The paper deals with two Balkan words belonging to the ovine terminology: Albanian *dash*, Romanian *daș* ‘ram’ and Alb. *ugić*, *ogić*, Serbian *ugić*, Bulgarian *jugić*, *jogić* ‘bellwether’. In the Balkans, they both seem to be of an Albanian origin, but in a larger perspective their closest parallels are found in the Caucasian and East-Anatolian area.

**Keywords**: etymology, pastoral terms, Albanian, Romanian, South Slavic, Iranian, Caucasian, Turkic.

This paper is arisen in margins of my work on the maps 320 ‘bélier’ and 321 ‘bélier châtré’ of the *Atlas linguarum Europae* (ALE). The insight into the comprehensive materials collected in the frame of this Pan-European project enables us to provide a typology of designations for the concrete notions, which further may be supplied by the additional data from the ancient and modern languages and as a result lead to establishing new and/or reconsidering some old etymologies of the terms in question. Here two Balkan designations for male sheep are focused, both of Albanian provenance but without an etymology generally accepted, for lack of a transparent internal derivation in Albanian as well as of external cognates undoubtedly recognized. It remained unnoticed so far that both terms have close parallels in the Caucasian and East-Anatolian area, which might throw some light on their ultimate origins.2

1. Alb. *dash*, Rum. *daș*

The far-reaching phonological changes the inherited IE words and early loan-words of Albanian have undergone leave a vast scope for

1 The present paper resulted from the project No 148004 financed by Serbian Ministry of Science and Environmental Protection.

2 I will make it clear that the present research is indifferent to the old concept of a Caucasian origin of Albanians, based on the homonymy between them and an ancient peo-
etymologising those of them, that have no convincing parallels in other Indo-European or neighbouring languages; yet the chance of finding a final solution is inversely proportional to the number of possible proposals. This is the case of Alb. *dash ‘ram’, borrowed to Romanian daș, Greek dialectal δάσος (in Epirus), Bulgarian dial. дâško (BER I 322), Macedonian dial. daše. Several etymologies of it have been proposed which are surveyed by Orel (57). The most popular one traces it back to PIE word for ‘breath, breathing, animal’, *dhouso- (thus St. Mann, Language XXVI 387 and Orel himself) or *duoso- (thus Jokl 1923, 240 f., 329 f. and recently D. Q. Adams in EIEC 82), cf., from the same IE root, Goth. dius, ON dýr ‘wild animal’, Lat. bestia, bêlva ‘id.’, further Slav. duxъ ‘spirit’, Lith. pl. dausos ‘paradise’, etc. Consequently the ‘ram’ would have been, for the pastoral Proto-Albanians, the ‘animal, animated being’ par excellence. This is not impossible, but I would stress that no instance of such a general semantics is found in the materials of the ALE related to ‘ram’ and ‘wether’ or in the other designations of the male sheep known to me. From the typological point of view, the attempt seems more plausible to explain *dash as *dalsh, *delsh ‘suckling (lamb)’ (thus Barić 1919, 6); formally uncertain, it has the advance of establishing a link between the Albanian word for ‘ram’ and that for the female sheep, dele, which is commonly derived from PIE *dheH₁(i)- ‘to suckle’. There are many designations of ‘ram’ going back to ‘young male, lamb’; the intermediary stage of this semantic development would have been ‘still uncastrated’. Other explanations of *dash deserve, in my opinion, less consideration, and I mention them but in passing: to Gr. δόξοκυλλως ‘kind of fish’ (Camarda), to Alb. dem ‘young bull’ (B. Demiraj, 124 f.), to Alb. dua ‘to love’, aor. desha (S. Bugge, BB 18/1892, 184), to Goth. tagl ‘hair’ (Čabej 1986, 109 f., 1987, 171 ff.), to Lat. dēnsus (La Piana); for further references see Orel l.c.

Admitting the possibility of an earlier form *dalsh,5 Albanian *dash may be compared to Ossetic dalys (Iron), dalis (Digoron) ‘one year old

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3 Its possible cognate within Albanian is seen by Orel 54 in dak ‘big ram’ < *dauka- ~ Lith. dvetti ‘to breathe’; cf. Čabej 1987, 153.

4 Wherefrom Alb. PN Dash, which is compared with Illyrian Dasius, cf. Čabej 1987, 174 s.v. dashur.

5 As already supposed by Barić, see above. Jokl 1923, 329 f. dismisses Barić’s etymology for phonetical reasons, the simplification of the cluster lsh into sh being unparalleled in Albanian; Čabej 1987, 172 admits the possibility of such a development, but rejects himself, as semantically improbable, the interpretation deriving the designation of adult male from the name of female with the deminutive suffix -sh; in his opinion, it would
lamb’, whose origin, in Cheung’s words (2002, 177) “remains a mystery”. In the first volume of his etymological dictionary Abaev sub voce (p. 342) merely notices that the word recurs not only in West-Caucasian, as Svan dalisw, dalüs ‘young lamb, about 6–12 months old’, but also far from Caucasus, in the Novgorod dialect of Russian, as dávis’ (давысь) ‘yearling’.6 In an additional note to the same volume (p. 655), Abaev proposes an Iranian etymology of the word: *dārīša- (m.) or *dārīši- (f.), akin to OInd dārikā- ‘daughter, girl’, dāraka- ‘boy; young animal’,7 and compares it, on the other hand, with the word for ‘goatskin’ in East Iranian Pamir languages: Sariqōlī dōrs, Wakhī būrs, Munjī lūrs. The latter rapprochement has been rejected by Steblin-Kamenskij (167) and Rastorgueva/Edel’mann II 354 as semantically improbable, and the former is rather doubtful in view of the fact that the Old Indian word family in question, that of Skt. dārā- ‘wife’, is etymologically problematic and has no assured Indo-Iranian or Indo-European pedigree (cf. Mayrhofer I 720 f.).8 Nevertheless, Cheung’s conclusion l.c., that a „Caucasian source (of Osset. dalys), most likely from Svan, is preferable“, seems prematured.9 An Iranian origin seems to me probable, but rather than a connection with the Sanskrit words cited above, I would propose a derivation from I.-E. *dheH₁-l- ‘to suck, to suckle’ which is represented in Iranian with Kurdish Kurmanji dél, dālik, Sorani del, dal ‘female’, Tāleshi del ‘id.’, Zāzā dal, til ‘bitch’, Luri del, dal ‘id.’, dāleka ‘mother’ (Rastorgueva/Edel’mann II 447), cf. further OInd. dhārū- ‘suckling’, Gr. ðηλος ‘nourishing’, Lat. fēlīx ‘fruitfull, prosperous, happy’, Mlr deił ‘teat’, Latv. dīle ‘suckling calf’, Alb. dele ‘sheep, ewe’ cited above, etc. (Pokorny 242; EIEC 82). It is only normal that a lamb is designated as suckling, or seeking for the nursing one, i. e. its mother sheep, if we consider *-is in dalys / dalis to be not a (rare) suffix, but the verbal stem of Avest. isaiti, OInd. iečhāti ‘to

6 According to Abaev l.c., -v- instead of -l- may be due to the mediation of Komi-Permyak, where a regular change of l in v occurs; he refers to the existence of other lexical connections between Permic and Ossetic.

7 A l before i in Ossetic is normally derived from the Common Iranian *r reflecting both I.-E. *r and *l.

8 Both Abaev V 10 and Cheung 2002, 178 connect with the same OInd word family Ossetic Iron dārk’ ‘calf’, Digor dārk‘æ ‘one-year old kid’, which they identify with Skt. daraka- (with a in the root?) ‘young animal’, but only the former relates it to dalys (and also to gr. δόρκας ‘roe’).

endeavour to obtain, strive, seek for’, cf. the analogous compounds Avest. 
ašō.iš- ‘striving for justice’, Olnd. gavīš- ‘wishing for cows; desirous, ea-
erg’, pašviš- ‘wishing for cattle’.

Such an interpretation of Ossetic dalys / dalis provides some evi-
dence to support the etymology tracing Alb. dash back to *dalsh as akin to 
dele, an interpretation which is, as said above, typologically plausible in view 
of many instances of the semantic development ‘suckling, lamb > 
ram’ in European languages. If there is any connection between two 
words, it could be interpreted either in terms of a common heritage 
(Urverwandtschaft), or of a parallel formation from the same root in both 
languages (note the difference in quantity of the root vowel Alb. a < ā vs. 
Osset. a < ā) or of a borrowing from one into another. In Iranian, 
*dārīš(a)- seems to be old enough, and North Russian dāvis’ indicates a 
Wanderwort spread from North Pontic steppes at a time as Sarmato-
Alanic ancestors of the Osetes still lived there, i.e. before the Hunnic in-
vasion in 4th century A.D. drove them away to the Caucasian highlands. 
An early contact between the Sarmatians (Alans) and Proto-Albanians is 
imaginable particularly on the eastern slopes of Carpathians and on the 
lower Danube. However, dash is, like most Albanian words, ambiguous as 
for its phonetic reconstruction, and the vague possibility of tracing it back 
to *dalsh cannot justify any far reaching conclusion. Nevertheles, the 
comparison with Ossetic dalys / dalis opens a new horizon for further dis-
cussion on its origin.

2. Alb. ugič, ogić, SCr ugič, Bulg. jugič, jogič

The word Alb. ugič, ogić ‘bellwether’ occurs also in Serbian dialects 
of Kosovo and Montenegro as ugič and in Bulgarian as jugič, jogič ‘id.’. 
There is little doubt about its Albanian provenance in Balkan Slavic. How-
ever, its ultimate origin is sought in Slavic, with reference to Slav. vodič 
‘guide’ used in some Bulgarian vernaculars to designate the bellwether. 
Yet the phonetical development of vod- into ug- is unparalleled; Skok (III 
537) tried to surmount this difficulty by supposing a contamination of two 
Slavic words in Albanian, vodič cited above and agnćć ‘(male) lamb’, 
which is in itself hardly convincing and ultimately wrong in view of the 
fact that the same word occurs far from Balkan and Slavic area, in Asia 
Minor and Transcaucasia. In the new etymological dictionary of Kurdish 
(Cabolov 445) we find the word hōgač, hōgič, ŏgač (m.) ‘two years old 
ram; barren sheep’. Two words are so similar both in form and the mean-
ing, that there must be some connection between them. The Kurdish word 
is derived by Cabolov from Turkish öveč ‘two or three years old ram’,
Azerbaijan ögäj ‘two or three years old sheep; four years old sheep; ram under three years’. In a paper (VJa 1973/2, 40) É. V. Sevortjan cites also the form hōγāc and argues that both the shift v/γ and the h-prothesis may have taken place in Turkic languages. As for the ultimate provenance of the word, Cabolov seems to assume for it an Altaic origin when he compares Mong. hōkar ‘bull’. If the word is originating in Turkic languages, we can only guess about the time and the place it entered Albanian and Balkan Slavic. It could be one of many (Ottoman)Turkish loanwords in Balkan languages, but also an earlier borrowing from another Turkic language, perhaps even Proto-Bulgarian.

If there were any doubt regarding the Altaic etymology of the word in question, I would like to draw attention to the similarity of the Turkish form öveç cited above with Common Slavic *ovècь ‘ram, wether; sheep in general’ (an old masculinum to *ovèca f., cf. Furlan 2000), and on the other hand to a possible connection between Alb. ugiç, ogiç, Kurdish hōgaç, hōgiç, etc. with Alb. hakoç / hokoç / harkoç ‘uncastrated male swine, boar’, which is variously etymologized. Within Albanian, it seems to be somehow connected with hakērri ‘mating (of swines)’, but in view of its varying form, this connection might be a paretymological one. Meyer compared hakoç, etc. to Pers. xuk ‘swine’ (153), Čabej to Alb. harr ‘to weed, to prune, to cut’ (1976, I 232), whereas Orel 141, 150 derives it together with hakērri from the onomatopoeia *hark, *hork imitating pig’s grunting. The word is also found in Serbian vernaculars of Montenegro as akoç ‘id.’,10 jakoç ‘ram or goat left for breeding’. A borrowing from Albanian into the neighbouring Slavic dialects seems more probable than in the opposite direction, although the broader meaning of the form jakoç indicates a reanalysis of the word in Serbian, where its ending seems to have been assimilated to the (rare) suffix -oç11 and the stem identified with the adjective jak(i) ‘strong’, which serves also to designate a male capable of breading.12 In Montenegro the variant hak occurs too, which might confirm the suffixed nature of -oç, presupposed by all the etymologies cited above; but so far as the corresponding form is not attested in Albanian itself, the possibility remains that this shorter variant arose in Slavic mouth, by decomposition of the final sequence in *hak-oç which was mis-

10 The form akoç cited by Popović 1953, 203 will be the same as akoç, falsely read from the materials of RSA.
12 In Bosnia and Hercegovina jaki is used to designate an incompletely castrated ox, cf. RSA s.v. jak.
understood as a Slavic suffix. On the other hand, the existence in Albanian of the Turkish loanword koç ‘ram, wether’ suggests the possibility of an alternative analysis as ha(r)-/ho-koç, which is imaginable in terms of a re-interpretation rather than of an ultimate etymology of the word.

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13 For whose Common Turkic origin cf. Räsänen 274.
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Резиме

Александр Лома

ALBANO-CAUCASICA PASTORALIA

Алб. реч dash 'ован' постоји још у румунском (daș) и као позајмица из албанског у неким новогрчким и македонским говорима. За њу је досад предложено више етимологија, од којих се типолошки највероватнијом чини она која је преко *dalsh везује са алб. dele 'овца', дословно 'дојиља', од ис. dhē-l- 'дојити'. То извођење може се поткрепити паралелом коју пружа осетски језик, припадник иранске језичке породице на северном Кавказу: ирон. dalys, дигор. dalis 'жагње од једне године' < стиран. *dār-iš(a)- 'дојече, оно које траје дојињу'. Алб. реч ugiç, ogiç 'ован предводник', срп. дијал. (Косово, Црна Гора) угич, буг. јогић, јогић неће бити од слов. водич, већ има најближу паралелу у курдском, опет једном иранском језику у Малој Азији и Закавказју: курд. hōgač, hōgič, āgač (m.) 'двогодишњи ован', можда (али не сигурно) турског порекла.