate an original velar spirant (laryngeal) **X*.

şui ‘thin; lean; lithe’. The root *şu-* ‘thin, lean’ may be the same as in *şu-bred* and in *şu-fan*.

şuířă ‘ground squirrel’ (*Citellus citellus* or *Spermophilus citellus*). Derived from *şui*.

Şuliga NM (Pietroasa Maramureşului); *Şuligu(l)*, a hamlet of village Vişeu de Sus. Archaic, seems related with *şale*, with alternating *a/u*.

Şumol NL (BH) Unclear, probably related with *şoim*, *semeři/sumeři*, *Semenic* etc. all derived from Preie. root **S-M-*, **ř-M-* ‘high; deep’, which shows alternating *s/ř* in the radical.

şupurí ‘to sneak (in/out); to smuggle’. Akin to the same root in *şopîrlă*.

Şurianu NM, NP Must be related with *sur*, with the alternating *s/ř*, not at all rare in the case of substratum heritage.

şut adj., dial. See *ciut*.

Tabarcea NP (family name). Seems related with *tăbîrcă*.

Tagla NM (south of Făgăraş) See *Tega* and *řaga*, *řagu*, *řeghea*, *řegheş*, *řigmandru* (*řig-mandru*). Preie. root **T-G-*, **T-K-*.

Taia NFl, a tributary of Jiu. Unclear, definitely no connection with verb *a tăia*, *tai* ‘to cut’. Probably related with NFl *Timiş*, *Timok*, *Thames* etc.

talábă (dialectal) ‘a primitive harrow’. The root *tal-* is specific to some Preie. archaic forms, which is also reflected in this traditional term. See *Talma*, *talpă*, which are related.

Talma NFl Oaş. Cf. Gr. *τέλμα* ‘a marsh, a moor’, *τέλμις* ‘mud’, NL *Τελμεσσός*, *Τερμεσσός* etc. and *Tolmin*, *Tolminka* in Lexicon A. Preie.

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**T-L-*, also **T-R-* in various words with toponymic meaning.

talpă ‘sole; instep’. Most linguists assume it is a borrowing from Hung. *talp* ‘id’, even if the situation seems reversed: the Hungarian form *talp* is borrowed from Romanian. The word is connected to the idea of ‘earth’, i.e. ‘part of the body/shoe, which touches the earth’, Preie. root **T-L-* ‘earth, stone; mountain’, as in *Talma* and *Tulcea*. West-European *talpa* > Fr. *taupe* ‘mole’ is, most probably, of the same Preie. origin.

tapóșnic The plant *Galeopsis ladanum*; red hemp-nettle’. Must be related with the forms derived from root *tap-/təp-* as in *Tăpia*. The ultimate root is Preie.

Tarcău NM, NL (East Carpathians, OT). The root *tar-* is present in numerous European place-names and reflects Preie. **T-R-*, also **T-L-*, hence Lat. *terra*, *tellus* and Rom. (via Thracian) *tărîm* ‘land; region’ (typical term of Romanian folk-tales). Cf. *Tarcea*. The root-development as in *Buzău*, *Inău/Ineu*, *Ilteu* etc. The explanations from Hu. *tar-kő* ‘bald stone’ or *tarkó* ‘neck’ are incorrect (cf. Kiss 1980: 631).

Tarcea NL Bihor. At. 1163 – *villa Thorsa*; 1326 – *possessio Tarcha*. Must be related to *Tarcău*, with other development: *Tar-k-* v. *Tar-č-*.

tare ‘hard, solid; powerful’. Der. *a întări* ‘to harden, to become hard/solid’ (also fig.); *a întărită* (especially referring to dogs, also generally) ‘to incite (to attack, to become aggressive)’; *a (se) întrema* ‘to recover (after illness)’. The traditional explanation from Lat. *talis* has no sense. Must be derived from the same IE root as Eng. *stark* ‘stiff, strong’, OHD *starc* ‘strong’, Lith. *starinti* ‘to stiffen’ and/or the group represented by Lat. *struere*, Eng. *strew*, *strong* and *strain*. The original IE root must have referred to the sphere ‘strong, hard; to make an effort’. • *atare* ‘such as, similar’ indeed reflects Lat. *talis*, preceded by *a-* < Lat. *ad*, as in many other words of Latin origin; forms *tare* and *atare* do not seem to be etymologically related.

Tărnița NFI, West Carpathians. With a Slavic suffix related with *Traniș* and other forms derived from Preie. **T-R-*.

tăbîrcă ‘a (crow) bar; any similar primitive device for mounting

heavy objects'. The root *tab-/tăb-* seems to reflect the same Preie. root **T-B-* as in other probably related forms spread all over southeast Europe, e.g. *Tebea*, *Ṭaba* (in its turn related with Gr. *Theba* etc.); NP *Tabarcea* (family name) seems to also belong here. The archaic meaning may have been 'prominence, peak', hence 'pole, bar'.

tălăniță 'a whore, a harlot'. Perhaps related with *tîlhar*, from a root **tal-/tal-* 'to steal, to rob'.

tăpălăgă (dial.) 1. '(too) large and deformed foot; too large, outworn footwear'; 2. 'a piece of cloth used by thieves to cover a stolen animal's feet in order to not let marks on the earth'. Hence also *tăpălăgos*, *tăpănos*, *tăpănos*. DEX refers, on the one hand, to Hungarian *talpalló* 'a ribbon fixed in the lower part of trousers in order to fix them tight to the foot; French *sous-pied*', which would explain Rom. *tăpălăgă*; on the other hand, the derivative adjectives are left unexplained. As shown under *talpă*, Hung. *talp* is, beyond any reasonable doubt, a borrowing from Romanian (not vice-versa, as still commonly held for); Hung. *talpalló* is, of course, derived from

talp, and calques the French model *sous-pied*. • The quite rich family of the forms derived from *talpă* is obvious in Romanian. Referring to the series *tăpălos*, *tăpănos*, *tăpălăgos*, *tăpălăgă*, they seem derived from *talpă*, with fall of *l* in unexplained circumstances (*tăpănos* instead of the expected **tălpănos*, etc.)

tăpălăgós adj. 1. (about men or animals) 'with large, flat feet or paws, and walking slowly or with difficulty'; 2. (about plants) 'with large leaves'. Also *tăpălós*, *tăpănós*. Obviously related, or derived from, *tăpălăgă*.

tăpălós See *tăpălăgos*.

tăpănós See *tăpălos*, *tăpălăgos*.

Tăpia NL Banat. The same as, or close to, ancient *Tapae* where the Roman and Dacian wars took place. Other etymologically related Thracian and other forms are quoted in Dečev *Sprr* 489: *Kere-tapa* (Phrygian), *Tapassos* (Caria), *Tapasidai* (Milesian), NP Etruscan *tapsina* > Lat. *Tapsenna*, *Tappo*, *Tappius* etc. Cf. Rom. dial. *tipie* 'a small hill' and *tăpșan* 'an elevated flat place'. Reflects Preie. **T-B-*, **T-P-*. See also *Tebea*, *Ṭibleș*.

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tăpșán ‘an elevated flat place’. Same etymon as *Tăpia* and *tipie*. See also *tăpși*.

tăpși ‘to tread, to batter’. Obviously derived from *tăpșan*, which also clarifies the original meaning of this form: ‘a (flat) place where people often step’.

tărîm ‘a land, a region’. Used mainly in folk tales, with reference to magic, fantastic lands. Often erroneously considered a Turkish borrowing, from *tarım* ‘house, dwelling’, which is – we may be certain – fortuitous. The root is *tar-*, in unstressed position *tăr-* < Preie. **T-R*- ‘earth, stone’, as in Lat. *terra*, Osc *teerúm*, *terúm* ‘territory, land’ (B. Gerda, *Studi Etruschi* 16/1942, 3: 49). This form is therefore remotely related with *țară* < Lat. *terra*, but as independent heritage.

tărtănét 1. (about persons) ‘of short stature, low’; 2. (about head) ‘round’. Closely related with *Tărtărău*, *Tărtăria*. This form may explain that the original meaning of these place-names was ‘low (hill, mountain)’.

Tărtărău NM, a peak in the Parîng Mts. Preie. root **T-R*- (as in *Tarcău*,

Tarcea) by reduplication (as in *Rărău*, *Curcubăta*). Cf. *Tărtăria*.

Tărtăria NL Alba. The archaeological site where the famous Chalcolithic tablets were discovered by N. Vlăssă in the early 1960’s. Same type as *Tărtărău*. See also *tărtăneț*.

Tărtărău NM, NL (AB). Closely akin to *Tărtăria*, and built almost identically; also *Tărtia* and probably *tare*.

Tărtia NFI (Parîng Mts) From the same root as *Tărtăria* (which is reduplicated) from Preie. **T-R*- ‘stone, land; hill’.

tăvălí ‘to roll, to tread upon’. DEX refers to Sl. *valiti*, nevertheless a built *ta-/tă-* + *valiti* cannot be explained via Slavic. If a relation with Slavic *valiti* is feasible, it may be only surmised as an etymological relationship. See also *tăvălúg*, sometimes also *tăvălúc*.

tăvălúg ‘roller’, mainly now a steam or engine roller; formerly logs were used for this purpose. Derived from *tăvăli*. • Variants are *tăvălúc*, *tefelúg*.

teafăr ‘healthy, strong’. Definitely indigenous, etymon unknown. Vowel *f* probably reflects and original velar spirant (laryngeal) **X*,

therefore the prototype may be reconstructed *teX- ‘strong, healthy’. Cf. *tare*.

teapă (now pejorative) 1. ‘(social) position; 2. personal character. The original meaning must have been ‘(social) position, elevation’; if so, closely related with *Tăpia* and *tăpșan*.

teárfă 1. ‘rag, cloth; duster’; 2. ‘bride’s dowry’ (in some dialects only, obviously derived from the meaning ‘clothes’, which then got a pejorative connotation in most dialects, including literary Romanian). Related to *tîrfă* ‘whore, harlot’ and the verb(s) *tîrî*, *tîrîi*, *tîrși*.

Tega NL, NFI (BZ) The same root as in NM *Tagla*, further *Tagla*, *Ţaga*, *Ţagu*, *Ţeghea*, *Ţegheș*, *Ţigmandru* (*Ţig-mandru*).

terfelí ‘to soil, to defile’ < lit. ‘to drag along; to turn to worn out clothes’. Related with *tearfă*, further with *tîrî*, *tîrîi*, *tîrși*.

Tibru NFI, NL (AB) At. 1352 – *Tibor*; 1352 – *mons Tybur*; 1441 – *Tiburczpataka*. The relation with Hung. NP *Tibor* may be a folk etymology at the best. It reflects one of the oldest and largest spread riv-

er-names in Europe, e.g. Italian *Tiberis* etc.

Timiș NFI Several rivers with this name; best known is in Banat which gave the name of the largest town of the region, *Timișoara*. Ancient *Tibisis*, *Tibisca*, later *Tiphesas*, *Timeses*; *Τιβίσκος*, *Τιφήσας*, *Τιμήσης*. The ancient town this river was spelled *Tibiscum*, *Tibiscium*, *Tibis*. The oscillation of spelling *b/m* may be also observed in the case of *Buzău*. Must be related to *Timava*, *Timok* (Lexicon A) and further to *Thames*. All reflect IE *tī-, *tī-m-*, *tī-bh-*, also *tī-, *tī-m*, *tī-bh-* ‘to melt, to flow’. Cf. *Taia*.

Timișoara NL in Banat, on the Bega canal. At. 1212 – *castrum regium Themes*; 1266 – *terra castris de Tymes*. A compound based on the name of river *Timiș* (see), and the second part on *-oara* (see the rich number derivations of this Preie. root). Hung. *Temesvár* is a calque after Romanian, not vice-versa, as many linguists erroneously assume.

tipíe ‘a low hill or hillock with a flat peak’. Same etymon as *Tăpia* and *tăpșan*, a *tăpși*.

titiréz ‘spinning top’. By reduplication and haplology from a root *tir-tir-ez > *titirez* (a similar case in

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huhurez). The root *tir-* must be akin to Eng. *turn*, Lat. *torno* etc. < IE **ter-* ‘to turn, to rub, to twist’.

titirí (coll.) ‘to get adorned’. Obviously derived from the same root of *titirez*.

tîlhár ‘robber, bandit’. Isolated, presumably archaic. The basic root *tal-/tâl-* ‘to rob, to steal’ may be the same as in *tăláníță* ‘a whore’, and discriminated against other forms with the same root, and spread mainly in place-names.

Tîmpa NM, NL (several locations); also NFI *Tîmpu*, NL *Tîmna*; NP *Tîmnea*. Unknown origin, probably indigenous, Preie. root **T-P-*, with nasal infix > **tîmp-*. See also *Tăpia*, *tăpșan*, *a tăpși*. It has usually been common to relate *Tîmpa* to *tîmp*, *tîmpit* ‘idiot’, in its turn a would-be Slavic borrowing, which is at least debatable. The toponymical and anthroponymical root *tîm-p-*, *tîm-n-* is well represented all over Romania, and definitely cannot be simply referred to as a simple derivative from *tîmp*, *tîmpit*. • It is possible to assume an archaic relation of the group represented by NM, NL *Tîmpa*, *Tîmna* etc. and *tîmp*, *tîmpit* ‘idiot’, only if we start again from

the named root, in which case the semantic sphere ‘idiot’ may be figuratively derived from the basic meaning of *tăpșan*, *a tăpși*.

tîmpît ‘idiot’. Unclear, some hold it for a Slavic borrowing. See further discussions under *Tîmpa*.

Tîmpu NFI (flows in the vicinity of Sarmizegetusa site) Same origin as *Tîmpa*.

tîrfă ‘whore, harlot’. See *tîrî*.

tîrg ‘a market place; a market or commercial town’. Currently held for a borrowing from Slavic, even if the origin in Slavic is unknown, and has been looked for in some Oriental languages. The word is yet a typical Central-European and South-East European term, mainly, also Baltic (Lith. *turgus*, Latvian *tirgus*) and Finnish (*tori*). Sl. *trǣgъ* has modern followers in all the modern Slavic languages. The origin must be Southeast European, presumably Illyrian and/or Thracian, see NL III. *Tergitio*, *Tergeste* (hence Slovene *Trst*, Italian *Trieste*). The ultimate origin must be Preie. root **T-R-* ‘stone, cliff’, hence ‘town, location surrounded by stones’. The Slavic and Baltic forms originated as initially a borrowing

from Romanian (like *k̑motra* and *s̑to*). Preie. root **T-R-* is very well represented in many substratum forms in Romanian, another strong argument against the borrowing from Slavic. The oldest attested form in Southeast Europe is Illyrian *Tergitio*, and – via unclear route – the origin of Romanian and Slavic forms must be Thracian and/or Illyrian.

tîrî ‘to drag (along); to pull (along); to crawl (reflexive: *a se tîrî*). Also *tîrîi* (same meaning); *tîrş* ‘a small, undeveloped bush or tree’ (lit. ‘which crawls on earth’); also ‘haypole’ and, in some dialects, ‘a broom made up of tree branches’; *tîrşî* = *tîrî*, *tîrîi*, especially used with reference to dragging legs when walking with difficulty; *tîrfă* ‘whore, harlot’. Also related: *terfă* and *terfeli*. • The verb *a tîrî* is commonly held for a borrowing from Slavic *trěti*, even if this puts major problems of phonetic evolution; additionally, the obvious family of derivatives from the same root is rarely invoked, but this is the only key to understanding the origin of these forms. As modern distribution shows, the basic meaning must have been associated to ‘dragging game

after hunt’, i.e. ‘to drag along a dead, heavy animal’ (like a boar or bear), and thus the verbs in this family clearly belong to an archaic activity. Also, as proved by other examples, the alternating *ş/f* (as in *tîrşî* – *tîrfă*) show the existence of an original velar spirant (laryngeal) **X*, a specific phenomenon of Thracian, and later reflected as alternating *h/f/ş/v* in Romanian. • The ultimate origin of the root *tîr-* must be Preie. **T-R-* ‘earth, cliff, stone’. From the same root is also derived Lat. *terra*, in relation with *tellus* < Preie. **T-L-*, as variant of **T-R-*.

tîrîi See *tîrî*.

tîrş 1. a small coniferous bush, usually a small, underdeveloped one; 2. the rod in the dance of Căluşari; 3. vine prop. 4. a primitive broom made up of small tree branches (in some dialects). C. Dominte, *Symposia Thracologica* 7/ 1989: 455 suggests a relation with Gr. *θύσος*, furthermore he also suggests a borrowing from Thracian in Greek. It rather belongs to the family quoted under *tîrî*.

tîrşî See *tîrî*.

toaipă A tool similar to an axe or hatchet (dialectal, absent in literary

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Romanian). Seems derived from the same Preie. root **T-P-* ‘stone, cliff’; if so, the term initially applied to stone axes of Neolithic times. The same root must be in *topor*, the usual term for ‘axe, hatchet’, currently held for a Slavic borrowing; this hypothesis at least requires further analysis. If we admit the close etymological relationship of *toaipă* and *topor*, then the hypothesis of the Slavic origin of *topor* must be abandoned. It is rather probable a reverse sense of borrowing, from Romanian to Slavic, or a Thracian element in PES.

topór ‘axe, hatchet’. Currently held for a Slavic borrowing; see *toaipă*.

Traniș NL (CJ), a village on the river *Tarnița*, which would indicate an original form **tar-*, by metathesis *tra-*; in this case, the place- and river-name have a common origin, with a Slavic suffix in the case of *Tarnița*. Further, the basic root must be Preie. **T-R-* as in *tărîm*, *Tărtia*, *Tărtăria* etc.

Trascău NM From the Preie. root **T-R-* ‘stone, cliff’ as in *Tărtia*, *Tărtăria*, also *Traniș*, with metathesis.

trișcă, *triște* s.f. ‘a primitive flute’. Cf. Thr. glosse *torelle* ‘sad song ac-

companied by flute’ (Hesychius) and Gr. *toros* ‘strident, a sharp sound’. • There does not seem to be any connection with *trestie*, and the simple onomatopoeic origin does not seem plausible either. Dial. form also *trulișcă*.

trîntî ‘to put down (someone)’. The basic meaning seems ‘to put down to earth’, so probably related with the root *ter(r)-* as in Lat. *terra*. Probably related with *trîntor*.

trîntor 1. ‘drone’; 2. (fig.) ‘lazy’. The same root as in Lith. *tranas*, with the same basic meaning (1). Archaic term referring to bee-keeping. Possibly related to verb *a trîntî*, from an initial meaning ‘down, put down’ - ‘be lazy’.

trop Interjection, see *tropăi* and *cotropi*.

tropăi (about horses) ‘to make the specific noise when running fast’. The root *trop-* referring to the noise made by horses at high speed, with specific reference to an invading army, must be the same as in *co-tropi* (see *cotropi*), both archaic terms referring to an invading army.

Trotuș NFI From Preie. root **T-R-* as in *Traniș*, *Trascău*, also *Tărtia*,

Tărtăria etc. Alternatively IE *ter- ‘to dig’, may be also invoked.

trulișcă See *trișcă*.

tufă ‘bush’. Der. *tufiș* ‘a group of bushes, bushes taken generically’. Unknown origin, probably akin to Old French *toff(f)e* ‘tuft’ > Eng. *tuft*. Further analysis difficult. Phoneme *f* may stand for an original velar spirant (laryngeal) *X, but even so no further parallel available. Substratum origin highly probable.

tufli (rare, expressive) ‘to put a cap on one’s head with an abrupt move’. Pejorative meaning; probably derived from *tufă*, so the initial meaning must have been ‘to put a bush (ironical for a cap) on one’s head’.

Tulca NL Bihor. Same root as *Tulcea*.

Tulcea NL Dobrudja. Cf. Thr. *Tuleus*, *Tylis* today *Tulovo* in Bulgaria and Rom. NL *Tulca*, also *tuleu* ‘a tree-trunk’ and *tulei* ‘undeveloped part of a bird’s wing; a young man’s beard’. Preie. *T-L- as in *Talma*.

tuléu ‘undeveloped part of a bird’s wing; a young man’s beard; maize stem’. Same etymon as *Tulcea*.

Tur NFI and NL **Turda** on the river *Tur*. The town is attested in the first centuries A.D. as *Tyródiza*, *Τουροψ*,

and later in 1197 as *Thorda*. The forms reflect a large category of place-names spread over a large area; they reflect Preie. *T-R-. Same root in *Tura*, *Turdaș*, *Turia*, *Turu-lung*, *Turț*. In Kiss (1980: 661) *Tur* is considered of Slavic origin (from *turb*), whereas another river-name of Tobol, also *Tur*, is considered of unknown origin. Cf. *Turieci* in Slovakia (Lexicon D), for which see Romanian form *Turț*. The association with Sl. *turb* is a folk-etymology in Slavic speaking areas; the river- and place-names with the root *tur-* are Pan-European and should be explained as closely related.

Turdaș NL Cluj. Same root as in *Tur*, *Turda*.

Turia NFI, NL (CV, OT). Closely related with *Tur* and *Turda*. See also NFI Iberian *Turia*, today Guadalquivir; Thr. *Tyras*, today *Nistru* (see this form too) etc.

Turț NL (SM). Related with *Tur*, *Turda*, *Turia* etc., rather than a borrowing from Sl. *turb* as many linguists believe. Such a borrowing would be anyway difficult to explain, given the phonetic evolution. Cf. NFI *Turieci* (Lexicon D).

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Turulung NL (SM) Literally ‘long Turu’; see *Tur*.

Tuta NL (BC) There are several locations derived from the same root *tut-*, which seems akin to *tuț-* and to *țiței* (root *țiț-*): *Tutana* (AG), *Tuțu* (VN; also NP *Tuțulescu* > NL *Tuțulești*); a second series is represented by root *tit-*: *Titu* (DB), *Titi-ana* (MS), *Titila* (VN), and NP *Titescu* > NL *Titești*. Finally, NL *Tațu* (CS). The forms seem of Preie. origin, from root **T-T-* which had two basic meanings: (1) ‘prominence, peak’; (2) ‘bright, to shine’. It is difficult to assign these forms to either of them, as this should be analysed according to the location of each. Anyway, they seem archaic.

Taga NL At. 1211 – *Cége*; 1243 – *Chegeteleke*. Together with *Tagu*, a Preie. root **T-G-* as in *țugui*, *țuguiat* ‘elevation, peak; hill’. See also *Ta-gla*, *Tega*, *Tagu*, *Țeghea*, *Țegheș*, *Țigmandru* (*Țig-mandru*). • O. Vințeler, *Studia Univ. Babeș-Bolyai, Philologica* 31, 1 (1986): 38–42 assumes a “Scytho-Agatyrsonian origin, borrowed in Thracian, then in Romanian”. Such a tortuous explanation is not supported by any other

reasonable example, but it correctly notes the substratum origin of this form.

Tagu NL At. 1327 – *Cheeg*; 1329 – *Ceeg*. Closely related to *Taga*.

țap ‘he-goat’. Alb. *sqap*; also *tsap* (Gjeg), which is borrowed from Romanian. The original meaning must have been related to the thorn-like beard of a he-goat, therefore the root must be the same as in *țeapă*, *înțepa* (*în-țepa*), *țepuș(ă)*, NL *Țehea*, *Țibleș* etc.

țapîn See *țapînă*.

țapînă ‘a raftsmen’s pick’. Closely related with *țeapă* and its rich family of related forms. • Also *țapîn*.

Tapu NM, Parîng Mts. See *țap*.

țarc ‘an enclosure for animals, a pen’. Der. *a înțărca* ‘to stop offspring sucking’ (especially referring to sheep and cow offspring), i.e. ‘to put young animals in a pen, and thus isolate them from their mother’. Alb. *thark* ‘id.’ Russu suggests IE **twer-* ‘to enclose, to encircle’, as in Lith. *tveriù*, *tverti* ‘to enclose’, Sl. *za-tvoriti* ‘to lock, to close’. The root may ultimately be of Preie. origin, root **T-R-*, **T-L-* in various place-names, also in vo-

cabulary. Cf. NP *Țerbea* (family name), built as *Țebea* (see below). See also *țărîță* and *țărîș*.

Țarcu NM (Semenic) The same root as *țarc*.

țacălie ‘a small and pointed beard, goatee’. Expressive and regional term, probably starting from the basic meaning ‘pointed, thorn(-like)’. If so, the creation is newer, but is based upon the archaic Preie. root **T-K-*, **T-G-*, mainly specific to place-names, e.g. *Țaga*, *Țega*, *țic*, *Țicu* etc.

țărîță ‘tilled field; dust’. Russu notes the similarity *țărîță* – *țără* (< Lat. *terra*), then refers to improbable IE roots. We hypothesise it to be of Preie. origin, root **T-R-*, **T-L-* ‘earth, dust’, as in Lat. *terra* and *tellus*, both of indigenous, Preie. origin (probably via Etruscan or other non-IE idiom). Cf. *țarc* and *țărîș*. Nevertheless, a local derivation from **terrena* (< Lat. *terra*) is also possible, even if unsupported by other Romance languages. If so, it may be included in the limited category of Romance elements preserved in Romanian only, and absent in West Romance languages.

țărîș ‘a stake; any piece of pointed wood fixed in the ground’. Probably from the same Preie. root as *țarc*. The original meaning was related to ‘ground, earth’, i.e. ‘a pointed piece of wood fixed in the ground’.

țeapă ‘a thorn; a pale’. Der. *a înțepa* ‘to sting’; *a țepui* ‘to impale’ (archaic), now especially with figurative meaning ‘to cheat (upon)’. Archaic, probably of Preie. origin, root **T-B-*, **T-P-* ‘a peak, a prominence; a thorn, a thorny object’. See the probably related forms quoted under *țap*.

Țebea NL near Brad (HD). At. 1427 – *Chyba*. Related to ancient forms like *Tabia*, *Tavia* (today *Taggia*, in Liguria), *Tabai*, Gr. *Theba* etc. Preie. **T-B-*, **T-P-*. See also *Țibana*, *Țibleș*, NP *Țibuleac*; also *Tăpia*. All related also to *țeapă* ‘a thorn’ and Alb. *thep* ‘a peak’, and to *țipar* ‘the fish *Misgurnus fossilis*; eel’ (after the thorny form of this fish).

Țeghea NL (SM) From the same root as *Țaga*, *Țagu*.

Țegheș NL (IF) From the same root as *Țeghea*, further *Țaga*, *Țagu*.

Țepa NL (VN) From the same root as *țeapă*.

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Țerbea NP (family name). Seems archaic, cf. *țarc*, also NL *Țebea*, *Țibleș*.

Țibana NL Same etymon as *Țebea*, *Țibleș* etc.

Țibleș NM in East Carpathians. Related to *Țebea*. • Incorrect etymological analysis in Drăganu 1928: 27 and Iordan 1963: 460.

Țibuleac NP From the same root as *Țebea*, *Țibana*, *Țibleș*.

țic ‘small child, a baby’. Nasalysed *ținc*. See *nițel* (**ni-țel*).

Țica NP See *țic* and *nițel*.

țiclă ‘a small, primitive device for catching crayfish or crabs’. Related with *țic*, *Țica*, *Țicu*, *țiclean*, *țiclete*.

țicleán The bird *Sitta Europaea*; nuthatch. Related with *țic*, *Țica*, *Țicu*, *țiclă* with the basic meaning ‘small’, hence ‘small bird’. Var. *țicléte*.

țiclete See *țiclean*.

Țicu NP See *Țica*, *țic* and *nițel*.

țicúĭ A technical, rare term specific to fishing: to move abruptly the fishing rod as when fish catches bait. The original meaning may be reconstructed as ‘small, abrupt move’, and thus belongs to the family derived from Preie. **T-K-*, **T-G-*

‘small, little’. See the forms in *țic-* and *tag-*, *teg(h)-*, *țig-*.

țigáie A specific breed of indigenous sheep with short and curly fleece. Must be derived from the same root as *Țigău*, *Țaga*, *Țegu*, *Țeghea*, ultimately of Preie. origin. The parallel forms with root *țic-* are also attested.

Țigău NL (BN). From a root *țig-*, which must be the same in *lînă țigaie* ‘țiga fleece’, i.e. ‘wool produced of sheep-fleece originating in the Țiga area’. The root is probably Preie. **T-G-*, **T-K-*, the same root as in *Țaga*, *Țagu*. See also *Tagla*, *Tega*, *Țeghea*, *Țegheș*, *Țigmandru* (*Țig-mandru*).

țigîi A species of black beetles with yellow dots living in coniferous forests; *Hylobius abietis*. Related with the forms derived from Preie. root **T-G-*, **T-K-* ‘small, little’ as in *țigaie*, *Țigău*, *Țaga*, *Țagu* or *țic-*, with alternating *k/g*.

țipá¹ ‘to shout, to yell’. There seems to be no etymological connection with *țipa²* (dialectal only, in Transylvania, where the pronunciation is *țîpá*). Both forms are obscure, isolated and, most probably, of archaic origin, possibly of Preie.

origin. The meaning ‘shout, yell’ may be derived from ‘thorn, thorn-like’, i.e. ‘thorny, acute sound’, for which see *țeapă* and *țap* as the main representatives of this archaic root.

țipá² ‘to cast, to throw’; dialectal (Transylvania), where the pronunciation is *țîpá*; it largely replaces the other parallel form *arunca*, of indigenous origin as well.

țipár The fish *Misgurnus fossilis*; ‘eel’. Definitely a substratum element, of Preie. origin, from the same root as *țeapă* and *Tebea* (see further cross-references to other forms under these forms). The name is taken after its thorn-like form.

țîștar An animal similar to the ground squirrel (*Citellus suslica*). Related with *țîșni*.

țîței ‘raw, crude oil’. Obscure, unexplained. We assume it derives from the Preie. root **T-T-* ‘bright’ and ‘prominent’. Crude oil was still exploited at the surface of earth until beginning of the 20th century. The archaic meaning was probably related to its shining surface. See Thr. *ziby-thides* ‘Thracian nobles’ = ‘the bright ones’, in which the first part must reflect IE *ǵeib-* ‘bright’ as

probably in *Gebeleizis*, while the second part is the same *T-T-*; this must be an etymological tautology. Cf. *țuț*, *Țuțora*, *țuțui*.

țîmburúș ‘a prominence on/of an object’; also *țumburuș*. Seems a nasalised variant of Preie. root **T-B-*, nasalised *te-m-b*, later with alternating *t/ț*, as often in the Preie. elements. See cross-references under *Tebea*.

țînc Nasalysed form of *țic*, *Țica*, *Țicu*.

țîșní ‘to gush, to spout’. The root *țîș-* is held in DEX for simply onomatopoeic, which may be possible, as in many cases, with primitive IE and Preie. roots. Nevertheless the existence of this root in *țîștar* excludes a simply onomatopoeic origin in Romanian.

țoi¹ A variant of *țiclean*, *țiclete*. Apparently there seems no connection between *țoi¹* and *țoi²*; nevertheless, the root *țo-*, *țu-* seems to be a variant of *țic-*, *țig-* ‘small, little’, which is satisfactory for both the sphere ‘(small) bird’ and ‘small recipient’.

țoi² A small recipient with a long neck, usually used for alcoholic drinks. Hence *țuică*, the national

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drink obtained by distillation of various brewed fruit; local innovation after 17th century. See *țoi* ¹.

țugúi ‘a peak (of a mountain)’; hence ‘any prominence or elevation’, and the derived verb *a țuguiá* ‘to make or get elevated or prominent’ (often ironically, like an elevated hat or cap). The origin must be Preie. **T-G-* ‘elevation, peak; hill, mountain’; see *Țega*, *Țaga*, *Țagu* in place-names. Parallel forms are *țuțui*, *țuțuiat*, from Preie. **T-T-* with a similar meaning: ‘peak, elevation’. See *țuț* and other forms derived from this root.

țúică See *țoi*², from which it is obviously derived some time in the late Middle Ages, when distillation was gradually spread.

țumburuș See *țîmburuș*.

țúrcă ¹ A small rod used for playing; hence the game of *țurcă* with this rod. The root *țur-* seems to be the same in this form as well as in *țurcă* ² and *țurcan*. The ultimate origin is Preie. **T-R-*, quite frequent in place-names, especially mountain names. See *Țerbea*, *țurțur(e)* and *Tur*, *Turda*, *Turdaș*.

țúrcă ² A specific fur-cap made of *țurcană* wool.

țurcán A specific breed of sheep; hence *țurcă*².

țurlói 1. ‘shin bone’; 2. A variant of *țurțur(e)*. From the same root as *țurțur(e)*, which is reduplicated.

țúrțur(e) ‘icycle’. A reduplication of *țur-*, Preie. root **T-R-*, see main references under *Tur*, *Turda*, *Turdaș*, and *Țerbea*. For the build, see *Tărtăria*, also a reduplication from the same root.

țuț ‘a prominence, an excrescence’. The basic root for several forms in *țuț-* with the same generic meaning: *țuțui*, *a (se) țuțuia*, NL *Țuțora*. Preie. root **T-T-* (1) ‘a prominence, an excrescence; a hill, mountain’; (2) ‘bright, shining’. See *Țuțora*. • In expression *a rămîne țuț* ‘to be astonished, surprised’ (lit. ‘to be up’). See also the forms derived from *țug-*.

țuțănească ‘a dance specific to mountainous areas’. This is an adjective of feminine gender turned into a noun, obviously derived from root *țuț*, *țuțuian*.

Țúțora NL Iași. Related to *țuț*, pl. *țúțuri* ‘a prominence on the skin’ also in expressions ‘astonished’ and

to *tuțúi* ‘a peak’, hence *a se tuțuia* ‘to climb’. Preie. **T-T-* ‘high’ also ‘bright, shining’. The same root is preserved in a series of place-names and words among which Gr. *Τίτανος* ‘lime (< white)’, NL *Τίτανος* in Thessaly. The same root is seemingly preserved in Thr. *ziby-thides* ‘Thracian nobles’ (Gr. spelling ζιβυθίδης in Hesychius); the first part of the compound reflects IE **ǵheib-* ‘bright’. *Zibythides* is therefore an etymological tautology. Cf. *Cuculka* in Lexicon A.

tuțúi Same as *tuț*. Derived verb *a se tuțuia* ‘to become prominent’. Similar in meaning and origin with *tugui*.

tuțuian ‘a Transylvanian shepherd’. Derived from *tuț*, *tuțui*, literally meaning ‘shepherd living in mountainous areas’.

Tuțuiatu NM (TL; the highest peak in Măcin Mts) Derived from *tuț*, *tuțui*.

uitá¹ (*a se uita*) ‘to look at, to contemplate’. Obviously indigenous, from IE **w(e)dei-*, **weid-* ‘to see’, hence the whole series of IE verb with similar meanings, e.g. Lat.

video > Rom. *a vedea*. The consonance with *a uita*² ‘to forget’ (< Latin) is the result of hazard, which has created confusion in the etymological analysis. From the same root is Gr. *οἶδα*, Germ. *wissen* etc.

Ulea NP (historical) Related with *Ulieș*, *uliu*, *ului*, ultimately of Preie. origin.

Ulieș NL (MS) Akin to *Ulea*, *uliu*, *ului*, Preie. root **UL-* related with **UR-*.

úliu The bird *Accipiter*; ‘sparrow-hawk, goshawk’. Currently held for a borrowing from Hung. *ölyv*, in its turn difficult to analyse; some Hungarian linguists assume a borrowing from Old Turkish, which is – we may be sure – impossible. Related with the numerous forms with root *ul-* analysed here, ultimately from Preie. **OL-*, **UL-* ‘high, prominent’ (akin to **OR-*, **UR-* with a similar meaning). Form *uliu* may be generic for all the forms with radical *ul-*, and should be included in the large category of substratum words referring to specific birds and animals of the area; cf. *erete* and *șoim*, among others. • Hung. *ölyv* is borrowed from Ro-

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manian, and adapted to the Hungarian specific phonetics. See *Ulea*, *Ulieș*, *ului*.

uluí ‘to astonish; to get astonished, shocked’. Akin to *uliu*, and confirming the archaic meaning of Preie. root **OL-*, **UL-* ‘high, prominent’. The passive form, most used, *ului* literally means ‘be up’, i.e. ‘shocked, astonished’.

undrea Also *andrea*, *îndrea* ‘knitting needle’. Usually held for unknown origin. The relation with *Andrei*, equivalent of Andrew, therefore a relation with St. Andrew seems mere hazard. Seems related to Gothic *winden*, OHG *wintan*, Eng. (*to*) *wind* < IE **wendh-* ‘to wind, to spin’; for Thracian, then Romanian, form we should probably start from an original form **wndh-* > Thr. **undh-* > Rom. *und-r-* and *înd-r-*.

ur- Root present, together with parallel *or-* and *ol-/ul-* in numerous forms; the ultimate origin is Preie. **UR-*, also **OR-* and **OL-*, **UL-* ‘big, huge, giant’, preserved in: *uraș* (variant of *oraș*), *urca*, *Urca*, *urcior*, *Urcu*, *urdă*, *Urdeș*, *Uria*, *uriaș*, *Uric*, *Uriu*, *Urleta*, *Uroi*. Cf. *or-* and

ol-/ul- with similar or identical meaning.

-ur Also *-or*. Suffix in an important number of substratum elements, e.g. *ab-ur*, *brust-ur-*, *but-ur-ă/but-ur-ug-ă*, *flut-ur-(e)*, *măt-ur-ă*, *mug-ur-*, *spînz-ur-a*; *cob-or-î*, *coc-or* etc. The origin may be Preie. too, like *ur-/or-*, frequent in Preie. place-names all over SE Europe.

urcă vb. (tr., intr., refl.) ‘to climb, to go up’. Der.: *urcare*, *urcuș*, *urcător*. Ant.: *coborî*. Ultimately form Preie. **OR-*, **UR-* ‘big, huge, giant; high up’, hence ‘to go up, to climb’; related with Gr. *ouranizo* ‘to go up, to climb’, derived from *Ouranos* ‘sky’. See further cross-references under *or-* and *ur-*.

Urca NL (CJ). At.: 1289 – *terra Heurke*; 1312 – *Eurke*. Ultimately from Preie. radical **OR-*, **UR-*; see under *or-*, *ur-*.

urciór ‘a prominence on the skin’. The basic meaning is ‘elevation (on the skin)’, and belongs to the rich family of Preie. root **OR-*, **UR-*. See cross-references under *ur-* and *or-*. • The dialectal form *ulcior* is influenced by *ulcior* ‘a recipient, a pot’.

Urcu NL, Caraş. No early mediaeval attestation; possibly derived from *a urca* ‘to climb’ which has, on the other hand, the same Preie. origin. The basic meaning is also ‘high’ hence ‘to go (to the) high, i.e. to climb’.

urdă, -e s.f. A special type of cheese, obtained by coagulated milk at the surface of a recipient. One of the numerous forms derived from *ur-* of Preie. origin. The archaic meaning may be reconstructed as ‘part which climbs/go up to the surface of liquid’. Similarly in Alb. *urlë* ‘boiled milk, then turned to cheese’. Essential term of traditional vocabulary.

Urdeş NL, Cluj. At folk level related to *urdă*, a kind of cheese which gathers together at the surface of the milk. Archaic pastoral term of the same Preie. origin.

urdinǎ ‘to run to and fro, to go in all directions’. Most linguists have connected it to Lat. *ordinare*, Russu rejects it. Indeed, if of Latin origin, one may expect a form like **urzina*, **orzina*, not *urdinǎ*. If an indigenous origin is accepted, as we also believe, then the form should be connected to *a urca* and *urdă*, with

the basic meaning ‘to go up, to climb’, hence the modern meaning.

urdoare ‘bleary eyes (Germ Augenbutter, lit. ‘eye-butter’), i.e. the greasy liquid in the eyes, when ill or affected by a disease. Must be from the same root as *urdă*.

Uria, NL, Olt. No early mediaeval attestations.

uriáš, now rarely also **oriaş** adj. ‘huge, very big’; s.m. ‘a giant’ (a specific term of tales). Reflects Preie. **OR-*, **UR-* ‘big, huge’ (see under *ur-* and *or-*). Related with Hatti (Pre-Hittite) *ureš* ‘huge, giant’, Hittite *ura* ‘id.’, NP *Ú-ra*, *Ú-ra-a*, *uranu* ‘to make big, to increase’, Gr. *Ōríōn* ‘Orion’, a constellation whose meaning is ‘the Giant’. • Hung. *óriás* ‘huge, giant’ is borrowed from Romanian.

Uric NL, Hunedoara. At. in 1473 as *Wryk*. Derived from root *ur-* (see).

Uriu NL (HD). At.: 1405 – *villa Felewr*; 1495 – *Fel Ewr*. Derived from root *ur-* (see).

Úrlea, Urléta NL, near Ploieşti; cf. early form *Urlman* for *Orman*. The approach to *a urla* ‘to shout, to yell’ seems fortuitous.

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urlói ‘stove pipe, flue; rain pipe’. The original meaning must have been related to Neolithic stove pipes, hence ‘elevated pipe, high pipe’. If so, as we believe, then another derivative of the frequent Preie. root **OR-*, **UR-* ‘high, elevated’.

Uroi NL (HD). At.: 1333 – *Aran*. Derived from root *ur-* (see). Cf. *Uria*, *Uric*, *Uriu* etc. • The Mediaeval attestation seems deformed by Hungarian spelling, or shows a parallel form related with *Arad*, *Aranca*.

uș(i) interj. Used to put away hens and other domestic birds. Unexplained. Seems an archaic word for poultry, especially hens. See also *bîr*, *cuțu*, *șo*, with similar evolution of meaning and use.

-uș(ă) Suffix in some substratum forms, similar in function with Alb. *-sh*, e.g. *scoruș*, *țăruș* etc. Seems similar to *-aș/-eș* mostly in place- and river-names.

Utura NM, NL (BR); also *Huture*. At. *ymype* ‘owl, eagle owl’ (Hasdeu, *Cuv. băt.* 1, 303, who refers to Bulg. *utva*, S.-Cr. *utva*, Alb. *ut*, *hut*, which we could not identify as quoted by Hasdeu). Others refer to Lat. *otus* (in Pliny only) ‘eagle owl’, which –

according to REW 502 – has only Spanish *autillo* as probable heir in the Romance languages. • The alternating forms *utu-/hutu-* would rather lead to a substratum element, with *h* the reflex of the original velar spirant (laryngeal) **X*. If accepting the indigenous origin, a Preie. origin is possible, from a reconstructable root **UT-*, **UD-*.

vai Archaic exclamation expressing surprise, as Lat. *vae*, Gothic *wai* etc. < IE **wai-*. Romanian form may reflect both the substratum and the Latin heritage. The substratum origin is supported by verb *a (se) văita*.

varză ‘cabbage’ (the plant *Brassica*, with many species). Incorrectly considered, with hesitations, a derivation from Lat. **vir(i)dia* ‘green stuff’. The root *var-/văr-* is the same as in *Vărșand* and *Vrancea* < IE **wer-* ‘to bend, to curve’; in *varză* a normal build with suffix *-ză*, as in *bu-ză*, *Bu-ză-u*, *púpă-ză* etc. • The hypothesis of a Latin origin should be abandoned.

Vaslúĭ NFl, NL. Seemingly related with German *Wasser*, Eng. *water* etc. It is not clear whether a Tran-

sylvanian German (Saxon) influence is possible in that location, so this explanation is highly improbable. If indigenous, the same etymon as in Germanic should be accepted, even if unparalleled by other examples. Suffix *-ui*, as in other indigenous forms, would also lead to the hypothesis of a Thracian origin. Should we also consider a possible Gothic influence?

vatală, also **vătală** ‘weaver’s reed’. An essential part of the loom. Very probably derived from the same root as *vătaf* ‘a leader’; form *vatală*, *vătală* was interpreted as an essential, *leading* part of the loom. Bulg. *vatala* is borrowed from Romanian.

vatră ‘hearth’. Archaic, connected to the sacred place of fire in any house. Alb. *vatrë*. Beyond any doubt indigenous, with many hypotheses regarding its origin. Must be related to Lat. *ātrium*, with the remnant of an original velar spirant (laryngeal) *X in Thracian and early Romanian, as proved by other examples as well, see the discussions under *vătaf/vătah*, *ciuf*, *ciufuli*, *ceafă*, *hotar* etc. The archaic velar spirant (laryngeal) resulted in Romanian *f*, *v*, *h* and zero; and in *f*, *h*, *th*, *v* and zero in Albanian. The re-

constructable form was **Xatr-ə* > *vatră* and Lat. *ātrium*, with *ā* for the initial sequence **Xa-*. • Eric P. Hamp labelled the modern territory of the ancient Thracians as the areal *vatră-urdă-strungă* (see all these three forms). • Der. *vătrai*.

Vața NL (AG, HD) Probably related with *Vințu* (which, in its turn, also related with Serbian NL *Vinča*, Bulgarian NL *Văča*), of Preie. origin. Possibly an original relation with NL *Vaticanus*, of Etruscan origin. • NL *Vatta* in Hungary, district Abaúj, is probably of Pre-Hungarian origin.

văgăună ‘gully, ravine’. Pl. is *-uni*, rarely *-une*. Built with suffix *-un-(ă, e)* and a root *văg-*, which – if we start from the quite frequent existence of forms once containing the velar spirant *X, may also admit that modern initial *v* may reflect the original *X, as in *vatră* or *vui* (also *hui*). If so, as we are inclined to believe, then the first part of *văg-ă-un-ă* is related with *hău* ‘abyss’ (see). We may thus reconstruct an archaic root **Xa-* ‘abyss; gully, ravine’, common to both *văgăună* and *hău*.

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văitắ, especially reflexive *a se văita* ‘to complain, to express pain’. Derived from *vai*, but with similar builds as in Finnish *valittaa* ‘to cry, to express pain or sorrow’.

văpáie ‘fire; hot weather’; also *vípie* ‘hot weather’. Alb. *vapë* ‘heath; fig. passion’. Obviously archaic < IE **weip-* ‘to oscillate, to glitter’, as in Eng. *whip*. The basic meaning was derived on the note that ‘fire moves, oscillates, whips’, hence the sense of ‘too hot, unbearable = whipping weather’.

Vărsánd NL Bihor. At. 1214 – *Vozian*, 1217 – *Vosyan*, 1467 – *Varsan*. Seemingly related to *Vrancea* with the indigenous Thr. suffix *-and* as in *Zarand*, *Cărand* etc. IE root **wer-* ‘to bend, to curve’.

vătáf ‘(historical, obsolete) supervisor of servants at a king’s court or in a monastery, i.e. a kind of head of all servants; (late Middle Ages) a leader of the court servants or group of military; an important character of the dance of *Căluşari*’. Local, dialectal variants: *vătah*, *vătav*, *vătaş*, *vătaj*; NP *Vătafu*, *Vătăşescu*; borrowed in some neighbouring languages as Ukr. *vataha*, Pol. *wataha*, Bulg. *vatah*, S.-Cr. *vatak*.

The word is archaic, and presumably continues the ancient Thracian forms spelled *Βετεσπιος*, *Ουετεσπιος*, an epithet of Heros; also NP *Βειθητης*, *Vitupaus*, *Vitopus* etc. The forms must be related with Lat. *vatēs*, Germanic *Woden* etc. and in Thracian must have got the meaning ‘leader, spiritual leader at the king’s court’. • The alternating final *f/v/h/j/ş* reflect the remnants of an archaic velar spirant (laryngeal) **X*; notably the alternating *f/h* and *f/ş* (as in *vătaf* v. NP *Vătăşescu*) is relevant.

vătămá ‘to wound, to affect’ (also the juridical term in modern terminology). Russu considers it of indigenous origin, even though it clearly is derived from Lat. *victimare*, it is true with an unexpected evolution as in Italian, not to **văptăma*, as expected. Clearly a form developed in colloquial Latin, not an indigenous word.

vătăşí ‘to lead, to supervise (a group of persons)’ See *vătaf*.

vătráj ‘a poker’ (for fire). Derived from *vatră* as *mălai* from *mal*; *vătrai* lit. means ‘an object, a rod for cleaning the hearth’. See *vatră*.

vătui ‘one-year old lamb’. Alb. *vetul*, *ftul’ë*, *ftujë*; the oldest forms must be with initial *f/ft*, which would again indicate an original velar spirant (laryngeal) *X, form *vetul* would rather witness a Romanian influence. The initial *v-/vă-* and Alb. *f-/ft-* indicate an original velar spirant (or laryngeal), as initially in *vatră* (< *Xatr-ə), therefore *Xat-u- < IE *wet-, *wet-es ‘year’, in laryngeal theory *X^wet-.

Védea NFl on which *Roşio-ri-de-Vede* is located and other localities with this name (districts of Argeş, Ilfov and Teleorman). Cf. Thr.-Phr. *bedy* ‘water’. Related to *Vidu*, *Videle* and *Vit*, *Vidin* (Lexicon A). Numerous forms derived from this root all over Europe, as NFl Iberian *Avo(s)* > Sp. *Ave*, *Avobriga*; Gallic *Avedo* > Provençal *Avèze* etc.

Videle NL Akin to *Vedea*, *Vidraru*, *Vidu*.

Vidraru NFl Akin to *Vedea*, *Videle*, *Vidu*.

vidră The *Lutra vulgaris*; ‘otter’. Currently held for a Slavic borrowing, even though the obviously parallel forms *Vedea*, *Vidu*, *Videle* clearly show the persistence of this

root in Romanian as inherited from Thracian. Der. NL *Vidraru*. Akin to Lith. *údras*, m., *údra*, f.; Latvian *udris*, Germ. *Otter*, Eng. *otter*, Gr. *ὕδρος*, -α etc. Sl. *vydra* seems rather borrowed from Romanian, despite the current views, which suggest an opposed sense of borrowing. As long as Romanian clearly proves several closely forms, the hypothesis of a Romanian influence on Slavic is inevitable. Also Sl. *vydra* has another radical vocalism against *voda* ‘water’, another argument against the indigenous character of *vydra* in Slavic.

Vidu NFl a tributary of the Crişu Negru. Related to *Vedea*, *Videle* and *Vit*, *Vidin* (Lexicon A).

vjézure ‘badger (*Meles vulgaris*)’. Alb. *vjedhull(ë)* ‘id.’. In Albanian, the form has been associated with *vjeth* ‘I steal’ < IE *weǵh- ‘to pull, to move’, as in Avestan *vazaiti* ‘he/she pulls, draws’ etc. In Romanian, the association, absent in most lexicons, is with *vizuină* ‘a dwelling for animals’. In any case, both the Romanian and Albanian forms cannot be new, modern derivations from a supposed root ‘to hide, to dwell’ and/or ‘to steal’ respectively. We agree with Russu that the original

Pars prima

meaning must have been ‘to pull, to move, to carry’, which may satisfy the semantic sphere of all forms in both Romanian and Albanian. The forms are clearly archaic, referring to a specific mammal of this area. Cf. *erete*, *mistreț*, *rață*, *șo*, *țap* etc.

vijelié ‘gale, storm’. The root *vij-* in this form must be the same as in *vîjîi* and *viscol*.

Vinga NL Arad. At. 1231 – *possessio Vinga*; 1333 – *sacerdos de Vinga*. Must be related to some Preie. place-names derived from **V-N-*, **W-N-* as in NM Iber. *Vindius*, NM Prov. *Ventoux* < *Vinturi*, NL Prov. *Vénasque* < *Vindasca* etc. Cf. *Vința* (and *Văța*, *Vinča* in Lex. A), *Vințu*. • The etymology suggested by Kiss (1980: 696) < Sl. *vinjaga* ‘wild vine’ < *vino* ‘wine’ is impossible. See Šmilauer 1970: 190 for the place-names derived from *vino* in Slavic.

Vința NL Alba. Must be related to NFI *Văța* in Bulgaria and NL *Vinča* in Serbia (see Lexicon A) and further to *Vinga* and *Vințu*. Preie. **V-N-*, **W-N-*.

Vințu NL; two localities with this name: *Vințu de Jos* (Alba) and *Vințu de Sus* (Cluj). At.: *Vințu de*

Jos – 1248: *teutonici in Wynch*; 1289 – *Wynch inferior. Vințu de Sus* – 1219: *terra Wynchy, villa Wynchy*; 1221 – *locus qui vocatur Oronos Winch*; 1227 – *Oranas Winc*. Related to *Vința* and *Vinga*. For the Mediaeval Latin forms *Oranas*, *Oronos*, see *oraș* and the references under *or-*, *ur-*.

vîpie ‘hot weather’ Related with *văpaie*.

Virghiș NFI, NL (CV) At. 1334 – *sacerdos de villa Warlach*; 1499 – *Wargyas*. Seems the same IE root **wer-* ‘to turn, to bend’ as in *Vrancea*, with initial *e/i* root vowel. A derivation from *vargă* < Lat. *virga* ‘a rod, a twig’ is improbable.

viroágă ‘ravine’. Specifically, the term refers to a river valley, which may be empty during summer, and thus turns into a ravine or a deep, abrupt river bank. The root *vir-* in this form must be related to Lat. *verto*, *-ere* and its IE family. Probably indigenous Thracian, not a local innovation based on a Latin root.

vîscol ‘a powerful wind with snow, a storm accompanied by snow’. Der. *a viscoli*, especially in the construction *a viscoli zăpada* ‘to blow (wind) and scatter snow’. Indige-

nous, most probably IE root **we-s-k-* ‘to blow’. Cf. *crivăţ*.

Vişău See *Vişeu*.

Vişeu Dialectal pronunciation is *Vişău*. NFI Maramureş and three other villages. At. 1365 – *Viso*, *Ket-viso*, *Ketwysson*, *Ketwyson* etc. Also NL *Vişea*, *Vişa*. Must reflect IE **weis-* ‘to flow, to melt’; related to *Vešala* (Lexicon A) and *Wista* in Poland. Some Thracian forms with second element *-vissos*, with *ss* for a real **š*, also supports the indigenous character of the form.

vizuînă ‘lair, den’. Related with the same root in *viezure*.

vîj, *-i* See *ghiuji*.

vîjîi ‘to whistle, to whizz, to roar’. This form together with *vijelie* and *viscol* should be analysed together. See under *viscol*.

vîlvói (about hair) ‘dishevelled, disordered hair’. The root *vîl-* ‘to turn around, to put in disorder’ may be related to IE **wei*_ǵ¹⁻ ‘to turn, to twist’ (AHD *wei-* and Pokorny 1120) or IE **wel-*² ‘to turn, to roll’ (AHD and Pokorny 1120). A Slavic origin, as loosely suggested in DEX, is not feasible.

vîrlúgă See *zvîrlugă*.

vórbă ‘word; talk’; hence *a vorbí* ‘to speak’, *vorbitor* ‘speaker’. For long erroneously considered a Slavic borrowing from *dvorība* < *dvorǫ* ‘court’ (like a king’s court), ‘courtyard’. Slavic *dvorǫ* is related with Lat. *forum*. It is obvious, that *vorbă* is related with Lat. *verbum* (not derived from it though) and reflects the indigenous, Thracian heritage, which parallels the Latin stratum.

Vrancea NR A region where the East Carpathians turn abruptly to the west. IE **wer-* ‘to bend, to curve’ as in Lat. *verto*, *-ere* and *vermis*. Etymologically related with *varză* and probably with *vreasc*, from the same IE root.

vreasc ‘brushwood’. Commonly held for a Slavic borrowing, even if there is no similar form which would support this assumption. Probably related with *Vrancea* and *varză* from IE **wer-* ‘to bend, to curve’, hence ‘twig, branch’ > ‘brushwood’.

vui ‘to hum, to din; to roar’; also *a hui*, with alternating *f/v*, the indication of a probable velar spirant (laryngeal) **X* in Thracian.

Pars prima

Vuia NP From the same root as *a vui*.

z- Prefix in some substratum forms; positionally alternates with *s-*, and both interfere with *s-/z-* < Lat. *ex*, sometimes also with Slavic *s-* (< *sz*).

zábră The plant *Galeopsis pubescens*, with purple flowers. Indigenous, probably derived from the same root as German *gelb* ‘yellow’, Lat. *fulvus* < IE **ghel-*, **ghel-* ‘bright, to shine’.

Zaláu, Zăláu NFI, NL Sălaj. Related to NFI *Zala* at the Slovene-Hungarian border. Reflects Celtic *Sala*. The evolution *s* > *z*, identical in two relatively distant areas, is not clear. Yet NR *Sălaj* (< **Sălaş*) reflects the initial *s*, maybe by association with Hu. *szálas* ‘a shelter’ which is still an accepted etymon for *Sălaj*, but ignoring the other forms.

Zaránd, Zărând NM A region rich in gold and silver ore. IE **ghel-* ‘to shine, bright; gold’. Suffix as in *Vărşand*, *Cărând* etc. Cf. Thr. NL *Ziridava* ‘gold fortress’ and NL *Zarand* south of Tehran. See also *Zerind*.

zară ‘butter milk’. Alb. *dhallë* ‘sour milk’. The same etymon like *zăr*, *zer*.

zăr See *zer*.

zbanţ ‘a link’, usually an iron connection for carts or similar. Seems built with prefix *s-/z-* and the same root as in Eng. *bind*.

zbînt ‘agitation, to-and-fro’ (expressive and ironical, usually referring to children). See *zbîntui*.

zbîntui (usually reflexive *a se zbîntui*). ‘to move to and fro, to be agitated, to dance with a vivid rhythm’. Expressive and seemingly related with other verb with similar meaning like *zbengui* and *zburda*. The built *z-/s-ben-* must have meant ‘to move abruptly, to be agitated’, with a prefix *s-/z-* and root **ben-*. All these seem indigenous as they all refer to usual activities, and no borrowing is feasible.

Zbîrlea NP Also *Sbîrlea*. From the same root as *zbîrli*.

zbîrlí (about animals and birds) ‘to ruffle, to bristle up’. This meaning is the same like *zborşi* (2). The verb is built with prefix *z-* and **bîrli*, not used as such (at least not in modern Romanian). The root *bîr-l-* seems

the same as *bîr* ‘sheep’, and the original meaning was perhaps applied to sheep only, then generalised: ‘to raise its fur when angry, furious or upset’.

zborşí 1. ‘to get angry, to be furious’; 2. (about animals or birds) ‘to ruffle, to bristle up’ (= *zbîrli*, also see); 3. (about food) ‘to deteriorate’. Derived from *borş* and *borşi* (see). This form, which partially interferes with *zbîrli*, is another argument against the hypothesis of a Slavic origin of *borş*. See also *boarfă*.

zbughí Colloquial, mainly in the build *a o zbughí* ‘to begin running abruptly, to fly away rapidly’ (e.g. when flying away from a danger). Closest relationship seems to be with Proto-Slavic **běgō*, **běgti*, OCS *běžō*, *běžati* etc. ‘to go, walk’, further Bengali *bhāg-* ‘to go, walk’. Romanian inherits an indigenous form built with prefix *z-/s-*, quite frequent in verbal derivatives, and a root **bug(h)-* ‘to run, to walk’.

zburdá ‘to run to and fro (especially referring to children or young animals)’. Archaic, etymon debatable. Russu refers to IE *bher-* ‘to boil’, hence ‘to be agitated, to run’. Does not seem to be related with *a*

zbura ‘to fly’ < colloquial Latin *ex-volare*, but this cannot be excluded. In this latter case, may be a local innovation in Danubian late Latin.

Zburlí Variant of *zbîrli*.

zdrelí ‘to get a scratch/gall on the skin’; generically ‘to scratch the surface/film of something’. Very probably from the same IE root like Eng. *to tear* < Germanic **teran* < IE *der-* ‘to scratch, to peel’. For Thracian, a derivation **s-der-* should be admitted; prefix *s-/z-* is quite frequent in the substratum elements of Romanian.

zdroşí (rare in literary Romanian) ‘to grind, to squeeze’. Related with *zdreli* and *zdruncina*. Suffix *-ş-* may reflect an original velar spirant (laryngeal) as witnesses by parallel derivatives like *vătáf – vătăşí* (alternating *h/ş*). The prototype must have been **z-droX-*, **z-druX-*. Further discussions under *zdreli* and *zdruncina*.

zdrunciná ‘to shake; to jolt; to shatter’ (also figuratively). IE **ter-* ‘to rub; to turn around; to whip’ as in Lat. *tereo*, Eng. *thrash, thresh*.

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zeberí ‘to take by force; to sequester’. Obviously built with prefix *ze-* and root *ber-* as in *borȝos*, *burtă*, *burdihan* etc. < IE. **bher-* ‘to bear’, hence Eng. *bear*, *bore*, Lat. *fero*, Sl. *brati* etc. A Slavic borrowing from *ze-brati* or *se-brati* is not feasible.

zéghe A specific thick (over)coat, especially for shepherds or people in mountainous areas. Obscure, but most probably indigenous. No identifiable root. Phoneme *z-* may reflect IE *ǵ(h)*, yet no etymon may be reconstructed.

zer ‘whey’. Like *zară*, which must be analysed together with this form, archaic, closely connected to the traditional activity of milk processing (see also the generic form *brînză*). The etymon may be debatable, as it has been, but the archaic origin is beyond any doubt.

Zerind NL (AR) Related with *Zarand*, *Zărand*, and located not far from it.

zestre ‘dowry’. The form has been often (and erroneously) explained from Lat. *dextrae* ‘solemn promise’ from *dext(e)ra (manus)* ‘right hand’, which is not supported by any other Romance language. Nevertheless, the semantic sphere is indeed linked

to the idea of ‘*what the bride brings (i.e. keeps in her HAND) when coming to the new house, the future husband’s house*’. Therefore, this archaic form initially meant ‘hand’ in Thracian < IE **ǵhesor-* ‘hand’ (in some IE languages only, as the word for ‘hand’ was sacred, and therefore derived from various roots): Gr. *cheir*, Tokh. *A tsar* etc. In Thracian, the evolution was **ǵhesor-* > Thr. **zestr-*, with the normal evolution, specific to Thracian, IE **ǵh* > Thr. *z* and IE *-*sr-* + vowel > Thr. **str-* as in *Strei*, *Stremȝ*, ancient *Strymon* > *Struma (Bulgaria)* etc. • The comparison with other language shows indeed that the semantic sphere ‘dowry’, Rom. *zestre*, is associated with the idea ‘to give, to bring (in one’s hand)’: Gr. *phernē* ‘dowry’ derived from *pherō* ‘to carry’; Eng. *dowry* from Old French. *douaire*, in its turn from Mediaeval Latin *dotarium*, ultimately from classical form *dos*, *dotis* (hence also Rom. *dotă* via French) < *do*, *dare* ‘to give’; Lith. *pa-žastis*, *pa-žastė* ‘(keeping) under one’s arm’, from *žastas* ‘arm’, from the same root as Thr. **zestr-* > Rom. *zestre*. Therefore *zestre* meant ‘what the bride brings with herself, in her hand, to her new house’; the initial

meaning was, beyond any reasonable doubt, ‘HAND’.

zgardă ‘collar’ (especially referring to dogs) Seems derived from *gard* ‘fence’ (initially ‘enclosure’), again proof regarding the archaic origin of *gard*. Alb. parallel is *shkardhë*, with similar meaning. Alternatively, as Russu believes, a reflex of IE **(s)ker-* ‘to turn, to twist, to turn’. If so, then the derivation from *gard*, as we continue to believe, would be fortuitous.

zgău ‘a woman’s belly’, especially the uterus; sometimes also the belly of an animal; generically ‘a hollow’. Definitely an archaic term, and connected to the sacred creeds in the woman’s magic uterus. Built with prefix *z-/s-* and the same root as in *hău* and *văgăună*, both from **Xa-*, **Xə-* ‘deep, hollow’.

zgîltîi ‘to shake, to tremble’. Built with prefix *z-/s-*, quite frequent in derivatives, and a root **gəl-* ‘to shake, to tremble’. DEX incorrectly assumes an onomatopoeic origin.

zgîndări ‘to rake, to poke; to incite’. Built with prefix *z-/s-* and the same root as in *gînd*, and reflecting the original meaning of IE **ghe(n)d-* ‘to take, to seize’. In

gînd, *a gîndi* ‘a think’ the evolution was ‘to seize, to grasp’ – ‘to seize by mind = to think’.

zgîriă ‘to scratch’. Alb. *shkjer*. Obviously related with, but not derived from, Lat. *scribo*, Gr. *γράφω*, from and IE root **(s)ker-* ‘to scratch, to make incisions’, later developed as ‘to write’. The original meaning must have been ‘to make (sacred) signs on stone or wood’. See *zgîrma*, *zgrîma*.

zgîrmă ‘to scratch, to grout’, also *zgrîma*. From the same root as *zgîria*.

zgrăbunță ‘a boil, a swelling (on skin); a small ball-like object’. Prefix *z-/s-* and a root *grəb-* ‘swelling, ball-like’. This root does not seem to have been preserved in other forms, unless we may admit an etymological relationship with *grui* ‘(low) hill, (low) peak’.

zgreptăna ‘to scratch’. Prefix *z-/s-* and the same root as in *grapă*. Cf. *zgîria*, *zgîrma*.

zgribulî ‘to huddle, to tremble with cold (mainly referring to very cold weather)’. Prefix *z-/s-* and a root *greb-* ‘to shiver, to tremble’.

Pars prima

zguduí ‘to shake (referring to an earthquake or figuratively as when a big army makes earth shake); to impress (deeply, emotionally)’. Prefix *z-/s-* and a root *gud-* ‘to shake, to tremble’, cf. *gîdila*, *gudurá*.

zimbru, *-i*; also **zîmbu** ‘ure ox’ (*Bison bison*, i.e. the European bison). The word has been traditionally held for a Slavic borrowing (**zqmbŕb*), even if the phonetic evolution would rather reject this hypothesis. The form *zombros* is attested in 860 for Thrace (south of the Danube), and Niketas Choniates records *zoumbros* with the Tauro-Scythians “in the mountains of the Cumans”. The ure ox was a typical animal of the Carpathians until late in the 17th century, and it is feasible to assume that both Rom. *zimbru*, *zîmbu* and Sl. **zqmbŕb* reflect the same origin. In a larger context, a Slavic origin has been a usual cliché for any Romanian form resembling a similar form in Slavic. See the similar situations of *ban*, *gard*, *gîscă*, *jupîn*, *stăpîn*, *sută*, *zimţ* etc.

zimţ, *-i* s.m. ‘dent; tooth (of a mechanism)’. Related with, not borrowed from, Sl. **zqmbŕb* ‘tooth’, Lith. *žembiù*, *žembti* ‘to cut’, Lat.

dens, *dentis* ‘tooth’ (> Rom. *dinte*) etc. from an archaic IE root with the basic meaning ‘to eat, to cut food’, hence ‘tooth’ and ‘to cut’. The substratum element of Romanian has the normal correspondence *z* – Sl. *z* – Lith. *ž*.

zîmbu¹ See *zimbru*.

zîmbu² A coniferous tree with leaves in form of needles grouped by five; *Pinus cembra*. There does not seem to be an etymological relation with *zimbru* and *zîmbu*¹, unless we admit that *Pinus cembra* is/was related with the life of ure oxen. Given the striking similarity, if such an approach is not accepted, then we must admit a parallel root, also indigenous, for the *Pinus cembra*.

zîă ‘a fairy (queen)’. Sometimes considered as reflecting Lat. *Diana*, which is impossible. The form is euphemistic, and belongs to the family represented by Gr. *gynē* ‘woman, wife’, Sl. *žena* ‘woman, wife’, Old Indian *jna* ‘sacred woman, goddess’ etc. The form is certainly indigenous Thracian. • *Sînzîene* is obviously a compound with *sîn-* < Lat. *sanctus*, *-a* and *zîă*, with local deformations due to linguistic taboo as a sacred word (*-ziene* instead of expected *-zîne*).

zîrnă, -e s.f. Plant *Solanum nigrum*. Probably indigenous. Hasdeu compared the form with the Thracian name of plant *pro-diorna*, *pro-di-arna*, presumably *Veratrum nigrum*; der. *a se zîrni* ‘to become black’ and *zîrnă*, adj., epithet of black sheep. The archaic root must be looked for in the chromatic sphere, therefore IE **dherg-no-*, e.g. Ir. *derg* ‘red’, Eng. *dark* etc. Common dictionaries refer to Sl. *zrno* ‘cereal grain’, which does not match the meaning in Romanian. This seems a fortuitous similarity.

zmeu, *zmei* s.m. An essential figure of Romanian folk beliefs and folk mythology, with various benefic and malefic attributes, usually represented as a subterranean male in search of a human wife. The form has been held for a Slavic borrowing, even if many details reject this; closely related with *zmeur*, *zmeură* (see), which is NOT the result of hazard. Sl. *zmbjъ* ‘snake, serpent, dragon’, from a radical **zm-*, in its turn reflecting the root for ‘earth’, is not easy to explain, as IE **ǵh(dh)em-* ‘earth’, zero grade **ǵh (dh)m-*, resulted in Old Slavic **zem-* ‘earth’, whereas the root for ‘snake, dragon’, **zmbjъ*, raises major

questions, as Machek correctly observed. • The archaic meaning must have been ‘being living on EARTH’, i.e. ‘human’ (in its etymological meaning, from *humus*), hence ‘man’, as in Lithuanian, where – from the same etymon – there is *žmuo* ‘man, human’ (related with Prus. *smoy* ‘man’). The similarity between Romanian, which preserves a Thracian (substratum) element, and Baltic (Lithuanian and Prussian) is normal. The indigenous character of *zmeu* is also supported by some attested Thracian forms: *Zimi-*, *Ziemi-*, *Zemo-* in compound forms like *Zimi-kenthis*, *Ziem-ices*, *Zemo-kontes*, *Zym-drenos*, *Zym-zdrenos* etc. As in other similar cases (see under *sută*), we surmise that Sl. *zmbjъ* seems a borrowing from either a northern Thracian dialect, before expansion, or from Proto-Romanian, during the first phase of expansion (as definitely *sută* and *kъmotra* are). See also *zmeur(ă)*. The relation between *zmeu* and *zmeur(ă)* is essential in understanding the archaic origin of these forms. • See also *rezema*, *răzema* (*re-/ră-zema*).

zméur, -i s.m. and **zméură**, -e s.f. The plant *Rubus idaeus* (*zmeur*) and its fruit (*zmeură*); ‘raspberry; hindberry’.

Pars prima

Der.: *zmeuriș* ‘raspberry/ hindberry bush’. Indigenous, from IE *ǵh(dh)em- ‘earth’, zero grade *ǵh(dh)m- > Thr. **zmeur-* > Rom. **zmeur-*. Similarly Lith. *žem-uoga* ‘strawberry’ (the plant *Fragaria*) (from *žemė* ‘earth’, cf. *zmeu* above) and Germ. *Erd-beere* ‘id.’, from *Erde* ‘earth’, lit. ‘earth-berry’. These examples show that both strawberries and raspberries were initially associated to ‘earth’; they also support the association *zmeu* – *zmeur(ă)* in Romanian as substratum elements. Probably most linguists have assumed that the relation *zmeu* – *zmeură* is the result of hazard; the etymological analysis clearly shows that they are indeed related as *Urverwandtschaft*.

zoăie ‘dirty liquid’, especially ‘dirty water after washing clothes, usually a mixture of soap and lye’. Probably related with *soi* (see above). DEX erroneously refers to Bulg. and/or Ukr. *zola*, which is phonetically impossible.

zorzoăne (pl.) ‘ornaments’ (used pejoratively); see *zurzur*.

zúrzur ‘ornament’. A reduplication, as often in the indigenous substratum, from a root *zur-* ‘ornament’, difficult to analyse. Given this typical derivation for some of the substratum elements, its Thracian origin may be held for certain or, at least, most probable. The current form *zorzoane* (pl.) ‘ornaments’ is derived from the same root with a different suffix.

zvîrlí ‘to cast, to throw’. Also *azvîrli*, with prefix *a-*. See *zvîrlugă*. • The Slavic origin, advocated in DEX, is highly improbable.

zvîrlúgă 1. The fish *Cobitis taenia*; 2. a cheerful, sprightly person. Similar in meaning with *fișă*¹. Also *vîrlugă*. The basic meaning, just like *fișă*, must be reconstructed as ‘quick move’, and must relate forms *vîrlugă*, *zvîrlugă*, and the verbs *zvîrli*, *azvîrli* ‘to cast, to throw’. The related form must be Lat. *verto*, *-ere*. Derivation is *z-vîr-l-*.

Part II

Colloquial Latin. Phonetical Evolution. Grammar

Colloquial Latin and Pseudo-Latin in Romanian

The present etymological lexicon quotes a series of words either currently considered of Latin origin, but which ultimately are indigenous, or of Latin origin indeed, but sometimes assumed of indigenous origin, rarely of other origins (the case of *boier*). I. I. Russu made such considerations, as in the case of *lepăda* or *vătăma*. Also this lexicon cannot consider the numerous situations where colloquial Latin in Dacia and Thrace interfered with indigenous forms, which may have been similar in the light of the common Indo-European and, sometimes, Pre-Indo-European heritage. This may be a generous topic of discussions as indeed all the Indo-European languages do inherit many similar forms, covering all the semantic and grammatical spheres. After millennia of diversity, many nouns, pronouns and verbs are similar from Old Indian to Germanic, and from Baltic to Greek. During the centuries of Roman and Thracian cohabitation, some of these forms definitely interfered and – in the very case of Romanian – we may identify the probable of possible Thracian influence within the basically Neo-Latin structure of Romanian.

Forms like *îs* = *sînt* (bookish *sunt*) ‘I am, they are’, *îi* ‘he/she is’ rather reflect the indigenous influence. Even the case of *este* ‘he/she is’ cannot be easily explained via Latin, just *e* (= *este* = *îi*) may be labelled as ‘obviously Latin’.

In the sphere of noun, we assume that the definite article *i* (pronounced as semivowel *y* or *j*) in oblique forms like *casă* - *case* (gen. sg. and pl.) - *unei case* - *casei* rather reflect the interference with an indigenous paradigm, as *case-i* cannot reflect *casae*. The examples may continue, but a coherent analysis would require a deeper approach. Our task is to just briefly note such situations.

It is not the purpose of this book to cover all these situations, but to point out some relevant cases only. Further investigations will clarify such complex occurrences, and will enrich our approach to the topic.

Latin v. Indigenous or ‘of unknown origin’

In our lexicon, we assumed that *Crăciun* and *zîănă*, pl. *zîne* are not of Latin origin (from *creatio* and *Diana*, respectively). Gh. Muşu once made a detailed analysis of *Crăciun* ‘Christmas’ v. *crăciun* ‘piece of wood’ and Alb. *kërcú* ‘log, tree stump’; and the author of these page formerly brought arguments that *zîănă* ‘a fairy (queen)’ cannot reflect Lat. *Diana*, but in *Sînzieni* there is a typical example of Roman-Thracian cohabitation and bilingualism, in which *sîn-* reflects Lat. *sanctus* (as in *Sîngiorz* < *Sanctus Georgios*; to note also the parallel in Croatian place-name *Suđurađ*, of the same Late-Latin and Christian origin). If the brief arguments in the lexicon are not convincing, the reader is asked to refer to other studies. Prof. Grigore Brâncuş, among others, has lately brought solid arguments in favour of the indigenous origin of *Crăciun*. Maybe we should read and re-read those remarkable studies.

Across time, various other words initially considered of Latin origin, often of other origins, mainly Slavic, sometimes of Hungarian or Altaic origin, have been gradually grouped together in the larger and larger list of indigenous elements. There are many examples, e.g. *stăpîn*, *jupîn* (< *ġupîn* < **ġupən*), which are obviously compound words with *ban*, **-pîn* (< **pən*) as presented in the lexicon.

Also *varză* ‘cabbage’ cannot reflect Lat. *viridia* as too many linguists still believe. It is, beyond any reasonable doubt, an indigenous element.

There still are many words incorrectly explained in Romanian. We assume that *a vătăma* ‘to affect, to wound’ is indeed from Lat. *victimo*, *-are*, even if the phonetic evolution is not ‘by the book’. For almost a century, many linguists assumed that the Latin elements of Romanian reflect a strict evolution marked by 165 years of official administration of Dacia. Such simplistic views should be abandoned. For sure, Romanisation was a complex and long-lasting phenomenon, which persisted a long time after the withdrawal of the official Roman administration. If some would expect a form like a **văptăma* instead of *a vătăma*, they should expect specific evolutions in colloquial and Late Latin. Also, there may have been words of

various non-Latin origin, but which were borrowed in colloquial Latin, at various historical periods, and may be thus considered of Latin origin. Such an example may be *bordei* in probable relation with *bordello*.

The most interesting category is perhaps offered by forms which specifically developed in Daco-Romanian and/or Thraco-Romanian only, starting from basic Latin roots, but with specific meanings in Romanian only, assuming that colloquial Latin in Dacia sometimes had its specific evolutions and developments. As always, these may reflect a certain indigenous influence or calques, but these are usual phenomena in any linguistic area in similar circumstances. I shall briefly review some specific, typical cases.

ademeni, dial. *adămăni* ‘to lure, to entice’. Despite its being one of the earliest would-be Thracian elements, as Hasdeu believed, it seems a local construction based on Latin elements: *ad* and a verbalised form derived from *manus* > Rom. *mână* ‘hand’; or rather the imperative of *a aduce* ‘to bring’, *adu*, *adă* and *mână*, *adă/adu mîna* ‘bring (your) hand’ with opening vowel *i* > *ă*, *e*. The meaning was undoubtedly erotic and pre-nuptial: ‘come to my hand, hold my hand’. See also under *mână* below. It is difficult to hypothesise an approximate date of this creation, but it may be indeed very early, starting first from the construction *adă mîna* ‘give [me your] hand’, which was subsequently turned into a noun, by frequent use (*adămîna*), later verbalised: **adămîni*, **adămăni*, **ademeni*, with a vowel harmony *ă-ă* or *e-e*.

apuca ‘to catch; to hold tight’. Derivatives: *apucat* (1) ‘caught’; (2) ‘mad, crazy’ (cf. *aprig*); *apucătoare* ‘a handle’; *apucătură* (1) ‘a catch’; (2) ‘custom; behaviour’. The word seems related to, not reflecting, Lat. *apiscor* ‘id.’, Old Indian *āpnōti* ‘(he) touches, catches’, gr. *aptō* ‘id.’, Hitt. *ep-*, *op-* ‘id.’ etc. The Romanian prototype may be reconstructed as **ap-uk-* (cf. also *arunc*), which cannot support the idea of a Latin word. Also the alternative Lat. *aucupor* ‘to set traps’ does not seem a better solution. • If *apuca* and *arunca* may be held for indigenous, then a possible (not necessary) influence of *aduc* ‘I bring’ < Latin *a-duco* may be surmised. It seems clear that, disregarding the ultimate etymon, *apuca* and *aprig* should be analysed together, not separately. The Latin origin, suggested in some linguistic works, does not seem plausible.

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baier ‘a thread of variable thickness; a rope’. Origin debated; most linguists hold it for a Romance element, I. I. Russu includes the form in his list of Thracian elements. The Latin origin seems indeed improbable, so an indigenous etymon is acceptable.

băț ‘a stick, a rod’. If not a back-formation from *a bate* (< Latin), then possibly indigenous, related with Eng. *bat* ‘a heavy stick’. Such a relation, which assumes a common etymon for *a bate* and *băț*, would be normal as an IE heritage, common to both Latin and Thracian, hence to Romanian, from either language.

boier Often considered of Altaic (Turkic, Pre-Ottoman) origin. It is yet obvious that *boier* is derived from *bou* ‘ox’ just as *oier* ‘shepherd’ derived from *oaie* ‘sheep’. Initially *boier* meant ‘owner of cattle’ = ‘rich man’, a traditional evolution of meaning, just as in *pecus* – *pecunia*. The word indeed had a spectacular spread all over southeast and east Europe, but its origin is in the colloquial Latin of Dacia, in Proto-Romanian. The historical period when this form could be borrowed in the neighbouring languages, mainly the Slavic languages, must be assumed the same in which Slavic *кѣmotra* < Proto-Romanian **kumatra* – Classical *commater* (see *cumătră* below) was also borrowed, i.e. presumably not later than the 6th century A.D.; in other words preceding or concurrently with the Slavic expansion.

buiestru Held by Russu for indigenous. This is a difficult point of analysis. Apparently, *buiestru* seems a compound of *bis* and *eo, ire*, even if the phonetic evolution is far from being clear. Or is there an interference with an indigenous element? In any case, we must admit it is a compound derived from, or related with, Latin *bis* and *eo, ire*. Indigenous or Latin, possibly also with a mutual interference, the basic meaning may be reconstructed as ‘dual [Lat. *bis*] walk [*eo, ire*]’.

cî'nepă ‘hemp’, usually held for reflecting Lat. *cannabis*. This is debatable. We are rather inclined for an indigenous, Thracian form akin to Latin, and to be included in the specific category of European-only terms referring to farming and plants.

cumătră ‘a woman representing mother on a child’s baptism in the church’. Reflects a colloquial Latin form **cumatra*, classical *commater* (Sp. *comadre*, Fr. *commère* etc.). Slavic *кѣmotra* is a borrowing from Proto-Romanian, with the same phonetic evolution Rom. *u* > Sl. *ѣ*, as in the

case of Rom. *sută* > Sl. *što*. In South Slavic, the usual form is *kuma*, which is – as Skok believes – a hypochoresis of **kumatra*.

deretica Held by Russu for indigenous, even if the derivation from *de-eradicare* seems difficult to reject. I am inclined to assume a Late-Latin, colloquial origin, not an indigenous form.

desmierda, dezmierda For a long time, linguists seem to have avoided this form, on the ground that a derivative from *de + merdum* is, probably, embarrassing. There is no embarrassing linguistic analysis, it may be correct or incorrect. The indigenous origin is improbable, and the colloquial Latin construction from *de + merdum* is difficult to reject. The initial meaning must have been ‘to clean a baby/a small child of excrements’, which is a usual, banal activity of mothers all over the world. Hence, the generic meaning ‘to caress, to touch gently’. The word is mainly applied to mothers taking care of their children, generically ‘to caress, to touch gently’, later with erotic connotations too: ‘to caress a girl, a beloved woman’.

glie ‘earth, fatherland’. Formerly assigned to a Latin origin, i.e. *glebis* and *gleba* ‘clod/lump of earth/turf; land, soil; hard soil; piece, lump, mass’, from unknown reasons meanwhile abandoned, even if this seems the only plausible explanation. DEX labels it ‘et. nec.’ (unknown etymon). It is true that the sequence Latin *gl/cl* + vowel usually results in Romanian *gh(e/i)/ch(e/i)*¹, but we may admit an exception, as in some other cases, due to a later form.

întîmpla Prefixed with *în* (< Lat. *in*) and the root proper. Lat. *templum* was suggested, even if not semantically satisfactory, therefore **intemplare* ‘to go to the temple’.

lepăda Held by Russu for indigenous, even if a colloquial derivative from **lapidare* seems difficult to reject, even if the semantic evolution is not comfortable.

mărăcine ‘bramble’. It is commonly accepted that it may reflect a colloquial Latin form **marrucina* or **marricina* < *marra* ‘a kind of hoe’. The Latin origin is supported by Italian form *marruca* ‘bramble’ and Alb. *markyin* ‘a kind of hoe’ (Alessio, *Omagiu Iordan* 6–7). It may be also acceptable to assume a substratum element ‘intruded’ into colloquial Latin,

¹ E.g. *glanda* > *ghindă*; *clavis* > *cheie* etc.

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and therefore a Thracian and/or Illyrian element cannot be excluded; in such a case, a relation with *măr-ar* is acceptable.

mire ‘bridegroom’. One of the most debated Romanian forms. Russu holds it for indigenous, current dictionaries point to Lat. *miles*. Both hypotheses have their advantages and disadvantages. The preservation of *miles* with such a meaning would be normal, and in full accordance with the specific evolution of some colloquial Latin terms. An interference between an indigenous form and Lat. *miles* > **mire* is also possible.

mîănă, a mîănă², a mîănui, a mîăngîia, a mîăntui A spectacular etymological group based on *mîănă* < *manus* ‘hand’; *a mîănă* ‘to lead (an animal, e.g. a horse)’ was immediately associated with *mîănă*, even if it had been strictly derived from *minari*; *a mîănui* ‘to handle’ (recently replaced by *a manevră*, under the French influence and/or borrowing meanings after *a manevra*) contradicts the largely spread (erroneous) view that verbs ending in *-ui* are of Hungarian origin (some indeed are). The situation represented by *a mîăngîia* ‘to caress’ and *a mîăntui* (religious Christian) ‘to absolve, to clean’, hence *Mîăntuitorul* ‘the Saviour’ (Jesus) is outstanding and must be discussed in more detail³. The verb *a mîăngîia* ‘to caress’ clearly belonged to the vulgar (proper), military terminology from **manu ganeari* ‘to caress with the hand’ (see also *a desmierda*, *a dezmierda* above), undoubtedly with sexual and erotic reference, and a usual term among the Roman soldiers. At the other side of the vocabulary, *a mîăntui* reflects **manu tuitus* ‘absolved, saved by hand’, and is both connected to Jesus’s miraculous hands, which healed untreatable diseases, and the magic of hand in general (please note that there was no common word for ‘hand’ in Proto-Indo-European). It is just clear that *a mîănui* and *a mîăntui* are built on the same basic, Lat. *manus* ‘hand’. The hypothesis that *a mîăntui* is borrowed from Hungarian *menténi* is at least debatable, if not outright absurd, unproved by any other word in this semantic sphere. As *menténi* is of unknown origin in Hungarian, we have all the reasons to assume it was borrowed from Romanian, and presumably before, or immediately after, the official conversion to the Christian faith of

² The ultimate origin of *mîănă* is Lat. *minari* ‘threaten, speak/act menacingly; make threatening movement; give indication of’, but this etymon was soon assimilated to the derivatives from *manus* ‘hand’ by folk etymology.

³ *Piæ memoriæ* Vasile Sav for these remarkable explanations.

St. Stephen in the year 1,000 A.D. The verb *a mîntui* and its derivative *Mîntuitorul* ‘the Saviour’ belong to the oldest Christian terminology in Europe, and is in full accordance with both comparative analysis and cultural evolution. • See also *ademeni*, *adămăni* above.

mormán and **mormînt** The form *mormînt* is usually held for continuing Lat. *monumentum*, with rotacisation of intervocalic *-n-*; nevertheless, the parallel form *morman*, which is clearly related to *mormînt* does not allow the traditional explanation. We are rather inclined for an indigenous origin of both *morman* and *mormînt*.

munună ‘an ornamental strip’; the Latin origin is most probable, for which see the main lexicon.

pîrîu Despite its being one of the constant presences in the lexicons of the indigenous elements, the relation *pîrîu* – *rîu* (< Lat. *rivus*) has not been satisfactorily explained: if mere hazard, even if indeed difficult to accept it, then an indigenous element. We are rather inclined for considering the form a local innovation in East Romance, from *pe rîu* ‘on the river’, or abridged from *pînă-n rîu* ‘until (it gets to) the river’, hence *pî-rîu*; possibly, an indigenous prefix *pă-*, *po-*, *pî-* and *rîu* < *rivus*. Anyway, the relation *rîu* – *pîrîu* is obvious, and cannot be ignored in the etymological analysis. We assume that Alb. *përrúa* ‘rivulet’ is borrowed from (Proto)-Romanian.

popă The colloquial parallel for *preot* ‘a priest’ (< *presbiterum*). In most works, considered borrowed from Slavic *popъ*, even if this hypothesis puts serious difficulties. The general use and position in Romanian shows that *popă* reflects Lat. *popa* ‘a priest in charge with animal sacrifices’, also a typically colloquial term. Later it got the attributes of a Christian term. • Prof. Gh. Mihăilă, with whom we once discussed the situation of this term, argued that Romanian should have had **poapă*, as Lat. *o* turns into *oa* in the pre-final syllable. Our counter-argument, also discussed in other cases in this lexicon, is that the evolution *o* > *oa* in the pre-final syllable is specific to only the nouns of feminine gender. This phonetic phenomenon is so powerful and persistent, that indeed it affects even recent borrowings. It is obvious that this peculiarity is not present in the very few nouns ending in *-a*, but of masculine gender. In the basic vocabulary, there is only *vodă*, of Slavic origin, a colloquial abbreviation of *vo(i)evod*. Among the forms of Latin origin, there is only *tată* ‘father’, the flection of which is identical to

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popă: the definite article *-a* (*popa, tata*); the genitive and dative is *popei* and *tatei* or *tatălui* (*meu, lui* etc.). These are rather arguments favouring the colloquial Latin origin of both forms, *popă* and *tată*.

ridica, dial. *rădica* ‘to raise; to lift’. Russu holds it for indigenous, even though the derivation from **eradicare* is difficult to reject. Cf. *ridiche* < *radix*, acc. *radicem*.

stîrni ‘to stir, to incite’ seems rather a colloquial form of *sterno, sternere* ‘to spread, to scatter’. If indigenous, we may also think at a form akin to Latin.

a vătăma With too feeble arguments considered by Russu an indigenous elements. It clearly reflects Lat. *victimare*, with a peculiar evolution to *vătăma(re)* instead of expected **văptămare*. The exceptional treatment of sequence *ct* > *t* not *pt* as usual, must be explained if starting from a colloquial form **vi(t)timare*, as in Italian, possibly later than the rest of the Latin stratum of Romanian.

a zbură and *a zburda* If we admit that Rom. *a zbură* reflects Lat. *ex-volare*, then we must also equate *a zburda*, as shown in the lexicon. The forms may have interfered, and a Latin elements was engrafted on an indigenous structure.

Derivation, Phonetical Evolution and Grammatical Means

Derivational Means

This chapter aims at clarifying and outlining the main derivation means in the case of the substratum elements, first of all, in a brief comparison with the general derivation means of Romanian as a whole.

Reduplication

Reduplication seems to have been a frequent derivational construction in the substratum elements, in both the Indo-European and Pre-Indo-European elements. In these cases, haplology (loss of a second, repetitive phoneme) is usual as well. Examples:

curcubeu < **cur-cur-b-*, then by haplology, < IE *(s)*ker-* ‘to bend, to curve’; the same in NL *Curcubăta*, etymologically related with *curcubeu*.

dăndăli ‘to delay on something; to work too slowly’ < **da-da-l-*, then with nasal infix; cf. *lălăi*.

derdeluş < **der-der-l-uş*, then haplology.

durduliu < **dur-dur-l-*, then haplology.

huhurez < **hu-hu-r-ez*

hututúi < **hut-hut-úi*, with haplology.

Jijia, cf. *Jiu*, without reduplication; probably akin to now rare, dialectal form *jelţ*, *jilţ* ‘a rivulet’.

Lala < **Al-al-a*, with normal preservation of intervocalic *l*, and fall of initial *a* (as in *Rarău*, *Săsar*); the loss of initial *a-* is not regular in the indigenous elements.

Marmaţia < **mar-mar-ţ-*, then haplology.

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mămăligă < **mal-mal-ig-*, also with haplology of repetitive *r*. Preie. origin.

moșmondi < **moș-moș-d-i*, with haplology in the second part, then nasal infix.

mototoli < **mot-mot-ol-*; haplology.

perpeli < **per-per-l-* ‘to burn, to put to fire’, from root **per-*, **pur-* ‘fire’ (cf. *pur-uri*, *pur-urea* in the main lexicon).

Rarău < **Ar-ar-a-*, with fall of initial *a* (as in other examples, e.g. *Lala*, *Săsar* etc.); Preie. origin.

Săsar < **As-as-ar*, probably related with *Asău*, both of Preie. origin, root **AS-*, with chromatic meaning; the fall of initial *a* as in *Lala*, *Rarău*.

Tărtăria < *Tar-tar-*, Preie. origin, related with NL *Tărtia* (without reduplication) and, very probably, with *țurțur* (with alternation *t/ț*, and again with reduplication).

țurțur(e), with a very conservative form. Preie. origin.

Affixes (prefixes and suffixes)

The analysis of the substratum elements shows remnants of archaic affixes. Some have of course interfered with other derivational affixes of both Latin, during the Roman-Thracian cohabitation period, also with newer, neologic affixes. Some linguists have erroneously concluded that these reflect neologic influences. We shall try to briefly summarise the main affixional means in the substratum elements.

-*a*, -*ea* *Călăcea* (cf. *Călan*), *Cioplea* (cf. *a ciopli*, *a ciopîrți*)

-*ac*, -*ag*, -*ec*, -*c* *desagă* (*des-ag-ă*, cf. *a în-des-a*), *Feleac*, *în-tun-ec-a* (probably from a prototype **în-tumn-ec-a*), *maldac/măldac* (cf. *Spart-ac-us*, *μανδάκης* etc.), *berc*, *melc*, *meleag*⁴, *peleagă/peleg* (cf. *Peleş*), *Pereg*, *pisc*, *plisc*, *prunc*, *Semenic* (cf. *semeț*), *țarc*, *miș-c-a*, *muș-c-a*.

⁴ Not of Hungarian origin, as often erroneously held.

-(e)an, -and Some linguists wrongly assumed that any word having suffix -an should be borrowed during the last centuries, as – indeed – the rules of evolution from Latin to Romanian would have required a closed neutral vowel. See also -ân, -în below. Examples: *buştean*, *Călan* (cf. *Călăcea*), *Călin*, *Cărand*, *cioban*⁵, *Copand*, *Caran-sebeş*, *Inand* (cf. *Inăul/Ineu*), *noian*, *Şimand*, *Şimian*, *Vărşand*, *Zarand/Zărand*.

-aş/-aj, -eş/-iş/-ij, -uş/-uj Sometimes, spellings may be with final -i, which usually notes a very brief palatalisation of the preceding consonants. Only some relevant examples:

-aş, -aj: *Asuaj* (cf. *Asău* and *Săsar* < **As-as-ar*) *Ateaş*, *Blaj*, *Caraş*, *Ciucaş* (cf. *Ciuc*), *Deaj* (cf. *Dej*), *Iaş(i)*, also *Ieş(i)*, *Turdaş* (cf. *Turda*), *oraş*, *uraş* (dial.), *uriaş*, *oriaş* (dial.).

-eş, -iş, -ij: *Agrij*, *agriş*, *Anieş*, *Argeş*, *Arghiş* (cf. *argea*), *Arieş*, *Dej* (cf. *Deaj*), *Ieş(i)*, cf. *Iaşi*, NP *Mareş*, NFI *Mureş*, *Nireş* (cf. *Nera*, *Neretva*⁶), *Peleş* (cf. *peleag*, *peleagă*), *preş*, *Sebeş* (cf. *Sibiu*), *Timiş*, *Timiş-oara*, *Virghiş*.

-uş, -uj: *Abuş* (cf. *Abud*), *Buhuş(i)* (cf. *buhă*, *bufniţă*⁷), *căluş*, *Cluj*, *Densuş* (? < Thracian), *ghiuş*⁸ (dial. *vîj*), *Lăbuş*⁹ (< *labă*), *Lăpuş*, *Luduş* (? < Thracian), *Şoimuş* (cf. *şoim*), *Trotuş*.

-ân See -în.

-ar, -ăr In place-names, personal names and common vocabulary. It may reflect at least two archaic forms, which later contaminated. Examples: *măg-ar*, *maz-ăr-e*, *măr-ar*, *ţip-ar*, *Dun-ăr-e(a)*, *Săsar* (< **As-as-ar*), etc. In river-names, we may assume that a compound with -ar- akin to NFI *Aar*

⁵ Form *cioban* is considered, unlike the overwhelming majority of cases, of indigenous origin. It was denied this origin seemingly on the erroneous ground that intervocalic -b- should have been lost, and sequence -an should have turned to -în, -ân.

⁶ See Lexicon A.

⁷ With alternating f/h, reflecting an original velar spirant (laryngeal).

⁸ Alb. *gjysh* ‘old man; grandfather’.

⁹ Frequent, usual dog-name.

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should be considered. In the archaic Pre-Indo-European elements, *-ar-* may be a variant of *-or-*, *-ur-*.

-at(e), *-et bereg-at-ă*, *bung-et*, *Călata* (cf. *Călacea*, *Călan*), *Hăşd-at-e*¹⁰.

-ău, *-eu*, *-iu* Some indigenous forms, also erroneously considered of Hungarian origin in many cases, reflect this derivation. We assume that ALL were initially masculine nouns ending in *-a*, then – during and after the Romanisation process – received the definite masculine article *-u* (literary form *-ul*). Examples: *Asău* (cf. *Asuaŋ*), *Bacău*, *Bîrgău* (< **Barga*), *Buzău* (cf. *Buziaş*, both akin to *buză*), *Ceahlău* (phoneme *h* alternating with *f*, as in *ceafă*, in both cases *f/h* reflecting an original velar spirant), *curcubeu* (< **cur-cur-b-eu*), *Curcubăta*, *Ilteu*, *Inău/Ineu*, *Jiu* (cf. *Jijia*, with reduplication; *jelŋ/jilŋ* dial. ‘a rivulet’), *Mineu/Mîndău*, (cf. *Miniş*, *Mintia*), *Paleu*, *Rarău* (< **Ar-ar-a*), *Sibiu*, *Siriu* (cf. *Siret* and *şirói*), *Tarcău* (cf. *Tarcea*), *Ţicău* (cf. NP *Ţica*, *Ţicu*), *Vişău/Vişeu*. Some Hungarian borrowings were indeed included in this category, e.g. *Nuşfalău*.

-c ber-c, *mel-c*

-f Some substratum forms ending in *-f* probably reflect an original velar spirant (or laryngeal); in these, and other situations, *f* alternates with *h*, *v* and *ş*. Examples: *burduf* – *burduşí* (cf. *burtă*), *ceafă* (alternating with *h* as in *Ceahlău*), *rîmf*, *vătaf* – *a vătăşi*, NP *Vătăşescu*.

-i bordei, *brei*, *grui*, *mălai* (NFI *Măleia*, in Parîng Mts, a tributary of *Jiu*), *noroi* (cf. NFI *Nera*, *Năruja*), *scai*, *şirói*, *Vaslui*¹¹, *vătrai* (< *vatră*), *vătui*.

-în jupîn (< *ǵu-pən*), *stăpîn*.

-l, *-*Xl*¹² *Gherla* (cf. *Gherŋa*), *şop-îr-l-ă*, *visc-o-l*; *gîdila* (cf. *gudura*), *însăi-l-a/însei-l-a*, *pîr-l-i*.

¹⁰ If not from *Hochstadt*, of course; in this case, we must assume an adaptation of the German form.

¹¹ A recent borrowing from German *Wasser* is not feasible; if indeed so, the derivation would also put additional problems.

¹² Here **X* notes a velar spirant (laryngeal), which later resulted in various other phonemes.

-*m* *scrum*, *tărîm*; *curma*, *dărîma*, *fărîmă* (also verb: *a fărîma*, (*a se*) *în-tre-m-ă*, *a sfărîma*), *scurma*, *zgîrma*.

-*man* *Caraiman*, *Căliman*, also *Călimănești* (plural of personal suffix -*escu*), *dușman*¹³, *gogo-man* (cf. *gogă*, NP *Goga*, *Gogu*), *hoțo-man* (cf. *hoț*, *haț*), *Or-man*, *orto-man*.¹⁴ See also NP *Man*, *Manu*, *Manea*, *Mănescu* etc., all with root *man-*; cf. ND *Mani-mazos*, an epithet of the Thracian Heros¹⁵.

-*or*, -*ur* Examples: *ab-ur*, *bucur* (NP *Bucur*; verb *a se bucura*), *but-ur-ă*/*but-ur-ug-ă*, *ciuc-ur(e)*, *cob-or-î* (*cob-or-*), *coc-or*, **codur* > *codru*, **Copur* > *Copru*, *flut-ur(e)*, (*a se*) *gudura* (Alb. *gudulís*; cf. *gîdila*), *măgură*, *mălură*, *mătură*, *mugur(e)*, *scorbur(ă)*, *sîmbur(e)*, *strugur(e)*, *viezur(e)*, *zmeur(ă)*.

-*ț* *borț* (cf. *borțos* < *burtă*), *creț*, *cruța*, *Gherța* (cf. *Gherla*), *Ghil-or-ț*, *lațe*, *maț(e)*, *mistreț*, *semeț* (cf. *Semenic*).

-*ud* *Abrud*, *Abud* (cf. *Abuș*), *Ardud* (cf. *Ardu-sat*).

-*ui* Many linguists assumed that Romanian verbs ending in -*ui* reflect borrowings from Hungarian. In some cases, this is indeed true, with the important note that one of the invoked borrowings, namely *a mîntui* 'to save' (in the Christian meaning), hence *Mîntuitorul* 'the Saviour' (i.e. Jesus) does NOT reflect a borrowing from Hungarian *menténi*, on the contrary: the Hungarian form is borrowed from Romanian (it is ultimately a derivative of *mînă* 'hand' + *tuitus* = **manu tuitus* 'saved by hand', i.e. by the magic hand of Jesus Christ). The origin of this derivational means is obscure: it is either a local innovation during the Roman-Thracian cohabitation, or an indigenous (substratum) derivational means, -*ui* or -*u-i* (the verbs ending in *i* generally reflect the fourth Latin conjugation, as *a auzi* < *audire* etc.). This derivational means is met in forms difficult to analyse as: *a bîngui* 'to

¹³ Old Indo-European word with prefix **dus-* 'against'; the current hypothesis, suggesting a Turkish origin, should be abandoned.

¹⁴ Some forms in -*man*, e.g. *Cara-orman* 'black forest', reflect a recent Turkish influence.

¹⁵ See the appendix, lexicon of Thracian god-names.

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blabber, to speak nonsense', possibly an 'intruder' in colloquial Latin from a substratum language; *a mîntui*, *mîntuit* < **manu tuitus*.

-ul *căci-ul-ă*, *a ciug-ul-i*.

-un Cf. -an, -and *cătun*, *Crăciun* (also *crăciun* 'piece of wood'), *gorun*

-ur See -or, -ur

-z *barză*, *brînză*, *bulz*, *coacăză*, *mînz*, *rînză*, *pînză*, *pupăză*, *spuză*; *a necheza*.

Some Basic Problems of Phonetic Evolution¹⁶

Phonetic evolution is essential in historical linguistics, so more important in the case of our analysis, as Thracian had no written documents, and its trace may be inferred or interpreted in the light of Greek and Latin documents, which inevitably deformed the original sounds, always compared with the forms preserved in modern languages, mainly Romanian, Albanian, Bulgarian and other South Slavic languages. At the same time, the linguistic and ethnic changes were important after the gradual withdrawal of the Roman Empire from Dacia, then from all its former provinces. Later the interferences with other ethnic groups of various origins, Indo-European and non-Indo-European, led to other linguistic changes. It is the linguist's task to identify and analyse these changes. In the given case, the phonetic structure of colloquial Post-Classical Latin, indigenous Thracian idioms and later Slavic interfered, with specific intensity across various historical periods.

The data presented in the main lexicon, as well as other data referred to (including the Addenda), allow a plausible reconstruction of the Thracian phonetic inventory. We should also consider that local or regional differences of the Thracian dialects may have been important. Obviously not all the phonetic details may be reconstructed, but a reasonable phonetic tableau is possible.

Thracian was a satem language, and was a component of the Eastern branch of the Indo-European languages, together with Old Indian, Persian, Baltic and Slavic. A special note should be made on Slavic. The data presented in the main lexicon as well as the Addenda have led to the

¹⁶ This chapter follows, by and large, the chapter on Phonetics in our *Influente romane și preromane în limbile slave de sud* (1996), with important additions and revisions against the original (in Romanian). They mainly refer to the much larger scope of this volume, which has consequently required a review of this complex topic. The most important change refers to the so-called velar spirant (laryngeal), which has been largely argued in this volume. There are a lot of other more or less important changes, which will hopefully illuminate specific details.

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conclusion that the once often invoked Slavic influence on Romanian should be radically revised as many such forms are, in fact, indigenous Thracian elements. Additionally, only a detailed analysis of the Slavic ethnogenesis may then clarify other details.

Despite older attempts to consider Illyrian a centum language, the more recent data show that Illyrian was also a satem idiom, and that Thracian and Illyrian formed a contiguous group of satem speakers in southeast Europe. We surmise that Thracian and Illyrian were mutually intelligible. In this perspective, it is clear why the once much invoked ‘Slavic influence in Romanian’ should be radically reconsidered, as many formerly assumed ‘Slavic elements in Romanian’ are, in fact, indigenous (Thracian) elements in Romanian. And, in some instances, the way of borrowing was reversed. Such was the typical case of *sută*, which is a clear heir from Thracian, and Slavic *sveto* a borrowing from either East Romance (Proto-Romanian) or Late Thracian. This borrowing was more or less contemporary of another important borrowing: Sl. *kъmotra* < Proto-Romanian **kumatra* (classical Latin *commater*), Rom. *cumătră*¹⁷.

The following considerations try to reconstruct a phonetic reality of the first centuries of our era. There may be of course errors, but we do hope our reconstruction will meet a minimal consensus among linguists. The data below reflect, on the one hand, the analysis in the lexicon above and, on the other hand, similar discussions regarding the Pre-Slavic heritage in Southeast and Central Europe, mainly in place-names, but also in elements of vocabulary. The analysis also covers the data in the Addenda.

¹⁷ Stressed *ă* in *cumătră* was incorrectly held for a proof of a Slavic (?) borrowing. Nevertheless stressed *ă*, even if not frequent, is met in some typical cases, also of indigenous origin, e.g. *mătură*, *mălură* etc., when *r* occurs in the following syllable.

Colloquial Latin¹⁸

Post-classical Latin underwent a radical change of its initial phonetic inventory, especially of vocalism. As this volume is not a history of the Romanian language, only the most relevant data are presented below, especially those aspects allowing a better understanding of Roman-Thracian cohabitation and, consequently, Latin-Thracian bilingualism.

Vocalism

Romania Orientalis sometimes had a different evolution against *Romania Occidentalis*. It is notable, first of all, that Romanian, the Latin elements in Albanian and, in some circumstances (in closed syllable), Dalmatian keep intact, and therefore distinct, the evolution of *ō* against *u*. This phenomenon is yet also met, in restricted areas, in *Romania Occidentalis*: parts of Sardinia, south Corsica and Calabria-Lucano, also in the Latin elements in Berber and Basque (Tagliavini 1977: 186–187).

Classical Latin	<i>ā</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>ū</i>
Colloquial Latin	<i>a</i>		<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>
Proto-Romance ¹⁹	<i>a</i>		<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>i</i>		<i>o</i>		<i>u</i>	

¹⁸ We use the term *Colloquial Latin*, not *Vulgar Latin*, as it may be otherwise confusing, even if *Vulgar Latin* has been largely used across time by various linguists.

¹⁹ Proto-Romanian, mainly. The supposed Pannonian language, surmised or gleaned from too fragmentary inscriptions, may be postulated, but not invocable; and Dalmatian, with its peculiar evolutions.

Consonantism

Several tendencies already manifest in Classical Latin consolidate and lead to altering the initial system. The most important are:

- Phoneme *h* must have gradually got a weaker and weaker pronunciation, and post-classical spellings witness this reality: *abeo* = *habeo*; *anc* = *hanc*; *onorem* = *honorem*. The contrary is offered by so-called hyper-correct spelling, with *h* where it had not been and should not have been: *heius* = *eius*; *hossa* = *ossa*.

NOTE. This detail is **extremely important** when we analyse the situation of phoneme *h* in the indigenous elements of Romanian, where its origin is COMPLETELY DIFFERENT, and definitely not the result of the Slavic influence. In the indigenous (Thracian) elements of Romanian, phoneme *h* alternates with *f*, *v* and *ș* (in some instances). It also corresponds to Albanian *h*, *v* and, sometimes at least, *th*. They reflect the evolution of the initial velar spirant, which is not clear in all instances, as it was a rare and historically lost phoneme in the overwhelming majority of the Indo-European languages. Its survival in Thracian until, we believe, Proto-Romanian is one of the important, essential details in understanding the Thracian phonetic evolution and its transformations upon the impact with the Roman colonists.

- *C* and *g* had a similar behaviour in palatalising position, but *g* had a different evolution if intervocalic, with a tendency to be eliminated in some areas of Romania: *eo* = *ego*, cf. Rom., Port. *eu* (pron. *yew* in Romanian).

- In the group *qu* (*q^w*) there was a tendency to eliminate the labial component, therefore pronunciation gradually was *ecus* not *equus* (*ek^wu-us*). On the other hand, Romanian and Sardinian labialised the groups *qu* and *gu*, therefore they stressed the labial component, and dismissed the velar component²⁰: *aqua* > Rom. *apă*, Sard. *abba*; *lingua* > Rom. *limbă*, Log. *limba*.

²⁰ Such tendencies were analysed by N. D. Andreev for much older periods of historical linguistics, in the case of the Indo-European, Uralic and Altaic groups labelled *Proto-Boreal*.

NOTE. Latin *qu* reflects IE *k^w*; this evolution was radically different in Thracian, where – as far as our reconstruction is correct – IE *k^w* resulted in Thracian *č*.

- *X (ks)* had a tendency towards simplification to *ss (s)* in the 1st century A.D. Sometimes the initial pronunciation was preserved. Both Romanian and the Latin elements in Albanian witness these tendencies: *coxa* > *coapsă*, *kofshë*, but *dixit* > *dissit* > *zise*; *maxilla* > *massilla* > *măsea*.

- Phonemes *b* and *v* had a peculiar situation. In post-classical colloquial Latin both had a tendency towards a similar pronunciation, i.e. the initial opposition was gradually replaced by a positional opposition: bilabial (*ḃ*) if initial (as in modern Spanish) and *b* if internal. Betacism (*v* pronounced as *b*) is frequent in post-classical inscriptions, also confirmed by phonetic evolution in the Romance languages: *verbex* = *vervex*, *berbex* > Rom. *berbece*, Rr. *brebis*; *corvus* and **corbus* > Rom. *corb*, Fr. *corbeau*, but It. *corvo*.

Intervocalic *b* and *v* also had a peculiar evolution. In post-classical Latin, their tendency was to be gradually lost: *avi-* > *au-* (*aw-*) as in *avica* > *auca*; *avicellus* > *aucellus*; *-avit* > *-aut* etc. This evolution in post-classical Latin is also confirmed by the phonetic treatment of Germanic borrowings. Germanic (bilabial) *w* was initially similar to *v*, but in post-classical borrowings was noted as *gu*: *werra* > It. *guerra*, Fr. *guerre*.

The situation and evolution of intervocalic *b/v* is **extremely important** in explaining some old tendencies in *Romania Orientalis*, specifically in Proto-Romanian as this did not have a uniform evolution, not even in Romanian, a good proof that such hesitations were not generalised, not even on a restricted area. As an example, Lat. *uber* > Rom. *uger*, but *habeo* (already pronounced *abeo*) preserves intervocalic *b/v*: *a aveo*, *avem*. Against this clearly documented situation, intervocalic *b/v* in the **indigenous (Thracian) elements of Romanian did not undergo such an evolution**. Many, too many linguists incorrectly postulated that the specific situation of *b/v* in post-classical Latin was identical in the indigenous elements too. There is NO clear example, which may eventually confirm this postulate,

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therefore we are compelled to definitely reject it²¹. It is interesting that a form like *abur* (Alb. *avull*) has been long present in the usual lists of indigenous elements in Romanian, even though intervocalic *b* would have rejected it. Note that *abur* is just an example out of other numerous examples (e.g. *Bală*, *balaur*, *Deva* etc.)

We do not insist on other well known evolutions in post-classical Latin. Any current history of the Romanian language will analyse all the other situations.

Thracian and Illyrian

Romanisation proceeded rapidly along the Adriatic coast, consequently the Illyrian language and its speakers vanished from documents beginning with the 2nd century A.D. After approximately this time limit, *Illyria* had purely geographic, not ethnic or linguistic, connotations. In change, Thracian continued to survive for many centuries on, even if under a powerful pressure of Romanisation. We wrote elsewhere on this topic (Paliga 1996). During the last decades, the Bulgarian School of Thracian Studies insistently advocated the survival of Thracian until at least the arrival of the first Slavic groups in mid-sixth century A.D. Romanian archaeologists have also lately argued that scattered Thracian speakers may have survived in the remote, non-Romanised areas of Moldavia (where the *Carpians* were located) and northern Transylvania. The answer to the question ‘until when was Thracian still spoken?’ is indeed difficult, but we may surmise that it was still a vivid tongue in the 6th–7th centuries A.D., possibly later in more and more isolated areas. If we accept the idea that Albanian is basically a neo-Thracian, not a neo-Illyrian, idiom as formerly

²¹ As far as our analysis is correct, there is ONE example only: *răcovină* v. *răcuină*.

considered²², then we may hypothesise, with fair correctness, that Thracian still survives – in a peculiar way – under the label *Albanian*. If such a view is not considered too audacious, then the best formula would be: Thracian still is a vivid idiom under the name *Albanian*, and through the numerous indigenous elements of Romanian, some of them preserved or borrowed in the neighbouring languages (Bulgarian, Serbian, Ukrainian, Hungarian mainly). Interdisciplinary research is called to offer better and clearer answers to our hypothesis briefly sketched here.

Latin and the Romance languages in general offer a rich material of analysis, represented by both literary and vernacular inscriptions, continued – with a relative hiatus in post-classical times – by various inscriptions spread all over the former Roman Empire. Both Thracian and Illyrian, on the other hand, offer scarce written material, mainly represented by personal and place-names, approximately spelled by the Greek and Latin writers. We may have no reasonable doubts that many such names were deformed, and therefore the etymological analysis is difficult. Fortunately some of these ancient names have been preserved down to the modern languages of Central and Southeast Europe: Romanian, Albanian, Bulgarian and other South Slavic languages (Macedonian, Serbian-Croatian, Slovene). By permanently comparing the ancient written forms, more or less approximate in their spelling, with their certain, possible or at least probable counterparts in the modern languages of the area, we may reconstruct a probable or possible Thracian form. The general comparative analysis at Indo-European and Pre-Indo-European level also offers precious hints for a reasonable reconstruction. We may never have the illusion that such a reconstruction is perfect, or that the author uttered the ultimate word.

²² It should be clear that *habitational continuity* on the territory of Albania cannot be doubted, whereas the *linguistic tradition* is another issue, as in many other cases. Speaking of the Neo-Thracian character of Albanian we do not either invoke or suggest a *habitational discontinuity* on the territory of Albania, once with hot political debates. Anyway, the suggested Neo-Illyrian character of Albanian cannot be invoked any more with scientific arguments.

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An answer to the question whether South Slavic (preponderantly Bulgarian, possibly also Serbian) may have had a direct Late Thracian influence or an indirect Thracian influence via Proto-Romanian is closely connected to the already noted question ‘until when was Thracian spoken?’. Theoretically, and the Bulgarian linguists have tried to argument this, the first Slavic speakers who settled in both North Danubian and South Danubian regions may have met the less and less numerous Thracian speakers. We cannot have an accurate reconstruction of this co-habitation as the Slavic ethnogenesis itself is still surrounded by enigmas and contradictory views²³, but we may surmise with fair probability that certain (late) Thracian speakers may have met the first Slavic groups in their expansion towards south. And indeed some northern Thracian groups (the Costobocae or some others) had a certain contribution to the Slavic ethnogenesis. These North Thracian groups must have had a certain contribution to the Carpathian Kurgan Culture of the 4th century A.D., and contemporary with Černjahov Culture, followed by the typical Slavic Prague Culture (*Pražská kultura*). We assume that the thesis of a an old and ‘pure’ Slavic ethnicum should be abandoned, in favour of a more flexible view of a new ethnic group, in full making after the 3rd century A.D., more probable beginning with the end of 4th century. This would be in full accordance with the historical, linguistic and archaeological data: a period of radical ethno-linguistic changes, which resulted in the new groups of the early Middle Ages²⁴. If this interpretation may gradually impose as the rational and documented hypothesis, then the Slavic ethnogenesis itself was marked, to a certain extent, by a North Thracian influence and also by an Early Romance, or Proto-Romanian, influence. In such a situation, the numerous Romanian-Slavic parallels cannot be simply interpreted as ‘Slavic borrowings in Romanian’, but as a complex, century-long period of cohabitation, in which the Latin, Thracian and various satem-based elements

²³ A brief survey of the Slavic ethnogenesis may be found in our *A Brief History of the Slavs*. When this work is being prepared for print, available in electronic PDF format.

²⁴ It may be surmised with certainty now that the Slavic ethnogenesis began in the 4th, more probably 5th, century A.D., and was still in progress in the 6th century, when the Slavs began to penetrate the Balkans, and reaching the Near East.

of the idioms spoken in what is sometimes labelled *Barbaricum* interacted and resulted in the linguistic and social groups of the Middle Ages. From this perspective, the situation in Southeast Europe was not different from its West European counterpart, but just marked by the local conditions, or *spiritus loci*.

Summing up, it is indeed feasible now to admit that Thracian still was a vivid idiom in the 6th century A.D., and which survived some time later; and that its modern and contemporary survivor is Albanian, with a specific structure but also with an important Romance vocabulary; Thracian also survives in the quite numerous indigenous elements in Romanian, mainly, but also in the Thracian elements of Bulgarian and Serbian; it influenced flection of Romanian and other neighbouring languages, and may be also held responsible for specific folk beliefs.

I. I. Russu (1969) brought forth convincing arguments – based on Thracian and Illyrian personal- and place-names – that Thracian and Illyrian must have been closely related languages, presumably mutually intelligible, at least along their linguistic border. As approximate as may have been the spellings in ancient authors, some forms witness a clear similarity, sometimes identity, and this cannot be the mere result of hazard. As the Illyrian inventory is still less numerous than the Thracian inventory, we shall concentrate on a reasonable reconstruction of Thracian phonetics. As Illyrian was an extinct language in the 2nd century A.D., we have all the reasons to admit that the possible Illyrian elements, mainly in Albanian, some in Croatian and Slovene, must have been preserved via Proto-Dalmatian, to a less extent via West Proto-Romanian²⁵.

²⁵ Even if superfluous, we stress the difference between habitational continuity and linguistic tradition. Southeast and Central Europe has been continuously inhabited since Upper Palaeolithic, while the linguistic tradition has changed several times, of course always preserving certain elements of the substratum idioms.

Tentative Phonetic Reconstructions

Reichenkron (1966), Russu (1967, 1981) and what we may label the Bulgarian School of Thracian Studies (especially Georgiev 1960, 1964 and Duridanov 1960, 1969), the results of which were also used in Poghirc (1969), represent three, mutually irreconcilable, methods of phonetic reconstruction. Nevertheless they do not have the same convincing force. We plainly assert that the attempts of our Bulgarian colleagues have been the most coherent and, even if debatable in some details, may be the best starting point for further discussions. In Romania, both Poghirc and Brâncuș (1983, 1991) adopted the general conclusions advanced by the Bulgarian colleagues. The following lines will show the common points we share and divergences, where we clearly separate. As shown below, our Bulgarian colleagues have repeatedly disconsidered the major Pre-Indo-European influence in Southeast Europe and Asia Minor (in Hittite, Greek, Thracian and Illyrian); hence, a series of repeated and repetitive errors, amplified by some other errors in detailed analyses, among these the ignored reality that Thracian had a velar spirant (currently labelled ‘laryngeal’), still surviving in Proto-Romanian, and the traces of which may be identified. The huge number of forms labelled ‘et. nec.’ in DEX, and other reference books, clearly shows that the approach should be finally based on analysing the Pre-Indo-European component of Thracian too; and to balance it with the Indo-European component.

Vocalism

Reconstructing a plausible Thracian vocalism means (1) an analysis of the Thracian names preserved in the Greek and Latin writers, and (2) an analysis of all possible modern forms preserved in Romanian, Albanian and Bulgarian. By continuously comparing the two main sources of information, we may get to a point of plausibility and even certainty, in many cases. This has been the method adopted by all the linguists who approached the topic. We cannot make any exception indeed, just to add new – hopefully convincing – connections and interpretations. We would just note that

Dimitrov (1994) recently proposed a reconstruction of ‘Palaeo-Balkanic vocalism’ (*Paleobalkanskijat vokalizăm*), bringing a fresh trend in Bulgarian linguistics against the older tentatives of Georgiev (1960, 1964). The following lines will discuss the main issues of Thracian phonetic reconstruction.

It is highly probable that Thracian had a neutre vowel as proved by Romanian *ă*²⁶, Albanian *ë* and Bulgarian *ѐ*, as suggested many years ago by Poghirc (1960 in SCL, pp. 279 ff.). He noted that in some Greek authors *ε* and *η* alternate, and concluded that the writer was compelled to note a phoneme absent in Greek. He further argued his hypothesis in Poghirc 1969: 320. It may be surmised that the existence of this neutre vowel in the three modern languages cannot be the result of mere hazard. There are no arguments, which may support the idea that Thracian had two such neutre vowels, like the opposition *ă* – *î* in Romanian, even though such a possibility cannot be excluded. The oldest Romanian text would rather suggest that both *ă* and *î/â* derived from one initial neutre vowel. It is true that Portuguese unstressed *e* notes the same vowel as Romanian *î/â*, but this cannot be an argument that both languages developed this phoneme in identical situations. On the other hand, we may assume that some Thracian dialects had both *ə* and *i*, a tendency which later gradually generalised in Romanian. This is a mere assumption, based on the comparative analysis in the lexicon.

Thracian *ă* and *ā* (short v. long) had an interesting evolution. Several examples show that *ā* changed first to *ô*, then to *u* (in some dialects also *o*) in the North Thracian (Daco-Moesian) areal only, as proved by the parallel evolution NFl *Mārisia* > *Mureş*, but *Marica* in Bulgaria, and NFl *Dānubius/Dānuvius* > *Dunăre* (with a specific suffix in Romanian). In both cases, Thr. *ā* > Rom. *u*. This phonetic phenomenon does not seem to be

²⁶ Romanian *ă* represents a closed neutre vowel, noted *ə* in phonetic transcriptions. In most cases, it reflects an unstressed Latin *a*, in some other cases it interferes with the other neutral vowel *â*, *î*, which also reflects Latin *a*, but also all the other Latin vowels in unstressed position and/or in closed or nasal position (e.g. *vînt*, *întînă* etc.)

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identifiable in the south Danubian region (mainly in Bulgarian), but seems to have also occurred in Albanian, another proof that modern Albanian must reflect a more northern, Thracian influence (similarly in Georgiev 1960; other such examples in Lexicon A). In some Romanian dialects, the evolution Thr. $\bar{a} > \hat{o}$ resulted in *o*, which parallels the evolution to *u*, as proved by the parallel *mumă* but NM *Codru Moma*, in which *Moma* is the parallel of *mumă* ‘mother’.

In other quite clear cases, Thr. *deva*, *dava*, *dova* ‘fortress’ (one of the typical terms for this semantic sphere) > Rom. NL *Deva*; in *Moldova*, there seems to be a compound **mol-dova*, the second part of which is the Thracian term. Vowel *o* may reflect a local or regional, dialectal reality, and not the proof that Thr. *a* > Rom. *o*, as this is an isolated example. And the first part of the compound, *mol-* seems to parallel the more frequent form *mal*. If our analysis is correct, in Eastern Thracian *a* > *o*. There is no clear proof that this was a general tendency of all East Thracian dialects.

It is indeed difficult to reconstruct other details of Thracian vocalism. We may just surmise that the alternating *a/ă* and *o/u* in stressed/unstressed position reflect a substratum influence in Romanian. Also, the alternating *o/oa*²⁷ and *e/ea* in various, including anticipating, positions (e.g. *oa* in prefinal syllable of feminine nouns). And also, the alternating *e/i*, which may also reflect a later evolution in colloquial Latin, not necessarily in Thracian.

Consonantism

The same difficulties referring to a plausible reconstruction of Thracian and Proto-Romanian vocalism are when attempting to reconstruct Thracian consonantism. The main, essential difficulty consists in the impossibility for the ancient Greek and Latin writers to note the specific Thracian phonemes, e.g. *č*, *ğ*, *š*, *ž*, possibly also *ts* (Rom. *ț*), *dz*. Additionally, as we now firmly believe, Thracian also had a velar spirant (currently labelled ‘laryngeal’),

²⁷ Dialectally, diphtong *oa* notes an open vowel (\bar{o} or \bar{o}), while *ea* either a specific semi-vowel *e* (\bar{e}) or semi-vowel *y* (\bar{i}). It is indeed hard to believe that some of these tendencies, at least, do not reflect the indigenous influence.

noted *X in the main lexicon, which survived in Proto-Romanian too. It seems now clear that Proto-Romanian inherited these phonemes from the substratum language. It is true that other Romance languages also witness these or some of these sounds, but in each case the historical analysis is called to determine the historical background in which they developed as the situations were not identical (cf. Poghirc 1969: 320 sq.). We shall try to only point out some relevant data.

- Romanian *h* led to long debates regarding its origin. Starting from ancient place-name *Carsium* > *Hârşova* (with Slavic suffix, Poghirc, *loc. cit.*) assumed that the evolution *c(k)* > *h* witnesses a specific phoneme in Late Thracian, therefore firmly rejecting the hypothesis that Rom. *h* is a Slavic borrowing. This is indeed true, as languages do not borrow phonemes, but words, and if a specific sound is absent in a given language, it is replaced by its proximate equivalent. It may be further surmised that Proto-Romanian indeed had phoneme *h*, as proved by some common Romanian and Albanian elements with *h*, which cannot be explained as borrowings: Rom. *hămesit* – Alb. *hamës*, Rom. *hututui* – Alb. *hutoj*, Rom. *lehăi* – Alb. *leh*. We would even add the parallel Rom. *hotar* – Alb. *hatër* ‘limit, margin, frontier’.²⁸ If so, and tens examples prove this, the ancient form of *Hârşova*, spelled *Carsium* in Latin, must have been **Xars-*, in which *X* notes the velar spirant.

If our analysis is correct, Thracian had a velar spirant (or ‘laryngeal’), the evolution of which was zero, *f*, *v* and *h* in Romanian, and *f*, *v*, *h* and possibly *th* in Albanian. In some verbal derivatives, Romanian also has *ş* alternating with the more frequent *f/v/h* < Thr. **X*. This hypothesis was suggested by Hamp in 1973, unfortunately it remained isolated. We simply believe that Eric P. Hamp was right. Proto-Romanian indeed inherited a velar spirant from the substratum Thracian language, and later lost it by changing its original sound into *f*, *v* and *h*. In some circumstances, it was probably lost. If this be accepted, the whole history of the Romanian language should be

²⁸ In Albanian, there are in fact two words which merged into one form: (1) ‘limit, margin’ (Rom. *hotar*) and (2) ‘pleasure’ (Rom. *hatâr*), the latter one being a Turkish borrowing. Romanian discriminates the two forms.

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re-written, as this has radical and essential consequences in understanding Proto-Romanian phonetic inventory.

• **Intervocalic *b*, *v* and *l*** in the Latin elements, on the one hand, and in the Thracian elements, on the other hand, also led to hot debates. We showed that the tendency of intervocalic weaker and weaker *b/v* was gradually manifest in colloquial Latin, and ONLY in colloquial Latin. It was an error to automatically extend this tendency to the indigenous Thracian elements. There is NO argument at all which may prove the contrary, despite the frequent (but erroneous) theory that the phonetic evolution of both Latin and indigenous must have been identical in Proto-Romanian. The facts do not support this view. Many indigenous elements have been ignored or automatically included in the large category ‘unknown origin’ (a very frequent label in DEX) on the grounds that these forms still preserve intervocalic *b*, *v* and *l*. There are obvious examples, some long included in the usual list of indigenous elements, which prove that – in the case of the Thracian elements of Romanian – **the preservation of intervocalic *b*, *v* and *l* is regular, not exceptional**. The same about the sequence *-br-*: Rom. *abur* - v. Alb. *avull*, NFI Rom. *Ibru*, NFI Bulg. *Ibăr*, S.-Cr.²⁹ *Ibar*. Other examples in Lexicon A further argument this situation. To add that intervocalic *b/v* is preserved in numerous examples currently unexplained, e.g. *a şovăi* (indigenous in Reichenkron 1966). The indigenous character of *căciulă* (Alb. *kësulë*) is known for long, and also clear the indigenous character of *bală* and *balaur*.

• Indo-European sequence *sr-* followed by a vowel changes into *str-*. This is a specific evolution in Thracian, e.g. IE **sreu-* ‘to flow; river’ > NFI Thr. *Strymon* > Bulg. *Struma*; and the same evolution in NFI Rom. *Strei* and *Stremţ*. The consequence in linguistic analysis is that Romanian sequence *str* may reflect either this sequence in Indo-European or the evolution IE **sr* > Thr. *str*.

²⁹ We preserve the traditional abbreviation ‘S.-Cr.’ for Serbian-Croatian, formerly Serbo-Croatian.

- The vowels *e* and *i* palatalise the preceding consonant in certain circumstances, e.g. if not aspirated (see below). This is a typical phenomenon in the satem languages, therefore in Thracian as well. The major difficulty again consists in the impossibility to correctly reconstruct the original form, if only based on the ancient spellings, approximate as they were. Therefore, a comparison with the situation in Romanian and Albanian is imperious. It seems that IE **k^w-e/i-* > Thr. *č*, e.g. IE **k^wo-* > Thr. *čot-*, probably in ND *Kottys*³⁰, with a real pronunciation **čot-is*, *čot-iš*, cf. Rom. *ciot*, *ciut*, *ciută*, *ciung*.

- Thracian probably preserved a series of aspirated consonants, which did not palatalise before *e/i*, cf. NL, NM, ND *German* (but also S.-Cr. *Đerman*, a secondary patalaliation), NP Rom. *Gherman*. See also *grui*, *gurgui* etc.

- It is not certain whether Thracian had apical consonants like Albanian *th* (*θ*) and *dh* (*δ*). Albanian might have developed them in the course of historical evolution, or they may have been present in some Thracian dialects only. Even if Romanian does not witness such phonemes, this is not a decisive argument that they were also absent in Thracian and/or Illyrian, or – at least – in some dialects. In some cases at least, Albanian *th* and *dh* may also reflect an initial velar spirant (laryngeal). We assume, with arguments, that when Rom. *f* corresponds to Alb. *th* (as in *fărîmă* – *thërimë*), Rom. *f* and Alb. *th* reflect the evolution of an initial velar spirant (laryngeal). If this theory may prove correct, then Alb. *th* and *dh* may be later developments of earlier phonemes. In certain circumstances, they continue the original velar spirant **X*.

³⁰ Goddess *Cotys*, *Cottys*, *Kottys* is typical for the Thracian beliefs. Ancient spelling reflects a most probable pronunciation **čot-* (see Lexicon E).

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Indo-European Sonants *l r m n*

The evolution of Indo-European sonants is a chapter apart in the historical evolution of Thracian. The probable situation, based on several clear cases, is summarised below:

PIE	Thracian	Slavic	Lithuanian	Latin	Greek
<i>r</i>	<i>ur</i>	<i>ir, ur</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>or</i>	<i>αρ, ρα</i>
<i>l</i>	<i>ul</i>	<i>il, ul</i>	<i>il</i>	<i>ol, ul</i>	<i>αλ, λα</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>um</i>	<i>ę</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>em</i>	<i>α</i>
<i>n</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>ę</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>α</i>

We may note the symmetrical evolution. Thracian had similarities with Lithuanian, on the one hand, but also with Germanic, being therefore a typical situation in the vast Indo-European area. Our reconstruction is based on plausible or probable data, e.g. IE *bhr̥-*, zero grade of **bher-* ‘to bear, to carry’ > Rom. *burtă* ‘belly; stomach’, cf. German *Ge-burt* ‘birth’ etc. North Thracian dialects underwent a process of de-nasalising *m* > *u*, as in *sută*.

We could not identify a clear example for IE **n*, but – if comparative analysis is correct – it must have had the same evolution as IE *m*.

A General Tableau

Thracian must have had a phonetic inventory specific to a satem idiom. Even if some detailed evolutions are not clear, our reconstruction may be labelled as probable or, at least, possible. The table below shows a probable situation in ‘Classical’ and Late Thracian:

<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>ǵ</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>dz</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>ts(t)</i> (<i>h</i> ³¹)

velar spirant *X > Rom. *f*, *v*, *h*, *ș*³²; Alb. *f*, *v*, *h* and *th*.

NOTE 1. Phonemes *gh* and *kh* do not palatalise before *e/i*. See above discussions regarding the Thracian and possibly Proto-Romanian laryngeal.

NOTE 2. Understanding the evolution of velar spirant (laryngeal) *X in the indigenous elements of Romanian (and Albanian, of course) is crucial in understanding one of the most interesting peculiarities of the substratum language of Romanian. Generally, the laryngeal theory had and has its adepts and enemies, so a large acceptance seems at least naïve. Nevertheless, the arguments presented and discussed in the main lexicon will hopefully incite for a larger debate. See the discussions under *burduf* – *a burduși* (v. *burtă*), *ceafă*, *fărîmă*, *pufăi/puhăi*, *vatră*, *vătaf* etc. In all these cases, *f*, *h* and *v* are contextual realisations of the original velar spirant *X.

Thracian had therefore a phonetic inventory close to Baltic, with Lithuanian closest, but also to Slavic. This cannot be surprising as Baltic, Slavic and Thracian belong to the same satem branch of the Indo-European family. Hence sometimes the difficulty in identifying a firm answer to the

³¹ It is not certain whether ‘Classical’ Thracian had phoneme *h*, but it is certain that it later developed from an original velar spirant, concurrently with *f*, *v* and *ș*.

³² Rom. *f* and *ș* alternate, which is a specific phonetic phenomenon when an original velar spirant (laryngeal) was present, e.g. *burduf* – *a burduși*; *vătaf* – *a vătăși* etc. Otherwise, *h* and *f* may alternate, as in *ceafă* – *Ceahlău*, *a pufăi* – *a puhăi* (for which see Finnish *puhua* ‘to speak’) etc.

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question whether a given example is indigenous Thracian in Romanian or a Slavic borrowing, e.g. *baltă* – Sl. *blato*, *gard* – Sl. *gradъ* etc. We should note also, as stated elsewhere with further arguments, that a certain northern Thracian influence may be identified in Proto-Slavic (or Pre-Expansion Slavic, PES), and also noting that Slavic got its contours after the 4th century A.D.³³

³³ PES = Pre-Expansion Slavic is a term we used in *Slavistična Revija* a long time ago, and – we believe – it reflects a linguistic and historical reality in the 4th–5th centuries A.D., when we may really speak of Proto-Slavic or, in our terminology, Pre-Expansion Slavic, or PES.

Slavic Phonetic Inventory

We cannot insist on the complex problem of Slavic ethnogenesis, not even on the vast problems connected to Proto-Slavic. For our purpose only, it is relevant to point out that, within the 5th and 7th centuries A.D., East Romance-Proto-Romanian, Late Thracian (the last remnants of Thracian speakers) and Slavic interfered for some time; and there was at least a century-long cohabitation of Slavic and Dalmatian along the Adriatic coast. It is yet relevant to pinpoint some basic elements of the first reconstructable Proto-Romanian, Late Thracian and Slavic³⁴ contacts.

Vocalism

The main features of Slavic vocalism are the following (see mainly Olteanu et al. 1975: 38 ff.):

- Vowels *o* and *u* have a round, labialised pronunciation.
- Vowel *ě* is a diphtong (*ea* or *ja*).
- There were two nasal vowels, *ę* and *ǫ*.
- There was no opposition between long and short vowels, as in Greek, Latin and, we think, Thracian.
- Pre-yotation was early known, i.e. a weakening of both anterior and posterior vowels, which leads to false diphtongs: *ja*, *je*, *ju*, *jeⁿ*, *joⁿ*. Vowels *y* (*yl*) and *ɤ* do not weaken, they are always strong.

Neutral vowels, though different in pronunciation, were specific to both Slavic and Thracian. Otherwise the vocalic systems of the two linguistic groups were different, though of course within the specific limits of any

³⁴ For a certain period, perhaps the best term would be Pre-Expansion Slavic (PES) we once analysed and argued. This may be dated, with fair accuracy, from the 5th to the 6th century A.D.

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satem language. Bonfante (1966, in the Romanian version 2001: 175–195) assumes that the phonetic system of Proto-Romanian decisively influenced the Slavic phonetic inventory, and re-modelled it to the forms known from earliest written documents. The data presented in this volume offer further arguments, which support Bonfante's hypothesis³⁵.

Consonantism

Early Slavic consonant system had again some common points with Thracian and Proto-Romanian. Thus, the usual voiced/voiceless pairs *b/p*, *d/t*, *g/k*, *v/f*, *z/s*, were complemented by the palatal fricative and aspirated consonants *ž/š*, *dz/c* and *č* as well as dental compounds *žd/št*. Nasals and liquids *m/n* and *l/r* do not have specific features.

Interferences between Proto-Romanian, Thracian and Slavic

It is worth noting that, by the mutual influence of the Romance and indigenous elements, preponderantly of Thracian character as long as the Illyrians were completely Romanised as early as the 2nd century A.D., Proto-Romanian got its originality in the 5th century, a conventional limit between the Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages. Linguistically, the 5th century may be the reference point from which we may speak of Proto-Romanian, which gradually developed by natural evolution of colloquial Latin and indigenous Thracian. Initially, there was no Slavic influence. **Some linguists formerly believed that earliest Slavic elements in Romanian may be dated in the 6th or 7th century A.D. There is no argument which may support the idea that Slavic influence in Romanian may be dated earlier than the 11th century A.D., more**

³⁵ Giuliano Bonfante's views on Proto-Romanian, as stated in *Studi Romeni*, are further argued here. On the other hand, we delimit from Bonfante's theory regarding the 'mythic sounds' (i.e. laryngeal) in the Indo-European languages. We firmly believe that a velar spirant (currently labelled laryngeal) was still a vivid phoneme in Late Thracian and, very probably, in Proto-Romanian.

probable 12th century. Gh. Mihăilă has lately advocated that earliest Slavic influence in Romanian began in the 12th century. In change, as Giuliano Bonfante convincingly argued, Proto-Romanian must have had an important role in contouring the Proto-Slavic phonetic inventory. In clearer terms, we also believe that, on the one hand, the theories of a massive Slavic influence upon Romanian were largely exaggerated, and – on the other hand – we also believe that East Romance, based on colloquial Latin and an important Thracian influence, had an important role in contouring Proto-Slavic. This may radically change the views regarding the Slavic ethnogenesis. As far as linguists, historians and archaeologists are prepared for reconsidering the social, political and linguistic tableau of those years, then we may have a clearer view of the realities of those times.

In the following examples, the abbreviation Rom. refers to the Proto-Romanian phase.

Treatment of Proto-Romanian Vowels³⁶

- Rom. *a* and *ă* have a different treatment. Slavic languages generally preserve *a* not changed to *o*, and *ă* is reflected as *a*: NFI *Aborna* < **Abarna* or **Aborna*; Thr. NFI *Mārisia* > Bulg. *Marica*, but, from a similar etymon, Rom. *Mureș*, with a specific North Thracian (Daco-Moesian) evolution *ā* > *u*, which must have ended in the 5th–6th century. Numerous examples show that Rom. *a* (and generally Pre-Slavic *a*) is not automatically changed to *o*, as often generalised without arguments. Also *ban*, which we consider an indigenous element, does not alter *a* to *o*. The word is specific mainly to South Romanian and South Slavic, which may be a hint it had been the specific organisational term of the Thracian groups along the Danube. Rom. *Crăciun* > *Kračun*, therefore *ă* > *a* (unstressed). The evolution *ă* (unstressed) > *o* is met in some other cases, notably *stăpân* > *stopan*, but *â*

³⁶ Of course, if we accept the idea that Thracian still was a vivid idiom in the 5th–6th centuries A.D., then the title of this chapter should be *Treatment of Proto-Romanian and Late Thracian Vowels*. For further examples, see the *Addenda*, Lexica A, B and D.

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(< *ǣ*) in stressed position is reflected as *a* in Slavic. The treatment of Thracian and/or Proto-Romanian *a/ǣ* in the Slavic borrowings must reflect chronologically discriminated periods of borrowing and, perhaps, dialectal evolutions difficult to reconstruct now.

In other cases, Rom. *a* > *o*: NL *Augusta* > *Ogosta*; *Asamus* > *Osăm* (both in South Slavic). It is not clear why only some forms follow this evolution. These may be dialectal or local evolutions and/or chronologically discriminated borrowings. Any attempt for clearer conclusions is not possible in our view. Future research is called to clarify such details. Anyway, Thr. *Alutus* > Rom. *Olt* is a special case in Romania, and the only which would suggest a Slavic phonetic influence. The difficulty is important only if we are certain that Thracian indeed had *a*, not a specific phoneme impossible to note in the Greek and Latin authors. If a phoneme like *ə*, the difficulty consists in re-drawing possible evolutions of phonemes we can only reconstruct.

- Vowel *e* is generally preserved, disregarding the accent, cf. *Nera*, *Nesebăr*, *Senj* etc. In *Peperuda* < Rom. *Păpărudă*, unstressed *e* is preserved in Bulgarian, while Romanian has a normal *ă* in unstressed position.

- South Slavic *i* may reflect either an etymological *i*, as in *Drinjača*, or an original *e*, as in *Naissus* (in post-classical times pronounced as **Neš-us*), *Ibăr* < ancient *Hebrus* etc.

- Vowel *o* is preserved, e.g. NL *Orga*, *Soča* < *Isontius* (in this latter case, post-classical pronunciation was probably **Isonč*). We could not identify situations of evolution to *u*, but such an identification is indeed difficult as we do not know post-classical pronunciation.

- Vowel *u* had a different treatment. It was either preserved, as in NL *Lug*, but there are at least two clear situations of evolution *u* > Sl. *ʋ*, cf. colloquial Latin **kumátra* (classical *commatrem*) > Rom. *cumătră* > Sl. *kŭmotra* and Rom. *sută* > sl. *sŭto*. In place-names, initial *u* is sometimes voiced to *v*, as in *Urbanus*, *Urpanus* > *Vrba*, but in this case, or other similar cases, folk etymology had its role: *vrba* ‘willow’. NL *Urbanus*, *Urpanus* is related to the Romanian forms with root *or-*, *ur-*, *oar-*.

Treatment of Proto-Romanian Consonants³⁷

Proto-Romanian consonants reflected in South Slavic (or generally Slavic) borrowings do not raise difficult problems, at least if we hope to have solved the long debated issue of intervocalic *b/v* and *l* in the Latin elements v. the indigenous (Thracian) elements. Some convincing examples show that these were generally preserved in the oldest borrowings.

Examples which confirm this assertion: *ban*, in our view an old term in the sphere of social organisation (together with Rom. *stăpân* > Sl. *stopanъ* and Rom. *giupân/jupân* > Sl. *župan*) was borrowed as *ban*. Other examples: *baci* (*bač*) > *bač*, *bača*, *bačo* (also attested as place-name); *colibă* > *koliba* (with intervocalic *b* and *l*, a detail which seemingly impeded its being accepted as an old term in Romanian³⁸); *bordei* > *bordei*, *bordel*, *bordelj*; *Albona* > *Labin*, with metathesis *alb* > *lab* etc.

- *C* (*k*) and *g* was preserved as such or palatalised in some circumstances. Colloquial Latin and Proto-Romanian **kumatra* > *kъmotra*; *colibă* > *koliba*; Coll. Lat. **calende* (*calendae*) > *kolęda*, with evolution *a* > *o* and nasal *eⁿ* reflected by *ę* in Slavic; *Crăciun* > *Kračun*; *Cebrus* > *Cibăr*, with palatalisation *c(k)* > *c(ts)*, but *Kebros* > *Kerbovo*, without palatalisation; *Cataracta* > *Čadra*; *Clissa* > *Klis*; Thr. and Coll. Lat. **German* (place-name, mountain name and personal name, cf. Rom. *Gherman*) > Bulg. *German*, but S.-Cr. *Đerman*, with a secondary late palatalisation; NFI *Struga* < NFI Thr. **Struga* (cf. *Struma*, *Strei*, *Stremț*, all witnessing the specific Thracian evolution from IE **sreu-* to Thr. **str-*). Initial, archaic *C* (*k*) palatalise as in *Celeia* > *Celje*; *civitatem* > *Cavtat* (Croatian), *Čedad* (Slovene); *Crexa*, *Crexi* > *Cres*.

³⁷ See other examples in the Addenda, mainly Lexica A and B.

³⁸ Rom. *colibă* or Slavic *koliba* obviously derive from the same etymon. The closest source is Greek or we may assume a Thracian origin in both Greek, Romanian and Slavic. A definite answer may be given only after a careful analysis of possibly similar situations.

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- Consonants *d* and *t* behave similarly, i.e. are preserved or are palatalised in some circumstances, as in *k̄motra*, *vatah/vatak*, *vatra*, *bordej/bordelj*, *Dodola*, *Peperuda*, *Tăža/Tundža* (with a probable original phoneme *ž* in Thracian), *Timok*, *Timava*, *Trojan* etc. In NFI *Soča*, phoneme *č* may be original or a result of a palatalisation. Ancient spelling *Isontius* is not relevant, as phoneme *č*, as other specific Thracian and /or Illyrian phonemes, could not be accurately noted. Also in *Brač* < *Brattia* phoneme *č* seems to reflect an original sound. A secondary palatalisation is in *Škocjan* < **Sant* (< *sanctus*) *Cantianus*; sequence *t + i/j* > *c(ts)*. In *Matereia* > *Modrejce*, the group *-ter-* closed to *-tr-*, then was voiced to *-dr-*. An interesting case is *Dalmatia* > *Dlamoc* > *Glamoč*, with evolution *t + i* > *c(ts)/č*.

- The evolution of *f* and *v* puts some interesting problems, with the essential note that, in some cases, they may also reflect the contextual realisation of the former velar spirant (or laryngeal). Consequently, *v* may reflect (1) the voiced initial IE phoneme *w*, (2) voiced Latin *u* (*w*), and (3) contextual realisation of Thracian velar spirant **X* as in *vatră*, *vătaf* etc. Consequently colloquial Latin *v* is preserved in NL *Cavtat* (Croatian), but Slovene *Čedad* < Lat. *civitate(m)* (Rom. *cetate* etc.). In NFI *Dunav*, final *v* is NOT etymological, but an adaptation to a current flectional category in Slavic. Phoneme *f* is preserved NL *Fruška (Gora)* < *Franca (villa)*, cf. Rom. *frânc* ‘a person belonging to a West Romance group’ (now obsolete, current as personal name only). In the Dalmatian area, *f* > *p*, e.g. NL *Plomin* < *Flanoniae*. Latin *p* may be voiced to *v* in some circumstances, e.g. NL *Levrera* (Lošinj island in the Kvarnerian group) < *Leporaria*, with a probable phonetic evolution **Leprera* > *Lebrera/Levrera*.

- Consonants *s*, *z*, *š* și *ž* require a specific note. It is certain that both *š* and *ž* did exist in East Romance, mainly as a substratum influence. The major, essential difficulty consists in the impossibility to have been noted by Greek and Latin spelling. Consequently the only possibility to reconstruct a plausible phonetic tableau is a comparative method based on a larger Indo-European context and the possible relics in Romanian, Albanian and South Slavic mainly. Thus it is highly probable that *ž* in *županъ* is the evolution of Proto-Romanian *ǵ* > *ž* (spelled *j* in Romanian). With this in mind, there are entirely expected evolutions, e.g. NL *Clissa* > *Klis*, *Asamus* > *Osăm*. In NL *Ključica*, *ž* probably reflects a voiced *š* as the etymon is colloquial Latin *clusus* < *claudo*, *claudere* ‘to shut, to close’. In NFI *Lašta*,

phoneme *š* is presumably original and preserved as such from the substratum language.

It should be remembered that some phonetic evolutions in the substratum elements are divergent in Romanian v. South Slavic, which – in its turn – had a complex co-habitation of several substratum groups, mainly Thracian and Illyrian, but also ancient Macedonian, to a less extent Celtic. We have of course concentrated on the Thracian substratum elements, but a minimally coherent view of the complex topic circumscribed by formulas like ‘indigenous/substratum heritage’ cannot ignore a larger comparative view, as we have tried to briefly suggest here.

Then, we should always remember that, by mid-sixth century A.D., there was a newer, and again complex linguistic and social reality, in which East Romance cohabitated with last Thracian groups, and also with the first Slavic groups. This means, beyond any doubt, influences and interferences, folk etymology and all the main or secondary aspects of social life and communication. For sure, the indigenous elements were integrated in East Romance over a long period of time, anyway considerably longer than the interval 106–272 A.D. when the official Roman administration withdrew from Dacia. An interdisciplinary research is imperious in such complex situations.

Addenda

The Addenda

The addenda refer to relevant data to the main dictionary, and reflect various previous studies, revised and updated:

Lexicon A (quoted as such in the main dictionary) reflecting the main Pre-Slavic place-names in ‘continental South Slavic’, i.e. Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia, Bosnia, Macedonia and Slovenia, of Thracian and Illyrian origin. They are often similar or even identical to the Romanian forms of Thracian origin: Rom. *Streii*, *Stremț* may be compared to Bulg. *Struma* and Thr. *Strymon*; and many such examples. Most of them are indeed of Thracian or Illyrian origin, some of them are of Latin or Proto-Romanian origin and, all in all, are relevant to the global data in the main dictionary. The initial version of this lexicon represented a chapter in our doctoral thesis *Influențe romane și preromane în limbile slave de sud* (1996), revised and updated several times ever since.

Lexicon B (quoted as such in the main dictionary) refers to the archaic place-names in the Adriatic Islands. By their archaic character, these complement the data in both ‘continental South Slavic’ and Romania. It was also included as a chapter in our thesis above mentioned.

Lexicon C is a minimal list of some archaic personal names, of Thracian or Illyrian origin, as identifiable in Romanian, Bulgarian and Serbian.

Lexicon D refers to the archaic place-names in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. It also complements the data in both the main dictionary and *Lexica A* and *B*. Its first version was presented at the *Etymologické Symposium* in Brno, Czech Republic, September 2002.

Lexicon E is a glossary of Thracian and Phrygian god-names, and complements and data in the main dictionary, and is indeed relevant to those items referring to mythology and religion. As hopefully clearly presented, some Romanian forms derive from their archaic, Thracian source. Its initial version was prepared for the *Orpheus*, Sofia.

I also added a brief list of the Pre-Indo-European and so-called Proto-Boreal roots referred to in both the main dictionary and *Lexica A*, *B*, *C* and *D*, and also in the glossary of Thracian and Phrygian god-names. As analysed and stated elsewhere, ‘Proto-Boreal’ is a linguistic term coined by Nikolaj Dmitrievič Andrejev, who aimed at identifying an archaic common

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heritage of Proto-Indo-European, Proto-Uralic and Proto-Altaic, represented by 203 basic roots. This is a mezolithic linguistic stage of the cultures developed between the North Pontic Steppes and the Baltic, and a common heritage of the Indo-European, Uralic and Altaic languages. Pre-Indo-European is a long-used term referring to the languages once spoken in South-East, Central and West Europe prior to the arrival of the Indo-Europeans.

These glossaries are of course abridged and selected according to their being relevant to the data presented in the main dictionary, and also in the Lexica A, B, C and D.

For the numerous references to the Romanian forms see the main lexicon above.

Lexicon A. Pre-Slavic Place-Names in the Balkanic Peninsula

Aborna, a tributary of river Nadiža, Slovenia. Certainly Pre-Slavic (Illyrian), from **Abarna* (cf. Ill. *Abar-nos*) or **Aborna*, *Alburna*, *Albruna*, cf. ancient *Albarna* > *Aubarne* (France). The root **ab-*, **alb-* is presumably Preie. (Bezljaj). It must be **AL-*, **AR-* as in Lat. *altus*.

Abrnca, tributary of river Reka, Slovenia. Explained from **Apnarica* < Pre-Slavic (Ill.) *apno* < IE **ap-* ‘water’.

Abtat, NL Bulgaria. Ancient *Abrutus* (cf. *Abrud* in Romania). The phonetic evolution is not clear; perhaps we must start from a local pronunciation, not from the official one recorded in documents.

Ada, NFl, tributary of Tisa at the Hungarian-Serbian border. An attempt has been made to explain the form from S.-Cr. *ada* < Tk. *ada* ‘an island’. Nevertheless there are other similar forms for which this origin is unacceptable, e.g. *Adda* (Lombardia) < Lat. *Adua* (cf. Av. *adu* ‘a river

or brook’); *Adour* (southern France) < Lat. *Aturus*, the latter of presumably Celtic origin, etc. The hypothesis of a Turkish influence cannot be accepted.

Ajtos, NL, the field neighbouring the gulf of Burgas, today in Bulgaria; < Lat. *Aetos*, reflecting an indigenous (Thracian) word, possibly of Preie. origin, maybe the same root as in *Ada*.

Algunja, NL; **Algunštica**, NFl, Macedonia. Pre-Slavic of Thracian origin, cf. Lat. *alga*, Lith. *alksna* ‘a marsh, a moor’, NFl Lith. *Alga*. The Thracian reconstructed form is **Alg-on* (Duridanov 1975: 131). We may also refer to Preie. **AL-*, **AR-*.

Arbeč, also **Rbeč**, tributary of river Nadiža, Slovenia. Pre-Slavic *Arba*, *Arva*, cf. It. *Erbezzo* < Lat. **herbidia* < *herba*. In the Slovene area, it may be an Illyrian river-name, initially borrowed by the Romanised population, or a Latin river-name. As the root *ar-* is present in other

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river-names as well, I rather incline to the hypothesis of an Illyrian river-name (similarly in Bezljaj). Cf. *Arda*, *Dunav(a)*, *Rab*.

Arčar, NL (Moesia Sup., today in Bulgaria), NFL < *Ad Ratiaria(m)* (from *ratis* ‘a raft’).

Arda, NFL, Bulgaria, tributary of Marica. Thracian, from an IE root akin to O.Ind. *árdati* ‘to flow’, Gr. *ardo* ‘to spill’ or Preie. root *AR- (analysed by Chantraine 1950: 56 sq.). See also Hristov (1964: 123). Cf. *Arad* in Romania.

Avšček, tributary of river Soča, Slovenia, region of Avče. Frl. *Ause*, *Ausa*, It. *Aussa*, ancient *Alsa*, name of a rivulet or brook in the delta of river Soča. Pre-Slavic, Illyrian, eventually Celtic.

Bač, **Bačka**, NR, Serbia < Rom. *baci* ‘the chief shephard’, of indigenous Thr.-Dac. origin, possibly also via Hung. *bács* ‘id.’, which is also borrowed from Romanian. There are several place-names **Bač**, **Bača** in Slovenia, also considered Pre-Slavic (Bezljaj 1961 and 1969). For Slovenia, the Romanian origin (from

baci) is difficult to admit. It is rather an indigenous Illyrian element, which leads to the conclusion that both Thracian and Illyrian had a similar word preserved in both Thracian and Illyrian area. Similarly, cf. NP Thr. *Batsinis*, f. (Dečev 1957: 46) and NP Ill. *Bato*, m., *Batina*, f. (Russu 1969: 175). Cf. next entry.

Bača, tributary of rivers Idrjica-Soča, Slovenia. Certainly Pre-Slavic (Bezljaj). There are other similar names in Slovenia: **Bačica**, a water-spring; **Bački Potok**, NFL, tributary of Mirna. Cf. previous entry and Rom. *baci*.

Bader, NL, Macedonia, near Skopje. Ancient *Bederiana*, reflecting a Thracian place-name (Duridanov 1975: 19; Franck 1932: 6). Cf. NP Thr.-Dac. *Bedarus*, *Baedarus*. Cf. *Badica* (infra) and Rom. *bade*.

Badica, NFL, Slovenia, tributary of river Rabojesca. Cf. Rom. *bade*, *bădiță*, a term to address a male person, in modern dialectal Romanian used by the beloved girl. Considered “unclear” by Bezljaj, probably Pre-Slavic. As the relation to Rom. *bade*

is obvious, it may be questioned whether it is a Proto-Romanian element in Slovene or whether a similar and related (“urverwandt”) word to Rom. *bade* existed in Illyrian too. Cf. *Bač*, *Bača*, supra.

Baniski Lom, NFl, Bulgaria, tributary of river Rusenski Lom. Basic meaning: ‘The Lom of Ban’; *ban* is an indigenous Thr.-Dac. element (Paliga 1987 b), and *Lom* is a “toponymical relic” (see below s.v. *Lom*). Cf. *Banja Luka*, infra.

Banj, NFl, tributary of Lahinja, Slovenia. River- and place-names having the root *ban-* are unclear, cf. NL *Bane* and its relation to *ban* ‘a local leader’ (archaic, presumably Thracian or Thraco-Illyrian word, as considered by Bezljaj). *Ban* was analysed elsewhere (Paliga 1987 b); the word must be of indigenous, Thracian origin. The Illyrian language might have had a similar word. Both the Romanian and south Slavic forms should be explained from either Thracian and/or Illyrian. See next entry.

Banja Luka, NL, Bosnia; ‘the plain of the ban’. *Luka* is Slavic; *ban* is Pre-Slavic, Thr.-Dac., via Romanian in S.-Cr.. See the discussion in Paliga 1987 b. See *Baniski Lom*, *Banj*.

Bar, NL, a harbour in Montenegro – Lat. *Barium*. Cf. NL *Bari* (Italy) – Lat. *Barium*, in both cases of Illyrian origin. Probably Preie. **B-R-*, **P-R-*, cf. *Bîrgău*, *Parîng* in Romania.

Barbačina, NFl, tributary of Vipava, Slovenia. Pre-Slavic, cf. ancient *Barbanna* > fr. *Barbanne*. In Slovene, an Illyrian origin may be surmised, probably a root **barb-* ‘mud, a marsh’ (Bezljaj) or the same root as in *Bar*, *Baredine*.

Baredine, NFl, tributary of upper Mirna, Slovenia. Pre-Slavic and Pre-Roman, Veneto-Illyrian **bar-radjo-*, of unclear meaning, probably akin to *Bar*, *Barbačina* (supra) and next entry.

Bargala, NL, Macedonia. See *Bregalnica*.

Barman, NFl, tributary of Režijanska Bela, Slovenia. Pre-Slavic, Illyrian **borm-* ‘a water-spring’ (Bezljaj). Suf-

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fix *-man* is specific to some Thracian and also Illyrian place-names, e.g. *German*; other examples in Romania.

Batava, NFl, tributary of upper Bača, at Podbrd, Slovenia. Pre-Slavic and Pre-Roman, cf. *Batavi*, *Batavia*, *Patavium* (today *Padua*).

Bate, NL, Slovenia, at the border with Italy. Pre-Slavic, Illyrian, cf. NPp *Venti* and alb. *vend*, *vënd* ‘a place, a locality’, NL Ill. *Avendona* (Bezljaj 1961: 151).

Batuje, NL, Slovenia, Ajdovščina. Ancient *Batavia*. (Bezljaj 1969: 25). Cf. NFl *Batava*, supra.

Bečej, NL in the region of *Bačka*, Serbia; akin to the latter, see under *Bač*, *Bačka*.

Bled, NL, Slovenia. Pre-Slavic **peld-*, **beld-*, Illyrian or Celtic, unclear meaning (Ramovš 1936: 26). Might continue Preie. **P-L*, **B-L*.

Bojana, NL, near Sofia – Lat. pop. **boiana acqua* (classical *boviana acqua*) ‘water for cattle’. The same etymon, directly or via Romanian, is acceptable for NL *Bojana*, in Vitoša, Bulgaria (BER 1, 71: “Pre-Slavic

colloquial Latin or Romanian”). On the other hand, NFl *Bojana*, originating in the lake of Skadar and flowing into the Adriatic, is named in Albanian *Bunë* (gheg dialect) < **Buanë*. Ancient form: *Livia Barbenna*. Starting from this form, Skok (1: 183) tries to explain the modern form via a series of phonetic changes: (1) dissimilation *r-n* > *-n*; (2) *-enna* > *-anna*; (3) fall of inter-vowel *b*, as in Romanian and Albanian; (4) *a* > *o*. Therefore the phonetic evolution would be: *Barbenna* > **Babanna* > **Baiana* > *Bojana*. Nevertheless the situation of these forms is even more complicated if we take into account the Bulgarian personal names *Bojan(a)*, considered as derived from root *boj-* ‘a battle, a war’ (BER 1: 71). River-, place- and personal names of the type *Bojan*, *Bojana* are attested all over the south Slavic area (e.g. NL Slv. *Bojanci*, *Bojanja vas*, *Bojanji vrh*), as well as Romania, NL *Boian* (districts of Cluj and Sibiu) and *Boianu Mare* (Bihor, absent in Iordan 1963), also *Boița* (Hunedoara, Sibiu), but also *Boura* (Suceava),

Boureni (Dolj, Iași). For Romanian, it is acceptable to explain the forms as derived from **bovus* (classical *bos*, *bovis*), respectively from *bobulus* > *bour*. It is difficult to state whether all the south Slavic forms *Bojan(a)* may be explained from **bovus* (*bos*, *bovis*). As shown above, for the river-name from the Croatian-Albanian border, Skok assumes a direct preservation of a Pre-Slavic Illyrian form. On the other hand, the forms of this type interfere, at the level of folk etymology, with the place-names derived from *bojъ* ‘a battle, a war’, attested all over the Slavic area (Šmilauer 1970: 40) and Romania, e.g. NL *Boina* (Caraș). Newer investigations seem to reject Maretić’s hypothesis (1886: II, 89), who assumes that NP S.-Cr. *Bojan* might be a hypocoristic of *Bogoslav*, *Borislav* etc. Every case should be therefore analysed separately, taking into account possible interferences. I assume that the river-name analysed by Skok also underwent an interference-adaptation at popular level. See also NL *Bujan*, in Tropoja, Albania. The case of

Barbačina (supra) does not support Skok either. For root *boi-* in Romanian names, see also Constantinescu 1963: 24 and 207, and Iordan 1963: 387, 440, 450. For the situation of *bovinus* (< *bos*) in colloquial Latin see REW 110/1247. Summing up, it may be surmised that the various forms having the root *boj-* in south Slavic languages reflect both an old Romance (Proto-Romanian) influence, and (possibly) also the adoption of a Pre-Slavic Illyrian root (the case analysed by Skok). The interference with the Slavic root *boj-* ‘a battle, a war’ is also possible. The case of Rom. *boier* ‘a rich person’ (later with social and political connotations) was analysed in Paliga 1990, reprinted in Paliga 1999.

Bojanci (Črnomelj), **Bojanja vas** (Metlika), **Bojanji vrh** (Grosuplje), NL, Slovenia. See *Bojana*.

Bol, NL near Split. Lat. *vallum*; same case in Lexicon B, III, 3.

Bosna, NFl, NR - Med. Lat. *Bosnia*, reflecting an indigenous (Illyrian or Thracian) element from IE **bhoǵ-* ‘a

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rivulet, a brook; flowing water', cf. Gm. *Bach* 'a marsh, a moor').

Bosut, NL, Pann. Inf. < (Ad) *Bas(s)ante* (see also Skok 1917: 133, n. 23).

Bošana NL near Biograd, Adriatic coast. Related to *Bošane* (Lexicon B, I, 5); Illyro-Romance, etymon unclear.

Bračana, NFI, tributary of Mirna in Istria, Slovenia. Certainly Pre-Slavic, either Pre-Roman (Illyrian) relic, or a Roman personal name. Cf. ancient *Brattia*, *Bratia* (Bezljaj) and NI *Brač*, in Lexicon B.

Bregalnica, NFI, tributary of Vardar. Ancient *Astibos*. The river-name is derived from NL *Bar-gala*, a locality on Bregalnica, indigenous Pre-Slavic of Thracian origin, IE **bhergh-* 'a peak, a hill', with a phonetic adaptation after Sl. *brěgъ* 'a hill, a mountain' (etymological substitution).

Bregana, NFI, tributary of Sava, Slovenia. Pre-Slavic, cf. *Brege*, NFI (Baden), Ill. *Berginium*, Celtic **briga* 'a hill, a mountain' (Bezljaj). Cf. *Bîrgău* in Romania. Both forms

might be Preie.

Brenta, a waterfall of river Volar-nica, Slovenia. Pre-Slavic, etymon unclear, cf. Slv. *brenta*, Cr. *brenta*, Istr.-Rom. *brente* 'Butte' (Bezljaj).

Brinjek, a water-spring and other 13 place-names of the type Brinje, Brine in Slovenia and Croatia. Pre-Slavic and Pre-Roman relic **brina* 'juniperus', Frl. *brene*, *brena* (Bezljaj).

Brioni, O. S.-Cr.. **Brijuni**, It. *Brioni* < Postcl. Lat. *Brivona*, of Illyrian origin, etymon unclear.

Briše, NL, Zagorje region, Slovenia; **Brišče**, NM, Slovenia. The mountain-name is attested in 888 A.D. in the Med. Lat. spelling *Broxias*. Pre-Slavic, probably Illyrian **Broskja* > **bryšče* > *Brišče*; there is no early document for the place-name, but the relationship with the mountain-name is obvious (Ramovš 1936: 36).

Budva, NL (Montenegro) < *Buthua*, *Buthoe*. The spelling must reflect an indigenous place-name. Cf. *Buda* (part of Budapest) and other similar

or identical forms in Central and Southeast Europe, e.g. NFl *Buda*, and several place-names *Buda* in Romania. Kiss 1980 assumes that *Buda* (in *Budapest*) reflects a Hungarian personal-name, but this a frequent cliché regarding many probably or possibly Pre-Hungarian place-names.

Burgás, NL, Bulgaria; Tk. *Burgaz*. Probably from Gr. *πυργός* ‘a tower’, related to NL *Burgos* (Spain). In both cases a Germanic influence may eventually be possible: **burgs* ‘a fortress’, Gm. *Burg* ‘township’. The Pre-Slavic origin is certain, but we should hesitate whether the Germanic origin is to be considered. Possibly they are related forms, preserved independently in the two linguistic areas.

Buzet, S.-Cr.. **Blzet**, NL, Croatia. Ancient *Piquentum* > Romance **pilgent-* > Sl. **bьlzetъ* > *Blzet*, *Buzet* (Ramovš 1936: 31).

Cavtat, Cr., **Čedad**, Slv. (It. *Ragusa Vecchia*; ancient *Epidaurum*), NL (Adriatic Coast) < *civitatem* (*Civitas Epidauriensis*)(Ramovš 1936: 34).

Cf. Rom. *cetate* (NL *Cetate*, *Cetate*, in some regions of Romania), alb. *qytet* ‘township’.

Celje, NL, Slovenia. Lat. *Celeia*, Med. Lat. *Cilia*. Cf. *Kilia*, NL, Bulgaria and *Chilia*, a branch of the Danube Delta.

Cerej, NFl, tributary of river Koren, Slovenia. Lat. *cerasus* ‘cherry-tree’.

Cètinje, NL, Montenegro. Considered derived from a river-name **Cetina*, related to NFl *Cètina*, flowing into the Adriatic near Omiš. Pre-Latin, probably Illyrian, etymon unclear.

Cibār, NFl, NL: *Gorni Cibār*, *Dolni Cibār* on the river *Cibrica*, tributary of the Danube. Ancient *Cebzus*, Greek spelling *Κέβζος* (See also Papazoglu 1969: 60).

Čadra, NFl, tributary of Tolminka, Slovenia. Probably from Lat. *cataracta*, with the evolution Lat. *c* > Slv. *č* and *t* > *d*.

Čedad See *Cavtat*.

Cuculka, NFl, Vardar basin, Macedonia. NM *Cucula*, Veles region, Macedonia. Probably Pre-Slavic Thracian or borrowed from Arom.

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tuțulcă ‘a peak’ (Duridanov 1975: 109). The Romanian root *tuț-* may be of Pre-Indo-European origin transmitted to Romanian via Thracian. Cf. *Țuțora* in Romania.

Dalmacija, NR - Lat. *Dalmatia* (NR), NPP *Dalmatae*, *Delmatae*. Further discussions in Paliga 1988 a. A probable Preie. relic. The modern form is bookish. Cf. *Duvno* and *Glamoč*. Cf. *Deal(u)*, *Ardeal* in Romania.

Davča, *Davški potok*, NFL, tributary of Selška Sora. Probably related to NL *Avče* in Soška Dolina; initial *d-* may be explained as in other examples in Friulan, e.g. Frl. *Damar* < *Ad Amar*, *Delés* < *Ad Alesso*, *Deveà* < *Aveaco*, *Darte* < *Arte* etc. Further discussions s.v. *Avšček*, supra.

Djovlenska (D’evinska) reka, NFL, Bulgaria, tributary of *Văčă*, near Devin; the old name was *D’ovlen* (*Djovlen*). Pre-Slavic Thracian, non-attested in the antiquity, from IE **dhewina* ‘a spring, a water-source’, cf. Gm. *Tau*, Eng. *dew*.

Dramlje, **Dramlja**, NFL, Slovenia. See *Draniča*.

Draniča, NFL, tributary of Bregalnica, Macedonia. Pre-Slavic Thracian, cf. NFL ancient *Dramatica*, NR *Drama* (ancient Macedonia). Cf. NFL Pol. *Drama*, Oder basin, IE **drem-* ‘to go, to run; a road’, Gr. *dromos*. Cf. NFL Slv. *Dramlje*, *Dramlja* (Duridanov 1975: 169). Cf. *Drava*, *Dreta*, *Drina*.

Drava, NFL (S.-Cr., Slv.), tributary of the Danube. Ancient: Lat. *Dravos*, *Dravus*, Gr. *Δραβος*, Illyrian of Thracian origin, IE **drowos* ‘flowing water’. Cf. *Dreta*, *Drina* and ancient NL *Drobeta*, today Turnu Severin on the Danube in Romania.

Dreta, NFL, tributary of Savinja, Slovenia. Unclear, probably related to NFL Cr. *Dretulja*. Slovene forms in *-ija* (*Litija*, *Medija*) are Pre-Slavic. Cf. NFL Slk. *Drietoma*, *Drietomica*, Pre-Slavic too; suffix *-oma* is Pre-Slavic as well, cf. Celtic *-amo*, *-ama*. The place-names of this type are usually Pre-Slavic (Bezljaj).

Drina, NFL, at the border between Bosnia and Serbia; in the Antiquity it represented the border between the Thracians and Illyrians. Lat.

Drinus, Gr. *Drilōn* < Illyrian and/or Thracian. Another river *Drin*, art. *Drini* flows in Albania, but in opposite direction. This latter form was also spelled *Drinus* in the antiquity. Both forms are related to *Drava* < IE **drowos* ‘water, flowing water’. Probably related to *Drid* (Lexicon B, III, 1) and also *Drencova* and *Dridu* in Romania.

Drinjača, NL (at the confluence of the Drina and Zadar) < *Ad Drinum*. Cf. *Drina*.

Dunav (S.-Cr.), **Dunava** (B.), **Dunaj** (in the other Slavic languages; in Slovene the meaning is ‘Vienna’, whereas the bookish form *Donava* is used for the river-name); Rom. **Dunăre(a)**, see in Romania, Hu. **Duna**. The usual Latin spelling was *Danuvius*, *Danubius* (with *ā*); the Greeks used the spelling *Ἰστρος* Latin spelling presumably recorded a Celtic form. Romanian has preserved a compound **Dan-ar-*, whose second element *ar* is also attested in other European forms, e.g. NFI *Aar*, *Aare*, NL *Aarhus* (a port in Denmark), O. Dan. *aar* ‘a river’. In Romanian, the river-name is – be-

yond any reasonable doubt – of direct Thracian origin, as no neighbouring form preserves the compound. At the same time, these forms put an interesting problem of phonetic evolution: Thr. *ā* > Rom. *u*. Similarly see NFI Rom. *Mureș* against B. *Marica* (see discussion s.v. *Marica*). The evolution Thr. *ā* > Rom. *u* is specific to the indigenous (Thracian) forms only and reflects an evolution in late north Thracian (Dacian) dialects which is absent in south Thracian. All the Slavic forms reflect, without exception, a borrowing from Proto-Romanian (or a late phase of Thracian?), after the evolution *ā* > *u* was closed. Nevertheless all the Slavic form reflect not the original Romanian *-ar*-form, but another regional or dialectal form **Duna-*. Cf. NP Rom. *Dună*, presumably an initial regional equivalent for NP *Dunăreanu* < *Dunăre* ‘inhabitant of the Danube region’ (till now this personal-name is usual in Romanian). The phonetic evolution Thr. *ā* > Rom. *u* cannot be explained via Slavic or Hungarian, despite some attempts in this sense.

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Duvno, NL, Dalmatian coast. Ancient *Delminium*. The place-name is presumably related to *Dalmacija* and *Glamoč* (Skok 1917: 128). Cf. Rom. *Deal(u)*, *Ardeal* in Romania.

Erma, NFl, Bulgaria; two river-names. Thracian, non-attested, but with clear parallels, e.g. NFl *Hermos*, *Ermos* (Greece, Frigia and Moesia), possibly IE **sermo-s*, with *s* > *h*, specific to Greek (Georgiev 1960 a: 53) or another etymon, possibly Preie. root **AR-*, **ER-*, analysed in Chantraine (1950: 56 sq.). See also Hristov (1964: 193).

Etär (upper course), **Jantra** (lower course), NFl, Bulgaria. Thracian, ancient *Ἰάτρων*, *Ἰάτρων*, *Latris*, *Latron*. Unclear etymon (Georgiev 1960 a: 30–31). Cf. toponymical root **ad-*, **at-* in Romania, in which case the forms may be Preie.

Fruška Gora, NM, Srem area < Lat. *Franca* (*villa*), O.Sl. *frogъ* ‘a Frank’ (Lat. *Francus* > Rom. *frînc*). *Fruška Gora* means ‘Frank Hill’, by translating (calquing) the second element of the compound form. The mountain-name should be explained

as reflecting the wars of Charlemagne in Central Europe. Ancient *Almus*, of Illyrian origin.

Gabernica, NFl, tributary of Sava, Slovenia. Related to *gâber*, *gâber* ‘*Carpinus Betulus* (hornbeam)’. In Slovenia only, there are about 60 place-names with this root, cf. Mac. (ancient) *grabion* ‘(piece of) oak’, Neo-Epirotic *grabos*, NPp Ill. *Grabaei*, Dalmatian *Gravosium* < Ill. **grab-* ‘oak’ < IE **grebh-*, **gerebh-*, in various names of plants and trees.

Galjevica, NFl, tributary of Ljubljana, Slovenia. Probably from Lat. *Gallus*. The forms *gal-* are generally unclear, probably all Pre-Slavic (Bezljaj). The root **gal-* may reflect Preie. **G-L-*, **K-L-* ‘rock, stone; rocky’. Cf. *Galaț(i)* in Romania.

German, NM, Macedonia and NFl *Germanska reka*. Pre-Slavic Thracian **german-* < IE **g^whermo-* ‘warm’, cf. NL *Germisara* (Geoagiu Băi), NL Thr. *Germania* etc. (Duridanov 1975: 127–128). Cf. NL Thr. *Germania*, *Germanos*, *Germas* (various spellings for the same place-name), on upper Strymon, as

well as a homographic form, today *Saparevska Banja* (Dečev 1957: 102). A god-name *German* is recorded with the south Slavs.

German, NFl, western Bulgaria. Pre-Slavic Thracian, related to NM *German*, supra.

Giman, NL near Dubrovnik. Probably Lat. (*praedium*) *Geminianun*; same case seemingly in *Žman* (Lexicon B, II, 8).

Glamoč, NL, NR, Croatia. Formerly **Dlamoč**; attested in 1078 as *Dlanoce* < *Dalmatia*. The shift from *dl-* to *gl-* is recorded in Croatian dialects, e.g. *dlijeto* > *gljeto* (s. *dleto*) ‘chisel’ (Skok 1917: 128–129). Cf. *Dalmacija* and *Duvno*.

Glana, NFl (Carintia, Slovenia), a tributary of Krka-Drava. The bookish, literary form is *Glina*. Attested in 983: *iuxta flumen Glana*. Pre-Slavic, with numerous parallels in European river-names: NFl *Glan* (Salzburg, Austria; sec. VIII: *Glane*); NFl *Chiana* (Etruria, Italy) < *Glanis*; *Glan*, a water-source in Scotland; Celtic **glano-s* ‘bright, to shine’ < IE **glan-*. Literary form

Glina has been influenced, by folk etymology, by *glina* ‘mud’; there are numerous place-names *Glina* in the Slavic-speaking area; NL *Glina* in Romania is considered a Slavic place-name or maybe it continues an indigenous Thracian (possibly Celtic) place-name adapted under Slavic influence.

Grpe, NL near Split, Croatia. Related to *Grpe* (Lexicon B, I, 4), both from Preie. **K-R-*, **G-R-* ‘stone, cliff’, as in Alb. *Karpë* and NM *Carpați*.

Ibăr, NFl, Bulgaria. The upper Marica is thus called, whereas the lower course is *Poibrene*. Ancient *Ἑβρος*, *Hebrus*, the name of modern Marica. Other similar forms, also as relics: *Ibar*, tributary of Morava in Serbia; *Ibr*, tributary of Terev, Ukraine, near Kiev (possibly of Thracian origin too). IE root **eibhro-s* ‘to flow, a water source’. Cf. NFl *Ibru*, Romania, re-analysed by Frățilă (1987: 118 sq.).

Idrijca, NFl, tributary of Soča, Slovenia. Pre-Slavic, Pre-Roman, cf. NSt *Idrie*, NFl *Idrica*, NFl *Itter*, Eu-

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ter (Germany). Probably Preie., cf. Romanian forms in *ad-*, *at-*.

Ig, Iga, NFl, NL, Slovenia; several forms. Pre-Slavic and Pre-Roman, no clear etymon (Bezljaj). Cf. NM **Igman** NM, Bosnia. The ultimate origin may be Preie. *AK-, *AG- ‘prominent; a peak’. Cf. *Ig, Iga* and the Romanian forms in *ig-*.

Iskār, NFl, Bulgaria - ancient spelling *Skios, Oiskos, Iskos*, reflecting a Thracian form derived from IE *eis- ‘to flow, a river’. (See also Papazoglu 1969: 59).

Jadran (S.-Cr., Slv.) ‘Adriatic Sea’ < Lat. (*mare*) *Adriaticum*. It is often surmised that the ancient name *Adriaticum* is related to NFl *Adda* (Lombardia), see s.v. *Ada*.

Kapela, NM, Croatia < Lat. *capella*.

Katun, NL, Istria, Croatia < Rom. *cătun* ‘a small, isolated village, a hamlet’ (cf. Alb. *katun*). We may also admit that the form directly reflects a Pre-Slavic Illyrian word via a Romance-Dalmatian intermediary.

Kerbovo, NL, Bulgaria, between Topolnica and Smoleškata reka, reg. Pirdopsko. Probably Pre-Slavic

Thracian, cf. Thr. *Κέβροος, Κιάβροος*. The explanation from Rom. *cerb* ‘a stag, a buck’ cannot be accepted (Zaimov 1959: 92 and 184).

Kilia, NL (Bulgaria) < *Coelia*. Cf. NL *Kellai* (Greece) < *Cellae*. Cf. *Celje*, supra and Rom. *Chilia*, a branch of the Danube Delta.

Klis, NL (near Solin, Adriatic Coast) < *Clissa*. Illyrian of probable Preie. origin, root *K-L-, *G-L-, zero grade *KL-, *GL-.

Ključica, NFl, tributary of Ziljica, Slovenia. From colloquial Lat. *clusus* < *claudere*. The place-names derived from this word are very frequent in the Romance area, e.g. It. *Chioso, Chiusa, Chiusaforte*. Cf. NL *Cluj*, in Transylvania (Paliga 1992 a, with further references and *Cluj* in Romania).

Knin, NL, Croatia; O.Cr. **T̃niñ* < *Tininium*. Unclear etymon, probably an approximate spelling for an indigenous Thraco-Illyrian form.

Kobarid, NL, Slovenia, reg. Tolmin. Ancient *Caporetum* (Bezljaj 1969: 25).

Kodrijana, NFl, tributary of Kozi-ca-Arbeč, Slovenia. From NP Lat. *Quadratus* or Istro-Romanian *kodru* ‘forested hill’, Rom. *codru*, Alb. *kodër* (Bezljaj). *Quadratus* was sometimes invoked for explaining the Romanian and Albanian forms. This hypothesis cannot be accepted any more. Rom. *codru* and Alb. *kodër* reflect indigenous Thracian forms together with the form *Kodrijana*. IE **kād̥h-* ‘to cover, to protect’.

Kokodiva, **Kukudiva**, NL, Bulgaria, north from Varna. The first part of the compound probably reflects Preie. **K-K-*, **G-G-* ‘to swell; round’, whereas the second part reflects Thr. *deva*, *dava* ‘a fortress’ (Duridanov 1986: 27 sq.). Cf. *Plovdiv*, infra, and NL Rom. *Deva* in Romania.

Kokra, NFl, tributary of Sava, Slovenia. Pre-Slavic; Bezljaj assumes it is related to *Krka* (cf. NFl Gr. *Korkoras*). It rather reflects Preie. **K-K-*, **G-G-* as in Romanian *Gagu*, *Gugu*, *Goga*.

Kolpa, Slv.; **Kupa**, S.-Cr., NFl, tributary of Sava, Slovenia. Ancient *Kolapis*, *Κόλαπις*, *Κόλοψ*. Prototype **Kol-ap-is*, *kol-* having unclear origin, probably Preie., while **ap-* is IE: ‘water’ (Ramovš 1936: 25; Bezljaj 1956–1961). Cf. Rom. forms *Călan*, *Călata* (Romania), Preie. **K-L-*, **G-L-*.

Koper, NL, Slovenia, a port on the Adriatic Coast (It. *Capo d'Istria*) < Lat. *Capris*, from *capra* ‘goat’. Cf. *Kopranj* (Lexicon B, II, 13), *Kopara* (Lexicon B, II, 15) and NSt *Capra* in Romania.

Koroška, **Koroško**, NR, Slovenia, Gm. *Kärnten*. Lat. *Carinthia*. The root *kar-*, *kor-* is Pre-Slavic, ultimately of Preie. origin. Cf. *Carpați*, alb. *karpë* ‘a cliff’, Preie. **K-R-*, **K-L-*.

Kostol, **Kostolac**, Several place-names in South-Slavic. From Lat. *castellum*. (Trajanovski 1979: 10).

Kotor, NL, Montenegro, It. *Cattaro* < Lat. *Catera*, *Cathara*, *Cat(h)arum*, of Illyrian origin: Ill. **katar-* ‘a fortress’; cf. S.-Cr. *kòtar* ‘a region’

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(equivalent for *srez*), probably from IE **kādh-* ‘to cover, to protect’ the presumed origin of Rom. *codru* ‘dark forest’ and Alb. *kodër*. Cf. *Kodržana* supra.

Krajna, NR, Croatia - Lat. *Carnia*, reflecting an indigenous Pre-Slavic, Illyrian, name, ultimately of Preie. origin, root **KaR-* ‘stone, cliff’; cf. *Kranj*, *Koroška*, *Kràs*. The association with Sl. *(u)krajiti* is a folk-etymology of “etymological substitution”-type. See Romanian forms in *car-* (*Carpați*, *Caraș*, *Cărand* etc.) in Romania.

Kranj, NL (Slovenia) < *Carnium*, *Carnia*. Illyrian, ultimately of Preie. origin, cf. *Kras*, *Koroška*, *Krajna*. Compare with *Carsium* > *Hîrșova* (on the Danube in Romania) with the evolution *c/k* > *h*, to date not explained satisfactorily; Poghirc 1969: 360 considers the latter an indigenous Thracian place-name.

Krka, NFl (*Trebinje*) < *Corcoras*, *Korkoras*. Attested in 799 A.D. as *Corca*. Pre-Slavic, Illyrian, ultimately of Preie. origin. Cf. *Koroška*, *Kranj*, *Krajna*, *Kras*. (Bezljaj; Ra-

movš 1936: 25; see also Skok 1917: 121).

Kupa, see s.v. *Kolpa*.

Labin, NL, south of Istria, Croatia < *Albona*; Latin spelling for an indigenous Illyrian place-name, of IE or Preie. origin (see also Skok 1917: 128). Preie. root would be **L-P-*, **L-B-* as in Rom. *Lăpuș*.

Labuta, **Labota**, **Labotnica**, NFl, tributary of Drava in Slovenia. Pre-Slavic, seemingly related to *Labin* (see preceding entry) or possibly of Celtic origin, *albanto*, *albento* ‘bright, shining’ < IE **albh-*. The approach to *labod*, *lavud* ‘a swan’ is a folk-etymology (“etymological substitution”, cf. *Ljubljana*, infra).

Lanja, NFl, tributary of Karnahta, Slovenia. Pre-Slavic, cf. Frl. *Làgna*, It. NFl *Anio*, *Agno*, *Agnone*. Similar names in Etruria, Lombardia, Venice, South Tirol, Latium, Campania etc. In Slovenia, the name may be Pre-Slavic or, eventually, a Friulan influence. Cf. *Anieș* in Romania.

Lašta, NFl, tributary of Soča, Slovenia, and some other place-names of this type, e.g. *Lašta*,

Lašte, also *lašta* ‘stone’; these forms must be related to north Italic *lasta* ‘a slab’, NL *Lasta*, *Laste*, *Lasturo*, NFI *Lástego*. Cf. Basque *arlasta*, *arralasta*. Root **lassa*, probably of Preie. origin (Bezljaj). Cf. Rom. *lespede* ‘a stone slab’.

Lika, NFI, NR, Croatia. The name of the region derives from the river-name of Illyrian origin < IE **leik-* ‘to shine’; cf. Rom. *a licări* ‘to glitter, to twinkle’, *licurici* ‘glow worm’, both of Thracian origin.

Lim, NFI, tributary of Drina, with the source in the Albanian Alps. Cf. Alb. *lumë*, *lymë* ‘a river’. A borrowing from Albanian is unlikely. The river-name rather preserves an indigenous Illyrian name, co-radical with the Albanian word too.

Lipljan, NL, Bulgaria, Lomsko region; NL, Kosovo. Ancient *Ulpiana*, by substitution and association with Sl. *lipa* ‘lime tree’ (Duridanov 1952: 9; Trajanovski 1979: 10; see also Papazoglu 1969: 171). The Bulgarian place-name is located in the ancient region of the Dardanians, being one of the three important Dardanian centres together with

Naissus/Niš and *Scupi/Skopje*.

Ljubija, NL, NFI, tributary of Savinja, Slovenia. Pre-Slavic, of unclear origin (Bezljaj). Cf. Thraco-Illyrian forms in *lab-*, *leb-*. See next entry.

Ljubljana, NL; Ljubljana, NFI, Slovenia. Probably Pre-Slavic, related to the preceding, from **Lablana*, by substitution and folk etymology (Sl. *ljubiti*). Cf. NL *Labin*, supra and Rom. *Lăpuș*. In the antiquity, the divinity of the *Ljubljana* is attested as *Laburus*, and Anonymus Ravennensis named the rivers of *Ljubija* and *Ljubljana* as *Lebra* and *Elebra* respectively (Bezljaj 1961: 149; Russu 1969: 218).

Logatec, NL, Slovenia. Pre-Slavic, probably Illyrian, ancient *Longatici* (Ramovš 1936: 27).

Lom, NFI, NL (Pann. Inf., Serbia; a port on the Danube) < *Almus*, Latin spelling for an indigenous Thracian form < IE **olmo-s-* ‘an elm (tree), the tree *Ulmus*’. Cf. alb. *lumë*, pl. *luménj* ‘a river’, *lym* ‘silt’. If this approach is correct, the etymon may be Preie. **AL-*. (Further discussions

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about this root in Rostaing 1950: 41–52).

Lug, NL, Croatia. Attested in 1331: *extra Lugum*. Probably Pre-Slavic, unclear etymon, possibly Latin *lucus* ‘(sacred) meadow’ (Skok 1920: 130) or rather an Illyrian origin.

-man. A suffix specific to some indigenous Thracian elements (Poghirc 1969: 363), cf. *Barman*, *German*, *Igman* and Rom. forms in *-man* e.g. *Caraiman* (Romania) etc. It should be carefully discriminated against the Turkish forms in *-orman*.

Marica, NFl, Bulgaria. Related to Thr. **Mārisia* < IE **mā-ro-/mo-ro-* ‘a sea, still water’. Cf. *Mārisia* > Rom. *Mureș*. The Bulgarian and Romanian river-names are, beyond any reasonable doubt, co-radical, both of Thracian origin, but witnessing a different treatment: $\bar{a} > a$ in Bulgarian, but $\bar{a} > u$ in Romanian. A similar treatment in *Dunav*, *Dunaj*, *Dunăre*, supra. The phonetic treatment $\bar{a} > *ô > u$ against $\bar{a} > a$ represents an opposition north-south, i.e. Daco-Mesian v. Thracian respectively. The same evolution is

witnessed by Rom. *mumă* ‘mother (in Romanian tales)’ (typical mythological term) and *a mura* ‘to pickle’.

Medija, **Medijski** *Potok*, NFl, tributary of Sava, Slovenia. Pre-Slavic, cf. Frl. *Medée*. The modern form does not allow the reconstruction of the prototype. Cf. NL Rom. *Mediaș*.

Medulin, NL, Istria, Croatia < Lat. *Mutula*, a spelling for an indigenous Illyrian form.

Mesta, NFl, Bulgaria. Thracian. Ancient *Nessos*, an aquatic divinity, NFl *Nessus*, *Nesos*, *Nestos* etc. (See also Papazoglu 1969: 178). The evolution $m > n$ in archaic place-names is normal, cf. ancient *Mesembria* > *Nesebăr* (in Bulgaria). IE root **ned-*, O.Ind. *nādati* refers to the noise of flowing water, *nada-h* ‘a river’. Nevertheless Preie. **N-S-*, in place-names like *Nis(s)a* (analysed by Chantraine 1950: 222 sq.) is also possible. As Preie. **N-S-* is well documented in other cases, we may eventually surmise that in this case (and maybe others) there was interference of both Preie. and IE elements.

Mirna, NFl, tributary of Sava. Pre-Slavic, possibly related to *Nera*, *Neretva*, *Ner*, ancient *Naron* etc. if the alternance *n/m* may be admitted or a relationship with the forms derived from IE **mar-/ *mor-* (Lat. *mare*, NFl *Morava*, *Marica* etc.). Pre-Slavic origin is certain. The modern form was probably due to the association, by folk-etymology, with Sl. *mir* ‘peace’.

Modrejce, NL, Slovenia. Ancient *Matereia* (Bezljaj 1969: 25). Cf. *Motru* in Romania.

Mogren, NL near Budva, Montenegro. Related to *Mugranj* < *malum graneum* (Lexicon B, I, 2).

Morač, NM, Macedonia. Pre-Slavic Thracian, derived from river-name **Morača**, related to NFl *Morava*.

Morane, NL, near Skopje. Attested in 1300 as *Tmorane* (< **T̃mor-*) and suffix *-ane*, cf. NM ancient *Tmaros*, *Tmarus*, NM *Tomór*, Albania. Cf. *Tmor*, infra.

Morava, NFl, Serbia. Ancient spellings: Gr. *Máργος*. Lat. *Margus*, reflecting an indigenous Thracian form. Similar co-radical river-names

are also attested: *Morava*, a river in the Vardar basin and mountain-name in Macedonia (Duridanov 1975: 159); NFl *Morava*, the natural border between Moravia (Czech Republic) and Slovakia, *Marica* (Bulgaria), *Mureș* (Romania) etc. They generally are Pre-Slavic relics (Pre-Romance Thracian in Romania), reflecting the old European river-names of IE origin. (See also Papazoglu 1969: 190). Suffix *-ova* is Slavic.

Mošun, NL, several locations in South Slavic. Mošnjje, NL, Slovenia. All reflect Lat. *mansionem*, a term mirroring transhumance specific to the Romance (Proto-Romanian) groups (Bezljaj 1969: 25). Further examples in Lexicon B.

Mura (S.-Cr., Slv.), NFl, tributary of Drava. Pre-Slavic, Illyrian and/or Thracian, co-radical with *Morava*, *Marica*, *Mureș*. Vocalism *u*, instead of **o*, as in *Morava*, is considered a substitution by Bezljaj (1961: 149, comparing it to NFl Venetian *Mare*). Nevertheless, if we consider a North Thracian form, then vocalism *u* is

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normal; see the discussions s.v. *Dunav/Dunaj and Marica*. If indeed of Thracian origin, then the problem of Thracian elements in Slovene should be analysed more seriously.

Murva, NFl, Dalmatia, near Omiš. Attested in 1251: *aqua que vocatur Murva*. Related to *Mura* (Skok 1920: 133).

Muzge, NFl, tributary of Krka, Slovenia. NL *Muzge* (several locations in Slovenia and Croatia); cf. NFl Pol. *Muzgawa*, NL *Moskva*. Surely Pre-Slavic, etymon unclear (Bezljaj).

Nadiža, NFl, tributary of Tera-Soča, Slovenia; Frl. *Nadisòn*, It. *Natisone*. Ancient *Natiso*. In Slovene, probably via Friulan intermediary or preserving a Pre-Slavic Romanised form.

Nebula, **Nibeljski Potok**, NFl, Slovenia, tributary of Nadiža. Cf. Frl. *Nevolaè*, *Nuvolaè*, possibly from Lat. *Nubilius*. Surely Pre-Slavic, etymon uncertain.

Nera, NFl (Rom., S.-Cr.). Related to *Neretva*. The hypothesis of a Hungarian origin, from *nyár* ‘poplar

(*Populus*)’, thus ignoring other obviously related forms, may not be accepted. The S.-Cr. form reflects a borrowing from Romanian, cf. NFl *Năruja*, *Romania*. See following entries.

Nerav, NL, Macedonia; NFl *Neravska reka*, Vardar basin. Related to *Nera*, *Neretva* etc. (Duriđanov 1975: 128).

Neret, NL, Macedonia. Pre-Slavic Thracian, related to NFl *Nera*, *Neretva*.

Nèretva, NFl, Serbia. Ancient spelling *Naron*, *Náqov* reflecting a Thracian and/or Illyrian form. Cf. NFl *Neretva* (homophonous river-name in Volhinia), *Nera* (see also Skok 1917: 119–120, 132, n. 16 and 134, n. 28; Skok assumes that a folk-etymology was common already in the Antiquity by approaching this form to NP *Nero*, *Neronis*; nevertheless river-names having the root *ner-* may be fairly well explained without referring to the emperor Nero and a possible folk-etymology in the antiquity).

Nesebăr, NL, Bulgaria. Thr. *Mesembria*. The second element, *bria*, is present in other Thracian place-names. The first element, *mes-*, is etymologically unclear, but specific to Thracian names (Dečev 1957: 296). It might be Preie. **N-S-*, **M-S-* ‘curve; to bend’; cf. Rom. *Nistru*, *nisetru*.

Nevlica, NFl, tributary of Kamniška Bistrica, Slovenia. Related to NFl *Nevlja*, at the Bulgarian-Serbian border, to NFl *Nevlja* (Russia), NFl *Neva*, NFl *Nevajärni* (Finland). The root is specific to many European river-names < IE **snau-*, **snaw-* ‘to flow’ (Bezljaj 1961: 151).

Nevlja, NFl, at the Bulgarian-Serbian border, Caribrod region; see *Nevlica*.

Nevlje, NL, Slovenia. See *Nevlica*.

Nin (It. *Nona*), NL, south of Zadar, Adriatic coast < *Aenona*. See the toponymical root *an-*, *in-* in Romania, and its derivatives.

Niš, NL, Serbia. Ancient spellings: Gr. *Ναισ(σ)ος*, Lat. *Navissum*, *Navissus*, *Naissus*, *Naessum*. All reflect an indigenous Thracian form

derived from IE *(*s*)*naw-* ‘to flow’. (See also Papazoglu 1969: 60, 171 and 191–192); in the Antiquity, *Naissus* was one of the three great Dardanian centres, together with *Scupi/Skopje* and *Ulpiana/Lipljan*).

Nišava, NL, on the Niš, Serbia. Related to NFl *Niš*. The suffix is Slavic.

Norin, NL, on the Neretva, Croatia. Ancient *Narona*; related to *Nera*, *Neretva* (Skok 1917: 120–121).

Ogosta, NL (Bulgaria) < *Augusta*.

Omiš, NL, Dalmatian coast; It. *Almissa*, ancient *Dalmisium*. S.-Cr. form may be explained as a dissimilation from *Dalmis-* > **almis-* > *omiš*, assumed to be specific to the Romanised Illyrian speakers, known later as Dalmatian. Though the name is surely Pre-Slavic, such an explanation seems rather found *faute de mieux*. The form might be Pre-Indo-European, root **D-L-*, **T-L-* as in *Dalmatia* and Rom. *deal* (see *Deal*, *Ardeal*). See also Lexicon B, II, 3; II, 8.

Opajska reka (***Opaja**), NFl, tributary of Pčinja, Vardar basin. Pre-

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Slavic Thracian **Apaja* (**Opaja*) < IE **ap-* ‘water’. Cf. NFl *Opawa*, Poland, of Baltic origin. Related to NL *Opila*, Kratovo region, Macedonia and *Opave*, Deževno region, Serbia; place-names should have derived from river-names (Duridanov 1975: 136).

Opave, NL. See s.v. *Opajska reka*.

Opila, NL. See s.v. *Opajska reka*.

Orga, NL, Bulgaria, Tolovica region. Pre-Slavic, Thracian. Cf. Thracian place-names in *or-*, *org-* (Dečev 1957). The root **or-g-* is Preie. (further discussions in Roostaing 1950: 70–71 and Muşu 1981, s.v. *Orbis*, *Orion*, *Oreste*). See also the numerous Romanian forms in *oar-*, *or-*, *ur-*.

Osăm, NFl (Bulgaria) < *Asamus*. Cf. *Someş* in Romania.

Otljanska reka (**Otlja*), NFl, tributary of *Opajska reka*. The upper course is in the vicinity of the Albanian village of Strima, whereas the lower course is near Otlja. Pre-Slavic Thracian or Illyrian **Atula*, **Atulas*, IE **ad-* ‘water, flowing water’ or Preie. **AT-*, **AD-*.

Panega, rarely *Paniga*, *Paneg*, *Panig*. NFl, Bulgaria, tributary of Iskăr. Thracian. Initial phonetism was *k* > *g* (**panek*, **panik*). The evolution *i* > *e* is specific to Romanian, which leads to the basic idea that the form was transmitted to Bulgarian via Romanian (Proto-Romanian). IE root **pani-ko* ‘a moor, marsh’ (Georgiev 1960 a: 59). Cf. *Pan(n)ysis*, *Pannisis*, *Panysus*, Thracian name of the river Kamčija, O. Prus. *pannean* ‘a pond, marsh’. The root *pan-* may also be of Preie. origin (analysed by Chantraine 1950: 232 and Muşu 1981: 321–332). I am rather inclined for a Preie. origin.

Peneda, NL, Istria, Croatia. From Lat. *pinetum* (Ujević 1956: 93) or related with *Panega*.

Pirin, NM, Bulgaria. Explained from Thracian **Pheruna* ‘a cliff, rock’; the root **p(h)er-* is attested in several place-names (Dečev 1957). The explanation from ND Sl. **Pe-runъ* cannot be accepted. The root **p(h)ar-*, **p(h)er-* is probably Preie., cf. *Parma*, *Parnassos* etc. and NM Rom. *Parîng*.

Plovdiv, NL, Bulgaria. Thr. *Pulpu-deva*, the equivalent (calque) of the Greek form *Philippopolis* ‘Philip’s township’. This place-name has been recently analysed by Duridanov (1986: 25–34 and 1989: 19–22). By relating this form to *Kokodiva*, *Kukudiva* (supra) and bringing forth various arguments regarding the phonetic evolution, Duridanov concludes that it is a Daco-Moesian form, borrowed by the Bulgarians “directly from a late phase of Thracian”. See also *Deva*, *Deda*, *Deta* in Romania.

Podkrašče, a water-source in Bohinjska Bistrica, Slovenia. Slavic prefix *pod-* and a Pre-Slavic root **kras* ‘a cliff, stone’. Place- and mountain-names in *kras*, *cras* are frequent in south Slavic. They generally are of Pre-Slavic origin, mostly Illyrian (Bezljaj). The root **KR-*, zero grade of **K-R-* is Preie. See *Kranj*, *Koroška* (supra) and the forms in *car-* in Romania.

Pòreč, NL, Istria, It. *Parenzo* < Ill. **Parent-*, ancient spelling *Parentium*. The root **par-*, **per-* is proba-

bly of Preie. origin (Ramovš 1936: 27; Kiss 1980). Cf. *Pirin*.

Postojna, NL, Slovenia; one of the longest caves of the world. Lat. *Arae Postumiae* ‘Postumius’s altars’. The modern Slavic form should be also explained by a folk-etymology substitution, cf. Slv. *postojna* ‘a kind of vulture’.

Ptuj, NL, Slovenia. Pre-Slavic of Illyrian origin, attested in the antiquity in Latin spelling *Poetovio* > Ill.-Rom. **Petojo* > Sl. **Pȕtujb* > Slv. *Ptuj* (Ramovš 1936: 34).

Pula, O.S.-Cr. **Pulj**, NL, a town-port in Istria, It. *Pola* < Lat. *Pola*, a spelling reflecting Ill. root **pol-*, possibly of Preie. Origin, root **P-L-* ‘cliff, stone; a peak’. See also *Peleaga*, *Peleş* in Romania.

Pulj See *Pula*.

Raba (Gm. *Raab*), NFl (a river flowing at the border of Hungary, Slovenia and Austria, tributary of the Danube; the main course is in Hungary) < *Ar(r)abo*, Latin spelling of an indigenous river-name, Illyrian and/or Celtic < IE **orobh-* ‘red, reddish’ or rather Preie. **R-B-*, **R-M-*, hence

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maybe also Sl. *ryba* 'fish'. Cf. NFI *Raba*, tributary of Wisła (Vistula) in Poland and *Rebra* (Romania). See also *Rama*, next entry.

Rama, NR, Bosnia and the homophonous NFI, tributary of Neretva. Pre-Slavic, probably Illyrian, eventually Thracian. The ultimate origin may be < IE **rem-* 'to stay' or, as I am rather inclined, Preie. **R-B-*, **R-M-* as in *Raba* (preceding entry).
• A certain hesitation between *b* and *m* was reported in some (few) cases; cf. *Buzău* and *Timiș* in Romania. If so, the relations between *Raba* and *Rama* might be viewed in this perspective.

Raša, NFI (Istria) < *Arsia*, *Arsa*. Latin spelling for an indigenous Illyrian river-name; cf. NFI *Aar*, *Aare*, Dan. *aar* 'river'; see s.v. *Dunav*, *Dunaj*, *Dunăre* (Ramovš 1936: 24; Bezlaž).

Ražanj, NL, Knjaževac region, Timok valley. Ancient *Arsena*, etymon unclear; the Latin spelling undoubtedly reflects an indigenous Thracian place-name (Franck 1932: 6). May reflect Preie. **AR-*, **AL-* as in *Arda*

(supra) and *Arad* (Romania).

Resava, *Resovska reka*, NFI, Bulgaria, at the border with Turkey. Probably Thracian, cf. NFI Thr. *Resos* (Troada), IE **res-*, O. Nordic *ras* 'a water-flow' (Georgiev 1960 a: 39).

Rgotina, NL (Timok valley) < *Argentares* (*argentum* 'silver').

Rižana, NFI; flows into the Adriatic Sea near Koper, Slovenia; It. *Risano*. Pre-Slavic, Illyrian, cf. alb. *rjedh* < IE **reg-* 'to flow, flowing water, river'.

Rodopi, NM, Bulgaria < Thr. **Rud-uphe* 'red river', the name of *Dospatska reka*, extended for the mountain-name. See also Hristov (1964: 123).

Rovinj, NL, Croatia, Istria. Ancient *Ruginium*.

Rosica, old *Rosita*, tributary of Jantura, Bulgaria. Related to NM *Rosita*, Bulgaria and to other forms spread all over Europe: O. Prus. *Rossitten*, Latvian *Rasite*. Etymon unclear; suffix *-ica* is frequent in Slavic river-names, cf. *Marica* etc.

Rosita NM See *Rosica*.

Rusenski Lom, NFl. See *Lom*.

Sava, NFl, tributary of the Danube at Belgrade. Ancient spellings: Gr. *Σαοvoς*, Lat. *Savus* < Ill. **savas* ‘river’ < IE **sowos* ‘flowing water’. Cf. NFl *Savu*, Romania; NFl *Sava* (Russia, of Ossetic origin).

Savinja, NFl, tributary of Sava. see *Sava*.

Sefto(v)ite *dăbe*, **Seftovi** *čukari*, NL, Bulgaria, Panagjursko region. Probably Pre-Slavic Thracian, cf. NP Thr. *Σευθαζ*, *Σευτος* (Zaimov 1977: 58 and 161). Cf. NP Rom. *Safta*, fem., *Săftoiu* (family name).

Senj, NL, Croatia, Adriatic coast, It. *Segna*, Gm. *Zengg* < Lat. *Senia*. Cf. NL *Siena* < Lat. *Saena* (Etruria), *Sena* (Iulia). See also Skok 1917: 128.

Serava, NFl, tributary of Vardar. Pre-Slavic Thracian (eventually Illyrian), related to NFl *Saar*, Baltic *Seria*, Rom. *Siret*, *Siriu* etc. It is possible that Slavic root *sěr-* ‘grey’ influenced the modern form by folk-etymology (Duridanov 1975: 86).

Setole, NL on the Poroj river, Vardar basin. Pre-Slavic Thracio-Illyrian, related to Lith. *sietuva* ‘a hollow in a river bottom’. Cf. NL *Σετοvia*, Dalmatia (Duridanov 1975).

Sisak (štokavian), **Sisek** (kajkavian), NL, near Zagreb. Lat. *Siscia*, Gr. *Siskia* < Celtic **Se(q)-sq-ya* < IE **se(q)-sq-a* ‘sedge (*Carex*)’. See also Skok 1917: 128.

Skomlja, NFl (tributary of the Dunube in Bulgaria), NL (Lomsko region). Thracian (Daco-Moesian) **Skambla* < IE *(s)*kamb-*, *(s)*komb-* (Duridanov 1952: 13, 94).

Skopje, NL, Macedonia. Pre-Slavic, ancient *Scupi*, *Σκουποι*, capital of Dardania. Related to NFl *Skoplje*, Bosnia; NFl, NL *Uskoplje*, near Dubrovnik; NFl *Uskoplje*, Hercegovina, Trebinje region (Duridanov 1975: 19; see also Papazoglu 1969: 171; one of the three major Dardanian centres together with *Naissus/Niš* and *Ulpiana/Lipljan*).

Slan, **Slano**, NL. Several locations with this name on the Adriatic coast. Usually explained as derived from Lat. *salinae*. Probably related to NL

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Sali, in the island of Veli Otok (Skok 1920: 149); see Lexicon B.

Smèderovo, **Smèderevo**, O.S.-Cr.. **Smederov grad**, NL, Serbia, port at the Danube; explained from O.S.-Cr.. **Smeder* < Rom. *Sîmedru*, *Sămedru*, *Sumedru* < Late Latin *San(ctus) Demetrios*. Suffix *-evo*, *-ovo* is Slavic. Meaning: 'the town of St. Demetrios'; cf. NL *Sîngiorz* (Romania) < *San(ctus) Giorgios* etc. Cf. *Škocjan*, infra.

Soča, NL, Slovenia, at the border with Italy; It. *Isonzo* < Lat. *Isontius*, *Sontius*, reflecting an indigenous Illyrian place-name of IE or Preie. origin.

Solkan, NL, Slovenia, near Nova Gorica. Ancient *Silicanus* (Bezljaj 1969: 25).

Sotla, Slv., Sutla, Cr., NFl. Pre-Slavic, Thraco-Illyrian **Sontula*, **Aesontula* (Bezljaj 1961: 149).

Split, NL, Adriatic coast; It. *Spalato*. Ancient Latin spelling *Spalatum*, Greek spelling *Ασπαλατος*, with the basic meaning 'thorny bush', probably a folk-etymology in Greek, or – in Latin – another folk-etymology by relation with *palatium*. The place-name must reflect an indigenous Illyrian form. Phonetic evolution: *Spalatum* > *Speletum* > *Split*. (Ramovš 1936: 26; Popović 1960: 53, 171, 389; Skok 3: 312; Kiss 1980: 583).

Srem, NFl, NR; the most important town of the region is *Sremska Mitrovica*. Lat. *Sirmium*, reflecting an Illyrian form from IE **ser-mo-* 'river'. (See also Papazoglu 1969: 59). Cf. NFl *Siret*, NFl *Siriu*, Romania.

Strima, NL, Bulgaria. Related to NFl *Struma*.

Strjama, NFl, Bulgaria, tributary of Marica. Thracian, cf. NFl Lith. *Sermas*, NL pol. *Śrem* (Gm. *Schrimm*), O. Ind. *sárma-h* 'water flow'. The evolution IE **sr-* + vowel > Thr. *str-* is typical. Cf. *Struma*, *Struga* and Rom. NFl *Strei*, *Stremț*; also

next entry. (Cf. also Papazoglu 1969: 59).

Struga, NFl, tributary of Savinja, Slovenia; another homophonous river-name, tributary of Krka, Slovenia. Pre-Slavic, Thracian, IE **ser-* ‘to flow; river’, zero grade **sr-* with the specific evolution IE **sr-e-* > **stre-*. Related to NFl *Struma*. Cf. NFl Rom. *Strei*, *Stremț* and *strugure* ‘grape’, *strungă* ‘a pen, a sheep-fold’. The forms with the root *str-* very probably reflect the indigenous Thracian influence, but the primitive root should be carefully analysed as both IE **str-* and IE **sr-* + vowel resulted in Thr. **str-*.

Struma, NFl, Bulgaria. Thracian, ancient *Strymon*, IE **sreu-* ‘to flow’. The evolution IE **sr-* + vowel > Thr. **str-* is typical. Cf. NFl Rom. *Strei*, *Stremț*. Derived forms: NFl *Strumica*, *Strumešnica*, Bulgaria. See above *Strima*, *Strjama*, *Struga*.

Sužid, NL, Slovenia, near Kobarid. Ancient *Silicetum* (Bezljaj 1969: 25).

Šar, S.-Cr., Mac., NM. Ancient spellings: Gr. *Σκάρδον ὄρος* Lat. *Scardus*, reflecting an indigenous

Thracian and/or Illyrian form, cf. Lith. *skardūs* ‘hill-side’. Cf. *Škar* (Lexicon B, II, 2) and *Šar*, main lexicon.

Šemnica, Ševnica, NFl, tributary of Crna, Vardar basin. The suffix is Slavic. There are seemingly two old roots which interfered in these forms: one related to the Illyrian river-names *Semnus*, *Semirus*, Lith. *Semena*, IE **sem-* ‘to pour, to flow’; the other related to NFl *Sava*, alb. *she(u)* ‘a marsh, a moor’ (Duridanov 1975: 222).

Škocjan, NL, Slovenia. Pre-Slavic of colloquial Latin origin **Sant* (*sanctus*) *Cantianus* > **šənt* *kocjanъ* > Slv. *Škocjan* (Ramovš 1936: 27). Cf. *Smederovo*, supra and *Sîngiorz* (< *Sanctus Georgios*) in Romania.

Štip, NL, on the Bregalnica river, Macedonia. Pre-Slavic, ancient *Astibos*. Etymon unclear (Duridanov 1975: 21). The place- and river-names with the root **AS-* may be Preie. (further discussions in Chaintraine 1950; Mușu 1981; Paliga 1989 d). Cf. *Asău*, *Asuaj*, *Săsar* in Romania.

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Tavor, Taor, NL, Macedonia, near Skopje. Pre-Slavic, of Illyrian origin, ancient *Taurision* > Sl. **Tavr̥* (Duridanov 1975; Franck 1932: 6).

A homophonous place-name is in the Užice region, Serbia. Preie. **T-R-* as in *Tarcea, Tarcău* (Romania).

Tăža, upper course; **Tundža**, lower course; NFl, Bulgaria. Thracian, frequently attested in the antiquity beginning with the 3rd century B.C.: *Tαξος, Τονξος, Tonzus, Tontus, Tountza*. Etymon unclear (Georgiev 1960 a: 27-28; see also Papazoglu 1969: 192).

Timava, NFl, Slovenia; It. *Timavo*, Frl. *Timàu*. Pre-Slavic, related to NFl *Timok* (infra), *Timiș* (Romania), *Tynne* (Great Britain), *Thames* (with non-etymological *th*), etc.

Timok, NFl, tributary of the Dunube at the Serbian-Bulgarian border. Lat. *Timachus*, a spelling reflecting an indigenous Thracian form < IE **tem-ak-wa*. Another homophonous river-name is in the Vardar basin, tributary of Parištica (Duridanov 1975: 152). Cf. NFl *Ti-*

mava, supra; NFl *Timiș* (Romania, two rivers with this name, one in the Romanian Banat, the other in the Bucegi Mts.), NFl Eng. *Thames* etc.

Tmor, NL, Adriatic coast near Dubrovnik. See the discussion s.v. *Morane* (< *Tmorane*). Cf. NM *Tomór*, Albania.

Tolmin, NL, Slovenia; NFl **Tolminka**. Certainly Pre-Slavic, Ill. **Tilmon-*, related to other place- and river-names, cf. Frl. *Talm*, Ligurian *Talamone*, It. *Talamona*, Sp. *Talamon*, Fr. *Talamon* etc. Medieval attestation in 1146: *Tulminium*. Probably Preie. relic (Bezljaj; Ramovš 1936: 26), root **T-L-*. Cf. *Talma* in Romania.

Trakana, NFl, tributary of Stara Reka, Vardar basin; **Trakanska reka**, NFl, tributary of Bregalnica, equally in the Vardar basin; NL **Trakanje**, same region. All these forms are Pre-Slavic of Thracian origin from a prototype **Trakana*, *-nja* < IE **trek-* ‘to pull, to run, to flow’. Probably related to NL *Trakanić*, Serbia (Duridanov 1975: 181). Possibly related to *Thrax*, *Thraex* ‘Thracian’, in which case we

should consider Preie. root **T-R-*, as in *Tarcău*, *Tarcea* (Romania).

Trakanić See *Trakana*, above.

Trògir, NL, Dalmatia; It. *Trau*. Ancient spelling: Lat. *Tragurium*, Gr. *Tragourion*, of Illyrian origin. Probably related to NL *Tergeste* > *Trieste* > *Trst*, infra.

Trsat, NL, Istria < Lat. *Tarsatica*, presumably reflecting an indigenous Illyrian form.

Trst, NL; It. *Trieste* < Lat. *Tergeste*, a spelling for an indigenous Illyrian form also reflected in Alb. *treg* and O.Sl. *trǫgъ* ‘a market township’. The Illyrian or Thraco-Illyrian origin of *trǫgъ* is probable.

Una, NFl, tributary of Sava; O.S.-Cr. *Un* < Lat. *Oeneus*, Gr. *Οινεος*, reflecting an indigenous Illyrian river-name presumably of Preie. origin; cf. Gr. *οἶνος* ‘wine’, a Preie. “technical” term (Chantraine). The primitive meaning should have been ‘sacred liquid’; Preie. root **AN-*, **AIN-* in words with chromatic meanings: ‘bright; to shine; white’. See also root *an-*, *in-* (Romania).

Vardar, NFl, the most important water-flow of Macedonia; flows into the Aegean near Thessaloniki. Ancient Greek spelling *Βαρδάριος*, reflecting an indigenous Thracian river-name derived from IE **sword(o)-wori* ‘black water’. The usual ancient name of the river was *Axios* (Duridanov 1975: 30–36; the author comprehensively analyses the river-names of the Vardar basin).

Văča, NFl, Bulgaria, tributary of Marica. Probably Pre-Slavic Thracian, unclear etymon. Seemingly related to *Vinča* (infra) and *Vința*, *Vințu* in Romania; Preie. **W-N-*, **V-N-*.

Velèbit, NM, Croatia. Pre-Slavic, reflecting an indigenous Illyrian form, cf. Gr. *ῥηλίβατος* ‘abrupt’. In S.-Cr., the word underwent a process of folk-etymology: *vele-bit* ‘big shelter’.

Veleka, NFl, Bulgaria, at the border with Turkey. Unclear, possibly Pre-Slavic Thracian, IE **welika* ‘curved, bent’. The local denomination *Kriva reka* ‘curved, meandering river’, probably a loan-translation (a

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calque), supports this hypothesis (Georgiev 1960 a: 37). Interferes with Slavic root *vel-* ‘big, great’.

Veles, NL, near de Skopje. Ancient *Bylazora*. The phonetic evolution is not clear. In any case, the explanation from ND *Veles*, a divinity of the Old Slavs, cannot be admitted (Franck 1932: 6). It may be surmised that, starting from the ancient form and the shift *b > v*, a chain of folk-etymologies played their role, ultimately the association with the root **vel-* ‘big, great’.

Vešala, NFL, tributary of Vardar. Pre-Slavic (Thracian and/or Illyrian) **Vesala*, **Vesalus* < IE **wes-* ‘wet, water’, cf. alb. *vesë* ‘a drizzle’ (Duridanov 1975: 49). Cf. NFI *Vaslui*, *Vișeu* in Romania and *Wista* (Poland).

Vidbol, **Vitbol**, NFI, tributary of the Danube. Probably Pre-Slavic Celtic, cf. NL *Vindobona* hence Sl. **Ved-bola* > B. *Vidbol*, under the influence of NL *Vidin* and NFI *Vit* (Georgiev 1960 a: 53–54). See *Vedea*, *Videle*, *Vidu*, *Vidraru* in Romania.

Vidin, NL, Bulgaria. Ancient spelling: Lat. *Bononia*, Gr. *Bonvnia*, probably of Celtic origin as showed by other place-names like *Bologna*, ancient *Bononia*; *Boulogne*, ancient *Bononia*. These three forms, in Bulgaria, Italy and France, may show the great Celtic expansion in the antiquity. Nevertheless the modern form seems rather to reflect an indigenous Thracian word **ud-* ‘water’, cf. NFI *Vedea*, NL *Videle*, in Romania. Cf. *Vit*.

Vinča NL Serbia. Must be related to NFI *Văča* (supra), NL *Vința*, *Vințu* in Romania. Famous for the eponymous Neolithic culture.

Vipava, NFI, tributary of Soča, Slovenia; Frl. *Vipàu*, It. *Vipacco*. Pre-Slavic, Illyrian, related to NP *Vippius*, Lith. *ùpe*, *upis* ‘a water-flow’.

Vit, NFI, Bulgaria. Thr. **utus* < IE **ud-os* ‘water’. Recently re-analysed by Dimitrov (1994: 98) from the perspective of “Paleo-Balkanic vocalism”. Cf. *Vidbol*, *Vitbol*, *Vidin*.

Vitoša, NR, Sofia region. Ancient *Skombros*, *Scopius*. The modern

form is Pre-Slavic, either of Thracian origin, cf. NP Thr. *Bit(h)us*, with the evolution *b > v*, or derived from Rom. *vită* ‘a cow; pl. cattle’ with the suffix *-oș* (BER 1: 155). Cf. NP Pol. *Witosz*, NL Pol. *Witoszyn*. We may also surmise an interference at colloquial level.

Vogljana, NL, Slovenia. Probably from *Aquilania*, in any case Pre-Slavic (Bezljaj 1961: 149).

Vrbas, NFl, Bosnia. NFl Ill. *Urpanus*, *Urbanus*, NL *Urbate* (Russu 1969: 259). The etymon suggested by Dickenmann (1939: 28) and Kiss (1980) IE **wrbhas* ‘a willow’. Nevertheless these Illyrian forms rather seem to reflect the Preie. root **OR-/UR-* ‘huge, big’ analysed by Rostaing (1950: 70–71) and Mușu (1981: 199 sq. and 250 sq.). Thracian also witnesses forms with the root *or-/ur-* (see Dečev 1957: 343–345 and 348). The form clearly underwent a process of folk-etymology and “etymological substitution” in Serbian-Croatian, in relation indeed with *vrba* ‘a willow’. Cf. the topo-

nymical root *oar-, or-, ur-* in Romanian.

Vukovar, NL, near Osijek. There is a long and complicated history behind this form. The second part of the compound reflects Hu. *vár* ‘a fortress’, while its first part seemingly reflects an association with S.-Cr. *vuk* ‘a wolf’. The river *Vuka* (ancient *Ulca*, cf. alb. *ujk*, *ulk* ‘a wolf’) flows in the vicinity. In the Middle Ages the place-name was *Castrum Vlcou* ‘the fortress of Vlk (Wolf)’, which is a re-adaptation (calque) of the old meaning of Thracian-Illyrian origin, from IE **wlkʷos* ‘a wolf’ > Thr. **(v)ulk-* ‘a wolf’. This form, and others, would suggest that Rom. NP *Vîlcu*, *Vâlcu* is indigenous, rather than borrowed from Slavic.

Zadar, NL, Dalmatian coast. Ancient: Gr. *Iader(a)*, Lat. *Iader(a)*, of Illyrian origin. In colloquial Latin, the word was pronounced **Zadar*, **Zadra* seemingly from IE **yeudh-* ‘agitated, impetuous’. It is not clear whether there is a relationship with

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NFl *Iader*, today *Idro*, near Thessaloniki. See also Skok 1917: 124.

Zgon, NL, Montenegro. Related to *Zgon* in the Adriatic Islands, see Lexicon B, II, 6. Etymon unclear, Pre-Slavic.

Zletovska reka (< **Zlętava*), NFl, tributary of Bregalnica, Vardar basin. Pre-Slavic Thracian **Zlent-us*, **Zlenta* < IE *ǵhlend(h)-* ‘to shine’.

Related to NFl *Glane*, France, of Celtic origin (Duridanov 1975: 184).

Zrin, NL, Croatia, south of Sisak. Pre-Slavic, unclear etymon, probably Illyrian **ger-* ‘a hill, a mountain’ < IE **gwer-* ‘a hill, mountain’.

The form witnesses an old satem phonetism or a secondary palatalisation. The explanation from Sl. **zbrěti* ‘to see, to notice’ cannot be accepted.

Lexicon B. Pre-Slavic Elements in the Adriatic Islands

Skok (1950) analysed in details the Pre-Slavic place-names in the four groups of islands located along the Adriatic coast. Some major names are also analysed in Kiss (1980; namely *Brač*, *Cres*, *Hvar*, *Kakan*, *Olib/Ulib*, *Osor*, *Rab* and *Vis*). As Skok's analysis clarifies and complements the general view of the Pre-Slavic place-names on the continental (Balkan) area, as summed up in the previous Lexicon A, I have summarised Skok's data, and have also added some cross-references. I have also included some place-names along the Adriatic coast as they best reflect the *principle of repeatability*.

Recurrent forms. Some forms, sometimes with parallels in vocabulary, occur at least twice, some very frequently. A brief presentation of these forms may be useful for the reader. Some have also parallels on the continental area. The phonetic evolution is generally specific to Dalmatian with several Italian (Venetian) and Romanian influences.

Banàostar, Banuàstar, Brnistrova; dial. *banestra*, *brnistra* < Lat. *genista* 'Genista tinctoria; dyer's greenwood'. The first two forms have the suffix *-arius*, the latter has Slavic suffix.

Kampèlje < *campellus*, dim. from *campus*. Cf. *Kampor*.

Kampor < *campus*, with plural ending *-ora* after *tempus*, *-ora*. Cf. Rom. *cîmp* - pl. *cîmpuri*.

Kanajt, Kanitalj (Kanikalj) < *cannētum* and *cannetulum* – *canna* 'reed'.

Košljín, Košljún < Coll. Lat. **castellione* - *castellum* 'castle'.

Marta, dial. **mrta** < Gr.-Rom. *myrta* 'myrtle'. Cf. *Mrča*.

Mostir < *monasterium*.

Mošnje, Mošun(a); dial. *mošun* < *mansione* 'a halt place'.

Mrča, Mrčara, Mrčica < *myrtearia* 'a land where myrtle grows'; cf. *Marta*, *mrta*.

Munćel, Mućel, Moncel < *monticellus*, dim. from *mons*, *montis* 'a mountain'. Cf. Rom. *Muscel* (e.g. NL *Cîmpulung Muscel*), *muncel* 'a small hill'.

Omišalj < *Ad musculum*, Coll. Lat. **amusc(u)lu*. *Musculus* is a diminutive from *mus*, *muris* 'a mouse', but later got other meanings like 'mollusc';

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‘muscles’; ‘a siege hut’, then ‘hut’ in general. The place-names preserve this latter military meaning. At colloquial level this form was confounded with *muscus*, -i, dim. **musculus* ‘moss’. Rom. *mușchi* ‘muscle(s)’ and ‘moss’ reflects this confusion.

Plaj < Gr.-Rom. *plagium* < Gr. *plagios* ‘a hill-side, side’. Very frequent in south Slavic and Romanian (*plai*), and presumably largely spread in colloquial Latin. It. *spiaggia* ‘a beach’ has the same origin. There is no reasonable argument supporting the hypothesis, largely spread in Romanian linguistics, that Rom. *plai* is of Slavic origin.

Plantur, Prantur, Promentur, Prmantur < *promontorium*.

Prsur, Prasurina < *frixorium* ‘a cooking place’; derived from *frigo*, -ere, *frixi*, *frixum*/*frictum* ‘to roast, to fry’, with the specific Dalmatian evolution *f* > *p*, as in *Plomin* < *Flanoniae* etc.

Sakatūr < *siccatorium* ‘a place for drying’ - *siccus* ‘dry’.

Silba, Sirba < *silva*; cf. Rom. *selbă* (dial.) ‘a forest’.

Slana, Slano < *sal*, *salis*, *salem* (ac.) ‘salt’. Cf. *Slan(o)*, Lex. A.

Sut, in compound forms *Su-*, *St-*; *sut* < *sanctus*. **Stomorina** < *Sancta Maria*;

Supetar < *Sanctus Petrus*; **Sudùjan, Sudùjma** < *Sanctus Dominus*; **Sudu-**

rađ < *Sanctus Georgios*; the latter is equivalent to NL Rom. *Sîngiorz*.

Trtuša < *tortuosa* ‘tortuous’.

Val, Vala (especially in compound forms), **Valun, Valunta** (with augmentative suffixes) < *vallis* ‘a valley’; sometimes with augmentative suffixes -*at*, -*unta*.

I. Kvarnerian Group (*Kvarnerski otočki skup*, pp. 11 sq.) made up of five big islands, named in the Antiquity (*Insulae*) *Flanoniae* or *Sinus Flanaticus*, in Italian (dialect spoken in Venice and Tuscany) *Fianona*, and in S.-Cr. *Plomin-ski zaliv* or *U Plominu*. NI Cr. *Plomin* reflects the Latin form *Flanoniae*, with the evolution *f* > *p* (other examples below). NI *Kvarner* reflects It. (Venetian) *Quarnero*. The navigable zone of this group is named *Canale della Morlacca*; *morlacco* reflects Byz. Gr. *maurovlahos* ‘black Vlach’.

The Kvarnerian Group is made up of the islands *Krk*, *Cres* and *Lošinj* (“*prava kvarnerska* = Kvarnerian proper”) and other two islands: *Rab* and *Pag*. The islands *Cres* and *Lošinj* are also named *Opsara*, and *Krk* is also named *Vekla*.

Lexicon B: Pre-Slavic Elements in the Adriatic Islands

1. Krk (pp. 21–34). Named in the antiquity *splendidissima civitas Curictarum*, NPp *Curicti*, an Illyrian group, NL ill. *Curicum*, of Pre-Roman origin, Preie. *K-R-. *Krk* is also the name of the most important locality of the islands.

Brgud, Brgudac < *Virgultum*.

Galun < Lat. *galla* ‘a swelling (on a tree-branch), a prominence’ (in place-names the term refers to an elevated place, a hill), with an augmentative suffix (cf. *Valun, Valunta*, infra).

Kampelje, ac. pl. < *campellus*, dim. from *campus* ‘field’. Recurrent.

Kanajt < *cannētum*, dim. from *canna* ‘reed’.

Karkarula < Lat. *calx, calcis* ‘heel’ with diminutival suffix in colloquial Latin: **calcalulla*.

Košljûn < Coll. Lat. *castellione*, dim. from *castellum* ‘castle’. Recurrent.

Kras < Illyro-Liburian *carsus*. Cf. *Kranj, Krajna* in Lex. A.

Munčel < Coll. Lat. *monticellus*, dim. from *mons, montis*. Recurrent.

Negrit < *niger*, in coll. Latin **nigritus*. Rom. *Negru*, fem. *neagră*.

Ogrul < Coll. Lat. **agerullus*, dim. from *ager* ‘field’, in competition with *campus*. Attested in 1453: *basilica S. Nicolaus de Ogrul(l)o*.

Omišalj < Coll. Lat. **amusclu* = *Ad musculum (locus)*. Recurrent.

Plaj < Gr.-Lat. *plagium*. Recurrent. Frequent also in Romanian place-names (*plai*).

Punat, gen. *Punta* < Lat. *pons, pontis*.

Spena < *spina*, the plant *Rubus* (‘bramble, raspberry’).

Tôrkul < *torculum* ‘twisted object’ (*torquo* ‘to spin’). See also *torcularium* ‘(wine) press’.

Turnac, diminutive of dialectal form *turanj* < *turris* ‘a tower’.

Valunta < Coll. Lat. *vallata* ‘a valley’ (Class. Lat. *vallis*), with augmentative suffix.

Skok assumes that NL *Vrhure* and *Fareča* reflect old Romanian phonetism. The former is the plural form (*vîrfuri*) of *vîrf* ‘a peak’ of Slavic origin, the latter is the reflex of Lat. *filex, filix* ‘a fern’, with specifically Romanian rotacisation in inter-vowel position (Lat. *l* > Rom. *r*).

2. Cres (pp. 34–44). Ancient *Crexa, Crexi, Krepsa*. S.-Cr. may be explained as secondary palatalisation, as in *Cavtat* (supra, Lexicon A). The place-name is Illyrian of “Mediterranean” origin. See also Ramovš 1936: 26.

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The same origin for a small island of the Cres-Lošinj group, *Osor*, ancient *Ap-saros*, *Apsoros*, *Apsouros* (further discussions in Skok 1917: 125–126).

Kormat < *corrīmare* in the participle (*corrimatus*), derived from *rimor*, *-ari* and *rimo*, *-are* ‘to rummage’: the place where the see “rummages” the shore. Cf. *Maskatûr*, infra.

Krnjacol < *cornu* with double suffix: *-aceus* and *-olus*, Coll. Lat. **cornaceolus*.

Maskatûr < *morsicatorium* – *morsico*, *-are* ‘to bite by tearing’: the place where the sea “bites” the shore. Cf. *Kormat*, supra.

Merag, Romance, of unclear origin, probably related to *Merek* (infra).

Merek, gen. *Merga* < *mergus* ‘an ember goose’.

Mugranj < *malum graneum* (*granatum*) ‘pomegranate’. Cf. *Mogren*, near Budva.

Pin (*Mali i Veli*) < *pinus* ‘a pine-tree’.

Porožina, It. *Faresina* < Gr. *pharos* ‘lighthouse’, borrowed in southeast Europe with the suffix *-ensis* or *-inus*. The evolution *f* > *p* is specific, cf. *Flanona* > *Plomin* etc.

Prantur, *Plantur* < *promontorium*. Recurrent.

Punta Križa, Christian-Romance, ‘bridge of the cross’ < Lat. *Pons* (Acc. *pontem*) *crucis*.

Sis, a hill on the island < Coll. Lat. **susum* = Class. Lat. *sursum* ‘high-up’; cf. Rom. *sus*. The evolution *u* > *i* is specific to Dalmatian, e.g. Lat. *murus* ‘a wall’ > S.-Cr. *mir*.

Slana < *salis*, ac. *sale(m)* ‘salt’. Recurrent, cf. *Slan*, *Slano* in Lexicon A.

Stivan < *Sanctus Jo(h)annes*, compound with *sut* < *sanctus*, recurrent.

Valun < *vallis*, with augmentative suffix (cf. *Galun*, I, 1).

Vanula, Romance, unclear etymon, cf. *Valun*.

Some place-names are considered Pre-Slavic (Pre-Croatian), Romance or Illyro-Romance: *Baldarin*, *Kaldonta*, *Mezulin* (maybe a diminutive from dialectal form *mezul* < *mediolus* ‘middle’ (adj.) [cf. Rom. *mijlociu*, adj. ‘middle’, *miez* ‘a core, a kernel’], as in *žmulj* ‘a cup, a recipient’), *Ridulje* and *Ul. Krušija* reflect It. *corsia* ‘a corridor, a passage’, and *Tarej*, with metathesis (from **Tajer*), reflects It. *tagliere*. Dialectal form *kapartûr* reflects Lat. *coopertorium* ‘a cover, a shelter’.

Lexicon B: Pre-Slavic Elements in the Adriatic Islands

3. Lošinj (pp. 44-54). It. *Isola dei Lussini*. The name is Pre-Slavic, etymon uncertain.

Arbit < prob. Coll. Lat. **arbutus*, *arbitus*, dim. from *arbor* ‘a tree’.

Kanîtalj, with *t/d*. Probably of Italian origin, etymon unclear.

Lakunj < prob. Lat. *lacuna* – *lacus*.

Levrera < *Leporaria* - *lepus*, -*oris* ‘a hare, a rabbit’.

Margarina, related to dial. *mrgar* < Coll. Lat. **mulgare* (*mulgeo*, -*ere*) ‘to milk (a cow)’.

Mažova < *Maius*.

Mortar, related with NI *Murter*. The suffix -*er* is Italian-Venetian < Lat. -*arius*.

Nembi, pl. < *Neumae* < Gr. *neuma* ‘a sign, a symbol’.

Orjule < *Auriola* – *aureus* ‘(of) gold, golden’.

Orser (*Veli i Mali*), related to NL istr. *Vrsar* < Lat. *Ursaria*, presumably via a Venetian dialect.

Skopalj < probably *scopulus* ‘a reef, a small island’.

Susak, Gen. *Suska* < Gr.-Rom. *sansacus*, Gr. *sámpsychon* ‘the plant *Origanum*’.

The following place-names are considered Pre-Slavic, Romance, without a clear etymon:

Artatore, *Balvanida*, *Čikat*, *Čirka*, *Kambonara*, *Limaran*, *Maračol*, *Samučel* (< ? *Sanctus Monticellus*), *Sunfarni*, *Tomožina*, *Torunza*, *Unijama*. *Kavuada*, *Kavada* reflect Ven. *cavare* ‘to extract, to dig’, and *Sidro* < *Isidor*.

4. Rab (pp. 55–67). Ancient *Arva*, *Arba*. Illyrian < Preie. **AR-b/w-* The adjectives Ven. *arbaschio*, It. *rascia*, Sp. *raja*, Pg. *rasa* ‘thick cloth, Rab wool’ are derived from the place-name.

Banjol < *Balneolae*, derived from *balnea* ‘bath(s)’; cf. NL *Baia Mare* (lit. ‘great bath’), *Baia Sprie* in Romania.

Barbat < *barbatus*, cf. Rom. *bărbat* ‘a man’.

Bruškit < *bruscetum* ‘the plant *Ruscus aculeatus*; butcher’s-broom’.

Čifnata, *Čihnata* < Gr.-Rom. *siphonata* < Gr. *sipho*, -*onis* ‘a conduit, a tube; a water source’.

Frkanj. Pre-Slavic, unclear etymon, possibly derived from *frico*, -*are* or related Sicilian *fragaggya*, Napolitan *fragale* ‘a group of small fish’.

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Fuža < Lat. *fodio*, -ere 'to dig'. The evolution *di-* > *ž* is normal.

Grpe. Pre-Slavic, Preie. **K-R-*, **G-R-* 'stone, cliff'; related to NL *Gripe*, near Split, and with other numerous place-names in Southeast Europe and Romania.

Kampîna < *campanella*, dim. from *campus* 'a field'. Cf. NL Rom. *Cîmpina*.

Kamlaka, *Kaplaka* < *caput* + *lacus*, Coll. Lat. **cap-lac* 'the lake (pond) at the end' (e.g. 'end of the island' etc.).

Kâmpor < *campus*, pop. pl. **campora*, after *tempus*, pl. *tempora*. Recurrent. Cf. Rom. *cîmpuri*.

Kanîtalj, *Kanîkalj*, gen. *Kanîklja* < *cannetulum* 'small reed', dim. from *canna* 'reed'.

Karara < *carraria* 'a road'. Cf. Rom. *cărăre* 'a road, path (in a forest)'.

Kom(o)rčâr < *commercium*. "The former hypothesis, *Campus Martius* 'field of Mars' is not acceptable" says Skok (p. 61).

Košljun < *castellione*, colloquial form derived from *castellum*. Recurrent.

Krklant < *circinatus* 'round, circular'.

Miral, colloquial form derived from *mirare* (Lat. clasic *miror*, -ari, deponent). The meaning of the place-name is 'a place to contemplate'.

Mošuna. In the local dialect, there is *mošun* < Coll. Lat. *mansione(m)* 'a place for rest'. Recurrent.

Munčel < Coll. Lat. *monticellus*, dim. from *mons*, -tis 'a hill'; recurrent.

Palît < *paludem* 'a marsh, a moor'. Related to NL *Poljud*, near Split and Rom. *pădure* 'a forest', with metathesis.

Pašturân, with suffix -an from Lat. *pastor* (*pastorius*, *pastoricus*).

Plaj < Gr.-Rom. *plagium*. Recurrent. Cf. Rom. *plai*.

Prsur < *frixorium*, derived from *frigo*, -ere, *frixi*. Recurrent.

Prvorâda < *Pulveraria* – *pulver* 'powder'.

Sakarata (Sv. *Grgur Sakarata*) < *siccarius* 'a place where grains are dried', cf. Pg. *siqueiro* 'id'. *Grgur* reflects Christian-Romance *Gregorius*.

Sarakin < *Saracenus*, pl. *Saraceni*, an ethnic group of Arabia Felix.

Silba, *Sirba*, NI *Silba* < *silva* 'a forest'. Recurrent. Cf. Rom. dial. *selbă* 'a forest'.

Sut < *sanctus*. Recurrent.

Suvid < *sanctus Vitus*. Cf. *sut*.

Lexicon B: Pre-Slavic Elements in the Adriatic Islands

Val < *vallis* ‘a valley’, frequent, recurrent; cf. Romanian place-names with the component *Vale*, art. *Valea* from *vale* < Lat. *vallem* (acc.).

Valsabâna, *Valsalbana* < *vallis Silvania* ‘valley of (god) Silvanus’.

Vidilaka < Coll. Lat. **valle de laco* ‘valley of the lake’.

5. Pag (pp. 67–77).

Bošane, pl. < ancient *Bassiana*, Ill.-Rom. Related to NL *Bošana*, near Biograd, on the continental coast.

Čaška < ancient *Cissa*, Illyro-Romance.

Karin (Sv. *Karin*) < *Quirinus*.

Lakljan < *Liciniana* (urbs, civitas) – *Licinius*. Cf. *Lipljan* (Lexicon A) and *Pov(l)jana*, infra.

Lun < *leo*, *leonis* ‘a lion’.

Makar < ancient *Muccurum*, Illyro-Romance.

Maun, Pre-Slavic and Pre-Illyrian, probably Preie.

Movra < *Maurus*.

Mrtva < *myrta*, pl; recurrent.

Novalja < *navalis* – *navis* ‘a ship’.

Povjana and *Povljana* < *Pauliana* (urbs, civitas) – *Paulus*, Christian-Romance name. Cf. *Lakljan*, supra.

Sakrât, *Sakarata*, same origin as the homophonic form in the island of Rab (supra, I. 4).

Škrda < ancient *Skirda*, Illyrian, probably from IE *(s)ker- ‘to bend, to curve’.

Tov(e)rnele < Coll. Lat. **taverna* (clas. *taberna*) ‘a hut’, with the diminutive suffix *-ella*.

Vir. Attested in 1345 as *Ura*. Preie. The evolution is normal: *urceus* > *vrč*, *hortus* > *vrt*. Cf. *Vrbas* < *Urpanus*, *Urbanus*, in Lexicon A and the numerous Romanian forms in *or-*, *ur-* of Thracian origin (see main lexicon).

Skok (p. 71) also records the dialectal form *hripa* < Pre-Latin (Preie.) *grippus*, *greppus*, *crepus* ‘a cliff, a rock’. Equally *sut* < Lat. *sanctus*.

II. Archipelago Zadar-Šibenik. (Pag. 78 sq.). 15 islands. Only the name of Veli Otok is Slavic, all the other forms are Pre-Slavic.

1. Olib, Ulib (pp. 79-85). Late antiquity forms *Aluip*, *Allybum*, *Luibo*, which reflect either Lat. *alluvium* or rather an Illyrian word of Preie. origin

Addenda

(*AL-) influenced by folk-etymology by the Latin form. Some dialectal forms should be mentioned, e.g. *mošuna* < *mansione(m)* ‘a place for rest’; *lokva* ‘moorish pond’ < *lacuna* – *lacus*.

Fučin. Pre-Slavic, unclear etymon.

Parsurna – *prsur* < *frixorium*. Recurrent.

Sambare < *Sanctus Bartolomeus* or *Sancta Barbara*.

Stivan < *Sanctus Johannes*.

Stomorini < *Sancta Maria*. Cf. Rom. *Sîntămărie*.

Tale. Related to *Taline* (infra, II, 10).

2. Silba (pp. 85–89). Lat. *silva*. A recurrent place-name in the Adriatic islands. Cf. Rom. dial. *selbă*.

Karf, probably related to NI *Krf*. Pre-Slavic < Preie. **K-R*.

Marta < *myrta*.

Mostir < *monasterium*.

Škar. Similar place-names also in the islands of Olib, Krk and Pag. Pre-Slavic Illyrian. Cf. *Šar* in Lexicon A.

3. Premuda (pp. 89–93). Ancient *Pyrótima*; Tab. Peut. records the form *Palmodos*, *Palmodon*, possibly derived from *palma* ‘a palm’ and ‘a palm-tree’, but cannot explain the meaning. Another possibility is a Preie. relic, from **Pamodos*. Prefix *pre/pri-* might be explained as influenced by Latin *primus*. Undoubtedly Pre-Slavic.

Bale, probably related to NL *Bale* in Istria < *vallis* ‘a valley’ or from Italian.

Krijal < *Cyriacus*.

Martovna < *marta*, *myrta* ‘myrtle’.

Omiš, related to the homophonic form in the island of Veli Otok (II, 8); Pre-Slavic Illyrian, cf. *Omiš* in Lexicon A.

4. Molat, Ist and Škarda (pp. 94–99). NI *Molat*, It. *Melada* is related to NI *Mljet*, Pre-Slavic, explained from Lat. *mellatus* – *mel*, *melis* ‘honey’. NI *Ist* is of Illyrian origin, cf. *Bast* (ancient *Biston*), in Croatia; *Bistue*, in Bosnia. *Škarda*, ancient *Skardon* (*oros*), Ill. *skerd-*.

Banuàstar, *Banuàstar* < *genista* ‘the plant *genista*, mainly dyer’s green-wood or the *genista sagitalis*’. Recurrent.

Lexicon B: Pre-Slavic Elements in the Adriatic Islands

Bargùlje, related to NL *Brguli* (Kotor), *Brgule* (Serbia), dial. *brgulja* < It. *bergolare* < *verbulare* ‘to chatter’. Rom. *a bâigui* ‘to talk slow and meaninglessly’ seems related to these forms.

Bavkul. Unclear, same name in II, 13.

Funestràla, dim. from *fenestra* ‘a window’.

Klunda < *columna*.

Maknare < *machina* cu suf. *-aria* ‘a machine = a mill’.

Pendùlj < *pendulus* ‘suspended, pending’.

Prasùrina, *Padruara*, related to *Prsur* (Rab) < *frixorium*. Recurrent.

Sakatûr < *siccatorium*. Recurrent.

5. Sestrunj and Rivanj (pp. 100–103). *Sestrunj* might be explained from *extraneus* ‘an outsider, a foreigner’; *Rivanj* is unclear; the explanation from *Ripanium* (*ripa* ‘a river-side’) cannot be accepted. Pre-Slavic anyway.

Idula; an identical place-name on the island of Ugljan. Unclear, Pre-Slavic, probably related with Gr. NM *Ida*.

Iž. Unclear, Pre-Slavic (It. *Eso*). See below, II, 7. Perhaps same etymon like *Iași*, Romania.

Klis, cf. NL *Klis* near Split. Unclear, Pre-Slavic.

6. Ugljan, Uljan (pp. 103–109). Explained from *Gellianum* (NP *Gellius*) with the prefix *u-*, as in *Skopje*, *Skoplje* – *Uskoplje* (cf. Lex. A, s.v. *Skopje*). Cf. *Jakljan* < *Liciniana*, near Dubrovnik.

Brgačelj, Celto-Illyrian *briga* ‘a hill, a mountain’ with the diminutival Latin suffix *-cellus*, as in *monticellus*.

Čeprljana, *Čeprljanda*, Pre-Slavic, unclear etymon.

Zgon, related to NL *Zgon*, in Montenegro. Unclear, Pre-Slavic.

7. Iž Mali i Veli (pp. 110–113). Probably Pre-Romance, “Mediterranean” (Preie.), maybe related to Gr. *nêsos* and Lat. *insula*. See also II, 5, above, and NM, NL *Iași*, *Ieș(i)* in Romania.

Bršanj < *versare* with suffix *-an*.

Košljín < *castellione*. Recurrent.

Munćel < *monticellus*.

Parda, unclear, Pre-Slavic.

Rava, Preie. Similar place-names are spread over south Italy, while the western Romance language preserve forms with the general meaning ‘a stone, a cliff’.

Addenda

Šipnate < *siphôn*, -*ône* ‘a water-spring’ and Lat. suf. -*atus*. Recurrent.

Trtuša < *tortuosa*. Recurrent.

8. Veli Otok (pag. 114–125). The only Slavic name in the area; nevertheless it calques Late Latin *Insula Maior* (year 1289); It. *Isola Grande/ Longa/ Grossa*.

Birbinj < *verbena* ‘a sacred reed’.

Garmenjak < Pre-Slavic *garma* ‘a hollow in a cliff’, seemingly of Preie. origin, root **K-R*-, **G-R*- ‘stone, rock’.

Krbušćak, derived from *krbun* < *carbone* with Slavic suffix.

Krknata < *circinatus* – *circinus* < *circino* ‘to make a circle’.

Lokajne < *lacuna* - *lacus*.

Magr- in NL as *Magrovica* < *Megaros*, Preie. or from Gr. *megaron* ‘a big house, a palace’.

Mežanj < *medianus*, “but the name does not seem to have a logical motivation within the local configuration” (Skok). cf. *Medija*, *Medulin* (Lexicon A) and *Mediaș* (Romania).

Mostir < *monasterium*. Recurrent.

Mrtovnjak – *mrta* < *myrta*. Recurrent.

Omiš. Similar NL on other islands too; all are Pre-Slavic, ancient *Almisium*, a spelling for probably Illyrian forms (supra II, 3 and Lexicon A).

Ozdren < *consuere* ‘to sew’ with epenthetic -*d-*, as in French *cozdre*, same origin.

Padrare < *petraria* ‘rocky place’.

Sakarun, *Saharun*, *Sakaron* < *siccus* with an augmentative suffix; recurrent.

Sali < *sal*, *salis* ‘salt’. Recurrent.

Savar < Gr. *sauros* ‘green lizard’.

Stivan, *Sustipan* < *Sanctus Ivan* (*Johannes*).

Sustipanja (Luka) < (*vallis*) *Sancti Stephani*; *sut*, *su-* ‘saint’ is recurrent on the Adriatic Islands.

Telaščica < *Tilagus*, Preie. root **T-L-* in numerous place- and mountain-names. See *tulei*, *Tulcea* in Romania; *Tilovo* in Bulgaria.

Utra, unclear, Pre-Slavic, probably Preie. **AT-*, **AD-*, **UT-*.

Lexicon B: Pre-Slavic Elements in the Adriatic Islands

Žman, maybe from Lat. *medianus* > *Mžan* > *Žman*, with metathesis or related to NL *Giman*, near Dubrovnik, explainable from Lat. (*praedium*) *Geminianum*. See *Mežanj*, supra #8.

9. The Kornat Group (pp. 125–132). Represented by the islands *Kornat*, *Žut* and *Sit*, all of Pre-Slavic origin. *Kornat* is explained by Skok from Lat. *incoronata* or, perhaps more attractively, from the participle *corrimare* ‘to press, squeeze’, (*insula*) *corrimata*. Rom. *a curma* ‘to stop’ would be derived from the same etymon. • Nevertheless it is doubtful that Rom. *a curma* might derive from the etymon suggested by Skok; it is rather an indigenous Thracian element. On the other hand, the Latin origin of the Adriatic place-name is probable. We suggest a colloquial Latin form *cornatus* < *cornu* ‘(animal) horn’ or another colloquial form derived from *cornus* ‘cornel tree’. • *Žut* has been explained from Lat. *junctus* ‘matched (to), related to’. • *Sit* reflects Lat. *situs* ‘a place, a location’.

Aba, Pre-Slavic, etymon unclear. Related to *Abatuta*?

Balabra, Pre-Slavic, etymon unclear. Cf. Rom. *palavre*, pl. ‘gossips, nonsense talk’, *a pǎlǎvrăgi* ‘to talk nonsense, to gossip’.

Dragunara < *draco*, *-onis* ‘a dragon, devil’ with suffix *-arius*, *-a*. Rom. *drac* ‘devil’ is derived from the Latin form.

Klint, isolated form, probably Romance, etymon unclear. Cf. *Klis*, supra, II, 5.

Lavdara < *lapidaria* ‘a quarry’.

Lavsa, *Lavca* < Celto-Illyrian *lausiae* (*lapides lausiae*) ‘a schistose rock, a slab’.

Opat < *hospitalis* (probably); the word was initially specific to the Christian vocabulary.

Panitula < *pane* ‘bread’ with diminutival suffix.

Purara (*Vela i Mala*) < *pirus* ‘a pear tree’, with suffix *-arius*, frequent in colloquial Latin.

Trtuša < *tortuosus*. Recurrent.

Žakanac < *žakan* < Lat. *diaconus*.

10. Pašman (pp. 133–139). From Lat. *Postumius* with suffix *-anus*: *Postumianum praedium*. In 1067 attested as *Flaueyco* < *Flavi vico*, with *ī* > *ey*, specific to Dalmatian. Cf. *Postojna*, Lex. A.

Banj < *balneae*.

Jota, unclear, Pre-Slavic.

Addenda

Kotul, locally also *Čavata*, *Čavatul*. Pre-Slavic, etymon unclear. Cf. Rom. *cot*, art. *cotul* ‘elbow’, including meanings applied to curved realities such as *cotul râului* ‘a river bend’ (lit. ‘river-elbow’).

Mrljane < (*praedium*) *Marinianum*; related to NL *Marjan*, near Split.

Nevijane, *Nevidane* < *Naevidius* with suf. *-anus*: (*praedium*) *Naevidianum*.

Ričul < *ericius* ‘hedgehog’ with diminutival suffix Coll. Lat. **ericiullus*; Rom. *arici*, art. *ariciul*.

Taline, related to NL *Tale*, island of Olib (II, 1). Pre-Slavic, etymon unclear, probably Preie. **T-L-*. See *Telaščica* (above, # 8) and *tulei*, *Tulcea* (Romania).

Tkon, dial. *Kûn* < **Tuconum*, by metathesis from *Cotunum*, *Cotonum*.

11. Vrgada (pp. 139–144). Pre-Slavic, Preie. **OR-*, **UR-* ‘big, huge’, as in *Vrbas* (Lexicon A) and the Romanian forms in *oar-*, *or-*, *ur-*. The contemporary form seems deformed or influenced by Venetian dialects. The form *Lapkat* is attested in the 17th century. Named *Insula rubricata* ‘red island’ in the antiquity.

Sudùjan, *Sudùjma* < *Sanctus Dominus* (*-na*); Recurrent, a compound with *sut* < *sanctus*.

Skok also records the local form *gljendura* < Arom. *gl'indură* < *glandula* ‘a tonsil, a glandule’.

12. Murter, Morter (pp. 145–149). Cf. *Kvarner*. Italian origin: *mortaio* < *mortarium* ‘a recipient for mixing or pounding’.

13. Žirje, dial. also **Žiràje** (pp. 150–154). probably from Gr. *gyros* ‘round’; this word was borrowed by southeast Romance idioms, cf. Rom. *giur* > *jur* ‘around’.

Bavkul, related to an identical place-name in Molat (II,4). Probably Old Dalmatian, etymon unclear.

Kakan < Apparently Lat. *cygnus* ‘a swan’. *Kak-* is witnessed in Thracio-Illyrian place-names; the similarity to Lat. *cygnus*, *cynus* might be fortuitous and/or a folk-etymology. Cf. *Kuknara* (infra, III. 1). May reflect Preie. **K-K-*, **G-G-*.

Kopranj < *caprula*, dim. from *capra*. Cf. *Koper*, Lex. A.

Lexicon B: Pre-Slavic Elements in the Adriatic Islands

Logorun, cf. NL *Logorun* near Split. Formally, it seems to reflect Gr. *lagaros* ‘mild, delicate’, but there is no reason for this meaning. Perhaps same root as in *Logatec* (Lexicon A).

Mrtovac < *mrta* < *myrta*. Recurrent.

Tijat, prob. of Latin origin with suf. *-at*; etymon unclear.

14. Zlarin Group (pp. 154–156). The islands of *Zlarin*, *Krbela* (*Vela i Mala*) and *Krapan* (*Krapanj*, *Krapjun*). • *Krbela* < *curvus*, with diminutival suffix. • *Krapan*, *Krapanj*, *Krapjun*, eventually from Gr. *kópranon* ‘mud, a moor’ or rather Preie. **K-R-*. • *Zlarin* is surely Pre-Slavic, etymon unclear, perhaps related to NFl *Zala* (Hungary) and NFl, NL *Zalău*, *Zălau* (Romania).

Tmara, unclear, probably Gr. *tomáron* ‘a cut (off), a slice’. See also below under # 15.

15. Kopara (pag. 156–159). From Lat. *Capraria* < *capra*. Ultimately same etymon like NL *Koper*, Slovenia (Lexicon A) and NSt *Capra* (Romania).

Movar, gen. *Movra* < *Maurus*.

Stùpin < Ill. *Stelpona*, *Stolpona*, with suf. *-ona* as *Albona*, *Skardona*, *Aenona*, *Narona*, *Salonae* > *Labin*, *Skradin*, *Nin*, *Norin*, *Solin*, respectively.

Tmara, related to the homophonous form under # 14.

III. Central Dalmatian Group (pp. 160 sq.). Represented by the islands *Čiovo*, *Šolta*, *Brač*, *Hvar* and *Vis*.

1. Čiovo (pp. 161–167). Italian *Bua*, *Boa*, *Bova* < *bos*, *bovis*. The Croatian form is unclear as it is radically different from Italian.

Artatur, Romance, etymon unclear, with suffix *-atore* > Cr. *-atur*.

Bosiljina < NP *Bosilj* < Gr. *Basilios* < *basileus*.

Drid, Pre-Slavic, etymon unclear. Cf. NL Rom. *Dridu*. The etymon may be Thr. *dru* ‘wood; a tree’ or the same root as in *Drina* (Lexicon A) and NL Thr. *Drobeta*, *Drubeta* (today Turnu Severin in Romania on the Danube). Both place-names must be Thraco-Illyrian.

Kluda (cf. NL *Klunda*, in Silba) < *columna*.

Krknjaš (*Veli i Mali*) < *circinus* with suf. *-aceus* ‘round, circular’. Cf. *Krk*, *Kranj* in Lex. A; some place-names with root **Kra-*, **Kr-* may be Preie.

Addenda

Kuknara < Reflects maybe *cycinus* (*cycnus*, *cygnus*) ‘a swan’ or rather related to NI *Kakan* < Preie. **K-K-*, **G-G-*.

Supetar < *Sanctus Petrus*. Recurrent.

Melevrin, Pre-Slavic, Romance, etymon unclear.

Mendulovac < *mendula* < *amygdalis*, with Slavic suffix.

Merara, possibly from Lat. *morum* ‘mulberry’ with suf. *-ara*, Cr. dial. *murva*.

Rina (*Vela i Mala*) < *arena* ‘sand, sandy land’ Dial. Rom. *arină* ‘sandy, dusty land’.

2. Šolta, dial. also **Šulet** (pp. 167–171). Explained from Lat. *solutus* < *solvo*, *-ere* ‘to solve’; this may simply be a folk-etymology. The form rather reflects an Illyrian place-name, possibly of Preie. origin.

Kašjum, *Kašljum* < *castellione* – *castellum*. Recurrent.

Stomorina < *Sancta Maria*. Recurrent.

3. Brač (pp. 171–181). Ancient *Brattia*, Illyrian, related to NFI *Brenta* (north Italy), Illyrian-Messapic *brendon* ‘a horned (animal), a stag’. Cf. Russu 1969: 102; the etymon is probably ie. **bhred-*, **bhredh-* ‘to pass a ford, a ford’.

Bol < *vallum*. A similar place-name is located near Split.

Brkàta < *verticata* – *vertex*, *-icis* ‘a whirl; a peak’.

Kobila < *caballaria* – *caballus*.

Koštilo < *castellum*. Cf. NM Rom. *Coștila*, isolated form in Romania; influenced by a Slavic pronunciation?

Lovrečina < NP *Lovreč* < *Laurentius*.

Mošnje < *mansione(m)*. Recurrent. Cf. NL *Mošnje*, Lex. A.

Žukovic < *žuka* ‘a broom’ < Lat. *juncus* ‘a rod, a twig’.

Sutivan, *Sùpetar*, *Sumartin* < *Sanctus Johannes*, *S. Petrus*, *S. Martinus*, respectively. Recurrent forms. Cf. Rom. *Sîmpetru* (< *Sanctus Petrus*).

Škrip, probably related to NL Gr. *Skirphai* < *skir(r)os* ‘uncultivated land’; *skiron* ‘crust’.

Skok also records the dialectal form *puč* < *puteus* ‘a pit, a well’. Rom. *puț* is of the same origin.

4. Hvar, dial. **Fôr** (pp. 181–191). Ancient *Pharos*, *Pharia*, Greek-Romance. See also Skok 1917: 122.

Marginski < *mrgin* < *marginem*. Cf. Rom. *mărgine*.

Lexicon B: Pre-Slavic Elements in the Adriatic Islands

Moster < *monasterium*; cf. *Mostir*. Recurrent forms.

Motokit < **monte acutu* (*mons acutus*) ‘a sharp peak’. A similar place-name is located in Dalmatia.

Sučuraj. The first part of the compound is *su(t)* < *sanctus* (recurrent in Adriatic place-names); second part is unclear.

5. Vis (pag. 192-197). Ancient *Issa*, Preie. Recurrent forms in the Aegean-Mediterranean area.

Komiža, Pre-Slavic, etymon uncertain, possibly *Nikomedia*, NPp *Nikomēdēs*.

Kostirna < *cisterna* ‘a water tank’.

Kumpris < *cypressus* ‘cypress’.

Nevaja < *novalia*, pl., sg., *novalis* (*terra*) ‘uncultivated land’.

Promentur < *promontorium*. Recurrent.

Seket, *Seged* < *siccus* plus suffix. Place-names derived from *siccus* are recurrent. Cf. *Szeged* in Hungary.

Skok also records the dialectal form *prîtôr* ‘a recipient’ < **praejectorium* – *praejaceo* ‘to stretch ahead’, “unique in the Romance languages”.

IV. South Dalmatian Island Group: Korčula, Mljet and Lastovo, and Elaphite Group (*elafitske otoke*): Lakljan, Šipan, Lopud, Koločep, Lokrum and Daksa.

1. **Korčula** (pp. 198–208). O.Cr. *Krkár*, It. *Curzola*. probably related to Gr. *Korkyra* or of Greek origin proper.

Brkata < *verticata*; cf. homophonous place-name in the island of Brač.

Brnistrova < *brnistra* < *genista*. Recurrent.

Kampuš < *campus* + *-uceus* (dim. suffix). Recurrent.

Kočara < *cotitaria* - *cos*, *cotis* ‘hone, whet stone’; *cotoria*, *cotaria* ‘rocky place’.

Mirje < *mir* < *mōrus* ‘wall’, with *û* > *i*, specific in Dalmatian.

Mrtinjak < *mrta* < *myrta*. Recurrent.

Petrara < *petraria* – *petra*. Cf. Romanian place-names *Petroșani*, *P(i)etroșita* (the latter with Slavic suffix).

Pupnata < *pampinata* – *pampinus* ‘vine offshoot’.

Sutvara < *Sancta Barbara*; place-names in *su(t)* < *sanctus* are recurrent.

Žjan < *Junianum*; cf. *Žnjan*, near Split.

Addenda

Žukova < *žuka* < *juncus*.

2. Mljet (pp. 209–219). Ancient *Melítē*. Malta had the same name in the antiquity. Preie. **M-L-*, associated by the Greeks by folk etymology (“etymological substitution”) to *mēli*, *melitos* ‘honey’. Most Pre-Slavic place-names are concentrated in the western part of the island.

Brnjestrova < *brnjestra* < *genista*. Recurrent.

Lâgo < *lacus* (a small island).

Lèngac, Pre-Slavic, probably Ill. *lanca* ‘a river meadow’, with *a* > *e*, as in Dalm. *chesa* < *casa*.

Ogiran < *aggerarium* – *aggeries*, Class. Lat. *congeries* ‘a heap’.

Pètro (*Veliki i Mali*), gen. *Petrála* < *petrarius* (*mons*).

Pinjevci < *pinj* < *pīneus* – *pinus* ‘a pine’.

Polače < *palatium*. A Roman fortress was attested in the antiquity.

Pôma, dial. also *Pômena*, *Pomina* < *palma* ‘palm’ and ‘palm-tree’.

Pòmjenta, *Podumjenta* < *fundamentum*, with Lat. *f* > Dalm. *p*.

Pôntu (*od Lenge*) < *pons*, *pontis* (*ponte*).

Pròžura < Rom.-Dalm. *Proxura* < *frixorium* (*frigere*). Recurrent.

Sovra, *Sôbra* < prob. Gr. *sauros* ‘a kind of fish’.

Skok records the dialectal form *tinjal* < *tinellum* (Cat. *tinell*, Sp. *tinelo*) ‘a living-room’ (for servants).

3. Lastovo (pp. 219–229). Ancient *Ládesta*, *Ládeston*, then *Lasta*. Ven. *Punta di Laesta*. Illyrian, with suffix *-est*, as in *Bigeste*, *Ateste* (> *Este*), *Tergeste* (> *Trst*). The modern S.-Cr. form cannot be explained directly, but via a Latinised form **Lasta*, with a Slavic suffix.

Biševo < prob. Romance *Busi*, difficult to analyze: genitive-locative or plural?

Dô, unclear.

Duvna < *domina*. Cf. Rom. *doamnă*, of the same origin.

Mrča, *Mrčara* < *myrtearia*. Recurrent.

Sožanj, unclear, Pre-Slavic.

Stomorine < *Sancta Maria*, recurrent.

Suđurađ < *Sanctus Georgios*; cf. Rom. NL *Sîngiorz*.

Ubli, unclear, Pre-Slavic, probably Preie. via Illyrian.

Žaplo (two other similar forms in the islands of Pag and Molat). Pre-Slavic, etymon unclear.

4. Lakljan (Jakljan) (pp. 229–233). Plinius named the island *Elaphites*, pl. *Elaphitides* < *elaphos* ‘a stag’. Hence the whole group of islands is named Elaphite Islands. The origin is Lat. (*insula*) *Liciniana* (< *Licinius*), hence Croatian *Laknjan* > *Lakljan* and, by metathesis, *Jakljan*.

Olipa < Lat. *alapa* - *ala* ‘a wing’, Dubr.-Rom. *álepa*, Rom. *aripă*.

5. Šipan (pp. 233–238). The largest island of the Elaphite Group. Certainly Pre-Slavic. Attested in 1222 *Juppanae*; 13th century, *Cuppana*, *Zuppana*, *Giuppana*; 1370: *Šipan*. The expected form should be **Žipan*; the evolution *ž* > *š* is unclear. Skok suggests that the etymon might be Gr. *gypanon* ‘eagle nest’. In fact the etymon must be *župan*, Rom. *giupîn*, *jupîn*, analysed in Paliga 1987, reprinted 1999. See the main dictionary under *jupîn*, *stăpîn* and *ban*.

Biga < Lat. *biga* ‘ox cart’, cf. also alb. *bigë* ‘a branch, a twig’.

Lava < *labes* ‘abrupt hill-side’.

Prtuša, Romance, etymon unclear, cf. *Trtuša* < *tortuosa*.

Sekanja, Pre-Slavic, probably Romance, etymon unclear.

Sutulija < *Sanctus Helias*.

6. Lopud (pp. 239–242). From Gr. *elaphópos*, *-podos*, colloquial Gr. **elaphóda* ‘stag-legged...’.

Igo < Gr. *aigialós* ‘sea-shore’.

Mrčica < *mrča* < *myrta*. Recurrent.

Skùpio, gen. *Skupjela* < *scopellus* < Gr. *skópelos* ‘a small island, a reef’.

Sutmiho < *Sanctus Michaelis*.

Šunj, also *Pšunja* < *Apscium*, *Acscium* (**Apšun*, **Akšun*).

7. Koločep, dial. also **Kalamota**, It. *Calamotta* (pp. 242–246). Lat. *Calameta* ‘reed-land’ < *calametum* – *calamus* ‘reed’. The expected form should have been **Kolopeč*, by metathesis *Koločep*. The place-name underwent a folk-etymology by association to *kolo* and *čep*.

Lovret < *Lauretum*.

Šumet < prob. Lat. *juncetum* ‘reeds’.

8. Lokrum and **Daksa** (pp. 246–249). Certainly Pre-Slavic. the former is attested in 1115 as *Lacromono*; in 1200 as *Acrumina*, as *La-* was assimilated

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to the Italian definite article. Et.: prob. Lat. *acrumen*, It. *agrume* ‘a sour fruit’, via a Venetian intermediary. *Daksa* may reflect Lat. *axis*, Coll. Lat. *axa*, with preposition *de*.

Bòbara < (*insula*) *barbaria*.

Superka < *Sancta Petr(onill)a*.

Supetar < *Sanctus Petrus*. Recurrent. Cf. Rom. NL *Sîmpetru*, *Sîmpetru*.

Lexicon C

Archaic Personal Names in Romanian and South Slavic

The modern anthroponymical system crystalised along the Middle Ages on the basis of Christian names. As compared to place-names, by definition a static component of onomastics, personal names are, by contrast, the mobile factor, always exposed to changes and distortions, intentional or not, by their being recorded in documents, often according to the local habit, spelling or political and/or administrative influence. This is why archaic personal names are more difficult to analyse, quite rarely approached in linguistic research and, if approached, with frequent misinterpretations. If we refer to the archaic personal names in southeast Europe, there seemingly is only one study dedicated to this topic: Duridanov (1960) analysed the Thracian (substratum) origin of some Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian and Romanian personal names. Several years later, the same author drew some parallels between Thracian and Baltic personal naming.

Yet the analysis is possible in the context of southeast European personal naming and, in a larger context, we may analyse them just like the Celtic names in English, e.g.: **Alasdair**, Gaelic; **Arthur**, ‘a bear’ or Irish ‘stone’; **Bridget**, **Brigid**, f., Celtic ‘power’, also the name of the goddess of fire; **Dilys**, f., Gaelic ‘reliable, constant’; **Dougal**, Celtic ‘black stranger’ (Gaelic **Dùghall**); **Ena**, f., ‘wonderful, delicate’, interfering with a hypocoristic form derived from *Eugenia*; **Gwyneth**, f., Gaelic ‘blessed’; **Kevin**, ‘welcome on birth’ etc.

Zaimov (1988), in a work dedicated to Bulgarian personal names, regularly avoids any references to Romance (i.e. Romanian) forms, further suggesting explanations within Bulgarian. Thus NP Bg. *Bade*, *Bado* is not referred to Rom. *bade*, NP *Badea*, *Bădescu* but Sl. *badati* (p. 11); NP Bg. *Brad* is not explained via Rom. *brad* ‘a fir-tree’, hence NP *Brad*, *Brădean(u)*, but from *O-brad* or from *Bradi-slav* (p. 32); NP Bg. *Večin* is not referred to Rom. *vecin* ‘a neighbour’ (Lat. *vicinus*), NP *Vecinu*, but as derived from *Veko*, *Vetko* and suffix *-in* (p. 49); NP Bg. *Dajna*, *Dajno*, *Dojna*, *Dojno* are not referred to Rom. *daină*, *doină* ‘a typically Romanian folk-song’, NP *Doina* (p. 78 and 91; see

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also Paliga 1994 with further references on this archaic, probably Pre-Indo-European; see the main lexicon).

Such etymological analyses, and there are some other attempts, lead to even more difficult approaches as obvious relationships are denied in favour of more facile, but erroneous, explanations, perhaps starting from the usual point in the 1970's and 1980's that such an attitude in 'politically correct'. Yet other attempts may prove useful. Grković (1983: 88–89) convincingly proved that there must be some Thracian-Illyrian relics in Serbian-Croatian personal naming. Unfortunately the author quotes only one example: the 'anthroponomical root' *Vata-* in *Vataš*. This must be surely analysed together with the S.-Cr. forms *vatah*, *vatak*, Rom. *vătaf*, *vătaș* (see further discussions in Paliga 1996: 34 ff., and the study *Herrschaft*.. in this volume). In another study, Grković (1986) also analysed some Serbian personal names of the 14th century: some are of Romanian origin or, in any case, non-Slavic, rather of indigenous Thracian and/or Illyrian origin: *Ban* (derived from *ban* analysed on another occasion, see Paliga 1987), *Bataš*, *Bač*, *Bukur*, *Burja* (labelled as 'Illyrian relic', cf. Ill. *Burnia*), *Viganj* etc. Given the large distribution of these forms all over southeast Europe, it is often difficult to determine an accurate chronology, but they clearly reflect an archaic heritage.

In the given context we assume that a certain reference point may be offered by the substratum elements in Romanian and the neighbouring languages, such analysed in various linguistic studies such as Poghirc (1969), Russu (1981, who also analyses the personal-names derived from some basic roots) and Brâncuș (1983), critically adding the data in Duridanov (1960) and Zaimov (1988, but considering the data mentioned above), than paralleling Romanian, Bulgarian and Serbian-Croatian names as in Iordan (1983), we may attempt to a more realistic database, many years after Duridanov's attempt, and with inevitable new data. References to the Thracian forms follow Dečev 1957.

Even a brief and limited comparison of modern (Romanian, Bulgarian, Serbian-Croatian, Slovene) and Thracian-Illyrian forms allows to trace the contours of an archaic structure of personal naming. In some instances, the basic meaning of the root was always clear as they were/are obviously related to elements of vocabulary. Consequently the personal names were always synchronised with the general evolution of vocabulary. There still are a few roots which may be assumed to reflect archaic forms as they have

been preserved exclusively as place-names and/or personal names. I would quote examples like Rom. *Mușă* - Bg. *Mušo* or *Strug* - *Strugo*, where the semantic association is difficult or impossible at the level of common speakers. Duridanov and others showed that some Thracian and Illyrian personal names have obvious correspondences with modern forms in Romanian, Bulgarian, Serbian, Croatian and Slovene. It is difficult to assume that these similarities are a mere result of hazard. Ultimately there is no linguistic or historical impediment, as such a linguistic analysis is in full agreement with historical and archaeological data: Thracian still was a vivid tongue when the Slavs began to expand. It is also possible that some northernmost Thracian (Dacian) groups also had a certain role in the Slavic ethnogenesis, for which see Paliga 2001 (*Sketching a History of the Slavs*). And this archaic character is again, and even more relevant, proved by the archaic place-names analysed in this volume.

The lexicon below is, beyond any doubt, a draft. It will be amplified by future research. We assume that the archaic heritage in the sphere of personal names is much more important in southeast Europe as long assumed by some linguists. As a simple mention, there are tens, maybe hundreds of parallels in Romanian: Thracian elements of the current vocabulary – personal name(s). If such a view is adopted, it is obvious that the lexicon may be considerably larger. The following examples are therefore just a first synopsis of a complex and rich reality.

Lexicon of Archaic Personal Names

Arda, f., **Ard'o**, **Ardju**, m. Same as in NFI *Arda*, see above Lexicon A. (Zaimov).

Bača, S.-Cr., Rom. **Baciu**, relate to Rom. *baci* 'a leader of shepherds'. See above NFI, NL *Bača* in Lexicon A. Cf. NP Thr. *Batsinis*, NL *Baðζιavia*.

Bade, **Bado**, Bulg, Rom. **Bade**, **Badea**, **Bădescu** etc. Referring to

only Bulgarian, Zaimov assumes the forms may be derived from *badati*. Both Romanian and Bulgarian forms obviously reflect Rom. *bade* 'an epithet for an older male person', perhaps initially a term referring to a local leader, NP *Badea*, *Bădescu* etc.

Balo, **Balov**, **Balaurov**, Bg., Rom. **Bală**, **Balaur**, *bală*, *balaur(e)* 'a

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dragon, a mythological fantastic figure', cf. NP Thr. *Balas*, *Bales*. Zaimov also suggests this approach. The Thracian origin of this root seems certain.

Ban, Bg., *bano* 'the elder brother'. See the discussion regarding the essential terms referring to social and political organization (Paliga 1987). **Bešo**, **Beško**, masculine, Bg.; **Beša**, S.-Cr. Duridanov refers to Thr. NP *Βησῶς*, *Bessius* (Dečev 57), NP Alb. *Besa*, f., *besë* 'an oath, creed'.

Bico, m., **Bica**, f., Bg. Duridanov explains the forms as derived from NL Thr. *Βίτει-μαίας*, NP *Bitimas*, *Biti-centus*, *Biti-tralis*. In Bulgarian, sound *c* (*ts*, spelled in Romanian as *ț*) may be explained from a late Thracian form where *t* + *ilj* > *ts* (*c*). Cf. NFl, NL Alb. *Bica*.

Biso, m., NFl *Bisov*, Bg.; S.-Cr. **Bisa**, f. 'Undoubtedly Pre-Slavic' (Duridanov), cf. NP Thr. *Bisa*, *Βισ-υρας*, m., compound with *Bisi-*, *Βιση-ζενις*, NP Ill. *Bisena*, Alb. NP *Bisa*, f., NL *Bisa*.

Boko, m., **Boka**, **Bok'a**, f., Bg. Duridanov rejects an approach to Cz. *Bok*, *Boček*, and suggests an approach to Thr. NPp *Costo-bocae*, *Κοστο-βῶκοι*, *Sa-boces*, *Σα-βῶκοι*. Cf. NFl, NL *Bacău*, Romania.

Boto, **Bot'o**, m., **Bota**, f., Bg. Duridanov assumes a relation with Rom. NL *Boteni*, *Botești*, further com-

pared with Thr. NPp *Bottiaioi*, *Bot-tiaei*, NP *Βοτειαίος* < **Βοτάς*, **Botas*. Cf. Alb. NFl *Bota*. If this may prove true, then an approach to Rom. *bot* 'a muzzle', NP *Bot*, *Botu*, *Botea*, *Botescu* cannot be avoided. • This may be a linguistic interference, in which the archaic Thracian forms were remodelled under the influence of Rom. *bot*. See many such examples in the Lexicons A and B above. **Brad**, Bg. Zaimov assumes a derivation from *O-brad* or *Bradi-slav*. Yet everything rather shows a simple derivation from Rom. *brad* 'a fir-tree', NP *Brad*, indeed of Thracian origin as accepted by all linguists now.

Brakov, Bg., Rom. **Bracău**. Cf. ND Thr. *Βραγγας*, NP Thr. *Βραχνος*. See Lexica A, B for other forms with radical *bra-* in place-names. • Root *bra-* may have of course have other origins as well, but we refer to only the archaic heritage of south-east Europe.

Bukur, Bg., S.-Cr., Rom. **Bucur**, cf. *a se bucura* 'be glad', Alb. *bukur* 'beautiful, pretty'. (Grković 1986: 48). Beyond any doubt an archaic root, spread all over southeast Europe. The ultimate origin may be Pre-Indo-European.

Buro, Bg., **Burja**, S.-Cr., Rom. **Buru**. Cf. NP Thr. *Burus*, *Βουριος*, Ill. *Burnia*, radical *bur-*; this root is

also well attested in Thracian (Grković 1986: 49).

Buzo, m., **Buza**, f. **Buzatov**, Bg.; S.-Cr. NP **Buzo**, m., Rom. **Buzatu**, **Buzea** (Rom. *buză*, Alb. *buzë*). Cf. NP Thr. *Βουζης*, *Βουζας*, *Βυζας*. NL *Byzantion* is reportedly derived from this personal name. Cf. NFl Rom. **Buzău**. Duridanov accepts the Thracian origin of all these forms, but reconstructs a basic meaning ‘he-goat’ < IE **bhuǵo-*, unconfirmed in a larger comparative context; Romanian forms indicate a basic meaning ‘lip’, hence also ‘a limit’. The same origin is in NFl, NL **Buzău**.

Capov, Bg., Rom. **Țap**, **Țapu**, **Țapău**. Cf. Rom. **țap** ‘a he-goat’. Bulgarian forms reflect a borrowing from Romanian, but a direct borrowing directly from Thracian also is possible, if indeed there was a direct interference between the late Thracian speakers and the Slavic groups in expansion after the beginning of the 6th century A.D. This is now the already largely accepted hypothesis of the Bulgarian schools of Thracian studies.

Dada, **Dado**, Bg. and *dada* ‘elder sister’, S.-Cr. **Dade**, dial. *dada* ‘mother’. Duridanov compares these forms with Thr. NP *Dada*, *Dadas*, well attested in Thracian personal naming. Cf. *daj-*, *did-*, *dod-*, *dud-*

(below), also with clear Thracian parallels. As largely presented on another occasion (Paliga 1994 with further references) radical *dad-/did-/dod-/dud-*, well attested in Romanian, Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian personal names, also with clear Thracian precursors (see forms in Dečev), is closely related to *daină*, *doină*.

Dajna, **Dajno**, **Dojna**, **Dojno**, Bg. See under *Dajo*. Cf. Rom. *doină*, *daină*, NP *Doina* (Paliga 1994, and the previous entry).

Dajo, **Dae**, **Dajčo**, Bg.; **Daja**, **Dajko**, S.-Cr. Duridanov considers them related to NL Rom. **Daia**, **Dăești**, all of Thracian origin, cf. Thr. NP *Daus*, NPp *Daci*, *Dacisci*, Greek spelling *Δαοι* (oldest spelling of the ethnic group of the *Daci*). See above under *Dada*, *Dade*.

Dako, Bg.; **Dako**, **Daka**, S.-Cr., **Dacu**, Rom. Duridanov considers this form as directly reflecting the ancient ethnic name NPp *Dacus*, *Daci*, *Δακοι* etc. ‘the Dacians’ (i.e. the northern branch of the Thracians, in north Danubian region). Cf. Alb. NFl *Daka*. This is another argument that both *Dacus* and *Thrax*, *Thraex* have been continuously preserved until the modern and contemporary times; see also above, Lexicon A under *Trakana*. Further discussions on the Thracian root

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dak-/dek- in Paliga 1994. See also under *Geto*, *Geta* below.

Dardan, m., **Dardana**, f., Bg. From NPp Thr. *Δαρδανοί* pl, *Dardanos*, sg.; cf. NP Ill. *Dardana*, f., Alb. NFl *Dardha*, *dardhë* ‘a pear, a pear-tree’, from Thraco-Illyrian **darda*.

Deko, m., **Deka**, f. Cf. NP Thr. *Dece-balus*, *Dece-neus*. Cf. *Dako* above.

Dida, f., **Dido**, **Didjo**, m., Bg. NP Rom. **Dida**, **Didu**. Cf. NP Thr. *Dida*, *Didas*, *Didis*, *Didila*, NP Alb. **Dido**, NFl **Didha**. The parallel forms in Romanian, Albanian and Bulgarian, on the one hand, and Thracian, on the other, cannot be ignored. The sequence *d + e/i* in Romanian may pose specific problems only if we analyse it in the light of the Latin elements, where the result would have been *dz > z*. If we assume a Thracian origin, then the sequence seems natural, cf. *Deva*.

Dilo, m., **Dila**, f., Bg. Cf. NP Thr. *Διλλης*, *Διλι-ξελμης*, *Διλι-πορις*, Alb. NP *Dilo*, m., *Dilë*, f.

Dio, **Dijo**, m., NFl **Dieva**, NL **Diovo**, Bg. S-cr. NP **Dija**, f. Cf. NP Thr. *Dios*, *Deios*, *Dius*, explained by Duridanov from IE **diwios* ‘referring to the sky, divine’ > Thr. **div-* therefore with the fall of intervocalic *b/v* which is a specific Romanian evolution in the Latin elements, but preserved in NFl Alb. *Diva*. • Inter-

vocalic *b/v* is regularly preserved in the Thracian elements of Romanian, so the suggested etymon does not seem plausible; I am inclined to refer again to the root **DA-*, **DE-*, **DI-* as in *Daia*, *Dako*, *Daina* etc. (see above).

Dito, m., **Dita**, f., Bg. Cf. NP Thr. *Ditas*, *Dita* and Alb. NP *Dito*.

Dodo, m., **Doda**, **Dodina**, f., Bg. NP s. **Doda** (referring to a Romanian), Rom. NP **Doda**, **Dodu**, **Dodea**. Cf. Bg. *doda* ‘elder sister’, cf. Rom. *dodă*. Cf. Alb. NP *Dodë*, NFl *Doda*. (Duridanov). Cf. *Dada*, *Dajo*, *Dako*, *Dida*, *Dudo*.

Dudo, m., **Duda**, **Dudeva**, f., Bg. Cf. Rom. *Dudea*, *Dudu* and Thr. NP *Δουδης*, *Dudis*, Alb. NP *Duda*. Cf. *Dodu*.

Duño, **Duné**, m., **Duna**, **Duňa**, f., Bg. NP S.-Cr. **Dunja**. Cf. Thr. NP *Dunas*, *Dunis*, Alb. NFl *Duna* < IE **dhen-* ‘to run; to flow’ (Duridanov).

Duro, **Durko**, **Durčo**, m., **Dura**, f., Bg., S.-Cr. NP **Dura**, f., **Durad**, m. Cf. Thr. NP *Δουρας*, *Δουρα-ζερις*, *Durises*, *Durisses*, Alb. NP *Dura*. All seem related with (but not borrowed from) Lat. *durus* (Duridanov), indeed reflecting and preserving the Thracian name.

Eto, m., **Eta**, f., Bg. Cf. Thr. NP *Epta-*, e.g. *Epta/poris*, *Epta-kenthos*,

also *Eti-centus*; cf. Alb. NFl *Eta*, NP *Jet*, m., *Jeta*, f. (Duridanov).

Geko, m., **Geka**, f. Cf. Thr. NP ending in *-gekos*, e.g. *Γιγλι-γηκος*, m., Alb. NP *Gjek*, m.

Gera, **Geran**, Bg., Rom. **Gheară**, **Gheran** < *gheară*. There are many Thracian forms in *ger-* (Dečev 1957), see above in Lexicon A under *German*. It is probable that some Thracian roots continue with some modern and contemporary forms, but it is impossible to state whether ALL these forms may ultimately reflect Thr. *ger-*.

Geto, m., **Geta**, f., Bg. Cf. Thr. NP, NPP *Γετας*, *Γετης* etc. and Alb. NP *Gjet*, NFl *Gjeta* (Duridanov). If this parallel is accepted, then all the three basic Thracian ethnonyms seem preserved until the contemporary times: *Thrax/ Thraex*, *Dacus*, *Getas*. See under *Trakana* (Lexicon A) and *Dako* above.

Gigo, m., **Giga**, f. NR *Gigin*, *Gigina*, district of Burel, Bulgaria. Rom. NL *Ghighiu*, *Ghigoești*. Cf. Thr. NP *Γειγων*, *Γιγων*, and Alb. NFl *Gjiga* (Duridanov). The ultimate root may be Pre-IE **G-G-* 'great, big'.

Giko, m., **Gika**, f., Bg. Alb. NP *Gika*, *Gjikë*, NFl *Gjika*. Cf. Thr. NP *Γικην-τινος*, *Γεικαι-τινος* (Duridanov).

Gilo, m., **Gila**, f., Bg. Rom. NL *Ghilea*, *Ghilești* (< personal name).

Cf. Thr. NP *Gil-*, *-geilos*, e.g. *Γιλ-πυρις*, *Βουρ-γειλος* (cf. NP Rom. *Burghеле*, *Burghelea*) cf. also *A-γυλλας*, Np *Ιλ. Γυλλος*, Alb. NP *Gjile*, f. (Duridanov).

Gito, m., **Gita**, f., Bg. Cf. Thr. NP *Γιτις*, f., Alb. NP *Gjitë*, NFl *Gjita* (Duridanov). See above under *Geta*, *Geto*.

Gruia (< *grui* 'a small hill') - Bg. **Gruja**, **Gruev**. Cf. NL Thr. *Gurbikon*. The Thracian root *gur-*, *gru-* may ultimately reflect Pre-IE **K-R-* / **G-R-* 'a hill, a mountain', with an impressive heritage all over south-east Europe and further in the Mediterranean basin.

Gud'o, m., Bg., S.-Cr. **Gudan**. Cf. Thr. NP *Gudila*, *Gudilas*, probably a simple graphical variant of *Kutilas*, *Κουτιλας*, *-ης* < IE **ghodh*, **ghed-* 'to tie, to fix' (Duridanov). Cf. Rom. NP *Gudea*, *gudura*.

Jata, f., Bg., also NFl *Jata*. Cf. Thr. NP *Αθυς*, *Αθης*, *Ατις*. NFl Cz. *Jateš* seems Pre-Slavic (Duridanov).

Kačul(a), *-ov*, Bg., Rom. **Căciulă**, *-escu* derived from *căciulă* 'a fur-cap'. Cf. NP Thr. *Cutiula*, *Κοθηλας*.

Kodo, m., **Koda**, f., Bg. Cf. Thr. NP *Kodis*, *Κωδινος*, maybe a dialectal, Daco-Mysian variant of *Kotis*, *Koto* says Duridanov. Yet an approach to Rom. *coadă* 'a tail', radical *cod-*, e.g. NL *Codea*, *Codlea*. But this may simply be an etymological sub-

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stitution as often in personal names, and not rarely in place-names too.

Koto, Koté, m., **Kota**, f., Bg.; S.-Cr. NFl **Koti**, Rom. **Coteni, Cotești**. Duridanov compares these forms with Thr. NP *Kotiς, Kottiς, Cetus* etc., Alb. NP **Kotë**; he seemingly ignores the possible derivation from Rom. *cot* ‘an elbow’, hence NP *Coteanu, Cotescu*, NL *Coteni* etc. See above under *Kodo, Koda*, and below under *Kuto*, which may ultimately support Duridanov’s hypothesis. There may be, as often, a reconfiguration of these archaic forms by folk-etymology, and therefore such an explanation should not be rejected *de plano*.

Kračun, S.-Cr., Slv. Rom. **Crăciun**, obviously in relation with *crăciun* ‘Christmas’, also dialectally ‘a piece of wood, a log’; closely related to Alb. **kërcú** ‘a log, a piece of wood’. Romanian form was often explained from Lat. *creatio*, which is not satisfying etymologically or semantically. The basic meaning of the word must have been ‘wood, piece of wood, a log’, as in Albanian and dialectally in Romanian, therefore the forms must be of Thracian origin, a hypothesis with more and more supporters (thus in Mușu 1973: 50 sq., with a history of the problem; also Brâncuși 1983: 137). • The semantic parallel ‘piece of

wood’ – ‘Christmas’ is also in Italian *ceppo*, and reflects the traditional creeds around the winter solstice (more in Frazer’s *The Golden Bough*, chapter referring to fire creeds). This word of Thracian origin is spread on a large area in central, east and southeast Europe, directly from Thracian in Romanian, possibly also in Bulgarian and Serbian, via Romanian in Hungarian, Ukrainian and Russian. See *Crăciun* in the main lexicon.

Kuto, Ku’o, m., **Kuta**, f., Bg., Alb. NFl **Kuta**, NL **Kuta** (north Albania). Compared by Duridanov with NP Thr. *Kovrovς, Cutius, Cutiula* etc. See above under *Koto*.

Magul(ev), Bg., Rom. **Măgură, Măgurescu**, Alb. **magullë**. Cf. NL Thr. *Magaris*, near Serdica (today Sofia). The Bulgarian form rather reflect Albanian phonetism.

Melko, Bg., Rom. **Melcu, Melcea** (< *melc* ‘a snail’). Cf. NP Thr. *Melgis, Melgidianus* and many other Thracian forms with root *mel-*. Possibly related to Rom. *mal* ‘a riverside’, Alb. *mal* ‘a hill’, Pre-IE **M-L* ‘a hill, rock’. The snail was perhaps interpreted as a ‘small, moving hill(ock)’, and thus the relation ‘hill, hillock’ – ‘snail’ proves its archaic character.

Moga, Mogoš, Bg., **Moga**, S.-Cr., Rom. NP, **Moga, Mogoș, Mo-**

goşescu. Compared by Duridanov with NP Thr. *Mogita*, NP Celtic *Mogitu-maros*; he equally rejects the approach to Sl. *mogę*, root *mog-* ‘can, be able to’. His hypothesis is supported by the probable parallel form *Muga*, below.

Moşte, Mošto, Bg., Rom. **Moş(u), Moşte** < *moş* ‘an old man’; the feminine *moaşă* has developed the particular meaning ‘midwife’ < ‘old woman’. There are numerous Thracian forms with root *mos-*, *mus-* e.g. NPp *Moesi*, NR *Mossynos*, NP *Μοισις*; it is difficult to assume that all these forms have the same origin and meaning, but most of them must belong here. Cf. *Muša, Muşea*, below. The ultimate origin may be Pre-IE **M-S-* (1) ‘to curve, to bend, to bow’, and/or also **M-S-* (2) ‘to shine, bright’. It is not clear whether the parallel meanings ‘to bend, to curve’ and ‘to shine’ may be archaically related. More on this topic in Paliga 1989 c and in *Thracian and Pre-Thracian Studies*.

Muga, Bg., Rom. **Muga** (cf. *mugur* ‘a blossom’). There are numerous Thracian forms with root *muk-*, *mug-*, recently re-analysed from the perspective of the Thracian heritage in Romanian by Stelian Dumistrăcel (*Anuarul Institutului de Istorie şi Arheologie „A.D. Xenopol”*, Iaşi, 25, 1/1988: 391-408). Cf. *Moga*,

supra.

Muša, Bg., Rom. **Muşa, Muşea, Muşu** (cf. *muşat* ‘beautiful’, *muşetel*). The basic, archaic meaning of Romanian root *muş-* seemingly was ‘beautiful’. The relation with *moş* ‘an old man’ is not clear, unless we assume an archaic Pre-Indo-European origin, and a possible relation ‘to bend, curve’ – ‘to shine, bright’, which is confirmed by recent research: light is composed of CURVED components. See also under *Moşte* above.

Neno, Nenko, Nena, Nenka, Bg., S.-Cr. Also **Nono, Nonko, Nona,** Rom. **Nanu, Nancă, Nenea, Nenescu** etc. Compared by Duridanov with NP Thr. *Νηνας*, *Nonnus*, *Nonna*, Ill. *Nena-lava*. Further discussions about this root in Paliga 1996, chapter dedicated to social and family relations. • The expected phonetic treatment in Romanian would be with a closed vowel in the sequence vowel + *n*, but there are also exceptions, this case too. For sure, some place- and personal names follow other rules of phonetic evolution, presumably because they persisted as such over a longer period of time.

Pato, Pat’o, Bg. Compared by Duridanov with NL Cr. *Patkovac* and NL Rom. *Păteşti* (< NP

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Pătescu), then with Thr. NP *Πατας*, *Πατης*, NP Ill. *Patulus*.

Strugo, Bg., Rom. **Strug**, **Strugaru**; cf. *strugure* ‘a grape’. Seem closely related to NFI *Struga*, see Lexicon A. Beyond any doubt, an archaic Thracian root well preserved until modern times.

Toko, **Toké**, m., **Toka**, f., Bg.; **Toko**, S.-Cr. Compared by Duridanov with Thr. NP *Τοκος*, *Τοκως* and personal names ending in *-τοκης*, *-τοκος*.

Tuf’o, m., Bg. Compared by Duridanov with NL Cr. *Tutić*, S. *Tutin* then Thr. NP *Tutius*, *Τουτενης*, *Τουτα*, Ill. *Tutia*.

Vătaf, **Vato**, **Văto**, Bg., **Vataš**, **Vatavala**, S.-Cr., Rom. **Vătafu**, **Vătavu**. Cf. *vătaf*. Grković (1983: 88-89), referring to S.-Cr. form, considers it Thraco-Illyrian.

Vezo, **Vezenko**, m., Bg. Compared by Duridanov with NFI Alb. *Veza*, *Vegja* and NP Thr. *Ουεζίνας* (**Vezi-*

nas) < IE **weǵ* ‘vigorous, robust’.

Zajko, m., Bg. Compared by Duridanov with NL Rom. *Zăicești* (< NP *Zaicu*) and Thr. NP *Ζαϊκα*, *Ζαικε-δενθης*, *Zaece-thures*.

Zané, **Zano**, m., **Zana**, f., Bg. Compared by Duridanov with Thr. NP *Zanus*, *Zania*, *Αυλου-ζανης*, *Αυλου-ζανις*, Ill. *Zanatis*, Alb. *Zana*, NFI *Zana* < IE *ǵen-* ‘to give birth to’. Other arguments and discussions about the relationship between these forms and Rom. *zînză* ‘a fairy’, *Sân-ziene* ‘holy fairies’ in Paliga (1989 b, with further references). Cf. *Zino*, *Zina*, below.

Zino, m., **Zina**, f., Bg. Compared by Duridanov with Alb. NP *Zina*, f., NFI *Zina* and Thracian NP *Ζίνα*, *Ζεινης*, *Zines* etc. Presumably related to *Zane*, *Zano* above.

Zura, f., Bg. Compared by Duridanov with Alb. NP *Zura*, NFI *Zura* and Thr. NP *Ζυρα*, m., *Ζουρης*, *Ζυρις*, *Ζουρο-*

Lexicon D: Archaic Place-Names in Czech Republic and Slovakia

Beskydy Unknown origin. The relationship with Albanian *bjeshkë* ‘mountain pasture’ (as Šafařík suggested), therefore a Thracian place-name, seems to have a major impediment: there is no similar place-name in the neighbouring area (Skok’s basic principle of repeatability), so it is at least doubtful whether we may explain a Czech-Slovak place-name via an Albanian-related form. • The place-name, together with its related forms (Ukrainian *Beščady*, Polish *Bieszczad*) is seemingly Pre-Slavic, without a clear etymon. The proto-form would be **Beskēdъ*. A solution may be offered by further comparing Czech *Beskydy* to the Romanian form *pisc* ‘a (mountain) peak’, also frequent in place-names in mountainous locations. The root may **pesk-*, **besk-* ‘a peak’. On the attested alternance *p/b* in Thracian, see Paliga 1987. Šafařík’s comparison seems correct, and may be accepted with the additional data of-

ferred by the Romanian toponymy.

Brno Unknown origin, sometimes connected to *brnět* ‘to tingle’; (about wind) ‘to whistle, to whizz’, which is – as often in the case of archaic place-names – a fortuitous similarity (many similar examples are analysed by Skok 1950 and Bezlaž in the case of South Slavic toponymy).

• Presumably reflects Preie. **B-R-*, **P-R-* ‘stone; cliff’; adapted to the Czech spirit in accordance with *zrno* etc. • There are numerous Pre-Indo-European place-names derived from this root; other examples in Paliga 2000.

Čech Blažek and Klain (2002) have recently reviewed all the hypothesis regarding this place- and ethnic name, otherwise difficult to explain. I should add that identical or similar place-names are in Transylvania and East Carpathians. NL *Cehu Silvaniei* ‘the Czech of Silvania’ (Romanian *ceh*, *cehu* is pronounced as in Czech proper); NM

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Ceahlău in the East Carpathians, also not satisfactorily explained so far. If the archaic alternance *h/f* is accepted, and is indeed documented in some cases of Romanian words of Thracian origin, than the relation might be to Rom. *ceafă* ‘back side of the) neck’, Albanian *qafë*, same meaning as in Romanian. The primitive meaning seemingly was ‘neck’, hence ‘hill, elevated location = mountain’. The ultimate origin is uncertain, possibly Pre-Indo-European. If so, it may lead to the conclusion that the modern Czech lands reflected to archaic Neolithic and Chalcolithic influence from the south, at least in some cases. There are numerous place-names of this type in Romania, especially in the mountainous Transylvanian Carpathians, and they have reflection in the current vocabulary, so the principle of repeatability seems assured.

- The alternance *f/h* in Romanian witnesses the existence of a former laryngeal *X in Thracian; its result in Romanian in zero, *f* or *h*.
- There are therefore several place-names with the root *čech-*, spread also – beside the Czech area and Romanian – in Ukrainian, Polish, Slovene and northern Greece. This stresses the

main idea presented here: *čech-* is not an isolated root, but a well and largely represented root, presumably of Thracio-Illyrian origin, with the basic meaning ‘neck’, hence ‘hill neck, hill in general’.

Dyje A river at the Czech-Austrian border; German *Thaya*. Pre-Slavic, perhaps from IE **dhū-* ‘rapid, quick move, flow’. Possibly related to British NFI *Tyne*.

Hron A tributary of the Danube in Slovakia. Pre-Slavic, ultimately of Preie. origin, root **G-R-*, **K-R-* ‘a stone, a cliff’, presumably via Thracian, Celtic or Germanic, less probably via Illyrian as formerly held by some linguists. But the idea that the Illyrians came from more northern regions is still occasionally considered. • Earliest attested form is *Gran* (1075, 1124, 1217); closest related form must be Slovenian *Kranj*.

Chanava A region in Slovakia between the Slaná and the Rimavská Sobota. Obscure. The Hungarian form in *Hanva*, obscure as well. Kiss 1980: 263 assumes that the Slovak form would be borrowed from Hungarian, but this detail –

doubtful or debatable – does not clarify the topic.

Ida NFI Slovakia; NL **Veľká, Malá Ida**. Must one of the numerous Pre-Slavic, probably Pre-Indo-European river-names, cf. Greek *Ida*, a location on the island of Crete, Greek spelling *Idē*, Gr. *idē*, Dorian *idā* ‘forest, forested land’. Chantraine, I, 455 considers it a Pre-Hellenic term. • May be akin, also as an archaic Preie. heritage, to NFI *Ada* (Lexicon A). The reconstructable Preie. root **AD-*, **ID-* is identifiable in some other Preie. place-names.

Ipeľ (Slovak), Hungarian **Ipoly**, German **Eipel** A river at the Slovak-Hungarian border. Attested in the early Middle Ages as *Ipul*. Kiss (1980: 291) considers the form related to Bulgarian *Ibăr*, Serbian *Ibar*; we may also add Romanian *Ibru*; the assumed IE root would be **eybhros*. • The form is undoubtedly Pre-Slavic and Pre-Hungarian, but the best connection may be Rom. NL *Ip*, definite article *Ipu*, *Ipul*, as the earliest Medieval form shows for the river as well. The ultimate origin may be Pre-Indo-European.

Krkonoše A major mountainous chain at the Czech-Polish border.

Named in German *Riesengebirge* and *Oriás-hegység* lit. ‘huge mountains’ in Hungarian. The approach to Czech *krk* must be a folk-etymology. The genuine relationship should be the numerous forms, all of Pre-Slavic, presumably Pre-Indo-European origin in South Slavic: Slovenian NFI *Krka* (< *Corcoras*, *Korkoras*), then *Kranj*, *Koroška*, Serbo-Croatian *Krajna* etc. Cf. ancient *Carsium*, today *Hîrșova*, in Romania, on the low Danube. The change *c(k) > h* has not been satisfactorily explained; it may be due to a laryngeal in Thracian, impossible to note in Greek or Latin. • The form seems closely related to NL *Krknjaš* (*Veli i Mali*) in the island of Čiovo, Central Dalmatian Group of the Adriatic Islands; Skok 1950: 160 ff. assumes that the origin may be Lat. *circinus* ‘round, circular’ + suffix *-aceus*. Just like *Krkonoše*, the etymological family seems the large group derived from Preie. **K-R-*; I assume Skok would agree with this hypothesis, as he himself postulates it for many other examples. Other discussions in Paliga 2000; see main lexicon, also Lexica A and B.

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Labe, German **Elbe** Beyond any doubt, an old river-name, currently explained from IE **albho-s* ‘white’. In Medieval Latin, *Polabi* got the meaning ‘the Slavs along the Elba’. Polish *Łeba* seems also related, also NL *Labin*, south of Istria, Croatia, ancient *Albona*. • A Pre-Indo-European origin is also possible, root **AL-b-* or **L-B-/ *L-P-* ‘stone, cliff’, also in river-names flowing in/originating from mountainous regions.

Laborec A major river of Slovakia. Sometimes assumed as Pre-Slavic, maybe from Celtic **labaros* ‘turbulent, furious’ as Kiss 1980: 369 assumes. The form seem closely related to South Slavic NL *Labin*, south of Istria in Croatia < Ancient Illyrian *Albona* and/or to Slovenian *Labuta*, *Labota*, *Labotnica*, a tributary of Drava. Here the similarity to *labod*, *lavud* ‘a swan’ is due to folk etymology. • May be also related to Polish NL, NFI *Łeba*, German *Leba*.

Mátra A mountainous chain in northern Hungary between the Zagyva and Tarna rivers. A difficult form. On the one hand, the closest approach would be to Romanian NFI *Motru*, perhaps incorrectly de-

rived from Latin *mater* ‘mother’, though such an origin may not be excluded. On the other hand, both north Hungarian and Romanian forms might be akin to Romanian *mutră* ‘a figure, face’ (pejorative meaning, against *față* ‘face’, from Latin), archaic heritage, perhaps related to Basque *mutur* ‘muzzle’. Finally, Rom. *mutră* - Basque *mutur*, seemingly closely related [sic!] may be analysed independently from the pair *Mátra-Motru*, although the similarity is striking indeed. • The origin must be archaic, but further analysis should clarify if the origin of many similar forms in European place-names is the same in all cases, or we must accept multiple origins for similar or identical forms.

Morava A major river, the traditional border between Moravia and Slovakia. Must be closely related to Serbian NFI *Morava*, ancient *Margus*, *Margos*; another *Morava* is in the Vardar basin, also a mountain-name in Macedonia etc. Usually they are held for Pre-Slavic, IE **mor-* ‘a moor, a marsh, wet land’.

Nitra NL, NFI Slovakia. sometimes considered of Germanic origin, **Nitrhwa* < IE **neid-*, **nid-* ‘to flow’.

• The Germanic intermediary is not necessary, though of course possible. Hungarian *Nyitra* is adapted after Slovak.

Ohře A tributary of Labe/Elba. German *Eger*. Usually considered of Celtic origin, perhaps related to Old Indian *ajrah* ‘rapid, quick’. • As often with European place-names, the ultimate may be Preie., root *AG-/ *AK-, *OK/*OG- ‘a prominent place, a peak, a hill’, also in river-names. The archaic parallels in Romanian seem to be *Agăș*, *Agnita*, *Agaua*, *Agriș*. There are also parallels in Provence, once analysed by Rostaing 1950.

Olomouc Unexplained so far. Must be related to the forms derived from Preie. *OL-, *OR-, also *UL-, *UR-, closely related to *OR-, *UR- ‘big, huge; giant’, cf. Greek *Olynthos* etc. • Another possibility would be to compare *Olomouc* with NFI, NL *Lom* < Thracian *Almus*, *Almos* < IE **olmo-s* ‘an elm’ (the tree *Ulmus*) ; cf. Romanian *Olt*, ancient *Alutus*, with a change *a* > *o* maybe due to Slavic influence, but this is not certain as the ancient spelling is approximated. The place-names in *al-*, *ol-*, *ul-/ or-*, *ur-* are frequently of

Preie. origin. *Olomouc* (old *Olomúc*) may be another example.

Opava River and town in northern Moravia. The town is attested in 1195 as *Oppauia*, 1201 *Oppaua*; the earliest attested form for the river is *Vpa* in 1031 and *Opa* in 1062. Closely related to *Opave* (Serbia, Deževno region), *Opila* (Macedonia, Kratovo region), *Opajska reka* (**Opaja*), the Vardar basin, a tributary of Pčinja. A Thracian form **Apaja* or **Opaja* is reconstructed for the south Slavic forms, ultimately from IE **ap-* ‘water’. For the Moravian form, we must assume a Celtic or (north) Thracian origin.

Orava A tributary of Váh. Pre-Slavic, usually considered derived from IE **er-*, **or-* ‘to spring, to come out’. The form may be rather included in those derived from Preie. **OR-*, **UR-* ‘big, huge; a prominence, a hill/a river’. The form **Oravksá Magura** has the second element derived from Romanian *măgură* ‘an isolated hill cut by waters’; archaic indigenous (Thracian) term probably of Preie. origin, root **M-G-*, **M-K-* ‘a prominence’; also related to *mugur(e)* ‘a blossom’.

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Plzeň Unknown origin; attempts quoted in Lutterer, Kropáček and Huňáček. The origin must be archaic, Pre-Slavic, ultimately of Pre-Indo-European origin, root **P-L-*, **P-R-* as in *Praha*. The Pre-Czech form must have been **Pal-s-*, **Pul-s-* as in NL *Pula*, formerly *Pulj*, Italian *Pola*, of Illyrian origin (Lexicon A).

Praha The approach to *práh* must be a folk-etymology, just like the approach to *pražiti*. This essential place-name is seemingly related to the numerous Pre-Indo-European place-names derived from the root **P-R-*, **B-R-* ‘a stone, a cliff, a mountain’, and is ultimately related (Urverwandt) to *Brno*. The Pre-Slavic form must have been **Paraga*, cf. NM *Parnassos*, NM *Parîng* (Romania, Southern Carpathians) etc. There are extremely numerous place-names probably or possibly derived from this Pre-Indo-European root, among these possibly Hungarian *Pereg*, *Pereked* and Romanian NM *Pereg*, *Parîng*. • Slavic *pragъ* ‘a threshold’ may be ultimately of Pre-Indo-European origin too, same root quoted above; in this case the similarity *Pra-*

ha-pragъ is not fortuitous, though probably a result of hasard, not a post-Classical derivation *pragъ* > *Praha*, via **Paraga* > **Paraya* > **Praya*. • The form may be eventually explained as an Indo-European origin, related to Old Irish *airne* ‘stone’ and Anatolian *pēr-*, **parn^o* ‘house’ as in Blažek, *Celtic-Anatolian Isoglosses*.

Rimava A river in Slovakia. Akin to Hung. NFI *Rima*, a tributary of Sajó. Must be related to NFI *Rama*, a tributary of Neretva in Bosnia. The ultimate origin may be IE **rem-* ‘to stay’ or rather, as I am inclined to consider, Preie. **R-M-*, **R-B-* ‘to curve, to bend’, i.e. ‘meandering water flow’. The alternance *b/m* is attested in some archaic forms, so *Rima/Rimava/Rama* would be related to *Raba*; further discussions and examples in Paliga 2000. • Hence also *Rimavská Sobota*, see Lexicon A.

Tatry Unexplained so far. Must be derived from Preie. **T-T-* ‘bright, to shine’ (from the high peaks), cf. Greek *Titanos* ‘the bright one’, hence ‘the powerful one, the Titan’. A Thracian origin is suggested by Kiss 1980: 394, with further refer-

ences, also noting the Mediaeval form *Turtur: per montes turtur*. This would suggest an approach to Romanian *țurțur* ‘an icicle’ (Rom. *ț* = *ts*), an archaic word of presumably Pre-Indo-European origin (other examples in Paliga 1999 and our paper for the 8th Congress of Thracology, Sofia-Jambol 2000). Nevertheless the modern form cannot be explained from an older form **turtur*, which seems a parallel form to *Tatry* or we may admit complex phonetic changes without a clear, analysable parallel.

Torysa NFl Slovakia; Hungarian **Tarca**. Must represent the large group of place- and river-names derived from Preie. **T-R-*, also **T-L-* ‘stone, cliff; hill; a river flowing through/originating in a mountainous region’. There are numerous parallel examples, e.g. *Tarus* > Italian *Taro*, a tributary of Padus/Po. • Also related must be Hung. *Tarac* = Ukrainian *Teresva* and Hung. *Tarcal*. • At a larger scale, cf. Rom. NL, NFl *Tarcea* [pron. /tarča/], *Tarcău* (probably erroneously explained from Hung. *tarkó*; also Rom. NL *Turda* (cf. ancient Thracian *Turodiza*), NL *Turdaș* (hence the eponymous Neolithic culture, the Transyl-

vanian parallel of Vinča) etc. See Rom. NL *Tarcău*, *Tarcea*.

Turiec A river in Slovakia. Traditionally considered derived from **Turbc̣b* in its turn from *tuṛb*. There are numerous place- and river names derived from an archaic, Preie. root **T-R-*, **T-L-*, like NFl *Tur* in Hungary, the numerous river-names in Romania e.g. NFl *Tura*, *Turia*, *Tur* and the town of *Turda* on the *Tur*, *Turulung* (‘long *Tur*’), NL *Turdaș* etc. An ancient attestation is only for *Turda*: ancient *Touródiza*, *Tourous*, then *Thorda* in 1197. • Beyond any doubt, in Slavic areas these archaic forms interfered with those derived from *tuṛb*, and is sometimes impossible to determine the accurate origin. On the other hand, we must assume an archaic origin if the form has clear archaic parallels in the area. More in Paliga 2000. Cf. *Tuṛt* in the main lexicon.

Vlára, hence **Vlársky priesmyk** NFl, NM Slovakia. Unexplained. Must be archaic Pre-Slavic, ultimately of Preie. origin, root **OL-*, **UL-*, **UL-ar-a*, **OL-ar-a* > *Vlara*. Cf. *Vrbas* < *Urbanus*, *Urpanus*, which interferes with Sl. *vrba*. Fur-

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ther discussions in Paliga 2000 and Lexicon A.

Vltava An important river flowing in the Czech Republic; Prague is on the Vltava. Pre-Slavic, sometimes considered from Germanic **Wilpahwō* ‘wild, savage water’ (thus at least in Kiss 1980: 430). Nevertheless the Germanic origin is improbable; we may accept, at the most, a Germanic intermediary from an older, Pre-Indo-European form derived from **UL-*, also **AL-*, **OL-*

‘big, huge, high’, development **UL-t-a* > Old Czech **Vlta-* and ending adapted after the largely spread river-names in *-ava*, *-ova*, e.g. *Morava*, *Opava* etc. The evolution **ol-t-* > **vl-t-* as in South Slavic *Vrbas* < *Urbanus*, *Urpanus*, *Vir* < *Ura* etc. (many other examples in Paliga 2000 and Lexicon A). • If our interpretation is correct, both *Praha* and *Vltava* are of archaic, Pre-Indo-European origin, via Celtic or Germanic.

Lexicon E: Thracian and Phrygian God- and Sacral Names

A. Main Glossary

Aba, Greek spelling Ἀβα. A nymph, also local queen and a place name. Cf. NFI, NL Rom. *Abrud*, NL *Abud*, NL *Abuş*. There are more Thracian names with the root *ab-/ap-* which must derive from IE **ap-* ‘water, river’, Sanskrit *āpah* ‘waters’, Persian *āb* ‘water’. The Romanian river- and place-names witness the same Thracian origin. For the relation Rom. *Abrud* – Thr. *Abrutos*, *Abrutus* see also Paliga 2003 a: 48.

Akmon Epithet of Zeus with the Phrygians. Related to north Thracian (Dacian) place-name *Akmonia*, *Acmonia*. The basic meaning of the root *ak-* was ‘sharp; a peak; the sky’, Old Indian *asman* ‘the sky interpreted as a stone arch’, for which Hesychius *akmon*: ‘anvil’ and ‘sky’.

Akrisias, Acrisias The Phrygian god equivalent of the Greek *Kronos* venerated on elevations. The root *akr-* is the same as in Greek *akropolis*. The Phrygian-Greek equivalent may be summarised such:

Kronos = the son of the sky-god *Ouranos* (of Pre-Indo-European origin, root **OR-*, **UR-* ‘big, high, giant’) and father of the sky-god *Zeus* (Indo-European, basically the god of the shining sky)

Zeus = The sky-god, father of *Perseus*

Akrisios = ‘the supreme, high (god)’, grand-father of *Perseus*

Akrisias = ‘Kronos of the Phrygians’

Alsēnós, Gr. Ἀλσηνός. An epithet of Apollo. Presumably derived from Gr. ἄλσος ‘a sacred wood, a grove’, of unknown, probably Preie. origin.

***Aplus** Cf. Illyrian *Teuti-aplus* ‘defender of the people/nation’. Perhaps the Thracian form of Apollon, for which see the numerous Thracian place- and personal names in *apl-*, *apul-*.

Areus, Arēs, Gr. Ἀρεύς, Ἄρης. The god of war. There are indeed some other Thracian names with this root, but it has been often questioned (e.g. Dečev 1957: 24) whether the god is indeed Thracian or a Greek import. In his Thracian *facies*, was identified

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with Heros (or the Thracian Knight). If a Preie. origin is assumed (as the author of this paper believes), then Ares's ultimate origin may be put in other terms: an archaic, Pre-Indo-European, god whose cult was spread in the Pontic-Aegean area. Anyway, the numerous Thracian forms with root *ar-* is a minimal indication that the name could not be felt as foreign. As a final note, the Preie. origin of most Greek names is clear, and therefore the analysis should be continued in this perspective.

Asdoulēs Also PN *Asdula*. Seemingly a compound **as-doul-*. The first part is met in other Thracian forms, among these *asa*, the plant *Tussilago Farfara*, 'coltsfoot', NP *Asa-bithys* etc.; the second part is also attested as personal name, e.g. *Dolas*, *Dolea*, *Doleus*, for which cf. Romanian NP *Dulea*, *Dolea* etc. (with the normal preservation of intervocalic *-l-*). The etymological analysis is difficult. The first part, *as-*, may be Preie. **AS-* with chromatic meaning: 'white; bright'; it is not clear the second part, possibly related also with Rom. *dulău* 'a big, wicked dog' (held for unknown origin or of Polish origin?). The rela-

tionship seems possible: Thr. *Asdoulēs*, *Dolas*, *Dolea* etc. - Rom. *Dulea*, *Dolea*, possibly also *dulău*.

Athy-parēnós, Gr. *Αθυ-παρηνός*. An epithet of Sabazios (Dečev 1957: 8). There are numerous Thracian personal names of the type *Athys*, *Atias*, *Atius* etc. And also the Phrygian god *Attis*, with which all these may be related. The ultimate origin may be Preie. There are also some Romanian place-names with this root (for which see Paliga 2003: 50).

Attis Phrygian god, whose sacred tree was the pine. His initial representation was dendromorphic, and later got a central position in cult (as described in Ovid's *Fastes* 4, 182–186; 237–244).

Axieros, Gr. *Ἀξί-ερος*. See *Kábeiroi*, *Kábiroi*.

Axiokersos, Gr. *Ἀξιό-κερσος*. See *Kábeiroi*, *Kábiroi*.

Axiokersa, Gr. *Ἀξιο-κέρσα*. See *Kábeiroi*, *Kábiroi*.

Bagaios *Zeus Bagaios* An epithet of the Phrygian sky-god. The related Bythinian epithet of the sky-god was *Syrgastēs*, *Syrgastōr*, presumably related to the Thracian personal name *Suregethes* 'the bright (one, i.e. god or person)'. If so, the mean-

ing must have been also ‘the bright one, the bright god’. Cf. Rom. *sur* (now only about horses) ‘with whitish (black and white) fur’, which may be or not related to Basque *txuri* (*čuri*) ‘white, whitish’. If the relationship with Basque is accepted (and is not unique), then Thr. *Sur(e)*- may be of Pre-Indo-European origin.

Bassárai, Gr. *βασσάραι*. A garment of Bacchus priestesses. The root **bas(s)-* is frequent in some personal and place-names. See also the Medieval Romanian family of *Basarab*, from unknown reasons not usually held for continuing the similar Thracian names, e.g. *Bassaros*, *Bassos*, *Bassus*, NPp *Bássaroi* etc. The etymon is unknown; I assume it cannot be of Phoenician origin as quoted in Dečev 1957: 44, but rather a Preie. origin of unknown meaning.

Batalde-ouenós, Gr. *Βαταλδε. ουννός*. An epithet of Dionyssos. Unclear meaning. The root of first part, *bat-*, seems related to other forms in *bat-*, maybe the same as in **batileus* > *basileus*, for which is Preie. origin is probable. See *baci*, *bade*.

Bendis, Gr. *Βενδίς, Βένδις, Μενδίς*. Goddess of the moon and

fate. From IE **bhend-* ‘to bind’ (hence the English word too). This divinity was imagined as *weaving*, i.e. *binding* the fate of people. Identified with Artemis-Diana, sometimes with Hekate. This reflects the complex values of Bendis: goddess of moon when in the sky, of forests on earth, and of the underworld, if identified with Hekate. As in Horace's *Odes* (3, 22):

Montium custos nemorumque
virgo

Quae laborantes utero puellas

Ter vocata audis adimisque leto,

Diva triformis.

O virgin of woods and guard of
mountains

Who, three times invoked, pay

Attention to mothers in labours,

You, with three forms

Blékouros, Gr. *Βληκουρος*. A god-name attested in one inscription in Omar-Oren, south of Orta-köy: *Θεῷ Βληκουρῷ*. The meaning is unclear; nevertheless, *bla-*, *ble-* are recorded as first part of other compounds, e.g. *Blasa/Blassas*, *Blébois*, *-bleptēs*. These are not sufficient for a clear contour of the form. The second part, with several spelling

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variants, is also attested in other forms, e.g. *Epta-koros*, *Kyri-dava*, *Moukouna-kyros* etc. See in Dečev 1957: 264.

Bouaiparēnē, Gr. *Βουαιπαρηνή*. An epithet of Hera. Dečev (1957: 78) suggests IE **bheu-* ‘to live, to have location in’, which seems unconvincing in the given context. It is, of course, a compound, the meaning of which may ultimately be ‘daughter of bulls’.

Cotys See *Kotys*.

Dabatopeios *Deus faber* of the Thracians. Also NP *Dabeis*. The first part must reflect IE **dhabh-* ‘to fix, to match’, as in Armenian *darbin* ‘faber’, maybe also Sl. *dobrǫ* (but not all slavacists agree with this hypothesis). This root is also inherited in Rom. *dibaci* ‘deft’, with the normal preservation of intervocalic *-b-* in an indigenous Thracian element (despite the opposite, but not argued, view of most historians of the Romanian language). The comparison with the Romanian form may lead to reconstructing the genuine Thracian pronunciation **Dibačo-pəy-*. • Intervocalic *b/v* is normal in the Thracian elements of Romanian, unlike the Latin heritage, when it is almost regularly lost (with

very few exceptions).

Darzas, Derzas, Derzis Chtonian Thracian god venerated in the region of Odessos (today Varna); characterised as a *theos megas* ‘the great god’. Cf. *theō epēkoō Derzei* ‘to the god who listens to/pay attention to prayers’. Must be related to *Darēs* (below), from the same root as in Sl. *dbrzǫ*, Lith. *drqsùs* etc. The expected Slavic form would have been **dbrsǫ > dbrchǫ*. • It may be debatable if Rom. *dîrz*, *dârz* is of Slavic or rather of indigenous (Thracian) origin, but this is not the only case of this type. The problem of the indigenous (Thracian) or Slavic origin of some forms is complex and will require vast and complex investigations. The satem character of both Thracian and Slavic has often led to confusing conclusions regarding the Thracian or Slavic character of some elements in Romanian.

Darrōn A *daemon* with the Macedonians (Hesychius; Dečev 1957: 119). Must be related to *Darēs*.

Darēs Name of a Phrygian (Trojan) priest of Hephaistos (Illiad, 5, 9–11). By Hephaistos, Homer of course noted a local god assimilated to the

Greek god. The name must be theophoric. IE **dher-* ‘to keep tight; to support’; hence Persian *Dareios*. See *Darzalas*, *Derzelas*, *Derzis*.

Dēloptēs Unclear meaning, yet again the root is met again in several Thracian forms; also an epithet of Heros: *Heros Dēloptē[s]*. If our interpretation is correct, one may think at the archaic root **dal-*, **del-* in various place-names as *Dalmatia* or Rom. *deal* ‘a hill’, still held by many linguists for a Slavic origin. I assume that the ultimate root is Preie. **DaL-*, **DeL-*, **TaL-*, **TeL-* in various forms referring to elevated locations, maybe the same as in Hebrew *tel*, Arabic *tell* ‘a hill, an elevated location’ (a Pre-Indo-European and Pre-Semitic, Circum-Mediterranean archaic root). The *Urverwandschaft* of southeast European forms (Preie.) and other Circum-Mediterranean forms should not be rejected, as it may prove realistic and in accordance with the archaeological finds of the last decades.

Diuzenus Etymologically the same as Gr. *Diogenes* ‘born from Zeus’. Some equivalents are *Deospor*, *Deosporis*, in which the second element is *-por*, *-poris* ‘offspring; son’. The

description ‘born from Zeus’ was also specific to Thracian personal names, mainly names of leaders.

Gebeleizis Epithet of Zamolxis. Erroneously considered another god. The invoked fragment in Herodotus (*Historiae*, 4, 93, 94) is very clear: Gebeleizis is another name of Zamolxis, specific with some Thracian groups [i.e. as compared to the usual, more spread form *Zamolxis*, *Zalmoxis*]. IE **ǵwer-* ‘to shine’ or rather **ǵheib-* ‘light; lightning’; hence also *Zbeltiurdos*, *Zbelsurdos* and *zibythides* ‘the nobles (i.e. the bright ones) of the southern Thracians’, the *clarissimi*. The real pronunciation in Thracian was perhaps **ǵ(ə)beleiz-iš*, **ǵ(ə)beleiz-iš*, *ǵəbeleiz-iš*, *ǵb(ə)leiz-iš*.

Hēra Reportedly the sky goddess of the Thracians (Polyainos, *Strategemata* 7, 22). If really a parallel of the Greek goddess, the information of a sky goddess, even if uncomfortable in the field of comparative religions, should not be rejected.

Hērōs. See below *B. Hērōs and His Epithets*

Iambadoulēs Unknown origin and meaning. Held for either male or female god. The second part of the compound, *-do(u)las*, *-dou(u)lēs* is

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also met in some other Thracian forms. See above *Asdoulēs*.

Kábeiroi, Kábiroi, pl. (sing. **Kábeiros, Kábiros**; Greek spelling *Κάβειροι, Κάβιροι*). Long held for chthonian Thracian deities, whose cult was spread in Samothrake and other islands. Dečev 1957: 220 quotes Berneker's approach to OCS *kobъ* 'a Genius, a spirit', which may be at least debatable. The *kabiroi* were surrounded by a certain enigma in the antiquity, so the information about their initiatic cult is scarce. Their epithets were *Axieros, Axiokersos, Axiokersa*, which may ultimately illuminate their basic meaning, and also their original cult, later centred around an ithyphallic Hermes. The epithets are derived from *axios, axia* 'venerable, capable'; and *Axiokersos, Axiokersa* must have meant 'the most venerable/capable bridegroom, the most venerable/capable bride' respectively. The root *kers-* had two basic meanings, apparently different, but semantically connected: 'to plough' and 'to cut, to penetrate; to inseminate (sexually); intercourse'. There was therefore a cult related to both farming and sexual life, in full accordance with traditional cults.

The etymon of the generical term *Kábeiroi, Kábiroi* must be connected to a root of Pre-Indo-European origin (presumably **K-B-*, **K-P-*), as most Greek god-names too, and presumably related to other place- and personal names attested in the Thracian world: NP *Kabadokos*; NL *Kaba-ssós, Kabē-ssós, Kábē-sos, Kábē-sa, Kába-sa*; NL, NR *Kabe-tzós*; NL *Kabý-lē, Cabyle, Cabula* (some 7 kms from Jambol, on the Tundža, a region with rich Thracian sites); NL *Kapí-dava, Kapí-daba* etc. (all forms quoted after Dečev 1957). Even if we may not be able to identify the archaic meaning of the root *kab-*, it is beyond any doubt that it was frequent in many Thracian forms. We are inclined for an archaic Pre-Indo-European origin.

Kogaion, Kogaionon The sacred mountain of the northern Thracians (the Daci or Getae). Cf. NM *Gugu* (Romania), NP *Goga*, also *gogă* 'a ghost, a phantom' = Alb. *gogë* etc. Probably archaic Preie. root **K-K-*, **G-K-* 'to swell, to inflate; big, make big'. The Romanian mountain *Gugu* cannot be held as a direct heir of the ancient form, but as a similar, etymologically related place-name.

There are no archaeological proofs that Mt. *Gugu* may directly continue the ancient form.

Kotys The goddess of vegetation, often imagined with prominent, cone-like contours; her veneration often got orgiastic features. Must be related to Rom. *ciot* [pron. /čot/] ‘a knot, gnarl’. The original name of the goddess must have been *Čot-is or Čot-iš. The goddess ‘assisted’ ithyphallic rites (*ephoros aischrōn*). In Korinthos, she was venerated under the name *Kotyt(t)ō* or *Kottō*. There was also a king *Kotys I*, theophoric name (with the Odrysae, 4th century B.C.). • The name must be also related with the Thracian name of plant *cotiata* ‘couch grass’ (*Triticum* or *Agropyrum repens*, see Dečev 1929: 25); in Romanian, it is called *iarbă tare*, lit. ‘hard, strong grass’, all from IE *k^wod- ‘sharp; to sting’. The reconstructable pronunciation for *cotiata* is *čotyata or *čotsata.

Kybēlē, also **Kybēbē** Phrygian goddess of earth, harvest and love: lover of *Attis*. Etymon unknown, presumably of Preie. origin. Perhaps the same root as in *Kabiroi*.

Manimazos ND, epithet of Hērōs. The second part is clearly related to

Mazeus, while the first part may be from the same root as Germ. *Mann*, Eng. *man*.

Mazeus ‘The Great/Big (god)’. Epithet of the Phrygian sky-god. Related with the second part of the compound *Mani-mazos*, an epithet of Hērōs.

Mēdyzis The first part *mēd-* should be related to other Thracian forms like *Mēda*, *Mēdos*, *Mēdokus* etc. Cf. NL *Mediaș*, in southern Transylvania, and *Medija*, *Medulin* (Lexicon A).

Mēn Moon god with the Phrygians. Related to Lat. *mensis* (preserved in Aromanian *mes*, absent in Daco-Romanian), Sl. *měsecъ*, Eng. *moon*, Germ. *Monat* etc. It is probable that the Thracian and Phrygian calendar was based on the moon phases. Cf. *Bendis* and *mroata*.

mroata Presumably referred to the sacred columns in a temple. Cf. Lydian *mrud-*, *mruvaa-* ‘a stella, a column’; perhaps related to Avestan *mrav-/mru-* ‘to speak’. If such an approach is accepted, then the basic, archaic meaning was ‘figurative speech of column’, i.e. they were imbued with the magic powers of a message. Such a parallel is Hittite *lali* ‘inscription’ and *lala* ‘language, tongue’; Latin *os*, *oris* and *oracu-*

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lum, oratio; Hebrew *Aaron* ‘mouth’ and ‘prophet’.

Myndrytos, Myndrytus The Thracian equivalent of Greek *Hermes* and Roman *Mercurius* as suggested by the inscription: *Jovi Fulm[ini] et Mercur[io] et Myndry[to] Aliulas Zepaibis*. The root *myn-* would indicate a Preie. origin, root **M-N-* ‘to hide, to conceal; secret’.

pleistoi The high-ranked priests of *Zamolxis*. The root is also met in NP *Pleistōr* and ND *Pleistōros*. From IE **plei-s* ‘full’ as in Lat. *plenus*, Germ. *voll*. They must have initially been associated with the *plenitude* of nature, and with the cult of nature and vegetation. Later on, in the course of spiritual evolution, their figure got more and more abstract values. The etymologically related ND *Pleistōros* got the level of a war-god, in a later period.

Pleistōros A war-god with the *Apsintoi*. See preceding entry.

***Pūr-** ‘(sacred) fire’ (Phrygian and Thracian). Cf. Thr. NP *Pyrousala*, *Pyroulas*, *Purula* etc. IE **pūr-* ‘fire’, hence also the basic word for ‘fire’ in many IE languages; cf. also Umbrian *purum-e* ‘in the fire’. • I have not changed my hypothesis regarding the origin of Rom. *pururi*, *pu-*

rurea ‘eternally’, also *de-a pururi*, *de-a pururea* ‘id.’ The basic meaning must have been ‘eternal fire’ > ‘eternal’, a generalisation of meaning (with sacred, religious connotations), which occurred in the first centuries A.D., probably due to a generally spread conception about the eternal, sacred character of fire. The modern form *pururi* obviously is (formally) a neuter plural; it became adverb when the initial meaning was lost, and it became an adverb (as considered now). The substantive original character is also preserved in the syntagmatic constructions *de-a pururi/pururea* ‘(lit.) for the (eternal) fires > in eternity, eternally’. The Romanian forms *pururi*, *pururea*, *de-a pururi*, *de-a pururea* are among the clearest proofs of a Thracian heritage, though absent in most glossaries of the indigenous elements of Romanian.

Sabadios See *Sabazios*.

Sabazios Also *Sabadios*. God of vegetation in full development. The first part is related to Hittite (cuneiform) *suwa* ‘to swell’, Palaic *sunā* ‘I fill’; Illyrian *sabaia* ‘a brewed liquid; a kind of beer’. In a later development, *Sabadios/Sabazios* becomes a solar god of the southern Thracians.

Sabos The abridged form of *Sabadios*, *Sabazios*.

Sebadius Late, south-Thracian form for *Sabadios*, *Sabazios*.

Semele The Theban (Phrygian) earth-goddess. The name is Hellenised, the original form was *Zemelō*, possibly also a feminine counterpart of the supreme north Thracian god *Zamolxis*, *Zalmoxis*, *Salmoxis*.

Suregethes Thracian personal name with sacred value, also sacred epithet. The first part seems related to Rom. *sur* (now about horses only) ‘with white and black fur’; the initial meaning presumably was ‘bright, bright colour’, cf. NM *Suru* (South Carpathians), also Romanian personal name.

Syrotērēs God-name. The first part is related to the first part in *Suregethes*, and to other similar forms (see Dečev 1957 s.v. in *sur-*, *syr-*, *sour-*); the second part is also found in some Thracian personal names, and preserved in Rom. *tare* ‘hard, strong’, also in personal names. The general meaning of the form must be reconstructed as ‘the strong bright/shining (god)’.

Zamolxis, also spelled *Zalmoxis*, *Salmoxis* The supreme god of the northern Thracians (*Daci*, *Dacisci* or *Getae*, the Daco-Getians or Thraco-

Dacians in the modern terminology). Interpreted as *Kronos* by the Greeks, i.e. the primordial god. A certain magic surrounded the representation of this divinity as reported by the ancient Greek authors. The basic meaning is ‘the earth awed as a divinity’, by which we may identify the peculiar representation of a supreme god: god of earth, unlike all the other Indo-European groups, who imagined the supreme god related to the shining sky. It was indeed venerated as the god of the shining sky and thunder under the epithet *Gebeleizis*. • There are at least two layers in the representation of this divinity. (1) The Pre-Indo-European layer, which clearly associates the supreme god with the cyclic evolution of nature and earth, cf. root **S-M-* ‘deep’ or ‘high’ as in Greek *Samos*. (2) The Indo-European layer, which brought, as usual with the Indo-Europeans, the idea of god of the shining sky, as also represented in the epithet *Gebeleizis*; the Indo-Europeans associated the name to ‘earth’, IE **ǵ(h)em-* ‘earth’. Hence also the name of the Phrygian goddess of earth *Zemelō*. • It is feasible to assume that the archaic, Pre-Indo-European name of the god was **Samol-č-iš*, later deformed, after the

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advent of the Indo-European groups, to **Zamol-č-iš*. The Greeks could not spell the specific Thracian phonemes č and š, and simplified it – like in many other instances – to *Zamolxis*, by metathesis *Zalmoxis*, *Salmoxis*.

Zemelō The Phrygian (and original) name of *Semele*. Related to *Zamolxis*.

Zeirēnē See *Zerinthia*.

Zerinthia Love goddess with the Macedonians. Also **Zeirēnē**, equivalent of Aphrodite in Macedonia. Derived from IE **ǵher-* ‘to wish, to love, to desire’, hence also Greek *charis*, German *gierig*, (*be*)*gehren*.

B. Hērōs and (some of) His Epithets

Baridenthēs ‘to bear (*bari-*) + barley (*denth-ēs*)’, i.e. ‘the bearer of barley = barley-bearer, the one who bears barley’. Cf. *Denthēbaris*, f.; *Orsobaris*, *Orsabaris*, a Bythinian king; Phrygian NP *Denthis*, *denthis* ‘a kind of fermented drink (presumably using barley)’. Also NPp *Dantheleti*, *Dentheleti* (name of a Thracian tribe), the meaning of which seems to be ‘barley farmers, those who cultivate barley’. All these support the idea, reported by ancient sources,

that Thracian prepared a kind of drink from barley or, otherwise put, that barley had an important role in their life, including religious beliefs.

Baskidithias ‘the one who sits aside, assists (the believers)’. Cf. Hesychius’s Lydian form *baske pikrolea* ‘come here quickly’.

Borkēithias, Gr. *Βορκηθιας*. Seems related to NL *Borkia*, Lat. *Bortia* (Dečev 1957: 76). Cf. *burcă*, NP Rom. *Burcu*, *Burcea* [read: *Burča*], *Burcescu* etc.

Kendrisos An epithet of Apollo. Dečev assumes it is related to NPp *Kindrai*. The ultimate root may be, as Dečev believes, an IE **qend-* ‘to bright, to shine’, which is possible. Cf. Rom. personal name *Chendrea* [kéndrɛa].

Manimazos, Manibazos See above under A.

Vetesprios, Outespeios, Outasprios ‘the supreme one, the leader’, cf. Rom. *vătaf*, *vătah*, *vătaș* ‘1. a master, a local leader; 2. the most important character in the sacred dance of Călușari’. As argued elsewhere, this word (and others, of course) may indicate that Thracian had a velar spirant (in N. D. Andreev’s terminology) or laryngeal (in the standard

terminology); it was preserved until late Thracian. Its reflexes in Romanian seem to be *f*, *h*, *v* and zero; and *f*, *h*, *th/dh* and zero in Albanian (Paliga 2003 c). I am inclined to reconstruct the basic form as **vətaX*, where *X* notes the velar spirant.

Pyrmēroulas, Pyrmērylas For the first part, see *Pūr-* ‘fire’; The second part of the compound may be related to Rom. *mare* ‘big’ (against *mare* ‘sea’, of Latin origin); the Thracian origin of *mare* ‘big’ is still debated, but is probable. If so, the meaning would be ‘the great fire’.

Saldobyssēnos, Soldobooyysēnos Cf. NL *Salda*, *Saldokele*, *Saldovissos* etc. Root *sal-* may be the same as in Lat. *calidus*, therefore the basic meaning would be ‘warm’.

Saldokelēnós An epithet of Asklepios in an inscription of Glava Panega. A compound of *saldo-kelēnos*, difficult to analyse.

Stourouleos, Strōoula Cf. NP *Sterissa*, father of the Dacian king Diurpaneus (whose real pronunciation probably was **Ĝupən-eus*, hence Rom. *giupîn*, *giupân* [ĝupîn], Sl. *župan* (already in Paliga 1987). The IE root may be the same as in Eng. *stark*, Gr. *stereos* etc. Cf. NP Arom. (Macedo-Romanian) *Zdru*, *Zdrula*.

Tarsozie(is) Dečev holds *tars-* for the meaning ‘penis’, which may be debatable. It is rather from the same root as *tare*.

Zeindroymēnos Also an epithet of Zeus.

A Selective Lexicon of Pre-Indo-European Roots

This chapter aims at summarising the results of my research during the last 20 years in the field of the Pre-Indo-European heritage. (For the quite impressive bibliography of the topic see Paliga 1989 d). The main aim is to present a minimal glossary as a basis for future debates and additions; also a reference material for the Pre-Indo-European elements in Romanian.

It should be remembered that many of the forms quoted below require deep investigations, e.g. the typical case of *oraş* ‘township, city’, the usual word in Romanian to denote an urban settlement (detailed discussions with further references in Paliga 1987; 1989 a; 1991 b; 1992 b). The author is fully aware of the radical shift from considering *oraş* of Hungarian origin to the hypothesis that the word is in fact of Pre-Indo-European origin via Thracian, of course. The former (comfortable) explanation has been replaced by another, less comfortable but arguably closer to reality. The forms *oraş/uraş* – *uriaş/oriaş* may be termed essential in understanding the archaic heritage of Romanian.

This chapter cannot extend punctual approaches, as every form requires its own rights, but to simply present the conclusions of other papers. We have followed the basic principles exposed by Rostaing (1950), Skok (1950) and other linguists who have ever approached “the Pre-Indo-European” heritage in Europe, especially in southeast Europe.

The following glossary presents the forms in the order: (1) Primitive (Pre-Indo-European) root and its probable meaning *in italic boldface type*; (2) Thracian forms in ancient texts *in italic type*; (3) some relevant Romanian forms as inherited via Thracian *in italic type*.

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***AB-, *AP-, *IB-** ‘high, elevated, prominent’

• NL *Aba*, NPp *Abantes*, NL *Abrolebas*, NL *Abrutus* (today *Abtat*, in Bulgaria), NL *Apulum*, NL *Aproi*, NFl, ND (*H*)*ebrus*.

• NL *Abrud*, NL *Abud*, NL *Abuş*; NL *Apa* (? infl. by *apă* ‘water’, also a NFl, e.g. *Apa*); NL *Apaşa*, *Apadia*; NL *Ip*, NFl, NL *Ibru* (bg. *Ibăr*).

***AL-, *AR-, *OL-, *IL-** ‘high, elevated’ also ‘deep’

• NL, NFl *Arauros*, *Araros*, *Arolos*; NL *Ilion*, NP *Ilos*, *Ilis*; NPp *-ileti*.

• NL *Arad*, *Ard*; NFl *Aranca* (cf. iber. *Aran*), NFl *Argeş*, *Arghiş*, NFl, NL *Arghişu*, *Arghiş*, *Archiş* presumably related to *argea* ‘a hollow, a subterranean dwelling’; NFl *Arieş*; *arţar* ‘the tree *Acer*, maple’; NM *Rarău* (Thr. **ar-ar-a* > **rar-a-*, masculine, cf. Thr. *Araros*); NL *Ilba*, *Ilva*; NFl, NL *Iltuţ*, *Ilteu*; NFl *Olt*, NSt *Oltina*.

***OR-, *UR-** (variant of the previous root) ‘huge, big’

• NL *Ordessos* (**ordeş*), NPp *Orosines*, NP *Oroles*; also many other forms in *-ora*, *oros*, *-oron* ‘township’ (in place-names).

• *Oraş*, dial. (today rare) also *uraş*, and *-oara* in place-names only, closely related to *uriaş*, dial. also *oriaş* ‘huge, big; a giant of the Romanian tales; other place-names are obviously or probably related: NL *Oar*, NL *Oradea* (formerly *Oradea-Mare*, a tautology, ‘great Oradea’ which was calqued in Hungarian); NL *Orşova* (with Slavic suffix); NL, NP *Orlea*, also *Urlea*, *Uric*, *Urleta*, *Urca* (with primitive *o/u* vowel-grade); NL *Oarţa*, *Orţiţa*, *Orlat*, *Orman* etc.; *a se urca* ‘to climb, go upwards’; *urdă* ‘a kind of cheese selected at the surface of milk’ (primitive pastoral term); *ortoman* ‘rich, big’ (cf. *Orman* supra).

***AK-, *AG-** ‘top, peak; a thorn’

• NPp *Aga-thyrsi* (with the second part of the compound of equally Preie. origin, root **T-R-*); NL *Aegissos* (**Agiş*), NL *Aci-dava*, NL *Acmonia*, NL *Egirca*, NL *Egeta*.

• NL *Agăş*, *Agnita*, *Agaua*; *agriş* ‘gooseberry’ (from the thorny shape of the leaves); NL *Agriş*, NL *Agrieş*; NL *Igriş*, NL *Igriţa*, NL *Igniş*, NL *Ighiu*, NL *Ighiş*, NL, NM *Igoiu*; *a agăţa* ‘to seize, grasp’.

***A(I)N-**, ***EN-**, ***IN-** chromatic meaning in names of bright colours (cf. next entry)

• NFI *An-amus*, NP *An-bros*, and other forms of possibly Preie. origin.

• NFI *Anieş*, NL *Ant*, NL *Anina*, NFI *Ampoi* (< **an-p-*); NM, NL *Ineu*, *Inău*; NL *Inand*; NL *Inuc*.

***A(I)S-**, ***ES-**, ***IS-** chromatic meaning in names of dark colours (cf. previous entry)

• NL *Asai*, NL *Assa* (**aša*), NL *Aisa*, NFI *Aisepos*.

• NFI *Asău*, NFI *Asuaj*; cf. NP obs. *Asan* (the association with NP Arabic *Hassan* is fortuitous).

***AT-**, ***AD-**, ***UT-** ‘concave’ or ‘convex’; ‘prominent’ or ‘deep’

• NFI *Athyra*s (Celtic *Atur*), NM *Athos*, NP *Athys*; NP *Atlas* and ND Gr. *Atlas*; NL *Adrane* and NP *Ada*, *Adas*, *Adaios*. NM *Addiria* - *Atlas*; NM *Adoreus* (Phrygia), NFI *Addua* (today *Adda*, a tributary of Po), NL *Athenai* (Caria), NL *Atenia* (Pisidia), NL *Attanassos*, *Athanassos* (Phrygia), ND *Athēnē*, *Athānā*, NL *Atēnā*, *Atenia*;

Thracian: NFI *Athrus*, *Iatrus* (today *Jantra*, *Jeter*, Bulgaria), NL *Utum*, NFI *Utus* (Moesia).

Adam, *adamna* ‘beloved’, *adapta* ‘love, affection’.

• NL *Atea*, NL *Ateaş*, NL *Atia*, NL *Atid*; (?NL *Aţel*); NL *Aita*, NL *Aiton*; NL *Adea* (cf. *Atea*); NL *Adjud* (?); *adia* ‘to breeze’.

***B-T-**, ***BaTT-** (**bats-*, **bač-*) ‘protector, king, leader’

• *-bates* ‘priests’; ND *Batalde*, epithet for Dionysos; NP *Batsinis*. These forms are presumably related to Gr. *basileos* (< **batileos*) of Preie. origin as well.

• *bade* ‘an elder person’; *baci*, dial. *baţe* ‘leader of shepherds’ (archaic primitive word); also NP *Badea*, *Baciu* etc.

***G-G-**, ***K-K-**, ***G-K-**, etc. ‘to swell, to increase; big’

• ND *Gigas*, pl. *Gigantes*, NP *Ogyges*, *Ogygos*, a legendary king of Thebes; hence NL *Ogygia*, another name of Thebes; NM *Gygemeros*, NPp *Cicones*, NL *Ciconia*; NP *Coca*, *Coccos*, *Gokon*; NM, NFI *Co-gaion(on)*. Provence: *Gigors*.

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• NM *Gugu*; NL, NP *Guga* (?NL *Gagu*); *gogă* ‘a ghost’ (closely related to Alb. *gogë*), NP *Gog(a)*; *cocon*, obs. ‘a baby, child’ (‘round’); *cocoașă* ‘a hunch’; *gogoășă* ‘a round cake, a kind of doughnut’.

***K-R-, *G-R-** ‘high, elevated, mountain, cliff’

• NL *Carpis*, NPp *Carpi*, NL *Carsidava*, NM *Carpates*, NL *Carasura*, NL *Carsium* (today *Hîrșova*, with evolution of velar spirant $*X > h$).

• NM *Carpați*; NFl, NL *Caraș*; NL *Caran-sebeș*; NM *Caraiman*; NM *Gurghiu* and *grui* ‘hill’ (NP *Gruia*); NL *Hîrșova* (cf. Thr. *Carsium* above); *gorun* ‘oak’, dial. form *gărîna*, NL *Gărîna*, *Garina*; *crap*, Pan-European form, the fish carp.

The forms *curpen* ‘a young branch’, *curcubeu* ($*kur-kur-b-$) ‘rainbow’ and NM *Curcubăta*, the highest peak in the W Carpathians, may reflect this root or IE $*(s)ker-$ ‘to bend, to curve’ as in NFl *Criș*.

***K-L-, *G-L-**, variant of ***K-R-, *G-R-**

• NL *Kalanda* (Lydia), *Kalynda* (Lydia, Caria); Lith. *kalnas* ‘mountain’,

Latv. *kalns* ‘id.’ (both considered “Proto-Boreal” in Andreev 1986: 12) etc.

Thracian world: NL *Callatis*, NFl *Cales*, NL *Caleros*, NFl *Calpas*, NL *Calpe*, ? *Cala-mindar* ‘plane-tree’, NL *Coila*, today *Kilia* in Bulgaria; cf. *Chilia*, a branch of the Danube Delta.

• NL *Călan*, NL *Călăcea*, NL *Călata*, NM *Căliman* (cf. supra *Caraiman*), NP *Călin*, NFl *Chilia*, a branch of the Danube Delta, cf. the Thracian forms above; possibly also *căluș* ‘a magic dance of chthonian character’ and the *Călușari* ‘the male-dancers of the căluș’; by folk-etymology, approached to *cal* ‘horse’ < Lat. *caballus*.

NL *Galați(i)* probably belongs to this root, but presumably via a Celtic idiom; the numerous place-names in *Gal-* are usually held for Celtic.

***L-P-, *L-B-** ‘stone, pebble, rock’

• *Leba* ‘township’, NL *Libum*, NL *Libyssa*, *Libissa* (with a real pronunciation $*libi\dot{s}a$).

• NM *Lăpuș*, NL, NFl *Lăpușnic*, NL *Lăpușna* (with Slavic parallel forms); *lespede* ($*lepsede$, with metathesis).

***M-G-, *M-K-** ‘to be prominent; a peak etc.’

- NM *Magala* (Galatia), NL *Magalia* (Carthage), NL *Magirtos* (Cilicia), NFI *Magea* (Syracuse); NM *Majas-tres* (Modern Provence); Old Sp. *muga* ‘frontier stone’, Basque *muga* ‘frontier’; Thracian: NL *Magaris*, ND *Magutis*. Other forms are uncertain.

- *măgură*, with parallels in place-names e.g. NM, NL *Măgura*; old pastoral term; NL *Mangalia*; the ultimate origin is uncertain, possibly a Mediterranean immigrated form; *mugur(e)* ‘a bud’, with Iberrian parallels; archaic forms.

***M-T(S)-** ‘unclear, confuse; a maze’

- Thracian NP *Mata*, *Matia*; NL *Moutzi-para*; related to Eng. *maze* (< **MaTS-*) and *amaze* in its turn related to Romanian forms:

- *maț(e)* ‘bowels’ and *a ameți* ‘to make/become dizzy, to stun’ akin and similar to Eng. *maze/amaze* (see above); *moț* ‘a tuft of hair’, NL *Moțca*; *a moțai* ‘to doze off’; *a moto-toli* (< **mot-mot-ol-*) ‘to crumple, to rumple’.

***M-L-, *M-R-** ‘hill, mountain’

- NL *Malianda*, NL *Maloea*, NL *Malva*, hence *Dacia Malvensis*. Gascon *marràlh* ‘rock’.

- *mal* ‘river-side’ (< ‘rocky river-side’) akin to Alb. *mal* ‘hill’, cf. Basque *malda* ‘hill-side’; NFI *Mara* and NR *Mara-mureș* (the second part of the compound reflects NFI *Mureș*); NFI, NL *Moldova*, where *-dova* rather reflects the typical Thr. word *dava*, *deva*, *dova* ‘fortress, township’; *molid* ‘spruce-fir’.

***N-R-** ‘deep (water or river)’

- NFI *Narak(i)on* and other related forms spread over a large area in Europe.

- NFI *Nera*; NFI *Neretva*. River-names of this type are spread all over Europe, including south-east Europe.

***M-N-** ‘to cover, protect’

- NL *Mende*, *Menda*; ND *Mendeis*, a nymph and NP *Mendi-doros*; NP *Minacos*, *Minas*, *Minno*.

- NFI *Miniș*; NL *Mineu*, *Mîneu*; NL *Mintia*; NL *Mintiu*; possibly also the forms like *Mandra*, *Manga* etc.

Addenda

***N-S-, *M-S-** ‘curved, meandering’

- NFI *Naissus* (today *Niš* in Bulg.), NFI *Nestos* (today *Mesta*, Bulg), NFI *Noes*.

- NFI *Nistru*, the Dnjester, also a rivulet in N Romania; *nisetru* ‘the sturgeon’, thus named after its form; *na-sture* ‘a (round) button’; *mistreț* ‘wild boar’ (thus derived after the fur when young and/or after its muzzle-movements); *a mișca* ‘to move’; *a mișuna* ‘to swarm around’; *a mușca* ‘to bite’ (after the round form of bite); *mușuroi* ‘(ant, mole) hill’; *moș* ‘old man’ and *moașă* ‘midwife’, with a quite recent specialisation of meanings for the masculine and feminine forms.

***N-S-, *M-S-** ‘to shine, bright’

- NP *Mussatis* (**mušat-*) and other possibly related forms quoted in Dečev 1957.

- *mușat* ‘beautiful’, also NP *Mușat*, *Mușa*, *Mușu* with various derivatives.

***I-S-, *Y-S-** (later development of ***N-S-**)

- NL *Istria*, *Histria*; possibly NFI *Is-tros* (usually held for an IE root).

- NM, NL *Iaș(i)*, *Ieș*; *a isca* ‘to stir, begin to move’, cf. *a mișca*, supra.

***P-L-, *B-L-** ‘hill, elevation’

- NL *Pelendova*, NL *Paladeina*, NL *Palae*

- NM *Peleş*; *peleagă* ‘hill’, NL *Pe-leaga*, NL *Paleu* and probably the personal names *Palica*, *Paliga*, *Paluga*, *Paligora*.

It is probable that the Pan-European word for ‘plough’, Rom. *plug* (Eng. *plough*, etc.) belongs here, but is still difficult to determine the phyletic tree; the word **must** ultimately be of Preie. origin reflecting the specific farm terminology in Europe.

***P-R-, *B-R-**, variant of the previous root

- NM *Bermion*; *-berna* and *-bria* ‘township’; *-para* ‘fortress’; Czech *Praha* (Lexicon D).

- NM *Bîrgău*; NM *Parîng*; NM *Perșani*; NL *Pereg*; *preș* ‘a mat’ (i.e. laid on the earth’); NP *Bîrlea* belongs also here with much probability; other forms are uncertain.

***P-S-** ‘to cover’

- NL *Pistes*, NL *Pistiros*, *Bistiros*; NP *Pistous*.

• *păstaie* (from **păstraie*) ‘a pod’ and *a păstra* ‘to keep, to preserve’; the relation between *păstaie* and *a păstra* is, in our view, obvious.

NL *Peștiș*, probably confused, by folk-etymology, with a word derived from *pește* ‘fish’, of Latin origin.

***R-M-, *R-B-** ‘curved, round, meaning’

• NP *Rome-*, *Roime-* (e.g. *Roimetal-kas*, etc.); NP *Ryme-*, *Rome-* (e.g. *Ro-maesta*, *Roimos*, *Ruimus* etc.); NFI *Rabon*; NFI *Rebas*; NP *Rebo-*, *Raba-* (e.g. *Rabocentus* etc.), NFI *Rebra*;

• *a răbda* ‘to endure’ (< i.e. ‘to have back curved under a heavy object’);

NL *Roman* is uncertain (Medieval? of what origin?), but may belong here.

***S-M-, *S-B-** ‘high’ or ‘deep’

• NL, NFI *Samos*, *Samus* with many parallels all over Europe; NL *Sabatium*, NL *Sabin-iribes*; NPp *Saboces*.

• (a) NFI *Someș*; *somn* ‘the sheat fish’ (Sl. *somъ* has been preserved independently, probably from the same Preie. source); *șoim* ‘a falcon’ and dial. ‘high-blowing wind’; NM *Semenic* closely related to *semeț* ‘very high; proud’; NL *Simeria*; NL *Simini-*

cea; NL *Șimian*; NL *Șimand*; NL *Șimleu* is uncertain (of Hungarian origin?); *seamă*, dial. *samă* probably belongs also here, with a confusion with Hung. *szám* ‘number; count’;

• (b) NFI, NL *Sebeș*, NL *Sebiș*; NL *Sibiu*; perhaps also *șobolan* (akin to, not derived from, Sl. *sobol*); inter-vowel *-b-* is normal in the substratum (Thracian) elements in Romanian.

***S-R-** chromatic meaning, presumably ‘whitish, white and black, grey’

• NP *Surus*, *Suru-tralis*.

• *sur* ‘white and black, grey’ (now only about horses), NM *Suru*; cf. Basque *txuri* (*čuri*) ‘white’.

***T-L-, *T-R-, *D-L-** ‘earth, stone, cliff; prominence, projection’

• NL *Dala-tarba*; NSt *Delkos*; NL *Tuleus*; NL *Tylis* (azi *Tulovo*, Bulgaria); NFI *Tyras*, NL *Tyrissa*.

• (a) NFI *Talma*; *talpă* ‘footsole’ (‘earth-touching’); NL *Tulcea*, NL *Tulca*; *tuleu* (1) ‘trunk, stalk’, (2) ‘undeveloped part of a wing; hair, beard’ (< ‘projection’); NM *Tarcău*, NL *Tarcea*; *tărîm* ‘land, realm’ (usual in folk-tales); *tîrg* ‘a market-place’ (of Illyrian-Balkan origin in Slavic);

Addenda

NFl *Tur*; NM *Tărtărău*, NL *Tărtăria* (< **tar-tar-*, reduplication); *țurțur* (another reduplication) ‘icicle’;

- (b) *deal* ‘hill’, also ‘forest’, very frequent in Romanian place-names, hence *Ar-deal*, lit. ‘over the hill/forest’ with the Mediaeval calque Transylvania and Hung. *Erdély*, from *erdő* ‘forest’; also NL *Predeal* ‘on the hill’, NL *Subdeal* ‘under the hill, at the foothill’ (these forms are usually held for Slavic; nevertheless they may be easily explained by internal forms in Romanian).

**T-P-*, **T-B-* ‘projection, peak’

- NL *Tapae* located approximately where the modern *Tăpia* is located now (see next section).
- NL *Tăpia* and *tipie* ‘hill’; *țeapă* ‘thorn’ and *a înțepa* ‘to sting’; *țipar* ‘eel’; *țap* ‘he-goat’ (after the thorn-like beard); NM *Țibleș*, NL *Țebea*, NL *Țibana*, NP *Țibuleac* etc.

T-T-*,* (1) ‘elevated, high’ (TuT-*); (2) ‘bright’ (**TiT-*)

- (1) *Tutus*, *Tiuta*; *tutastra* ‘name of a plant’;
- (2) *ziby-thides* ‘noblemen’; the first part, *ziby-*, reflects IE **ǵheib* ‘bright’,

thus the name seems an etymological tautology.

- (1) *țuț* ‘excrescence, prominence’; *țuțui* ‘peak, top’; *a se țuțuia* ‘to climb’; *țuțuiian* ‘a Transylvanian shepherd’ (= living in a mountainous area); NL *țuțora*, NL *Tuta*, NL *Tutana* etc.
- (2) *țiței* ‘crude oil’; NL *Titiana*, NL *Titila* etc.

The Romanian forms in *țuț-* are undoubtedly archaic, and no other explanation may be held for grounded.

V-N-* (W-N-*), obscure meaning

No clear example; this Preie. root was reconstructed by Rostaing (1950), with convincing Pan-European parallels.

NL *Vinga*; NL *Vința*; NL *Vințu*. They are also paralleled in NL *Vinča* (Serbia) and *Văca* (Bulgaria).

A Selective Lexicon of Proto-Boreal Roots

Proto-Boreal is N. D. Andreev's coined term, which refers to an archaic phase of an idiom developed in East-European – Uralic Mesolithic and early Neolithic period; later, Proto-Boreal developed into three main linguistic branches, Indo-European, Uralic and Altaic.

The list below is selective and follows the order in Andreev (1986) and in our presentation at the International Congress of Slavicists, Ljubljana, August 2003. The selection (out of 203 roots analysed by Andreev) refers to those Proto-Boreal roots, which may have had a direct heir in Thracian, and hence in Romanian.

- (3) **T-M-* 'dark(ness)'
 Skr. *TáM-a* 'darkness'
 Lith. *TaM-sà* 'darkness'
 Est. *TuM-e* 'dark'
 Lith. *TÉM-ti* 'darken'
 Fin. *TuM-mentaa* 'darken'
 Lith. *TeM-dyti* 'darken'
 Lat. *TeM-ptō* 'to touch, to tempt, to explore'
 Saami *TēM-mes* 'dark'
 O. Sl. *TbM-ънѣ* 'dark'
 O. Ir. *TeM-el* 'dark'
 Skr. *TaM-asa-* 'dark-coloured'
 Latvian *TiM-a* 'darkness'
 Ul'č'i *TaM-na* 'darkness; mist'
 O. Turk. *TuM-an* 'darkness, mist'
 Lat. *TeM-erō* 'I cast shadow'
 Lat. *TeN-ebras* 'darkness; shadow' (< **T-M-nbh-*)
 Latvian *TiM-st* 'to darken'
- Nenets *TaŃ-anak* 'full darknes' (< **TM-gh-'n-*)
 Russ. *TéM-en* 'full darkness' (< **T'-M-ny-*)
 O. Turk. *TüN* 'night' (< **T'-M-ny-*)
 Ewän *TiM-i-* 'to grope in the darkness'
 Äwenki *TäM-ī-* 'to grope; to feel in the dark gropingly'
 Ul'č'i *TäM-iirü-* 'to grope, to feel gropingly'
 • Cf. Rom. *a (se) întuneca* 'get dark' from * (în)*TuM-neca*; cf. also *a tuna* 'to thunder'. If our approach is accepted, then this may be another word of Thracian origin in Romanian, with prefix *în-* < Lat. *in-*, a very frequent derivation device in Romanian. NFI *Timiș* (Romania, several locations), *Timok* (Serbia-Bulgaria), *Thames* etc. are probably derived from the same root.

Addenda

(7) **Dh-R-* ‘to drag along the road’

Drsev. *DR-aga* ‘to pull’

Äwenki *DaR-gidaja* ‘aside the road’

Est. *TiR-ima* ‘to drag’

Skr. *DhR-ējati* ‘(it, etc.) passes’

• Cf. Rom. *a tîrî* ‘to drag’ < ‘to drag a heavy animal after hunt’.

(10) **S-R-* (a) ‘to flow, to stream, to spring out; to wash’; various other meanings related to liquids.

Skr. *SaR-ā* ‘a water spring, a water fall’

Äwenki *SaR-gî* ‘to murmur (about flowing waters), to purl, to stream’ (< **SR-g*˘-)

Est. *SoR-u* = Fin. *SoR-ina* ‘murmur, hum, buzz’

Est. *SuR-isema* ‘to purl, to murmur (about a brook)’

Lith. *SR-ovėnti* ‘to flow’

Gr. *HR-eīn* ‘to flow’ (< **SR-ein*)

O. Ir. *SR-ūaim* ‘torrent, river, brook’

O. Turk. *SaR-q-* ‘to drip out, to trickle, to flow out’

Hu. *SZür-emleni*, *SZür-ődni* ‘to trickle, to ooze’

Korean *SoR-itta*, *SöL-götta* ‘to wash’.

Manchu *SüR-a* ‘to wash’

Khanty *SöR-ajta* ‘to spurt, to spout’

Nenets *SaR’-o* ‘rain’

O. Mong. *SoR-u* ‘to suck’

O. Turk. *SaR-gur-* ‘to empty to the last drop’

O. Turk. *SoR-γu* ‘bottle for drawing off blood’

(b) Derived meaning: ‘to remain cold (like spring-water), to freeze, to ice up; thin ice; hoar frost’

Gr. *HR-īgéein* ‘to remain cold; to get covered with a thin ice’ (< **SR-xyy-gxy-*˘)

Korean *SaR-örim* ‘thin ice’

Nenets *SaR* ‘ice’

O. Turk. *SeR-ingülä-* ‘to glide over the ice’

Slovene *SR-êĭă* ‘the first thin ice, hoar frost’

O. Turk. *SaR-qim* ‘hoar-frost’ (< **SR-ghx-*˘)

Korean *SöR-i* ‘hoar-frost’

Äwenki *SiR-gi-* ‘to crackle with frost’

Khanty *SuR-γätłə* ‘snowdrifts’

O. Turk. *SüR-k buz teg* ‘cold as ice’

Korean *SiR-ida* ‘cold (of extremities, O. Mong. *SeR-igün* ‘cool’

Gr. *HR-īgos* ‘cold, hard frost’ (< **SR-xyy’-yg-*)

Note 1: In Korean, both Boreal *R* and *L* became allophones of one double-valued phoneme. Therefore, Korean *L* and/or *R* may reflect both Boreal *L* or/and *R*.

Note 2. In Uralic and Altaic it was impossible to have two successive consonants at the beginning of a word; a vowel in-between was necessary. Exception: when the second position was Boreal W or Y, and were then vocalised to U or I, the result turned to be consonant + vowel + any sound (if any).

Note 3. In Greek, the initial IE *S* + vowel/sonant became *H-* (*spiritus asper*); initial *H-* may also have other origin, as in the indigenous Pre-Indo-European words.

• Cf. Rom. *a șiroi* ‘to flow, to spill down’; NFI *Siret, Siriu*. These are usually held for Thracian (substratum) forms in Romanian or having unknown origin. The alternance *s/ș* is recorded in other words of Thracian origin in Romanian. There are other river-names derived from this root spread over a large European area.

(19) **P-Xy-* ‘to blow’

Arm. *PH-ukh* ‘wind’

Skr. *PH-alla* ‘wind’

Fin. *PuH-altaa* ‘to blow’ (cf. *PuH-ua* ‘to speak’, infra, under entry **B-X*, # 22)

Skr. *PH-ut-* ‘to blow’

Est. *PuH-uma* ‘to blow’

Est. *PõH-i* ‘north’ (< ‘main direction of wind’)

Fin. *PoH-joinen* ‘northern’

• cf. Rom. *a pufni, a pufăi, a puhăi* ‘to blow (out air with force); to smoke gently’; see also under entry **B-X*. The alternance *f/h* also proves the existence of a so-called laryngeal in Thracian, and its survival for some time in Proto-Romanian. The parallels presented by Andreev are relevant and offer an impulse to further investigations. See also below # 22.

(20) **B-Xw-* ‘to swell, inflate; a prominence’

Nant. *PõΓ-alta* ‘to swell’

Lith. *BA-m‘bti* (<**BXw-m-*) ‘to swell’

Äwenki *BoΓ-ərən* ‘to stand/go up’

Est. *PU-nduma* (**BXw-n-*) ‘to stand/go up’

Gr. *bu-BŌ-nos* ‘a tumor’ (<**BoX-w-n*)

Gr. *BŌ-los* ‘earth ball’

Fin. *PA-isua* (< **BXw-ys-w-*) ‘to swell’

Old Eng. *PO-s* ‘inflated nose’ (<**BoXw-s*)

• cf. Rom. *bubă* ‘a swollen wound’; its archaic character has been regularly rejected on the false ground that intervocalic *b/v*, also intervocalic *l*, cannot be preserved. Yet all these are regularly preserved in the indigenous (Thracian) elements; see next entry.

Addenda

(21) **B-L-* ‘tall; height’

Khanty *PeL-ät* ‘height’

Cymr. *BaL-in* ‘tall’

Mansi *BoL-žon* ‘(sea) wave’

Old Sl. *BoL-jiji* ‘big, great’

Skr. *BáL-a* ‘tall tree; power’

• Cf. Rom. *bală, balaure* ‘a dragon’ (typical mythic figure of the Romanian tales). The forms are presumably of Thracian origin, cf. *Tri-bal(l)oi* ‘three dragons’, the name of a Thracian group. The preservation of intervocalic *-l-* is normal in the indigenous Thracian elements (against its regular rotacisation in the Latin elements v. preservation if geminate, e.g. *caballus* > *cal*).

(22) **B-X* ‘to mumble; to babble; to speak furiously, angrily’

Lith. *BA-mbėti* ‘to mumble’ (< **BX-m-*)

Khanty *PəΓ-əm* ‘fury’ (< **BX-m-*)

Est. *PaH-ane* ‘upset, full of angry’

Äwenki *BuΓ-aẓ̌a* ‘to get angry’

Gr. *BA-ýzō* (< **BX-w-*) ‘I remonstrate’

Fin. *PaH-astua* ‘get angry’

Gr. *BÁ-zō* ‘I speak’

Fin. *PuH-ua, PuH-ella* ‘to speak’

• cf. Rom. *a bîgui*; cf. *a bolborosi* ‘to mumble, to babble’ (seemingly there was a reduplication reconstructable

as **bol-bol-* > *bol-bor-*); see also above # 19.

(23) **Bh-Xw* ‘a child, a baby; to give birth; to bring forth’

Est. *PO-isu* ‘a small child’ (< **BhXw-y-*)

Fin. *PO-ju* ‘a (small) child’, *PO-jka* ‘a child’

W Phryg. *BO-i* ‘a child’ (< **BhoXw-y-*)

Old Germ. *BuO-bo* ‘a child’ (< **BhoXw-bh-*)

Ved. *BhĀ-va-* ‘mother’ (< ‘the one who gives birth’) < **BhoXw-y-*)

• cf. Rom. *băiat* ‘a boy’; *puști* ‘a small child’. Forms difficult to analyse, though presumably archaic. Both *băiat* and *puști* are archaic, sometimes assumed from Thracian. The alternance *b/p* may reflect situations of phonetic syntax. The relation with Fin. *pojka* ‘boy’ may be useful. May be ultimately related to *a bîgui*? See the preceding entry.

(26) **M-R-* ‘death; to die’

Skr. *MaR-ati* ‘he/she dies’

Est. *MõR-vama* ‘to kill’

Fin. *MuR-ha* ‘crimă’

• cf. Rom. *a (o) mierli* ‘to die’ (colloquial, pejorative and vulgar), presumably archaic word of indigenous (Thracian) origin; associated, by folk etymology, to *mierlă* ‘blackbird’, of Latin origin. The form has withdrawn

to the periphery of vocabulary being in competition with *a muri* ‘to die’ (< Latin).

(28) **K-L* ‘a cliff, stone; a peak’

Est. *KaL-ju* ‘cliff’

Äwenki *KaL-lakta* ‘cliff’

Old Norse *HaL-lr* ‘id.’

Äwenki *KiL-anža* ‘cliff’

Fin. *KaL-lio* ‘id., a hill’

Lith. *KaL-nas* ‘a hill’

Hom. Gr. *KoL-ōnós* ‘a height’

Lat. *CoL-lis* ‘a hill’.

• Many forms with this root are sometimes held for Pre-Indo-European; future investigations must clarify the relations between PB and Pre-Indo-European (“Urbian”). See root **K-L*- in the Pre-Indo-European lexicon, also appended to this volume.

(29) **K-N*- ‘a drought; be hungry’

Äwenki *KaN-ura* ‘to dry’

Gr. *KaN-kan-os* ‘dry, dried’ (by reduplication)

Lith. *KaN-kinti* ‘tormented by thirst’

Est. *KaN-natama* ‘to torment’

Old Norse *HuN-gr* ‘hunger’

Gr. dial. *KēN-kein* ‘be hungry’

• cf. Rom. *chin* ‘a torment, a pain’; *a chinui* ‘to torment’, *chinuitor* ‘painful’. There are many attempts to explain this word, usually held for a

Hungarian influence, which is unlikely, if at all acceptable. A Romanian influence in Hungarian is acceptable or, less probably, an independent preservation of an archaic root in both languages.

(32) **G-L*- ‘a bird; a beak; neck’

Old Bret. *GOL-bina* ‘a beak’

Khanty *KeL-ək* ‘a long-beaked bird’

Old Eng. *CeoL-e* ‘neck’

Lat. *in-GL-uuiēs* ‘a goitre, crop’

Fin. *KuL-aus* ‘a swallow’

• cf. Rom. *a gîlgî* ‘to gurgle’.

Protoboreal Spirant X

had a complex situation in the IE languages. It is thus sometimes preserved in Hittite and Armenian, rarely in Celtic and Italic IE group. It was then lost (Ø) or turned to *H* in PU. The evolution on first position was different from evolution in the second position. In PIE the situation may be reconstructed as follows:

(1) if the preceding syllable was stressed > **ā*;

(2) was lost if the following syllable was stressed, but the syllable got tamber **a*;

(3) in unstressed position between two consonants the result is **ə* (the so-called *šva indogermanicum*);

Addenda

- (4) in unstressed position and neighbouring a vocalised sonant, PB velar spirant > long sonant;
 (5) when the velar spirant immediately followed an unvoiced consonant > unvoiced aspirated sound;
 (6) if in a stressed position, and rules (1) and (5) are not applied it disappears without any trace;

In the Uralic group, it is usually written *-H-*, sometimes *-ā-* (Fin. *-aa-*) in the radical root, sometimes tamber *-ǎ*. There may be identified 34 radical roots in PIE reflecting this simple velar spirant (see also above 6: *X-D*; 14: *N-X*; 22: *B-X*; 33: *G-X*)

- (37) **X-L* ‘lost; stranger, foreigner; neglected’

Est. *Häl-bima* ‘to loose one's way’

Gr. *AL-ýō* ‘I wander’ (< **XL-w-*)

Äwenki *Hāl-* ‘to vanish’ (< **XaL-lx-*)

Est. *HuL-gus* ‘a vagabond’ = Dor. *AL-ātās* (< **XL-éxt-*)

Est. *HuL-kuma* ‘to wander about, tramp over’

Lat. *AL-iēnus* (< **XL-yéxy-*)

Toch. *AL-etse* ‘a stranger’

Est. *Hül-jatu* ‘neglected; punished by fate’

Fin. *HyL-kiä* ‘to reject; to disconsider’

Fin. *HaL-veksia* ‘to disconsider’

• Cf. Rom. *a hălădui* ‘to wander, tramp over’. Sometimes considered of Hungarian origin, starting from the erroneous principle that words with *h* cannot be archaic in Romanian. As repeatedly shown by many examples, this is a wrong assumption. See also *hal* ‘bad condition, bad look’, which interferes with – but is presumably independent from – Hungarian *hal* ‘to die’ in its turn related to Finnish *kuolla* ‘to die’. For the regular correspondence Hu. *h* – Fin. *k* compare Fin. *kala* – Hu. *hal* ‘fish’ (homophonous with the preceding form ‘to die’).

For the complex situation of the Proto-Boreal velar spirant in Thracian and Proto-Romanian, see the main lexicon and Part II.

- (38) **R-Xw* ‘a device for pulling; a sledge, sleigh; to take in a sledge’

Fin. *RaaH-ata* ‘to pull, to drag’ (< **ReXw-xt-*)

Ved. *RĀ-sabha* ‘a cart’ (< **RoXw-s*)

Est. *RüH-kima* ‘to push ahead hard’

Est. *RA-ke* ‘an animal used for driving/traction (e.g. horse or ox)’

Lat. *RO-ta* (< **RXw-t-*) ‘a wheel’

• Cf. Rom. *roabă* ‘a wheelbarrow’; undoubtedly an archaic word of Thracian origin. Assumed by author of Preie. origin, but this view may be reconsidered after Andreev's argu-

ments. The preservation of intervocalic *-b-* is normal in the indigenous Thracian elements of Romanian.

(40) *Ky-W-* ‘dog; to call the dog’

Skr. *ÇV-ā-* ‘a dog’

Äwenki *ČU-lipkin* ‘to tie the dog’

Est. *KiU-natama* ‘to shout; to yelp’

Ved. *ÇāU-vana* ‘specific to a dog’

Lith. *ŠV-ilpauti* ‘to whistle’

• Cf. Rom. *șo* ‘an incentive for a dog to attack someone’ (obviously closely related to Lith *šuo* ‘a dog’); *cuțu* ‘a call for a dog to come; a generic name for dogs’ (see also # 104); *a chiui* ‘to shout’; *a (s)cheuna* (about dogs) and *a schelălăi* (* *sche-la-la-*) ‘to yelp, to yap.’ • Romanian witnesses two different phonetic treatments: one specific to the satem area (which is most expected in the context of a probably Thracian element), the other specific to the centum area. On the other hand, the words are archaic, without any identifiable source for a recent borrowing. This example re-opens the long discussion of the possible centum elements in Thracian (otherwise now a proved satem idiom).

(45) *Ghy-Xw* ‘fire; pyre; wood for fire’

Äwenki *žoΓ-o* ‘fire’

Alb. *zjarr* ‘fire’

Fin. *KO-kko* (< *GhyXw-ogh-*) ‘fire’

Nanaj *žo-kā* ‘wood for fire’

Lith. *ŽA-rija* ‘burning wood’

Old Irish *GE-l* ‘burning’

Russ. *ZO-la* ‘ashes’

• Cf. Rom. *jar* [pron. *žar*], currently held for a Slavic borrowing. Alb. *zjarr* would rather indicate an independent preservation in Thracian, and hence in Romanian.

Sound **Ghw*

(a) the languages which neutralised the opposition aspirated–non-aspirate (Slavic, Baltic, Iranian, Albanian, Balto-Fennic, Tungus-Manžur), **Ghw* and **Gh* were confused;

(b) Celtic, which neutralised PIE *Dh/D*, *Bh/B*, *Gh/G* and *Ghy/Gy*, preserved the opposition *Ghw* v. *Gw*, namely in strong positions, in Anlaut, after consonants, before a labial sonorant; the result was *G* and *B*. Otherwise put, the labio-velar mark backed the contrast with aspiration, lost in the other cases.

(c) Khanty, which merged *Gh* and *Ghy* into *Kh*, preserved the opposition against *G* (reflected as *K*) and against *Gy* (reflected as *č*), and neutralised the opposition *Ghw* - *Gw*, reflected as the labial sonorant *W*. Thus the labial component became predominant.

Addenda

(d) The languages which regularly preserved the opposition aspirated v. non-aspirated (Sanskrit, Greek, Armenian, Germanic) and also those languages which sometimes preserved this opposition (Latin, Hittite, Tokharian), the opposition *Ghw*-*Gw* was preserved. It is interesting to note that Germanic and Latin reflected *Ghw* by the sonant *W*, as in Obsco-Umbrian. Also, when the initial spirant was lost, the Tungus-Manžur languages has a similar evolution. All these details show that labiovelarity was a distinctive mark in Proto-Boreal. It is therefore natural that the emergence of *ǝ* in Ablaut, a genetically essential feature, led to the strong trinary opposition **ǝ*/**ǣ*/**zero*.

(56) **Ghw*-*N* ‘to run for hunt, to chase; to follow, pursue for hunt’

Äwenki *UN-ke* ‘to follow, to pursue (for hunting)’ (< **GhwN-k-*)

Fin. *VaaN-ia* ‘to follow’ (< **GhwoN-xy-*)

O.Sl. *GoN-iti* ‘to run (initially for hunt)’

Nanaj *XaN-pāci* ‘to run for hunt’ (< **XuaN-pā-*)

Skr. *ja-GhN-ē* (passiv) ‘is pursued, followed’

Äwenki *HaN-ṇi-* ‘to pursue’ (< *Huan-angi* < *GhwoN-xn-*)

Orok *UN-änä* ‘to smell, to sniff something (< to smell for hunting)’

Äwenki *HēN-nuka* ‘a dog which brings the hunt’

Gr. *ThēN-ō* ‘I touch, I strike, I hit’;
pe-PhN-émen ‘to strike’

• Cf. Rom. *a pîndi*, presumably via Thracian, from **GhweN-d-*, with *Ghw* > *p*. See further examples below. This form, and some others, is essential in reconstructing the peculiar treatment of PB **Ghw* in Thracian. See also **Ghw-R-* below.

(57) **Ghw-R-* ‘to get warm (by sun, hearth, fire); embers; fever; shiver’

Gr. *e-ThēR-ēn* ‘I made (it) warm’ (< **Gwer-xy-*);

Äwenki *HuR-ga* ‘to get meat dry under sun’

Skr. *GhaR-má-* ‘blaze; a recipient for cooking’

Äwenki *UR-kan* ‘to boil/cook a bear's heart’

Lat. *FoR-nus* (> *furnus*) ‘an oven’

Lith. *GaR-úoti* ‘to evaporate’

Gr. *ThēR-mē* ‘heat; temperature’

Arm. *ḡeR-mn* ‘heat’

Est. *Vär-in* ‘fever’

Fin. *VäR-ähdys* ‘shiver’

• cf. Rom. *a pîrli* ‘to singe, to scorch’ with the same evolution **Ghw* > *p* (see also above under example 56). Seems related to *pururi* (adverb)

‘eternally’, initially a noun + the plural mark *-uri* for the neuter gender. The meaning of **pur-* ‘fire’, hence *pururi* ‘eternal fires’ > ‘eternal (in general) in one of the most interesting semantic evolutions in Romanian, proved also by the probable relationship **pur* ‘fire’, *pururi* ‘eternally, for ever’ – *a pîrli* ‘to singe, to scorch’.

(61) **T-R-* ‘to rub (in order to make fire); to crush; to perforate; to spin, to twist’

Ukr. *TeR-ty* ‘to rub’

Lat. *TeR-ō* ‘to rub, to clean by rubbing’

Äwenki *TiR-āviim* ‘to rub a deer’s/reindeer’s back with the burden/load’

Gr. *TR-apeīn* ‘to crush’

Äwenki *TüR-ükä* ‘to crush’

Lat. *TR-ūdō* ‘to push by force, to drive’

Solon *TiR-ä* ‘to crush, to squeeze’

O. Germ. *DR-āen* ‘to spin, to screw’ = Eng. *draw, drew*

Est. *TüR-utama* ‘to spin’

Skr. *TR-ásati* ‘(he etc) shivers, trembles’

Khanty *TaR-əlata* ‘id.’

• Cf. rom. *a târî* ‘to drag’. The archaic meaning should have been ‘to drag a hunted animal; to drag (an object)’. See also *trîntor* and *a trînti*, and Lith. *tranas*.

(62) **Ky-Y* ‘a nest, a lair; a mobile dwelling; to erect a mobile dwelling’
O. Germ. *HeI-m* (< **KyeY-m*), O. Eng. *HāM*, Gothic *HaiM-s*
Äwenki *Č-ōra* (< *KyY-oxwr-*) ‘a place for congregation’ (surrounded by stakes)

Fin. *Kil-nittää* ‘to fix, to tether’

Est. *KōI-tma* ‘to tie’

Dor. *KoÍ-tā* ‘a nest’

Evenk *Č-ōlbok* ‘a nest, a lair’ (< **KyY-oxwl*)

Votyak *ÇaY-ā* ‘a place for rest’

Evenk *Č-āpātā-* ‘to stay in a nest’ (< **KyY-exp-*)

Khanty *Či-ñwəsəñ* ‘a lazy person, who stays at home’

Hit. *Kil-tta* ‘to lie in bed’

Evenk *ČaJ-jo* ‘winter place for fish’

• Cf. Rom. *co-cioabă* ‘a small, semi-subterranean dwelling’. In some forms, *co-* functions as an expressive first part of a compound; as for *-cioabă*, the evolution PB *KY-* > Thr. *č* (satem) > Rom. *č* (spelled *ce, ci*) would be normal.

(63) **Bh-N* ‘to tie; a knot; to wrap’

Skr. *a-BhāN-tsit* ‘tied (up)’ (< **-BhoN-dhs-*)

Khanty *PōN’-t’a* ‘to tie, to wrap’ (< **GhoN-dhy-*)

Addenda

Nanaj *BoM-bi* ‘to make a knot; to tie’ (< **BhoN-bh-*); see below Rom. *bumb*

Khanty *Pəŋ-əkseta* ‘to switch in a knot’ (< **BhN-ks-*)

Gr. *PHA-kełos* ‘a tie; an arm’ (< **BhN-kel-*)

Est. *PaM-p* ‘a tie, a knot’ (< **BhN-bhx-*)

Khanty *PăN* ‘a tie’

O.Ir. *BuiN-ne* ‘a tie, a junction’

Khanty *PõN’-pə* ‘a tie’

• Cf. rom. *bumb* ‘a button’ (< ‘tied up to clothes’) < **BN-b(h)-*, with the treatment IE *n* > Thr. *um, un*, sometimes denasalised (as in *sută*).

(65) *G-R-* ‘to make sign for remembrance; to carve, make a sculpture’

O. Germ. *KeR-be* ‘a cut/carved sign’

Gr. *GR-áphō* ‘I cut/carve = I write’; cf. Lat. *s-CR-ībō*

Fin. *KiR-ja* (< GR-y) ‘a book’; *KiR-joittaa* ‘to write’ etc.

Evenk *GiR-kāt* ‘to make a sculpture, make an ornament’

Latvian *GR-ebt* ‘make a (wooden) sculpture’

Est. *KiR-ipuit* ‘piece of wood with ornaments’

Äwenki *GäR-bä-* ‘to clean a piece of wood of branches/twigs; to trim a tree’

Fin. *karsia* ‘to trim a tree’

Ulči *GaR-ala-* ‘to make rowlocks’ (sailor's term)

Est. *KR-iipuma* ‘to scratch’

O. Eng. *CeoR-fan* ‘to make a sculpture’

• Cf. Rom. *gheară* ‘(an animal's) claw’; *a zgîria* ‘to scratch (with the claws; the usual term referring to animals)’; *a zgîrma* ‘to scratch by digging, to dig (also used in connection with animals, e.g. dogs or pigs)’ etc. These must be archaic Thracian (Pre-Romance) terms. The relationship *gheară* – *a zgîria*, *a zgîrma* is based on an evolution **G-R-* > Thr. **gher-/s)gher-* with *s/z* usual in such and similar cases. See also (75) below.

(75) *Gh-R* ‘to remove by scraping; to sharpen, sharp’

O. Eng. *GR-indan* ‘to scrape, to grind’

Khanty *KhõR-əytəta* ‘to peel, to scrape’

Gr. dial. *án-KhaR-mon* ‘a sharp stone’

Lith. *GR-emžiù* ‘to scrape’

Est. *KõR-s* ‘a sharp trunk’

Norw. dial. *GaR-e* ‘sharp’

Äwenki *GaR-pa* ‘to chase with a bow’ (< **GhR-px-*)

O. Eng. *GR-anu* ‘moustache’ (i.e. ‘sharp, uneven’)

• Cf. Rom. *gresie* ‘whetstone, grit-stone’ (< ‘stone used for sharpening’). The word is usually held for indigenous Pre-Romance (Thracian); it is obviously related to the family ‘to sharpen, sharp’. See also (65), *G-R-* above.

(78) *Ky-R* ‘a flock, a herd, a group of animals; a row, to set in a row/ in rows’

Est. *KaR-i* ‘a herd’

Fin. *KaR-ja* ‘a herd’

Goth. *HaīR-da* (< **KyeR-dh-*)

Ir. *CR-od* ‘cows’ (generic)

Skr. *CaR-dha* ‘a flock of wild animals, a drove, a flight’

Gr. *KóR-thys* ‘a row’

Skr. *ÇR-ēṇi* ‘a row’

Äwenki *ČaR-da* ‘knitting; wicker-work’

Äwenki *ČiR-ān* ‘to plait (a girl’s hair)’

• Cf. Rom. *cîrd*, *cârd* ‘a flock, a flight’ and *cireadă* [čirɛadə] ‘a herd’; the word must have been assimilated at chronologically discriminated periods: the former must be indigenous Thracian, the latter of Slavic origin; at least this would be the acceptable solution which may thus explain the centum character of the former, and satem character of the latter. Even so the examples may raise additional question as both Thracian and Slavic

belong to the same satem group.

(79) **P-L* ‘full; richness; water growth = a flood’

Gr. *PL-éos* ‘full’

Goth. *FuL-ls* ‘full’ (< **PL-xyn-*)

Ulčī *PūL-ä* ‘rich’

Avestan *PaR-ənahvant* ‘rich’

Gr. *Pol-ýs* ‘more’

Goth. *FiL-u* ‘much’

Fin. *PaL-jon* ‘much; very’

Goth. *FL-ōdus* ‘a flood’

Oroč *PaL-dan* ‘water surface’

Skr. *PL-aváyati* ‘(it) inflates, grows out’

O. Sl. *PL-uti* ‘to swim, to float’

• Cf. Rom. *pîlnie*, *pâlnie* ‘a funnel’ [< ‘an object for filling recipients’]; the word is of unknown origin or held for Slavic origin: **pъlnъ* ‘full’. Yet the derivation and the meaning reject such a hypothesis.

(80) *K-R-* ‘bark, crust; harsh; hard; a harsh/hard surface or object’

O. Sl. *KoR-a* ‘a bark, crust’

Fin. *KaaR-na*, *KuoR-i* ‘a bark, crust’

Khanty *KäR* ‘bark, crust’

Fin. *KaR-kea* ‘harsh, hard’

Negid *KuR-kurōjī* ‘harsh, hard’

Fin. *KaR-ski* ‘harsh’

Lat. *CoR-ium* ‘bark, crust’

Addenda

Gr. *KR-ēpís* ‘a barrel's bottom, sole = harsh surface’

Lith. *KùR-pē* ‘footwear’ (= ‘which gets harsh by wearing’)

• Cf. Rom. *zgrunțuros* ‘harsh, hard’ < *s-KR-unts-ur-os*, with unvoiced *s-k*-sequence turned to voiced because of *r*; cf. *zgîria*, *zgâria* ‘to scratch’, *zgîrma*, *zgârma* (about animals) ‘to dig/scratch the earth’; *zgardă* ‘a chain/rope for tethering a dog, a horse’ (< *gard* ‘a fence’) etc. Cf. # (65) and (75) above.

(81) *Ky-L* ‘to incline, to bend, a bend; to set ear to the earth; to listen attentively’

Fin. *KaL-istua* ‘to bend’

Est. *KaL-duma* ‘to bend to one side’

Yakut *Käl-täpü* ‘to bend to one side’

Lith. *ŠL-ýti* ‘to bend’

O. Mongol *KeL-tegei* ‘bent, oblique, wry’

Gr. *KL-ītýs* ‘a bend, inclination’

Äwenki *ČäL-än* ‘a hill's slant’

Fin. *KaL-teva* ‘bent’

O. Mong. *KeL-bei* ‘to bend’

O. Germ. *HaL-dōn* ‘to bend’

Lat. *aus-CuL-tō* ‘I listen to, hear to’

Äwenki *ČeL-* ‘to listen (for a short time)’

• Cf. Rom. *a ciuli (urechile)* ‘to listen attentively’ (now especially about dogs on guard); PB *Ky* > Thr. *č*

would be the expected evolution in a satem idiom.

(92) *P-Xw* (a) ‘defence fire; to put fire to; to scatter fire’

Hitt. *PaH-hur* ‘fire’

Negid *PŌ-ža* ‘a spirit of fire’ (< **PoXw-gy-*)

Gothic *FŌ-n* ‘fire’ (< **PoXw-n-*)

Oroči *PŌ-pi* ‘birch bark on fire’ (< **PoXw-py-*)

Khanty *PăΓ-ərla* ‘to burn with flames’

O. Sl. *PaL-iti* ‘to burn’ (< **PoXw-l-*)

Nanaj *PO-ŋki* ‘to smoke’

Oroči *PŪ-nanžī* ‘to smoulder’ (< **PXw-wn-*)

Khanty *PöΓ-tä* ‘to scatter sparks’

Ulči *PO-si* ‘a spark, glitter’

(b) Derived meaning: to defend; to pasture, a herd, a flock of animals’

PuO-ltaa ‘to defend’ (< **PoXw-l-*)

Skr. *PĀ-yya* ‘defence’

Hitt. *PaH-š-* ‘to defend; to pasture’

Fin. *PA-imentaa* ‘to pasture’

Gr. *PŌ-ý* ‘a herd’ (< **PoXw-yw-*)

Skr. *PA-çú* ‘a herd’

Äwenki *H-āda* ‘a herd’ (< **PXw-exd-*)

• Rom. *a pîlpîi* ‘to smoulder’ (< **PoXw-l-p*), related to group (a).

(93) *G-Xw* ‘to shout, yell; a bird's cry, etc.’

Russ. *GA-m* ‘loud voices, shouts’ (< **GoXw-m-*)

Est. *KA-rjatus* ‘a shout’

Äwenki *GO-don* ‘gossips’

O. Germ. *KŪ-ma* ‘a shout’ (< **Gxw-wm-*)

Mansi *GO-ngan* ‘a shout’

Russ. dial. *GA-jat* ‘to shout’ (< **GoXw-y-*)

Fin. *KA-rjua* ‘to shout’

Russ. *GA-rkat* ‘to shout’ (< **GoXw-r-*)

Cymr. *GA-ran* ‘crane’

Udegej *GŌ-kči* ‘an owl’ (< **GoXw-k-*)

• Cf. Rom. *ga, gaga* ‘a goose shout’, *gîscă* ‘goose’, *gînsac* ‘a male-goose’, and the whole Germanic and Slavic family of these forms. I assume that the Romanian forms interfere with, not are borrowed from, Slavic. Additionally, the Bulgarian form (*găska*) seems to reflect the Thracian heritage in Bulgarian rather than the Slavic form.

(104) *Ghy-X* ‘an offspring screaming; to scream with hunger; to call; to open the muzzle’

Farsi *ZĀ-gh* ‘offspring’

Russ. dial. *ZŌ-pat* ‘to scream’

Fin. *KeH-to* ‘a cradle’ (< **GhyeX-t-*)

Khanty *Kh-ol-təta* ‘to make noise, be noisy’ (< **GhyX-ol-*)

Arm. *JA-in* ‘voice’ (< **GhyX-yn-*)

Negidal *ŽA-rbala* ‘to ask, beg’ (< **GhyX-rb-*)

Oroči *ŽĀ-miü* ‘hungry’

Solon *ŽoG-or* ‘shortage of fodder’

Äwenki *ŽoΓ* ‘to be in need’

Skr. *HĀ-vatē* ‘a call’

Fin. *KU-tsua* ‘to call’

Russ. *ra-Ze-vat* ‘to open the mouth, muzzle’

Latvian *ŽĀ-vaties* ‘to open, to yawn’

Äwenki *ŽĀ-wni-* ‘to yawn’

Yakut *ŽĀ-siü* ‘to yawn’

• Cf. Rom. *cuțu* ‘a small dog, a puppy; a call for dogs’; *cățel* ‘small dog, a dog's cub’, *cățea* ‘female dog, bitch’; cf. # 40.

(107) *Gw-Xy* ‘woman, wife’

Gr. *GY-nē* ‘woman’ (< **GwXy-nex-*)

Mansi *UX-än* ‘younger brother's wife’ (< **GwXy-en-*)

Gothic *QĒ-ns* ‘woman’; related to Eng. *quean* > *queen*

O. Ir. *BE-n* ‘wife’

Äwenki *UT-ī* ‘elder brother's wife; wife of father's/mother's younger brother’ (< **GwXy-yx-*)

Solon *U-jö* ‘to get married’

Fin. *VA-imo* ‘wife, woman’ (< **GwXy-ym-*)

Addenda

Mansi *UX-ümä* ‘the wife of father's younger brother’

Tokh. *ÇÄ-m* ‘woman, wife’ (< **GwXye-m-*)

• Rom. *zână, zână* ‘a fairy queen’ (< ‘sacred woman’ < ‘woman’) belongs to the same group; note the sacred character of the word, of Thracian origin, due to an euphemistic evolution: a taboo to pronounce sacred words. The common words for ‘woman’ in Romanian are of Latin origin: *femeie* (< Lat. *familia*) and *muier* (< Lat. *mulier*). And also Sl. *žena* belongs to the same family. The Romanian forms are currently held for being derived from Lat. *Diana* (with many hesitations of some linguists), a hypothesis difficult to accept.

(108) *D-X* ‘river; to flow; a waterfall’
Avestan *DĀ-nu-* ‘a river’

Negid *DĀ-ptu-* ‘to fall’ (about a river)

Ulči *DĀ* ‘a river-source’

Khanty *ṬaΓ-əl* ‘a rivulet flowing from a lake’

Äwenki *DĀ-* ‘to pass a river’

Khanty *ṬāΓ-alt* ‘a deep and narrow river’

Äwenki *DĀ-γu* ‘to swim across a river’

• Cf. Rom. *Dunărea* ‘The Danube’ < Thr. *DĀ-n-ar-*, with the change

ā>ô>u in Late Thracian, a phonetic evolution proved by other examples too, e.g. *Mureș* < ancient *Mārisia* etc.; the second part of the compound must be related to NFI *Aar* etc. The Romanian form is original and different from that used by neighbouring languages. Anyway, Sl. *Dunaj, Dunav* reflects a borrowing from Romanian after the evolution *ā>ô>u* was completed.

(110) *P-X* ‘to look for food, to gather food; to make provisions; food; to dry food’

Lith. *PE-náuti* ‘to look for food’ (< **PX-en-*)

Khanty *PeΓ-inteta* ‘to make fruit, be in blossom’

Est. *PaH-k* ‘a cone’ (of coniferous tress)

Est. *PäH-klite* ‘harvesting, gathering food’

Udegej *PĀ-žæ* ‘a rake’

Ulči *PA-ji* ‘to make provisions’

Fin. *PäH-kinä* ‘a nut’

Lat. *PĀ-bulum* ‘food’ (< **PeX-dhl-*)

Lat. *PĀ-nis* ‘bread’

Gr. *PA-téomai* ‘to eat, to nourish’ (< **PX-t-*)

• Cf. Rom. *pită* ‘(a kind of) bread’; the word must have been present in Late Latin/Early Romance, cf. It. *pizza*. The origin is unknown, but we must assume that it reflects a borrow-

ing from late Thracian or Illyrian, maybe Celtic. Rom. *pită* and Italian *pizza* reflect a probable common origin, a vernacular term which ultimately gleaned into Post-Classical colloquial Latin.

(111) *Ghy-Xy* ‘hand; an action with hand; to throw, cast; a weapon which is cast; a kick with hand’

Hitt. *KiE-šsar* ‘hand’ (< **GheXy-sr-*)

Est. *KÄ-e* (< **GhyXyo-t*) = Fin. *KÄ-si* = Hung. *kéz* ‘hand’

Skr. *HĀ-sta-* ‘hand’ (< **GhyXyo-st-*)

Fin. *KÄ-tella* ‘to shake hands’ (< **GhyXyo-tl-*)

Fin. *KÄ-mmen* ‘palm’

Fin. *KaH-va* ‘a handle’

Dor. *KhE-r* = *KhEI-r* ‘hand’

Khanty *KhA-jəytəɣəltə* ‘to be caught’

Skr. *HI-nōti* ‘he casts’

Negid *šĀ-lčükkälä* ‘to throw, cast’ (< **GhyXye-l-*)

O. Germ. *GE-r* ‘javelin’

Äwenki *šĀ-wgä* ‘a harpoon’

Ulči *šA-bdu* ‘a strike, a hit; casting (with a weapon)’

Mansi *šĀ-sori* ‘id.’

• I. Cf. Rom. *zestre* ‘a dowry’ (= ‘what the bride brings in her hand into her new, husbands's house’) < Thracian **ze-sr-e*, with the specific evolution *-sr-e* > *-str-* (e.g. as in river-names Rom. *Strei*, *Stremț*, Thr.

Strymon, Bg. *Struma* etc.). The word is sometimes considered as reflecting Lat. *dextra* ‘left’ (i.e. left hand), which is assuredly an erroneous etymon. The original meaning of the word in Thracian must have been ‘hand’, later specialised with this meaning when was replaced by Latin *manus*, Coll. Lat. * *mana* > Rom. *mână*, *mână*.

II. Rom. *a azvîrli* (* *a-ZV-îrli*) ‘to cast, throw away’, i.e. ‘to release from the hand’.

(113) *Gh-Xw* ‘to bend; a bend, a curve; a hook; wry, awry; lame’

Mansi *G'Ō-loršä* ‘to bend’ (< **GheXw-l-*)

Norw. *GA-ga* ‘to bend, become curve’ (< **GhXw-əgh-*)

Russ. dial. *GA-bat'sa* ‘to bend’ (< **GhoXw-b-*)

Est. *KoO-lutama* ‘to bend, to curve’ (< **GhoXw-l-*)

Khanty *KhōΓ-taɭen* ‘curved, bent; wry’

Mansi *GO-ži* ‘(with, having) wry fingers’

Fin. *KO-ukku* ‘a hook’

Äwenki *GŌ-kalā* ‘to fix a hook’

Khanty *KhaΓ-əw* ‘a hook’

Nanaj *GO-ku* ‘(having) wry nose or hand’

Khanty *KhĀ-ləs* ‘lame’

Addenda

Äwenki *GÖ-ñäčä* ‘a lame person’

• Cf. Rom. *gîrbov* ‘a stooping person’ (< ‘having a curve back’) and *gheb* ‘a hump’. Both forms must have been inherited from the Thracian; *gîrbov* has a Slavic appearance, but further details need a deeper analysis.

(114) *Kw-Xw* ‘a sharp, pointed stick; to sharpen; to sting; a stake; a fence of stakes’

O. Norse *HVA-tr* ‘sharp’ (< **KwXwo-d-*)

Est. *KôH-utama* ‘to sharpen’ (< **KwoXw-w-*)

Äwenki *KÖ-ŋki* ‘a sharp beak’ (< **KwoXw-n-*)

Äwenki *KU-wur* ‘to perforate, to drill’

Ukr. *KO-loty* ‘to prick, to sting’ = Khanty *KhA-γiltəta* ‘id.’ (< **KwXwo-xl-*)

Lith. *KuŌ-las* ‘a stake’

Äwenki *KU-rē* ‘a fence of stake, a fold, a pen; a courtyard’

Mansi *KU-wara* ‘to make a courtyard’ [= ‘to fix stakes for delimiting the courtyard’]

• Cf. Rom. *clonț* ‘a beak’ and *clanță* ‘door handle’ (< ‘a piece of wood pervading the door’); the words must have been inherited from Thracian, therefore the sequence *cla-/clo-* is normal, i.e. does not change to *che/*

chi [ke/ki] as in the Latin elements. The alternance *a/o* in *clanță* v. *clonț* must reflect a reality in Thracian.

(115) *Bh-X* ‘light: daylight or moonlight; to set light on; bright; lightning; to turn white, whiten; moon’

Skr. *BhĀ-ti* ‘to set light; to turn bright (about weather)’ (< **BheX-*)

Äwenki *BaΓ-urin* ‘bright (sky at the beginning of winter)’

Khanty *PÄ-təγta* ‘to be bright’ (about sky on good weather)

Äwenki *BāΓ-əltən* ‘moonlight’

Gr. dial. *PhĀ-nai* ‘to light, to lighten’

Est. *PA-istma* ‘to light’

Khanty *PÖ-lekhintta* ‘to thunder, to flash, to lighten’

Nanaj *BO-ldalčak* ‘lightning’

Gr. Homeric *pe-PhĒ-setai* ‘to glitter, to flash’

Äwenki *BA-gdalā* ‘to whiten’

Lith. *BO-lúoti* ‘to whiten; to turn white’

Solon *BĒΓ-a*, Skr. *BhĀ-santa*, *BhĒ-ba-* ‘moon’

• Cf. Rom. *a se bucura* ‘be happy, enjoy something’, NP *Bucur*; Alb. *bukur* ‘bright’; archaic words of Thracian origin. The original form must have been **bāk-*, with the change *ā>ô>u*, *o* in Late Thracian and Romanian as proved by other

examples: **Dān-ər-* > Rom. *Dunăre* 'the Danube'; **Mār-isia* > *Mureș* etc.

(116) *K-Xw* I. 'to bite; to pinch; to gnaw; a nut'; II. 'to dig; a cavity; deep; dipper'

I. Latvian *KO-st* 'to bite' (< **KoXw-*)
Skr. *Kh-ādati* '(it) bites, gnaws' (< **KXw-oxwd-*)

Arm. *XA-canem* 'I bite'

Lith. *KÁ-ndu* 'I bite'

Gr. *KÁ-ryon* 'a nut' (< **KXw-rw-*)

Äwenki *KO-čikta* 'a nut'

O. Germ. *HA-sal* 'a nutbush'

II. Khanty *Kh-įnta* 'to dig' (< **KXw-en-*)

Skr. *Kh-ánati* '(he) digs' (< **KXw-on-*)

Khanty *Kh-ălita* 'to dig'

Russ. *KO-pat'* 'to dig'

Khanty *Kh-otakh* 'a cavity, a hollow'

Mansi *KO-bi* 'a cavity'

Khanty *KūlΓ-ri* 'deep' (about recipients) (< **KoXw-ry-*)

Äwenki *KŌ-mba* 'a dipper'

Ulči *KO-durpu* 'a dipper'

Oroči *KŌ-ndi* 'a dipper'

• Cf. Rom. *căpușă* 'a tick' (*Melophagus ovinus*), presumably of Thracian origin, whereas Rom. *căuș* < Lat. *cavus* 'deepened, hollowed out' may also belong to this root, via Latin.

(118) *B-Xy* (a) 'to baa, to bleat; a sheep, ram, wether'

Lith. *BĖ-bti* 'to bleat' (< **BeXy-b-*)

Russ. dial. *BE-kat* 'id.'

Äwenki *BĖ-rü* 'sheep' (< **BeXy-rw-*)

Alb. *BE-rr* 'a ram' (< **Bxy-er-*)

(b) Derived meaning: 'sheep stomach; sheep fur; a lay for sheep; a shepherd's stick'

Khanty *PaΓ-ləñne* 'a ruminant animal's stomach'

Oroči *BA-gda* 'sheep fur' (< **BXy-ghwdh-*)

Fin. *PeH-ku* 'a straw lay for sheep'

Fin. *PaH-nat* 'straw layer'

Lat. *BA-culum* 'a shepherd's stick'

Gr. *BÁ-ktron* 'a shepherd's lay, bed'

• Cf. Rom. *a behăi* 'to baa, to bleat', via Thracian, which reflects a conservative preservation of the velar spirant (otherwise known as *šva indogermanicum*); we have shown elsewhere that Thracian and, for some time, Proto-Romanian had a laryngeal reflecting this archaic sound. Also *bîr*, now obsolete: 'a sheep' (cf. Alb. *berr*), but still frequent as NL, NM *Bîrsa*, *Bârsa*, *bîr-san* 'from Bîrsa', i.e. a specific sheep fur from that area. Cf. also Czech *beran* 'a ram'.

Addenda

(119) *Gw-Xw* (a) ‘big horned animal of the *Bos* family: buffalo, cow; a herd of horned animals; udder’

Gr. Dor. *BŌ-s* ‘a cow, an ox’ (< **GwoXw*)

Skr. *GĀ-u-* ‘a cow, an ox’ (< **GwoXw-w-*)

Khanty *Ů-kās* ‘a bull’ (< **GwXw-wyg-*)

Arm. *KO-v* ‘a cow’ (< **GwXw-w-*)

Äwenki *HU-kun* ‘udder’ (< **GwXw-kw-*)

Lith. *GuŌ-tas* ‘a herd’ (< **GwoXw-t-*)

Äwenki *UT-uwa* ‘a herd’ (< **GwXw-ow-*)

(b) Derived meaning: ‘manure, dung, compost; to depose excrements; to damage’

Russ. *GA-dit* ‘to depose excrements’ (< **GwoXw-dh-*)

Lith. *GA-dinti* ‘to damage, turn wrong’ (< **GwXw-odh-*)

Fin. *VaH-inko* ‘a damage’

• Cf. Rom. *baligă* ‘an animal excrement, dung’; *bălegar*, *băligar* ‘manure’; archaic indigenous terms of Thracian origin. Its place here is seemingly confirmed by the regular change PB *Kw-*, *Gw-* > Thr. *p*, *b* respectively. Further analyses should confirm, or not, our hypothesis. All the terms refer to a usual, standard archaic activity: herd keeping. As correctly noted by Andreev, the evo-

lution to ‘excrement, dung, manure’ is later, and due to a pejorative connotation.

(127) *Y-K* ‘to convince, to persuade; to implore, to ask for; to sing’

Skr. *YāC-ati* ‘he persuades’ (< **YoK-*)

O. Germ. *JeH-an* ‘to talk, speak’ (< *YeK*)

Fin. *JoK-eltaa* ‘to babble, to coo’

Äwenki *JaK-o* ‘to speak’

Äwenki *Jā-ä* ‘to call’

Lith. *JaK-sėti* ‘to shout, yell’

Negid *IK-čīn* ‘a shout’

Russ. dial. *ÍK-at* ‘to shout’

Äwenki *IK-ā* ‘to sing’ (< **YK-exy-*)

Osc *IúK-leí* ‘religious song’

Udegej *JāX-ä* ‘to sing’ (< **YeK-xy-*)

• Cf. Rom. *a icni* ‘to gasp, to groan’ (usually, a sound expressing pain or effort).

(128) *W-P* ‘to cast (up); to spill (over); to spread; to have a dispute, to fight’

Skr. *UP-ta* ‘cast, thrown up’

Hitt. *UP-zi* ‘to look up; to rise (about sun)’

Est. *UP-itama* ‘to support, back up’

Skr. *VaP-ana-* ‘climbing up, elevation’

Oroki *UP-kä* ‘snowed road, snow-bound road’ (< **WP-kexy-*)

Skr. *VaP-tum* ‘spilled over, cast over’
 O. Eng. *YF-el* ‘upset; dangerous’ (< **WP-xyel-*); hence modern *evil*
 Est. *UP-sakas* ‘high’

Äwenki *UP-ču* ‘to pretend, to claim (up)’

• Cf. Rom. *hopa, opa* a interjection expressing ‘high, high up; cast up’; often used when playing with a baby by casting him/her up and down. The forms are unexplained so far. Initial *h* may reflect an archaic velar spirant as inherited from Thracian or may be an innovation under such a phoneme in initial position. To date I do not have another example which may lead to the conclusion that PB initial *W* may result in Thracian *h* > Rom. *h*. Cf. *a țopăi* ‘to jump as for dancing’; if such a connection is acceptable, then PB velar spirant may be also reflected by *ț* in Romanian (usually *h* and *f*).

(134) *M-Xw* ‘upper part; head, neck, throat; mane’

O. Norse *MÖ-na* ‘to elevate’ (< **MoXw-ny-*)

Alb. *MA-jë* ‘a peak’

O. Eng. *MO-lda* ‘head’

Skr. *MŪ-rdhan* ‘head’ (< **MXw-ldh-*)

Oroki *MaΓ-i* ‘the skin on bear's head’

Äwenki *MO-ṇokto-* ‘skin on the neck or head of a bird’

Skr. *MÁ-nya-* ‘nape’ (< **MXwo-ny-*)

O. Ir. *MU-inēl* ‘neck’ (< **MXw-ny-*)

Negid *MO-ṇon* ‘neck’

Khanty *MoΓ-əl* ‘mane’

Khanty *MōΓ-ət* ‘hayrick, corn stake’

• Cf. Rom. archaic forms, presumably of Thracian origin: *muie, muian* ‘face; mouth’ (pejorative meaning, including the vulgar, socially taboo usage ‘oral sex’); and NL *Maia*, which interferes with *maie* ‘grand-mother’. It is not clear the relationship with *mutră* ‘face’ (colloquial), seemingly related to Basque *mutur* ‘face’, which would indicate a Pre-Indo-European origin.

(136) *Y-Xy* (a) ‘young; beautiful; joyful; to gambol, frolic’

Lith. *JÁ-unas* ‘young’ (< **YXy-wn-*)

M. Cymr. *IE-u* ‘young’ (< **YXy-e-w-*)

Gothic *JŪ-niza* ‘young’ (< **YXy-wk-*)

Doric *HĒ-bā* ‘serene youth’ (< **YeXy-gwx-*)

Gr. *HA-brós* ‘glad, joyful’ (< **YXy-gwr-*)

(b) Derived meaning: ‘to frolic, to play; to throw, to cast; to hit, to kick; to break’

Addenda

Lat. *JA-cere* (< *YXy-k-), *JĒ-ci* (< *YeXy-k-)

Khanty *JoΓ-titta* ‘to throw, cast’

Khanty *JoΓ-əmta* ‘to hit, to kick’

Äwenki *JA-ŋu* ‘to break by striking’

Äwenki *JÄ-n* ‘to break’ (< *YeXy-n-)

Ulčiči *JÄ-pürän* ‘to destroy’

• Cf. Rom. *iute* ‘fast’, *iureş* ‘rush, race’ (formerly the rush of a battle or war); usually, the dictionaries do not make the connection between the two forms, and some assume that *iute* would be a Slavic influence.

(137) *M-X* (a) ‘mother; old woman’

Doric *MĀ* ‘mother’ (< *MeX)

O. Norse *MÖ-na* ‘mother’ (< *MoX-n-)

Fin. *MuO-ri* ‘mother’ (< *MXo-xwr)

Mansi *MA-mu* (< *MX-m-)

Nanaj *ma-MĀ-rīsal* ‘mother; old woman’

Est. *MoO-r* ‘old woman’

(b) Derived meaning: ‘wife; to get married’

Est. *MÔ-rsja* ‘wife’

Ulčiči *MA-mala* ‘to get married’ (< *MX-m-)

Äwenki *MA-ŋa* ‘suitor, wooer’

• Rom. *mumă* ‘mother’, in mythological terms, e.g. *Muma Pădurii* ‘Mother of the Forest’ reflects an indigenous Thracian form, with the confirmed evolution Thr. *ā* > *ô/ū* (as

in *Dunăre* ‘the Danube’ etc.) against *mamă*, of Latin origin, and Slavic *maică*. For Thracian, we must start from the form **māma* ‘mother’ as confirmed by Andreev’s parallel forms. The meaning in Romanian reflects the preservation of Thracian forms in specialised categories, in this case folk mythology.

(138) *L-Xw* ‘a paw; palm; shovel, oar shovel; to dig’

Khanty *LqΓ-əl* ‘a paw; palm’

Russ. *LA-pa* ‘a paw’ (< *LoXw-p-)

Khanty *LO-p* ‘paw’ (< *LXw-p-)

O. Germ. *LA-ffa* ‘palm; oar shovel’ (< *LXw-p-)

Khanty *LA-mp* ‘palm, oar shovel’

O. Ir. *LĀ-ige* ‘shovel’

O. Sl. *LO-pata* (< *LXw-p-) ‘a shovel’

Gr. *LA-khaiñō* ‘I dig’ (< *LXw-gh-)

Äwenki *LŌ-mki* ‘to dig, to rummage’ (< *LoXw-m-)

Negid *LoΓ-osin* ‘to dig’ (< *LXw-os-)

• Andreev puts together both Russ. *LA-pa* ‘a paw’ (< *LoXw-p-) and *LO-pata* (< *LXw-p-) ‘a shovel’. The meaning and form related to this seem also: Rom. *labă* ‘a paw’ and Hung. *láb* ‘id.’ Traditionally the Romanian form is considered of Hungarian origin, mainly starting from the erroneous assumption that an ar-

chaic, indigenous element cannot have intervocalic *-b-*. On many occasions I showed that this is not a sustainable hypothesis. Therefore Rom. *labă* may also reflect an indigenous, Thracian heritage. Further research must clarify the relation between Romanina, Hungarian and Russian forms with the meaning ‘paw’. The indigenous character of Rom. *labă* seems to be also supported by the usual dog-name *Lăbuș*, without parallel in the neighbouring languages, with the archaic suffix *-uș*, as present especially in the archaic, Pre-Romance place- and river-names.

(139) *M-Xy* ‘to measure; measurable; big, large; numerous’

Skr. *MĀ-ti* ‘(he) Measures’ (< **MoXy-t-*)

Est. *MôO-tma* ‘to measure’

Skr. *MI-tá-* ‘measurable’ (< **MXy-t-*)

Gothic *MI-tan* ‘to measure’ (< **MXue-d-*)

O. Sl. *ME-rjq* ‘I measure’

Äwenki *MĀ-kä* ‘big, large’ (< **MoXy-k-*)

Vedic *MĀ-hina* ‘huge, giant’

Lat. *MA-gnus* < **MXy-gyn-*

Est. *MaH-ukas* ‘voluminous’ (< **MXy-wk-*)

Äwenki *MĀ-nli* ‘to enlarge, become wider’

Äwenki *ME-lta* ‘to increase ten times’ (< **MeXy-l-*)

Äwenki *ME-kli* ‘ten in a group of reindeer’

Gothic *MA-nags* ‘much’ (< **MXy-nogh-*)

Fin. *MO-net* ‘many’ (< **MXyo-n-*)

Yakut *MĀ-nāk* ‘very many animals’ (< **MXy-nexy*)

• Rom. *mare* ‘big, large’ has long been debated if of indigenous Thracian origin or simply a peculiar evolution of *mare* ‘sea’ (< Lat. *mare, maris*). Linguists still debate on this topic. If of Thracian origin, the proto-form must have been **mar-*, not **mār-*, as Thr. *ā* changes into *u* in Romanian, via an intermediate phoneme *ô*, sometimes preserved in dialectal forms (against the more frequent *u*-forms). These examples do not seem to confirm the hypothesis that Rom. *mare* ‘big’ may be of Thracian origin, but rather an internal evolution of the type ‘sea’ – ‘big, large’.

(141) *W-X* (a) ‘a sheath; vagina; separately; to unfold’

Udegej *WA* ‘sheath’

Lat. *UĀ-gīna* < **WeX-gy-*

Oroči *WA-ča* ‘a female animal’

Skr. *Ū-rú-* (about women) ‘with beautiful thighs’ (< **WX-rw-*)

Addenda

Lat. *UĀ-rus* ‘curved, with curved legs; contrary’

Khanty *UF-raytəta* ‘to unfold’

(b) Derived meaning: ‘remote; at a certain distance; to call’

Lat. *dī-UI-sum* < **WX-ys-*

Vedic *VĒ-dhitum* ‘to be far from something, someone’ (< **WX-oydh-*)

Est. *VaH-e* ‘distance’

Khanty *WaΓ-ta* ‘to call’

O. Sl. *VA-bitī* ‘to call; to entice, to lure’

• Cf. Rom. *a (se) vǎita* ‘to lament, to call for support’ and Fin. *VA-littaa* ‘to lament’; Rom. form may reflect a local development from *vai* < Lat. *vae*, yet the relation with Finnish *valittaa* would thus remain obscure. They may have been similar, related forms in both Latin and Thracian which interfered at colloquial level.

(142) *L-Xy* ‘to love, beloved; charming; to take care of’

O. Eng. *LE-ofian* ‘love’ (< **LXye-wbh-*)

Fin. *LE-mpi* ‘love’ (< **LXye-m-*)

Skr. *a-LĀ-ši* ‘(she) embraced her lover’ (< **-LeXy-s-*)

O. Sl. *LA-skati* < **LXy-oxs-*

Nanaj *LĀ-rquar* ‘tender, lovingly’

Est. *LaH-ke* ‘lovingly’

Fin. *LE-mpeä* ‘loving, affectionate’

Lith. *LĖ-po* ‘(he) became drowsy, torpid’

Russ. *LE-lejat* ‘to caress’

Lith. *LĖ-lė̃* ‘a doll’

• Cf. Rom. *lele* ‘an older girl/woman’, closely related in form and meaning with the Lithuanian form; *lālīu* ‘torpid, drowsy; lazy’

(149) *R-Y* ‘to have a nomad life; to horse; to use the boat or sledge; to go up, climb’

Äwenki *ö-RĪ-n* (< **RY-n-* with a prothetic vowel) ‘to migrate’

Äwenki *ü-RI-lā* ‘to move to another place’

Med. Ir. *RĪa-dim* ‘I go, drive a vehicle’ (< **ReY-dh-*)

Khanty *RI-t* ‘a boat’

Lith. *RĀl-čiotis* ‘to roll (over)’ (< **RoY-t-*)

Lith. *Rle-dėti* ‘to roll over’ (< **ReY-dh-*)

O. Germ. *RĪ-tan* ‘to drive a vehicle, to ride’ (= Eng. *ride*)

Fin. *RiI-mu* ‘a halter (of a horse)’

Lith. *RI-snóti* ‘to trot, to move, go at a slight trot (about horses)’

• Cf. Rom. *a rățaci* ‘to err, to lose one's way’ < ? Lat. **erraticare* or indigenous Thracian to be included in this category? I am rather inclined for a Thracian origin, proto-form **răt-ăc-* related, in form and mean-

ing, to English *ride* and Old German *rītan*.

(150) *M-N* (a) ‘man; thinking, understanding, broad-minded; to remember, to remind; memory’

Skr. *MáN-u-* ‘man’

Gothic *MaN-na* = Eng. *man*, Germ. *Mann*

O. Sl. *Mo(N)-žb* ‘man, male, husband’

Skr. *MáN-as* ‘mind, understanding’

O. Turkic *MeN-ä* ‘a human brain’ (< **MeN-g-*)

Skr. *MáN-yatē* ‘he thinks’

Äwenki *MüN-dā* ‘to prove imagination, to think’

Skr. *ma-MN-ē* ‘he thought’

Est. *MeeN-utama* ‘to remember’

Lith. *MiN-ėti* ‘to remember’ (< **MN-exy-*)

Khanty *MaN’-t’əmtta* ‘to tell a tale’

Gr. *MN-émē* ‘memory; remembrance’

O. Icelandic *MeN-nskr* ‘human; reasonable’

Nenets *MeN-ekad* ‘man leading a settled life’

O. Eng. *MyN-de* ‘mind, thinking, memory’

O. Mong. *MaN-glai* ‘forehead’ (< **M-’N-ghl-*)

Nenets *MaN-z’* ‘to say, to think over, to ponder over’

Korean *MoN-ččāchida* ‘sly, cunning’

Russ. *po-MN-it* ‘to remember, to keep in mind’

Nenets *MiN-eko* ‘narrator of folk tales; character on behalf of whom the tale is being told’

O. Turk. *MeN-kü qaja* ‘tombstone with letters, rock of memory’

Hung. *MoN-da* ‘tale, legend’

Saami *MāiN-as* ‘tale, folk-tale, fairy-tale’

Hung. *MoN-dani* ‘to tell, to say’

Saami *MāiN-s’e* ‘to tell a tale, to tell, to talk’

(b) Derived, antonymous meaning: ‘(with) poor memory, unreasonable, to err’

Korean *MäN-čhu* ‘suffering with a poor memory, brainless (pejorative)’

Gr. *MaN-ía* ‘madness, insanity’

O. Turk. *MuN-qul* ‘devoid of reason, unreasonable, stupid’

O. Turk. *MuN-dus* ‘stupid, foolish’

Äwenki *MoN-non* ‘fool, stupid, idiot’

Korean *MöN-čhöni* ‘fool, idiot, short-witted’

O. Mong. *MeN-ere-* ‘to become foolish’

O. Mong. *MeN-gde-* ‘to be taken aback, to lose one’s head’

Khanty *MüN-arkholta* ‘to faint away, to lose consciousness’

O. Turk. *MuN-* ‘to err, to grow feeble-minded’

Addenda

Korean *MoN-nada* ‘stupid, foolish, weak-headed’

Note 1. Old Slavic nasal vowels may either reflect the ablaut vowel + IE **n* or IE **m*. The subroutine is to check each Old Slavic nasal vowel as a possible correspondence to Boreal *N* or *M* between the preceding syllabeme and the following obstruent.

Note 2. The transition from Old Slavic *na-čin-q* ‘I (shall) begin’ and O. Slavic *is-kon-i* ‘from the very beginning’ to O. Slavic *kon-bcb* ‘limit, end’ shows that one and the same root may develop antonymous meanings in the course of historical evolution. Subroutine: check not only the evolution and a given semantic field, but also its possibly antonymous meaning.

• Cf. Rom. *Man*, *Manea*, *Manu*, frequent personal (family) names. Similar names are also attested in Thracian.

(155) *M-L* ‘in small pieces; to grind, to turn into small pieces; hammer’

Äwenki *Mäl-läs* ‘in small pieces’

Hitt. *MaaL-lai* ‘(he) grinds’

O. Germanic *MuL-jan* ‘he grinds’

Est. *Mäl-etsema* ‘to stir, to mix up’

Nanaj *MoL-žo* ‘in small pieces’

Ulči *MaL-aka* ‘a knife’

O. Norse *MöL-va* ‘to crumb’

Solon *MaL-â* ‘a hammer’

Lat. *MaL-leus* ‘a hammer’ (hence, among others, Rom. *mai*)

Udegej *MüL-äw* ‘a hammer’

O. Sl. *ML-atiti* ‘to grind’

Est. *MaL-gutama* ‘to hammer’

• Cf. Rom. *mălai* ‘maize flour’ (initially millet flour); seemingly related, by reduplication (< **mal-mal-ig-*), *mămăligă* ‘polenta’ (a specific maize bread); initially, the *mămăliga* and polenta were made from millet grains.

(160) *X-W* (a) ‘new comer; a stranger; enstranged; someone else, another one’

Äwenki *HU-ntükä* ‘a stranger’

Lat. *AU-fugiō* ‘to fly away from’ (< **XeW-bhw-*)

Oroči *XO-nto* ‘a stranger’ (< **XW-nt-*)

Gr. *AU-títēs* < ‘living alone’ (< **XeW-kwy-*)

Äwenki *HÜ-ntə* ‘a stranger’

Vedic *Ō-gaṇá-* ‘a persecuted, poor person’ (< **XeW-g-*)

Udegej *XO-nto* ‘another, stranger’ (< **XW-ng-*)

Lat. *AU-tem* ‘on the other hand’ (< **XeW-t-*)

Gr. *AŪ-ge* (< **XeW-g-*) = Lat. *AU-tem*

- (b) Derived meaning: 'to work, worker; industrious; to assist; to create, to forge'
- Negidal *XaW-ādakta* 'to work' (< **XW-exd-*)
- Fin. *UU-ttera* 'industrious, hard working' (< **XW-xd-*)
- Äwenki *HaW-ādī* 'industrious' (< **XW-exd-*)
- Fin. *AU-ttaa* 'to help, to assist' (< **XeW-xd-*)
- Äwenki *HaW-aktarā* 'industrious'
- Fin. *AV-ustaa* 'to assist'
- Gr. *-U-rgéō* 'I work' (< **-XoW-r-*)
- Fin. *UU-ras* 'preoccupied' (< **XW-r-*)
- Äwenki *HaW-alma* 'industrious'
- Lat. *HaU-riō*, *HaU-sī* 'to put out; to exhaust'
- O. Norse *AU-sa* 'to help, to assist' (< *XoW-s-*)
- Äwenki *HāW-kān-* 'to help'
- Lith. *AU-dē* 'she knit' (< **XoW-d-*)
- Cf. Rom. *hotar* 'a fronteer', *a hotărî* 'to decide'. The word is currently explained from Hung. *határ* 'id.', though the word is otherwise unexplained in Hungarian. I am rather inclined for an archaic origin of the Romanian forms, and for a Romanian borrowing in Hungarian.
- family group; pair, parents'
- Est. *EM-aihus* 'in mother's belly' (< **XeM-x-*)
- Ulčī *XäM-dä* 'life'
- Fin. *EM-ä* 'mother, female' (< **XeM-xy-*)
- Äwenki *ÄM-känäk* 'a pregnant woman's belly' (< **XM-ken-*)
- Udegej *ÄM-üsi* 'to rock the cradle'
- Est. *AM-m* 'a nurse'
- Fin. *IM-ettää* 'to nurse'
- Est. *IM-ik* 'a baby' (< **XM-xyg-*)
- Khanty *ÄM-əytəta* 'to suck'
- Yakut *ÄM-* 'to suck'
- Yakut *IaM* 'the time of sexual intercourse; the time of spawning'
- Äwenki *HaM-ut* 'to have sexual intercourse'
- Gr. *ÄM-phō* 'both' (< **XeM-bhwx-*)
- Vedic *AM-ā* 'together with'
- Derived meaning: 'dark, in the dark, darkness'
- Gr. *AM-olgós* 'dark' (< **XM-ol-*)
- Gr. dial. *AM-orbós* 'dark' (< **XM-or-*)
- Mansi *XäM-ki* 'to walk by touching objects'; see also no. (3) *T-M*
- Est. *HäM-arik* 'half-dark'
- Oroki *XüM-äsikä* 'soot'
- Fin. *HiM-metä* 'to get dark'

(162) *X-M* 'in mother's belly; to suckle, to nurse; natural growth of

Addenda

• Cf. Rom. dial. *imă* ‘mother’; it is preserved together with *mumă* ‘mother’ (both from Thracian), and *mamă* ‘mother’ (< Latin) and *maică* from Slavic. The initial meaning of *imă* must have been ‘pregnant woman’.

(165) *X-R* (a) ‘brave; good, deft; heartfelt; due’

Skr. *ĀR-yaka-* ‘brave’ (< **xe-XR-y-*)

Fin. *HuR-ja* ‘wild’

Mansi *AR-ča-* ‘to go to meet an animal’ (< **XR-ky-*)

Gr. *ĀR-istos* ‘excellent; the best’ (< **XeR-y-*)

Fin. *UR-ho* ‘hero, brave fighter’ (< **XR-xw-*)

Äwenki *ÄR-nin-* ‘to walk in front of the group (of fighters)’ (< **XR-ny-*)

Nanaj *ÄR-dä* ‘skilful’

Est. *HaR-rastama* ‘to be very curious about something’

Fin. *HaR-taus* ‘heartful spirit’

Hitt. *HaR-ap-* ‘to be due’

Gr. *ár-AR-a* ‘good’ (< **xre-XR-x-*)

Avestan *ARə-m* ‘due, adequate’ (< **XR-m-*)

(b) Derived meaning: ‘cuffs; tied to something, a tie; net’

M. Ir. *ĀRA-ch* ‘cuffs; tied to’ (< **XR-yg-*)

Äwenki *HäR-küčä* ‘to be tied to’

Nanaj *XäR-kä-* ‘to tie, to put hand-cuffs’

Fin. *HaR-sia* ‘to baste’

Gr. *ĀR-kys* ‘net’

Mansi *XäR-gin* ‘the margin of a fish-net’

• Cf. Rom. *harnic* ‘industrious; heartful’; DEX refers to Sl. **harьnъ*.

(180) *Xy-Ky* (a) ‘horse; to kick with the hoof; hoof’

O. Eng. *EoH* ‘horse’ (< **XyeKy*)

O. Pers. *AS-a* ‘horse’

O. Turk. *EČ* ‘(interj.) incentive for a horse to go’

Skr. *ĀÇ-vā* ‘mare’ (< **XyeKy-wx-*)

Fin. *HE-vonen* ‘horse’ (< **HeK-v-* < **XyeKy-w-*)

Skr. *Ç-aphá-* ‘hoof’ (< **XyKy-opxw-*)

Est. *HO-bu-* ‘equestrian’ (< **HoK-p* < **XyoKy-p-*)

Mansi *ÄK-tä-* ‘to kick with the hoof’ (< **XyeKy-kwt-*)

O. Eng. *H-ōf* ‘hoof’ (< **XyKy-oxp-*)

Fin. *K-avio* ‘hoof’ (< **XyKy-xw-*)

(b) Derived meaning: ‘to jump; to run; fast’

O. Turk. *EŠ-* ‘to jump’ (< **XyeKy-s-*)

Lith. *Š-ókti* ‘to jump’

Est. *K-arata* ‘to jump’

Mansi *ÄK-šä-* ‘to run’ (< **XyeKy-s-*)

Lat. *C-urrō* ‘to run, go fast’ (< *XyKy-ors-)

Skr. *Ç-īghrá-* ‘fast’ (< *XyKy-xy-gh-)

Fin. *K-iire* ‘run’ (< *XyKy-xy-r-)

• Cf. Rom. *cea* [pron. *ča*], incentive for a horse, against *hăis* [həjs]. The two interjections still belong to the basic rural vocabulary till our days.

(182) *S-Kw* (a) ‘to prepare for depart; to put clothes on for depart; to prepare for stopping somewhere’; (b) equipment for a trip, tool(s), specific tools

Äwenki *SuK-silā-* ‘to tie up in the pack-saddle’ (< *Skw-s-)

Skr. *SK-andhayati* ‘to set up for a trip’

Fin. *SuK-si* ‘ski’

Äwenki *SuK-sin-* ‘to put something in the packsaddle’

Est. *SoK-utama* ‘to erect something somewhere’

Skr. *pari-ŠK-ar* ‘to prepare’

Eolic *SP-olá* ‘pack-saddle, wallet’ (< *SKw-ol-)

Gr. *SK-eûos* ‘endowment, equipment’ (< *SKw-ews-, with dissimilative delabialisation)

Skr. *upa-SK-ara* ‘mobile tools’

Lith. *SK-étē* ‘(he) put (it)’

Fin. *SuK-kela* ‘quick, nimble’

Lith. *SK-leidē* ‘to set (for rest)’

• Cf. Rom. *sculă* ‘a tool’ and *a se scula* ‘to wake up, to stand up’. Usually the dictionaries do not make the association between the two forms, and again usually the former is considered of unknown origin (the suggested hypothesis that an indigenous Thracian origin may be possible), whereas the latter is considered from a reconstructed Latin form **excubulare*. If such an approach is possible, then Thracian (and hence Romanian) may have preserved the two basic meanings as paralleled by Andreev: (a) ‘to wake up’ (< ‘to prepare for a trip’) and (b) ‘tool’ (the closest approach is Skr. *upa-SK-ara*).

(194) *Xw-Xy* ‘hungry, hunger; teeth; to eat; food’

Äwenki *HüΓ-i* ‘hungry’ (about animals) (< *XwXy-y-)

Negidal *XūX-āčān* ‘hungry’ (< *XwXy-eky-)

O. Turk. *Ā-č* ‘hungry’

Nanaj *XU-ktä* ‘tooth’ (< *XwXy-kwt-)

Gr. *n-Ō-dós* ‘toothless’ (< *ne-XwXy-d-)

Khanty *ÄΓ-liləta* ‘to eat’ (< *XweXy-ly-)

Gothic *Ē-tum* ‘they ate’ (< *XweXy-d-)

Khanty *ÖΓ-əltä* ‘to eat’ (< *XwoXy-lxy-)

Addenda

Skr. *Ā-çayati* ‘to feed’ (< *XwoXy-ky-)

Khanty *ÄΓ-ləptəta* ‘to cram, to stuff (with much food)’

Doric *ed-Ō-dā* ‘food, meal’

Skr. *Ā-çita* ‘food’

• Cf. Rom. *a hali* ‘to eat’ (now pejorative); *hămesit* ‘hungry’ and Alb. *ha* ‘to eat’; *hamës* ‘hungry’. This is another example, which shows the preservation of the archaic Proto-Boreal velar spirant down to Romanian and Albanian (via a so-called laryngeal in Thracian, maybe also in Illyrian); its treatment in Proto-Romanian was *h*, *f* or zero; similarly in Albanian, where it seems that the treatment *th* is also possible. See also # (198) below.

(198) *X-Xw* ‘to cut trees; stone axe; to cut; sharp, to sharpen’

Äwenki *HuΓ-* ‘to cut, fell trees’ (< *XoXw-)

Äwenki *HŌ-n-* ‘to cut, fell trees’ (< *XoXw-n-)

Äwenki *HoΓ-i-* ‘to cut’ (< *XoXw-y-)

M. Mong. *HO-qtal-* ‘to cut’ (< *XXw0-kwt-)

Oroki *XA-kta-* ‘to castrate a stag’ (< *XXw-kwt-)

Oroči *XO-ja-* ‘to cut’ (< *XXwo-y-)

Khanty *ÄΓ-ət’l’əta* ‘to cut’ (< *XeXw-dl-)

Khanty *ÖΓ-ättä* ‘to cut’

Oroči *XŌ-ñi-* ‘to cut (with an axe, sword etc.)’

Gothic *A-gizi* ‘axe’ (< *XXw-gw-)

Nanaj *XŌ-gdo-* ‘iron bar, crow-bar for making a hole in (i.e. cutting) the ice’ (< *XoXw-ghwdh-)

Hitt. *HE-gur-* ‘sharp’ (< *XXwe-gwr-)

Negidal *AΓ-at* ‘sharp’ (< *XXw-xt-)

Äwenki *AΓ-a* ‘a box for needles’

Khanty *OF-əč* ‘the reverse part of the knife or sword’ (< *XoXw-ky-)

Gr. *ak-Ō-kē* ‘sharpness, the sharp part of a knife etc.’ (< *-XoXw-ky-)

Negidal *AΓ-anā-* ‘to sharpen’

Cymric *HO-gi* ‘to sharpen’ (< *XXwo-ky-)

Mansi *XI-sxa-* ‘to sharpen’ (< *XXw-sx-)

Breton *HI-golen* ‘whetstone, gritstone (i.e. stone for sharpening)’ (< *XXw-ky-)

Fin. *HIO-a* ‘to sharpen’

• Cf. Rom. *a hăcui* ‘to cut’, usually considered from German *hacken* ‘to chop; to hoe’; the German word puts problems of etymological analysis. At a first sight, it may also belong to this root, but there are serious difficulties of phonetic evolution. On the other hand, an evolution PB *X > Thr. *H (laryngeal) > Rom. *h* seems normal. Future investigations should

clarify the topic. See also # (194) above.

(199) *Xw-X* ‘water; to swim to the other bank; a water-flow, to flow; to wash’

Hitt. *HA-ppa* ‘water’ (< **XwX-p-*)

Fin. *HuuH-toa* ‘to wash’ (< **XwoX-t-*)

Ulč̣i *XĀ-* ‘to swim across the river’ (< **XweX-*)

Hitt. *HA-pa* ‘river’ (< **XwX-op-*)

Oroki *XĀ-g-* ‘to get to the shore (by swimming or floating)’ (< **XweX-g-*)

Nanaj *XĀ-bo-* ‘to get to the bank/shore’ (< **XweX-b-*)

Fin. *HuuH-de* ‘a rinse, a wash; rinsing’ (< **XwoX-d-*)

Äwenki *HĀ-k-* ‘to get out of water’ (< **XweX-k-*)

Est. *UH-k* ‘(clean, fresh) spring water’ (< **XwX-k-*)

Khanty *OG-imṭata* ‘to flow’

Mansi dial. *AG-a* ‘rain’

Khanty *OG-ə̣lṭata* ‘to sprinkle, to water’

Est. *UH-tma* ‘to wash’

Khanty *OG-sem* ‘water-source, water-spring’

Khanty *ÖG-tam* ‘river-branch’ (especially in case of a flood)

Est. *UH-utud* ‘wet’

Khanty *OG* ‘a water-course’

Skr. *Ā-ugha-* ‘a small river, a rivulet’ (< **XwoX-w-*)

Russ. dial. *JA-vod* ‘a swift water-course’ (< **XwoX-w-*)

Äwenki *Ā-w-* ‘to tether, to fix to the bank’

Doric *Ā-peiros* ‘bank, shore’ (< **XweX-p-*)

Skr. *Ā-pa-* ‘water’

Äwenki *Ā-mät* ‘a lake, a pond’

Skr. *Ā-rī-* ‘water’ (< **XweX-r-*)

Skr. *Ā-tu-* ‘an object floating on water, a raft’ (< **XwoX-tw-*)

• There have been numerous discussions whether to consider Rom. *apă* ‘water’ a Latin or an indigenous Thracian word. The evolution from Lat. *aqua* to Rom. *apă* is of course normal; nevertheless there are indeed Thracian words attested in ancient Greek and Latin documents which would allow to suppose that a Thracian word similar or identical to Rom. *apă* may have influenced the modern form in Romanian. Andreev's list allows indeed such a view.

(202) *Xy-Xw* (a) ‘to tell, to say; to announce; to glorify’

Fin. *HuHu-taan* (*että*) ‘to say, relate (that)’ (< **XyXw_o-dx-*)

Fin. *HA-astaa* ‘to speak’ (< **XyXw_o-xs-*)

Addenda

Avestan *Ā-dha* ‘(he) said, (he) spoke’
(< *Xy_oXw-dh-)

O. Turk. *A-j-* ‘to speak’

Lat. *Ā-jō* ‘I say, I relate’ (< PIE *ǵǵ-
y- < *XyXw-y-)

Gr. *Ō-nato* ‘he spoke calmly’ (<
*XyoXw-nxy-)

Gr. dial. *an-Ō-gō* ‘I express a re-
quest, I ask for something’ (< *-
XyoXw-g-)

Skr. *Ā-ha* ‘(he) spoke’ (< *XyoXw-
ghy-)

Äwenki *HoΓ-owun* ‘an improvised
song’ (< *XyoXw-w-)

Äwenki *HaΓ-ā-* ‘to sing’ (< *XyXw-
ex-)

(b) Derived meaning: ‘to call, to
shout; to groan’

Äwenki *ÄΓ-ā̃* ‘a call, a shout; hey’

Lat. *Ō-hē*

Fin. *HA-aste* ‘a call for challenge;
challenge’ (< *XyXw-xs-)

Ir. *Ā* ‘a call’ (< *XyoXw)

Gr. *Ō-ē*

Äwenki *ÄΓ-iwčän* ‘to call with an
echo’

Fin. *HU-utaa* ‘to shout’ (< *XyXw-
wt-)

Gr. *O-nkáomai* ‘I shout, I yell’

Äwenki *ÄΓ-är-* ‘to groan’

M. Ir. *O-ng* ‘a groan’

• Cf. Rom. *a hui, a vui* ‘to hum, to
roar’, *huiet = vuiet* ‘roaring’; *hu, huo*
(interjection) ‘boo’. Another example
of preserving the archaic Proto-
Boreal velar spirant via a Thracian
laryngeal.

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Charts

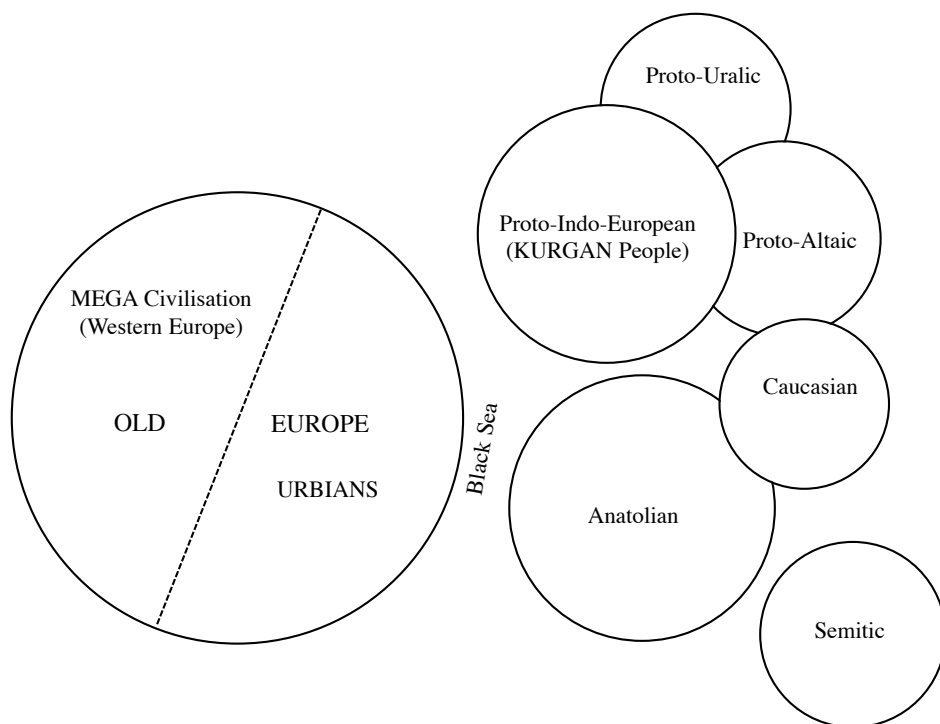
The Pre-Indo-European ('Urbian' and 'Mega') Groups as Compared to other Ethnic Groups in European Prehistory

The chart on the opposite page tries to loosely represent the main reconstructable ethnic and linguistic groups in European prehistory in the interval c. 8,000 to c. 3,500 B.C. (calibrated C₁₄ chronology).

On the left, the circle labelled *Old Europe* (a term used by Marija Gimbutas) suggests the approximate location of the Pre-Indo-European groups, which seemingly had two important branches: a Southeast European component, labelled 'Urbian', and a Western component, labelled MEGA (presumably the creators of the megalithic sacral monuments).

On the right, Proto-Indo-European (or 'Kurgan' in the terminology used by Marija Gimbutas), Proto-Altaic and Proto-Uralic groups; these seem to have been the descendants of the so-called Proto-Boreal (East European Upper Paleolithic and Mesolithic) group (the term used by N. D. Andreev, see the references).

Around 4,200 B.C., the west branch of the Indo-Europeans began to expand towards West, with a radical cultural change after c. 3,000 B.C. The indigenous *Urbian* and *MEGA* civilisations underwent a quite rapid process of acculturation, which resulted in the ethnic and linguistic groups known in European prehistory (see next chart). All the Indo-European groups preserved more or less important elements from their predecessors. Classical Greek, as an example, preserved around 50% indigenous elements in vocabulary, and only 40% reflect the Indo-European heritage, with c. 10% elements of various origins (labelled 'Mediterranean').



The Proto Indo-European Language and Its Evolution

The chart on the opposite page tries to loosely locate the main branches of the Indo-European family. Being an attempt to graphically suggest both the approximate location and the evolution of the linguistic groups, it mainly concentrates on the European descendants.

Note that, according to some theories, among these N. D. Andreev's theory briefly presented above, the Indo-European group is a later descendant of the older Proto-Boreal group, out of which Proto-Altaic, Proto-Uralic and Proto-Indo-European later developed. Similar theories were advocated, under various labels, by other linguists, e.g. Illič-Svityč (Russia) and Bojan Čop (Slovenia).

The Thracian group included Thracian proper as well as its North Danubian branch, known in modern literature as Dacian, or Daco-Mysian, or Geto-Dacian, or Thraco-Dacian. These are terms used in scientific works, the use of which varies from author to author. Romanian is a descendant of both North and South Danubian Romanised Thracian group, with North Danubian component as a solid, compact group, and isolated 'linguistic islands' south of the Danube. There was no clear-cut linguistic frontier between South and North Thracian, but linguistic analysis may identify certain dialectal differences as gleaned into the works of Greek and Latin authors, and also reflected in the dialectal differences of Romanian and other neighbouring languages, mainly Bulgarian and Serbian (which also continue the ancient Thracian substratum).

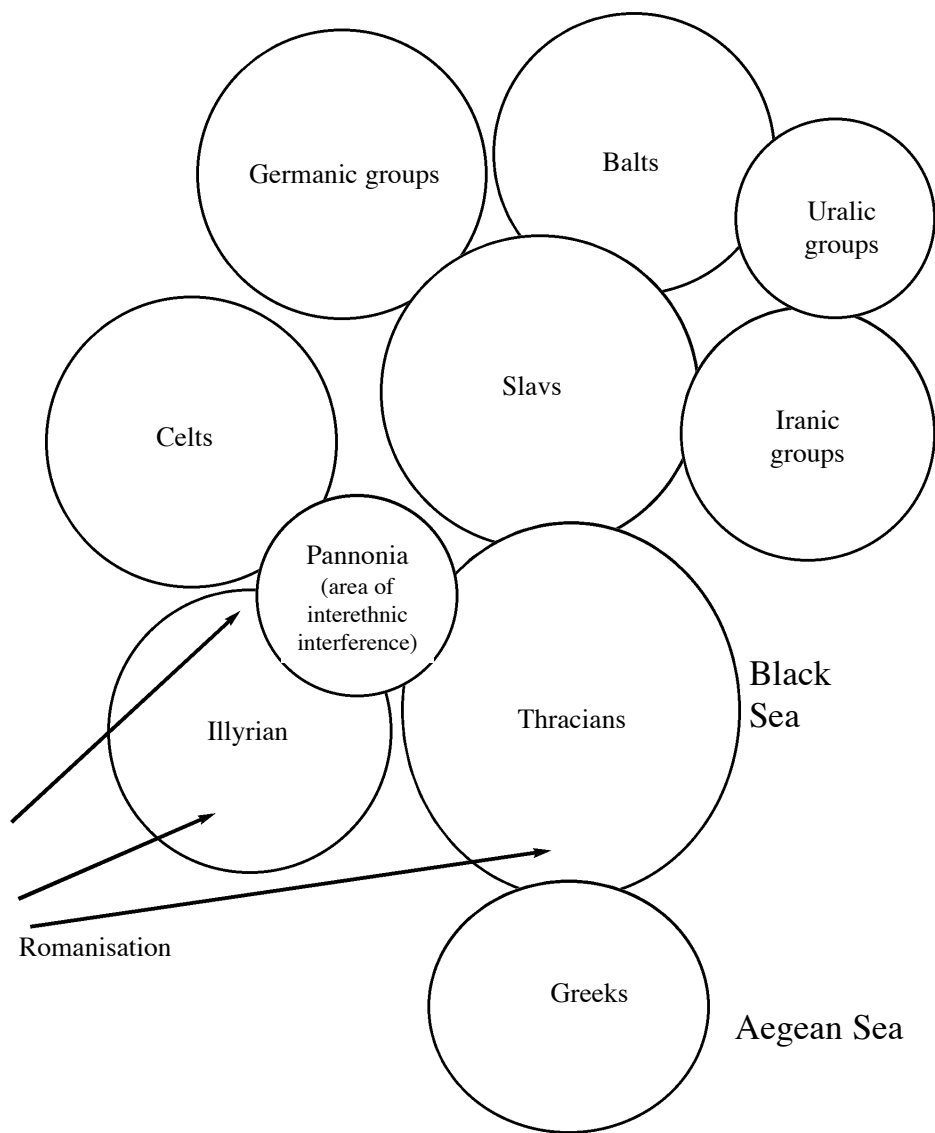
Albanian is a Neo-Thracian, rather than a Neo-Illyrian, idiom.

(After *American Heritage Dictionary*, 1979 ed., with additions and corrections)

[Această pagină va cuprinde PIE_EN.pdf la format mai mare, A 4 pe orizontală / landscape]

The European Ethnic Groups at the Beginning of the Christian Era

The chart on the opposite page tries to suggest an approximate distribution of the European ethnic groups in the 2nd to 6th centuries A.D. Note that the Slavic ethnogenesis is still debated in the scientific literature, so perhaps we should now accept the basic hypothesis that they emerged some time later, at the confluence of South Baltic, North Thracian and West Iranian speakers (all being satem languages), with a later Germanic influx and some early East Romance / Proto-Romanian influences. The oldest Balto-Slavic hypothesis remains perhaps the best, with some corrections in the wake of recent archaeological discoveries and linguistic analysis.



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