

6+

+

+921

Pick the
date]



RANKO
MATASOVIĆ

A Grammatical Sketch of Albanian for Students of Indo-European

Zagreb 2024

A Grammatical Sketch of Albanian for students of Indo-European

© Ranko Matasović, 2024

Foreword

This is a very brief introduction to Albanian intended for students of Indo-European linguistics. It is a subject I have taught in the University of Zagreb for almost thirty years, during which I often felt that Albanian, although a very important Indo-European language, has been somewhat neglected by comparativists. This introduction is *not* a comprehensive grammar, and one can not reasonably expect to learn Albanian by studying it. It is also not written by a fluent speaker of Albanian, but rather by a comparative linguist whose knowledge of the language is bookish and superficial. I hope it will still be useful to those students of Indo-European languages who have not had the opportunity to study Albanian in depth from native speakers and who are unable to read reference works on the history of the language written in Albanian. I would like to thank Professor Bardh Rugova, from the University of Prishtinë, for correcting some embarrassing mistakes in the earlier version of this manuscript, and also for some very useful suggestions and advices. I am also grateful to Bora Shpuza Kasapolli for some useful suggestions and corrections.

In Zagreb, September 2019

1. Spelling

The modern orthography of Albanian, which will be used here, was adopted in 1908, at the congress of Monastir. It should be noted, however, that older linguistic books, such as Pokorny's etymological dictionary (IEW), still use the antiquated transcription adapted by Gustav Meyer in the nineteenth century. Before that, Albanian used to be written in several alphabets, including the Ottoman form of Arabic script and the so-called *Elbasan* or *Todhri* alphabet, which had developed from the cursive Greek alphabet.

1.1. Vowels

<a, e, i, o, u> have more or less the Latin values (<e> is slightly more open than its Latin equivalent). <y> denotes a high front rounded vowel (German <ü>), and <ë> is a schwa-like reduced vowel similar to French "e muet". Final *ë* is not pronounced in Gheg dialects, which also have long and nasal vowels not reflected in writing, e.g. *është* 'is' is pronounced as [ãšt̪] in Shkodër and [õšt̪] in Kosovo. Gheg nasal vowels are spelled with the diacritic [~] in this book, i.e. <â> is nasal [ã], etc.

1.2. Consonants

There is little to be said about <p, t, k, b, d, g, s, m, n, v, z>. Stops are pronounced without aspiration, like in Romance. <q> and <gj> are palatal stops, like Sanskrit *c* and *j*. <th> and <dh> are voiceless and voiced interdental fricatives, respectively. <c> stands for the affricate /ts/, and <x> for /dz>, while <ç> is the voiceless affricate /tʃ/, and <xh> is its voiced counterpart /dʒ/. <sh> is /š/, and <zh> is /ž/, while <h> is a laryngeal fricative like English *h*. <nj> is palatalized n (/ɲ/), and <j> is a glide like English *y*. There are two different r-sounds, a flap <r>, and a trill <rr>. Similarly, there are two l-sounds, an alveo-dental sound represented as <ll> and a regular <l>.

2. Chronology

Nothing is known about Albanians until the 11th century, when they are mentioned by Byzantine historians. The Albanian language is mentioned for the first time outside Albania, in the Croatian city of Dubrovnik, in the vicinity of which there appears to have been an Albanian community. In 1285, a man named Matthew recorded this sentence in the context of investigation of a robbery: *Audivi unam vocem clamantem in monte in lingua Albanesca*. Not long after that, *Anonymi descriptio Europae Orientalis* (1308) states that the Albanian language is not related to any of the neighboring languages, and thus confirms that *lingua Albanesca* is indeed the predecessor of modern Albanian: *Habent enim Albani prefati linguam distinctam a Latinis, Grecis et Sclavis ita quod in nullo se inteligunt cum aliis nationibus*.

Much has been written about the origin of the Albanian language. The most probable predecessor of Albanian was Illyrian, since much of the present-day Albania was inhabited by the Illyrians during the Antiquity, and an Illyrian tribe called *Albanoí* is mentioned in Ptolemy's "Geography" somewhere in present-day North Albania.

However, the comparison of the two languages is impossible because almost nothing is known about Illyrian, despite the fact that two handbooks of that language have been published (by Hans Krahe and Anton Mayer). A lot of enthusiasm for Illyrian was lost after it had been discovered that the only purportedly Illyrian inscription, the Ring from Kalaja e Delmaçës (published and interpreted as Illyrian by Hans Krahe in 1928), was actually in Byzantine Greek. The inscription was read, from top to bottom, ANA OHΘH ICER, and there were a lot of speculations about its meaning and grammar (for example, ICER was connected with G *hierós* 'holy'). However, a careful paleographic and philological examination showed that the actual reading is, from bottom to top, KE BOHΘH ANA, where KE is the usual Byzantine abbreviation of the word *Kýrie* 'Lord' (voc.). The meaning is thus 'O Lord, help Anna!' in straightforward Byzantine Greek. Since that discovery, which almost destroyed "Illyrology" as a linguistic discipline, reasonable doubts have been expressed whether the Illyrians spoke a single language, or a group of more or less related languages roughly corresponding to the Italic complex. It is *a priori* less probable to assume that a single language was spoken in the whole Illyricum, from the river Arsia in Istria, to Epirus in Greece, when such a linguistic uniformity is found nowhere else in Europe before the Roman conquest. Moreover, the examination of personal names and toponyms from Illyricum shows that several onomastic areas can be distinguished, and these onomastic areas just might correspond to different languages spoken in ancient Illyricum. If Illyrians actually spoke several different languages, the question arises - from which 'Illyrian' language did Albanian develop, and that question cannot be answered until new data are discovered. It may have been the language of *Illyrii proprie dicti* "Illyrians in the narrow sense", as mentioned by Roman authors such as Pliny, who lived in North Albania and along the eastern Adriatic coast up to the river Cetina in Dalmatia. The single "Illyrian" gloss preserved in Greek (*rhínon* 'fog') may have the reflex in Alb. (Gheg) *rë* 'cloud' (Tosk *re*) < PAlb. *ren-.

On the other hand, some place-names in Albania (especially on the coast), are difficult to derive from their classical (Greek and Roman) forms, which indicates that they were actually borrowed by Albanians during the Early Middle Ages. For example, one cannot derive Alb. *Shkodër* from PIE by Albanian sound-laws, since PIE *sk- would have yielded Alb. *h-* (as in *hijë* 'shade' < PIE *sk'ih₂, cf. G *skíā*); rather, it seems that the name of *Shkodër* was borrowed from G *Skódra* or L *Scodra*).

Equally little can be said with certainty about a possible connection between Albanian and Messapic, a poorly documented IE language spoken in pre-Roman times in Apulia (present-day Puglia). There is some archaeological and philological evidence, however, that Messapians immigrated to South Italy from the Balkans, and some Messapic words have close parallels in Albanian, e. g. Messapic *bilía* 'daughter' is very probably from the same etymon as Alb. *bijë* 'daughter'. Therefore, it seems plausible that Messapic was closely related to the Indo-European dialect which was the direct ancestor of Albanian.

The earliest documents of the Albanian language stem from the 15th century. Besides a few almost unintelligible lines from the so-called *Bellifortis Manuscript* from 1405, the first sentence of Albanian we have is the baptism formula from 1462: *Unte paghesont premenit Atit e birit et sperit senit* "I baptize you in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost".¹ It is preserved in a work by Paulus Angelus, the Archbishop of

¹ In the modern language, this would be *Unë të pagezohet për emrit të atit e të birit e të shpirtit shenjtë*.

Dyrrachium (Alb. *Durrës*). From 1483 we have one Albanian sentence in the Renaissance comedy “Epirota” by Tommaso de Mezzo (*draburi to clofto gogle = tramburë të kloftë golja* “may your mouth tremble (from sickness)!”), and from 1497 the earliest document of Albanian of some length, the glossary by a German traveler Von Harff. Von Harff was an adventurer who wrote a kind of tourist guide in which he collected valuable information about various European languages including Basque, Modern Greek and Albanian. He provided his reader with the native equivalents of such useful phrases as “How much does this cost?”, “What is that”, and “Woman, I want to sleep with you”. There are also a number of Venetian documents from 13th-15th centuries in which several Albanian names are mentioned, as well as a few nouns. The very first Tosk text appeared around 1500. It is the anonymous *Perikopeja e Ungjillit të Pashkëve* “The Song of the Easter Gospel”.

The earliest documents of Albanian literature *sensu stricto* are from the 16th and 17th century. These are religious works associated with the Counter-Reformation movement, and most of them are in the Gheg dialect. The first Albanian book is *Meshari* by Gjon Buzuku (1555, preserved in a single copy), and this was soon followed by works of Lekë Matrënga (*Catechismo di F. Ledesma tradotto da Luca Matranga*, 1592, in Tosk), Pjetër Budi (*Catechismo*, 1618, *Spiegazioni della messa romana*, 1621, and *Speculum confessionis tradotto dallo Specchio di confessione*, 1612), Frang Bardhi (also known as Blanchus, the author of the first Albanian dictionary – *Dizionario latino-epirotico*, 1635), Pjetër Bogdani (*Cuneus prophetarum de Christo salvatore mundi*, 1685), and Nilo Catalano (*Dizionario albanese-italiano e italiano-albanese*, 1694). In the early 18th century we can mention *Gjella e Shën Mëris Virgjër* by Jul Variboba (in Tosk), the anonymous dictionary from 1710 (*Dizionario Italiano & Albanese. Perf Alfabeto & Delle lettere Albanese*, in Gheg; published only in 1982 by Rexhep Ismajli), *Dotrina cristiana* by Gjon Nikollë Kazazi from 1743 (in Gheg) and *I Cristëu i arbrësc* by Nicolò Figlia (173-39, in Tosk; published only in 1995). Taken all together, very few books were published in Albanian in the 17th and the early 18th centuries. The first grammar of the language (the Gheg dialect) is *Osservazioni grammaticali nella lingua albanese*, published by Francesco Maria da Lecce in 1716, who also wrote a dictionary (in 1702) of some 13 000 entries.

What we lack in early documents of Albanian, we gain by a close examination of the contemporary dialects. Albanian dialects are divided into Tosk (spoken chiefly in Albania south of the river Shkumbi) and Gheg (spoken in Northern Albania and in Kosovo). The most salient difference between Gheg and Tosk is the so-called Tosk rhotacism: in Tosk, PAIb. *n > r word-internally and finally, whereas in Gheg n is preserved. Thus the ethnonym ‘Albanian’ is *Arbër* in Tosk, and *Arbën* in Gheg. The modern literary language is based on the Tosk dialect of Southern Albania whose native speaker was Enver Hoxha, the former dictator of Albania. Outside Albania and Kosovo, there are very archaic Albanian dialects spoken in Greece (Sofiko, Salamis and hundreds of other villages), Italy (e.g. Vaccarizzo), Croatia (Arbanasi in Zadar), Bulgaria (Mandritsa), as well as in four villages in Ukraine.

The comparative and historical research of Albanian is also fortunate in that the Albanian vocabulary is loaded with loan-words from Latin, Greek, and various forms of South Slavic, some of which are very old.² Since we can discover the sound changes that

² In Meyer’s Etymological dictionary of Albanian, of 5140 “keywords” 1420 are Romance, 540 Slavonic, 1180 Turkish, 840 Modern Greek, and only 400 have a more or less reliable IE

affected these loan-words, we are often able to reconstruct in great detail the shape of Proto-Albanian native words.

With what has been said in mind, we adopt the following chronology:

1. Pre-Proto-Albanian (? – 1st century B.C.). This is the period before the earliest contacts of Latin and Albanian.
1. Early Proto-Albanian (1st century B.C. – 6th century). This is the period of intensive borrowing from Latin into Albanian, before the earliest contacts with the Slavs.
2. (Late) Proto-Albanian (6th century – 15th century). This is the period of intensive contacts of Albanians and Slavs.
3. Early Albanian (15th century – 1800). Roughly, this is the period of the earliest Albanian writings, as well as the period during which most of the Turkish loan-words entered the language.
4. (Modern) Albanian (1800 – present).

3. Historical Phonology

The phonological system of the standard language can be represented as follows:

Vowels:

i	y		u
e	ë	o	
	a		

The Gheg dialects also have nasalized vowels, cf., e.g., Tosk *hëñë* ‘moon’ vs. Gheg *hân* /hã/.

Consonants:

stops		fricatives			affricates	
p	b	f	v			
t	d	th	dh	s	c	x
q	gj	sh	zh		ç	xh
k	g	h				

Resonants and glides:

nasals	laterals		glide
m			
n	ll	rr	
nj	l	r	j
ng			

etymology. 730 words have no etymology whatsoever. During the past century, I would say that the number of words with IE etymology has risen, while some of Meyer’s Romance etymologies have been rejected, but the number of loan-words in Albanian is still disproportionately high.

3.1. Stress

Early Proto-Albanian probably had a dynamic stress on the first syllable. Early Latin loan-words stressed on the penultimate lost the unstressed initial syllable(s), cf. L *amīcus* >> Alb. *mik* 'friend', L *imperātor* >> Alb. *mbret* 'king', L *vicīnus* >> Alb. *fqinj* 'neighbour'. In contemporary language the stress is regularly on the last syllable of the stem, but there are exceptions, cf. *lúle* 'flower' (but *muzé* 'museum'), *jétë* 'life' (but *këtë* 'this'), etc. It is possible that Proto-Albanian still had free stress, because this assumption helps us understand some vowel changes in word-final position, e. g. the development of stressed final *-ā to -e, but unstressed *-ā to -ë (on which see below).

3.2. Vowels

All length oppositions inherited from PIE were lost in Proto-Albanian. However, a new quantitative opposition in the vowel system developed, and was preserved in Old Gheg documents (where long vowels were written with two vowel letters) and in dialects. The long vowels apparently developed by lengthening under accent, e.g. Old Gheg *aar* /a:/ 'gold' (Tosk *ar*) << L *aurum*, Old Gheg *maaj* /ma:j/ 'May' << L *maius*. The difference between long and short vowels does not exist in the standard language.

Some unaccented initial vowels were lost by aphaeresis, and this process must have been very early, since it affected Latin loanwords, cf. Alb. *pa* 'without, before' < PIE *h₂epó (G *apó*, Goth. *af*), Alb. *mbi* 'on, upon' < PIE *h₂embhi 'around, about' (G *amphí*, OIr. *imm*), Alb. *blatë* 'wafer' << L *oblāta*, Alb. *kishë* 'church' << L *ecclesiā* (originally from Greek), Alb. *shemë* 'swarm (of bees)' << L *exāmen* 'swarm', Alb. *mik* 'friend' << L *amīcus*. The process must be later than the Tosk rhotacism of -n-, if Alb. *rosë* 'duck' is from PIE *h₂enh₂t-yeh₂ 'duck' (L *anas*, G *nēssa*, Germ. *Ente*, Russ. *útka*, etc.).

3.2.1. Short PIE vowels

The distinction between PIE long and short vowels was lost in Proto-Albanian (though a new quantitative opposition was partially restored at a later stage, see below).

PIE *(H₁)e > Alb. *je* in open syllables, cf. PIE *h₁es(s)i > Alb. *je* 'you are', PIE *h₁ep- 'take' (Hitt. *e-ep-zi* 'takes') > Alb. *jep* 'give'. In closed syllables (before -CC-) the outcome is *ja*, cf. PIE *g^whermo- 'hot' (G *thermós*) > Alb. *zjarm* 'fire'. Both of these changes must be dated after Early Proto-Albanian, because they also affect Latin loan-words, cf. *qiell* 'sky' << L *caelum*, *fjalë* 'word' << L *fābella*, *shalë* 'saddle' << L *sella*, *sharrë* 'saw' << L *serra*. In closed syllables before nasals and in all syllables after consonants followed by liquids (*Cl-, *Cr-) the reflex is Alb. *e*, cf. PIE *penk^we '5' (Sktr. *pāñca*) > Alb. *pesë*, PIE *d^hreg^h- 'run' (G *tréhkhō* 'run') > Alb. *dredh* 'turn'. In Alb. *vej* 'weave' < *webhnyō (PIE *webh- > Germ. *weben*, etc.), and in PIE *wes- 'to dress, put on clothes' > Alb. *vesh* (Skr. *vāste* 'wears', L *vestis* 'clothes') there was probably a dissimilation *jej > *ej*, hence we don't have *vjej 'weave' and *vjesh 'dress'. In some Latin loanwords Latin -e- is reflected as -i-, e. g. Alb. *grigj* 'herd, flock' << L *grege-*, Alb. *mëshirë* 'pity, mercy' << L *miseria* 'misery, wretchedness'. These might belong to a younger layer of Latin loanwords, from the period when short *e* and *i* were no longer distinguished in Vulgar Latin.

Before a nasal followed by a fricative, Alb. *e* > *i*, cf. Alb. *mish* 'meat' < PIE **mēmso-* (cf. Skr. *māṃsa-*, with a long vowel, and OCS *męso*, L *membrum* < **memsrom*, with short *e*). This change must be old, since Alb. *peshë* 'weight, stone' << L *pensum* was not affected.

Before two consonants and followed by *i*, PALb. **e* (of whatever source) becomes *i*, cf. Alb. *del* 'he exits', but *dilni* 'you (pl.) exit', likewise *heq* 'draw' but *hiqni*.

PIE **o* > Alb. *a*, cf. PIE **nokʷt-* > Alb. *natë* 'night', Alb. *darkë* 'dinner, evening meal' < PIE **dorkʷo-* (G *dórpon* 'id.'), PIE **morg-* 'frost' > Alb. *mardhë* (OCS *mrazъ*). In some early loanwords, Latin *o* is usually reflected as Alb. *u*, cf. L *cognātus* 'kinsman' >> Alb. *kunat* 'brother-in-law', L *lepore-* 'rabbit' >> Alb. *lepur*, L *molīna* 'mill' >> Alb. *mulli*, L *spodiu-* 'ashes' >> Alb. *shpuzë* 'ashes', perhaps L *fossa* 'ditch' >> Alb. *fushë* 'field'. In later loanwords, L *o* is preserved, cf. L *socius* 'companion' >> Alb. *shoq*, L *rota* 'wheel' >> Alb. *rrotë*, L *floccus* 'lock (of hair)' >> Alb. *flok* 'hair'. Word-initial Latin *o-* receives a prosthetic *v-*, cf. Alb. *vepër* 'work' << L *opera*, Alb. *verbër* 'blind' << L *orbis* 'deprived of'; Alb. *i varfër* 'poor' << L *orphanus* 'orphan' (<< G *orphanós*) and *vaj* (Gheg *voj*) 'oil' << L *oleum* are probably loanwords from a later period.

PIE **a*, to the extent that there was such a vowel in the proto-language, is represented as Alb. *a*, and laryngeals in the syllabic position also yield Alb. *a*: PIE **kap-mi* or **kh₂p-mi* 'I hold' (L *capiō*, OHG *haban* 'have') > Alb. *kam* 'I have' (note the similar semantic development 'hold' > 'have' as in Germanic), cf. also Alb. *bathë* (pl.) 'broad beans', which seems identical to G *phakós* 'lentil', but the reconstructed form **bhak'o-* contradicts the rules of PIE root structure, so it was probably borrowed from some substratum language. Latin *a* (in loanwords) is also preserved in Albanian, cf. Alb. *frashër* 'ash-tree' << L *fraxinus*, Alb. *kalë* 'horse' << L *caballus*.

PALb. **a* often becomes *e* in loanwords cf. L *canem* 'dog' >> Alb. *qen*, *calice* 'chalice' >> Alb. *qelq*, *gallus* 'cock' >> *gjel*. One should bear in mind that Alb. *a* (from PIE **o*, **h₂e*) can be umlauted to *e* before **i* and **t* in the following syllable (which is often lost). This often happens in the plural, cf. Alb. Nom. sg. *plak* 'old man', pl. *pleq*, or *natë* 'night', pl. *net* 'nights' < **naktis* < PIE **nokʷtes*. Sometimes forms with umlauted *e* are synchronically singulars, but originally plurals, so that Proto-Albanian **a* vocalism should be reconstructed in the root, e. g., Alb. *rreth* (pl. *rrathë*) 'circle' < PALb. pl. **rrathi* (Skr. *rathá-* 'chariot', L *rota* 'wheel'). This process of substituting the plural form for the singular is quite frequent in Albanian, and is called *singularization*.

3.2.2. Long PIE vowels, PIE **i* and **u*

PIE **ē* and **eh₁* > Alb. *o*, cf. PIE **meh₁(kʷe)* > Alb. *mos* 'prohibitive particle', PIE **g'hēsr* 'hand' (Hitt. *kiššar*, G *kheír*) > Alb. *dorë* (via a secondary *a*-stem **g'hēsreh₂*), PIE **dheh₁keh₂* > Alb. *dokë* 'custom, habit', G *thékē*, PIE **leh₁d-* 'be tired' (G *lēdeîn*, L *lassus* < **lh₁d-to-*) > Alb. *lodhem* 'am tired', PIE **pēd-su* (Locative pl. of **ped-* 'foot', cf. L *pēs*) > Alb. *për-posh* 'under' (*për-* is a prefix). Latin *ē* is reflected as Alb. *e* in most loanwords, e. g. Alb. *qetë* 'quiet' << L *quiētus*, Alb. *femër* (Gheg *femën*) 'woman, female' << L *fēmina*, probably also in *vrrer* 'gall, bile' << L *venēnum* 'poison'. In *bishë* 'wild beast' << L *bēstia* and *kishë* 'church' << *ecclēsia*, Alb. *e* was umlauted to *-i-* because of the

high vowel in the following syllable. In *tjegull* 'brick' (from L *tēgula*) Lat *ē* is reflected as Alb. *je* (as the reflex of original short *e*).

PIE **ō*, **eh*₃, and **oh*₁ > Alb. *e*, cf. PIE **yeh*₃s- (G *zōnē*, Lith. *júostas* 'girt') > Alb. *ngjesh* 'I gird' (*n-* is from a prefix **en-*), PIE **nōs* 'we' > Alb. *ne*, PIE **peh*₃lo- 'foal' (G *pōlos*, Goth. *fula*) > Alb. *pelë* 'mare'. This change appears to be Late PALb. since it affects Latin loan-words, cf. Alb. *tmerr* 'fear' << L *timōre-*, Alb. *arsye* 'reason' << L *ratione*, *pemë* 'fruit, fruit-tree' << L *pōmum*, perhaps also *herë* 'time' << L *hōra* (the word-initial *h-* in this word is dubious, since it was no longer pronounced in Latin by the time contacts with PALb. were possible) and *plep* 'poplar' (if it was borrowed, with metathesis, from L *pōpulus*, rather than from a common substratum). In a few (possibly younger) loanwords, Alb. has *u* for Latin *ō*, cf. Alb. *ut* 'owl' << L *ōtus* 'horned owl', Alb. *urdhër* 'order' << L *ordine-*, and word-finally before nasals the reflex is Alb. *ua* (e. g. Alb. *kapua* 'rooster' << L *cāpōne-*, Alb. *fajkua* 'falcon' << L *falcōne-*).

Latin unaccented *ō* and *o* (especially in the later layer of loanwords) are reflected as Alb. *u*, cf. *uroj* 'wish, congratulate' << L *orāre* 'pray', *kujtoj* 'think' << L *cōgitō*, *urdhër* 'order' << L *ordine*, *kuptoj* 'understand' << L *computō* 'compute', *kuvend* 'discussion, assembly' << L *conventum*.

PIE **eh*₂ (> **ā*) > Alb. *o*, cf. PIE **meh*₂tēr 'mother' > Alb. *motër* 'sister'. The semantic shift is unusual, as Albanian is the only IE language in which the reflex of PIE **meh*₂tēr means anything but 'mother'.³ Alb. *mollë* 'apple(-tree)' can be from PIE **meh*₂lo-, parallel to G *mēlon*, but it is more probable that both the Albanian and the Greek words for 'apple' were borrowed from some unknown substratum. Since both Pre-Albanian **ā* and **ē* are reflected as Alb. *o*, one usually assumes that these vowels merged as **ɔ* in Proto-Albanian. Latin *ā* in loanwords is mostly reflected as Alb. *a* (e. g. Alb. *natyrë* 'nature' << L *nātūra*, Alb. *shtrat* 'bed, layer' << L *strātum*) and this vowel, like original Alb. *a*, can be umlauted to *e*, e. g. in *pushtet* 'power' << L *potestāte-*, Alb. *lter* 'altar' << L *altārium*.

PIE **u* is reflected as *u*, cf. Alb. *nusë* 'daughter-in-law', originally 'bride' < **nubhtyeh*₂ (cf. L *nubo* : *nupta*); note, however, that it has been claimed that this is a loan-word from Latin (*nepōtia* with **tj* > Alb. *s*, cf. also Croat. dial. *nepuča* 'bride' from the same source). Another example is Alb. *punoj* 'work' < PIE *(s)pud-n- (G *speúdō* 'hurry', Lith. *spáudžiu* 'press', with the e-grade and o-grade, respectively). Alb. *dru* 'tree, wood' may be from **druwo-* (cf. OCS *drъva* 'wood'). Word-initial *u-* is preserved in *uri* 'hunger' < **un-* (Gheg *un*) < **unh*₁- (zero-grade of **wenh*₁- > OHG *wunscen* 'wish', Skr. *vánate* 'desire'). In Latin loanwords, *u* mostly remains, cf. Alb. *musht* 'must, new wine' << L *mustum*, Alb. *kunj* 'peg, wedge' << L *cuneus*), but in a few words (probably borrowed at a later stage), Albanian has -o- for L -u-, cf. Alb. *troftë* 'trout' << L *tructa*. We also find *ë* before resonants (e. g. *nëmëroj* 'number' << L *numerāre*) and *y* in *kryq* 'cross' << L *cruce-* (in this word, -u- was probably lengthened in Vulgar Latin under accent in an open syllable).

PIE **i* remains, cf. Alb. *ditë* 'day' < **di-ti-* (cf. OCS *дѣнь* < **di-ni*), *i lig* 'bad' < **h*₃ligo- (G *olígos* 'small'), Alb. *pishë* 'pine-tree' < **piks-* (L *pīnus* < **pik-sno-*, cf. L *pix* 'pitch'). Another possible, but uncertain example is Alb. *hi* 'ash', which may be from **skineh*₂ (with s-mobile), if it is cognate with L *cinis* (likewise, Alb. *gji* 'breast' (Gheg *gji*) might be parallel to L *sinus* 'curve, fold' < **sino-*). In Latin loanwords, *i* mostly remains (e. g. in *iriq*

³ Perhaps *motër* is actually from a derivative **meh*₂triyeh₂ 'having the same mother' (cf. L *mātrius* 'mother's, maternal').

'hedgehog' << L *ēricus*, *ishull* 'island' << L *insula*), but in some, it is represented as Alb. *e*, cf. Alb. *fe* 'faith' << L *fide-*, Alb. *ves* 'bad habit' << L *vitium*, Alb. *meshë* << L *missa* (since these are terms relating to Christianity, this may be a younger layer of loanwords).

*uH seems to give Alb. *i*, at least in monosyllables, cf. Alb. *mi* < *muHs 'mouse', *ti* < *tuH 'you', *tani* 'now', if it is from *to-nū < *to-nuH (OCS *nyně* 'now'), *thi* 'pig', if it is dissimilated from *sūs < *suHs (Skr. *sū-*). It seems likely that *i* here developed from earlier *ū (= Alb. *y*) still preserved in polysyllabic *shtyllë* 'pillar' < PIE *stuHlo- (G *stýlos*). Perhaps *uH > Alb. *u* after *y, cf. *yuH- 'you (pl.)' > Alb. *ju* (cf. Lith. *jūs*, Skr. *yūyám*). However, the resemblance of Alb. *ju* and PIE *yuH- could also be misleading, since *y- is usually reflected as *gj-* in Albanian, so some scholars (Pedersen, Huld) prefer to connect Alb. *ju* to PIE *we- seen in L *vōs*, OCS *vy*. In Latin loanwords, *ū* is reflected as *y*, cf. Alb. *brymë* 'frost' << L *brūma* 'cold, frost', Alb. *myll* 'mule' << L *mūlus*. In Alb. *duroj* 'to be patient' << L *dūrāre* and *rrugë* 'street' << L *rūga* the reflex is *u* (these are probably chronologically later loans).

It is difficult to find original instances of *iH in Albanian. The most often quoted example, Alb. *pi* 'drink', probably involves laryngeal metathesis (PIE *peh₃i- ~ zero-grade *ph₃i- > *pih₃-, cf. OCS *piti* 'drink'), and is not altogether reliable. A better example might be Alb. *sillë* 'breakfast', if from PIE *k^wiH₁-leh₂ (Goth. *hweila* 'time, while', OCS *čilь* 'merry'), if the original meaning was 'pause, relaxation'. In Latin loanwords *ī* is reflected as Alb. *i*, cf. Alb. *lil* 'lily' << L *lilium*, *shpirt* 'spirit' << L *spiritus*, Alb. *ijë* 'hip, flank' << L *īlia* 'groin, flank'. In some, perhaps late loanwords, the reflex is -e- (e. g. Alb. *gjer* 'dormouse' << L *glīre-*).

Albanian *y* comes regularly from the sequence *wi* (and is spelled as *ui* in Early Albanian, e. g. in Buzuku's works), cf. *qytet* 'city' << L *cīvitātem* (Acc.). Alb. *y* can also be the regular outcome of L *ū* in loan-words, cf. *pyll* 'forest' < *padule << L *palūdem* 'swamp (acc.)', *brymë* 'icicles' < *brūma*, Alb. *fryt* 'fruit' < L (pl.) *frūctūs*, etc.

Alb. *ë* is a reduced vowel, which usually occurs in non-syncopated pretonic, and non-apocopated post-tonic syllables, regularly before nasals and liquids followed by stops. It is common in Latin loanwords, e. g. Alb. *këndoj* 'sing' << L *canto*, *cantāre*, *tërboj* 'enrage' << *turbo*, *turbāre*. It also occurs in the first syllable of some native words, regularly before a nasal followed by a consonant, cf. *dhëmb* 'tooth' < *g^hombhos (G *gómphos* 'comb'), *ëndërr* 'dream' < *h₃nro- (cf. G *ónar*, *óneiros*).

Common Albanian had nasal vowels, which are preserved in Gheg, but are lost in Tosk dialects (and in the standard language). They developed in syllables closed by nasals (which were sometimes lost afterwards, especially in Auslaut), e.g. Old Gheg *zǎ*, *zǎni* 'voice' (Tosk *zë*, *zëri*, with *-n- > *r* by Tosk rhotacism) < *g^hwonos (OCS *zvонъ* 'sound, ringing', Arm. *jayn* 'voice'), or L *līnum* 'linen' >> Old Gheg *lī* (Tosk. *lī*, *liri*), Old Gheg *drū* 'wood' < *drunV- (OCS *drъva*), PIE *penk^we '5' (L *quinque*) > Old Gheg *pēsë* (Tosk. *pesë*).

PIE	Albanian
*a, *h ₂ e, *H (in the environment *CHC)	a (e by Umlaut and after velars)
*e, *h ₁ e	je, e (i by Umlaut, before nasals etc.)
*o, *h ₃ e	e
*eh ₂	*ɔ > o
*ē, *eh ₁	*ɔ > o

*ō, *eh ₃	e
*ī	i
*īH > *ī	i
*u	u, (y by Umlaut)
*uH > *ū	i

TABLE 1: The reflexes of PIE vowels in Albanian (in non-final accented syllables)

3.3. PIE Diphthongs in Albanian

The outcome of PIE diphthongs is another source of dispute in the historical phonology of Albanian. The following seem to be the most reliable etymologies:

PIE *ey > Alb. *i*, cf. *dimër* (Gheg *dimën*) ‘winter’ < PIE *g’heymōn (G *khīōn*), perhaps also Alb. *pidh* ‘vagina’ < *peysdo- (Russ. *pizdá*, OPr. *peisda* ‘arse’).

PIE *oy > Alb. *e*, cf. *shteg* ‘path’ < *stoygho- (OCS *stъza* ‘id.’ < *stigheh₂), *be* ‘faith’ < *bhoydeh₂ (L *fidēs* < *bhid-), *verë* (Gheg *venë*) ‘wine’ < *woyno- (G *oīnos*, L *vīnum*).

The outcome of *h₂ey (*ay) is uncertain. If *keq* ‘bad’ can be connected to L *caecus* ‘blind’, Goth. *haihs*, OIr. *cáech*, it would appear that *ay > e (but this adjective has also been related to G *kakós* ‘bad’ < *kak-, perhaps from the root of L *cacāre* ‘defecate’); similarly, *edh* ‘goat’, if compared to G *aíks* (Gen. sg. *aigós*) points to *h₂eyg’- (but this word is likely to be a borrowing from a non-IE source). In Latin loanwords, *ae* is reflected as Alb. *e*, e. g. in *pre* ‘booty’ << L *praeda* and *grek* ‘Greek’ < L *graecus*; however, *ae* was probably pronounced as /e/ in Latin already in the 1st century A. D.

It has been argued that all three u-diphthongs (*h₂ew > *aw, *ow and *ew) merged as Proto-Alb. *au > Alb. *a*. This *a* was then often changed to *e* by Umlaut. This would appear to be the case in Alb. *hedh* ‘throw’ < *hadhi- < *skewd-eye- (OE *scēotan* > E *shoot*). Alb. *ag*, *agim* ‘dawn’ might be from *h₂ewg-, but its relation to G *augē*, OCS *jugъ* ‘south’ is far from clear. If *ter* ‘bull’ is not a loan-word from Latin, as Haarmann (1972) thinks, but a native word corresponding to L *taurus*, G *taurós*, OIr. *tarb*, then it shows the development *-aw- > -e- (but *e* may have been generalized from the plural *tauri > *tari > *teri, by Umlaut). In any case, the development of *au > *a* can be seen in some Latin loanwords, e.g. in *gaz* ‘joy’ << L *gaudium*, Alb. *pak* ‘few’ << L *paucu-*, Alb. *ar* ‘gold’ << L *aurum*.

At least word-initially, *h₂ew and *h₂ow would seem to yield Alb. *ve-*, cf. Alb. *vesh* ‘ear’, which is from PIE *h₂ews- ‘ear’ (L *auris*) and Alb. *vetë* ‘self’, if it is related to G *autós* ‘id.’ (from ?*h₂ewto-). Alb. (Tosk) *ve* (Tosk), *vo* (Gheg) ‘egg’ must be somehow related to (or borrowed from) L *ōvum*, OCS *j-aję* (PIE *h₂ōwyom, a vrddhi to *h₂owis ‘bird’). The contemporary forms appear to be contractions from *voe* attested in Blanchus’ dictionary in 1635.

There are a few diphthongs in Albanian, whose origin is very dark, e. g., *ye*, which occurs mostly in plurals, and appears to be due to some kind of compensatory lengthening, e. g., *dyer*, pl. of *derë* ‘door’ < *dhwōr-, or *krye* ‘head’. There is also the so-called “broken vowel”, *ua*, which is represented as *uo* in the early writers (Buzuku, Budi). In Gheg dialects this diphthong is either monophthongized to *ū*, or pronounced as *ue*

(NE Ghëg). It occurs in some irregular plurals (*duar*, pl. to *dorë* 'hand') and in some difficult forms (e. g. *grua* 'woman', *buall* 'waterbuffalo bull' ? << L *būbalus*).

PIE	Albanian
*ey, *h ₁ ey	i
*ay, *h ₂ ey	e
*oy, *h ₃ ey	e
*ew, *h ₁ ew	a (or e?)
*aw, *h ₂ ew	a
*ow, *h ₃ ew	a, ?ve-

TABLE 2: PIE diphthongs in Albanian

3.4. Auslautgesetze

The development of vowels in final syllables in Albanian is difficult to ascertain. Here are some rules that seem to apply quite regularly:

PIE *o and *e are mostly lost, cf. n. sg. of o-stems, e. g. *wlk^wos 'wolf' > Alb. *ujk* (Skr. *vrkas*, OIr. *olc* 'bad' and 'Illyrian' names in *Ulc-*, *Olc-*, cf. Croat. *Ulcinj* from *Ulcinium*). However, in some cases (perhaps when accented?) *-os > *-ë, e.g. in *supnos 'sleep' (G *hýpnos*, OCS *спнъ*) > Alb. *gjumë*. Final *-om is preserved in the 1. sg. aor. *dhashë* < *dh₃-s-om 'I gave' and the neuters such as *ujë* < *udn-yom 'water'. The development of word-final *e in a closed syllable can perhaps be seen in the Nom. pl. of the consonant stems, e. g. PIE *nok^wtes 'nights' > *naktis > Alb. *net*.

PIE *eh₂ > *ā is retained as -ë in open syllables, but as -e in closed syllables, cf. Nom. sg. and pl. of ā-stems, e. g., *dritë* 'light' (Nom. sg.) < *drk'tā, *drite* 'lights' < *drk'tās.

PIE *i seems to be lost in open syllables, but preserved as -ë in closed syllables, cf. (in open syllable) *esmi > Alb. *jam* 'I am', *h₂elbhi 'barley' > Alb. *elb* (G *álphi*), (in closed syllable) *nok^wtis > Alb. *natë* 'night', perhaps also *penk^wtis 'five' > Alb. *pesë* (if this is not from PIE *penk^wtyeh₂).

PIE *ō (and *-oH) was probably narrowed to *-ū, as in Proto-Celtic, and then shared the outcome of PIE *-uH > *-ū > -i, cf. PIE *dwoH 'two' > PAlb. *dwū > *dwī > Alb. *dy* (since *wi* regularly yields *y*). By positing this change it is easy to account for the 1st sg. present ending in -i of verbs such as *di* 'I know', which comes from *-oh₂ > *-ō > -ū > -i. After vowels, this *i* was reduced to -j, cf. *kuptoj* 'I understand' < *kuptāō << L *computāre*.

Final *oy probably first developed to *e, just like any other *oy, then to *i, and then it was dropped, often causing umlaut in the preceding syllable, cf. Nom. pl. of the o-stems in *-oy (an old pronominal ending also seen in L *lupī*, Lith. *vilkaĩ* 'wolves'), e. g. *miq* 'friends' < *miki), Nom. pl. of *mik* << L *amīcus*. It is possible that accented final *-oy > -e was preserved, e. g. in the Nom. pl. *mote* 'times' < PAlb. *mātái (Nom. sg. *mot* < *mātas < PIE *meh₁-to-, from the root of OCS *měra* 'measure', L *mētior* 'to measure').

3.5. Laryngeals in Albanian?

The idea that at least one of the laryngeals was preserved in Albanian is due largely to Eric Hamp (1965). Hamp thought that PIE $*h_4$, which in his view colors $*e$ to $*a$, but disappears in Hittite, survives in Albanian as h . Indeed, there are some words in Albanian that contain an unexplained h -, but the etymologies offered by Hamp are rather poor (for a thorough criticism, see Ölberg 1972). The only universally acknowledged source for Albanian h -, however, is PIE $*sk$ -, cf. *hije* 'shadow' < $*sk'eh_2i$ - (G *skiá* < $*sk'ih_2$, Skr. *chayá*-), *hënë* 'moon' < $*sk'andnā$ (L *candor*), *hudhër* 'garlic', either related to or borrowed from G *skórodon*. Reconstructing the fourth PIE laryngeal to account for obscure Albanian words like *heq* 'draw, push', *hirrë* 'whey', *hundë* 'nose', and *hekur* 'iron', seems to me ad hoc. The only case where Alb. h - occurs in a word with clear IE correspondences and with an initial laryngeal is Alb. *herdhë* 'testicles', which is certainly cognate with G *órkhis* 'id.', OIr. *uirge* 'id.', and Lith. *eržilas*, *aržilas* 'stallion', and in this case the reconstructed laryngeal is PIE $*h_3$ or $*h_1$. The PIE word for 'testicle' should be reconstructed as $*h_3org'his$ or $*h_1org'his$, and Alb. $-e$ - is probably due to singularization of an original plural, so we should posit an original PALb. n. sg. $*hardh(ē)$. Although there do not seem to be any obvious counter-examples⁴ to a sound law $*h_{1/3}V$ - > Alb. hV -, one word is certainly not a solid basis for far-fetched conclusions. One should also mention that Alb. *rreth* 'circle', which is certainly related to L *rota* 'wheel', Skr. *rathá*- 'chariot' (PIE $*(H)roth_2o$ -) has an unexplained *th* rather than $*t$, which might point to a development $*tH$ > *th* in Albanian, but in view of the lack of further examples this remains a speculation (it has been argued that *-th* is a diminutive suffix).

Before resonants laryngeals disappear word-initially, cf. *ëndër* 'dream' < $*h_3nr$ - (cf. G *ónar*, Arm. *anuj*), *njeri* 'man' < $*h_2ner$ - (G *anér*), perhaps *emër* (Gheg *emën*) 'name' if from $*h_3nomn$ (G *ónoma*, Skr. *nāma*, etc.). It has been argued that initial *r*- rather than *rr*- (which is the usual reflex of PIE $*r$ word initially) in Alb. *rjep* 'catch' < $*h_1rep$ - (L *rapiō*, G *eréptomai*) might represent a special development of $*h_1r$ -, but this is very uncertain.

The reflexes of laryngeals after syllabic resonants are discussed below.

3.6. Resonants and glides

Resonants are generally preserved, unless one takes into account the Tosk rhotacism, by which $*-n-$ > $-r-$ between vowels.

PIE $*m$ > *m*, cf. Alb. *mal* 'hill' < PIE $*m|h_3dh$ - (OE *molda* 'forehead', G *blōthrós* 'high reaching'), Alb. *mjel* 'I milk' < PIE $*h_2melg$ - (G *amélgō*, L *mulgeo*, Eng. *milk*), *mjaltë* 'honey' < PIE $*melit$ - (G *méli*, *mélitos*; cf. also Alb. *bletë* 'bee' < $*mlVt$ -).

PIE $*n$ > *n*, cf. Alb. *nëntë* '9' < $*newn$ -ti-, PIE $*newn$ (L *novem*, Skr. *nāva*, etc.), Alb. *nye* 'knot', if related to L *nōdus* (it might be a Latin loanword). In Tosk, $-n$ - > $-r$ -, cf. Alb. *verë* 'wine' (Gheg *venë*) < $*woyno$ - (L *vīnum*). In Latin loanwords, n - remains, cf. Alb. *numër* 'number' << L *numerus*, but word-internally $-n-$ is affected by rhotacism (in Tosk), cf. Alb. *rërë* 'sand' << L *arēna*. Tosk rhotacism must have occurred before the 7th century,

⁴ Alb. *asht* 'bone' is more likely than not from PIE $*h_2osth_1$ -, like G *ostéon*, L *os*, *ossis*, and Hitt. *haštai*-. Note also that there are Albanian words with non-etymological h -, e.g. *hark* 'arch' < L *arcus*, *hyll* 'star' (besides *yll*), etc.; non-etymological h - also occurs in *herë* 'time' (if from L *hōra*, where h - was not pronounced after ca. 50 B.C.).

because it does not affect Slavic loanwords, cf. Alb. (Tosk) *zakon* ‘custom’ << OCS *zakonъ* ‘law’.

PIE *l > l, cf. Alb. *ligë* ‘bad’ < PIE *h₃ligo- (G *olígos* ‘few’), Alb. *lopë* ‘cow’ < *leh₃p- (Latv. *luõps* ‘cattle’). Word-initial l- in Latin loan-words is represented as ll- before back vowels (often including a), but as l- before front vowels, cf. *lepur* ‘rabbit’ << L *lepore*-, *ligje* ‘law’ << L *lēge*-, *lirë* ‘free’ << L *liber*, but *llaft* ‘talk’ << *laude*- ‘praise’, *llar* (besides *lar*) ‘laurel’ << L *lauru*-. Alb. ll is also the regular reflex of *l inter-vocalically, cf. Alb. *mollë* ‘apple’ < *meh₂lo- (L *mālum*), Alb. *llërë* ‘lower part of the arm’ < *alanā < *h₃elh₁-n- (G *ōlénē* ‘elbow’, L *ulna*).

PIE *r > r, cf. Alb. *rjep* ‘catch’ < *h₁rep- (L *rapīō*, G *eréptoma*), Alb. *dru* ‘tree’ < *drun-, PIE *doru-/dru- (Skr. *dāru*-), Alb. *grykë* ‘throat’ < *grīwikā, from the root of Skr. *grīvā* ‘mane’, Russ. *grīva* ‘id’. < PIE *grīHweh₂. Initial *wr- yields Alb. rr-, cf. Alb. *rrënjë* ‘root’ < *wrVd-n- (Olr. *frén*, G *rhíza* < *wridyā).

Word-initial r is usually represented as rr-, cf. Alb. *rreth* ‘circle’ < PIE *(H)roth₂-, with the vowel -e- instead of *-a- by “singularization” (the reflexes of original *o are attested in German *Rad* ‘wheel’, Skr. *ratha*- ‘chariot’, L *rota* ‘wheel’). This is also the case with Latin loanwords, cf. *rret* ‘net’ << L *rēte*, *rrotë* ‘wheel’ << L *rota*, *rrobull* ‘oak’ << L *robur*. If Latin r was preceded by a vowel, it is represented as Alb. r-, cf. *ranë* ‘sand’ << L *arēna*.

PIE *w > v, cf. Alb. *vej* ‘weave’ < *webhnyō (PIE *webh-ye- > Germ. *weben*, etc.), PIE *widheweh₂ ‘widow’ > Alb. e ve (Skr. *vidhavā*-, L *vidua*, Olr. *fedb*, etc.), PIE *wes-ye- ‘to dress, put on clothes’ > Alb. *vesh* (Skr. *vāste* ‘wears’, L *vestis* ‘clothes’, PIE *h₂wer- ‘raise’ (G *aeírō*, Lith. *veriù* ‘weigh’) > Alb. *vjerr* ‘hang’. In Latin loanwords, v- is preserved, cf. Alb. *va* ‘ford’ << L *vadum*, but it becomes f- before consonants, e. g. in *fqinj* ‘neighbour’ << L *vicīnus* (with -i- lost by syncope). Between vowels, -v- is lost in Latin loanwords and the vowels are contracted: if the second vowel was a, the result is the first vowel, e. g. in Alb. *arrij* ‘to arrive’ << L *arrivāre*, Alb. *arnoj* ‘to mend’ << L *renovāre*; if the second vowel was i, *ui yielded Alb. y, e. g. in *qytet* ‘city’ << L *cīvitāte*-, Alb. *gjykoj* ‘to judge’ << L *iūdicāre*.

PIE *y > Alb. gj, cf. Alb. *n-gjesh* ‘gird’ (Skr. *yās*- ‘girt’, OCS *po-jasъ*), Alb. *gjuaq* ‘hunt’, if related to Germ. *jagen*. Alb. gj- is the only assured reflex of PIE *y, and the change is confirmed by Latin loanwords, cf. Alb. *gjykoj* ‘judge’ << L *iūdicāre*. Some linguists think that there is another possibility, namely PIE *y > Alb. z, cf. Alb. *ziej* ‘boil’ < PIE *yes- (G *zéō* ‘boil’, OE *giest* ‘foam, yeast’), or Alb. *i zi*, fem. *e zezë* ‘black’ (fem.), as if from *yeh₃dyeh₂-, cf. Lith. *júodas* ‘black’. The usual source of Alb. z- is *dy-, cf. *zanë* ‘fairy’ << L *Diana*, perhaps also *g’hw (e. g. in *zë* ‘voice’ < *g’hwon-, OCS *zvонъ* ‘sound, ringing’, Arm. *jain* ‘sound’).

PIE	Albanian
*m	m
*n	n (> r between vowels in Tosk)
*l	l, ll (medially and before back vowels)
*r	rr-, -r-
*y	gj
*w	v

TABLE 3: PIE resonants and glides in Albanian

3.7. Syllabic resonants

The traditional view is that PIE syllabic *r, *l > Alb. *ri*, *li*. These reflexes would be similar to the reflexes in Celtic, at least before stops. However, if a laryngeal follows, *rH > Alb. *ar*, *lH > Alb. *al*. Here are some examples:

PIE *R:

Alb. *drithë* 'grains' < PIE *g'h₁rd- (L *hordeum* 'barley', NHG *Gerste*), Alb. *krimb* (Gheg *krymb*, with regular change of *i* > *y* before labials) 'worm' < PIE *k₁rmi- (Skr. *kṛmi*-, Lith. *kirmis*); the relation of this word to L *vermis* and Eng. *worm* is unexplained. Alb. *plis* 'felt' < *p₁ldV- (Eng. *felt*, German *Filz* < *peld-).

After *w, *RC > *uRC, e.g. in *ujk* 'wolf' < *w₁k^wo- (OCS *vьkъ*, Skr. *vṛka*-).

PIE *RH:

Alb. *i bardhë* 'white' < PIE *bh₁rHg'o- (Skr. *bhrājate* 'glows', Goth. *bairhts* 'bright'), Alb. *i parë* 'first' < *prh₃wo- (Skr. *pūrva*-, OCS *prъvъ*), Alb. *mal* 'hill' < PIE *m₁lHdho- (Skr. *mūrdhan*- 'head'), Alb. *valë* 'wave' < PIE *wlHnis (Lith. *vilnìs* 'id.', Russ. *volná*); the presence of laryngeal in this root is shown by the intonation of Latv. *veļt* 'walken').

There are, however, problems with the traditional view. Namely, in several cases PIE *r appears to yield Alb. *ar* where a following laryngeal cannot be reconstructed, cf. Alb. *arí* 'bear' < PALb. *ar (-í is a productive suffix) < PIE *h₂r₁tk'o- (Hitt. *hartagga*-, G *árktos*, L *ursus*, OIr. *art*), Alb. *ardhur*, pple. of *vij* 'come' < *h₁r₁g'h- (G *érkhomai*, OIr. *regaid* 'will go'). Unless one wants to blame this irregularity on the initial laryngeal, we can claim that, at least word-initially, PIE *r > Alb. *ar*. Alb. *rrit* 'I rear', *rritem* 'I am growing', which Meyer relates to Skr. *rdhnāti*, *rdhāti* 'prosper, succeeds' is not a counter-example: Mayrhofer relates Skr. *rdhāti* to G *álthomai* 'grow, succeed', which seems plausible, and Alb. *rrit* can easily be from PIE *wert- 'to turn' (Skr. *vártate*, L *verto*, etc.), with the loss of initial *w- before *-r-.

We would also expect word-initial *l to give Alb. *al*-, but there are no examples. If Alb. *liqe*, Tosk *liqér* 'lake' is the same word as L *lacus*, G *lākkos*, OCS *loky* 'pond' (PIE n. sg. *lokus, gen. sg. *lkwes), it would appear that *l- > Alb. *li*-. A special problem is Alb. *grurë* (Gheg *grunë*) 'wheat', which should be somehow related to L *grānum*, Goth. *kaurn*, OCS *zrъno* < PIE *g₁rHno-. We could posit a change *ar > ru after velars, but then Alb. *gardh* 'fence, hedge' must be considered a (?Germanic) loan-word (cf. Goth. *gards* 'house, yard', Lith. *gaĩdas* 'enclosure, fortified town'). Similarly, if *shurrë* 'urine' is from *sk₁neh₂ (see below), its vocalism would be irregular, but a similar development of *r > ur after a velar is attested in *gur* 'stone' < PIE *g^wrH- (OCS *gora* 'mountain', Skr. *gíri*- 'mountain'). Finally, in Alb. *plak* 'old man' we have the development of *C₁HC > *ClāC, since this word is plausibly relatable to Lith. *pilkas* 'grey' < PIE *plh₂-k- (the laryngeal is assured by Lithuanian accent).

For syllabic *m and *n there are very few reliable examples. It appears that we have *n > a in Alb. *gjas* 'be similar' if this is derived from *gh₁nd- (OCS *ględati* 'look'), and, likewise, *i shtatë* 'seventh' can be from PIE *septmto- (OHG *sibunto*). Alb. *mat* 'shore' is plausibly

derived from PIE *m_{nto}-, in which case it is related to L *mōns* ‘mountain’, and Alb. *avull* ‘steam’ can be from *nbh-l- and related to L *nebula* ‘mist’ (with the full grade). Alb. *njoh* ‘recognize’ appears to be from *g_{nh₃}-sk’- (G *gignōskō*), but it is unclear whether the development *nh₃ > *nā > *no* is regular here (note that the same reflex is found in Italic and Celtic).

On the whole, my impression is that the last word has not yet been said about the reflexes of syllabic resonants in Albanian.

3.8. Consonants

3.8.1. Stops

PIE voiceless stops are generally preserved, cf. Alb. *pjek* ‘bake’ < PIE *pek^woh₂ (Skr. *pacati*, L *coquo*), Alb. *pi* ‘drink’ < PIE *peh₃i- (G *pínō*, Skr. *píbatī*), Alb. *ti* ‘you’ < PIE *tu(H) (Skr. *tuvam*, L *tu*, OCS *ty*), Alb. *katër* ‘4’ < PIE *k^wetwores (Skr. *catvāras*, G *téttares*; it has also been claimed that Alb. *katër* is a loan-word from L *quattuor*, because otherwise *k^w would have to yield *s in Albanian in this position), Alb. *nduk* ‘pull’ < *en-dewk- (L *dūco*). Voiceless stops are normally preserved in Latin loanwords, cf. Alb. *turp* ‘shame’ << L *turpis* ‘shameful, ugly’, Alb. *paq* ‘peace’ << L *pāce*-. For unknown reasons, in a few examples the initial voiceless Latin stops are voiced in Albanian: Alb. *dëshmoj* ‘to testify’ << L *testimoniāre*, Alb. *gjëmoj* ‘shout’ << L *clāmāre*, Alb. *gështenjë* ‘chestnut’ << L *castānea*, Alb. *bulbër* ‘street dust’ << L *pulvere*-. These are probably loanwords from dialectal Vulgar Latin (cf. the same phenomenon in Croat. *gustirna* ‘cistern’ << L *cisterna*).

PIE *k’ yields Alb. *th*, cf. PIE *k’er- ‘pea’ (L reduplicated *cicer*) > Alb. *thjerrë* ‘lentil’, PIE *k’ēns- ‘judge, think’ (L *cēnseo*) > Alb. *them* ‘say’.

Voiceless stops are voiced after nasals, cf. *ndej* ‘stretch out’ < *en-ten-yo- < PIE *tenH- ‘stretch’ (G *teínō*, L *tendo*, Skr. *tan-*), *prind* ‘parent’ << L *parente*, *mbrënda* ‘inside’ << L *per intu*, *qind* ‘100’ << L *centum*, Alb. *ungj* ‘uncle’ << L *avunculus*, Alb. *kundër* ‘against’ << L *contra*, *parmendë* ‘plow’ << L **apparamenta*. This change is late, since Early Albanian texts still have -*nt*-, -*mp*-, e. g. Von Harff’s dictionary has *nente* for ‘9’ and *nëntë* is still the standard form.

The development of PIE voiced and aspirated stops is somewhat unclear. It is certain that *bh > *b*, cf. Alb. *bjer* ‘bring’ (imperative) < PIE *bhere (Skr. *bhāra*, G *phére*, L *fer*). There are no convincing examples of reflexes of PIE *b in Albanian. The derivation of Alb. *det* ‘sea’ from PIE *dhewboto- (cf. OE *dēop* ‘deep’, OCS *dubokъ*, Lith. *dubùs*) is possible, but tells us little, since other voiced stops (including the reflexes of *bh) were also often lost between vowels. Deriving Alb. *mbush* ‘fill’ from *en-bun-s- and relating it with G *bynēō* ‘stop full’, OHG *pfošo* ‘sack’ is a mere possibility. Proto-Albanian *b and *d, from whatever source, are mostly lenited and then lost word-internally, even in loanwords, cf. Alb. *e ve* ‘widow’ < *widheweh₂ (L *vidua*, OCS *vъdova*), Alb. *fe* ‘religion’ << L *fidēs*, *fjalë* ‘word’ << L *fabella* (alternatively, from PIE *spel-, as in Goth. *spill* ‘story’), *luaj* ‘play’ << L *ludo*, *mjek* ‘physician’ << L *medicus*, *i lirë* ‘free’ << L *liber*. In some cases the consonants are preserved and the reasons for this may have to do with the rhythmical (and accentual) structure of the word (Vladimir Orel’s “Rhythmic rule”, which is possible,

but uncertain). The consonants are usually preserved in disyllabic Latin loanwords, e. g. in *modh* 'bushel' << L *modus* 'measure', etc.

PIE plain velars are preserved before back vowels (but palatalized before front vowels, see below): Alb. *kam* 'have' < PIE **kap-mi* (L *capio* 'catch, hold'), Alb. *lig* 'bad, ill' < PIE **h₃ligo-* (G *olígos* 'small', OCS *льгѣкъ* 'light, small', Alb. *shtagë* 'pole, stick' < PIE **stog-* (ON *stjaki* 'pole'), Alb. *mjegull* 'cloud' < PIE **h₃migh-l-* (G *omíkhlē* 'fog', OCS *mьгла*), Alb. *grykë* 'throat' < **grīwikā*, from the root of Skr. *grīvā* 'mane', Russ. *gríva* 'id'. < PIE **grīHweh₂*.

PIE labiovelars merged with the reflexes of plain velars before back vowels: Alb. *pjek* 'bake, cook' < PIE **pek^w-* (Skr. *pacate*, G *péssō*, L *coquo*, OCS *pekŏ*), Alb. *djeg* 'burn' < PIE **dheg^wh-* (Skr. *dáhati*, Lith. *degù*, OIr. *daig* 'fire'), perhaps also Alb. *gur* 'stone' < PIE **g^werH-* 'mountain' (Skr. *girí-*, OCS *gora*, Lith. *girià* 'wood').

It appears that reflexes of **g*' and **g*'*h* are different in Albanian, in which case aspirated and voiced stops were still distinct in PAIb. The regular reflex of **g*' is *dh*, whereas **g*'*h* is reflected as *d*:

PIE **g*'

Alb. *dhëmb* 'tooth' < PIE **g'ombhos* 'comb' (G *gómphos*, Lith *žarnbas*). Note the same change in meaning as in OCS *zъbъ* 'tooth'.

Alb. *dhëndërr* 'son in law, bridegroom' < **g'enh₁-* (Lith. *žentas*, Skr. *jñā́tí-* 'relative').

Alb. *i bardhë* 'white' < PIE **bhr̥Hg'o-* (Skr. *bhūrjā-* 'shining', also 'birch').

Alb. *mbledh* 'gather' < **en-leg'oh₂* (G *légō* 'speak', L *lego* 'read').

Alb. *madh* 'great' < PIE **meg'h₂* (Skr. *mahi*, G *méga*, L *mag-nus*).

Alb. *dhallë* 'buttermilk' < PIE (?) **g'h₂l-k-* (G *gála* 'milk')

Alb. *dhe* 'earth' is more probably related to G *gē* 'earth' (? < PIE *g'eh₂-y-*) than to OCS *zemlja* 'earth', L *humus* 'earth', etc.

PIE **g*'*h*

Alb. *dorë* 'hand' < PIE **g'hesr* (Hitt. *kiššar*, G *kheír*, Toch. A *tsar*)

Alb. *dimër* 'winter' < PIE **g'heym-* (G *kheímōn*, L *hiems*, OCS *zima*).

Alb. *drithë* 'grains' < PIE **g'hṛd-* (L *hordeum*, OHG *gersta*, perhaps also Arm. *garī*).

Alb. *ardhur*, pple. of *vij* 'come' < PIE **h₁rg'h-* (G *érkhomai* 'I shall go' = OIr. *regaid*). This is not a counter-example to the change **g*'*h* > *d*, since the change **d* > *dh* / *r*_ is regular and also affects Latin loan-words, cf. *urdhër* 'order' << L *ordine*. The same applies to Alb. *herdhe* 'testicles', which is from PIE **h₁erg'h-* (OIr. *uirgge*, G *órkhis*, Arm *orjik^c* < **h₁org'h-*). On the other hand, the etymology relating Alb. *dhjes* 'to defecate' to G *khézō*

'id.' and Skr. *hádati* 'id.' (from PIE *g'hed-y-) is problematic, since we would expect PIE *dy to be reflected as Alb. *z, not s.

Since the changes *g' > *dh* and *g'h > *d* seem assured, at least for the word-initial position, one would expect PIE *d to give Alb. *dh*, and *dh to give Alb. *d*. However, both *d and *dh give Alb. *d* almost without exception:

PIE *d

Alb. *dy* 'two' < PIE *duwoH (Skr. *duva*, G *dúo*, etc.).

Alb. *dru* 'tree' < *drun- (PIE *doru / *dru- > G *dóry*, Gen. sg. *dóuratos* < *dorwntos).

Alb. *ditë* 'day' < *ditV- (OCS *dnbъ*, L *diēs*).

Alb. *dem* 'small bull' < *domo- (Skr. *damya-* 'bull' OIr. *dam* < PIE *dom(H)-).

Alb. *dritë* 'light' < *drk'teh₂ (Skr. *drś-* 'see', G *dérkomaī*). This etymology is a bit weak on semantic grounds.

Alb. *djerr* 'wasteland' < *derno- (if related to G *deírō* 'peel', OCS *derā*).

Alb. *degë* 'twig, branch' < *dwoygho- (cf. E *twig*, NHG *Zweig*).

PIE *dh

Alb. *djeg* 'burn' < PIE *dheg^wh- (Skr. *dáhati*, Lith. *dėgti*). Alb. *ndez* 'kindle' < *en-dhog^wheyo- is a causative built to the same root, PIE *dhog^wheyoh₂ > L *foveo*).

Alb. *derë* 'door' < *dhwōr- (G *thýrā*, L *forēs*, Lith. *dvāras* < PIE *dhwōr / *dhurós).

Alb. *dje* 'yesterday' < PIE *dhg'hes (G *khthés*, L *here*, *heri* < *hesi, OEng. *geostra*).

Alb. *dele* 'sheep', if related to G *thēlus* 'feminine', L *fēlo* 'suck' (PIE *dheh₁i-l-).

Alb. *dal* 'go out', if related to G *thállō* 'bloom' (via the meaning 'sprout', from PIE *d^hh₂l-).

A very small number of words seem to have Alb. *dh* for PIE *d, and this occurs mostly word-medially. Since this is the expected outcome on structural grounds, the question arises whether these forms are relics, or do they show the results of a late development of *d* > *dh*. Here are the problematic forms: Alb. *dhjetë* '10' < PIE *dek'm (G *déka*, L *decem*, etc.), Alb. *dhi* 'he-goat', if it is related to NHG *Ziege*, Alb. *lodhem* 'am tired' < PIE *leh₁d- (G *lēdeîn*), and Alb. *dhashë* 'I gave', aorist to *jep* 'give' (PIE *deh₃- 'give' > G *dídomi*, L *do*, *dare*, etc.). It is easiest to explain these forms if one assumes that PIE word-medial *-d- yielded Alb. *-dh-* (before the merger of voiced and aspirated stops). In *dhjetë* 'ten' *dh-* is generalized from compound numbers, and in *dhashë* 'I gave' from forms with preverbs. Alb. *dhi* can have *dh* rather than *d by analogy with *edh* 'goat', which is probably the same word as Skr. *ajā-*, OPr. *wosee* 'goat' (PIE *h₂og'o-; the Albanian form implies a lengthened grade, PIE *h₂ōg'o-). There are no instances of Alb. *dh-* for PIE *dh-. Alb. *dhe* 'earth' should be derived not from PIE *dheg'hom (Hitt. *tēkan*, G *khthōn*, etc.), but is rather related to G (Hom.) *gaīa* 'earth', which is also of uncertain,

possibly pre-IE origin. Alb. *dhurōj* 'give, donate' is probably borrowed from L *donāre* (with Alb. *dh-* perhaps due to the analogy with prefixed verbs). If Alb. *udhë* 'path, way' is from PIE **ug'h-* (the zero-grade of **weg'h-* 'carry', as in L *veho*, Skr. *váhati*, cf. Germ. *Weg* 'path'), this shows that *d* from PIE **g'h* was also lenited to *dh*.

As noted above, Alb. *dh* is lost inter-vocally in most inherited words and in Latin loanwords, cf. Alb. *fe* 'faith' << L *fidēs* (from the same root as Alb. *be* 'oath'), *rruaj* 'scrape, shave' << L *rādō*. In Latin loanwords, this may also be due to the fact that *-d-* became a voiced dental fricative in certain dialects of VLat.

3.9. Three PIE series of gutturals in Albanian?

It has been claimed that the difference between the three PIE series of gutturals is preserved in Albanian before front vowels. This thesis, sometimes referred to as Pedersen's law (after the Danish linguist Holger Pedersen), is sometimes contested, but still supported by the majority of Albanologists (e. g. Hamp, Huld, Ölberg, Schumacher and Matzinger). In examining this view, one should bear in mind that it seems certain that there were at least two palatalizations in Albanian: the first palatalization, whereby labiovelars were palatalized to *s* and *z* before front vowels and **y*, and the second palatalization, whereby all the remaining velars (**k* and **g*) were palatalized to *q* and *gj*, respectively, in the same environment. PIE palatalized velars are affected by neither palatalization (they yield Alb. *th*, *d*, *dh*, cf. Alb. *them* 'I say' < **k'ēns-*, cf. Skr. *śāms-* 'praise', L *cēnseo* 'reckon' < **k'ēns-*), Alb. *thjermë* 'grey' < **k'ermo-* (Lith. *širmas* 'grey').

3.10. The first palatalization

By the first palatalization, PIE **k^w* > *s* and PIE **g^{w(h)}* > *z* before front vowels. This is often referred to as "Pedersen's law"

PIE **k^weloh₂* 'I turn' > Alb. *sjell* 'bring, fetch, turn', G (Hom.) *pélō* 'turn, move, become', PIE **meh₁-k^we* > Alb. *mos* (prohibitive particle), cf. G *mé-te*, PIE **k^wi_h1* 'how' > Alb. *sí*, PIE **g^whermos* 'heat' > Alb. *zjarr*, *zjerm* 'fire', G *thermós* 'hot' Arm. *jěrmn* 'fever', PIE **g^whwen-* 'sound' (OCS *zvonъ*) > Alb. *zë* 'voice'. Perhaps this process can account for Alb. *sy* 'eye', if it should be derived from an old dual **h₃k^wi_h1* (G Hom. *ósse*, OCS *oči* 'eyes'). Its *-y-* rather than **i* must somehow be analogical (perhaps the source of the analogy is the numeral *dy* 'two').

3.11. The second palatalization

This process, by which **k* > *q* and **g* > *gj* before front vowels, affects many Latin loanwords, e. g., *qershí* 'cherry' << *cerasiu-*, *qind* '100' < *centu*, *gjind* 'people' << *gente*, *shëgjetë* 'arrow' << *sagitta*, *qiqër* 'chick-pea' << *cicer*, *pëlqen* 'like' << *placet*. In some words (perhaps in a later stratum of loanwords), the result of palatalization of Latin *c* is Alb. *ç*, e. g. in *çimkë* 'bug' << L *cimice-*. Note that *ç* and *q* are often confused in dialects.

Since Alb. *gj* has several other sources (PIE **y*, **s*), its occurrence in native words is not unusual, but the occurrence of *q* in native words is, since this sound can be neither from PIE **k* (it would have changed to *th*) nor from **k^w* (it would have been palatalized to *s*).

Yet there are quite a few instances of *q* in Albanian that cannot be considered Latin loan-words, e. g. *qoj* ‘wake, rouse, lift’ (also spelled *çoj*), which seems to correspond to, but cannot be derived from, L *cieo* ‘set in motion’ (cf. also G Hom. *kíō* ‘go’, and *kinēō* ‘set in motion’, perhaps also Skr. *cyavate*). All these forms can be explained by positing a PIE root **keh₁i-*, with zero-grade (and laryngeal metathesis) **kih₁-*. Alb. *qeth* ‘cut, shear’ has been compared to Lith. *kertù* ‘id.’, but this equation has with some justification been put into doubt, since one would not expect **r* to be lost before *th* (see Çabej 1972: 144). On the other hand, the etymological connection of Alb. *gjej* (*gjenj* in dialects) ‘find’ and G *khandánō*, L *prae-hendo* (*praeda* ‘spoils’ < **prai-heda*), E *get* still seems fine to me⁵.

Moreover, PIE **k* seems to be preserved before PIE **ē*, which later changed to *o* in Albanian, cf. *kohë* ‘time’ which can be superimposed on OCS *časъ* ‘moment’. Note, however, that the Albanian form actually implies a feminine noun **kēsk’ā*, the Slavic form is from a masculine **kēsos*, and still in OPr. we have neuter *kīzman* ‘time’.

However few they are, instances of PIE plain velars in Albanian should be taken seriously, since there does not seem to be an easy way to get rid of them. Although many aspects of Albanian historical phonology remain unclear, this is by itself not an argument against Pedersen’s law. In order to refute it, one would have to devise a scenario in which 1. All of the Albanian native words with *k*, *g*, *q*, *gj* are from PIE words with labiovelars, or “desatemized” palatals (on which see below). 2. In all such words the reflexes of PIE labiovelars preceded back vowels during the period of the first palatalization, and 3., those back vowels were subsequently - analogically or otherwise - changed to front vowels. Since no such scenario seems to be forthcoming, the problem of the validity of Pedersen’s law must remain open.

3.12. Desatemization in Albanian

The development of PIE gutturals in Albanian is further complicated by the fact that PIE palatals seem to be regularly depalatalized before resonants **r* and **l*, if followed by back vowels⁶. Again, there are few examples of this change, but no counter-examples, which makes the rule convincing, e. g., PIE **smek’ru* ‘chin’ (Skr. *śmaśru-*, Lith. *smākras*, OIr. *smech*, perhaps also Hitt. *zamankur*) > Alb. *mjekër* ‘id.’; PIE **k’lu-* ‘hear’ (Skr. *śru-*, G *klyō*) > Alb. *quhem* ‘am called’; PIE **g’reh₂u-* ‘old woman’ (G *graūs*) > Alb. *grua* ‘woman, wife’ (but note that there is a different etymology of this word, relating it to G *gynē* ‘woman’); perhaps there was also de-palatalization before **n* (followed by a back vowel), cf. PIE **g’onu-* / **g’nu-* ‘knee’ (Skr. *jānu*, G *gónu*, L *genu*, Goth. *kniu*) > Alb. *gju*, def. *gjuni*, *gjuri*; however, it is possible that the development was from **g’nu-no-* to **g’lu-no-* (by dissimilation, cf. OIr. *glún* ‘knee’) and thence regularly to Alb. *gju*.

PIE	Albanian
<i>*p</i>	p
<i>*t</i>	t

⁵ However, another explanation is possible, though difficult, if one starts from **ghednyō*, which would regularly give **gjanj*, **gjaj* in Albanian. The problem is whether **-d-* was lost before or after **e > ja* in the closed syllable, and whether this in turn preceded or followed the second palatalization. The e-vocalism of the attested form should then somehow be analogical.

⁶ A similar rule applies in Balto-Slavic, see R. Matasović, *Poredbenopovijesna gramatika hrvatskoga jezika*, Zagreb 2008.

*k	k (> q by second palatalization)
*k'	th
*k ^w	k (> s by first palatalization)
*b	b (?)
*d	d (-dh-)
*g	g (> gj by second palatalization)
*g'	dh
*g ^w	g (> z by second palatalization)
*bh	b
*dh	d (-dh-)
*gh	g (> gj by second palatalization)
*g'h	d (-dh-)
*g ^w h	g (> z by second palatalization)

TABLE 4: PIE stops in Albanian

3.13. PIE *s

PIE *s gives *gj-* word-initially, cf. PIE *supnos 'sleep' (G *hypnós*, OCS *съпъ*) > Alb. *gjumë*, PIE *sok^wos 'sap, juice' (G *opós*, OCS *sokъ*) > Alb. *gjak* 'blood'. The change, which can be represented as *s > *ś > *ž > *gj*, must have been very early, since Latin borrowings regularly have Alb. *sh-* for L *s-*, cf. Alb. *shok* 'friend, comrade' << L *socius*, Alb. *shumë* 'much' << L *summum*, *shëndet* 'health' << L *sanitāte*-. The development of *s word-medially is unclear. It has been claimed that the outcome is *h*, as in *kohë* 'time', if from *kēso-, but Alb. *kohë* can also be derived from PIE *kēsk'o-, and the change *sk' > Alb. *h* is regular anyway. A case can be made for the development *s > *sh*, cf. Alb. Gen.-Dat.-abl. pl. (indefinite) -*ësh*, if it is from PIE *-oysu (Skr. -*eṣu*), and *mish* 'meat' < *mēso- < *memso- (OCS *męso*). In any case, Latin loan-words have -*sh-* word-internally for Latin -*s-*, cf. Alb. *rrëshinë* 'resin' << L *resīna*, Alb. *dëshiroj* 'want' << L *dēsiderāre*, Alb. *kafshë* 'thing, animal' << L *causa*, Alb. *peshk* 'fish' << L *piscis*. In Alb. *zhur* (besides *shur*) 'gravel' the word-initial *s-* was voiced (if the word is borrowed from L *saburra* 'sand ballast').

In sequences *s...s, the first sibilant is dissimilated to *th*, cf. Alb. *thi* 'pig' < PIE *suHs (L *sūs*, G *hŷs*), Alb. *thaj* 'to dry' < *sh₂ewso- (OCS *suxъ* 'dry', Lith. *saũsas*). It has been claimed that PIE *s- > *sh-* before unstressed vowels, cf. *shtatë* '7' < *septm (G *heptá*, L *septem*), *shi* 'rain' < *suH-(G *hýei* 'it rains'), but this is uncertain. A particular problem is presented by Alb. *shurrë* 'urine', which has been related to Hitt. *šēhur* 'id.', but which is more likely to be from something like *skrneh₂, and thus related to G *skōr*, *skatós* 'excrement' (a *r/n* stem).

3.14. Consonant clusters

In clusters involving two stops, the first stop is lost very early, cf. *natë* 'night' < *nok^wt-, *shtatë* '7' < *septm-ti, *tetë* '8' < *(H)ok'toh₁. In Latin loanwords, *pt and *kt yield *ft*, cf. L *luctor*, *luctāri* 'fight' >> Alb. *luftoj*, L *presbiter* (<< G *presbýteros*) 'priest' > *prepter >> Alb. *prift*, L *accipiter* 'kite, a kind of vulture' >> Alb. *qift*. In a younger layer of loanwords, Latin *ct* is reflected as Alb. *jt*, cf. L *dirēctu-* >> Alb. *drejtë* 'straight, right', L *pactāre* >> Alb. *pajtoj* 'to appease'. The cluster of two dental stops is reflected as *ss > *s*, cf. Alb.

pasë ‘had’ (suppletive participle of *kam* ‘have’) < *pot-to- (from the root of L *possum*, *posse*, *potuī* ‘can’ and Skr. *pāti-* ‘master’).

Clusters involving resonants are also simplified:

*g’n > *nj*, cf. *njoh* ‘know (a person)’ < *g’nh₃-sk’- (L *co-gnōsco* G *gignōskō*).

*kl > *q* (*kl* is preserved in some dialects and in Buzuku), cf. *quhem* ‘I am called’ < *k’lu-sk’- (Skr. *śru-* ‘hear’), L *ecclesia* ‘church’ > Alb. dial. *qishë* (Arbëresh).⁷ Alb. *q* is also the result of Latin *c* before front vowels, e.g. in *qytet* ‘town’ < *civitātem*, *faqe* ‘face’ < L *faciēs*. It may be that *th* (from PIE *k’) yielded *f* before a consonant, if Alb. *ënfle* ‘sleep’ is from *nthle < *n-k’loye- (cf. G *klínō* ‘recline’).

*gl > *gj*, cf. *gju* ‘knee’ < *g’nu- (Skr. *jānu*, G *gónu*), L *glandula* ‘gland’ > Alb. *gjëndër*, also *gjuhë* if it is a loanword from G *glōssa*. Early documents (Buzuku) and some dialects still have *gl*. In *njomë* ‘wet’ we can assume a nasal assimilation with *-m-* and development from *gjomë if this word is from the same root as OE *clām* ‘clay’, OCS *glina* ‘clay’ < PIE *gley-, cf. also G *glía* ‘clay’.

*dl > *gj*, perhaps in *gjatë* ‘long’, if it is from something like *d!Hgho- (*-të* is a suffix), cf. Skr. *dīrghá-*.

*dy > *z*, cf. L *Diāna* >> Alb. *Zanë* (a fairy), L *gaudium* >> Alb. *gaz* ‘joy’.

*ty > *s*, cf. PIE *d^heh₁-tyeh₂ ‘sucking one’ (L *fēmina*, OCS *dojiti*) > Alb. *dosë* ‘sow’; Alb. *pësoj* ‘suffer’ << L *patior*, Alb. *pus* ‘well, source’ << L *puteus* (via VL *putyu-).

*b(h)n and *pn > *mn > *m*, cf. *gjumë* ‘sleep’ < *supno- (G *hýpnos*), *amë* ‘river-bed’ < *abno- (L *amnis* ‘river’, OIr. *aub* < PIE *h₂eph₃ōn / Gen. sg. *h₂eph₃nes). The same treatment is found in the original cluster *-mn-* (also in Latin loanwords), e. g. *dëm* (Gheg *dam*) ‘damage’ << L *damnum*. In later, Slavic loanwords, one also finds *-mn-* > *-n-* (e. g. Alb. *pomnis* ‘honour’ << *pomniti, Bulg. *pomn’a*, OCS *помънѣти* ‘remember’).

*rd > *rdh*, cf. *pjerdh* ‘break wind’ < *perdo_{h2} (Skr. *párdate*, G *pérdomai*). Also in loanwords from Latin, cf. Alb. *verdh* ‘yellow’ << L *viride-*.

*lk > *jk*, cf. Alb. *ujk* ‘wolf’ < *wulko- < *wlk^wo- (Lith. *vilkas*, G *lýkos*); also in Latin loanwords, e.g. *fajkua* ‘falcon’ << L *falcōnem*, *bujk* ‘peasant’ << L *bubulcus*. The development in *shelg* ‘willow’ is unclear if this is borrowed from L *salix* (probably the cluster *-lk-* > *-lg-* arose at a later stage, after syncope).

*tn > *nd*, perhaps in *pend* ‘feather’ if from *pet-no- (OIr. *én* ‘bird’, Skt. *patra-* ‘wing’), rather than borrowed from L *pinna* ‘feather’; another derivative from the same root is presumably *shpend* ‘bird’ (with prefixal *sh-*).

*lw > *ll*, cf. Alb. *gjallë* ‘living’ < *solwo- ‘whole, safe’ (Skr. *sarva-*, G *hólos* ‘whole’).

*ly > *j*, cf. Alb. *popuj* < *populi (Nom./Acc. pl. of *popull* ‘people’ << L *populus*).

⁷ In the dialects spoken in Italy the unasimilated form *klishë* is also found. In Standard Albanian the form is *kishë*.

*rn > rr, cf. Alb. *verr* ‘alder’ < *werno- (Gaul. *verna* ‘alder’, OIr. *fern*), also in loan-words, Alb. *furrë* ‘oven’ << L *furnax*, Alb. *ferr* ‘hell’ << L *infernus*.

*ry > j, cf. Alb. *lepuj* < *lepuri (Nom. Acc. pl. of *lepur* ‘rabbit’ << L *lepore*-), Alb. *bij* ‘sons’ *biri (Nom. Acc. pl. of *bir* ‘son’).

*ny > nj, cf. Alb. *Vlonjat* ‘inhabitant of Vlorë < Valona; *nj* is often reduced to *j* in non-initial syllables, e.g. in *ujë* ‘water’ < *unjë < *udnyā (related to G *hýdōr*, *hýdatos*, Goth. *watō*, *watins*), Alb. *běj* ‘do’ < *banyō (Old Gheg *bânj*) < PIE *bheh₂- ‘show, shine’ (G *phainō* ‘appear’), Alb. *muaj* ‘month’ (Gheg *muej*) < *mēsn-yo- < *meh₁ns ‘month’ (L *mēnsis*, Skr. *mās*-, OIr. *mí*, Lith. *mėnuo*).

The developments of clusters involving *s are very complex. Here are some examples:

PIE *k’s > Alb. *sh*, cf. *sek’s_{ti}- ‘6’ > Alb. *gjashtë*, *ek’s_{tos}, *eg’h_{stos} ‘outside’ (G Loc. *ekhthōs*, OIr. *acht* ‘but’) > Alb. *jashtë*.

PIE *rs > Alb. *r*, cf. Alb. *ter* ‘to dry’ < *tōrs-eye- (L *torreo*).

PIE *ls > Alb. *ll*, cf. Alb. *kalli* ‘ear of grain’ < *kol-s- (Proto-Slavic *kolsъ ‘id.’ > OCS *klasъ*).

PIE *sk’ > Alb. *h*, cf. Alb. *ngroh* ‘to heat’ < *en-g^{wh}reh₁-sk’e- (OCS *grěti* ‘heat up’); Alb. *halë* ‘fish-bone, splinter’ < *skoleh₂ (Lith. *skalà* ‘stick of firewood’, Latv. *skala* ‘splinter’).

PIE *sp- > Alb. *f*, cf. *sporeh₂ ‘seed, that which is sown’ > Alb. *farë* (G *spóros*), perhaps *fruth* ‘measles’, if from something like *sprk’to- (Skr. *sprśni*- ‘speckled’, L *spurcus* ‘dirty’). It has also been claimed that *sp- > *shp*-, cf. *shpend* ‘bird’, which can be derived from *spetno-, with *s-mobile* (cf. *petno- > OIr. *én* ‘bird’).

PIE *st > Alb. *sht*, cf. PIE *stel- ‘place’ (Germ. *stellen*, OCS *stelja*) > Alb. *shtjell* ‘throw’, Alb. *kopsht* ‘garden’ < *keh₂p-sth₂o- (G *kēpos* ‘garden, orchard’, OHG *huoba* ‘a piece of land’).

PIE *sl > Alb. *ll*, cf. PIE *h₂us-li- ‘spark’ (OEng. *ysle*) > Alb. *yll* ‘star’ (also *hyll* with unexplained *h*-).

PIE *sw- > Alb. *v*-, cf. Alb. *vetë* ‘person, self’, perhaps from *swoy-to- (OCS *svojb* ‘own’, OPr. *swais*), unless related to G *autós* ‘self’, as mentioned above. A better example is PIE *swek’uro- ‘father in law’ (Lith. *šešuras*, OCS *svekrъ*, G *hekyrós*) > *vjehërr*. It has been suggested that word-initial *sw- yields Alb. *d*- when stressed, cf. Alb. *diell* ‘sun’ < *swel- (Skr. *svar*-), *dirtsë* ‘sweat’ < *swid-r- (Skr. *svedate* ‘sweats’), but this is uncertain, since too few examples of this putative change are found.

3. 15. Other consonants

Albanian consonants *ç*, *xh*, *zh* can mostly be derived from earlier clusters, but they are also very frequent in loan-words, especially from Turkish and also from Slavic, cf. Alb.

xhep 'pocket' << Tur. *cep* 'id.', *xhezve* 'small coffee pot' << Tur. *cezve* 'id.', *çoban* 'shepherd' << Tur. *çoban* 'id.' *çizme* 'boot' << Tur. *çizme* 'id.', *çudi* 'wonder' << Serb. *čudo* 'id.', *zheg* 'heat' << Serb. *žega* 'id.'. In some cases, Alb. *ç* is from earlier *š (written *sh* in Modern Albanian, e.g. *çmoj* 'estimate' < *shmoj << L *aestimo*). In *çoj* (aor. *çova*) 'lift, take to, wake up', which is abstracted from earlier *nçonj* (Buzuku, with the prefix *n-*), we may have the root found in *cy* 'drive' and *qoj* 'wake, rouse' if one assumes the development from *nq- to *nç-*. Alb. *zh* is also the result of the voicing of *sh* before voiced stops (e. g. in *vëzhgoj* 'observe' << L *vestigo* 'follow, track').

The consonants *c* and *x* are rather rare and occur in expressive words and those with obscure etymology, e.g. *xixë* 'spark', *caporre* 'cow with long horns', *mace* 'cat'. In some cases *c-* appears to be from *ds-, *ts- e.g. *ca* 'some' besides *disa* 'some' (by syncope), or *cep* 'edge' besides dialectal *step* 'edge' (metathesis). In the middle of the word, we have Alb. *eci* 'walk, run', which might be from PIE *h₂et-s- (from the root of Skt. *átati* 'goes' and L *annus* 'year' < *at-no-). Likewise, Alb. *cy* (2-3sg. pres. *cyt*) 'drive, impel' may be related to L *cio* 'move' and G aor. *ékie* 'started to move' if we assume that the Proto-Alb. form contained the prefix *dë- (as in *dëborë* 'snow' besides *borë* 'id.') and the dental suffix *-t- (from the past participle stem in *-to-?), i.e. that the development was from PIE *kyu-to- to Proto-Alb. *d-syu-t- and to Alb. *cy*. The consonant *x* sometimes comes from Romance palatalized velars, e.g. in *lexoj* 'read' (cf. Italian *leggere*), and it is also the regular outcome of Alb. *z* after *n* (ie. *nz > *nx*), e. g. in *nxeh*, *nxej* 'warm up' (with the prefix *n-* from the root of *zjarr* 'heat'), also in *nxit* 'urge, hurry' (besides *zit* 'hurry') if from PIE *g^{wi}H-t- (cf. L *vīvus* 'alive' E *quick* from the same root).

The consonant *f* is common in Latin loan-words (e. g. *fik* 'fig' << L *ficus*), *fijan* 'god-son' << L **filianus*), *fshat* 'village' << L *fossātum* '(place) surrounded by a ditch, *fossa*'), in which it also develops from *v*, *k*, *p* before dentals (*kafshë* 'animal' << L *causa* ('cause', but also 'thing'), *kofshë* 'hip' << L *coxa*, *aftë* 'capable' << L *aptus*). In native words, *f* is the regular reflex of *sp, e. g. in *farë* 'seed' < *spor- (G *sporá* 'seed').

4. Morphology

4.1. Nouns and adjectives

4.1.1. Noun

Noun has five cases (nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, and ablative) and two numbers (singular and plural). It also has a very complicated system of suffixed definite articles, so that for each noun has definite and indefinite declensional paradigms. Albanian nouns are either masculine or feminine, with a residual class of neuters denoting mostly mass nouns (e.g. *ujë* 'water', *mish* 'meat'). The PIE declensional types merged as o-stems (masculine and neuter), ā-stems (feminine), and i-stems (masculine and feminine) in Proto-Albanian.

Here are examples of indefinite paradigms:

o-stems; *shok* 'friend', *mal* 'mountain'

sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
NAcc. <i>shok</i>	NAcc. <i>shokë</i>	<i>mal</i>	<i>male</i>
GDAbI. <i>shoku</i>	GDAbI. <i>shokëve</i> , <i>shokësh</i>	<i>mali</i>	<i>maleve</i> <i>malesh</i>

ā-stems; *vajzë* 'girl'

sg.	pl.
NAcc. <i>vajzë</i>	<i>vajza</i>
GDAbI. <i>vajzaje</i>	<i>vajzave</i> , <i>vajzash</i>

Here are these nouns in the definite paradigms:

sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
N <i>shoku</i>	N <i>shokët</i>	<i>mali</i>	<i>malet</i>
Acc. <i>shokun</i>	Acc. <i>shokët</i>	<i>malin</i>	<i>malet</i>
GDAbI. <i>shokut</i>	GDAbI. <i>shokëve</i>	<i>malit</i>	<i>maleve</i>

sg.	pl.
N <i>vajza</i>	<i>vajzat</i>
Acc. <i>vajzën</i>	<i>vajzat</i>
GDAbI. <i>vajzës</i>	<i>vajzave</i>

There is also a residual class of old neuters, which are not inflected in the plural. They are inflected thus (*ftohtë* 'cold'): Nom./Acc. indef. (*të*) *ftohtë*, GD Abl. indef. *të ftohti*, Nom./Acc. def. *të ftohtët*, GD Abl. def. *të ftohtit*.

Since final syllables were mostly lost in PAlb., the PIE case-endings disappeared, with the possible exception of Loc. pl. *-su, which is preserved as (G-D-Abl. pl.) -sh, cf. Alb. *për-posh* 'under' < PIE *pēd-su (*për-* is a prefix), *tash* 'now' < PIE *to-su (Loc. pl. of the pronominal stem *to- 'this'). The ending GD Abl. sg. o-stems is -u after velars and -i elsewhere; this ending has been derived from the locative sg. of the o-stems *-ey, although the more common PIE ending was *-oy (OCS *vlъcě*, L sg. of *vlъkъ* 'wolf').

Nominative plural is formed very differently for different classes of nouns, cf. *mik* 'friend' ~ *miq*, *zog* 'bird' ~ *zogj*, *fshatar* 'villager' ~ *fshatarë*, *vajzë* 'girl' ~ *vajza*, *kujtim* 'memory' ~ *kujtime*, *bri* 'horn' ~ *brirë*, *lumë* 'river' ~ *lumenj*, *bir* 'son' ~ *bij*. Many nouns have completely irregular plurals, cf. *djalë* 'boy' ~ *djem*, *derë* 'door' ~ *dyer*, *ka* 'ox' ~ *qe*, *thes* 'sack' ~ *thasë*, *grua* 'woman' ~ *gra*, *natë* 'night' ~ *net*, *kalë* 'horse' ~ *kuaj*.

As can be seen from the examples, there are three types of plural formation, and in some nouns they are combined: a) addition of the suffix (*bri* 'horn' ~ *brirë*); b) change of the stem final consonant (*mik* 'friend' ~ *miq*), c) Ablaut (*grua* 'woman' ~ *gra*). Some nouns have the borrowed Turkish pl. ending -*llërë*, -*lläre* (< Turk. -*ler/-lar*, depending on vowel harmony), e.g. *baba* 'father' pl. *baballarë*.

The ablaut in the formation of plural in many nouns was caused by the adding of the suffix *-oy > *-e > *-i, which was subsequently lost, after causing palatalization of the preceding velar (e.g. *plak* 'old man' < *plako-, pl. *pleq* < *plaki). In some cases, this plural formation was influenced by other factors, e.g. in *gjarpër* 'snake', pl. *gjarpinj* we have an original n-stem, in which *r changed to n in the sg. (Tosk rhotacism).

Some nouns (both ā and o-stems) have a special vocative form, e.g. *nenë* 'mother', *burro* 'husband'; these were probably influenced by the Slavic vocatives of the ā-stems (OCS *ženo*, voc. sg. of *žena* 'woman').

4.1.2. Adjectives

The adjectives have masculine and feminine forms; the masculine and the feminine forms are often distinguished only by different forms of the article/connector (e. g. *i mirë* 'good' (m.) vs. *e mirë* 'good' (f.)); some adjectives have different forms for the m. and f. in the singular and in the plural, e.g. *i ndryshëm* 'different' (m.) vs. *e ndryshme* (f.), pl. *të ndryshëm* (m.) *të ndryshme* (f.).

Some adjectives, especially the borrowed ones and those composed of two roots, do not have the article/connector, e. g. *latin* 'Latin', *besnikë* 'true, loyal', *fatkeqe* 'unfortunate'.

The gradation of adjectives is analytic, as in other Balkan languages, e.g. *i madh* 'big', *më i madh se* 'bigger than', *i mirë* 'good', *shumë i mirë* 'the best' (with *shumë* 'a lot' << L *summum*).

4.2. Verbs

The history of the Albanian verbal system is largely unexplored. There are very few things about it that can be stated with certainty. Albanian verb has two numbers (sg. and pl.) and distinguishes three persons. It forms several tenses synthetically (present, past (aorist), and imperfect), and has many periphrastic tenses (future, future perfect, perfect, and pluperfect). It also has a rather developed system of moods (indicative, imperative, subjunctive, optative, and admirative).

4.2.1. The present tense

In principle, there are two major conjugations, thematic (*punoj* 'work', *vendos* 'decide') and athematic (*jam* 'am', *kam* 'have').

Examples of the present tense of athematic verbs:

<i>jam</i> 'am'		<i>di</i> 'know'		<i>jap</i> 'give'		<i>ha</i> 'eat'		<i>ka</i> 'have'	
sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
<i>jam</i>	<i>jemi</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>dimë</i>	<i>jap</i>	<i>jepim</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>hamë</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>kemi</i>
<i>je</i>	<i>jeni</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>dini</i>	<i>jep</i>	<i>jepni</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>hani</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>keni</i>
<i>është</i>	<i>janë</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>dinë</i>	<i>jep</i>	<i>japin</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>hanë</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>kanë</i>

The athematic endings more or less straightforwardly go back to the PIE athematic present endings: PIE *h₁esmi (Skr. *ásmi*) > Alb. *jam*, *h₁(e)smes > *jemi*, but the 3rd sg. *është* (Gheg *ásht*) contains an epenthetic *n (*ensti), presumably under the influence of 3pl. *janë* < *(e)senti. The origin of the 2pl. ending is disputed. Some linguists see it as agglutinated from the original *-te- (G -te) and the particle *nuH 'now' (G *nŷn*, OCS *nyně*).

Here are three thematic verbs in the present tense:

<i>punoj</i> 'work'		<i>laj</i> 'wash'		<i>vendos</i> 'decide, place'	
sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
<i>punoj</i>	<i>punojmë</i>	<i>laj</i>	<i>lajmë</i>	<i>vendos</i>	<i>vendosim</i>
<i>punon</i>	<i>punoni</i>	<i>lan</i>	<i>lani</i>	<i>vendos</i>	<i>vensosni</i>
<i>punon</i>	<i>punojnë</i>	<i>lan</i>	<i>lanë</i>	<i>vendos</i>	<i>vendosin</i>

The origin of several endings is quite unclear. In the 1sg., the athematic ending is from PIE *-mi (G *dí-dō-mi* 'I give', etc.), while the thematic ending presumably comes from *-o-m(i). In Buzuku's work, the 1. sg. ending (-onj) still retains the nasal. In some verb classes (e. g. in the class of the verb *vendos*) it is possible that the original PIE thematic ending *-oh₂ (L -ō, G -ō in L *ferō*, G *phérō* 'I carry') was initially preserved and then lost by apocope. In the 2nd person singular the ending was lost, but it must have had a front vowel causing the Umlaut (e. g. 1 sg. *flas* 'I speak' < *fabel-at-yō, but 2 sg. *flet* 'you speak' < *fabel-at-e-s(i)); the ending -e-s(i) can be compared to L -i-s (e. g. in *legis* 'you speak' < *legesi). In the 1st person plural, -më is probably from -mos(i) or -mes(i), while the 2nd plural ending -ni must be an Albanian innovation. In Old Albanian 2pl. ending -i is found, so -n- is probably analogical, taken from the verbs derived with the suffix -ne- (e.

g. 2pl. *lan-i* 'you wash' was reanalysed as *lan-ni* and then the ending *-ni* spread to verbs such as *flas* 'speak' (2pl. *flitni*). The origin of the ending *-i* is unclear. It is also preserved in the 2 pl. optative *-fsh-i*, e. g. *qofshi* 'may you be!' Finally, the 3pl. ending *-në* is probably derived from PIE **-nti* (it can be compared to L *legu-nt* 'they read' < **legonti*).

Several verbs form nasalized present stems, e.g. *bind* 'to convince' < **b^heyd^h-* (G *peíthomai*), *tund* 'to move, stir' < **tud-* (L *tundo* 'strike', Skr. *tudáti* 'hit'). In some cases these presents are preserved as Alb. present stems in *-j-* < **nj*, e.g. *gjej* 'find' < **ghed-n-* (G *khandánō* 'grab', L *prae-hendo* 'seize', etc.). Present stems formed with the suffix **-sk'-* > Alb. *-h-* include *fsheh* 'hide' < **skep-sk'-* (G *sképō* 'cover') and *shoh* 'see' < PIE **sēk^w-sk'-* (Skr. *sacate* 'follows' < **sek^w-e-*).

The progressive present is formed by putting the particle *po* before the present tense form of the verb: *po punoj* 'I am working'. The particle is identical with the adverbial *po* 'yes', and the function of the progressive is similar to the English progressive.

There are many irregular verbs. Here are the paradigms of *eci* 'walk' and *dua* 'want':

sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1. <i>eci</i>	<i>ecim</i>	<i>dua</i>	<i>duam</i>
2. <i>ecën</i>	<i>ecni</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>doni</i>
3. <i>ecën</i>	<i>ecin</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>duan</i>

Here is the present tense of *shoh* 'see', *rri* 'wait, sit', and *them* 'say':

sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1. <i>shoh</i>	<i>shohim</i>	<i>rri</i>	<i>rrimë</i>	<i>them</i>	<i>them</i>
2. <i>sheh</i>	<i>shihni</i>	<i>rri</i>	<i>rrini</i>	<i>thua</i>	<i>thoni</i>
3. <i>sheh</i>	<i>shohin</i>	<i>rri</i>	<i>rrinë</i>	<i>thotë</i>	<i>thonë</i>

Finally, here is the present tense of *vendos* 'place, decide', *bëj* 'do, make' and *lë* 'let':

sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1. <i>vendos</i>	<i>vendosim</i>	<i>bëj</i>	<i>bějme</i>	<i>lë</i>	<i>lëmë</i>
2. <i>vendos</i>	<i>vendosni</i>	<i>bën</i>	<i>bëni</i>	<i>lë</i>	<i>lëni</i>
3. <i>vendos</i>	<i>vendosin</i>	<i>bën</i>	<i>bëjnë</i>	<i>lë</i>	<i>lënë</i>

4.2.2. The past tense (aorist)

Examples of the past tense (aorist):

<i>kam</i> 'have'		<i>punoj</i> 'work'		<i>jap</i> 'give'	
sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1. <i>pata</i>	<i>patëm</i>	<i>punova</i>	<i>punuam</i>	<i>dhashë</i>	<i>dhamë</i>
2. <i>pate</i>	<i>patët</i>	<i>punove</i>	<i>punuat</i>	<i>dhe</i>	<i>dhatë</i>
3. <i>pati</i>	<i>patën</i>	<i>punoi</i>	<i>punuan</i>	<i>dha</i>	<i>dhanë</i>

The past tense of *kam* is formed from a suppletive stem *pat-* which can perhaps be related to PIE **poti-* ‘master, lord’ (cf. L *possum* ‘can’ < **potis sum*). The past tense of *jap* is also suppletive: it goes back to PIE **deh₃-* ‘give’, which acquired the sigmatic aorist (*dhashë* < **dh₃-s-m*, *dha* < **dh₃-s-t*, etc.), cf. also *rri* ‘sits’ aor. *ndenji*, *shoh* ‘sees’ aor. *pa*, *vjen* ‘comes’ aor. *erdhi* and *ha* ‘eats’ aor. *hëngri*.

The endings partially correspond to those of the present (e.g. in the 1 and 3pl.). The 1sg. ending *-a* might go back to PIE athematic (syllabic) **-m*, or to the thematic **-o-m* (which is slightly more likely). In the 2pl., the aorist preserves the PIE ending **-te*, which was lost in the present.

Several verbs have the reflexes of the lengthened *ē*-grade in the past, e.g. *djeg* ‘burn’ aor. *dogja* < **d^hēg^{wh}-* (cf. Skr. *dāhati* ‘burns’), *bredh* ‘jump’ aor. *brodha* < **b^hrēd^h-* (cf. OCS *breda* ‘wade’), *hedh* ‘throw’ aor. *hodha* (< PIE **skewd-/skēwd-*, cfr. ON *skjóta* ‘shoot’), *vjerr* ‘hang’ aor. *vorra* (< **h₂wēr-*, cf. G *aeirō* ‘raise’). The lengthened *ē*-grade was generalized from the PIE sigmatic aorists. In a number of cases analogical lengthened *ē*-aorists were formed to roots in **a*, e.g. *marr* ‘take’, aor. *morra*, *dal* ‘go out’, aor. *dola*.

There are probable reflexes of the PIE sigmatic aorist in Albanian. These include, e.g., the aorist of the verb *jap* ‘give’, which is suppletive:

sg.	pl.
1 <i>dhashë</i> < <i>*dh₃-s-m</i>	<i>dhame</i> < <i>*dh₃-(s)-me</i>
2 <i>dhe</i> < <i>*deh₃-s-s</i>	<i>dhate</i> < <i>*dh₃-(s)-te</i>
3 <i>dha</i> < <i>*dh₃-s-t</i>	<i>dhanë</i> < <i>*dh₃-(s)-nt</i>

Other Alb. formations that can be derived from PIE sigmatic aorist include *thashë* ‘said’ (aor. of *them*) < **k’ns-s-* (L *censeo* ‘think’), *pashë* ‘saw’ (suppletive aor. of *shoh* ‘see’), , *lashë* ‘left’ (from *lë* ‘leave, let’) and *rashë* ‘fell’ (aor. of *bie*) < **(H)rew-s-* (L *ruo* ‘rush’). Note that this aorist formation is rarer in Old Albanian authors such as Buzuku, so in many cases it represents an analogical extension. Some linguists think that the ending *-shë* is not actually from the sigmatic aorist, but rather from the agglutinated imperfect of the verb ‘to be’ (3 sg. *ishte*).

The asigmatic aorists mostly developed from Late PIE thematic aorist formations, e.g. *erdha* ‘came’ (suppletive aor. to *vij* ‘come’) < **h₁erg^h-* (G *érkhomai* ‘go’, OIr. *regaid* ‘will go’), also *vesh* ‘put on clothes’ aor. *vesha* < PIE **wes-* ‘dress oneself’ (Hitt. *wešta*, Skr. *váste*), *puth* ‘kiss’ aor. *putha*, *laps* ‘weary’ aor. *lapsa*, *rras* ‘squeeze’ aor. *rrasa*). Many Albanian verbs form the aorist with the suffix *-v-*, which has been compared with the suffix found in L *v*-perfects (*amāvī* ‘loved’, *docuī* ‘taught’, etc.), but it is improbable that these formations are really related. In many cases, **-w-* was actually part of the root, so we are dealing with original root aorists. These Albanian aorists include *lava* (aor. of *laj* ‘wash’) < **leh₃w-* (G *louō*), *dava* (aor. of *daj* ‘divide’) < **deh₂y-* (G *daíomai*), *theva* (aor. of *thyej* ‘break’, probably from PIE **k’eh₁-i-* ‘to sharpen’, Skr. *śísāti*, Arm. *sur* ‘sharp’), etc. In other cases, *-v-* may have originally been a hiatus-breaker, under the assumption that the *s*-marker of the sigmatic aorist was lost between vowels in the prehistory of Albanian, e.g. *-ova* < **ā-am* < *-ā-s-a(m)*.

Several aorist forms are of obscure origin. These include the aorists in *-t-* (e.g. *hyj* ‘enter’ aor. *hyjta*, *gjua* ‘resemble’ aor. *gjajta*, *luaj* ‘move, shake’ aor. *luajta*, *di* ‘know’ aor. *dita*)

and the aorists in *-r-* < **-n-* (by Tosk rhotacism), e.g. *hyj* 'enter' aor. *hyra*, *běj* 'do' aor. *bëra*. These are perhaps formed to the old passive participle stems in **-to-* (the type of L *amātus* 'loved') and verbal adjectives in **-no-* (the type of OCS *znanъ* 'known'), respectively.

4.2.3. The imperfect

The imperfect was originally formed from the present stem, but in roots with the vowel *-e-* it was remodeled with the umlauted vowel *-i-*, cf. the imperfect of *ështëë* 'is' and *punoj* 'work':

sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1. <i>isha</i>	<i>ishim</i>	<i>punoja</i>	<i>punonim</i>
2. <i>ishe</i>	<i>ishit</i>	<i>punoje</i>	<i>punonit</i>
3. <i>ishte</i>	<i>ishin</i>	<i>punonte</i>	<i>punonin</i>

Here are the paradigms of *pjek* 'cook', *vras* 'kill', which have vowel alternations (parallel to the alternations in present, e. g. *pjek*: 1 pl. *piqni*, *vras*: 1 pl. *vritni*):

1. <i>piqja</i>	<i>piqnim</i>	<i>vritja</i>	<i>vritnim</i>
2. <i>piqje</i>	<i>piqnit</i>	<i>vritje</i>	<i>vritnit</i>
3. <i>piqte</i>	<i>piqnin</i>	<i>vriste</i>	<i>vritnin</i>

Here are the paradigms of the imperfect of *rri* 'wait, sit', *ha* 'eat'

1. <i>rrija</i>	<i>rrinim</i>	<i>haja</i>	<i>hanim</i>
2. <i>rrije</i>	<i>rrinit</i>	<i>haje</i>	<i>hanit</i>
3. <i>rrinte</i>	<i>rrinin</i>	<i>hante</i>	<i>hanin</i>

As can be seen, the endings are similar to those of the (asigmatic) aorist (1sg. *-ja*, 2sg. *-je*, 3. sg. *-te*, 1pl. *-nim*, 2pl. *-nit*, 3pl. *-nin*). In Buzuku's works, the nasal is still retained in 1. and 2. sg. (*-një*, *-nje*). Apparently, Albanian imperfect derives from a formation similar to Greek imperfect, consisting of the present stem with secondary (aorist) endings, e.g. G *é-pher-o-n* 'I carried' < **(e)-bher-o-m*, Alb. *piqja* < **pek^w-o-m*. Note that, unlike in Greek (and Indo-Iranian, Armenian and Phrygian), there are no traces of the augment (**e-*) in Albanian.

In Gheg, the element *-sh-* from the verb 'to be' was re-interpreted as an imperfect suffix and it spread throughout the paradigm (except in the 3sg.), cf. Gheg *punojsha* 'I was working', *punojshe* 'you were working', etc.

4.2.4. The perfect and the pluperfect.

The perfect is formed analytically with the participle and the present of the verb *ka* 'have', as in the Romance languages; likewise, the pluperfect is formed with the imperfect of *ka*. These are the paradigms of *punoj* 'work':

Perfect:

1. *kam punuar kemi punuar*
2. *ke punuar keni punuar*
3. *ka punuar kanë punuar*

Pluperfect:

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| <i>kisha punuar</i> | <i>kishim punuar</i> |
| <i>kishe punuar</i> | <i>kishit punuar</i> |
| <i>kishte punuar</i> | <i>kishin punuar</i> |

There is also the narrative pluperfect form, *pata punuar*. The pluperfect corresponds quite well to the English pluperfect. There is, in general, concordance of tenses:

Marku mendoj sa shumë kishte mësu-ar për dy javë
Mark.nom.sg. think.1sg.aor. how much has.3sg.ipf. learn-ppl in two week
“Mark thought how much he had learned in two weeks”

4.2.5. The future

The future is formed analytically, according to the same pattern as in the Balkan languages, i.e. with the 3rd sg. present of the verb *di* ‘want’ and the subjunctive of the inflected verb (cf. Serbian (Torlak) *će da radim* ‘I will work’, *će da radiš* ‘you will work’, etc.). Here is the future of *punoj* ‘work’:

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. <i>do të punoj</i> | <i>do të punojmë</i> |
| 2. <i>do të punosh</i> | <i>do të punoni</i> |
| 3. <i>do të punojë</i> | <i>do të punojnë</i> |

In the Gheg dialect, there is also the Romance-type future tense formed with the present tense of *kam* ‘to be’ and the (Gheg) infinitive: *kam me shkrua* ‘I will write’, *ka me shkrua* ‘he will write’, etc.

4.2.6. The mediopassive

The mediopassive can have both passive and reflexive meaning, i. e. *lahem* (the mediopassive present of *laj* ‘wash’) can mean both ‘I am washed’ and ‘I wash myself’. The present and the imperfect of the mediopassive are formed synthetically. The other tenses are formed analytically with the clitic *u* < *swom (as in Skr. *sváyam* ‘self’), e.g. aorist *u lava* ‘I washed myself’. Here are the paradigms of *laj* ‘wash’:

Present		Imperfect	
sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1. <i>lahem</i>	<i>lahemi</i>	<i>lahesha</i>	<i>laheshim</i>
2. <i>lahesh</i>	<i>laheni</i>	<i>laheshe</i>	<i>laheshi, laheshit</i>
3. <i>lahet</i>	<i>lahen</i>	<i>lahej</i>	<i>laheshin</i>

In the case of a verb like *hap* ‘open’, which has the stem ending in a consonant, the endings do not begin with *-h-* (e. g., in the imperfect mediopassive we have 1 sg. *hapesha*, 2 sg. *hapeshe*, etc.).

The origin of the suffix *-e-* in the mediopassive is uncertain. Possibly the e-grade of the thematic vowel of the PIE thematic middle was generalized and preserved if accented (it was lost in the active, because it was apparently unaccented, according to Schumacher

and Matzinger 2013). The endings may be partially derived from the PIE middle endings, e.g. the 2sg. present ending *-sh* may be from PIE **-so(y)* (Skr. *bhara-se* 'you carry for yourself'), and the 3sg. ending *-t* may be from **-to(y)* (Skr. *bharate*). The final *-m* in the 1st person sg. may mean that Proto-Albanian coined the middle ending **-mai* (as in Greek middle *phéromai* 'I carry for myself') by contamination of PIE middle **-h₂ey* (Skr. *bhar-e*) and active athematic **-mi*. The other present mediopassive endings were obviously influenced by the active paradigm. The origin of the 2pl. imperfect ending *-i* is mysterious. It is written consistently as *-ji* in Old Gheg (e.g. Buzuku), which means that the vowel was long. It has been derived from PIE 2 sg. middle ending **-e-sdhwe* (G *-sthe* with the syncope of *-dh-* (as in *fe* 'faith' << L *fidēs*), but this is uncertain. The younger ending *-(sh)it* was obviously influenced by the imperfect active ending *-it*.

The present subjunctive mediopassive is formed with *të* and the present mediopassive, and the future with *do* 'want' and the subjunctive (e.g. *do të lahem* 'I will wash myself').

The perfect mediopassive is formed with the present indicative of the verb *jam* 'to be' and the participle, cf. the paradigm of the verb *hap* 'open':

sg.	pl.
1. <i>jam hapur</i>	<i>jemi hapur</i>
2. <i>je hapur</i>	<i>jeni hapur</i>
3. <i>është hapur</i>	<i>janë hapur</i>

The aorist mediopassive is formed with the particle *u* which precedes the active aorist of the inflected verb (except in the 3sg. where there is no ending in the mediopassive):

sg.	pl.
1. <i>u hapa</i>	<i>u hapëm</i>
2. <i>u hape</i>	<i>u hapët</i>
3. <i>u hap</i>	<i>u hapën</i>

The pluperfect mediopassive is formed with the imperfect of the verb *jam* 'to be' and the participle, e.g. *isha hapur* 'I had been opened', *ishe hapur* 'you had been opened', *ishte hapur* 'he/she had been opened', etc.

4.2.7. The moods

Albanian has the following moods: the indicative, the admirative, the optative, the subjunctive, the conditional and the imperative. Some of them can form several tenses, usually in combination with tensed forms of the auxiliaries *jam* 'be' and *kam* 'have'.

a) The admirative

The admirative is clearly a recent formation. In the present tense, it is derived with the present of the verb *kam* 'have' appended to the stem of the participle. Other tenses of the admirative can be formed with the present and imperfect admirative of *kam* 'have' (respectively *paskam* and *paskësha*) and the participle of the verb in question.

This is the admirative present paradigm of the verb *punoj* 'work':

1. *punuakam punuakemi*
2. *punuake punuakeni*
3. *punuaka punuakan*

The admirative expresses surprise, admiration, doubt, but also evidentiality:

U, sa e bukur qenka kjo vajzë
 Oh, how beautiful.FSG. be.ADMIRATIVE.3SG. this.F. girl.NOM.SG.
 "Oh, how beautiful is this girl!"

Thuhet se Gjoni qenka fajtori
 one.says that Gj. be.ADMIRATIVE.3SG the.culprit.NOM.SG.
 "They say that Gjoni is the culprit"

The admirative is rare in Old Albanian (16-17th centuries), and it is not attested in the dialects of Greece and Italy. It appears that in Buzuku's works it functions as a focus marker.

b) The optative appears to have recent origin; it is formed with the suffix *-fsh-* (*-sh-* after consonants, *-ç-* after *-n-*) and the (mostly) aorist/subjunctive endings:

<i>punoj</i> 'work'		<i>hap</i> 'open'		<i>jam</i> 'be'	
sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1. <i>punofsha</i>	<i>punofshim</i>	<i>hapsha</i>	<i>hapshim</i>	<i>qofsha</i>	<i>qofshim</i>
2. <i>punofsh</i>	<i>punofshi(t)</i>	<i>hapsh</i>	<i>hapshi(t)</i>	<i>qofsh</i>	<i>qofshi(t)</i>
3. <i>punoftë</i>	<i>punofshin</i>	<i>haptë</i>	<i>hapshin</i>	<i>qoftë</i>	<i>qofshin</i>

In several verbs the participle stem to which the optative suffix and endings are added is different from the present stem, e. g. *pres* 'wait', pple *pritur*, opt. *pritsha*; *gjej* 'find', pple. *gjetur*, opt. *gjetsha*; *them* 'say', pple *thënë*, opt. *thënça*; *ha* 'eat', pple *ngrënë*, opt. *ngrënça*; *jap* 'give', pple. *dhënë*, opt. *dhënça*, etc.

The suffix *fsh-* has been explained as the analogical extension of the 2nd sg. ending *-sh-*, which was originally added to the aorist stem in *-v-* (e.g. *kerkov-a* 'sought'), with the regular change of *vsh* > *fsh*. In the 3rd person sg. *-fshtë* > *-ftë*.

The optative is used to express wish and desire, but it also occurs in some subordinate clauses including conditionals.

Q-ofsh i gëzuar
 be-2SG.OPT. rejoice(participle)
 "May you be happy"

Edhe në fjet-sha, zemr-ën s'ma vë dot njer-i në gjumë
 even if sleep-1sg.opt heart-A.SG.DEF.NEG.1SG.D.A. put PART man-NSG.DEF. to sleep
 "Even if I sleep, no-one (lit. "no man") will put my heart to sleep"

Në shk-ofsha në Angli, do të të lajmër-oj
 if go-1SG.OPT. to England will you.A.clitic part. inform-1sg.fut.
 "If I go to England, I will let you know"

The optative of the auxiliary verbs *kam* 'have' (1sg optative *paça*) and *jam* 'be' (in the mediopassive; 1sg. optative *qofsha*) is used with the participle to express the perfect of the optative (when wishing something had happened in the past), e. g.

E pastë ngrënë djall-i
 it have.OPT.3SG. eat.PPLE devil-DEF
 "May the devil have eaten it!" (= "To hell with it!")

c) The subjunctive has synthetic forms preceded by the particle *të*. Here is the present subjunctive of *punoj* (there are also analytically formed perfect, imperfect, and pluperfect paradigms):

1. *të punoj të punojmë*
 2. *të punosh të punoni*
 3. *të punojë të punojnë*

The endings of the subjunctive are mostly the same as in the present active, but in the 2sg. the mediopassive ending is used. In Buzuku's language, the 2. and 3. sg. endings still have the nasal (2. sg. *-onjsh*, 3. sg. *-onjë*), and the 1. sg. ending is *-o* rather than *-oj*.

The subjunctive is the chief mark of subordination, as it usually occurs in subordinate clauses, e.g. with verbs of intention:

Dëshir-on të pun-ojë në kopsht
 want-3SG.PRES. to work-3SG.SUBJ. in garden
 "He wants to work in the garden"

Shpres-oj se tash do të je-të i hareshëm
 hope-1SG. that now want.PRES.3SG to be-3SG.SUBJ. M. cheerful.M
 "I hope he will be cheerful now"

It is also used with verbs such as *filloj* 'begin' and the modals such as *mund* 'can' and *duhet* 'must':

Ai filloi t'i krye-jë detyr-at
 he begin.3SG.AOR. to.ACC.PL.CLITIC. finish.3SG.SUBJ. duty-ACC.PL.
 "He began to finish his duties"

A mund të më lëshoni një vizë
 INTERR can PART I.DAT. let.2PL.SUBJ. a visa.ACC.SG.
 "Can you issue a visa to me?"

Çfarë mund të blesh atje?
 what can buy.2SG.SUBJ. here
 "What can you buy here / what can one buy here?"

A duhet të paguaj doganë?
 PARTICLE must PAY.1SG.SUBJ. customs.duties
 "Do I have to pay customs duties?"

In some cases the use of the subjunctive is optional (it can be replaced by the indicative, e.g. in temporal clauses introduced by *Çdo ditë, kur* “Every day, when...”).

The subjunctive may also be used as an adhortative, or to express a wish in the main clause (in this function it is parallel with the optative):

Të bëjë be Kalosh Cami!
do.3SG.SUBJ. trust K. C.
“May Kalosh Cami swear (it)!”

Të shkojmë ‘Let’s go!’

d) The conditional is formed with the 3rd sg. of *dua* ‘want’ and the particle *të* (as in the future) followed by the imperfect of the inflected verb:

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. <i>do të punoja</i> | <i>do të punonim</i> |
| 2. <i>do të punoje</i> | <i>do të punonit</i> |
| 3. <i>do të punonte</i> | <i>do të punonin</i> |

The perfect conditional may be formed with the imperfect of the auxiliary *ka* ‘have’ and the participle (*do të kisha punuar* ‘I would have worked’, *do të kishe punuar* ‘you would have worked’, etc.).

e) The imperative has just the forms of the 2 sg. (*ji* ‘be!’, *puno* ‘work!’, *shkruaj* ‘write!’, *fol* ‘say’, *ki* ‘have!’, *hap* ‘open!’) and the 2 pl. (*jini*, *punoni*, *shkruani*, *flisni*, *hapni*). In the other persons an analytical construction with the imperative of *la* ‘let’ is used (cf. the English construction with *let*), e.g. *le të jetë* ‘may he be’, *le të kenë* ‘may they have’, *le të themi* ‘let us say’.

Imperative mostly has no ending in the 2nd person singular, which may be identical with the 2nd person sg. indicative (*hap* ‘open’, *pi* ‘drink’, *rri* ‘stay’), with the 1st person singular indicative (*luaj* ‘play’, *bëj* ‘make’), or with the bare stem (*puno* ‘work’, *fshi* ‘stay’); some verbs show Umlaut (*a > i*, *e, je > i*), e. g. *dal* ‘go out’, imp. *dil*, *djeg* ‘burn’ imp. *digj*, *mbjell* ‘plant’, imp. *mbill*. A few verbs have the ending *-r* in the 2nd person singular imperative, e. g. *vë* ‘put’ imp. *vër*, *zë* ‘catch’ imp. *zër*, *bie* ‘fall, lie’ imp. *bjer*. There are some irregular imperatives, e. g. *marr* ‘take’ imp. *merr*, *them* ‘say’ imp. *thuaj*, *flas* ‘speak’ imp. *fol*.

The negation in the imperative is *mos*: *Mos luaj!* ‘Don’t play!’. In the mediopassive, the reflexive clitic *-u* is added to the verb in the positive, but it precedes it in the negative: *hapu* ‘open yourself, be open!’, but *mos u lodh* ‘don’t get tired’. The 2nd person plural ending *-ni* follows the clitic *-u-* in the mediopassive imperative (*hap-u-ni* ‘be open y’all!’).

When the imperative has a pronominal object, it is cliticized to the imperative form and written together: *hap-e* ‘open it’, *shkruaj-e* ‘write it’, *merr-e* ‘take it’. In the plural, the object clitic precedes the 2pl. ending, thus we have *pij-e-ni* ‘drink (pl.) it’, *merr-e-ni* ‘take (pl.) it’, *merr-më-ni* ‘take (pl.) me’, etc. However, this seems to be a recent development, since in Buzuku we find the clitic after the ending, e. g. *epi na neve ujë* ‘Give us water!’.

4.2.8. The infinite forms of the verb

Like most Balkan languages, Albanian is poor when it comes to infinite forms of the verb. It has an all-purpose participle formed from the aorist stem (*punuar* from *punoj* 'work', *larë* from *laj* 'wash', *fol-ur* from *flas* 'speak', *kthyer* from *kthey* 'return', *dalë* from *dal* 'go out', *qe-në* from *jam* 'be') and an infinitive formed from the participle (*për të punuar*). There are also the present and the past gerundive (present *duke punuar*, past *duke pasë punuar*). The most common form of the participle/infinitive shows the operation of Tosk rhotacism (cf. Old Gheg *lanë* 'washed' corresponding to Tosk and standard *larë*). In consonant clusters (*-Cn-) rhotacism did not operate, so we have *thënë* 'said', *qenë* 'been', *dhënë* 'given' (the nature of the cluster is difficult to ascertain in each individual instance).

In Old Albanian there are also other forms of the participle, e. g. in *-m* < *-mo-, cf. (in Buzuku) *bām* 'done', *pām* 'seen', as well as in *-të* < -to- (*bātë* 'done', *pātë* 'seen'), etc.

The Gheg dialect has the infinitive formed with the preposition *me* 'with' and the participle (*me shkrua* 'to write'). It is used in many constructions in which Tosk (and the standard language) use the subjunctive in subordinated clauses.

The gerundive is formed analytically from the participle and the particle/adverb *duke* 'while', e.g. *duke larë* 'while washing'.

4.3. Pronouns

a) Here are the forms of personal pronouns in the Nominative:

sg.	pl.
1. <i>unë</i>	<i>ne</i> (also <i>na</i> in dialects)
2. <i>ti</i>	<i>ju</i>

The origin of 1sg. personal pronoun *unë* is unknown; it has been derived from the reflexive *u* (< *swom) and a particle, perhaps related to G *naí*, but it is also possible to derive it from Proto-Alb. *udh < *ug', a dialectal variant of the PIE pronoun *eg'(h₂om) (cf. Hitt. *ugga* 'I') and a particle beginning with *-n-. In Old Albanian (e. g. Matrënga) the form of the 1sg. pronoun is *u* (without the particle). The form of the 2sg. is from PIE *tuH (OCS *ty*), and the 1pl. pronoun *na* is from PIE *nō- (L *nōs*). The 2pl. pronoun is often thought to be cognate with Lith. *jus*, Skr. *yūyam* (PIE *y^uH-), but PIE *y- usually gives Alb. *gj- (see above), so it is more likely that the Alb. pronoun goes back to PIE *wes-/us- (L *vōs*, G *hymeŕs*) with some kind of prothetic *j*-.

The personal pronouns are inflected; the forms of the 1sg. are: A/D *mua* (clitic *më*), Abl. *meje*; 2sg. A/D *neve* (clitic *na*), Abl. *nesh*; 1 pl. A/D *ty* (clitic *të*), 2 pl. A/D *juve* (clitic *ju*). The suppletion in the 1 sg. is inherited from PIE, cf. G Acc. *emé*, *me*, Dat. *emoí*, *moi*.

b) In the third person, the demonstrative *ai m. ajo f.* is used as the personal pronoun. It is inflected according to the following table:

m.	f.
----	----

sg.

N	<i>ai</i>	<i>ajo</i>
A	<i>atë, të</i>	<i>atë</i>
D	<i>atij, tij</i>	<i>asaj, saj</i> (clitic <i>i</i>)
Abl.	<i>atij</i>	<i>asaj</i>

pl.

N	<i>ata</i>	<i>ato</i>
A	<i>ata</i>	<i>ato</i>
D	<i>atyre</i>	<i>atyre</i>
Abl.	<i>asish, atyre, atyreve</i>	<i>asosh, atyre, atyreve</i>

The origin of most forms is unclear. In principle, *ai* can be from a particle *a (< *h₂e or *o) and the pronominal stem *(h₁)ey (as in L *īs*, *ea*, *id* 'that', Skr. *ayam*, *iyam*, *idam*). The feminine *ajo* would then be from the same particle and the feminine *(h₁)yeh₂.

The personal pronouns also have clitic forms which distinguish case (Dative and Accusative) and number, but not gender:

	1sg.	2sg.	3sg. m.f.
A	<i>më</i>	<i>të</i>	<i>e</i>
D	<i>më</i>	<i>të</i>	<i>i</i>
	1pl.	2pl.	3pl. m.f.
A	<i>na</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>i</i>
D	<i>na</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>u</i>

Albanian, like most Balkan languages, has “clitic doubling”, which means that direct and indirect objects are coded twice: once with a full NP, and again with a clitic which agrees with it in case, person, and number:

Unë e ble-va një libër
 I ASG.CLITIC buy-AOR.1SG. a book.ASG.INDEF.
 “I bought a book”

Unë i shkro-va nënë-s
 I DSG.CLITIC write-AOR.1SG. mother-DSG.DEF
 “I wrote to my mother”

Note also the following construction:

Mua më pëlqen kjo vajz-a
 me.D me.D(CLITIC) like-3SG.PRES. this.FEM.SG. girl-NOM.SG.DEF.
 “I like this girl” (cf. Italian *mi piace questa ragazza*).

If a verb has both a direct and an indirect object, the dative and the accusative clitics merge into a single phonological word, e.g. *mě + e = ma*, *tě + e = ta*, *i + e = ia*, *na + e = na e*, *ju + e = jua*, *u + e = ua*, *mě + i = m'i*, *tě + i = t'i*, *i + i = ia*, *na + i = na i*, *ju + i = jua*, *u + i = ua*:

Ma jep librin "He gives me the book", *jua jep librin* "He gives you the book", *Ua jep librat* "He gives them the books", etc.

c) The proximal demonstrative pronoun is *ky* m., *kjo* f., presumably from the PIE interrogative stem **k^wo-* (L *quod*, Skr. *kas* 'who', OCS *kъto*). It appears that the interrogative *kush* 'who' contains the PIE interrogative stem **k^wu-* (Skr. *kuhā* 'where') agglutinated with the demonstrative stem **so-* (Skr. *sa-* m. 'this'). In the Acc. sg. we have *kě* < **k^wom*. Alb. *ç(ë)* 'what' may be from PIE **k^wi-* (L *quid* 'what'). This stem is also incorporated into *çka* 'what'. The pronoun *tjetër* 'another' is from *tě jetër*, where *jetër* < **h₁e-tero-* (OCS *jetěrъ*, G *héteros* 'other'). The reflexive pronoun *vetë* 'oneself' has been connected with G *autós* < PIE **h₂ewto-*, but PIE **h₂ew-* would have been reflected as Alb. *a-*. Therefore, the derivation from PIE **swe-* 'oneself' (Skr. *sváyam*, etc.) is more probable. It is inflected and freely combined with prepositions in reflexive constructions:

S'kam gjë me vete
NEG-I.have thing with self
"I don't have anything on me (lit. 'with myself')"

Shiko vete-n
look.IMPERATIVE self-ACC.SG.DEF.
"Look at yourself!"

d) The possessive pronouns (used also as the genitives of the personal pronouns) form a complex system; they are inflected for case and gender. For illustration, here is the paradigm of the 1st person sg. possessive pronoun:

	m.		f.	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
N	<i>im</i>	<i>e mi</i>	<i>ime</i>	<i>e mia</i>
G-D	<i>tim</i>	<i>tě mi</i>	<i>sime</i>	<i>tě mia</i>
A	<i>tim</i>	<i>e mi</i>	<i>time</i>	<i>e mia</i>
Abl.	<i>tim</i>	<i>tě mi</i>	<i>sime</i>	<i>tě mia</i>

The rest of the forms in the Nom. sg. for masculine definite possessed nouns in the singular are *yt* 'your' *i tij* 'his' *i saj* 'her' *ynë* 'our', *juaj* 'your', *i tyre* 'their'; for feminine definite possessed nouns in the sg. the forms are *ime* 'my', *jote* 'your', *e tij* 'his' *e saj* 'her', *jonë* 'our', *juaj* 'your', *e tyre* 'their'; for the definite masculine plural possessed nouns the forms are *e tu* 'your', *e tij* 'his', *e saj* 'her', *tanë* 'our', *tuaj* 'your', *e tyre* 'their'; for the definite plural feminine possessed nouns, the forms are: *e tua* 'your', *e tij* 'his', *e saj* 'her', *tona* 'our', *tuaja* 'your', *e tyre* 'their'.

e) The relative pronoun *që* (from the PIE interrogative/relative stem **k^wo-*, or perhaps borrowed from L *quī*) is indeclinable. It introduces the relative clause in which the

grammatical relation of the relativized NP must be indicated by a resumptive dative or accusative clitic pronoun:

Njeri-u që e kam parë
 man-DEF.NSG. that ACC.SG.CLITIC have.1SG seen
 "The man I saw"

Grua-ja që i jap një dhuratë
 woman-DEF.NSG. that DSG.CLITIC give.AOR.1SG. a gift
 "The woman I gave a gift to"

There is also the inflected relative pronoun built from the stem *cil-* (of disputed origin, perhaps from *të silë, where *të is the demonstrative stem, and *silë a derivative of *si* 'how'):

	m sg.	f. sg.	m. pl.	f. pl.
Nom.	<i>i cili</i>	<i>e cila</i>	<i>të cilët</i>	<i>të cilat</i>
Gen.	<i>i të cilit</i>	<i>i të cilës</i>	<i>i të cilëve</i>	<i>i të cilave</i>
Dat.	<i>të cilit</i>	<i>të cilës</i>	<i>të cilëve</i>	<i>të cilave</i>
Acc.	<i>të cilin</i>	<i>të cilën</i>	<i>të cilët</i>	<i>të cilat</i>

It is more or less synonymous with the particle *që*, but its use does not require the resumptive pronoun in the relative clause. Moreover, it can be combined with the prepositions to express that the relativized noun functions as an oblique in the relative clause:

Miq-të e mi me të cil-ët kam ardhur këtu
 friend-NOM.PL.DEF. CLITIC my with ART who-ACC.PL. I.have come here
 "My friends with who I have come here"

4.4. The article

Albanian has two sets of definite article forms, the preposed article *i* (m.), *e* (f.) and the postposed (clitic) article *-i* / *-u* (after velars) m. and *-a* f., cf. *zog* m. 'bird' def. *zogu*, *gur* 'stone' m. def. *gur-i*. Both the definite and the indefinite forms of the article are inflected for case and number. The origin of the forms is disputed, but it is likely that the ultimate source is the demonstrative (the stem *ey- of L *is*, *ea*, *id* may lie behind the masculine form in the nominative sg.).

The numeral *një* 'one' serves as the indefinite article, e.g. *një gur* 'a stone'.

The postposed definite article is written together with the preceding noun, and the whole compound is inflected as the definite NP:

	<i>gur</i> m. 'stone'	<i>fjalë</i> f. 'word'
sg.		
Nom.	<i>guri</i>	<i>fjala</i>
Acc.	<i>gurin</i>	<i>fjalën</i>
G	<i>(i) gurit</i>	<i>(i) fjalës</i>

D	<i>gurit</i>	<i>fjalës</i>
Abl.	<i>gurit</i>	<i>fjalës</i>
pl.		
NVA	<i>gurët</i>	<i>fjalët</i>
G	<i>(i) gurëvet</i>	<i>(i) fjalëvet</i>
D	<i>gurëvet</i>	<i>fjalëvet</i>
Abl.	<i>gurëvet</i>	<i>fjalëvet</i>

When definite nouns are modified by (postposed) adjectives, the adjectives have to be preceded by the definite articles, creating, as it were, agreement in definiteness:

guri i bardhë 'white stone': **guri bardhë* (*gur* m. 'stone' is in the nom. sg.def.)
gurit të bardhë 'of the white stone': **gurit bardhë* (*gur* is in the gen. sg. def.)
lulja e bukur 'beautiful flower': **lulja bukur* (*lule* 'flower' f. is in the nom. sg. def.)

The connector used in these phrases is also inflected; the forms are: *i* (m. sg. Nom.) < *ey-, *të* (Acc. sg. and pl. m. and f., GD Abl. m. and f.) < *tom, *së* (Gen. sg. f.), and *e* (f. sg.).

The complex pattern of inflection of NPs can be illustrated with the following examples:

m. sg. 'good boy'
indefinite

definite

N	<i>djalë i mirë</i>	<i>djali i mirë</i>
A	<i>djalë të mirë</i>	<i>djalin e mirë</i>
G	<i>i/e djali të mirë</i>	<i>i/e djalit të mirë</i>
D	<i>djali të mirë</i>	<i>djalit të mirë</i>
Abl.	<i>djali të mirë</i>	<i>djalit të mirë</i>

f. sg. 'good girl'
indefinite

definite

N	<i>vajzë e mirë</i>	<i>vajza e mirë</i>
A	<i>vajzë të mirë</i>	<i>vajzën e mirë</i>
G	<i>i/e vajze të mirë</i>	<i>vajzës së mirë</i>
D	<i>vajze të mirë</i>	<i>vajzës së mirë</i>
Abl.	<i>vajze të mirë</i>	<i>vajzës së mirë</i>

m. pl.
indefinite

definite

N	<i>djem të mirë</i>	<i>djemtë e mirë</i>
A	<i>djem të mirë</i>	<i>djemtë e mirë</i>
G	<i>i/e djemve të mirë</i>	<i>i/e djemve të mire</i>
D	<i>djemve të mirë</i>	<i>djemve të mirë</i>
Abl.	<i>djemësh të mirë</i>	<i>djemve të mirë</i>

f. pl.
indefinite

definite

N <i>vajza të mira</i>	<i>vajzat e mira</i>
A <i>vajza të mira</i>	<i>vajzat e mira</i>
G <i>i/e vajzave të mira</i>	<i>i/e vajzave të mira</i>
D <i>vajzave të mira</i>	<i>vajzave të mira</i>
Abl. <i>vajzash të mira</i>	<i>vajzave të mira</i>

With some (rather formal) terms for blood relatives the article has possessive function, e.g. *i ati* 'his father', *i biri* 'his son', *i vëllai* 'his brother', *e ëma* 'his mother', *e motra* 'his sister', etc.

4.5. The numerals

The cardinal numerals from one to ten are derived directly from PIE:

një < *h₃oyno- (L *ūnus*)
dy < *dwoh₁ (L *duo*, G *dýo*)
tre < *treyes (L *trēs*, G *treís*)
katër < *k^wetwores (L *quattuor*, G *téttares*)
pesë < *penk^w-ti- (L *quīnque*, G *pén-te*)
gjashtë < *sek's(-ti-) (L *sex*, G *héks*)
shtatë < *septm(-ti-) (L *septem*, G *heptá*)
tetë < *h₃ek'tōw(-ti-) (L *octō*, G *októ*)
nëntë (Gheg *nantë*) < *newn(-ti-) (L *novem*, G *ennéa*)
dhjetë < *dek'm(-ti-) (L *decem*, G *déka*).

As in most Balkan languages, the numerals from 11 to 19 are construed with the preposition meaning 'on' (Alb. *mbë*), cf. OCS *jedinъ na desęte* '11': *njëmbëdhjetë* '11', *dymbëdhjetë* '12', etc. 'Twenty' is (*një*-)zet, which cannot formally be connected to PIE *(d)wiH-dk'mti₂ (L *viginti*, etc.), so its etymology is a mystery. The numerals from 30 to 90 are simple compounds: *tridhjetë* '30', *pesëdhjetë* '50', etc. The numeral *qind* '100' is borrowed from L *centum*, and *mijë* '1000' from L *mīlle*. For '40' *dyzet* (a compound of *dy* 'two' and *zet* 'twenty') is used in Tosk, but Gheg has *katërdhjetë* (*katër* '4' and *dhjetë* '10').

The ordinals are derived from the cardinal numerals with the suffix *-të* < *-to, e.g. *dytë* 'second'; Alb. *i parë* 'first' is from PIE *pr̥h₃o- (G *prōtos*, OCS *prъvъ*). They follow the noun they modify and are preceded by the articles *i/e/të/së* depending on the case, number and gender of the noun they qualify, e.g. *djali i parë* 'the first boy', *vajza e parë* 'the first girl'.

4.6. The Prepositions

Only a few Albanian prepositions have reliable PIE etymologies:

mbi 'on' < PIE *h₂mbhi (G *amphí*, OIr. *imb-*, L *ambi-*, Skr. *abhi-*).
për 'for, about' < PIE *per(i) (L *per*, G *perí*)
në 'in, on' < PIE *en(i) (L *in*, OCS *vъ*, OIr. *īn*)
pa 'without, before' < PIE *h₂epó (G *apó*, Goth. *aƿ*), or PIE *h₂po (OCS *po* 'by')

pas 'after' is probably from *pa* and the clitic **k^we* (L *-que* 'and')
nga 'from, out of', perhaps from PIE **h₁en* 'in' (L *in*, OCS *въ*) and **kom* 'to' (OCS *къ*)
nëpër 'through', from *në* and *për*
para 'before' < PIE **prh₃-* (L *prae*, G *pará*, etc.)
te, *tek* 'to', perhaps from **toy k^wu* 'to that which' (where **toy* is the Dat. sg. of the pronominal stem **to-*, and **k^wu-* is the stem of *kush* 'who', *kur* 'when')
me 'with' < PIE **me(t)* (Germ. *mit*, G *metá* 'between')
buzë 'next to, close to' (also a noun meaning 'lip, edge'), perhaps from PIE **bhudh-y-* (Lith. *budė* 'tree-fungus, tinder, whetstone')
deri 'up to, till', perhaps from *de-eurV-* (G *deurí* 'here', Lith. *aurė* 'here')
afër 'near' (also as adverb) < **h₂ep-s-ero-* (cf. G *áps* 'backwards', Goth. *afar* 'after')
poshtë 'below' (also adverb), perhaps from L *post* 'behind, after'

Most prepositions take the ablative case (*afër* 'near', *bri* 'beside', *drejt* 'towards', *gjatë* 'during', *jashtë* 'out of', *mes* 'between', *përfund* 'underneath', *lart* 'up', *larg* 'far from', *anës* 'along', *buzë* 'by, close to', etc.). A few take the nominative (*nga* 'from, towards', *te(k)* 'at, to'), or the accusative (*deri*, *gjër* 'until, up to', *mbi* 'on', *me* 'with, by', *ndaj* 'near', *më* 'on', *në* 'in, on', *pa* 'without', *që*, *qysh* 'since', *për* 'for').

4.7. The Conjunctions and the subordinators

Here are the commonest coordinating conjunctions:

dhe, *e*, *edhe* 'and'
as... as 'neither... nor'
a, *apo*, *ose* 'or'
po, *porse*, *ndërsa* 'but'
nëse 'if'
ndonëse 'although'

The subordinating conjunctions (subordinators) introduce subordinate clauses:

I. Subordinators *se* and *që* introduce subordinate clauses with epistemic verbs:

Atij iu duk se ajo mতেj t'i thoshte diçka
 to.him to.him appear.3SG.AOR. that she wanted to.him say.3SG.IPF. something
 "It appeared to him that she wanted to tell him something"

Nuk pretendohet që të ketë lexuar Makiavelin
 not state.PASS.PRES.3SG. that have.3SG.SUBJ. read Macchiavelli.ACC.SG.
 "It is not stated (implied) that he had read Macchiavelli"

II. Temporal clauses are introduced, e.g., by *kur* 'when' and *pasi* 'after':

Kur ai pësëritet shumë herë, atëhere kjo është vijë
 when it repeat.3SG.PASS.PRES. many time then it is line
 "When it (scil. a silly thing) is repeated many times, then it is the (party) line"

III. Causal clauses are introduced, e.g., by *sepse, nga që* 'because'

Ato duan të arrijnë shpejt, sepse ato janë të lodhura
they want.3PL.AOR. to arrive.PRES.3PL. quickly because they are ART. tired.NOM.PL.
"They wanted to arrive quickly, because they were tired"

IV. Comparative clauses are introduced, e.g., by *sikur* 'as if':

Besniku e mori aparatin fotografik në duar sikur t'ishte një relike
B. ACC.CLITIC take.AOR.3SG. camera.ACC.SG. in hands as.if be.3SG.IPF. a relic
"Besnik took the camera in (his) hands as if it were a relic"

5. The lexicon

In the preceding pages we have quoted numerous Albanian words with PIE etymologies, as well as a lot of Latin loanwords. It should be noted, however, that many Albanian words have no generally accepted etymology. For all we know, they could be loanwords from some non-IE substratum, e.g. *zemër* 'heart', *vëlla* 'brother', *hekur* 'iron', *ri* 'new', *-zet* 'twenty', *mund* 'can', *zog* 'bird', *helm* 'poison', *urë* 'bridge', *vajzë* (dial. *varzë*) 'girl', *i vogël* 'small', *i rëndë* 'heavy', *rri* 'sit, remain', etc. The etymologies of these words can be found in etymological reference books by Demiraj, Orel, Topalli, and others, but they are at best possible rather than persuasive.

Besides the Latin loanwords, which have been amply adduced above, the Albanian lexicon contains loanwords from several other languages.

Early (mostly Byzantine) Greek loanwords include *dhaskal* 'teacher' << G *dáskalos*, *krevet* 'bed' << G *krebbāti*, *sos* 'to end' << G aor. *ésōsa* 'I arrived', *trëndafil* 'rose' << G *triantáphyllon*, *drom* 'road' << G *drómos*, *nisi* 'island' << G *nēsí*, perhaps *egër* 'wild' << G *ágrios*, etc. An earlier stratum of loans include words borrowed from Ancient Greek, often from Doric, e.g. *mokër* 'millstone' << G (Doric) *mākhaná*, *drapër* 'sickle' << G *drápanon*, *mëngër* 'oil press' << G *mágganon* 'axis of a pulley, bolt', *zall* 'river-bank' << G *aigialós* 'shore, river-bank', perhaps *llërë* 'lower arm' << G *ōlénē* (it might also be an inherited word).

There are a few Germanic loanwords which may have entered the language from Balkan Gothic, e.g. *gardh* 'garden' << Goth. *gards*, *shkumë* 'foam' (cf. German *Schaum*), *fat* 'husband' (perhaps from Goth. *faps* < PIE **poti-*, but more likely a metaphor for *fat* 'fate' << L *fātum*). Most of such words might also be inherited.

Early Slavic loanwords are, e.g., *baltë* 'mud' (Cf. OCS *blato*, Croat. *blato*), *zakon* 'custom' (OCS *zakonъ* 'law'), *bisedë* 'a talk, discussion' (OCS *besěda*), *daltë* 'chisel' (Croat. *dlijeto*), *groshë* 'beans' (Croat. *grašak* 'green beans'), *nevojë* 'need' (OCS *nevolja* 'trouble'), *begati* 'richness' (OCS *bogatъ* 'rich'), *trup* 'body, corpse' (OCS *trupъ*), *porosit* 'request' (OCS *porāčiti*), *pobratim* 'friend, adopted brother' (Bulg. *pobratim*), *pusullë* 'note' (OCS *posълъ*), *grusht* 'fist' (OCS *grъstъ*), *vidër* 'otter' (Croat. *vidra*), *breg* 'hill, bank' (OCS *brěgъ*), *prag* 'threshold' (Bulg. *prag* < PSI. **porgъ*), etc. Some of these loanwords entered the language before some early Slavic sound changes in the 8th century, e.g. the "liquid metathesis" (*baltë*, *daltë*), the change of **u* to *ъ* (*pusullë*, *grusht*), etc. Others must have been borrowed before the change of **ū* > **y* (OCS *y*), which also occurred early, cf. Alb. *matukë* 'hoe' << Proto-Slavic **matūkā* (not OCS *motyka*), *karrutë* 'river-bed' << Proto-Slavic **karūta* (not OCS *koryto*). The placename *Bushtrica*, *Bustricë* (from Proto-Slavic **būstrīca*, cf. OCS *bystřъ* 'quick') must have been borrowed after the regressive (Proto-Slavic) palatalization, but before the change **ū* > **y*. Slavic nasal vowels are preserved in early loanwords, e.g. Alb. *rend* 'order' << OCS *rědъ* < Proto-Slavic **rinda-*.

Turkish loanwords are present in all languages of the Balkans, and Albanian is no exception, cf., e.g. *çoban* 'cowherd' (Tur. *çoban*), *budalla* 'idiot' (Tur. *budalla*), *asqer* 'soldier' (Tur. *asker*), *bojë* 'colour' (Tur. *boja*), *hoxha* 'moslem priest' (Tur. *hoca*), *qejf* 'pleasure' (Tur. *keyif*), *haber* 'news' (Tur. *haber*), etc.

Of particular interest are words attested in Albanian and Romanian, where no Romance (or Latin) proto-form can be posited, e.g. Alb. *nepërkë* 'serpent' vs. Rom. *năpîrcă*, Alb. *shtrungë* 'a shed for sheep' vs. Rom. *strungă*, Alb. *bollë* 'a kind of snake' vs. Rom. *balaur* 'big snake' (cf. also Croat. *blavor* 'a lizard'; L *bolea* 'salamander' is also likely to have been borrowed from some Balkan substratum language), *brez* 'girdle' vs. Rom. *brîu*, Alb. *i bukur* 'pretty' vs. Rom. *a se bucura* 'to rejoice', Alb. *vatër* 'hearth' vs. Rom. *vatră* (cf. also Croat. *vatra* 'fire'; possibly all of these words were borrowed -via Proto-Albanian – from L *ātrium* 'fire-place'), Alb. *vjedhull* 'badger' vs. Rom. *viezure*, Alb. *i bardhë* 'white' vs. Rom. *barz* 'swan', Alb. *avull* 'smoke, fog' vs. Rom. *abur(e)*, Alb. *sorrë* 'crow' vs. Rom. *coiară*, etc. The origin of these words is uncertain. They are most likely to be prehistoric loans from Albanian (or some closely related, but extinct ancient Balkan language) in Romanian.

SAMPLE TEXTS

1. Ismail Kadare: *Generali i ushtrisë së vdekur* “The General of the Dead Army” (p. 1)

The following extract is from the best known novel of the greatest contemporary Albanian writer, Ismail Kadare (b. 1936). The novel is about an Italian general who comes to Albania after the 2nd World War to conduct the exhumation, and arrange for the repatriation of the remains of Italian soldiers. “The General of the Dead Army” is a literary monument of the Stalinist socialist realism with Albanian flavor. In the flashbacks from the war, Albanian partisans slaughter Germans and Italians by battalions (though Germans never had more than one division in Albania), and post-war Tirana is represented as a modern metropolis with car traffic, night clubs, and foreign embassies, although those things first appeared there only a couple decades ago. Nevertheless, the novel is quite readable, and some passages are very well written.

Mbi tokën e huaj binte shi dhe dëbore përzier bashkë. Sqota kishte qullur betonin e pistës së aeroportit, ndërtesat, rojat. Ajo lagte fushën dhe brigjet dhe shkëlqente mbi asfaltin e zi të xhadesë. Sikur të mos ishte fillimi i vjeshtës, çdo njeriu tjetër, përveç gjeneralit të porsaardhur, do t'i dukej ky shi monoton një koincidençë e trishtuar. Ai po vinte ne Shqipëri nga një shtet i huaj për tërheqjen e eshtrave të ushtarëve të vrarë këtu në luftën e fundit botërore. Bisedimet midis dy qeverive kishin filluar që në pranverë, por kontratat perfundimtare u nënshkruam vetëm në fund të gushtit, taman në kohën kur filluan vranësirat e para. Pra, ishte vjeshtë dhe shiu kishte kohën e tij. Gjenerali e dinte këtë.

Englished:

Rain and snow were falling simultaneously on the foreign land. The mixture of rain and snow had soaked the concrete runway of the airport, the buildings, and the guards. The snow-storm covered the plain and the hills, and it made the black asphalt of the road shine. As it still wasn't the beginning of autumn, to any other man, but to the general who had just arrived, it would appear that this monotonous rain was a sad coincidence. He had come to Albania from a foreign country to search for the remains of the soldiers killed here in the last world war. Negotiations between the two governments had begun already in spring, but the final contracts were signed only by the end of August, just at the time when the first grey days begin. Yes, it was autumn, and it was the rainy season. The general knew that.”

Etymological comments:

mbi ‘on, about’: preposition, related to Skr. *abhi*, G *ámphi*, OIr. (preverb) *imb-*, probably from PIE **h₂mbhi*.

tokë ‘earth’ has no etymology.

i huaj ‘foreign’ is from something like **kseny-*, or **skeny-*. The first possibility seems more probable in light of the Greek word for foreigner, *kseînos*.

binte is the imperfect of *bie* ‘hit, fall’ < PIE **bheryoh₂* (L *ferio* ‘wound’, Lith. *barti*). It is homophonous with *bie* ‘carry’, which is from PIE **bheroh₂* ‘carry’.

shi has been compared to G *húei* ‘it rains’, Toch. B *swese* ‘rain’, but this cannot be true, since PIE **s-* gives *gj-* in Albanian before vowels (*sh* is found only before stops). One

could always posit an *ad hoc* rule “PIE *s- > Alb. *sh-* in monosyllables, but this would be the only example of it.

dhe ‘and’, was originally (an emphatic?) particle. It cannot be related to L *hoc* (Hamp), or *huic* (Huld), since PIE *g’h- would have given Alb. *d-*. The proto-form must have been PIE *dō, so it can be related to OCS *da* ‘yes’. Alb. *e* is probably from L *et* ‘and’ (conjunctions can be borrowed, cf., e. g., Latv. *un* ‘and’ from Germ. *und*).

dëbore ‘snow’ has no satisfactory etymology. The all-purpose PIE verb *bher- ‘carry’ was often invoked, but it is difficult to see both the semantic and the formal connection.

përzier ‘mixed’ contains the common prefix *për* and the root of *ziej* ‘boil’.

bashkë ‘together’ Etym?

sqotë f. ‘rain and snow, snowstorm’ has no etymology. It is a rare word, not found in some dictionaries.

kishte is the 3sg. imperfect of *kam* ‘have’. The present stem is from PIE (athematic) *kapmi ‘hold’ (cf. L *capio*, Goth. *haban* ‘have’), but the imperfect stem is difficult to account for. Perhaps analogy with *ishte* ‘was’ (from *ēshtë*) played a role, but *ishte* also has unexplained *i-*.

qullur ‘drenched, wet, soaking’. Used as a participle with the imperfect of *kam* it forms the plusquamperfect I, thus *kishte qullur* ‘had soaked’

beton, **pistë**, **aeroport** are all modern borrowings, with obvious meanings. *E* and *së* are connecting particles that Albanian uses to bind head nouns to following dependent genitives.

ndertesë ‘building’ is a verbal noun from *ndertoj* ‘buildt’, which has no etymology.

rojë ‘guardian’ is a derivative of the verb *ruaj* ‘to guard’, which is probably related to ON *røkja* ‘to take care of’ < *h₂reh₁g- (cf. also G *arégō* ‘defend’).

ajo ‘she’, and *ai* ‘he’ are usually derived from a particle *a-* (perhaps from the PIE pronominal stem *e-/o-), and the PIE pronominal stem *so- (masc.), *seH₂- (fem.). This is supported by the plurals *ata* (masc.), *ato* (fem.), because the PIE demonstrative showed suppletism of *s- (nominative sg.) and *t- (other cases and numbers). PIE *s is claimed to have disappeared in the juncture, and *j* is a hiatus-filler, thus we should suppose PIE *o-seh₂ > PAlb. *a-so > a-o > ajo. I cannot say I am fully convinced of this, but there is no better explanation

lagte is the imperfect of *lag* ‘to wet, moisten’. Perhaps can be compared to OIr. *lobaid* ‘putrescit’, *lobur* ‘weak’ < PCelt. *lob-ro- < PIE *logw-.

fushë ‘plain’ is probably from L *fossa* ‘ditch’.

breg, pl. *brigje* ‘hill, embankment’ is a Slavic loan-word, cf. Russ. *béreg* ‘bank (of the river)’, Croat. *brijeg* ‘hill’.

shkëlqente is the imperfect of *shkëlqej* ‘to brighten’, a verb with no etymology.

asfalt requires no explanation.

i zi, fem. *e zëzë* ‘black’ has been related to Lith. *júodas* ‘black’ by Çabej. This etymology depends, however, on his theory that PIE *y sometimes gives *z* in Albanian, but this is far from established.

të is an (inflected) particle used for connecting the noun with a dependent genitive.

xhade ‘road’ is a loan-word from Turkish (Tur. *cadde* ‘id.’).

sikur ‘if, as if’ (compounded of *si* and *kur*).

mos is a negation, related to Skr. *mā*, G *mē*, Toch. AB *mā*, all from the PIE (prohibitive) negation *meh₁. The Albanian form should be derived from *meh₁k^we, where *-k^we is a conjunction (Skr. *-ca*, L *-que*, etc.).

fillim ‘beginning’ is a verbal noun derived from *filloj* ‘begin’. Etymology is uncertain, but a derivation from L *filum* ‘thread’ has been proposed.

vjeshtë ‘fall, autumn’ has no etymology.

çdo ‘every, each’.

njeri, def. *njeriu* 'man' is identical to Skr. *nṛ-*, G *anēr* 'man', PIE *H₂ner, acc. *H₂ner-m, gen. *H₂neros. The vocalism of the Albanian word shows that the shape of the acc. sg. was generalized. *-i* is a productive suffix (cf. *ari* 'bear' < *H₂rtk'os, Hitt. *hartagga*).

tjetër 'other, another'. Dialects show that the original form had *j-*, e. g. *jetri* in the dialect of Falconara. Standard Albanian *tjetër* probably owes its *t-* to the particle *të* (crasis). PAIb. *yetro- 'other' can be compared to Umb. *etro-*, OCS *jeterъ* 'other'.

gjeneral does not require an etymological explanation; *gjenerali* is the definite form.

porsaardhur is compounded from *porsa-* 'just now' and *ardhur*. *Ardhur* is a (suppletive) participle of *vij* 'come', and it should be derived from PIE *h₁rg'h- (cf. G *érkhomai*, OIr. *regaid* 'shall go'). As a noun, *porsaardhur* also means 'newcomer'.

dukem 'seem, appear' is a middle verb, from the root *duk-*, which has no clear etymology (perhaps from G *dokēi* 'it appears'. *Do t'i dukej* is 3sg. conditional, literally 'it would appear to him (t'i)').

ky, fem. *kjo* are demonstratives, probably from something like *k^wo-so, *k^wo-seh₂, if *s can be lost in juncture (Huld). *k^wo- is, of course, the interrogative-relative stem seen in L *quod*.

koincidence e trishtuar 'a sad coincidence'. In Albanian, adjectives and nouns are connected by means of an inflected particle, *i* (m.) viz. *e* (f.). Of course, *trishtuar* is a loan-word from Latin (*tristis*).

ai 'he' is the masculine of *ajo* (cf. above).

po vinte is the 3sg. progressive imperfect of *vij* 'come', which is a Latin loan-word (*venio* >> Alb. *vij*).

në 'in' is the same proposition as G *en*, L *in*, and OIr. *īn*, PIE *en.

Shqiperi as the name for 'Albania', and *Shqiptar* for 'Albanian'; the words are attested from 14th century onward, but *Shqiptar* is used as an ethnonym only from the 18th century. It is probably derived from the adjective *shqip* (*escipio* in early documents) meaning 'clear, distinctive', so the name of the language *gjuha shqipë* was originally 'clear, distinctive language'. The earlier ethnonym, *Arbëresh*, is still preserved in the Albanian enclaves of Southern Italy and in Croatia (*Arbanasi*). Both ethnonyms are etymologically unclear, however; the verb *shqipoj* 'speak clearly, understand' has been derived from L *excipio* 'take out, overhear'.

nga 'from'. Etymology is unclear.

një 'one', also indefinite article (indefinite articles usually come from the numeral 'one'). Though details are unclear to me, it is certain that *një* is the same word as L *ūnus*, OIr. *óin*, PIE *oynos (or *H₃eynos).

shtet 'country' must be from Italian *stato*, rather than from Latin, because L *status* does not mean 'state'.

për is a preposition, comparable to L *per*, G *perí*, etc.

tërheqjen is a verbal noun from the verb *tërheq* 'to pull, take back', containing the prefix *tër-*, and the root *heq* 'pull, draw'. Alb. *heq* (Salamis *helk'*) is usually compared to G *hélkō* 'draw, pull', L *sulcus* 'furrow', but this etymology has serious flaws: PIE *s- cannot give Alb. *h-*, and positing a laryngeal by-form *Hwólkeyoh₂ (Hamp) creates more problems than it solves.

eshtë 'bone' is a pluralized form of *asht* 'bone', a word with impeccable PIE etymology, cf. Hitt. *haštai*, Skr. *asthi* 'bone', G *ostéon*, L *os*, *ossis*. The proto-form was probably, *h₂osth₁, though some prefer *h₃esth₁.

ushtar 'soldier' is related to *ushtri* 'army', contained in the title of the novel. Both are ultimately probably derived from L *exercitus* 'army' (but see below). *Eshtrave të ushtareve* are both in the genitive plural case. The ending *-ve* is not related, as some people claim, to the PIE D-Abl. pl. ending *-bhyos

vrarë 'killed' is related to the verb *vras* 'kill'. These words have no etymology.

këtu 'here' contains the PIE interrogative-relative pronominal stem *k^wo-, and a particle, perhaps *tu (a similar particle, *tu*, is attested in Skr.

luftë 'war' is from Vulgar Latin *luctu-*. The change *ct* > *pt* is also characteristic of Balkan Romance.

fund 'bottom, end', from L *fundus*.

botëror 'world's' is an adjective from *botë* 'world'. The etymology of this word suggested by Meyer (who relates it to L *betere* 'to go') is anything but persuasive.

bisedim 'conversation, negotiation' is another loanword from Slavic, cf. Croat. (arch.) *besjeda* 'talk, speech'.

midis 'between' is the same word as *midis* 'middle, center'. Since PIE *medhyos 'middle' (Skr. *madhya-*) gave Alb. *mes* 'middle', the history of *midis* is unclear (*d* should have been lenited to *dh* or dropped word-medially). There is also Alb. *mjet* 'middle', as if from PIE *medho-, with dialectal final devoicing.

dy 'two' can be derived directly from PIE *duwoH (Skr. *d(u)vā*, L *duo*, etc.). See the Phonology section.

qeveri 'government'. Probably from a derivative of Turkish *çevirmek* 'to turn, translate, govern'.

filluar is the participle of *filloj* 'begin', and *kishin filluar* is 3pl. plusquamperfect.

pranverë 'spring' is from Romance (Vulgar Latin?) *přimavera*

por means 'but', and has no clear etymology.

perfundimtar 'final', adjective containing *fund* 'end, bottom', from L *fundus*.

u nënshkruam 'was signed' is passive aorist of *nënshkruaj* 'to sign', which contains the Latin loan-word *shkruaj* < *scribo*.

Gusht 'August' is obviously from L *augustus* (*mensis*).

taman 'just' is a Turkish loan-word attested in most languages of the Balkans, cf. Serb. *taman* 'just', Tur. *tamam*.

kohë 'time, season' is certainly the same word as OCS *časъ* 'moment', but the proto-form is disputed: either *kēso-, or, more probably, *kēsk'o- (see above).

kur 'when' is either from L *quā hōrā* (it has to be an allegro-form, since the vocalism does not match), or from something like *k^wur- (cf. Lith. *kur* 'where').

filluan is 3sg. pres. of *filloj* 'begin' (see above).

vranesirë is a rare word. It can be translated as 'gloomy day'.

i parë 'first' should be derived from PIE *prh₃wo- 'first' (cf. Skr. *pūrva-*, Croat. *prvi*). Another form, *prh₃mo-, is found in Baltic (Lith. *pirmas*) and Germanic (OEng. *forma*).

pra means 'therefore, in consequence'. As usual with such words, the etymology is obscure.

ishte is 3 sg. imperfect of *është* < *h₁es- 'to be'.

e tij 'his', agreeing in gender with the feminine noun *kohë*. The masculine form would be *i tij*.

dinte is 3 sg. imperfect of *di* 'to know'. This verb is usually compared to Skr. *dhī-* 'insight, knowledge'. This just might be true, but in such short forms there is always the possibility of chance correspondence.

2. A dialogue between Enver Hoxha and Khrushchev (abridged from E. Hoxha, *Vepra*, XIX, 372-381)

This delightful piece of conversation gives us insight into the mindset of communist dictators. It was published in Enver Hoxha's Collected Works and artistically adapted in a novel by Ismail Kadare. The political background of the meeting is the dispute between

Albania and the Soviet Union about the Soviet submarine bases on Albanian territory in the early sixties.

Khrushchev (Kh): *Një shoku juaj u ka thënë ushtarakëve tanë se Hrushovi nuk është marksist.*

Enver Hoxha (E): *Lidhur me çështjen e ushtarakëve ne u kemi folur shokëve tuaj. Ç'interes kemi ne që ushtarakët tanë grinden në bazën e Vlorës! Kurse ju nxirrni "dokumente" se një shoku ynë paska thënë kështu e ashtu. Shikojni mirë ushtarakët tuaj.*

Kh: *Shoku Enver, mos e ngrini zërin!*

E: *Nëse do të hiqni bazën, do të bëni një gabim të madh. Ne kemi luftuar edhe pa bukë e të zbathur, por asnjëherë nuk i jemi përkulur askujt.*

Kh: *Nëndetëset janë tonat.*

E: *Tuajat dhe tonat, ne luftojmë për socializmin. Territori i bazës është yni. Për nëndetëset ne kemi marrëveshje të firmuara që i njohin të drejta shtetit shqiptar. Unë mbroj interesat e vendit tim.*

Kh: *Ju nxeheni, ju më keni pështyrë, me ju nuk mund të bisedosh.*

E: *Ju gjithnjë thoni se ne jemi gjaknxehtë.*

Kh: *Ju shtrembëroni fjalët e mia. Përkthyesi a ei di rusishten?*

E: *Mos u kapni pas përkthyesit, ai e di fort mirë rusishtën*

Englished:

Kh: One of your comrades told our soldiers that Khrushchev is no Marxist. E: We have discussed the question of the soldiers with your comrades. Why would it be in our interest that our soldiers should quarrel in the Vlora naval base? While you draw "documents" that one of our comrades allegedly spoke thus or otherwise. You should watch your soldiers better. Kh: Comrade Enver, do not raise your voice! E: If you pull out with your naval base, you will make a big mistake. We fought without bread and we were barefoot, but we never bowed to anyone. Kh: The submarines are ours. E: Yours and ours, we are fighting for socialism. The territory of the base is ours. We have signed treaties about the submarines that recognize the rights of the Albanian state. I defend the interests of my country. Kh: You are getting excited, you spat on me, one cannot talk with you. E: You always say we have warm blood. Kh: You distort my words. Does the interpreter speak Russian? Do not take it on the interpreter, he speaks Russian very well.

Etymological comments:

shoku 'comrade' (def. Nom. sg.) << L *socius*

ushtarak 'soldier', from the same root as *ushtri* 'army' << L *exercitus* (an alternative etymology derives *ushtri* from L *hostis* 'host', with unexplained -r-).

lidhur is a participle of *lidh* 'bind' < PIE *leyg- (L *ligō*).

çështjen Acc. sg. def. of *çështje* 'question' << L *quaestio*

paska thënë 'allegedly said' (admirative, 3 sg. of *them* 'say')

zërin Acc. sg. def. of *zë*, *zëri* 'voice', from *g'hwono- (OCS *zvонъ* 'sound').

kemi luftuar is 1pl. perfect of *luftoj* 'fight' << L *luctāre*

bukë 'bread' is probably from L *bucca* 'mouth, bite', cf. Middle Greek *boúkka* 'biscuit', Romanian *bucă* 'food'.

nëndetëset 'submarines' (Npl. def.) is a compound containing *det* 'sea' (of disputed origin, perhaps from *dhewbeto-, cf. OE *deop* 'deep').

marrëveshje 'understandings' is compounded from *marr* 'take' and *vesh* 'ear' (< *h₂ows-, OCS *uxo* 'ear').

firmuara Npl. of the participle of *firmoj* 'sign', from Italian *firmare*

njohin 3pl. ipf. of *njoh* 'recognize' < *g'neh₃-sk- (L *co-gnōsco*).

drejta 'rights' is Acc. pl. of *drejt* << L *directus*

shtetit Gsg. of *shtet* 'state' from Italian *stato*.

vendit Gsg. of *vend* 'place, region, country' does not have a certain etymology; sometimes it is derived from the verb *ve* 'to put', of unknown origin (perhaps related to Goth. *winja* 'pasture'); it is also possible, however, to derive it from L **āventum* from the (admittedly unattested) compound verb **āvenīre* (from *venio* 'come').

të bisedosh (2sg. subj. pres. of *bisedoj* 'talk'), from Slavic (OCS *besēda* 'talk').

gjithnjë 'always' is compounded of *gjithë* 'all' and *një* 'one'; the etymology of *gjithë* is disputed: it is usually segmented into *gji-* and the suffix *-th-*, and the element *gji-* is derived from PIE *sem- 'one' (L *semel* 'once'), but the phonetic development is doubtful.

gjaknxehhtë 'warm-blooded' is a compound containing *gjak* 'blood' < *sok^wo- (OCS *sokъ* 'juice') and a derivative of *zej* 'boil' (see above).

fjalët (Acc. pl. def.) from *fjalë* 'word' << L *fabella* 'tale' or PIE *spel- (Goth. *spill* 'story').

fort 'strongly, very' << L *forte*

3. A passage from Buzuku (1555) in Old Gheg (Luke 16, 1-4) in transcription.

1. Ënd 'ate mot: tha Jezu dishipujet vet: Ish një nierī fort i begatë, qi kish një spenxatuor; e kũ kle shtim ëndë të madhe desgracje përpara tī, ai tue i faruom gjithë gjanë e tī.

2. E grishi, e i tha: Qish anshtë këta qi ũ gjegjem ën teje ? A më arësye ën gjithësei kë përdām; përse ti mā nukë të mundnjësh këha paret mā me përdām.

3. E tha spenxatori ëndë vetëhenë: Qish të banj, se em zot më muor bukënë t'eme e ũ mā spenxatuor nukë të jēm? ũ me mihunë nukë mundinj, me votë për dyer kam dhunë.

4. ũ dī qish të banj, qysh ai më martë këtë bukë, ũ përhapë t' i jes ëndë shtëpī.

Englished:

1 At that time Jesus said to his disciples, "There was a very rich man who had a steward, and he [the steward] was put into great dishonour before him, (they said that) he was wasting all his goods.

2 He called him and said to him, "What is this that I hear about you? You must hand me over the proof of all, for you can no longer be steward."

3 And the steward said to himself, "What shall I do, since my master took my bread and I am not to be a steward anymore? I am not strong enough to dig, and I am ashamed to go begging.

4 I know what to do, since he took this bread from me, so that still I may stay in their houses.”

Etymological notes:

mot 'time' < PIE *meh₁-to-, from the root *meh₁- 'to measure' (Skr. *māti* 'measures', OCS *měra* 'measure').

dishipujēt 'disciples' < L *discipuli*

vet 'own', reflexive particle < *h₂ewto- (G *autós*)

nierī 'man' (Std. *njeri*) < PIE *h₂ner- 'man' (G *anér*)

fort 'very' < L *forte*

begatë 'rich' < Slavic (OCS *bogatъ*)

kish 'had', ipf. 3sg. of *ka* 'have' (< *kap-mi, L *capio*, etc.)

spenxatuor < Italian *dispensatore* (lit. 'the dispenser')

kle shtīm 'was put'; *kle* is the Old Albanian form of Std. Alb. *qe* 'was' (aor. 3. sg. of *jem* 'be'), and *shtīm* is the Gheg participle of *shtie* 'throw'. Etym?

madhe fem. of *madh* 'big' < PIE *meg'h₂- 'big' (L *magnus* etc.)

desgracje < Italian *disgrazia*

gjithë 'all' < ? (perhaps related to PIE *sem- 'one', but this is disputed, see above).

gjanë pl. of *gjë* 'thing' (Tosk *gjë*, *gjëri*). Etymology unknown: the connection with L *iūs* 'soup', found in some handbooks, is too speculative, and the derivation from the PIE participle *h₁s-ent- of the verb 'to be' (Skr. *sat-*) is possible, but semantically difficult.

grishi aor. 3 sg. of *grish* 'call upon'. Etymology unknown (sometimes speculatively connected with Lith. *gařsas* 'voice, sound').

tha aor. 3 sg. of *them* 'say' < PIE *k'ens- (L *censeo*, etc.)

anshtë Gheg 3 sg. pres. of *jam* 'be' (Std. *është*)

gjegjem 'I hear' (Std. *dëgjoj*), Etym?

arësye 'proof, reason' (Std. *arsye*) << L *rationem*

ũ 'I', Gheg form of Std. *unë* < *h₂ew-nu (?), where *h₂ew- is the reflexive particle (G *autós*).

të banj 'do' (1sg. pres. subj.), Std. *bëj*, probably from PIE *bheh₂- 'say' (L *farī*)

zot 'lord, master', without etymology. Some derive it from *dyēw- '(sky-)god' (G *Zeús*, Skr. *Dyau-*), but this is semantically difficult.

muor aor. 3sg. of *marr* 'take'

me mihunë Gheg infinitive of *mih* 'dig'. Etymology is unclear, but formally a derivation from the root *meysk'- 'mix' (L *misceo*, OHG *miskan*) is possible.

mundinj 1sg. pres. of *mund* 'can' (impersonal in Std.)

me votë Gheg infinitive of *votoj* 'vote, vow, implore'; in the phrase *votë per dyer* 'beg for mercy' (lit. 'ask by the doors'), where *dyer* is the pl. of *derë* 'door' < *dhwōr- (L *forēs*, OCS *dvrьbь*).

kam 1sg. pres. 'have'

dhunë 'damage', 'shame'. Etym?

martë opt. of *marr* 'take'. Etym?

bukë, def. Acc. sg. *bukën(ë)* 'bread' << L *bucca* (see above)

dī 1sg. pres. of *dī* 'know', perhaps from *dhiH- (Skr. *dhī-* 'insight')

t'...jes 1sg. subj. of *jes* 'stand, remain'; perhaps related to *jetoj* 'live' << L *aetas* 'life'

shtëpī 'house' << L *hospitium*

4. Cinderella (Fragment of a folk story in the Gheg dialect from Arbanasi in Croatia, from Tagliavini 1937).

Bír-i i král-it i ko puvét qish ko me ken shoto bútit, ma ató
son of king.gen.sg. them has asked what has to be under barrel.Asg., but they.fem.

i kan than da nu(k) ko kúrgj, ali gjél-i ko zan me kantát
him have.3pl. said.3pl. that not has nothing, but the.rooster has started to sing

e bír-i i kral-it prap ko puvét qish munje me kén shoto but-it
and the.son the.king-gen.sg. again has asked what could to be under the.barrel.gen.sg.

e ató prap i kan than da nu(k) ko kurgj. Ma të trétën er
and they.fem. again him have said that not has nothing. But the third time

kur gjél-i ko kantát thi párën er: Kikiríku
when the.rooster has sung as first time: Cock-a-doodle-doo

lipa cura pot koritu... [Croatian]
beautiful girl under the trough

ai i ko bo me iq but-in. Apéna
he them has made to raise the.barell-acc.sg. Ass soon as

bút-in e kan iq gji ka(n) mbét
the.barrel-acc.sg. it have.3pl. raised all have.3pl. remained

të qudítum e mo shum pe gji maqi-a e bí-at të 'thói kur e
the.pl astonished and more a.lot of all the.stepmother and the.girl.pl. of her when her

kan po Kucocénera të víshët gji n or inveqe ató kan
have.3pl. seen Cinderella the.fem. dressed all in gold on.the.contrary they.fem have.3pl. thought

mendúa m'e po gji ashtú të shtrancäte. Bír-i i kral-i(t) ko vót me
thought to.her see all so the.fem.shabby. The.son the.king-gen.sg. has gone to

ja mát kapúcën; apéna ja ko šti në kamb ko po
her measure the.shoe-acc.sg. as.soon.as her has put on foot has seen her

da bash ësht e thoj
that just was hers

ái búkër e ko mar e ko kunór; math pak mot këtó bí-at
he nicely her has taken and has married; after little time those.fem daughter-nom.pl.

pe të dyte grue kan art në jat me lyp e
of the second wife have.3pl. come to her to beg(mercy) and

athoi jo bo mílo math gji atá qish i kan bo e ju ko lan
to them it made merciful after all that what him have done and them has given

shum shola.
a.lot money

NOTE: This dialect has undergone strong influences from both Croatian and Italian (the Venetian dialect). Tagliavini's informants in 1937 were all trilingual. This can be seen in many loanwords from both languages, as well as in some syntactic constructions (e.g. the use of Croatian subordinator *da*, the existence of Romance-type analytic causative with **běj** 'do' + infinitive, etc.). It also shows some special phonological developments, e.g. the change of Alb. *q* to [tš], *gj* to [dž], the loss of Alb. *h* and the Gheg nasal vowels, the change of *a* to *o*, the sporadic change of *th* to *s* and of *dh* to *l*, the merger of Alb. *r* and *rr* (there is only ordinary *r* in Arbanasi), the loss of some final consonants, etc.

Etymological comments:

apena 'as soon as' is, of course, from Italian *appena*.

art 'come' (Standard Alb. **ardhur**) is a participle derived from the PIE root **h₁erg*- 'go' (Olr. *eirgg* 'go!', G *érkhomai*).

bash 'just' is from Croat. *baš*

bir '-i-son', as well as **bijë** 'daughter' have been derived from a PIE root **bhey-* 'shoot, spring' (G *phîty* 'sprout', Arm. *bir* 'stick, club'), but I doubt this etymology. The connection with L *filius* 'son' is impossible, as this is from PIE **dheh₁-i-* 'to suck'.

bo 'do, make' (Gheg. **bāj**, Standard **běj**, participle **bërë**) is derived from Proto-Alb. **banyō* 'make appear', from PIE **bheh₂-* 'shine, appear' (G *phaínō*, Skr. *bhā-*).

but-i 'barrel' is from Venetian (cf. Italian *botte*).

da 'that' is the Croatian subordinator (*da*).

er 'time' (Standard Alb. **herë**) is usually derived from L *hōra*, but the initial *h-* is unexplained (*h-* was lost in Latin pronunciation in the 1st century BC).

gjel-i 'rooster' is from L *gallus*. The vocalism is due to singularization.

gji 'all' (Standard Alb. *ghithë*) has been derived from PIE **sih₂-k'o-*, where **sih₂-* is the feminine form of the demonstrative **so-* 'this' (cf. G *ía* 'one'). As speculative as any Albanian etymology.

grua 'wife, woman', pl. **gra** is often derived from the PIE word for 'woman', **g^wenh₂* (G *gyné*, OCS *žena*, etc.), with irregular change of **gn-* > **gr-*; however, it can also be related to G *graūs* 'old woman'.

inveqe 'on the contrary' is from Italian (*invece*).

iq 'raise' (Standard Alb. **heq**) is usually derived from PIE **selk-* (G *hélkō* 'draw').

kamb 'foot' (Standard Alb. **këmbë**) is from Vulgar Latin *camba* 'leg' (cf. It. *gamba*).

kantat 'sung' is from Italian (*cantare*), probably through Croatian (cf. Croat. dial. *kantat* 'sing').

kral 'king' is from Croatian (*kralj*).

kur 'when' has been compared to Lith. *kuř* 'where' (PIE **k^wur*?).

mar (Standard Alb. **marr**) 'take' is usually connected with G *mārē* 'hand' (which is a dubious word), L *mānus* 'hand', PIE **meh₂-* (cf. also OCS *manąti* 'give a sign, give a wink').

mat 'measure' is probably from **mh₁-t-*, from PIE **meh₁-* 'measure' (OCS *měra*, L *mētiōr*).

me 'with', occurring in the Gheg infinitive (preceding the participle) is probably related to OE *mip* 'with' and Skr. *smat* 'with', but details are unclear.

mendua 'thought' (Standard Alb. *mendoj* 'measure') is a denominative verb built from *mend* 'thought', which is a loan from L *mente-*.

milo 'merciful' is from Croat. *mio*, *mila* 'dear'

pak 'a little' is from L *paucus*

parë 'first' is from PIE *prh₃- 'first' (cf. G *prōtos* < *prh₃to-).

prap 'again' has been derived from the preposition *për* and some particle (? *apë, *para* 'before'), but this is not very helpful.

po 'seen' (Gheg. **pa**) is the suppletive aorist stem to **shoh** 'see'. The often-quoted derivation from PIE *spek'- 'see' (G *sképtomai*, L *-spicio*) is difficult, if not impossible.

quditum 'astonished' is from Croatian (*čuditi* 'astonish').

shola 'money' is from Venetian (cf. Italian *soldi*).

shoto 'under' is from Venetian (cf. Italian *sotto*).

shtrancatë 'shabby' is from Venetian (cf. Italian *stracciato*)

shumë 'a lot' is from L *summum* 'the highest'

than (Standard Alb. **thanë**) is the participle of **them** 'say', which is generally derived from PIE *k'ens- 'praise' (L *censeō*, etc.).

zan (Standard Alb. **zë**, Gheg. **zā**) 'catch, grasp, start' etymologically obscure. It has been derived from PIE *g^{wh}en- 'strike' (Skr. *hanti*, Hitt. *kuenzi*, assuming the operation of Pedersen's law). The semantic development is difficult, however.

REFERENCES

- Boretzky, N. *Der türkische Einfluss auf das Albanische*, I-II, Wiesbaden 1975-6.
- Camaj, M. *Albanische Wortbildung*, Wiesbaden 1966.
- Camaj, M. *La parlata albanese di Greci in provincia di Avellino*, Firenze 1971.
- Çabej, E. *Hyrje në historinë e gjuhës shqipe*, Prishtinë 1970.
- Çabej, E. "Über einige Lautregeln des Albanischen", *Die Sprache* 18/1972: 132-154.
- Çabej, E. *Studime gjuhësore I-VIII*, Prishtinë 1988.
- Çabej, E. *Studime për fonetikën historike të gjuhës shqipe*, Tiranë 1988.
- Demiraj, B. *Albanische Etymologien*, Amsterdam-Atlanta 1997.
- Demiraj, Sh. *Gramatikë historike e gjuhës shqipe*, Tiranë 1986.
- Demiraj, Sh. *Gjuha shqipe dhe historia e saj*, Tiranë 1988.
- Demiraj, Sh. *The Origin of the Albanians (linguistically investigated)*, Tiranë 2006.
- Desnickaja, A. V. *Albanskij jazyk i ego dialekty*, Leningrad 1968.
- Elsie, R. *Early Albania. A reader of historical texts 11th-17th centuries*, Wiesbaden 2003.
- Fiedler, W. *Das albanische Verbalsystem in der Sprache des Gjon Buzuku (1555)*, Prishtinë 2004.
- Friedman, V. A. *Studies on Albanian and other Balkan Languages*, Pejë 2004.
- Friedman, V. A. "The age of the Albanian admirative: a problem in historical semantics", in: Kim, R. et al. (eds.) *Ex Anatolia Lux. Anatolian and Indo-european studies in honor of H. Craig Melchert on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday*, Ann Arbor & New York 2010: 31-39.
- Gjinari, J. *Dialektet e gjuhës shqipe*, Tiranë 1989.
- Gjinari, Jorgji, Bahri Beci, Gjovalin Shkurtaç, Xh. Gosturani, *Atlasi Dialektologjik i Gjuhës Shqipe*, I-II, Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë / Università degli Studi di Napoli l'Orientale, 2007, 2008.
- Haarmann, H. *Der lateinische Lehnwortschatz im Albanischen*, Hamburg 1972.
- Hamp, E. P. "Evidence in Albanian", in: *Evidence for Laryngeals*, Den Haag 1965: 123-141.
- Hamp, E. P. "Albanian", in: J. Gvozdanović (ed.) *Indo-European Numerals*, Berlin 1992: 835-922.
- Hock, W. "Zur Vorgeschichte des albanischen Lautsystems", in: *Sprachkontakt und Sprachwandel*, ed. by G. Meiser & O. Hackstein, Wiesbaden 2005: 261-274.
- Huld, M. *Basic Albanian Etymologies*, Columbus (OH) 1984.
- IEW = J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bern 1959.
- Ismajli, R. *Studime për historinë e shqipes në kontekst ballkanik*, Prishtinë 2015.
- Ivanov, V. V. *Slavjanskij, bal'tijskij i rannebalkanskij glagol. Indoevropskie istoky*, Moskva 1981.
- Jokl, N. *Linguistisch-kulturhistorische Untersuchungen aus dem Bereiche des Albanischen*, Berlin 1923.
- Katičić, R. *Ancient Languages of the Balkans*, The Hague 1976.
- Klingenschmitt, G. "Albanisch und Urindogermanisch", *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 40, 1981: 93-131.
- Klingenschmitt, G. "Das Albanische als Glied der indogermanischen Sprachfamilie", in: J. E. Rasmussen (ed.) *In honorem Holger Pedersen*, Wiesbaden 1994: 221-233.
- Kortlandt, F. "Albanian and Armenian", *KZ* 94/1984: 243-251.
- Lafe, Genc. "Der italienische Einfluss auf das Albanische. Erster Teil - Allgemeine Erörterungen" *Ponto-Baltica* 8-9, 1998-9: 47-172.
- Landi, A. *Gli elementi latini nella lingua albanese*, Napoli 1989.

- Matzinger, J. "Messapisch und Albanisch", *International Journal of Diachronic Linguistics and Linguistic Reconstruction* 2/2005: 29-54.
- Matzinger, J. *Der Altalbanische Text Mbsuame e Kreshterë (Dottrina cristiana) des Lekë Matrënga von 1592. Eine Einführung in die albanische Sprachwissenschaft.* Dettelbach: J.H. Röhl, 2006.
- Matzinger, J. "Neue Etymologien zu (alt)albanischen Verben", *Die Sprache* 45/2005: 81-109.
- Matzinger, J. "L'elemento latino della lingua albanese – un impatto della Via Egnatia?" *Palaver* 6/2017: 29-60.
- Meyer, G. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der albanesischen Sprache*, Strassburg 1891.
- Mihăescu, H. "Les éléments latins de la langue albanaise", *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 4/1966: 5-33, 323-363.
- Ölberg, H. M. *Untersuchungen zum indogermanischen Wortschatz des Albanischen und zur diachronen Phonologie, auf Grund des Vokalsystems*, Innsbruck 1972.
- Ölberg, H. M. "Einige Überlegungen zur Laryngalthorie (an Hand des Albanischen)", *KZ* 86/1972: 121-135.
- Orel, V. *Albanian Etymological Dictionary*, Leiden 1998.
- Orel, V. *A Concise Historical Grammar of the Albanian Language*, Leiden 2000.
- Pellegrini, G-B. *Avviamento alla linguistica albanese*, Palermo 1995.
- Sasse, H-J. *Arvanitika. Die albanischen Sprachreste in Griechenland, Teil 1*, Wiesbaden 1991.
- Schmacher, S. 2009. "Lehnbeziehungen zwischen Protoalbanisch und balkanischem Latein bzw. Romanisch", in: Schmitt, O. J. & Frantz, E. A. (eds.) *Albanische Geschichte. Stand und Perspektiven der Forschung*, München: 37-59.
- Schumacher, S. and Matzinger, J. *Die Verben des Altalbanischen. Belegwörterbuch, Vorgeschichte und Etymologie*, Wiesbaden 2013.
- Shuteriqi, Dh. *Shkrimet shqipe në vitet 1332-1850*. Prishtinë 1978.
- Stipčević, A. *Iliri*, Zagreb 1989.
- Svane, G. *Slavische Lehnwörter im Albanischen*, Århus 1992.
- Tagliavini, C. *L'albanese di Dalmazia*, Firenze 1937.
- Topalli, K. *Fjalor etimologjik i gjuhës shqipe*. Tiranë 2017.
- de Vaan, M. "PIE *e in Albanian", *Die Sprache* 44/2004: 70-85.
- Vermeer, W. "The prehistory of the Albanian vowel system: A preliminary exploration", in: *Evidence and Counter-Evidence. Fs. Kortlandt, Vol I*. Amsterdam 2008: 591-608.
- Wilkes, J. *The Illyrians*, Oxford 1992.
- Ylli, Xh. *Das Slavische Lehngut im Albanischen. 1. Lehnwörter*, München 1997.

ABBREVIATIONS

A) Languages

Alb. = Albanian
Arm. = Armenian
Bulg. = Bulgarian
Croat. = Croatian
G = Greek
Germ. = German
Goth. = Gothic
Hitt. = Hittite
Hom. = Homeric (Greek)
It. = Italian
L = Latin
Latv. = Latvian
Lith. = Lithuanian
OCS = Old Church Slavonic
OEng. = Old English
OHG = Old High German
OIr. = Old Irish
ON = Old Norse
OPr. = Old Prussian
PIE = Proto-Indo-European
PSl. = Proto-Slavic
Rom. = Romanian
Russ. = Russian
Serb. = Serbian
Skr. = Sanskrit
Std. = Standard (Albanian)
ToA = Tocharian A
ToB = Tocharian B
Tur. = Turkish
Umb. = Umbrian
VL, VLat = Vulgar Latin
W = Welsh

B) Grammatical terms

A, Acc. = Accusative
Abl. = Ablative
aor. = aorist
art. = article
D = Dative
def. = definite
f., fem. = feminine
fut. = future
G, Gen. = Genitive
indef. = indefinite

interr. = interrogative particle
ipf. = imperfect
m. = masculine
N, Nom. = Nominative
n., neut. = neuter
neg. = negation
opt. = optative
part. = particle
pl. = plural
pple = participle
pres. = present
sg. = singular
< = is derived from
<< = is borrowed from
* = unattested form

Appendix: Latin loanwords in Albanian

Most of the following Latin words were borrowed in the form corresponding to their oblique cases, e. g. Alb. *ligj* 'law' is from L *lege-* (rather than Nom. sg. *lēx*), *urdhër* 'order' is from *ordine-* (rather than from *ordo*), etc. Some Albanian words represent Vulgar Latin forms not attested in texts (e. g. metathesized **acingulus* rather than *agniculus*), and for some words (marked with ?) Latin origin has been disputed.

accipiter 'kite, a kind of vulture' >> *qift*
**acingulus* (< *agniculus*) 'little lamb' >> *qengj* 'lamb'
aer 'air' >> *erë* 'wind'
aerāmen 'copper' >> *rem*
aestimo 'estimate' >> *çmoj*
? *aetās* 'period, life' >> *jetë* 'life' (doubted by Orel)
**apparamenta* 'plow' >> *parmendë* (uncertain etymology)
altare 'altar' > *lter* (dial.), *elter*
alveolum 'gum' >> *nullë* (by dissimilation from **lullë*)
amīcus 'friend' >> *mik*
angelus 'angel' (from Gr.) >> *engjëll*
anguilla 'eel' >> *ngjalë*
angustus 'narrow' >> *ngushtë*
aprīlis 'April' >> *prill*
aptus 'capable' >> *aftë*
arca 'chest, box, coffin' >> *arqe*
arcus 'bow' >> *ark*
arēna, harēna 'sand' >> *rërë*
argentum 'silver' >> *argjend*
arma 'weapons' >> *armë*
arrivō 'arrive' >> *arrij*
asper 'steep' >> *ashpër* 'harsh, heavy'
? *ātrium* '(heated) room, atrium' >> *vatër* 'herd' (uncertain etymology)
augustus 'August' >> *gusht*
aurum 'gold' >> *ar*
? **āventum* (ppl of *āvenio* 'come from') > *vend* 'place' (uncertain new etymology)
avunculus 'uncle' >> *ungj*
baptizo (from Gr.) >> *pagëzoi*
bēstia 'beast' >> *bishë* 'wild beast'
brūma 'cold, frost' >> *brymë* 'frost, icicles'
būbalus 'waterbuffalo' >> *buall*
bubulcus 'ploughman' >> *bujk* 'peasant, agriculturalist'
bucca 'mouth' >> *bukë* 'bread' (< 'food')
buxus 'boxwood' >> *bush*
caballus '(work) horse' >> *kalë* 'horse'
caelum 'sky' >> *qiell*
calamus 'reed, straw' >> *kallm*
calix 'chalice' >> *qelq* 'chalice'
**calthinus* 'yellowish' (from *caltha* 'Calendula officinalis') >> *kaltër* 'blue'

camera 'arch, vault' >> *qemër* 'snake's coil'
camisia 'shirt' >> *këmishë*
canapus 'hemp' >> *kërp* (Gheg *kânëp*)
candëlla 'candle' >> *këndellë*
canis 'dog' >> *qen* (must be a late loanword, since there is no rhotacism in Tosk)
canna 'reed, rush' >> *kanë*
cānōsa (*avis*) 'greyish (bird)' >> *kanushë* 'stork'
cantharus 'large drinking vessel' (from Gr.) >> *kandër* 'jar, vessel'
canto 'sing' >> *këndoj*
capesso 'snatch' >> *kafshoj* 'bite'
capō 'rooster' >> *kapua*
capreolus 'roeibuck' >> *kapruall*, *kapruell*
carduēlis 'goldfinch' >> *ngardhuliqe* (*ng-* must be from a prefix, and the suffix *-iqe* is Albanian)
carrum 'two-wheeled wagon' >> *karrë* 'cart'
? *cāseus* 'cheese' >> *rëkosh* 'fat cheese' (*rë-* must be an Alb. prefix; also the vocalism is unexpected)
castānea 'chestnut' >> *gështenjë*
castellum 'castle, fort' >> *kështjellë*
causa 'cause, thing' >> *kafshë* 'animal'
cella 'cell, room' >> *qelë* 'priest's house'
centrum 'center' >> *qendër*
centum 'hundred' >> *qind*
cēpa 'onion' >> *qepë*
cerasus, **cerasius* 'cherry' >> *qersh*
cerrus 'kind of oak' >> *qarr*
Christī nātāle 'Christmas' >> *kërshëndellë*
Christus 'Christ' (from Gr.) >> *Krisht*
Christiānus 'Christian' >> *kështer*
cicer 'chick-pea' >> *qiqër*
cīmex 'bed bug' >> *çimkë*
cingula 'girth' >> *qingël*
cīvitas 'city' >> *qytet*
clārus 'clear' >> *qartë* (*-të* is a suffix)
clausūra 'lock, bar' >> *këshyre* 'mountain path'
cocceus 'scarlet' >> *kuq* 'red'
coccum 'berry' >> *kokë* 'head, bulb, berry' (perhaps by singularization from pl. *cocca*)
coeo 'copulate' >> *qij* (perhaps from a new, inner-Albanian present **qinj*)
cōgito 'think' >> *kujtoj* (with unexpected loss of *-g-*, probably a late loanword)
cognātus 'kinsman' >> *kunat* 'brother-in-law'
colostrum 'colostrum' >> *qumësht* (probably via **comostrum*)
coma 'hair' (from Gr.) >> *kom*, *komë*
compater 'godfather' >> *kumtër*
computo 'count' >> *kuptoj* 'understand'
consilium 'advice, council' >> *këshill*
consocer 'bridegroom's father, father in law' >> *krushk*
consul 'consul' > *kushull*
contra 'against' >> *kundër*
conventum 'assembly' >> *kuvend* 'assembly, discussion'
cornūta 'horned' >> *kërrute* 'ewe with horns'
corōna 'wreath' >> *kurorë*

corpus 'body' >> *korp*
cotoneum 'melon, canteloupe' (from Gr.) >> *ftua*
coxa 'hip' >> *kofshë*
corvus 'raven' >> *korb*
crispa 'crisp, uneven' >> *kreshpë* 'sheep with long and rough wool'
crista 'rooster's comb' >> *kreshttë*
crocus (diminutive of *crocus* 'saffron') (from Gr.) >> *krrokull*
crux 'cross' >> *kryq*
cubitus 'elbow' >> *kut*
culcitra 'cushion' >> *kultër*
culmen 'top' >> *kulm*
cuneus 'wedge' >> *kunj*
cuppa 'glass' >> *kupë*
? *cyma* 'young shoots of cabbage' >> *qime* 'hair'
Cyprium (aes) 'copper' >> *qipër*
damnum 'damage' >> *dëm*
dēsidero 'wish' >> *dëshiroj*
? *dēspicor* 'despise' >> *ndëshkoj* 'castigate, punish' (*n-* is from an Albanian prefix)
debitor 'debtor' >> *detuar*
diābolus 'devil' >> *djall*
Diāna (a goddess) >> *Zanë* (a fairy) (Gheg); Tosk *Zërë*
dignus 'worthy' > *denjë*
directum 'straight' >> *drejtë*
drāco 'dragon' (from Gr.) >> *dreq* 'devil'
dūro 'last' >> *duroj* 'be patient'
ecclēsia 'church' >> *kishë*
episcopus 'bishop' (from Gr.) >> *peshkop*
ēricus 'hedgehog' >> *iriq*
ervilla 'lentil' >> *rrylë*
? *et* 'and' >> *e*
exāmen 'swarm of bees' >> *shemë*
**excambio* 'exchange' >> *shkëmbej*
? *excipio* 'to take out, to succeed, to overhear' >> *shqipoj* 'to talk clearly, to understand'
exemplum 'example' >> *shembëll, shembull*
? *exercitus* 'army' >> *ushtri* (perhaps rather from *hostis*, with unexplained *-r-*)
expeditus 'easy, expedite, quick' >> *shpejtë* 'quick, fast'
? *fābella* 'short story' >> *fjalë* 'word' (doubted by Orel; L -should have given Alb. *-a-*, not *-ja-*)
fabrica 'workshop' >> *farkë* 'smithy'
faciēs 'face' >> *faqe*
falco 'falcon' >> *fajkua*
fāma 'fame, reputation' >> *famë* 'fame, rumour'
familia 'family' >> *fëmijë* 'child'
fascia 'band, bandage' >> *fashqe* 'diaper'
fātum 'destiny' >> *fat* 'luck'
februārius 'February' >> *fruer*
fēmina 'woman' >> *femër* 'woman, female'
fīcus 'fig' >> *fik*
fidēs 'faith' >> *fe*
**filiānus* 'godson' (a derivative of *filius* 'son') >> *fijan*
filiāster 'son in law' >> *thjeshtër* (dial. *fjeshtër*)

filum 'thread' >> *fill*
fistulo 'whistle' >> *vishkëlloj* (with unexpected *v-* instead of *f-*)
floccus 'lock of hair' >> *flok* 'hair'
forte 'strongly' >> *fort*
fossa 'ditch' >> *fushë* 'field'
fossatum 'surrounded by a ditch' >> *fshat* 'village'
fraxinus 'ash tree' >> *frashër*
fructūs 'fruits' (pl. of *fructus*) >> *fryt* 'fruit'
fundus 'bottom' >> *fund*
furnax 'oven' >> *furrë*
galbinus 'green' >> *gjelbër*
gallus 'cock' >> *gjel* (with **a > e* by singularization?)
gaudium 'joy' >> *gaz*
gens 'people, kind' >> *gjinde* pl. 'people'
glandula 'gland' >> *gjëndër*
glīs 'dormouse' >> *gjer*
Graecus 'Greek' >> *grek*
? *grātus* 'pleasant, charming' >> *grat* 'profit, use' (a substantivized adjective)
grex 'herd, flock' >> *grigj*
hastile 'spear' >> *shtijë* 'spear, ray'
? *hebdomas* 'week' (from Gr.) >> *javë* (if **bdm > -v-* is regular)
? *hōra* 'time' >> *herë* (unexplained *h-*)
hospitium 'guest-house' >> *shtepi* 'house'
ianuārius 'January' >> *janar*
iēiūno 'fast' >> *ëngjënon* (probably with an Albanian prefix *en-*).
ilex 'oak' > *ilqe*
īlia 'groin, flank' >> *ijë* 'hip, flank'
imperātor 'emperor' (re-shaped as **imperātus* >> *mbret* 'king')
impleo 'fill' >> *mbloj*
in altum 'in the high (space)' >> *lartë* (Gheg *naltë*) 'high'
indico 'impose, inflict' >> *ndikoj* 'influence'
infernū 'hell' >> *ferr*
insula 'island' >> *ishull*
iūdico 'judge' >> *gjykoj*
iunctūra 'joint, juncture' >> *gjymtyrë* 'joint, limb'
iuvenca 'young cow' >> *gjuvengë* 'harlot'
languor 'feebleness, languor' >> *lëngyer* 'typhoid fever'
? *largus* 'generous, bountiful' >> *larg* 'far' (if via 'of a bountiful distance'; uncertain etymology)
lāridum, lārdum 'lard, bacon' >> *lardh* 'fat bacon'
laurus 'laurel' >> *llar*
laus 'praise' >> *llaft* 'talk'
laxa (cutis) 'loose (skin)' >> *lafshë* 'crest of a bird, comb'
leo 'lion' >> *luan*
lepra 'leprosy' >> *lepër, lebër*
lepus 'rabbit' >> *lepur*
lēx 'law' >> *ligje*
liber 'free' >> *lirë*
lilium 'lily' > *lil*
lima 'saw' >> *limë*
linum 'linen' >> *li, liri*

littera 'letter' >> *letër*
lucrum 'gain' > *lukër* 'sheep'
luctor 'fight' >> *luftoj*
ludo 'play' >> *luaj*
? *lutum* 'mud' >> *lucë* (unexplained -c-)
magister 'master' >> *mjeshtë* 'master, mason' (with unexpected loss of -g-)
māius 'May' >> *maj*
maledīco 'curse' >> *mallkoj*
malleus 'hammer' >> *maj*
malleolus 'little hammer' >> *macollë* 'mallet' (by dissimilation from **mallollë*)
malum 'evil, misfortune' >> *mall* 'homesickness, longing'
mania 'frenzy, wrath' (from Gr.) >> *mëri* (Gheg *mëni*)
manica 'sleeve' >> *mëngë*
mānico 'come in the morning' >> *mëngo* 'rise early'
mantīle 'towel' >> *mandile* 'kerchief' (must be late, since -e is preserved)
marīto 'marry' >> *martoj*
mārs 'March' >> *mars*
mārtis (*diēs*) 'Tuesday' >> *martë*
masculus 'male' >> *mashkull*
medico 'heal' >> *mëkoj* 'feed'
medicus 'doctor' >> *mjek*
mens 'mind, spirit' >> *mendje* 'intellect, spirit' (also pl. *mend*)
menta 'mint' >> *mendër* (presupposes a suffix in -r)
metaxa 'raw silk' (from Gr.) >> *mëndafsh*
milium 'millet' >> *mel*
mīlle 'thousand' >> *mijë* (probably from the pl. *milia*)
mirāculum 'wonder, miracle' >> *mrekulli*
miseria 'misery, pity' >> *mëshirë* 'pity, mercy'
missa 'mass' >> *meshë*
modus 'measure' >> *modh* 'bushel'
molīna >> *mulli*
mōmentum 'moment' >> *mënd*
mors 'death' >> *mort*
mūlus 'mule' >> *myll*
mūrus 'wall' >> *mur*
mustum 'must' >> *musht*
myrrha 'myrrh' >> *merë* 'scent, fragrance'
nātūra 'nature' >> *natyrë*
nepōs 'nephew, grandson' >> *nip*
nodus 'knot' >> *nyjë*
nodunculus 'little knot' >> *nëngj*
numerus 'number' >> *numër*
oblāta 'wafer' >> *blatë*
oleum 'oil' >> *vaj*
olivaster 'old olive tree' >> *ullashtrë*
olīvus 'olive tree' >> *ulli* (Gheg *ullī*)
opera (pl. of *opus*) 'work' >> *vepër* 'work'
orbus 'deprived' >> *verbër* 'blind'
ordo 'order' >> *urdhër*
ōro 'pray' >> *uroj* 'wish, congratulate'
orphanus 'orphan' (from Gr.) >> *varfër* 'poor'

otus 'horned owl' (from Gr.) >> *utë, hutë* (perhaps directly from Gr.?)
 ? *ōvum* 'egg' >> *ve*
pacto 'appease' >> *pajtoj*
paeniteo 'repent' >> *pendoj* (with syncope and *nt* > *nd*)
pāla 'spade, shovel' >> *pallë* 'pole, club'
palātium 'palace' >> *pëllas*
palumba 'dove' >> *pëllumb*
palūs 'swamp' >> *pyll* 'forest' (< 'uninhabited area')
pānus 'thread wound upon a bobbin' >> *pe* (Gheg *pë*) 'thread'
pār 'equal' >> *par* 'pair'
parādīsus 'paradise' (from Gr.) >> *parriz*
parens 'parent' >> *prind*
paro 'prepare, defend' >> *proj* 'defend, guard'
pascha 'Easter' (from Gr.) >> *pashkë*
passus 'step' >> *pashë* 'fathom, pace'
**pāstūratīcum* 'grazing land tax' >> *pashtrak*
patior 'suffer' >> *pësoj*
paucus 'few' >> *pak*
 ? *pauso* (*pausāre*) 'to halt' >> *pushoj* 'to rest' (perhaps a late loanword, after *-au-* > *-o-*)
pāx 'peace' >> *paq*
peccātum 'sin' > *mëkat* (*m-* is a prefix, cf. *mpkat* in Bogdani)
penna 'feather' >> *pendë* (? with degemination and lengthening of *e* in open syllable)
pensum 'weight' >> *peshë* 'weight, stone'
pepo 'melon' >> *pjepër*
per intu 'by the inside' >> *mbrënda* 'inside' (probably with the Alb. prefix *en-*)
persica 'peach' >> *pjeshkë*
pignus 'pledge' >> *peng* (*ng* > *nj* in *signum* > *shenjë*)
pigrītor 'be lazy' >> *përtoj*
piscis 'fish' >> *peshk*
placet 'like' >> *pëlqen*
plāga 'wound' >> *plagë*
planca 'board, plank' >> *plang* (can also be from later Romance)
plumbum 'lead' >> *plumb*
pollicāris 'belonging to a thumb' >> *pulqer* 'thumb'
pōmum 'fruit' >> *pemë*
populus 'people' >> *popull*
pōpulus 'alder' >> *plep*
porrum 'leek' >> *porr*
 ? *porta* 'door' >> *port* (perhaps from Italian)
 ? *post* 'behind' >> *poshtë* 'down, below' (semantically difficult)
potestās 'power' >> *pushtet*
praeda 'booty' >> *pre*
praeo (*praeire*) 'precede' >> *prij* (Gheg *prîj*) 'lead'
presbiter 'priest' (from Gr.) >> *prift*
prōmitto 'promise' >> *premtoj*
pūblica (*via*) >> *pukë* 'promenade'
pūblicus 'common, public, ordinary' >> *puk* 'foolish'
pullus 'chicken' > *pulë*
pulvis 'dust' >> *bulbër* 'street dust'
puppis 'stern' >> *pupë*
puteus 'well, source' >> *pus*

quaero 'ask, demand' >> *qeroj, qëroj*
quaestio 'question' >> *çështje*
quarta 'fourth part' >> *kartë* 'measure of grain'
 ? *quī* 'which' >> *që, qi* 'which, that'
quiētus 'quiet' >> *qetë*
radō 'shave' >> *rruaj* 'scrape, shave'
rāpum 'turnip' >> *rrep*
rārus 'rare' >> *rrallë* 'scant, rare' (with -ll- by dissimilation)
ratio 'count, reason' >> *arsye* 'reason'
rēgula 'rule, norm' >> *rregull*
rēmus 'oar' >> *rrem*
rēnīdeo 'shine' >> *rrëngjej*
rēnovo 'renovate' >> *arnoj, arënoj* 'mend'
resīna 'resin' >> *rrëshinë*
rēte, rētis 'net' >> *rrjetë, rret*
rēx 'king' >> *regj* (probably a late loan, because of the reflex *r-* rather than *rr-* for L *r-*)
ricinus 'tick' >> *rriqër*
rīpa 'river bank, coast' >> *rripë* 'stone wall'
robur 'kind of oak' >> *rrobull* 'mountain pine' (must be a late loanword, since -b- is preserved)
Rōsālia 'Pentecost' >> *rrëshajë*
rota 'wheel' >> *rrotë*
rūga 'crease, shallow groove' >> *rrugë* 'street'
ruīno 'ruin' >> *rrënoj* 'ruin, devastate' (a Gheg word)
 ? *saburra* 'sand ballast' >> *zhur, shur* 'gravel'
sacculum 'small bag' >> *shakull* 'goatskin'
sacro 'devote' >> *shëkroj*
saeculum 'age, century' >> *shekull* 'century'
sagitta 'arrow' >> *shëgjetë, shigjetë*
salix 'willow' >> *shelg*
salvo 'save, deliver' >> *shëlboj*
sancta Trīnitās >> *shëndërtat* 'Trinity'
sanctus 'saint' >> *shënjtë*
 **sanguiniāta* 'the best part of the hunted animal' >> *shëngjetë*
sanitās 'health' >> *shëndet*
 **sanitōsus* 'healthy' >> *shëndoshë*
sarmentum 'twig, branch' >> *shermend* 'shoot, sprout'
scabiēs 'itch' >> *zgjebe* (unexpected voicing of initial cluster)
scientia 'science' >> *shkencë*
scintilla 'spark' >> *shkëndijë* (? from a derivative **scintillia*)
 ? *scōria* 'dross' >> *zgjyrë* 'rust' (unexpected voicing of initial cluster)
scribo 'write' >> *shkruaj*
scūtum 'shield' >> *shqyt*
secrētus 'secluded, separated' >> *shkretë* 'lonely, secluded, deserted'
sector 'cutter' >> *shat* 'hoe'
sella 'saddle' >> *shalë*
sēnsūm 'feeling' >> *shisë* (by dissimilation from **shishë*)
sequor 'follow' >> *shikoj* 'look, pay attention'
serra 'saw' >> *sharrë*
servio 'serve' >> *shërbej*
 ? *sexa* 'sixth (part of measure)' >> *shishe* 'bottle'

sīc 'yes, so' >> *shi* 'exactly, right'
similo 'to resemble' >> *shembëllej*
socius 'companion' >> *shoq* (the form *shok* is a back-formation, by analogy with pl. *shoq*)
solum 'sole' >> *shollë*
sorbus 'rowan, mountain ash' >> *shurbë*
sors 'destiny, lot' >> *short*
spartum 'broom' >> *shpartë*
spatha 'sword' >> *shpatë*
spero 'hope' >> *shpërej*
spiritus 'spirit' >> *shpirt*
spissus 'thick' >> *shpeshë* 'frequent, thick'
spodium 'ashes' (from Gr.) >> *shpuzë*
stratum 'layer' >> *shtrat* 'bed, layer'
stringo 'press' >> *shtrëngoj*
summum 'highest' >> *shumë* 'a lot, very'
surdus 'deaf' >> *shurdh*
tabella 'table, plate' >> *tabelë* (must be late, because *-b-* is preserved)
? *tactus* 'touch' >> *taftë* 'stench, scorching heat' (uncertain semantics)
tēgula 'brick' >> *tjegull*
testimōnio 'testify' >> *dëshmoj*
timōr 'fear' >> *tmerr*
tīna 'large wine vessel' >> *tirë* 'wine barrel'
tinea 'moth' >> *tenjë*
trabes 'beam, post' >> *tra*
trifolium 'shamrock' >> *tërfojë*
trifurcus 'hay fork' >> *tërfurk*
tristis 'sad' >> *trishtuar*
tructa 'trout' >> *troftë*
turbo 'disturb' >> *tërboj* 'enrage'
turma 'crowd' >> *turmë*
turpis 'shameful, ugly' >> *turp* 'shame'
turris 'tower' >> *turrë* 'haystack, pile of logs'
turtur 'turtle-dove' >> *turtull*
upupa 'hoopoe' >> *pupë*
vadum 'ford' >> *va*
? *vae* 'oh, woe' >> *vaj* (may be accidental similarity)
valeo 'be worth, cost' >> *vlej*
venēnum 'poison' >> *vrer* 'gall, bile'
venio 'come' >> *vij*
? *vēr* 'spring' >> *verë* 'summer' (may be inherited)
veritās 'truth' >> *vërtet*
versus 'verse' >> *vjershë* 'poem'
vescor 'feed oneself' >> *ushqej* 'feed'
vestigo 'follow, track' >> *vëzgoj*
vetus 'old' >> *vjetër*
via 'path, way' >> *vijë* 'furrow, line'
vicīnus 'neighbour' >> *fqinj*
? *vīpera* >> *fjerë* (uncertain etymology)
virgo 'virgin, maiden' >> *virgjër* (Gheg *virgjin*)
viridis 'yellow' >> *verdë*

virtūs 'strenght, manhood' >> *vërtyt* 'physical strength'
visito 'visit, watch' >> *vështoj, vështroj* 'see, watch'
vitium 'vice' >> *ves* 'bad habit'
vītricus 'stepfather' >> *vitërk*
voluntās 'will' >> *vullnet, vullëndet*
vulnerāta pple of *vulnerō* 'wound' >> *vurratë*

