Hydronymica Albanica — A Survey of River Names in Albania —

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- 1. Introduction
- 2. Compendium of Albanian Hydronyms
- 3. Evaluation of the Compendium
- 4. Word Formation and Suffixes in Albanian Hydronyms
- 5. The Slavic Element in Albanian Hydronyms
- 6. Bibliography

1. Introduction

In the history of the Albanian language and people, the Dark Ages, i. e. the first millenium of our era, have proven themselves tenebrous indeed. There is a gaping hole in our knowledge of the language or languages spoken in Albania between the fall of the Roman Empire, and thus the end of Roman writing on ancient Illyria, and the first written texts in Albanian itself in the fifteenth century. The earliest documents in Albanian, with the exception of the abstruse Bellifortis text,¹ offer us a language which is immediately recognizable and intelligible as Albanian. In order to delve into the history of the Albanian language or of its predecessors before this period, we must therefore rely on the tools of diachronic linguistics and on toponomy.

Though diachronic linguistics did not take long to establish the Indo-European character of the Albanian language² and to offer a good number of lexical and morphological parallels between modern Albanian and its ancient Indo-European sister languages and language families (Indo-Iranian, Greek, Latin, Baltic, Slavic, Germanic, Celtic, etc), it has, with respect to Albanian, been faced with substantial difficulties and, as a whole, come up with more questions than answers. Compared to a model language like Lithuanian, which was first recorded at about the same time as Albanian, in the sixteenth century, the Albanian language has been something of a nightmare for diachronic linguists and Indo-Europeanists.

In considering the parentage of the Albanian language, there is no need at this juncture to review the arguments and evidence for and against the two main theories, that of a Thracian or Daco-Mysian origin and that of an Illyrian origin, theories which have been under discussion for over two centuries now. This polarization of views is not without its absurd dimensions in view of

¹ cf. Elsie 1986.

² German linguist Franz Bopp (1791-1867) first recognized Albanian as an Indo-European language in 1854. cf. Bopp 1854.

the fact that we know little about the Thracian language and even less about Illyrian. Even to speak of an Illyrian language or of a Thracian language may be misleading. It is eminently possible for instance, that there was a whole variety of languages, related or otherwise, spoken in the region, languages which, for convenience or for want of information, have been lumped together geographically as Illyrian or Thracian. We must come to terms with the fact that we know virtually nothing of the sociolinguistic realities of Albania during the first millenium following the collapse of the Roman Empire. Mediaeval Latin and Byzantine Greek writers provided adequate information about political turmoil, wars and invasions but were not overly concerned about the day-to-day linguistic situation of the rural or highland population in the southern Balkans.

In view of the obvious limitations of comparative linguistics and language reconstruction in the case of Albanian, toponomy, i. e. the study of place names, would seem at first glance to provide us with the only tool with which to pry open the early chapters of language in Albania. Hydronyms play an important role here.

It has often been stressed in linguistics that hydronyms, the names of bodies of water, in particular of rivers and streams, are especially resistant to change, more so than the names of mountains, hills and plains and certainly much more so than names of towns and villages. Of all toponyms, they provide the most reliable evidence of linguistic history. In his review of Seliščev's *Slavjanskoe naselenie v Albanii*, the Austrian Albanologist Norbert Jokl (1877-1942) remarked:

"Among the historically and linguistically most important elements of toponomastic studies are river names. As we know, names of rivers and bodies of water tend to maintain themselves with great resistance and survive a change of population."³

A quarter of a century later, Albanian linguist Eqrem Çabej (1908-1980) was to stress the same thing:

"A particularly conservative group as a whole are the names of rivers and bodies of water. It has been noted that they even continue and remain alive when a country changes population. The new population usually takes over the names of rivers from the population encountered in that country. It can thus be asserted that names of rivers and other waterways constitute the oldest stratum in a country's nomenclature. If we take a look at Albanian toponomy from this angle, we get the impression that these criteria have not been dealt with sufficiently by scholars studying this question in connection with the problem of Albanian autochthony."⁴

It would almost seem as if invading tribes always had the presence of mind to inquire about the name of a river before slaughtering the indigenous inhabitants on its banks.

The object of this paper is not to review hydronymic etymologies in detail and to pronounce upon the origins and phonetic development of individual river names where, in the vast majority of cases, no unequivocal origin can be ascertained, but rather to present an overview of Albanian hydronyms with a view to facilitating a more objective consideration of their significance, I stress the word 'objective' in a slightly provocative manner here because it occurs to me that objectivity has been sorely lacking in the Balkans. Many scholars in Tiranë have tended to depart *a priori* from a theory of Illyrian continuity and Albanian autochthony and then reflect in how to prove it,

³ cf. Jokl 1934-1935, p. 627.

⁴ cf. Çabej 1958.

working indeed conscientiously to this end. Other scholars from abroad, in particular from neighbouring Slavic countries, have endeavoured to interpret the doubtlessly strong stratum of Slavic vocabulary and influence in Albanian toponyms as a sign of Slavic priority in the region. Not wishing to exacerbate this latent conflict, I should like to stress that both views have an unmistakable ring of nationalism to them which is not conducive to scholarship.

The following compendium of the 282 rivers and streams flowing within the present borders of the Republic of Albania was compiled and analysed from available maps.⁵ This list is ordered according to the Albanian alphabet, i.e. with *c*, *ç*, *d*, *dh*, *e*, *ë*, *g*, *gj*, *1*, *ll*, *n*, *nj*, *r*, *rr*, *s*, *sh*, *t*, *th*, *x*, *xh*, *z*, *zh*, all as individual letters of the alphabet. Locations are given by means of the following abbreviations which reflect the administrative districts (*rrethe*) of Albania before the government reforms of 1991-1993.

Berat	BR
Bulqizë	ΒZ
Devoll	DV
Dibër	DI
Durrës	DR
Elbasan	EL
Fier	FR
Gramsh	GR
Gjirokastër	GJ
Kolonjë	ER
Korçë	KO
Krujë	KR
Kukës	KU
Laç	LA
Lezhë	LE
Librazhd	LB
Lushnjë	LU
Mallakastër	MK
Mirditë	MR
Mat	MT
Përmet	PR
Pogradec	PG
Pukë	PU
Sarandë	SR
Skrapar	SK
Shkodër	SH
Tepelenë	ТР
Tiranë	TR
Tropojë	BC
Vlorë	VL
Kosovo	Kos.
Macedonia	Mac.

⁵ My thanks in this connection go to Emil Lafe of the Albanian Institute of Linguistics and Literature in Tiranë for his suggestions as to current official designations and spellings of certain hydronyms.

Montenegro

Mon.

Basic information as to hydrographic relations (i. e. 'tributary of ...') is provided to enable the reader to locate the rivers in question. The unreliability and inaccuracy of virtually all maps of Albania available to date may, in a number of cases, give rise to inconsistencies, such that this information should be taken as a guide rather than as an accurate topical specification. Subsequent data as to origin are usually given in the form of 'related to' rather than 'derived from' for reasons of prudence. The abbreviated bibliographical data in square brackets serve to direct the reader to further treatment of the hydronyms in question.

2. Compendium of Albanian Hydronyms

Arrëz

PU. Tributary of the Fan i Madh, Fan and Mat.

Also village toponym *Arrëz*. Related to Alb. *arrëz* 'walnut grove' from Alb. *arrë* 'walnut,' i.e. 'walnut grove river,' with a suffix in $-ez(\ddot{e})$, cf. *Zharrëzë*. [cf. Shkurtaj 1987, p. 110, 115]

Baban

KO. Tributary of the Devoll and Seman.

Also village toponym *Baban*. Toponym with an *-an(ë)* formation, cf. *Gërman, Kurjan, Luçanë, Mezhgoran, Seman, Tëplan, Tiranë, Velçan*.

Babluç

EL. Tributary of the Shkumbin.

Aside from the hydronyms *Babluç* and *Baban* above, formations in *bab*- occur in many village toponyms in Albania: *Babicë* (VL), *Babinë* (BC), *Babjë* (LB), *Babotë* (SH), *Babrrujë* (TR), *Babunjë* (LU).

Baçkë

SK. Tributary of the Osum.

Also village toponym *Baçkë*. Related to Alb. *bacë*, *backë* 'clap, bat, slap,' i.e. 'river making a slapping noise.' The root is no doubt of onomatopoetic origin, with a formation in *-kë*, cf. *Skroskë*, *Strafickë*.

[cf. Çabej StGj 8, p. 124, Seliščev 1931, p. 323]

Banje

DI. Tributary of the Drin i Zi and Drin.

Related to Lat. *balneum* > **baneum* 'bath' or more likely to Slavic *banja* 'bath,' cf. Bulg., Russ. *banja*, i.e. 'river for bathing.' There are hot springs along the course of this river, whence the name. See also place names *Banja* and *Banishta* near Dibër in Macedonia from the same root. This stream is also known as the *Përroi i Peshkopisë* or the *Dohoshisht*. [cf. Çabej StGj 8, p. 155, Seliščev 1931, p. 227]

Banush

SH. Flowing into Lake Shkodër.

Toponym and family name with formation in ush(ë), cf. Lush, Skrobotushë.

Bardhë (Lumi i Bardhë) PU. Tributary of the Arrëz, Fan i Madh, Fan and Mat. Related to Alb. *i bardhë* 'white,' i. e. 'white river.' The hydronyms *Belevë* (LB) and *Belicë* (GJ) contain the Slavic root of the same meaning.

Barmash

ER. Tributary of the Lengaricë and Vjosë.

Also village toponym *Barmash*. Related to Alb. *i bardhë* 'white,' i. e. 'whitish river.' Toponym with an *-m* formation and suffix in *-ash*, cf. *Gash*, *Kalimash*.

Bastar (Zalli i Bastarit)

TR. Tributary of the Tërkuzë, Gjole and Ishëm.

The hydronym derives from the village toponym *Bastar*, recorded as *Bastari* in 1641 (report by Marco Scura) and as *Bastari* in 1689 (map of Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola). Hydronym with a formation in *-ar*, cf. *Shtegtar*, *Lavdar*, *Murdhar*.

Batër (Zalli i Batrës)

MT. Tributary of the Mat flowing into Lake Ulzë (Mat system). Recorded as *Batera* in 1689 (map of Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola). Also village toponyms *Batër e Madhe* 'Greater Batër' and *Batër e Vogël* 'Lesser Batër.' Toponym with a formation in *-ër(r)*, cf. *Dibërr, Gjadër, Kakër, Papër*.

Beç

KO. Tributary of the Çemericë, Devoll and Seman. There is also a *Qafa e Beçit* 'Beç Pass' in KO. This stream is also known as the *Mazrekë* (q.v).

Belevë

LB. Tributary of the Zall i Qarrishtës (?) and Shkumbin.

Related to the Slavic root for 'white,' Russ. *belyj*, Serbcr. *bio*, *bijel*, Bulg. *bjal*, i.e. 'white river,' with a suffix in *-eva*. The hydronym *Bardhë* in PU contains the Albanian root of the same meaning. [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 241]

Belicë

GJ. Tributary of the Drino and Vjosë.

This toponym was recorded as *Bélitza* in 1835 (W. M. Leake, 'Travels in Northern Greece'). Related to the Slavic root for 'white,' Russ. *belyj*, Serbcr. *bio*, *bijel*, Bulg. *bjal*, with a Slavic suffix in *-ica*, i. e. 'little white river.' The hydronym *Bardhë* in PU contains the Albanian root of the same meaning. This river is also known as the Kardhiq River (*Lumi i Kardhiqit*) from the village *Kardhiq*.

[cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 223, 241]

Benë

SH. Tributary of the Drin.

Also village toponym *Benë*. Related to earlier Alb. *bandë*, Tosk. *bëndë* 'area, side' with loss of *-d* as in *Fan < Fand*. This toponym occurs elsewhere in Albania: Benë, a mountainous region in MR and PU; *Zall i Benës* near Elbasan; *Bendë (Benë)*, area in the Tiranë mountains, etc. See also *Bënçë*.

[cf. Çabej StGj 8, p. 197-198]

Berishë

PU. Tributary of the Drin.

Also village toponym *Berishë* and tribal name *Berisha*, recorded as *Berisa* in 1691 (map of Francesco Maria Coronelli).

Bënçë

TP. Tributary of the Vjosë.

Also village toponym *Bënçë*. This toponym was recorded as *Bentcha* in 1805 by François Pouqueville, and as *Bentza* in 1815 by Henry Holland. It is related, like *Benë* above, to earlier Alb. *bandë*, Tosk. *bëndë* 'area, side' with loss of *-d* as in *Fan* < *Fand*. Toponym with suffix in *-çë*, cf. *Paroçë*, *Vërçë*.

[cf. Çabej StGj 8, p. 197-198]

Bilisht

KO. Tributary of the Devoll and Seman.

Also village toponym *Bilisht*, formerly *Bihlisht*. This toponym was recorded as *Belhişte* in 1670 (Seyahatname of Evliya Çelebi), as *Bichliza* in 1684 (map of Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola), as *Biklista* in 1835 (W. M. Leake, 'Travels in Northern Greece'), and as *Biglischta*, *Bihlischta* in 1913 (Leo Freundlich). Toponym with a suffix in *-isht(ë)*, common in Mac. and Bulg. toponyms and especially prevalent in eastern Albania (DI, LB, KO, ER), cf. *Dohoshisht*, *Gostivisht*, *Hotolisht*, *Molisht*, *Qarrishtë*. A *bil*- formation also occurs in village toponyms *Bilalas* (DR), and *Bilçë* (BR).

Bistricë

SR. Flowing into Lake Butrint.

This toponym was recorded as *Pistritza* in 1821 (map of François Pouqueville) and as *Vistrítza* in 1835 (W. M. Leake, 'Travels in Northern Greece'). It is related to Slavic *bystrica* 'the swift flowing river,' cf. Russ. *bystryj* 'quick, swift,' with a Slavic suffix in *-ica*. Also related to hydronym *Bushtricë*.

[cf. Çabej StGj 3, p. 63, Seliščev 1931, p. 204, 241]

Bishçukas (Kanal i Bishçukasit)

LU. Flowing into the Adriatic Sea 2 km south of the Shkumbin.

Also village toponym *Bishçukas*. Formerly written *Bishtçukas*. Related to Alb. *bisht* 'tail' and *çukë* 'mountain peak,' i.e. 'stream at the end of the peak.' Toponym with a nominal suffix in *-as*, cf. *Gjyras*.

Bogovë

SK. Tributary of the Osum and Seman.

Slavic toponym with a Slavic suffix in -ova, cf. Çarshovë, Draçovë, Grabovë, Kreshovë, Kushovë, Vidohovë, Zhepovë. A Slavic bog- formation also occurs in village toponyms: Bogë (SH), Bogdan i Sipërm (BR), Bogiq (SH).

Borje

Kos, KU. Tributary of the Lumë, Drin i Bardhë and Drin.

Also village toponym Borje. Related to Slav. borb 'pine-tree, pinus negra,' i. e. 'pine river.'

Boronec

BR, SK. Tributary of the Osum and Seman.

Also known as the *Branec*. Related to Alb. *bren* 'to gnaw,' *branis* 'to drag, grind,' i. e. river which grinds out its bed. Slavic transmission can be suspected in the vocalization, cf. Russ. *boroná* 'harrow.' Toponym with adj. suffix in *-ec*, cf. *Damjanec*, *Dunavec*, *Leskovec*.

Bozhmille (Bozhmillja e Madhe, Bozhmillja e Vogël)

KU. Tributary of the Krumë and Drin.

A *bozh*- formation also occurs in the Slavic village toponym *Bozhigrad* (KO). There is a village toponym *Millë* (PU).

Budullë

TR, KR. Tributary of the Ishëm.

Also village toponym *Budull*, recorded as *Buitula* in 1641 (report by Marco Scura). Toponym with a formation in *-ull(ë)*, cf. *Xixullë*, *Pistull*, *Trubull*.

Bulqizë (Zalli i Bulqizës)

DI. Tributary of the Drin i Zi and Drin.

Related either to Alb. *bulqi* 'grain' or to the root in Alb. *bulë, bulëzë* 'drop of water.' A formation in *bul-* also occurs in village toponyms: *Bulaç* (DI), *Bulçar* (GR), *Bulçesh* (TR), *Bulgër* (LE), *Bulshar* (MR), *Bulticë* (TR).

[cf. Çabej StGj 8, p. 362-363]

Bunë

SH. Flowing from Lake Shkodër into the Adriatic Sea.

Ancient *Barbana* (Livy 44, 31, 3; Vibius Sequester 147). It was subsequently recorded as *Buyona* in 1497 (Arnold von Harff) and as *Bajana* in 1515 (Breve memoria of Giovanni Musachi). It is said to be related to an Illyrian root **barb-* also found for instance in *Barbanti, Barbëçoret, Barbullush, Barbullojë*. There has been much discussion as to the sound changes leading to the present form.

[cf. Barić 1950, Seliščev 1931, p. 240, Armao 1933, p. 150-152, Jokl 1934-1935, p. 618, Mayer 1957, p. 76, Popović 1957-1958, p. 306-311, Çabej 1977, p. 252, Ölberg 1977, p. 627, Shkurtaj 1987, p. 101]

Bushtricë [1]

BC. Tributary of the Valbonë and Drin.

Related to Slavic *bystrica* 'the swift flowing river,' cf. Russ. *bystryj* 'quick, swift' with Alb. -*sh*-for Slavic -*s*-, and Alb. -*u*- for Slavic -y-, plus a Slavic suffix in -*ica*. Also related to hydronym *Bistricë*.

[cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 78, 204, 241]

Bushtricë [2]

LB. Tributary of the Shkumbin.

Related to Slavic *bystrica* 'the swift flowing river,' cf. Russ. *bystryj* 'quick, swift' with Alb. -*sh*-for Slavic -*s*- and Alb. -*u*- for Slavic -y-, plus a Slavic suffix in -*ica*. Also related to hydronym *Bistricë*.

[cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 78, 204, 241]

Bytyç (also called Bituç or Bityç) BC. Tributary of the Skatinë and Drin. Related to the tribal name *Bytyçi*.

Carinë

LB. Tributary of the Shkumbin.

Related to Slav. *carina* 'customs post or toll-gate,' i. e. 'toll river.' Toponym with a formation in *in*(*ë*), cf. *Gominë*, *Jagodinë*, *Radiçinë*, *Skatinë*, *Smokthinë*, *Shkumbin*, *Tarin*, *Vllahinë*, *Zavalinë*.

Cem

SH, Mon. Tributary of the Moraçë (Morača) flowing into Lake Shkodër.

Ancient *Cinua, Sinna* (Tab. Peut), Anc. Gk. *Kínna* (Ptol. II 16, 7). The sound changes leading to the Alb. form seem to presuppose Slavic influence. The Slavic name of the river is *Cijevna, Cevna,* related to Serbcr. *cijev* 'pipe.'

[cf. Weigand 1927, p. 242, Armao 1933, p. 161, Mayer 1957, p. 190-191, Popović 1957-1958, p. 305, 306, Popović 1960, p. 79, Katičić 1976, p. 186]

Cërrik

EL. Tributary of the Shkumbin.

Also town name *Cërrik*, from an earlier form *Cernik*. Related to Slavic root **tser*- 'oak, quercus cerris,' i.e. the 'oak river,' with a formation in *-ik(ë)*, cf. *Dërsnik*, *Leskovik*, *Plashnik*, *Zaranikë*. The Alb. root for 'oak' *qarr* occurs in the hydronym *Qarrishtë*. [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 232]

Curraj

BC. Tributary of the Drin.

Also village toponym *Curraj i Epërm, Curraj i Poshtëm.* Related to Alb. *curr* 'high cliff.' Toponym with a formation in *-aj* are particularly frequent in northern Albania, cf. *Dodaj, Dushaj, Lekaj, Llugaj, Maricaj, Ndreaj, Nikaj, Smaj, Xhaxhaj.* [cf. Çabej StGj 1, p. 96]

Çajë

Kos, KU. Tributary of the Drin i Zi and Drin.

Also village toponym *Çajë*. Related to Alb. *çaj* 'to split, cleave,' i.e. 'river which cleaves its course.' Less likely is a relationship to Turkish *çay* 'creek' which has been proposed as the origin of the Macedonian hydronym *Čaj*, a tributary of the *Vardar*. [cf. Duridanov 1975, p. 100]

Çarshovë

ER, PR. Tributary of the Vjosë.

Also village toponym Çarshovë. Toponym with a Slavic suffix in -ova, cf. Bogovë, Draçovë, Grabovë, Kreshovë, Kushovë, Vidohovë, Zhepovë.

Çatistë

GJ. Tributary of the Suhë, Drino and Vjosë.

Also village toponym Ç*atistë*, recorded in Ottoman Turkish as *Çatiste* in 1431 (Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arnavid).

Çemericë

KO. Tributary of the Devoll and Seman.

Also village toponym Ç*emericë*. Related to Slavic root **čemerika* 'black hellebore, helleborus nigra,' with a Slavic suffix in *-ica*, and to toponym *Çemerikë* near Opara. This stream was formerly known as the *Helizon*.

[cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 236]

Çerem

BC. Tributary of the Valbonë and Drin.

Also village toponym *Çerem*. A formation in *çer*-, of no doubt Slavic origin, is also found in village toponyms. cf. *Çericë* (SK), *Çermë* (LU), *Çernenë* (DI), *Çervenakë* (PG), *Çerven* (FR) and the region of *Çermenikë* (LB, EL).

Çërravë

PG, Mac. Flowing into Lake Ohrid.

Also village toponym *Çërravë*. Related to Slavic root for 'black,' cf. Russ. *černyj*. The earlier form would have been *černava* with rn > Alb. rr, i.e. 'black river.' The hydronyms Zezë in KR and Zi in PU contain the Albanian root of the same meaning. [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 241]

Çorovodë

SK. Tributary of the Osum and Seman.

Also town name *Çorovodë*. Slavic for 'black water' with Slavic root for 'black,' cf. Russ. *černyj* and for 'water,' cf. Russ., Serbcr., Bulg. *voda*. The hydronyms *Zezë* in KR and *Zi* in PU contain the Albanian root of the same meaning.

[cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 241]

Çubun

SH. Tributary of the Kir and Bunë.

Toponym with a formation in -un, cf. Okshtun, Rrapun. This stream is also known as the Sheh (q.v).

Damjanec

KO. Tributary of the Dunavec flowing onto the Plain of Maliq which drains into the Devoll and Seman.

Also village toponym *Damjanec*. Related to personal name *Damjan* with adj. suffix in *-ec*, cf. *Boronec*, *Dunavec*, *Leskovec*.

[cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 268]

Darç

DR. Flowing into the Adriatic Sea near Kavajë south of Durrës. See also hydronyms *Dars* and *Dërsnik*.

Dars

MT. Tributary of the Mat flowing into Lake Ulzë (Mat system).

Also village toponym *Dars*. From an earlier *Dardhas*. The inhabitants of the region are still known as *Dardhasí*, related to Alb. *dardhë* 'pear,' i. e. 'pear river.' See also hydronyms *Darç* and *Dërsnik*. [cf. Lafe 1988]

Dell

LU. Flowing into the Adriatic Sea 2 km north of the Seman. Related to Alb. *dell* 'sinew, vein' as in *dell uji* 'watercourse.' Also related here no doubt is Devoll.

Deshat

DI. Tributary of the Drin i Zi and Drin.

Also village toponym Deshat. Toponym with formation in -at, cf. Dukat, Dhoksat, Lishat, Trubat.

Devoll

KO, GR, EL, BR. Tributary of the Seman.

Ancient *Dibolía* (Ptol. III, 12, 23), mediaeval *Dievali*, Byz. Gk. *Deáivolis*, *Diávolos*. There was an Illyrian settlement along the river which was itself known as *Eordaikós* in ancient times. The root is pre-Slavic and has nothing to do with Med. Lat. *flumen Diaboli* (the devil's river) which is a folk etymology. cf. *Dell*.

[cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 240, Mayer 1957, p. 121, Çabej StGj 3, p. 63, Popović 1957-1958, p. 322-323]

Dërsnik

KO. Tributary of the Dunavec flowing onto the Plain of Maliq which drains into the Devoll and Seman.

Also village toponym *Dërsnik*. See also hydronyms *Darç*, *Dars*. This toponym evinces an adj. suffix in -*ik*(*ë*). *cf*. *Cërrik*, *Leskovik*, *Plashnik*, *Zaranikë*.

Dëshnicë

PR. Tributary of the Vjosë.

Also name of region *Dëshnicë*, recorded as *Desnitza* in 1821 (map of François Pouqueville). It is etymologically related to Slavic *desnica* 'right hand, right side' with Alb. *-sh-* for Slavic *-s-*, with a Slavic suffix in *-ica*.

Dibërr

LE, MR. Tributary of the Fan i Madh, Fan and Mat.

Also name of tribal region *Dibërr, Dibrri,* recorded as *Diberri* in 1641 (report by Frang Bardhi) and as *Diberri* in 1671 (report by Stefano Gapari). Related to the Slavic root *d'br' 'valley,' as is the toponym *Dibër, Dibra* (Slavic *Debar*). Toponym with a formation in $-\ddot{e}r(r)$, cf. *Batër, Gjadër, Kakër, Papër*.

[cf. Armao 1933, p. 154, Popović 1960, p. 83]

Dodaj (Zalli i Dodajt)

MR, MT. Flowing into Lake Ulzë (Mat system).

Family name and toponym, first recorded as *Dodagni* in 1688 (map of Francesco Maria Coronelli), and with a formation in *-aj*, particularly frequent in northern Albania, cf. *Curraj*, *Dushaj*, *Lekaj*, *Llugaj*, *Maricaj*, *Ndreaj*, *Nikaj*, *Smaj*, *Xhaxhaj*.

[cf. Shkurtaj 1987, p. 115]

Dohoshisht

DI. Tributary of the Drin i Zi.

Toponym with two suffixes: *-osh* and *-isht(ë)*. The former suffix can also be seen in *Rroksh* from earlier *Rrogosh*, and in *Vermosh*. The latter suffix is common in Mac. and Bulg. and especially prevalent in eastern Albania (DI, LB, KO, ER), cf. *Bilisht, Gostivisht, Hotolisht, Molisht, Qarrishtë*. This stream is also known as the *Përroi i Banjës* or the *Përroi i Peshkopisë*.

Draçovë

PR. Tributary of the Vjosë.

Also village toponym *Draçovë*, recorded as *Dratchova* in 1821 (map of François Pouqueville) and as $\Delta \rho \alpha \tau \zeta \delta \beta \alpha$ in 1854 (P. Aravantinos 1, p. 371). Slavic toponym with Slavic –*ova* suffix, cf. *Bogovë*, *Çarshovë*, *Grabovë*, *Kreshovë*, *Kushovë*, *Vidohovë*, *Zhepovë*. A *draç*- formation also occurs in the village toponym *Draç* (DR), which is also the Slavic term for Durrës.

Drin

KU, BC/PU, SH/PU, SH, LE. Flowing into the Adriatic Sea.

Ancient Drinius (Pliny III. 150), Drinus, and Gk. Drilôn (Strab. VII 5, 7), Drylôn, Dreilôn. Pre-Slavic toponym.

[cf. Krahe 1925, p. 23, Seliščev 1931, p. 240, Armao 1933, p. 155, Jolk 1934-1935, p. 627-628, Mayer 1957, p. 129, Çabej StGj 3, p. 63, Popović 1957-1968, p. 316-318]

Drino

Greece, GJ, TP. Tributary of the Vjosë.

Recorded as *Dhryno, Dryno, Druno* in 1835 (W. M. Leake, 'Travels in Northern Greece'). Pre-Slavic toponym from the same root as the *Drin* above. [cf. Mayer 1957, p. 129]

Drojë

KR. Tributary of the Ishëm.

Dukat

VL. Flowing into the Bay of Dukat 12 km south of Vlorë.

Also village toponym *Dukat*, recorded as *Dukat* in 1431 (Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancaki Arnavid), as *Duqat*, *Dokat* in 1670 (Seyahatname of Evliya Çelebi) and as *Ducates* in 1805 (François Pouqueville). Toponym with the root **duk*- of perhaps late Greek origin and a formation in *-at*, cf. *Deshat*, *Dhoksat*, *Lishat*, *Trubat*.

Dunavec

KO. Flowing onto the Plain of Maliq which drains into the Devoll and Seman. Slavic toponym with adj. suffix in *-ec*, cf. *Boronec, Damjanec, Leskovec*. Related no doubt is *Dunava*, the Slavic term for the Danube.

[cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 242]

Dush

PU, SH. Tributary of the Gomsiqe and Drin.

Also village toponym *Dush*, recorded as *Dusci* in 1688 (map of Francesco Maria Coronelli). A *dush*- formation also occurs in hydronym *Dushaj* below and in village toponyms: *Dushar* (KO), *Dushnik* (BR), *Dushnezë* (PU).

Dushaj

DI. Tributary of the Zall i Bulqizës, Drin i Zi and Drin.

Also village toponym *Dushaj*. Toponym *Dush* as above, with a formation in *-aj*, particularly frequent in northern Albania, cf. *Curraj*, *Dodaj*, *Lekaj*, *Llugaj*, *Maricaj*, *Ndreaj*, *Nikaj*, *Smaj*, *Xhaxhaj*.

[cf. Stadtmüller 1966, p. 158]

Dvoran

KO. Tributary of the Dunavec flowing onto the Plain of Maliq which drains into the Devoll and Seman.

Also village toponym *Dvoran*. Slavic toponym related to **dvorjan*, a class of land owners. Toponym with an *-an(ë)* formation, cf. *Baban*, *Gërman*, *Kurjan*, *Luçanë*, *Mezhgoran*, *Seman*, *Tëplan*, *Tiranë*, *Velçan*.

[cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 251]

Dhoksat

GJ. Tributary of the Nimicë, Drino and Vjosë.

Also village toponym *Dhoksat*, recorded as *Doksade* in 1431 (Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arnavid), as *Gionaksat* in 1805 (François Pouqueville), and as $\Delta o\xi \dot{\alpha} \tau \alpha i \zeta$ 1854 (P. Aravantinos 1, p. 362). Toponym with a formation in *-at*, cf. *Deshat*, *Dukat*, *Lishat*, *Trubat*.

Erzen

TR, DR. Flowing into the Adriatic Sea 12 km north of Durrës.

Ancient *Ardaxanus*. Pre-Slavic toponym. It was recorded as *Ersenta* in 1308 (Anonymi Descriptio Europae Orientalis), as *Arsenta* and as *Arzenta* in 1591 (report by Lorenzo Bernardo). This river seems also to have been called *Hebros* (Strab. VIII 7, 4) in ancient times. Toponym with a formation in *-en(ë)*, cf. *Shtërmen*, *Tërshenë*.

[cf. Mayer 1957, p. 155, Çabej StGj 3, p. 63]

Fan (Fand)

MR. Tributary of the Mat. This river was recorded as *Fanti* in 1515 (Breve memoria of Giovanni Musachi) and as *Fandi* in 1610 (report by Marino Bizzi). [cf. Armao 1933, p. 157]

Fan i Madh (Fand i Madh) PU, MR. Tributary of the Fan and Mat. The 'Greater Fan.'

Fan i Vogël (Fand i Vogël) KU, MR. Tributary of the Fan and Mat. The 'Lesser Fan.'

Farkë TR. Tributary of the Erzen.

Also village toponym *Farkë*, recorded as *Farke* in 1431 (Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancaki Arnavid) and as *Fuorcha* in 1515 (Breve memoria of Giovanni Musachi). Related to Alb. *fërkoj* 'to rub, rub away,' i. e. the 'eroding river,' or alternatively to Alb. *farkë* 'smith,' i. e. the 'smith's river,' or *furkë* 'fork, pitchfork, forked stick.'

Flym (Zalli i Flymit)

MT. Tributary of the Urakë flowing into Lake Ulzë (Mat system).

Gash

BC. Tributary of the Valbonë and Drin.

Also tribal name and settlement, recorded as *Gaasi* in 1634 (report by Bonaventura di Palazzolo) and as *Gassi* in 1650 (report by Fra Giacinto). Toponym with a formation in *-ash*, cf. *Barmash*, *Kalimash*.

Gërman (Zalli i Gërmanit)

MT. Flowing into Lake Ulzë (Mat system).

Also village toponym *Gërman*, recorded as *Ghermani* in 1641 (report by Marco Scura) and as *Grimani* in 1689 (map of Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola). Related to Alb. *gërmon* 'dig' and *gërmit* 'gnaw at' in the sense of a river which carves out its bed. In Macedonia there is, however, a *Germanska reka*, tributary of the Kozji Dol, which is said to be derived from a Thracian *"Germanas* from Indo-Eur. *"guhermo-* 'warm.' See also related hydronym *Gërmenj* below. Toponym with an *-an(ë)* formation, cf. *Baban, Dvoran, Kurjan, Luçanë, Mezhgoran, Seman, Tëplan, Tiranë, Velçan.* [cf. Duridanov 1975, p. 127]

Gërmenj

ER. Tributary of Lengaricë and Vjosë.

Also village toponym *Gërmenj*. Related to Alb. *gërmon* 'dig' and *gërmit* 'gnaw at' in the sense of a river which carves out its bed. There is also a village toponym *Gërmenj* in SK. See also related hydronym *Gërman* above.

[cf. Seliščev 1931,p. 241]

Glinë

SH. Tributary of the Gjadër.

It was recorded as *Gallina* in 1610 (report by Marino Bizzi), as *Galina* in 1621 (report by Giezzi Biancho), and as *Galina* in 1641 (report by Frang Bardhi). Slavic toponym. There are also village toponyms *Glinë* in Dropull (GJ) and near Leskovik (ER). [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 241]

Gominë

PU. Tributary of the Drin. Related to Alb. *gomën* 'a water-filled depth,' a word of Slavic origin, cf. Russ. *glubina* 'depth.' Toponym with a formation in *-in(ë)*, cf. *Carinë, Jagodinë, Radiçinë, Skatinë, Smokthinë, Shkumbin, Tarin, Vllahinë, Zavalinë.* [cf. Jokl 1934, p. 204]

Gomsiqe PU, SH. Tributary of the Drin. It was recorded as *Santa Crux ad flumen Glomisichia* in 1638, as *Gomesigeia* in 1641 (report by Frang Bardhi), and as *Glomesicchia* in 1672 (report by Giorgio Vladagni). Slavic toponym from *glom-, cf. Russ. glubina 'depth,' with a suffix in -iq(e),

cf. *Kardhiq, Sërriqe*. Jokl attributes this toponym to Alb. *gumë* 'cliff,' but this seems unlikely in view of the older Albanian forms.

[cf. Armao 1933, p. 158, Jokl 1934-1935, p. 299]

Gonë

EL. Tributary of the Shkumbin.

This hydronym is also known as the *Gonej* or the *Përroi i Vrapit*. A *gon*- formation also occurs in the village toponym *Gonë* near Drenovë (FR), and *Qafa e Gonës* 'Gonë Pass' near Peqin.

Goska e Madhe

KU. Tributary of the Goskë and Drin.

Related to Alb. *guaskë* 'nutshell, shell of animal,' i.e. 'big shell river.' Of the same root with a Slavic -*ova* suffix is the village toponym *Goskovë* in KO.

Goska e Vogël KU. Tributary of the Goskë and Drin. Related to Alb. *guaskë* 'nutshell, shell of animal,' i.e. 'little shell river.'

Goskë

KU. Tributary of the Drin. It was recorded as *Gosca fiume* in 1688 (map of Francesco Maria Coronelli). Related to Alb. *guaskë* 'nutshell, shell of animal,' i.e. 'shell river.' [cf. Armao 1933, p. 158]

Gostimë (Zalli i Gostimës) LB, LB/EL. Tributary of the Shkumbin. Related to Slavic *gost- 'guest.' Also of this formation are village toponyms: Gostimicë (SK), Gostënckë (SK), Gostil (KU), Gostivisht (ER), Gostivisht (PR). Toponym with a formation in -imë, cf. Zhëllimë.

[cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 257]

Gostivisht

ER. Tributary of the Osum and Seman.

Also village toponym *Gostivisht*. Related to Slavic ^{*}gost- 'guest.' cf. also hydronym *Gostimë* above. Toponym with a suffix in *-isht(ë)*, common in Mac. and Bulg. toponyms and especially prevalent in eastern Albania (DI, LB, KO, ER), cf. *Bilisht, Dohoshisht, Hotolisht, Molisht, Qarrishtë*. There is also a village toponym *Gostivisht* in PR.

Grabovë

PG, GR. Tributary of the Devoll and Seman.

Also village toponym *Grabovë*, recorded as *Krabove* in 1431 (Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arnavid) and as $\Gamma \rho \alpha \mu \pi \delta \beta \alpha$ ($\Pi \epsilon \rho \alpha$) 1854 (P. Aravantinos 1, p. 371). Related to Slavic grab- 'hornbeam, carpinus betulus,' i.e. 'hornbeam river' with a Slavic suffix in -ova, cf. Bogovë, Çarshovë, Draçovë, Kreshovë, Kushovë, Vidohovë, Zhepovë. The river Shkozë in PU contains the

Alb. root of the same meaning. A *grab-o-* formation also occurs in the village toponyms: *Grabom* (SH), *Grabovë* (PR), *Grabovicë* (PG), *Grabockë* (KO). [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 232]

Gramë

DI. Tributary of the Drin i Zi and Drin.

Also mountain name *Mali i Gramës*. Related no doubt to Alb. *gram* 'couch grass, agropyron,' i.e. 'river where couch grass grows.' Toponym with formation in *-amë*, cf. *Stamë*. [cf. Shkurtaj 1987, p. 111]

Griçkë

KO. Tributary of the Devoll and Seman.

Related perhaps to Alb. verb *grij* 'to grind, cut up,' i. e. 'grinding river.' Toponym with a -*çkë* formation. cf. *Mesiçkë*. This stream is also known as the *Përroi i Hoçishtit* (q.v). [cf. Çabej StGj 1, p. 216]

Gropë

SH. Tributary of the Cem and Moraçë flowing into Lake Shkodër. Related to Alb. *gropë* 'ditch,' i.e. a 'stream which carves out a ditch.'

Gurra e Gashtë

SH. Tributary of the Kir and Bunë.

Related to Alb. *gurrë* 'spring, source,' i.e. 'spring river.' Toponym with a *-rrë* formation, cf. *Korrë*, *Murrë*, *Zerrë*.

Gurrë

SK. Tributary of the Tomoricë.

Related to Alb. *gurrë* 'spring, source,' i.e. 'spring river.' Toponym with a *-rrë* formation, cf. *Korrë*, *Murrë*, *Zerrë*.

Gjadër

PU, LE, SH. Tributary of the Drin.

Toponym of Alb. origin, with an initial *gj*- from *gl*-. It was recorded as *Gladro* in 1348, as *Gladri*, *fiume del Jadro* in 1452 (K. Jireček, Skutari und sein Gebiet im Mittelalter=1916, p. 122), as *Giadri* in 1610 (report by Marino Bizzi), as *Ghiadri* in 1621 (report by Giezzi Biancho), as *Ghiadri* in 1641 (report by Frang Bardhi), and as *Giadri fiume* in 1688 (map of Francesco Maria Coronelli). Toponym with a formation in -*ër*(*r*), cf. *Batër*, *Dibërr*, *Kakër*, *Papër*. [cf. Armao 1933, p. 158 Çabej 1974, p. 89]

Gjanicë

BR, FR. Tributary of the Seman.

Related to Slav. *Glavnica*, from *glav* 'head.' This hydronym is recorded in Byzantine documents as *Glavenitza*, and subsequently as *Glenitza* in 1805 (François Pouqueville) and *Glaniza* in 1916 (Leo Freundlich). It also includes a Slavic suffix in *-ica*. [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 222, Jokl 1934-1935, p. 622-623]

Gjazuj (Përroi i Gjazujve)

LE. Tributary of the Dibërr, Fan i Madh and Mat.

Also village toponym *Gjazuj*. Related to Alb. *gjazë* 'grove in a meadow.' A *gjaz*- formation also occurs in the village toponym *Gjazë* near *Savër* (LU).

Gjerbës

FR, BR. Tributary of the Gjanicë and Seman.

It was recorded as *Gerbesi* in 1431 (Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arnavid) and as $\Gamma \acute{e}\rho\mu\pi\epsilon\sigma i$ 1854 (P. Aravantinos 1, p. 384), and is related to Alb. *gjerbë* 'drip, drop of water,' i.e. 'dripping stream.' Toponym with a nominal suffix in -*ës*, cf. *Krahës*, *Kudhës*.

Gjole TR, KR. Tributary of the Ishëm. Related to Alb. *gjol* 'lake, pond,' from Tk. *göl* kake.=

Gjyras

KO. Tributary of the Qytezë, Devoll and Seman. Also village toponym *Gjyras*. Toponym with a nominal suffix in *-as*, cf. *Bishçukas*. [cf. Shkurtaj 1987, p. 115]

Helizon cf. Çemericë

Hoçisht (Përroi i Hoçishtit) cf. Griçkë

Holtë (Përroi i Holtës) GR. Tributary of the Devoll and Seman. Related with metathesis to hydronym *Hotolisht*.

Hotolisht

LB. Tributary of the Shkumbin.

Also village toponym *Hotolisht*. Related with metathesis to hydronym *Holtë*. The same root is present in the village of *Hotovë* (PR). Toponym with a suffix in *-isht(ë)*, common in Mac. and Bulg. toponyms and especially prevalent in eastern Albania (DI, LB, KO, ER), cf. *Bilisht, Dohoshisht, Gostivisht, Molisht, Qarrishtë*.

Hurdház KR. Tributary of the Mat. Related to Alb. *hurdhë* 'pond,' i.e. 'pond river.'

Iballe

PU. Tributary of the Drin.

Also name of region *Iballe*, recorded as *Ikbale* in 1571 (Pulaha 1988, p. 290), as *Idbal* in 1621 (letter of Pjetër Budi), as *Ibbaleia* in 1629 (report by Giezzi Biancho), as *Ibala, Jabala* in 1634 (report by Pietro Maserecco), *as Ibbaleia, Ibbali* in 1641 (report by Frang Bardhi), as *Ibali* in 1688 (map of Francesco Maria Coronelli), and as *Ibalea* in 1689 (map of Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola).

It may be a toponym of Alb. origin, or may be influenced by Ottoman Turkish *ikbal* 'good fortune, prosperity.'

[cf. Çabej 1974, p. 89]

Ishëm

TR, KR, DR, KR. Flowing into the Adriatic Sea. Ancient *Isamnus* (Vibius Sequester 149). Recorded in 1302 as *Yssamo* and in 1622 as *Isemi*. [cf. Mayer 1957, p. 174, Çabej StGj 1, p. 245]

Jagodinë

EL. Tributary of the Shkumbin.

Also village toponym *Jagodinë*. Related to Slavic root **jagoda* 'berry,' i. e. 'berry river.' Toponym with a formation in -*in*(*ë*), cf. *Carinë*, *Gominë*, *Radiçinë*, *Skatinë*, *Smokthinë*, *Shkumbin*, *Tarin*, *Vllahinë*, *Zavalinë*. There is also a village toponym *Jagodinë* in FR. [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 241]

Kaçivel (Zalli i Kaçivelit) EL. Tributary of the Devoll and Seman. Also village toponym *Kaçivel*. Toponym with a formation in *-el*, cf. *Kozel*, *Sarasel*.

Kakër

PU, SH. Tributary of the Gjadër and Drin.

Related to Alb. reptile names, *kakërdhiqe* 'salamander,' *kakërdhoc* 'frog.' The root can also be seen in *Kakariq*, a marsh south of Shkodër. Toponym with a formation in $-\ddot{e}r(r)$, cf. *Batër*, *Dibërr*, *Gjadër*, *Papër*.

Kalasë

SR. Tributary of the Bistricë flowing into Lake Butrint.

Also a village toponym, recorded as *Galata* in 1670 (Seyahatname of Evliya Çelebi), as *Kaliása* 1835 in (W. M. Leake, 'Travels in Northern Greece'), and as $K\alpha\lambda\iota\dot{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\alpha$ in 1854 (P. Aravantinos 1, p. 361).

Kalimash

KU. Tributary of the Drin.

Also a village toponym, recorded as *Colemaarsci* in 1638 (report by Francesco Bianchi), as *Calimossi* in 1671 (report by Stefano Gapari), and as *Callimasci* in 1694 (report by Nicolò Vladagni). Toponym with a formation in *-ash*, cf. *Barmash*, *Gash*.

Kamenicë

KO. Tributary of the Dunavec flowing onto the Plain of Maliq which drains into the Devoll and Seman.

Related to Slavic *kamen*' 'stone, rock,' with a Slavic suffix in *-ica*, i.e. 'stony river.' From the same Slavic root are hydronym *Kamnicë* (q.v), village toponyms *Kamenicë* (LU), *Kamenicë* (SR), mountain name *Kamenik* (ER).

Kamnicë VL. Tributary of the Vjosë. Related to Slavic *kamen*' 'stone, rock,' with a Slavic suffix in *-ica*, i.e. 'stony river.' cf. also *Kamenicë*.

[cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 241]

Kardhiq

GJ. Tributary of the Drino and Vjosë.

Also village toponym *Kardhiq*, recorded as *Gardik in* 1431 (Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arnavid), as *Qardik* in 1670 (Seyahatname of Evliya Çelebi), as *Gardiki* in 1815 (Henry Holland), as *Kardiki* in 1821 (map of François Pouqueville), as *Kardhíki*, *Gardhíki* in 1835 (W. M. Leake, 'Travels in Northern Greece'), as *Gardhíki* in 1848 (Edward Lear), and as $\Gamma \alpha \rho \delta i \kappa i$ in 1856 (P. Aravantinos I, p. 359).. Related to Alb. *gardhiqe* 'fence around a tree' and *gardh* 'fence, enclosure,' or to Alb. *karthë* 'laburnum.' Toponym with a suffix in *-iq(e)*, cf. *Gomsiqe*, *Sërriqe*. A *kardh-i-* formation also occurs in village toponym *Kardhikaq* (SR). This stream is also known as the *Belicë*.

[cf. Shkurtaj 1987, p. 111]

Karicë

MT. Flowing into Lake Ulzë (Mat system). Also village toponym *Karicë*. Hydronym with a Slavic suffix in *-ica*.

Karkanjoz

BR. Tributary of the Osum and Seman.

Also village toponym *Karkanjoz*, recorded as *Karkanos* in 1431 (Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arnavid), and as *Καρκανόζι* in 1854 (P. Aravantinos 1, p. 380).

Karmalijë

VL. Tributary of the Shushicë and Vjosë.

Kaur

VL. Tributary of the Shushicë.

Related perhaps to Alb. *kaur* 'ghiaour, non-Moslem in Ottoman Empire' from Turkish *gâvur*, i. e. 'river of the ghiaours.'

Kavajë [1]

DR. Flowing into the Adriatic Sea near city of Kavajë.

Also village/town toponym, recorded as *Kavalye* in 1431 (Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancaki Arnavid), as *Borgo Cavaglia* in the 16th cent, as *Qavaya* in 1670 (Seyahatname of Evliya Çelebi), as *Cavailha* in 1805 (François Pouqueville), and as *Kaváya* in 1835 (W. M. Leake, 'Travels in Northern Greece'). Perhaps related to Alb. *kavall* 'flute,' i. e. 'flute-shaped river;' Or to Ital. *cavallo* 'horse.' This stream is also known as the *Përroi i Leshniqës*.

Kavajë [2] MT. Flowing into Lake Ulzë (Mat system). Perhaps related to Alb. *kavall* 'flute,' i. e. 'flute-shaped river.'

Kir SH. Tributary of the Bunë. Also village toponym *Kir*. Ancient name *Clausula* (Livy 44, 31), *Cleusis* (Tab. Peut). It was later known as *Clyre* in 1596 (Jaques De Lavardin, Historie of George Castriot), as *Chiri* in 1671 (report of Stefano Gaspari), as *Chirli* in 1689 (map of Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola), and as *Kiri*, *Chiri* in1688, 1691 (map of Francesco Maria Coronelli). [cf. Armao 1933, p. 152-153, Mayer 1957, p. 192]

Konopishtë

ER. Tributary of the Osum and Seman. Related to Alb. *konopishtë* 'chaste tree, vitex agnus castus,' i.e. 'chaste tree river.'

Konjak

TP, FR. Tributary of the Povël and Vjosë. This stream is also known as the *Konak* or *Xhi* (q.v).

Koria e Madhe FR. Tributary of the Vjosë. Related to Alb. *korije* 'grove of bushes,' i.e. 'grove river.' Related is the mountain name *Korja e Mërturit* in BC.

Korrë (Zalli i Korrës)

EL, TR. Tributary of the (Murdhar and) Erzen.

Also village toponym *Korrë*, recorded as *Kora* in 1431 (Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arnavid), and as *Corra* in 1641 (report by Marco Scura). Related perhaps to Alb. *korr* 'to scythe, harvest,' i.e. 'harvest river.' Toponym with a *-rrë* formation, cf. *Gurrë, Murrë, Zerrë*.

Kostenjë (Zalli i Kostenjës)

LB. Tributary of the Zall i Prevallit and Shkumbin. Also village toponym *Kostenjë*. Related to Slavic root **kostjan* 'chestnut oak, fagus castenea,' i. e. 'chestnut oak river.' [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 241]

Kozel

ER. Tributary of the Osum and Seman.

Also village toponym *Kozel*. Related to Slavic root **koz*- 'goat.' There are many such Slavic toponyms, in particular in the Pindus mountains, cf. *Kozara, Kozel, Kozica, Kozani*. Toponym with a formation in *-el*, cf. *Kaçivel, Sarasel*. [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 239]

Krahës

TP. Tributary of the Vjosë.

This 'stream of the plain of Krahës' (*Përroi i Fushës së Krahësit*) is named after the village of *Krahës*, recorded as *Gin-Krahzi* in 1431 (Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arnavid), and as $K\rho \dot{\alpha} \alpha \sigma_i$, $\beta \rho \alpha \chi \iota ov o \epsilon_i \delta \dot{\eta} \varsigma$ in 1854 (P. Aravantinos 1, p. 368). Related perhaps to Alb. *krah* 'side, wing, arm.' Toponym with nominal suffix in *-ës*, cf. *Gjerbës*, *Kudhës*.

Kreshovë

PR, SK. Tributary of the Osum and Seman.

Also village toponym *Kreshovë*. Related to Slavic **kršova* 'steep cliff.' Toponym with a Slavic suffix in -*ova*, cf. *Bogovë*, *Qarshovë*, *Draçovë*, *Grabovë*, *Kushovë*, *Vidohovë*, *Zhepovë*. [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 215.]

Krumë

KU. Tributary of the Drin. Also name of region. Mediaeval *Krupa*. Pre-Slavic toponym with a formation in *-um(ë)*, cf. *Lum, Lumë, Lum-th, Osum*. [cf. Çabej 1974, p. 89]

Kryegur

EL. Tributary of the Holtë, Devoll and Seman. Alb. 'head stone' or 'main stone.' Also known as the *Përroi i Pashtreshit*.

Kserje

GJ. Tributary of the Drino and Vjosë. Related to Greek *kserös* 'dry,' i. e. 'dry river.'

Kuç [1]

SK. Tributary of the Tomoricë.

Also village toponym *Kuç*. Pre-Slavic toponym. Related perhaps to Alb. *kuç* 'earthen-ware vessel.' *Kuç* also occurs as a village toponym in VL (cf. Kuç [2]), TR, BR, SH, and as a tribal and regional name in SH.

[cf. Çabej 1974, p. 89]

Kuç [2]

VL. Tributary of the Shushicë and Vjosë.

Also village toponym *Kuç*. Pre-Slavic toponym. Related perhaps to Alb. *kuç* 'earthen-ware vessel.' *Kuç* also occurs as a village toponym in SK (cf. Kuç [1]), TR, BR, SH, and as a tribal and regional name in SH.

[cf. Çabej 1974, p. 89]

Kudhës

VL. Flowing into the Ionian Sea 25 km north of Sarandë.

Also village toponym *Kudhës*, recorded as *Kudes* in 1431 (Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancaki Arnavid), as *Coudessi* in 1805 (François Pouqueville), as *Kúdhesi*, *Kutzi* in 1835 (W. M. Leake, 'Travels in Northern Greece'), and as *Kúdhesi* 1848 (Edward Lear). Related to Alb. *kudh* 'pot, jug,' i.e. the 'potter's river, pot-shaped river.' Toponym with nominal suffix in *-ës*, cf. *Gjerbës*, *Krahës*.

Kunorë

PU. Tributary of the Drin. Also mountain name in northern Albania. Related to Alb. *kurorë*, Geg. *kunorë* 'garland' from Lat. *corona* 'garland, crown.' [cf. Çabej 1974, p. 96]

Kurjan BR, FR. Flowing into Kurjan reservoir 14 km east of Fier. Also village toponym *Kurjan*, recorded as *Kuryani* in 1431 (Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arnavid), and as *Koύργιασι* 1854 (P. Aravantinos 1, p. 382). Toponym with an *-an*(*ë*) formation, cf. *Baban*, *Dvoran*, *Gërman*, *Luçanë*, *Mezhgoran*, *Seman*, *Tëplan*, *Tiranë*, *Velçan*.

Kushë

EL. Tributary of the Shkumbin.

Also village toponym *Kushë*, recorded as *Kus* in 1431 (Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arnavid) and as *Cuesi* in 1641 (report by Marco Scura). Same root as in hydronym *Kushovë* below.

Kushovë

GR. Tributary of the Tomoricë, Devoll and Seman. Also village toponym *Kushovë*. Same root as in hydronym *Kushë* above. Toponym with a Slavic suffix in *-ova*, cf. *Bogovë*, *Çarshovë*, *Draçovë*, *Grabovë*, *Kreshovë*, *Vidohovë*, *Zhepovë*.

Lanë

TR. Flowing through Tiranë into the Erzen.

Recorded as *Lana* in 1431 (Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arnavid). Related possibly to Alb. *laj*, Geg. *lânj* 'to wash,' i. e. a river where the washing is done.'

Lapardhicë

BR. Tributary of the Osum and Seman.

Also village toponym *Lapardhá*, recorded as *Laparde* in 1431 (Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arnavid), as *Lapirda* in 1670 (Seyahatname of Evliya Çelebi), and as $(\tau o \hat{v}) \Lambda i \alpha \pi \alpha \rho \delta \hat{\alpha}$ in 1854 (P. Aravantinos 1, p. 380). Related perhaps to Alb. *lapërdha* 'foul-mouthed, obscene,' with a Slavic suffix *-ica*.

Lavdar

SK, BR. Tributary of the Osum and Seman.

Also village toponym *Lávdar*. Hydronym with a formation in *-ar*, cf. *Bastar, Murdhar, Shtegtar*. In FR there is a village toponym *Lavdan*.

Lekaj

LU. Tributary of the Dell.

Also village toponym *Lekaj*. Toponyms with a formation in *-aj* are particularly frequent in northern Albania, cf. *Curraj, Dodaj, Dushaj, Llugaj, Maricaj, Ndreaj, Nikaj, Smaj, Xhaxhaj*. A *lek*-formation also occurs in village toponyms: *Lekaj* (SH), *Lekurtaj* (BC). *Lek, Lekë*, as a personal name, is the short form of Alexander.

Lengaricë

ER, PR. Tributary of the Vjosë. Recorded as *Levkaritza* in 1821 (map of François Pouqueville). Related to Slavic *lug-* 'meadow, swamp,' with a Slavic suffix in *-ica*. [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 241]

Leskovec PR. Tributary of Deshnicë and Vjosë.

Also village toponym *Leskovéc*, recorded as Λεσκοβέτζι in 1854 (P. Aravantinos 1, p. 376). Related to Slavic root **ljeska-* 'hazel, corylus avellana,' i. e. 'hazel river.' Toponym with adj. suffix in *-ec*, cf. *Boronec, Damjanec, Dunavec*. [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 241, 233]

Leskovik

ER. Tributary of the Vjosë.

Also town name *Leskovik*, recorded as *Lexovico* in 1821 (map of François Pouqueville), and as Turk. *Leskovik* in 1849 (Salname 1266 AH). Related to Slavic root **ljeska-* 'hazel, corylus avellana,' i.e. 'hazel river,' with a formation in *-ik(ë)*, cf. *Cërrik, Dërsnik, Plashnik, Zaranikë*. [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 241, 233]

Lesniqe

SH. Tributary of the Drin.

No doubt related to the same root as the common hydronym *Leshnicë*, i.e. the Slavic root **ljeska-*'hazel, corylus avellana,' with a Slavic suffix in *-ica*, i. e. 'hazel river.' [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 241, 233, Armao 1933, p. 159-160]

Leshnicë

GR. Tributary of the Tomoricë, Devoll and Seman. Related to Slavic root **ljeska-* 'hazel, corylus avellana,' with a Slavic suffix in *-ica*, i.e. 'hazel river.' Of the same formation and root are the hydronyms *Leshnicë*, two tributaries of the *Drin* in KU, and *Leshnicë*, a tributary of the *Pavllë* in SR. [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 241, 233]

Leshniqë (Përroi i Leshniqës) cf. Kavajë [1]

Leshnjë KO, ER. Tributary of the Osum and Seman. Also village toponym *Leshnjë*. Related to Slavic root **ljeska-* 'hazel, corylus avellana,' i. e. 'hazel river.' [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 241, 233]

Lezë MR. Flowing into Lake Ulzë (Mat system). Toponym with a formation in *-ezë*, cf. *Mëllezë*, *Qytezë*, *Shtrezë*.

Limuth

TR. Tributary of the Gjole and Ishëm.

Related to Alb. *lum* or *lym* 'mud from the river or a flood.' Toponym with a *-th* diminutive formation. There is also a *Limth* mountain (KU) [cf. Cabej 1974, p. 97]

Linos

TR, TR/MT, MT. Tributary of the Mat flowing into Lake Ulzë (Mat system).

A *lin-* formation also occurs in village toponyms: *Linëz*, or *Linzë* (TR), *Linas* (EL), *Lin* (PG), and *Linec* (PG).

Lishat

TR/DR, DR. Tributary of the Kavajë.

Toponym with formation in *-at*, cf. *Deshat*, *Dukat*, *Dhoksat*, *Trubat*. This stream is also known as die *Përroi i Leshniqës*. A *lish-* formation also occurs in the village toponym *Lishan i Epërm*, *Lishan i Poshtëm* (DI).

Lomnicë

PR. Tributary of the Vjosë. Old Slavic toponym **Lom'nica* from *lomъ* 'crevice' with a Slavic suffix in -(*'n)ica*. [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 241]

Luçanë (Zalli i Luçanës)

MT. Tributary of the Mat flowing into Lake Ulzë (Mat system). Toponym with an *-an*(*ë*) formation, cf. *Baban, Gërman, Kurjan, Mezhgoran, Seman, Tëplan, Tiranë, Velçan.*

Luftinjë

TP. Tributary of the Vjosë.

Also village toponym *Luftinjë*. Related perhaps to Alb. *luftë* 'fighting, battle, war,' although there are also the village toponyms *Luf* (PU) and *Lufaj* (MR). Toponym with a formation in *-injë*.

Lum

SH. Tributary of the Drin.

Related to Alb. *lyej* 'to lubricate' and *lumë* 'river,' i. e. a river which lubricates or moistens. Toponym with a formation in *-um(ë)*, cf. *Krumë*, *Lumë*, *Lum-th*, *Osum*.

Lumë

KU. Tributary of the Drin i Bardhë and Drin.

Also toponym of region *Lumë*. Related to Alb. *lyej* 'to lubricate' and *lumë* 'river,' i. e. a river which lubricates or moistens. Toponym with a formation in *-um(ë)*, cf. *Krumë*, *Lum*, *Lum-th*, *Osum*. [cf. Çabej 1974, p. 89]

Lumth

MR. Tributary of the Smaj, Fan i Vogël, Fan and Mat. Related to Alb. *lyej* 'to lubricate' and *lumë* 'river,' i. e. a river which lubricates or moistens. Toponym with a formation in *-um(ë)*, cf. *Krumë*, *Lum*, *Lumë*, *Osum*, plus a *-th* diminutive

Lusë

MT. Four tributaries of the Mat flowing into Lake Ulzë (Mat system). A *lus*- formation also occurs in the village toponym *Lusëna* (KU).

formation, i. e. 'little river.' There is also a village toponym Lumth (LU).

Lush

KU, DI. Tributary of the Çajë, Drin i Zi and Drin.

There is also a village Lush (BC). Toponym with formation in -ush(ë), cf. Banush, Skrobotushë.

Llugaj

BC. Tributary of the Bistricë, Valbonë and Drin.

Also village toponym *Llugaj*. Related to *lug* 'channel, groove, hollow.' Toponyms with a formation in *-aj* are particularly frequent in northern Albania, cf. *Curraj*, *Dodaj*, *Dushaj*, *Lekaj*, *Maricaj*, *Ndreaj*, *Nikaj*, *Smaj*, *Xhaxhaj*.

Macilë

GR. Tributary of the Devoll and Seman. Toponym with a formation in *-ilë*.

Madh (Përroi i Madh) TP. Tributary of the Vjosë. Related to Alb. *i madh* 'big,' i.e. 'big stream.'

Maricaj

TP. Tributary of the Luftinjë and Vjosë.

Also village toponym *Maricaj*, recorded as *Marçeni* in 1431 (Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arnavid), as *Marican* in 1670 (Seyahatname of Evliya Çelebi), as *Mapítoavŋ* in 1854 (P. Aravantinos 1, p. 368), and as *Maričani* in 1915 (Austrian military map). Toponyms with a formation in *-aj* are particularly frequent in northern Albania, cf. *Curraj, Dodaj, Dushaj, Lekaj, Llugaj, Ndreaj, Nikaj, Smaj, Xhaxhaj*. This stream is also known as the *Përroi i Arrëzit*, after the village *Arrëz*.

Mat

MT, LE/KR. Flowing into the Adriatic Sea 40 km south of Shkodër.

Ancient *Mathis* (Vibius Sequester), and Gk. *hê Matê*. It was subsequently recorded as *Mathia* in 1308 (Anonymi Descriptio Europae Orientalis), as *Matia* in 1515 (Breve memoria of Giovanni Musachi), as *Machia* in 1554 (Mercator map), as *Ematthia* in 1591 (report by Lorenzo Bernardo), as *Emathia* in 1596 (Jaques De Lavardin, Historie of George Castriot), and as *Mathia* in 1610 (report by Marino Bizzi). Pre-Slavic toponym. Related to Alb. *mat* 'beach, riverbank.'

[cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 240, Jokl 1934-1935, p. 628, Mayer 1957, p. 222, Popović 1957-1958, p. 319-320, Çabej 1961, Çabej 1977, p. 252, Çabej StGj 1, p. 333, Çabej StGj 3, p. 63]

Mazrekë

KO. Tributary of the Çemericë, Devoll and Seman.

Tribal name from Alb. *mbas rekës* 'behind or beyond the river, transfluvium.' There are also village toponys *Mazrek* (SH), *Mazrek* (TR) and *Mazrekë* (GR). This stream is also known as the Beç River (*Lumi i Beçit*).

Mezhgoran

TP. Tributary of the Vjosë.

Also the name of the canyon through which the stream flows, and a settlement, recorded as *Mujdogoryani* in 1431 (Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arnavid), as *Mesgourani* in 1820 (Thomas Smart Hughes), and as $Me \zetaouryop \dot{\alpha}vi$ in 1854 (P. Aravantinos 1, p. 367). Related to Slavic

medžu gorjan, 'between the mountains.' Toponym with an *-an(ë)* formation, cf. *Baban, Dvoran, Gërman, Kurjan, Luçanë, Seman, Tëplan, Tiranë, Velçan.* [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 217]

Mëllezë cf. Mësiçkë

Mërkur cf. Skroskë

Mësiçkë

ER. Tributary of the Osum and Seman.

Also village toponym *Mësiçkë*. Toponym with a -*ç*-*kë* formation. cf. *Griçkë*. This stream is also called the *Mëllezë*, related to Alb. *mëllezë* 'hop-hornbeam, ostrya carpinifolia.'

Mëzi

PU. Tributary of the Drin. Also village toponym Mëzi.

Molisht

BR. Tributary of the Osum and Seman.

Also village toponym *Molisht*, recorded as *Molnişte* 1431 (Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancaki Arnavid), and as $Mo\lambda i\sigma t$ in 1854 (P. Aravantinos 1, p. 381). Related possibly to Alb. *molë* 'moth,' i.e. 'moth river.' Toponym with a suffix in *-isht(ë)*, common in Mac. and Bulg. toponyms and especially prevalent in eastern Albania (DI, LB, KO, ER), cf. *Bilisht, Dohoshisht, Gostivisht, Hotolisht, Qarrishtë.*' This stream is also known as the 'Velabisht river' (*Lumi i Velabishtit*).

Molla e Lurës (Malla e Lurës)

DI, DI/KU. Tributary of the Drin i Zi and Drin.

The river is named after 'the mountain of Lurë,' from Alb. *mal* 'mountain' and *Lurë* 'region of Lurë, Lura,' and not after 'the apple (*mollë*) of Lurë.'

Murdhar

TR. Tributary of the Erzen.

The term was recorded as *Murdar* in 1431 (Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arnavid). Possibly influenced by, though not necessarily related to Alb. *murdár* 'dirty, unclean,' from Turkish, i. e. 'dirty river.' Toponym with a formation in *-ar*, as in *Bastar, Lavdar, Shtegtar*. Also in the District of Tiranë is the village toponym *Murthi*.

Murrë

DI. Tributary of the Drin i Zi and Drin.

Also village toponym *Murrë*. Related to Alb. *i murrët* 'dark, murky,' i.e. 'murky river.' Toponym with a *-rrë* formation, cf. *Gurrë*, *Korrë*, *Zerrë*. A formation in *murr-* also occurs in other village toponyms: *Muhurr* (DI), *Murriz* (LU), *Murrizë* (TR).

Ndreaj (Zalli i Ndreajt) SH. Tributary of the Shalë, Lesniqe and Drin. Personal name 'Ndreaj' from Lat./Ital. *Andrea* 'Andrew.' Toponyms with a formation in *-aj* are particularly frequent in northern Albania, cf. *Curraj, Dodaj, Dushaj, Lekaj, Llugaj, Maricaj, Nikaj, Smaj, Xhaxhaj.*

Nikaj

BC. Tributary of the Drin.

Personal and tribal name 'Nikaj' from Lat./Ital. *Nicola* 'Nicholas' It was recorded as *Nicagni* in 1671 (report of Stefano Gaspari), and as *Nicagni*, *Nichagni* in 1703 (report by Vincenzo Zmaievich). Toponyms with a formation in *–aj* are particularly frequent in northern Albania, cf. *Curraj, Dodaj, Dushaj, Lekaj, Llugaj, Maricaj, Ndreaj, Smaj, Xhaxhaj.*

Nimicë

GJ. Tributary of the Drino and Vjosë. Also known as the *Nunicë*. Hydronym with a Slavic suffix in *-ica*.

Nunicë cf. Nimicë

Okshtun (Zalli i Okshtunit)

DI. Tributary of the Zall i Bulqizës, Drin i Zi and Drin.

Also village toponym *Okshtun i Madh, Okshtun i Vogël.* It was recorded as *Ocstuni* in 1641 (report by Marco Scura). Toponym with a formation in *-un,* cf. *Çubun, Rrapun. A* formation in *oksh-* also occurs in village toponyms: *Okshtun* near Lekaj (DR), and *Okshatinë* near Shupenzë (DI).

Orgjost cf. Pllavkë

Osojë

KO. Tributary of the Çemericë, Devoll and Seman. Also village toponym *Osojë*. Related to Slavic *osolje* 'shade,' i. e. 'shady river.'

Osum

ER, KO, SK/PR, SK, BR. Tributary of the Seman.

Anc. Gk. *Apsis* (Strab. VII, 5, 8), Lat. *Apsus* (Livy 31, 27), subsequently *Assamus* which, through Slavic transmission, became *Osum*. It was recorded as *Osum* in 1670 (Seyahatname of Evliya Çelebi), as *Uzúmi* in 1835 (W. M. Leake, 'Travels in Northern Greece'), and as *Uzumi* in 1848 (Edward Lear). Toponym with a formation in *-um(ë)*, cf. *Krumë, Lum, Lumë, Lum-th*. This river is also known as *Lumi i Madh* 'Big River' or *Lumi i Beratit* 'River of Berat.'

[cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 240, Mayer 1957, p. 52, Popović 1960, p. 79, Çabej StGj 3, p.63, Ölberg 1977, p. 627]

Papër

EL. Tributary of the Shkumbin.

Also village toponym *Papër*. Toponym with a formation in -*ër*(*r*), cf. *Batër*, *Dibërr*, *Gjadër*, *Kakër*.

Paroçë

TR/KR. Tributary of the Tërkuzë.

Toponym with suffix in -çë, cf. Bënçë, Vërçë.

Pashtresh cf. Kryegur

Pavllë

Greece, SR. Flowing into the Ionian Sea 4 km north of the Greek border. It was recorded as *Pavla* in 1821 (map of François Pouqueville) and as *Pavla* in 1835 (W. M. Leake, 'Travels in Northern Greece'). Related, like the hydronym *Povël*, to personal name Greek *Paulos* 'Paul.'

Peshkopi (Përroi i Peshkopisë) cf. Banje, Dohoshisht.

Pikë

SH. Tributary of the Leshnicë and Drin.

Pistull

SH. Tributary of the Kir and Bunë.

Also village toponym *Pistull*, recorded as *Pistoli* in 1688 (map of Francesco Maria Coronelli), as *Pistulli* ca. 1750 (P. Bartl, Das Bistum Sappa-Sarda...= 1966, p. 30), and as *Pistuli* in 1703 (report by Vincenzo Zmaievich). Related perhaps to Lat *pistillum* pistil.' Toponym with a formation in *- ull(ë)*, cf. *Budullë*, *Xixullë*, *Trubull*.

Plashnik

BR. Tributary of the Molisht, Osum and Seman.

Also village toponym *Plashnik*, recorded as *Bolanşlik* in 1431 (Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arnavid), and as $\Pi\lambda i\alpha vi\sigma vi\kappa i$ in 1854 (P. Aravantinos 1, p. 382). Slavic toponym related to Serbcr. *plasa* 'field' with an adj. suffix in *-ik(ë)*. cf. *Cërrik*, *Dërsnik*, *Leskovik*, *Zaranikë*. cf. *Plasnica*, a tributary of the Treska in Macedonia.

Pllavkë

Kos, KU. Tributary of the Lumë, Drin i Bardhë and Drin. Related to Slavic *plaviti* 'to flow,' i. e. 'flowing river.' This stream is also known as the *Orgjost*.

Povël

FR. Tributary of the *Vjosë*. Related, like the hydronym *Pavllë*, to personal name Greek *Paulos* 'Paul.'

Prevall (also Përvall) LB. Tributary of the Zall i Rrapunit and Shkumbin. Also village toponym *Prevall*. Related to Slavic *prevaliti* 'to pass, run through.'

Qarrishtë (Zalli i Qarrishtës)

LB. Tributary of the Zall i Rrapunit and Shkumbin.

Also village toponym *Qarrishtë*. Related to Alb. *qarr* 'Turkey oak, quercus cerris,' i.e. 'oak river.' This root occurs in the village toponyms *Qarr* (FR), *Qarr* (KU), *Qarret* (EL) and the mountain

toponyms *Qafa e Qarrit* and *Qarrishtë* (PR). Toponym with a suffix in *-isht(ë)*, common in Mac. and Bulg. toponyms and especially prevalent in eastern Albania (DI, LB, KO, ER), cf. *Bilisht, Dohoshisht, Gostivisht, Hotolisht, Molisht*. The Slavic root for 'oak' **tser-* occurs in the toponym *Cërrik*.

[cf. Shkurtaj 1987, p. 110]

Quk

LB. Tributary of the Shkumbin.

Also village toponym *Qukës-Shkumbin*, recorded as *Zuchisi* in 1515 (Breve memoria of Giovanni Musachi), as *Cucusi* in 1821 (map of François Pouqueville), as *Kukues* in 1848 (Edward Lear), as *Kukus* in 1896 (Henry Tozer), and as *Kjuks* in 1916 (Leo Freundlich).

Qytezë

KO. Tributary of the Devoll and Seman.

Also village toponym *Qytezë*, meaning 'castle, fortress,' i.e. 'river of the fortress.' Toponym with a formation in *-ezë*, cf. *Lezë*, *Mëllezë*, *Shtrezë*.

Radiçinë

LB, LB/PG, PG. Tributary of the Shkumbin.

Toponym with a formation in *-in(ë)*, cf. *Carinë*, *Gominë*, *Jagodinë*, *Skatine*, *Smokthinë*, *Shkumbin*, *Tarin*, *Vllahinë*, *Zavalinë*. This stream is also known as the *Radicinë* and *Radinicë*.

Ramcë EL. Tributary of the Shkumbin. Hydronym with a suffix in *-cë*, as in *Selcë*.

Rasek

SH. Tributary of the Kir and Bunë.

Rëmenj

PG. Flowing into Lake Ohrid.

Also village toponym *Rëmenj*. Related to Alb. *rëmër*, pl. *rëmenj* >Aromunian,= i.e. ×village of Aromunians.= Like the village of *Ermenj* (GR), this toponym derives from Arom. *armîn* >Aromunian,= originally from Lat. *romanus*. Less likely is a relationship to Alb. *rëmoj* 'to dig,' i.e. a stream that carves out its bed.

Rrapun (Zalli i Rrapunit)
LB. Tributary of the Shkumbin.
Related to Alb. *rrap* 'plane tree, platanus,' i.e. 'plane tree river.' Toponym with a formation in - *un*, cf. *Çubun, Okshtun*. The root *rrap*- also occurs in village toponyms: *Rrapaj* (BC), *Rrapëzë* (LU), *Rrape* (PU), *Rrapsh-Starje* (SH).
[cf. Çabej StGj 2, p. 87]

Rreja e Velës

LE, MR. Tributary of the Fan and Mat.

Also the region *Rrejë*, recorded as *Reia* in 1621 (report by Benedetto Orsini), and as *Renja* in 1672 (report by Giorgio Vladagni). Lit. 'Rreja of Mount Vela.'

Rrjoll

SH. Flowing into Lake Shkodër.

Also tribal region and village toponym *Rrjoll*, recorded as *Fiume clamado Rivola* in 1426 (S. Ljubić 9, 15; K. Jireček, »Skutari und sein Gebiet im Mittelalter= 1916, p. 95), as *Rivoli* in 1614 (report by Mariano Bolizza), as *Rioli* ca. 1685 (report by Giorgio Stampaneo), as *Riolo* in 1671 (report of Stefano Gaspari), as *Rioli* in 1689 (map of Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola), and as *Rioli* in 1688, 1691 (map of Francesco Maria Coronelli). Related to Lat. *rivulus* 'river.' [cf. Çabej 1974, p. 96]

Rroksh

SH. Tributary of the Kir and Bunë.

Earlier *Rrogosh*. Related to Alb. *rruaj*, *rruej* 'to shave,' with suffix -*gë* as in *rrogë* 'treeless meadow' plus suffix -*osh*, cf. *Vermosh*.

Rrushtë DR, DR/EL, EL. Tributary of the Shkumbin.

Rrypë MT. Tributary of the Mat flowing into Lake Ulzë (Mat system). Related to Alb. *rripë*, 'slope,' Lat. *ripa*, Gk. *eripnê*. [cf. Jokl 1934-1935, p. 299]

Sapaç PU. Tributary of the Berishë and Drin. Also village toponym *Sapaç*.

Sarasel

GR, BR. Tributary of the Lapardhice.

Also village toponym *Sarasel. A* formation in *sara*- also occurs in village toponyms *Saraqinishtë* (Gj), *Sarandë* (SR), and mountain name *Saraqin* (SR). The town of *Sarandë* itself would seem connected to the Gk. 'forty' only by subsequent folk etymology: Gk. *Hagioi Saranda*, Ital. *Santi Quaranta* (Forty Saints). Toponym with a formation in *-el*, cf. *Kozel, Kaçivel*.

Sefta e Spaçit

MR. Tributary of the Fan i Madh, Fan and Mat. Alb. *sefte* is a colloquial term for 'first, first time,' thus giving the 'first time of [the village of] *Spaç*.' There is also a hydronym *Sefta e Blinishtit* (MR). It is unclear what could be behind this.

Selcë

PG, KO. Tributary of the Devoll and Seman.

Also village toponym *Selcë e Sipërme*. Related to Slavic *selo* 'village.' This root also occurs in village toponyms: *Selcë* (KO), *Selcë* (SH), *Selckë* (GJ), *Selckë e Vogël* (TP). Toponym with a formation in *-cë*, as in *Ramcë*. [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 242, 262]

Seman

BR, BR/LU, FR/LU, FR. Flowing into the Adriatic Sea north of Fier.

Toponym with an *-an(ë)* formation, cf. *Baban, Dvoran, Gërman, Kurjan, Luçanë, Mezhgoran, Tëplan, Tiranë, Velçan.*

Seta e Lurës

MT, DI. Tributary of the Drin i Zi and Drin. Possibly originally *Sefta e Lurës*. cf. *Sefta e Spaçit*.

Sërriqe

PU, KU. Tributary of the Drin.

Also village toponym *Sërriqe*, recorded as *Sirik* in 1348, as *Serec* in 1610 (report by Marino Bizzi), as *Serezi* in 1614 (report by Mariano Bolizza), and as *Serrice* in 1928 (H. Louis, Karte von Albanien=). Toponym with a suffix in -iq(e), cf. *Gomsiqe*, *Kardhiq*.

Skatinë

KU, KU/BC. Tributary of the Drin.

Toponym with a formation in -*in(ë)*, cf. *Carinë*, *Gominë*, *Jagodinë*, *Radiçinë*, *Smokthinë*, *Shkumbin*, *Tarin*, *Vllahinë*, *Zavalinë*.

Skrobotushë

SH, Mon. Tributary of the Vermosh and Lucë flowing into Lake Plava. Toponym with formation in $-ush(\ddot{e})$, cf. *Banush*, *Lush*.

Skroskë

LB. Tributary of Shkumbin. Also village toponym *Skroskë*. Slavic toponym with formation in *-kë*, cf. *Backë*, *Strafickë*. This stream is also called the *Përroi i Mërkurit*. [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 241]

Slap

SH. Tributary of the Cem and Moraçë flowing into Lake Shkodër. Related to Serber. *slap* 'waterfall,' Sloven. 'wave.' [cf. Jokl 1934, p. 203]

Smaj (Smaj i Madh, Smaj i Vogël)
MR. Tributary of the Fan i Vogël,
Toponyms with a formation in *-aj* are particularly frequent in northern Albania, cf. *Curraj, Dodaj, Dushaj, Xhaxhaj.*[cf. Shkurtaj 1987, p. 115]

Smokthinë

VL. Tributary of the Shushicë and Vjosë.

It was recorded as *Ismoktina* in 1431 (Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arnavid), and as $T\sigma\mu\rho\chi\theta$ iva in 1854 (P. Aravantinos 1, p. 379). The toponym is related perhaps to Alb. *smugth* 'guts, intestines' with a formation in *-in*(\ddot{e}), cf. *Carinë*, *Gominë*, *Jagodinë*, *Radiçinë*, *Skatinë*, *Shkumbin*, *Tarin*, *Vllahinë*, *Zavalinë*.

Solicë EL. Tributary of the Devoll near Mollas. Slavic toponym meaning %alt spring, saline,= with a Slavic suffix in *-ica*. [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 226, 241]

Spile

VL. Flowing into the Ionian Sea at the Bay of Spile (*Gjiri i Spilesë*) south of the town of Himarë. Also village toponym *Spilé*, recorded as *Spilea* in 1805 (François Pouqueville), and as *Spiliá* in 1835 (W. M. Leake, 'Travels in Northern Greece'). There is also a village toponym *Spille* (DR) north of the mouth of the Shkumbin.

Stamë

MT. Tributary of the Mat flowing into Lake Ulzë (Mat system). It may be related to Alb. *shtambë*, *shtëmbë* >jug, pitcher.= Toponym with formation in *-amë*, cf. *Gramë*. [cf. N. Jokl 1934, p. 191-192]

Strafickë SK. Tributary of the Tomoricë. Also village toponym *Strafickë*. Toponym with formation in *-kë*, cf. *Backë*, *Skroskë*.

Stupë

SH. Tributary of the Lesniqe and Drin.

Nopcsa records the forms *Shtubja* and *Stubja*. Related to old Serb. *stubl*' 'spring, source,' Serbcr. *stublina* 'water container.'

[cf. Jokl 1934, p. 203; G. Stadtmüller 1966, p. 157]

Suhë

GJ. Tributary of the Drino and Vjosë.

Also a village toponym, *Suhë*, recorded as *Suhe* in 1431 (Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancaki Arnavid), and as $\Sigma ov \chi \dot{\alpha}$ ($E \sigma o \chi \dot{\eta}$) in 1854 (P. Aravantinos I, p. 364). Related to Slavic root for 'dry,' Serbcr. *suh*, i.e. 'dry river.' The streams *Përroi i Thatë* in MT, DI and in SH contain the Alb. root of the same meaning. [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 241]

L

Shag

KO, Greece. Tributary of the Koriepotomi.

Shalë [1]

PR, TP. Tributary of the Vokopolë. Also village toponym *Shalës* both here in TP, as well as in ER, SR, VL. Related to Alb. *shalë, shalësinë* 'arid, infertile land.' Cf. also *Shalë* [2] [cf. Çabej 1974, p. 89, Çabej StGj 2, p. 126, Ajeti 1986, p. 45]

Shalë [2] SH. Tributary of the Lesnige and Drin. Related to personal and tribal name '*Shala*,' recorded as *Sciala* in 1634 (report by Bonaventura di Palazzolo), as *Sala* in 1671 (report of Stefano Gaspari), as *Scialia* in 1691 (map of Francesco Maria Coronelli), as *Sciala* in the 18th cent. (cf. F. Nopcsa 1929, p. 681), and as *Scialia* in 1821 (map of François Pouqueville). It is said to be related to Alb. *shalë*,' *shalësinë* 'arid, infertile land,' although the Shala district is one of the least arid of the northern mountains. Also from this root are hydronym *Shalë* [1], as well as village toponyms *Shalës* in TP, ER, SR, VL. This stream is also known as the 'Theth river' (*Lumi i Thethit*).

[cf. Çabej 1974, p. 89, Çabej StGj 2, p. 126, Ajeti 1986, p. 45]

Sheh

SH. Tributary of the Kir and Bunë.

Related to Alb. *she* 'mountain stream which never dries up.' Related to this root is *Sheja e Librazhdit* (LB). This stream is also known as the *Çubun* (q.v). [cf. Çabej StGj 2, p. 130]

Sheja e Librazhdit LB. Tributary of the Shkumbin. Related to Alb. *she* 'mountain stream which never dries up.' [cf. Çabej StGj 2, p. 130]

Shëmill (Zalli i Shëmillit or Zalli i Shënmillit)

TR, LB, LB/EL, LB. Tributary of the Zall i Rrapunit and Shkumbin. There is also the village toponym *Shëmill* recorded as *Simili* in 1641 (report by Marco Scura). From *Shën Mehill* 'Saint Michael.'

Shkozë

PU. Tributary of the Fan i Madh, Fan and Mat.

Also village toponym *Shkozë* (PU), recorded as *Schosa* in 1753 (report by Antonio Criesesi), as *Scosa* in 1866 (E. Wiet Le Diocèse=), and as *Sckosa* 1928 (H. Louis, Karte von Albanien=). Related to Alb. *shkoze* 'hornbeam, carpinus betulus,' i. e. 'hornbeam river.' This root occurs frequently in Alb. village toponyms: *Shkozë* (EL), *Shkozë* (KO), *Shkozë* (TR), *Shkozë* (VL), *Shkozanj* (KO), *Shkozet* near Durrës (DR), *Shkozë* near Lekaj (DR). The river *Grabovë* in PG, GR contains the Slavic root of the same meaning.

[cf. Shkurtaj 1987, p. 111]

Shkumbin

PG, LB, EL, EL/DR, DR/LU. Flowing into the Adriatic Sea 30 km south of Durrës.

Lat. Scampis (Livy 31, 39; Tab. Peut), Anc. Gk. Skampeis (Ptol. III 12, 33), Byz. Gk. Skámpta (Konst. Porph, them. 2, 56, 2), subsequently Scampinus (fluvius) which, through Slavic transmission, became Shkumbin. It was recorded as Scumpino in 1308 (Anonymi Descriptio Europae Orientalis), as Scombino in 1515 (Breve memoria of Giovanni Musachi), as Scunbine in 1570 (Relazione dell=Albania), as Scombia in 1591 (report by Lorenzo Bernardo), as Scombin in 1596 (Jaques De Lavardin, Historie of George Castriot), and as Scombi, Tobi in 1821 (map of François Pouqueville). Another name for the river in ancient times was Genus(s)us (Livy 44, 30). Toponym with a formation in -*in*(*ë*), cf. Carinë, Gominë, Jagodinë, Radiçinë, Skatinë, Smokthinë, Tarin, Vllahinë, Zavalinë.

[cf. Mayer 1957, p. 149, 309, Çabej StGj 3, p. 63]

Shpërdhazë

MR. Tributary of the Fan i Madh, Fan and Mat.

Also village toponym *Shpërdhazë*, recorded as *Spertasa* in 1621 (report by Benedetto Orsini), as *Spertasa* in 1629 (report by Benedetto Orsini Ragusino), as *Sperdase* in 1641 (report by Marco Scura), as *Sperthoz* in 1896 (Henry Tozer), and as *Scperdasa* 1939 (map Regno d=Albania). Toponym with Alb. prefix *shpër-*, as in village toponym *Shpërdhet* (KR).

Shtegtar

LE. Tributary of the Dibërr, Fan i Madh and Mat.

Related to Alb. *shtegtar* 'wanderer,' i.e. 'wandering or meandering river,' from *shteg* 'path,' plus a formation in *-tar*. A related formation in *-ar* is to be found in *Bastar, Lavdar, Murdhar*.

Shtërmen

EL. Tributary of Devoll and Seman.

Also known as *Stërmen*. The term also occurs in the village toponym *Shtërmen*. Related to Slavic *strmen* 'cliff.' Toponym with a formation in *-en(ë)*, cf. *Erzen*, *Tërshenë*. [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 241]

Shtrezë

MR. Formerly flowing into the Mat. Now into Lake Ulzë (Mat system).

Also village toponym *Shtrezë*. Related to Alb. *shtrezë* 'sentry,' from Slav. *straža*. This root also occurs in village toponyms *Shtrezë* (KU) and *Shtrazë* (DR). Toponym with a formation in *-ezë*, cf. *Lezë*, *Mëllezë*, *Qytezë*.

[cf. Jokl 1934-1935, p. 633]

Shushicë

VL. Tributary of the Vjosë.

Also a village toponym *Shushicë*, recorded as *Suchista* in 1805 (François Pouqueville), and as *Suschitza* in 1916 (Leo Freundlich). There is also a village toponym *Shushicë e Vogël* near Gostimë (EL). Slavic toponym, with a Slavic suffix in *-ica*. [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 241, 324]

Tarin

KR, DR. Flowing into the Adriatic Sea 20 km north of Durrës.

Common pre-Slavic toponym in *tar-, e.g. village toponyms Tarazh (MR), Tartaj (DI), Taroninë (GJ), and mountain Tarabosh (SH), with a formation in -in(ë), cf. Carinë, Gominë, Jagodinë, Radiçinë, Skatinë, Smokthinë, Shkumbin, Vllahinë, Zavalinë.

Tëplan

BC. Tributary of the Valbonë and Drin.

Tërkuzë

KR, TR. Tributary of the Gjole.

It was recorded as *Tercuz* in 1591 (report by Lorenzo Bernardo). Related to Alb. *tërkuzë* 'rope,' i.e. 'river that meanders like a rope.' Also with a formation in **tër-* are: hydronym *Tërshenë* (q.v),

village toponyms *Tërbaç* (EL), *Tërbaç* (DI), *Tërbaç* (VL), *Tërbuf* LU), *Tërbuq* (GJ), Tërpan (BR), *Tërthore* (KU), *Tërvol* (GR), and the mountain *Tërbun* (PU).

Tërshenë

KU. Tributary of the Drin i Zi and Drin.

Also village toponym *Tërshenë*. Related to Alb. *tërsherë*, Geg. *tërshanë* 'oats,' i.e. 'oat river,' no doubt originally from a Lat. **trimensânum*. Toponym with a formation in *-en(ë)*, cf. *Erzen, Shtërmen*. On **tër-*, cf. *Tërkuzë* above.

[cf. Meyer 1891, p. 430]

Tiranë

TR. Tributary of the (Gjole and) Ishëm.

Also city toponym *Tiranë*, recorded as *Plenum Tyrenae* in 1418 (Barletius), as *Taransa minore* in 1515 (Breve memoria of Giovanni Musachi), as *le pianure della Tiranna* in 1570 (Relazione dell-Albania), as *il borgo di Tirana* in 1572 (cf. M. Šufflay 1924, p. 35), as *Tiranna* in 1591 (report by Lorenzo Bernardo), as *Tyranna* in 1596 (Jaques De Lavardin, Historie of George Castriot), as *kasaba-i Tiran* in 1662 (Seyahatname of Evliya Çelebi), as *Terrana* in 1689 (map of Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola), as *Tyranna* in 1821 (map of François Pouqueville), as *Tirana* in 1822 (map of Lapie, cf. F. Nopcsa 1929, p. 692), as *Týrana* in 1835 (W. M. Leake, 'Travels in Northern Greece'), as *Tyrana* in 1848 (Edward Lear), and as *Tyranna* in 1854 (Johann Georg von Hahn >Albanesische Studien=). An association with the Iranian capital *Tehran* would seem to be an early folk etymology. Toponym with an *-an(ë)* formation, cf. *Baban, Dvoran, Gërman, Kurjan, Luçanë, Mezhgoran, Seman, Tëplan, Velçan*.

Tomoricë

SK, GR. Tributary of the Devoll and Seman.

Also known as *Tomorricë*, and recorded as *Tomornice* in 1488 (Ö. Barkan 1964, p. 85), as *Tomoriliçse* in 1670 (Seyahatname of Evliya Çelebi), and as *Tomorítza* in 1835 (W. M. Leake, 'Travels in Northern Greece'). The term is related to the mountain name 'Tomor,' with a Slavic suffix in *-ica*.

[cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 242]

Topuz

DI. Tributary of the Drin i Zi and Drin.

Also village toponym *Topuz* near Lugjaj. Possibly related to Alb. *topuz* xudgel, club, mace= from Turk. *topuz*.

Tropojë

BC. Tributary of the Llugaj, Bistricë, Valbonë and Drin.

Also toponym of the region, recorded as *Trepopoia* in 1703 (report by Vincenzo Zmaievich). In the early 20th century, the town was also known by the loan translation of *Trifushë*. Related to Slavic *Trebopolje* from *trebiti* 'to clean' and *polje* 'field,' i. e. 'river of the clean field.'

Trubat

VL. Tributary of the Shushicë and Vjosë. Toponym with formation in *-at*, cf. *Deshat*, *Dukat*, *Dhoksat*, *Lishat*.

Trubull

VL. Tributary of the Shushicë and Vjosë. Also known as *Turbull*. Related to Alb. *turbull*, *trubull* 'muddy (water).' Toponym with a formation in *-ull(ë)*, cf. *Budullë*, *Xixullë*, *Pistull*.

Truen

PU, KU, PU. Tributary of the Drin.

Also village toponym *Truen*, that may occur as an earlier *Tebruna* in 1689 (map of Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola). Related perhaps to Slavic *trun* 'shavings, chips,' no doubt in the sense of an unclean river.

Thatë (Përroi i Thatë) [1] MT, DI. Tributary of the Seta e Lurës and Drin i Zi. Related to Alb. *thatë* 'dry,' i. e. 'dry river.' The river *Suhë* in GJ contains the Slavic root of the same meaning.

Thatë (Përroi i Thatë) [2] SH. Flowing into Lake Shkodër. Related to Alb. *thatë* 'dry,' i. e. 'dry river.'

Theth

SH. Tributary of the Shalë and Drin.

Also village toponym *Theth*, recorded as *Thethi* in 1688 (map of Francesco Maria Coronelli), as *Thetigia* in 1689 (map of Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola), and as *Thethi* in 1691 (map of Francesco Maria Coronelli). Related to Alb. *thyej* 'to break' with a diminutive formation in *-th*, in the sense of a river in a jagged, rugged landscape. This river is also known as the Shala River (*Lumi i Shalës*).

Thirrë

MR. Tributary of the Fan i Vogël, Fan and Mat. Toponym of Albanian origin.

Unjë (also known as Ujë) MR. Flowing into Lake Ulzë (Mat system). Also village toponym *Unjë* or *Ujë*. Related to a Slavic personal name reflected in Kosovo toponym *Ujëmir*, a formation similar to *Vladimir*. *Ujëmir* was later mistranslated back into Slavic as *Dobrovoda* 'good water.'

Urakë

DI, MR, MR/MT, MT. Flowing into Lake Ulzë (Mat system).

Also village toponym *Urakë*, recorded as *Uraka* in 1467 (Pulaha 1988). The settlement was formerly known as *Kulla e Pashës*. Slavic toponym. Slavic *vraka* with Slavic *vr-* >Alb. *ur-*. cf. also hydronym and toponym *Vrakë* in SH. [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 324]

Vajzë

VL. Tributary of the Shushicë and Vjosë.

Also village toponym *Vajzë*, recorded as $B\alpha i \zeta \alpha$ in 1854 (P. Aravantinos 1, p. 379). Related to Alb. *vajzë* 'girl, maiden,' i. e. 'maiden river.'

Valbonë

BC. Tributary of the Drin.

It was recorded as *Valbona* in 1703 (report by Vincenzo Zmaievich), and as *Walbona* in 1867 (Johann Georg von Hahn, 'Reise durch die Gebiete des Drin und Wardar'). The river was formerly known as the *Krasniqe* river. Related to Lat. *vallis bona* 'good valley,' i. e. 'river of the good valley.'

[cf. Çabej StGj 2, p. 264]

Velabisht cf. Molisht

Velçan

PG, KO. Flowing onto the Plain of Maliq which drains into the Devoll and Seman. Also village toponym *Velçan* (KO). Slavic toponym with an *-an(ë)* formation, cf. *Baban, Dvoran, Gërman, Kurjan, Luçanë, Mezhgoran, Seman, Tëplan, Tiranë.* The Slavic root **vel-* 'large' occurs in village toponyms such as: *Velabisht* (BR), *Velagosht* (BR), *Velahovë* (SR), *Velçan* (BR), *Velinaj* (SH), *Velipojë* (SH), *Veligot* (TP), *Veliternë* (KO).

Veleshicë

DI, DI/KU. Tributary of the Drin i Zi and Drin. Slavic hydronym with a suffix in *-ica*. In the Slavic root **vel-*, cf. *Velçan* above. [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 227-228, Jokl 1934-1935, p. 623]

Verdericë

EL. Tributary of the Devoll and Seman.

Similar formation as the river *Vardar* in Macedonia, with a Slavic suffix in *-ica*. In the Indo-European origin of the *Vardar*, cf. Duridanov 1975, p. 30-36.

Vermosh

SH, Mon. Tributary of the Lucë flowing into Lake Plava. Also village toponym *Vermosh*. Related to Slavic root **vrba* 'willow, salix,' i. e. 'willow river,' with suffixes in *-m* and *-osh*. This root is also present in *Vërbë* below.

Vërbë

KO. Tributary of the Devoll, near the Selcë.

Related to Slavic root *vrba- 'willow, salix,' i. e. 'willow river.' This root is also present in Vermosh above.

[cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 241, 233]

Vërçë (also known as Verçë and Vorçë)

GR. Tributary of the Devoll and Seman.

Related perhaps to Lat. *urceus* 'pitcher, water pot' with Slavic transmission. Place names with this root occur in Bulgaria, Macedonia, Croatia and Slovenia. Toponym with suffix in -çë, cf. *Bënçë, Paroçë*.

[cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 261]

Vërtop

BR. Tributary of the Osum and Seman.

Also village toponym *Vërtop*, recorded as $\beta \epsilon \rho \tau \delta \pi \iota$ in 1854 (P. Aravantinos 1, p. 380). Hydronym of Slavic transmission (**Urtop* would be the Alb. form). Related toponyms occur in Bulgaria. [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 218, 324]

Vidohovë

KO. Tributary of the Qytezë, Devoll and Seman. Also village toponym *Vidohovë*. Toponym with a Slavic suffix in *-ova*, cf. *Bogovë*, *Çarshovë*, *Draçovë*, *Grabovë*, *Kreshovë*, *Kushovë*, *Zhepovë*.

Vilë

SH. Tributary of the Drin.

Also village toponym *Vilë*, recorded as *Villa* in 1703 (report by Vincenzo Zmaievich). Related to Slavic *vilna* or possibly to Lat. *villa* which became Alb. *vilë* 'villa, country house.' [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 219, Jokl 1934-1935, p. 621]

Vjosë

Greece, PR, TP, FR/VL flowing into the Adriatic Sea 20 km north of Vlorë.

Anc. Gk. *Aôos* (Polybius 5, 110, 1; Pausanias, Perieg. IV, 34, 3), Lat. *Aous* (Pliny III. 145), which became Alb. *Vojusë, Vjosë* through Slavic transmission. It was recorded as *Val Fuit* in 1082-1084 (Chanson de Roland), as *Boûσσα, Bóσα* in 1148 (Anna Comnena), as Arabic *Shûzza* in 1154 (al-Idrisi), as Turk. *Viyusa* in 1521 (Bahriye of Piri Re=is), as *Voiussa* in 1570 (Relazione dell=Albania), as Turkish *Viyo* in 1670 (Seyahatname of Evliya Çelebi), as *Voïussa* in 1821 (map of François Pouqueville), and as *Viósa* in 1835 (W. M. Leake, 'Travels in Northern Greece') [cf. Krahe 1925, p. 13, Seliščev 1931, p. 240, Mayer 1957, p. 48-49, Çabej StGj 3, p. 63, Popović 1957-1958, p. 323, Ölberg 1977, p. 627]

Vlahën

KU. Tributary of the Drin.

Also village toponym *Vlahën*. Related to the ethnic name 'Vlach' (Aromunian) as in *Vllahinë* and *Zavalinë*.

[cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 264.]

Vllahinë

VL. Tributary of the Shushicë and Vjosë.

Also village toponym *Vllahinë*. Related to the ethnic name 'Vlach' (Aromunian) as in *Vlahën* and *Zavalinë*. Toponym with a formation in *-in(ë)*, cf. *Carinë*, *Gominë*, *Jagodinë*, *Radiçinë*, *Skatinë*, *Smokthinë*, *Shkumbin*, *Tarin*, *Zavalinë*. [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 264, 242]

Vodicë [1]

BR. Tributary of the Osum and Seman. Also village toponym *Vodicë*. Related to Slavic root *voda* 'water,' with a Slavic suffix in *-ica*. [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 242]

Vodicë [2]

ER. Tributary of the Osum and Seman. Also village toponym *Vodicë*, recorded as *Boδiτζα* in 1854 (P. Aravantinos 1, p. 380). Related to Slavic root *voda* 'water,' with a Slavic suffix in *-ica*. [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 242]

Vokopolë

TP, BR, BR/SK. Tributary of the Osum and Seman.

Also village toponym *Vokopolë*, recorded as *Vakopóli* in 1835 (W. M. Leake, 'Travels in Northern Greece'), and as *Boγκoπόλια* in 1854 (P. Aravantinos 1, p. 381). Similar in form are the hydronyms *Voskopojë* and *Voskop*.

Vomë

LE, SH. Tributary of the Gjadër and Drin.

Vorbë

DR. Flowing into the Adriatic Sea 16 km north of Durrës.

Related to an Alb. and Slavic root for 'whirl, turn,' as in Alb. *vorbë* 'round clay pot,' Alb. *vorbull* 'whirlpool,' i.e. 'whirlpool river.' There is also the *Vorbetinë* Plateau (PU). [cf. Çabej StGj 2, p. 301-302]

Voskop

KO. Tributary of the Dunavec.

Also village toponym *Voskop*, recorded as *Vescop* in 1515 (Breve memoria of Giovanni Musachi), and as *Votskóp* in 1835 (W. M. Leake, 'Travels in Northern Greece'), Similar in form are the hydronyms *Voskopojë* and *Vokopojë*.

Voskopojë

KO. Tributary of the Voskop.

Also village toponym *Voskopojë*, recorded as *Voscopolis* in 1821 (map of François Pouqueville) and as *Voskópoli*, *Moskópoli* in 1835 (W. M. Leake, 'Travels in Northern Greece'). The Greek form *Moskhopolis* is said to derive from *moskhos* 'calf, young animal or plant' and *polis* 'town.' Max Peyfuß, following Gustav Weigand, regards Slav. *polje* >field= as a more likely explanation for the second segment, *Voskopojë* being a sort of >musk field,=cf. Arom. *Moscopole*. The initial *v*- of the Albanian is explained by interference from the nearby toponym *Voskop* and *Vokopolë* above. [cf. Peyfuß 1989, p. 23-24]

Vrakë

SH. Flowing into Lake Shkodër.

Also village toponym *Vrakë*, recorded as *Vuracha* in 1614 (report by Mariano Bolizza). Slavic toponym. Fulvio Cordignano identified the toponym with the church of the *Vraci* saints, i.e. the healing saints= Cosmos and Damian, referred to in a donation of King Dushan in 1348. *Sancto Auracio* 1416 (Venetian land register). As Konstantin Jireček points out, there is no trace of a Saint Auracius so that the Latin form is probably also a Slavic loan, as is the early Italian term for the site, *Veronizza* or *villa Veronica*. Related in form to *Vrakë* is the hydronym *Urakë* with an Alb. initial sound change.

[cf. Jireček 1897, p. 20; Cordignano 1929, p. 229; Seliščev 1931, p. 324]

Vrap (Përroi i Vrapit) cf. Gonë.

Ndreaj, Nikaj, Smaj.

Xixullë

MT. Tributary of the Mat flowing into Lake Ulzë (Mat system). Related perhaps to Alb. *xixe* 'spark,' i. e. 'sparkling river.' Toponym with a formation in *-ull(ë)*, cf. *Budullë*, *Pistull*, *Trubull*.

Xháxhaj

TP. Tributary of the Fushë e Krahësit and Vjosë. Also village toponym *Xháxhaj*, which means 'uncle' in Albanian. Toponyms with a formation in *aj* are particularly frequent in northern Albania, cf. *Curraj*, *Dodaj*, *Dushaj*, *Lekaj*, *Llugaj*, *Maricaj*,

Xhi

TP, FR. Tributary of the Povël and Vjosë.

Related perhaps to Alb. *gji* 'breast, bay,' i. e., 'bay river.' This stream is also known as the *Konjak* (q.v).

Zagon

TP. Tributary of the Vjosë. There is also a hydronym *Zago (Përroi i Zagoit)* in TP. Slavic toponym. [Seliščev 1931, p. 241]

Zagore

BR. Tributary of the Osum and Seman.

Slavic toponym, like Zagori (q.v), meaning 'beyond the mountain,' i.e. 'river of the region beyond the mountain.' There are numerous toponyms with this root in Albania and the Balkans, e.g. Zagori and Zagorçan.

[cf. Çabej StGj 3, p. 63, Seliščev 1931, p. 217]

Zagori

GJ, PR, TP. Tributary of the Vjosë.

Also toponym of region. Slavic toponym, like *Zagore* (q.v), meaning 'beyond the mountain,' i. e. 'river of the region beyond the mountain.'

[cf. Çabej StGJ 3, p. 63, Seliščev 1931, p. 217]

Zajë

KU. Tributary of the Lumë, Drin i Bardhë and Drin.

Also toponym of mountain pastures in the region. Related to Alb. $nx\ddot{e}$ 'to collect, pick up, learn,' in the sense of a river which collects water.

Zall

SH. Tributary of the Drin (*Përroi i Grykës së Zallit*). Related to Alb. *zall* 'river bank, sandbank.'

[cf. Çabej StGj 2, p. 314]

Zaranikë

EL. Tributary of the Shkumbin. Toponym with an adj. suffix in -*ik(ë)*, cf. *Cërrik*, *Dërsnik*, *Leskovik*, *Plashnik*.

Zavalinë

GR. Tributary of the Vërçë and Devoll.

Also village toponym *Zavalinë*, recorded as *Vazalina* in 1431 (Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arnavid). Slavic toponym meaning 'beyond the Vlach (Aromunian) settlement' with *za valinë* for *za vlahinë*. Other hydronyms based in 'Vlach' are: *Vlahen* and *Vllahinë*. Toponym with a formation in *-in(ë)*, cf. *Carine*, *Gominë*, *Jagodinë*, *Skatinë*, *Smokthinë*, *Shkumbin*, *Tarin*, *Vllahinë*. [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 242]

Zerrë

BR, FR. Tributary of the Seman.

Jokl attributes this term to Romanian *ger*, Aromunian *dzer* 'frost,' from Lat. *gelu*, i.e. 'ice-cold river.' Toponym with a *-rrë* formation, cf. *Gurrë*, *Korrë*, *Murrë*. [cf. Jokl 1934-1935, p. 620]

Zezë

KR. Tributary of the Gjole and Ishëm.

Related to Alb. *i zi* (m), *e zezë* (f), 'black,' i.e. 'black river.' The hydronyms *Çërravë* in PG and *Çorovodë* in SK contain the Slavic root of the same meaning.

Zi (Lumi i Zi)

PU. Tributary of the Fan i Madh, Fan and Mat.

Related to Alb. *i zi* (m), *e zezë* (f) 'black,' i. e. 'black river.' The hydronyms *Çerravë* in PG and *Çorovodë* in SK contain the Slavic root of the same meaning.

Zmejë cf. Smaj

Zharrëzë

FR. Tributary of the Seman.

Related to Alb. *zharrë* 'wooded or grassy mountainside.' Toponym with a suffix in -*ez*(*ë*), cf. *Arrëz*. [cf. Shkurtaj 1987, p. 115]

Zhepovë

PR. Tributary of the Dëshnice and Vjosë.

Also village toponym *Zhepovë*, recorded as $Z\epsilon\pi\delta\beta\alpha$ in 1854 (P. Aravantinos 1, p. 376). The formation *zhep*- also occurs in the village toponyms: *Zhepë* (PR), *Zhepë* (GJ). Toponym with a Slavic suffix in -ova, cf. Bogovë, Çarshovë, Draçovë, Grabovë, Kreshovë, Kushovë, Vidohovë. [cf. Seliščev 1931, p. 217, Jokl 1934-1935, p. 619-620]

Zhëllimë EL, TR. Tributary of the Erzen. This toponym was recorded in Ottoman Turkish as *Jilima* 1431 (Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arnavid). Related to Alb. *zhul* 'dirt,' i. e. 'dirty, murky river,' with a formation in *-imë*, cf. *Gostimë*.

3. Evaluation of the Compendium

The following preliminary stratification can be elucidated from the 282 hydronyms included in this study.

- 85 hydronyms (30.1%) seem primarily related to Albanian roots or lexemes,

- 73 hydronyms (25.9%) seem primarily related to Slavic roots or lexemes,

- 9 hydronyms (3.2%) seem primarily related to Latin roots or lexemes,

- 7 hydronyms (2.5%) seem primarily related to Greek roots or lexemes,

- 2 hydronyms (0.7%) seem primarily related to Turkish roots or lexemes,

- 1 hydronym seems primarily related to an Aromunian root or lexeme,

- 105 hydronyms (37.2%) remain to be determined.

It can be noted from the above that an etymological identification has been provided for 62.8% of the 282 hydronyms under review. Of this etymologically identifiable proportion of the hydronyms, 48.0% are considered to be Albanian, 41.2% Slavic, and 10.7% Latin, Greek, Turkish, or Aromunian. If this relationship were to hold true for the as yet unidentifiable portion of the hydronyms in this study, one could assume that broadly one half of all hydronyms in Albania are related to Albanian roots, about two-fifths to Slavic roots and about one-tenth to other roots.

For many of the remaining 37.2% percent of hydronyms, for which no etymological relationship has been provided, one could conceivably delineate Albanian or Slavic origins, or indeed construe plausible Indo-European etymologies based in Illyrian or Thracian roots. Experience with the methodological weaknesses of earlier etymological studies for Albanian, however, leads one to be prudent. Such theoretical reservations have caused this study to restrict itself to a very basic treatment of word origins.

We must, for instance, bear in mind that Albanian territory has been inhabited over the centuries by various peoples speaking various languages. Valleys in southern Albania, for instance, may have changed their ethnic structure fifty to a hundred times over the centuries. In the Balkans in particular, it can be very misleading to view history in terms of one people invading and completely replacing another. Balkan tribes, many of them nomadic, seem rather to have lived in close and often bilingual or multilingual contact with one another for centuries. The very nature of the Albanian language has reflected this hybridity from the earliest stages of its consolidation. What language or languages did the ancestors of the Albanians speak in the ninth century? And if what they spoke was initially a semi-Romance hybrid comparable to the creole languages which have developed recently in some regions of the Third World, how is one to speak of a modern-day Albanian hydronym as being of Illyrian, Thracian, Daco-Mysian, Slavic or Greek origin? Since Albanian was recorded at such a late date and since historical linguistics have not succeeded in clarifying the structure of Albanian before the fifteenth century to anything more than a conjectural extent, it would seem presumptuous to offer Indo-European etymologies for modern Albanian lexemes based in some hypothetical early Albanian or indeed on a Illyrian or Thracian form.

In view of Albania's tenebrous history and of the complexities of Balkan settlement patterns, we must content ourselves with our own imperfection and accept Albanian for what it is:

a highly eclectic language which has evolved and enriched itself with many sources over the long centuries of its existence in the Balkans.

The above compendium of hydronyms seems to document sufficient evidence of Albanian autochthony throughout the present-day territory of the Republic of Albania, but like the Albanian language itself, these hydronyms, as stressed above, are too nebulous in origin to offer many clearcut etymological links to the ancient languages of the Balkans and to Indo-European. Over the centuries, Albanian lexemes, both native words and loans, have undergone much reduction, brought about to a large extent by changes in stress patterns. The Latin loan *imperatorem* 'emperor, king,' for instance, has left us with the typically monosyllabic Albanian word *mbret*. Much of the Albanian lexicon and many native toponyms have thus been reduced and altered beyond recognition.

There can be no doubt that Albanian hydronyms, too, which as we have noted above, are said to be more conservative than the rest of the lexicon, have altered their forms drastically in the course of Albania's turbulent history. Establishing the origins and etymologies of hydronymic roots is in most cases a futile, and at best a frustrating endeavour.

4. Word Formation and Suffixes in Albanian Hydronyms

Despite overall difficulties, Albanian hydronyms evince a good number of recognizable suffixes and endings, some which are productive in the Albanian lexicon in general.⁶ These are of essential interest to Albanian hydronymic research and to the study of Albanian word morphology. Among the hydronyms under consideration here, we can elucidate the following suffix formations:

- *Curraj* (BC), *Dodaj* (MR, MT), *Dushaj* (DI), *Llugaj* (BC), *Ndreaj* (SH), *Nikaj* (BC), *Smaj* (MR). This Albanian suffix is particularly frequent in northern Albania and on the coastal plain. It also occurs in isolated instances in southern Albania: *Lekaj* (LU), *Maricaj* (TP), *Xhaxhaj* (TP). As a nominal suffix, *-aj* is used for tribal and family name patronyms and can also denote the inhabitants of a location, cf. *Burizanaj* 'inhabitants of Burizan.'
- -an(ë) Baban (KO), Dvoran (KO), Gërman (MT), Kurjan (BR, FR), Luçanë (MT), Mezhgoran (TP), Seman (BR, FR, LU), Tëplan (BC), Tiranë (TR), Velçan (PG, KO). This formation occurs in hydronyms of both Slavic and non-Slavic origin. It is related to the Albanian and Slavic nominal suffix -an, cf. Dibran 'inhabitant of Dibër'; breshkan 'male turtle' from breshkë 'turtle'; vejan 'widower' from ve 'widow.'
- *-anjoz Karkanjoz* (BR). This formation reflects the Albanian adjective suffix *-anjoz*, often with a pejorative meaning, as in Alb. *frikanjoz* 'fearful' from *frikë* 'fear'; *grindanjoz* 'quarrelsome' from *grindë* 'dispute'; *tekanjoz* 'moody' from *teka* 'mood.'
- *-ar* Bastar (TR), Lavdar (SK, BR), Murdhar (TR), Shtegtar (LE). Formation related to the Albanian and Slavic nominal suffix *-ar*, as in Alb. Korçar 'inhabitant of Korçë'; këpucar 'shoe-maker' from këpucë 'shoe.' Preceding the suffix in all of the above hydronyms is a dental consonant, as found also in the river Vardar in Macedonia and in the toponym Merdar in southern Serbia. Particularly productive in the Albanian lexicon is the nominal suffix *-tar*, as in the above Shtegtar, cf. Alb. tregtar 'merchant' from treg 'market'; and zyrtar 'official' from zyrë 'office.'

⁶ On Albanian suffixes, cf. Xhuvani and Çabej 1962, and Camaj 1966.

- -as Bishçukas (LU), Gjyras (KO). This formation is related to the Albanian nominal suffix as, denoting the inhabitants of a region, cf. *Tiranas* 'inhabitant of Tiranë'; *Elbasanas* 'inhabitant of Elbasan.' This suffix is also productive in Albanian adverbs: gojas 'orally' from gojë 'mouth'; djathtas 'to the right' from i djathtë 'right.'
- -ash Barmash (ER), Kalimash (KU) and perhaps Gash (BC). This formation is related to the southern Slavic and Albanian nominal and adjectival suffix -ash, cf. bardhash 'whitish' from *i bardhë* 'white'; balash 'horse with a white spot on its forehead' from *i balë* 'having a white spot in the forehead.' This suffix also occurs in Serbcr., Bulg. and Romanian.
- -at Dukat (VL), Dhoksat (Gj), Trubat (VL). This formation occurs commonly in southwestern Albania, and sporadically elsewhere, cf. Deshat (DI), Lishat (TR, DR). It also serves as a nominal suffix in Albanian, again primarily in the southwest, cf. Vlonjat 'inhabitant of Vlorë (formerly Valona)'; Konispolat 'inhabitant of Konispol.'
- -cë Ramcë (EL), Selcë (PG, KO). This formation is related to the Albanian (and Slavic) nominal suffix found in *shtojcë* 'annex' from *shtoj* 'to add'; *përparcë* 'apron' from *përpara* 'in front of.'
- -*çë* Bënçë (TP), Paroçë (TR/KR), Vërçë (GR). This formation reflects the Albanian nominal suffix -*çë*, as in *ndezçë* 'lighter' from *ndez* 'to light'; *vençë* 'wine made from residue of grapes and water' from *venë*, *verë* 'wine.'
- -ec Boronec (BR, SK), Damjanec (KO), Dunavec (KO), Leskovec (PR). This formation in toponyms of Slavic origin is found primarily in southeastern Albania. It is related to the Slavic (esp. Bulg) and Albanian suffix -ec, as in korbec 'black-coloured animal' from korbë 'raven'; burrec 'coward' from burrë 'man'; shtypec 'pestle' from shtyp 'to crush.'
- *-el Kaçivel* (EL), *Kozel* (ER), *Sarasel* (GR, BR). This formation is related to the Albanian nominal and adjectival suffix *-el*, as in *bocel* 'little bottle' from *bocë* 'bottle'; *buzel* 'with fat lips' from *buzë* 'lip,' a suffix thought to be related to the Lat. *-ellus*, which occurs frequently in Romanian as *-el*.
- *-en(ë)* Erzen (TR, DR), Tërshenë (KU), Shtërmen (EL). The latter hydronym has the Slavic suffix *-en* which occurs in Slavic toponyms, as in village toponyms Gracen (EL), Ogren (PR), Vorrozen (DR).
- -*ër*(*r*) *Dibërr* (LE, MR), *Gjadër* (PU, LE, SH), *Kakër* (PU, SH), *Papër* (EL). These forms may or may not be related to the Albanian suffix -*ër*(*r*), as in *kokërr* 'bean, pill' from *kokë* 'head'; *çimërr* 'bug' from *çim-kë* 'bug'; *mitër* 'womb' from *mitë* 'a shoot.'
- -ës Gjerbës (FR, BR), Krahës (TP), Kudhës (VL). This formation is related to the Albanian nominal suffix found in *lypës* 'begger' from *lyp* 'to beg'; *mbyllës* 'lid' from *mbyll* 'to cover.'
- $-\ddot{e}z(\ddot{e})$ Arr $\ddot{e}z$ (PU), Zharr $\ddot{e}z\ddot{e}$ (FR). This formation is related to the collective suffix $-\ddot{e}z(\ddot{e})$, also used as a diminutive, as in Alb. *lulëzë* 'little flower' from *lule* 'flower.'
- *Belicë* (GJ), *Bistricë* (SR), *Bushtricë* (LB), *Çemericë* (KO), *Dëshnicë* (PR), *Gjanicë* (FR), *Kamenicë* (KO), *Kamnicë* (VL), *Lapardhicë* (BR), *Lengaricë* (ER, PR), *Leshnicë* (GR), *Leshnicë* (SR), *Nimicë* (GJ), *Solicë* (EL), *Shushicë* (VL), *Tomoricë* (SK, GR), *Verdericë* (EL), *Vodicë* (BR), *Vodicë* (ER). This most frequent formation, the Slavic suffix -*ica*, is found primarily in hydronyms of Slavic origin. The vast majority of them are, as above, in southern Albania. In northern Albania we also encounter: *Bushtricë* (BC), *Karicë* (MT), *Leshnicë* (KU), *Leshnicë* (KU), and *Veleshicë* (DI). This formation also occurs as a nominal suffix in Alb. *buallicë* 'female buffalo' from *buall* 'buffalo'; *mamicë* 'midwife' related to *mamí* 'midwife.'

- -ik(ë) Cërrik (EL), Dërsnik (KO), Leskovik (ER), Plashnik (BR), Zaranikë (EL). This no doubt Slavic formation is found primarily in central and southern Albania. Related is the nominal suffix -nik, as in Alb. drithnik 'barn, silo' from drithë 'grain.'
- *-ile Macilë* (GR). There is also a village toponym *Bratilë* (GR).
- *-imë* Gostimë (LB, EL), Zhëllimë (EL, TR). This formation is related to the Albanian abstract suffix *-im(ë)*, which occurs both in a feminine form, often related to noises and weather, as in Alb. *bërtimë* 'scream' from *bërtas* 'to scream'; *bubullimë* 'thunder' from *bubullij* 'to thunder'; *fërshëllimë* 'whistling of the wind' from *fërshëllij* 'to whistle,' and in a highly productive masculine form *-im*, as in *fillim* 'beginning,' *konsiderim* 'consideration,' *guxim* 'courage.'
- -in(ë) Carinë (LB), Gominë (PU), Jagodinë (EL), Radiçinë (LB, PG), Skatinë (KU, BC), Smokthinë (VL), Shkumbin (PG, LB, EL, DR, LU), Tarin (KR, DR), Vllahinë (VL), Zavalinë (GR). This formation seems to be more prevalent in hydronyms of Slavic origin. There is, however, a nominal suffix -inë in Albanian, as in gurinë 'stony place' from gur 'stone'; rruginë 'corridor' from rrugë 'road'; shpartallinë 'hovel' from shpartallij 'to destroy.'
- -*iq(e)* Gomsiqe (PU, SH), Sërriqe (PU, KU), Kardhiq (GJ). Related to the latter at least, is the nominal and adjectival, often diminutive suffix -*iq*, as in Alb. *thatiq* 'gaunt, thin' from *i* thatë 'dry' and guriq 'pebble' from gur 'stone.'
- -isht(ë) Bilisht (KO), Dohoshisht (DI), Gostivisht (ER), Hotolisht (LB), Molisht (BR), Qarrishtë (LB). This suffix, common to Macedonian and Bulgarian toponyms, is especially prevalent in eastern Albania. It is also a productive adverbial suffix in Albanian, as in: anglisht 'English,' rusisht 'Russian,' teknikisht 'technically,' mundësisht 'if possible.'
- -kë Backë (SK), Strafickë (SK), Skroskë (LB). This formation, of Slavic origin, occurs with greatest frequency in eastern Albania and is related to the feminine nominal suffix, often diminutive, -kë, as in Alb. çupkë 'little girl' from çupë 'girl,' fshatarkë 'village woman' from fshatar 'villager.'
- -os Linos (TR, TR/MT, MT). This formation is related to the Albanian suffix -os, as in baltos 'muddy' from baltë 'mud,' kros 'scurfy' from kruaj 'to scratch.' Also of this formation are village toponyms, such as: Bagos (KR), Mnos (EL), Patos (FR), Bos (KO), Klos (MT).
- -osh Dohosh-isht (DI), Rroksh from an earlier Rrogosh (SH), Vermosh (SH). This formation is related to the Albanian attribute suffix -osh, as in Alb. gjumosh 'sleepy one' from gjumë 'sleep,' mjekrosh 'bearded one' from mjekër 'beard.'
- -ovë Bogovë (SK), Çarshovë (ER, PR), Draçovë (PR), Grabovë (PG, GR), Kreshovë (PR, SK), Kushovë (GR), Vidohovë (KO), Zhepovë (PR). The Slavic suffix -ova is found primarily in hydronyms of Slavic origin, all of which in this study are from southern Albania.
 -tar Shtegtar (EL). cf. -ar.
- *-th* Limuth (TR), Lumth (MR), Theth (SH). This formation is related to diminutive suffixe *- th*, as in Alb. zogth 'little bird' from zog 'bird.' Also of this formation are village toponyms, such as: Mërkurth (MT), Sukth (TR), Rreth (DR), Greth (DR).
- -ull(ë) Pistull (SH), Trubull (VL), Budullë (TR, KR), Xixullë (MT). This formation is related to the nominal and adjectival suffix -ull(ë), as in dushkull 'mastic tree, pistacia lenticus' from dushk 'oak tree,' kashtull 'Milky Way' from kashtë 'straw.' Some toponyms with this formation seem to be of Albanian origin whereas others are clearly based in the Latin adjectival suffix -ulus, as in Alb. popull people' from Lat. populous, Alb. ishull 'island' from Lat. insula.

- *-un(ë) Çubun* (SH), *Okshtun* (DI), *Rrapun* (LB). In addition to many Italian loans of this formation, there also seems to be a rare Albanian suffix *-un*, as in *bicun* 'piglet' from *bic* 'piglet.' Also of this formation are village toponyms, such as: *Dobrunë* (KU), *Zebzun* (DI), and mountain *Tërbun* (PU).
- -ush(ë) Banush (SH), Lush (KU, DI), Skrobotushë (SH). This formation is found primarily in northern Albania. The latter hydronym at least, may be related to the diminutive suffix ush(ë), as in zonjushë 'miss' from zonjë 'lady,' vogëlushë 'little girl' from e vogël 'little.' Also of this formation are village toponyms, such as: Barbullush (SH), Dobrush (SK), Galush (EL), Vajush (SH).

5. The Slavic Element in Albanian Hydronyms

Albanian roots are predominant in hydronyms throughout what is now the Republic of Albania. As we have seen from the above stratification, however, we also encounter, in southern Albania in particular, a remarkably strong stratum of Slavic hydronyms, both with respect to roots and to suffixes. The Slavic suffix *-ica*, *-icë*, as we have seen, is the most common hydronymic suffix of all, present in 24 Albanian hydronyms (8.3% of river names) under investigation here. Slavic hydronyms are especially common in three regions of Albania:

- 1. southern Albania (Toskeria) between the rivers Shkumbin and Vjosë, i.e. the Districts of Lushnjë (LU), Elbasan (EL), southern Librazhd (LB), Fier (FR), Berat (BR), Gramsh (GR), Pogradec (PG), northern Vlorë (VL), northern Tepelenë (TP), Skrapar (SK), Korçë (KO), Përmet (PR), and Kolonjë (ER),
- 2. the upper valley of the Black Drin in the District of Dibër (DI),
- 3. the eastern bank of Lake Shkodër from around the city of Shkodër northwards to the Montenegrin border in the District of Shkodër (SH).

Elsewhere in Albania, i. e. all of Albania north of the Shkumbin River (with the exception of 2. and 3. above), and southern Albania to the southwest of the Vjosë, Slavic hydronyms are substantially rarer, occurring only sporadically. A good indication of the distribution of Slavic hydronyms is Seliščev's map of Slavic place names in Albania⁷

Particularly interesting are cases of hydronyms present both in a Slavic and in a native Albanian form. The present study offers several instances of the same hydronym appearing for some rivers in Albanian garb and for other rivers in Slavic garb, so to speak.

Albanian	Slavic	root
Lumi i Bardhë	Belevë, Belicë	'white'
Lumi i Zi	Çërravë, Çorovodë	'black'
Qarrishtë	Cërrik	'oak'
Shkozë	Grabovë	'hornbeam'
Përroi i Thatë	Suhë	'dry'

The profound Slavic influence in hydronyms and other toponyms in southern Albania is irrefutable. This influence is, at the same time, in marked contrast to the Slavic element in the

⁷ Slavjanskaja topografičeskaja nomenklatura Albanii. 1:500,000. in: Seliščev 1931.

Albanian language in general. Slavic influence in Albanian, while certainly not negligible, has tended to be more discreet, indeed rather less than what one might have expected after centuries of coexistence in the southern Balkans. The Albanian language has a strong stratum, or more properly, several strata of Latin, and in later centuries underwent the lexical influence of Turkish and then of western international terminology, be it from scholarly Latin, Italian or French, but it was never as thoroughly penetrated by its immediate neighbours, Greek and Slav. How is one to explain the discrepancy between Slavic influence in toponyms in Albania and its influence in the structure and vocabulary of the Albanian language in general?

Afanasij Seliščev (1886-1942) in his pioneer study⁸ asserts that in Albania, as in other countries overrun by the Slavs, the major waterways seem for the most part to have retained their original names which the Slavs adopted, often with phonological adjustment, whereas the smaller rivers and tributaries quite often received new Slavic names. Ivan Popović regarded the situation as follows:

"On the one hand, place names in modern Albania are of primarily Slavic origin. On the other hand, the country's ancient place names did not develop according to Albanian sound laws, but rather, in clear cases, there was always Slavic transmission, or at least Slavic transmission is possible, whereas the reverse cannot be proven."⁹

Both Seliščev¹⁰ and Popović¹¹ were indeed convinced that Slavic tribes entering Albania encountered a Romance-speaking population and that the Albanians were newcomers of a later date, so to speak, a hypothesis which runs counter to current and broadly accepted views in Albanian autochtony.

Though one would not wish to question the strong Slavic element in Albanian hydronyms, a certain disproportion has occurred in scholarly studies to date due to a structural weakness in diachronic linguistics.

There exists an enormous discrepancy between the level of research in Slavic etymology which, like that in Romance, Germanic, Baltic and Celtic etymology, has developed into a sophisticated tool of diachronic linguistics, and that in Albanian etymology, which has not reached and perhaps never will reach a satisfactory level. As such, it is obviously much easier to find a Slavic etymology for a hydronym than a non-Slavic one. We simply know much more about the earlier stages of Slavic than we do about the earlier stages of non-Slavic speech in Albania.

It would seem evident that when the Slavs arrived in Albania, in particular in southern Albania, they entered a country which was sparsely populated. The non-Slavic population which they did encounter was forced to give way and to retreat into its traditional bastion, the northern Albanian mountains. Georg Stadtmüller (1901-1985) has suggested¹² that these early Albanians withdrew in particularly large numbers into the interior Mat Valley, a relatively fertile region of northern central Albania, surrounded by high mountain ranges. Here Slavic toponyms, as can be seen from the compendium, are much rarer than in southern and eastern Albania. With time, the farming Slavic tribes settled the lowlands and the, to a large extent, nomadic Albanian tribes learned to eke out an existence in the arid highlands. Although close contacts and a certain form of

⁸ cf. Seliščev 1931.

⁹ cf. Popović 1960, p. 79.

¹⁰ *op. cit.*

¹¹ cf. Popović 1957-1958.

¹² cf. Stadtmüller 1966.

co-existence between Slavs and non-Slavs continued, it is evident in such a situation that river names were bound to show a profound Slavic influence.

In dealing with hydronyms in Albania, it is not without reason that we refer more to Slavic influence than to Slavic origin. This is because long-term and profund lexical interference between Slavic and non-Slavic speakers, as a result of many centuries of co-habitation, created a sociolinguistic situation which is no doubt much more complex than most scholars can imagine, especially if they insist on thinking in traditional categories of clear-cut ethnic regions and territories.

Preliminary studies of Albanian arboreal (tree) terminology offer a parallel and afford a similar conclusion concerning settlement patterns in Albania. Terms for trees in the highlands, mostly conifers, are of primarily native Albanian origin, whereas terms for trees in the lowlands are primarily foreign. The latter show mainly Romance or Slavic roots. This fact, and the lack of any substantial amount of native maritime and fisheries terminology, point in the same direction as the results of this hydronymic study. All evidence indicates that the Albanians, in their historical development, were and until recently remained a mountain people.

As such, in their painful struggle for national identity and affirmation, the Albanians need not be overly concerned about the strong Slavic influence in hydronyms in their country. May they look down in serenity from their mountain pastures and watch the *Lumi i Bardhë* and the *Belicë*, the *Lumi i Zi* and the *Çërravë* flow peacefully down to the sea.

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