

**A CONCISE HISTORICAL
GRAMMAR OF THE
ALBANIAN LANGUAGE:
Reconstruction of
Proto-Albanian**

VLADIMIR OREL

BRILL

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Reconstruction of Proto-Albanian

BY

VLADIMIR OREL



BRILL
LEIDEN · BOSTON · KÖLN
2000

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Orel, Vladimir E.

A concise historical grammar of the Albanian language : reconstruction of Proto-Albanian / by Vladimir Orel.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 9004116478 (cloth : alk. paper)

1. Albanian language—Grammar, Historical. I. Title.

PG9519 .O74 2000

491'.9915—dc21

99-053799

CIP

Die Deutsche Bibliothek - CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Orel, Vladimir E.:

A concise historical grammar of the Albanian language : reconstruction of Proto-Albanian / by Vladimir Orel. - Leiden ; Boston ; Köln : Brill, 2000

ISBN 90-04-11647-8

ISBN 90 04 11647 8

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

To Dad

“The question is,” said Humpty Dumpty, “which is to be master—that’s all ... [Words have] a temper, some of them—particularly verbs, they’re the proudest—adjectives you can do anything with, but not verbs—however, *I* can manage the whole lot!”

Lewis Carroll

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PREFACE

The present book was started in 1982, in Mikhalevo (Russia), and its first (Russian) variant was finished in 1989 when it was submitted as a second doctoral dissertation to the linguistic department of the Institute for Slavic and Balkan studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (OREL *Alb.*). At the same time, the typescript was smuggled across the border to the United States (as some other works of the present writer) but, unfortunately, got lost on way to its destination. I continued my work on the historical grammar of Albanian while simultaneously writing an etymological dictionary as well: one project fostered the other. Until 1996, I had to concentrate on the etymological dictionary which eventually saw the light in 1998 (OREL *AED*). Meanwhile, the English text was quickly finished in 1997-1998. The present grammar was used as the basis of several courses in the historical grammar of Albanian (Institute of Slavic and Balkan Studies, Moscow, 1987 and V.A. Dybo's Nostratic Seminar, 1988) and of a graduate seminar at UCLA in 1999.

The main objective of the book is to analyze the lexical material of the new etymological dictionary (the latter should be used as a data base immediately connected with the grammar), and to give a new detailed description of the linguistic development from Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Albanian to modern Albanian. Different stages of this development were not of equal interest to the writer. The history of the Albanian language understood as a description of its evolution from the earliest attested monuments (Old Albanian) to its present form remained beyond the reach of this study. For that—perfectly legitimate—kind of linguistic history of Albanian we will need another book. In my work, I deal with the transition from Indo-European to Proto-Albanian and the correspondences between Proto-Albanian and modern Albanian. Therefore, many important features of modern Albanian are not discussed here: they are relatively recent and therefore irrelevant for my main task, the reconstruction of Proto-Albanian.

Not all important features of the Proto-Albanian structure can be revealed and properly described today. Our knowledge is still very insufficient, especially in the field of Proto-Albanian morphology. The study of Proto-Albanian syntax remains in its infancy. Hence, there are natural limitations to the present work: I give a relatively full description of historical phonetics but the third chapter of the book («Morphology») is only a very brief and incomplete sketch, in particular, as far as the

Proto-Albanian verb is concerned. Two central notions of my work are Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Albanian. As far as Proto-Indo-European is concerned, its definitions or descriptions are beyond the scope of this work. The phonetic and morphological reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European used here delineates a late stage in the development of the language, a stage in which certain areal changes have already occurred, such as the loss of Indo-European laryngeals. Proto-Albanian is viewed as a language already possessing several features typical of the Albanian linguistic type. We reconstruct it in two forms: Early Proto-Albanian—immediately before the beginning of linguistic contacts with speakers of Latin/Proto-Romance (1st century CE), and Late Proto-Albanian—following the contacts with Proto-Romance and ancient Slavic dialects still close to Proto-Slavic (6th-7th centuries CE). Major changes shattered the structure of Proto-Albanian during this short but eventful period.

The work is based on the results of my own research (including the data of the *Albanian Etymological Dictionary* and numerous papers on the reconstruction of Proto-Albanian) as well as existing literature, including studies by such outstanding students of Albanian from its Indo-European perspective as MEYER, PEDERSEN, JOKL, ÇABEJ, and HAMP. In many cases, the book suggests new solutions for complicated problems of Albanian historical phonetics, and sometimes proposes revisions of my earlier studies. An attentive reader will easily notice them, especially if the literature I have adduced has been properly studied. However, references are very far from being complete; the reader should consult my etymological dictionary for more information.

The book contains four chapters—«Phonetics», «Morphology and word-formation», «Morphology» and «Vocabulary». My knowledge of the Proto-Albanian syntax is so insufficient that a separate chapter on the subject would be totally irrelevant. Inside each chapter, the text is divided into sections and paragraphs. The beginning paragraph of every section (its number always ending in zero) includes a brief list of relevant literature, some of it—with very short summaries. The book concludes with an index of Albanian forms.

Whenever Tosk and Geg forms coincide, one Albanian form is quoted. If there are phonetic differences between Tosk and Geg, two forms are adduced separated by a tilde, with the Tosk form coming first, e.g. *llërë ~ llanë*. If the word only exists in Tosk or in Geg, it is marked correspondingly. Forms from the various Indo-European daughter languages are given according to their traditional transliterations. The

same applies to Proto-Indo-European reconstruction. As the reader will notice, I tend to use what could be labelled as «late» or «Brugmannian» Indo-European. Such a reconstruction does not take into account the comparative evidence provided by Hittite and Tocharian. Albanian is a product of this «late Indo-European» and it seemed counterproductive to make our reconstruction deeper than really necessary. I use three types of arrows in the text in order to distinguish between historical development, borrowing and morphological derivation. I do not have any illusions as to the future of this little innovation—it won't be taken up. However, I want to give it a try. Usual arrows $>$ $<$ are reserved for historical change as they are normally used today. Thus, $*\bar{e} > o$ means the development of $*\bar{e}$ in time. Arrows \Rightarrow \Leftarrow are used to describe the act of borrowing. The formula *terrae mōtum* \Leftrightarrow *tërmet* deals with loanwords. Finally, arrows \triangleright \triangleleft appear in my description of word-formation. They indicate «derived from», e.g. *bir* \triangleright *birth*.

While working on the book, I was able to use the excellent facilities of the Greek-Slavonic Annexe of the Taylor Institute (Oxford), McMaster University Library (Hamilton, Ontario) and the Hebrew University Libraries (Jerusalem). I am indebted to all the above institutions as well as to my former university (Bar-Ilan University in Ramat-Gan) for their support of my research. I am also grateful to the Egged Bus Co-operative (Israel) in whose buses and coaches I wrote substantial parts of this work.

I want to express my gratitude to several people whose combination of advice, help and fierce criticism were important at various stages of my research in the field of the historical grammar of Albanian during the last seventeen years: Çlirim Bidollari (Tirana), Vladimir Dybo (Moscow), D. Ellis Evans (Oxford), John Greppin (Cleveland), Viacheslav Ivanov (Los Angeles), Irina Kalužskaia (Moscow), Evgenii Khelimski (Moscow), Alexander Rusakov (St. Petersburg), Vitaly Shevoroshkin (Ann Arbor), Vladimir Toporov (Moscow), Brent Vine (Los Angeles), Charles Xu (Calgary) and Andrei Zalizniak (Moscow). I am also grateful to Susan Rothstein and Adam Wyner of Bar-Ilan University (Ramat-Gan). Some of my advisors and friends have passed away. My gratitude to Leonid Gindin (Moscow) is mixed with the bitter taste of remembrance.

I am particularly indebted to my friend Jay Friedman (Los Angeles) who has edited the whole text (but not this sentence) and encouraged me to make numerous important changes in it.

Calgary, Alberta
November 30, 1999

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ABBREVIATIONS FOR LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

Afgh – Afghan
Alb – Albanian
Anat – Anatolian
Arm – Armenian
Att – Attic
Av – Avestan
Balt – Baltic
Bret – Breton
Bulg – Bulgarian
Corn – Cornish
Dac – Dacian
Dor – Doric
E – English
EPA – Early Proto-Albanian
Fr – French
G – German
Gk – Greek
Gmc – Germanic
Goth – Gothic
Hitt – Hittite
Hom – Homeric
IE – Indo-European
Illyr – Illyrian
Ion – Ionic
Iran – Iranian
Ir – Irish
Lat – Latin
Latv – Latvian
Lith – Lithuanian
LPA – Late Proto-Albanian
Lyd – Lydian
MDu – Middle Dutch
Mess – Messapic
MGk – Middle Greek
Mlr – Middle Irish
MLG – Middle Low German
MW – Middle Welsh
Nlr – Modern Irish
OAlb – Old Albanian
OCorn – Old Cornish
OE – Old English
OFris – Old Frisian
OHG – Old High German
Olr – Old Irish
OLat – Old Latin

ON – Old Norse
OPers – Old Persian
OPrus – Old Prussian
OS – Old Saxon
Osc – Oscan
Osset – Ossetic
Phryg – Phrygian
Rom – Romance
Rum – Rumanian
SCr – Serbo-Croatian
Scyth – Scythian
Skt – Sanskrit
Slav – Slavic
Thrac – Thracian
Toch – Tocharian
Umbr – Umbrian
W – Welsh

1. PHONOLOGY

1.1. Vowels

1.1.0. Indo-European vocalism (as it can be reconstructed after the loss of laryngeals) was relatively well preserved in Early Proto-Albanian. However, its evolution from Early Proto-Albanian to Late Proto-Albanian and, then, to Albanian is quite complicated. Numerous phonological changes obscure many details.

1.1.1. Short vowels

1.1.1.0. The system of short vowels experienced two major transformations: the merger of IE **a*, **o*, and (in some phonological contexts) **ə* at the Early Proto-Albanian level and, later, complex phonological changes of **e*.

Literature: MEYER *Alb. St.* III 83-87; MANN *Language* XXVI 379-388, XXVIII 35, *Hist. Gr.* 27; BARIĆ *Ist.* 25 (**e* > *i* in *mish*); PISANI *Saggi* 100; HAMP *KZ* LXXXIV 140-141 (conditions of the diphthongization of **e*); GEORGIEV *Trakite* 204-205 (Albanian-Dacian parallel in the development of **e*); ÇABEJ *St.* III 112-113; OREL *SBja Kontakty* 145-152.

1.1.1.1. IE **a* was preserved as EPA **a* > Alb *a*. EPA **a* changes to Alb *e* under the influence of various phonetic or morphological factors.

acar ‘sharp’ < EPA **atsara* < IE **ak̥-* id. (OIr *aiche* ‘sharp’, Gk ἄκρον ‘point, top’, Lith *ašrūs* ‘sharp’, Slav **ostrъ* id.).

ashkë ‘wood splinter’ < EPA *a(k)škā* < IE **aks-* ‘axis’ (Skt *ākṣa-*, Gk ἄξων, Lat *axis*).

bathë ‘broad bean’ < EPA **batsā*: Gk φακή ‘dish of lentils’, φακός ‘lentil’.

dhallë ‘buttermilk’ < EPA **dzaalā*: Gk γάλα id.

elb ‘barley’ < EPA **albr̥*: Gk ἄλφι.

kap ‘to seize, to grasp’ < EPA **kapa* < IE **kap-* ‘to seize’ (Gk κάπτω ‘to snap’, Lat *capiō* ‘to seize, to take’, Goth *haban* ‘to hold, to have’).

keq ‘bad, evil’ < EPA **kakja*: Gk κακός id.

maj ~ *mâj* ‘to feed, to fatten’ < EPA **mazdnja* < IE **mazd-* ‘feeding’ (OHG *mast*, Skt *médas-* ‘fat, marrow’).

1.1.1.2. IE **o* yielded EPA **a*. The latter reflects as Alb *a*, but raises to Alb *e* in certain phonetic conditions (see 2.2.3). EPA **a* appears as *ě* ~ *â* before nasal consonants.

derr ‘pig’ < EPA **darja* < IE **ǵhorjos* id. (Gk χῶρος).

gĵě ~ *gĵâ* ‘thing’ < EPA **san(s)* < IE **sont-s* ‘being’ (Skt *sant-*, Gk ὄν).

mardhě ‘chill, frost, ice’ < EPA **mardzā*: Slav **morzъ* ‘frost’.

natě ‘night’ < EPA **nakti-* corresponding to IE **nok^ht-* id. (Skt *nākt-*, Gk νύξ, Lat *nox*).

nesēr ‘tomorrow’ < EPA **natšōr* < IE* *nok^htjōr* (W *neithiwr*, *neithwyr* ‘last night’, Bret *neizæer*, *neizür* id.).

pa ‘without, before, then’ < EPA **apa* reflecting IE **apo* (Skt *ápa* ‘away, off’, Gk ἀπό ‘from’, Goth *af* ‘from, without, before, then’).

1.1.1.3. IE **ə* gave similar reflexes, i.e. EPA **a* later becoming a source of Alb *a* or, in specifically defined conditions (2.2.3), becoming Alb *e* or *ě*.

flak ‘to throw, to fling’ < EPA **awa-laka*, zero-grade of IE **lĕk-* ~ **lĕk-* ‘to bend, to jump’ (MHG *lecken* ‘to throw back, to spring’, Lith *lekiù*, *lĕkti* ‘to fly’, Latv *lĕkt* ‘to spring, to jump’).

kem ‘incense’ < EPA **kapna*, zero-grade of IE **k^huēp-* (Gk κἄπνός ‘smoke’).

leh ~ *lef* ‘to bark’ < EPA **laja*: Skt *rāyati* id., Lith *lójju*, *lótii* id., Slav **lajati*.

mas ‘to measure’ < EPA **matja* < IE **mǝ-t-ō*, denominative of **mē-* id. (Skt *mīmāti*, Toch A *me-*).

rrah ‘to beat, to strike’ < EPA **wragška*, zero-grade of IE **urāgh-* id. (Gk ῥάσσω).

shtazě ~ *shtázě* ‘animal’ based on EPA **stana*, from IE **stǝno-* < IE **st(h)ā-* ‘to stand’.

tallě ‘peeled corn-cob; corn-straw’ < EPA **talā*, zero-grade related to Gk τῆλις ‘fenugreek’, Lith *atólas* ‘first grass emerging after haymowing’.

It may be suspected that differently colored laryngeals (or schwa) could yield different reflexes in Proto-Albanian. Indeed, we find at least one case where the reflex seems to be EPA **e* continuing a “palatal” laryngeal in a zero-grade form of IE **dhē(i)-* < **dheHī-*:

djalë ‘boy, youth’ < EPA **dela* < IE **dhēi-* ‘to suck’ (Latv *dēls* ‘son’, Lat *fīlius* id.).

1.1.1.4. However, in some other cases IE **ə* is lost in Albanian. It seems probable that “schwa” is lost whenever it follows a stressed syllable as demonstrated by the following two examples:

baltë ‘swamp, marsh, dirt, earth’ < EPA **baltā* < IE **bhólətom* id. (Slav **bolto*, cf. Lith *báltas* ‘white’).

bardhë ‘white’ < EPA **bardza* < **bhórəǵo-* ‘shining’ (Skt *bhárğa*).

1.1.1.5. IE **e* was preserved unchanged in Early Proto-Albanian. However, later it underwent complicated transformations. The development of EPA **e* was mainly directed at diphthongization. This change, however, did not occur in certain conditions and it is not quite clear whether there existed filters preventing diphthongization or, rather, that the process took place everywhere and then was reversed in certain phonetic contexts. In the present grammar, I prefer the latter solution but alternative options should be taken into consideration as well.

1.1.1.6. EPA **e* yielded **je* (~ **ie*) in Late Proto-Albanian:

bie ‘to bring’ < EPA **berja* < IE **bher-* ‘to bring, to carry’ (Skt *bhárati*, Gk φέρω, Lat *ferō*).

dje ‘yesterday’ < EPA **de*: Skt *hyás* id., Gk χθές id., Lat. *heri* id.

dhjes ‘to defecate’ < EPA **dzets̥a* < IE **ǵhed-* id. (Skt *hadati*, Gk χέζω).

mjekër ‘chin, beard’ < EPA **smekrā* < IE **smekru-* id. (Hitt *zamankur-* ‘beard’, Skt *śmāsru-* id., Arm *mawrowk^f* id., Lith *smākras* ‘chin’).

sjell ‘to bring’ < EPA **tšela* < IE **k^hel-* (Skt *cárati* ‘to move, to walk’, Gk πέλω ‘to come into existence, to become’, Lat *colō* ‘to cultivate, to till’).

vjerr ‘to hang’ < EPA **wera* < IE **(s)wer-* (Gk ἀείρω ‘to raise up’, Lith *veriù*, *vérti* ‘to weigh’, *sveriù*, *sveṛti* ‘to open, to thread’).
vjet ‘year’ < EPA **weta* < IE **wet-* id. (Hitt *uit-*, Gk ἔτος).

It is unknown under what conditions the resulting diphthongs appear as *ie* or *je*. No complementary distribution can be established insofar as we have *diell* ‘sun’ vs. *djeg* ‘to burn’, *pjell* ‘to beget, to produce, to bear’ and *bie* vs. *dje* ‘yesterday’ and *bjerr* ‘to lose’. Quite probably, this differentiation goes back to relatively recent dialectal variations, later unified and lexicalized in modern Albanian.

1.1.1.7. In numerous words the new diphthong **je* yielded *ja* instead of *je*. In a few cases, it can be demonstrated that this change took place before **i* of the next syllable as shown by the following examples:

djathë ‘cheese’ < EPA **dedi*: Skt *dádhi* ‘sour milk’ (but cf. OPrus *dadán* ‘milk’).
jam ‘I am’ < EPA **esmi* < IE **esmi* id. (Skt *ásmi*, Gk εἶμί).
mjaltë ‘honey’ < EPA **melita* < IE **melit-* id. (Hitt *milít*, Gk μέλι, Goth *milip* id.).

Albanian *ja* is simplified to *a* after *gj*:

gjalpë ‘butter’ < EPA **selpi-*: Skt *sarpís-* ‘clarified butter’ (but cf. Gk ἔλαρος· ἔλαιον, στέαρ, εὐθηνία (Hes.), OHG *salba* ‘ointment’).
gjashtë ‘six’ < EPA **seksti-*, derivationally close to Skt *ṣaṣṭi-* ‘six tens’.

1.1.1.8. LPA **je* ~ **ja* lost its first element before **dz*, **ts*, **nd*, **nt*, **mb*. This rule is corroborated by the following examples:

bredh ‘to jump, to spring’ < **bredza* < EPA **breda*: Slav **bredq*, **brestí* ‘to wade, to ford’, Lith *brendù*, *bristi* id.
brenda ‘inside’ < EPA **(en) per en ta* < Indo-European sequence of enclitics **en per en tod*.
çandër ‘prop, support’ < EPA **štšentra* < IE **k̑entrom* (Gk κέντρον ‘goad, spur’).
dend ‘to stuff’ < EPA **(en)tenda* < IE **tend-* (Skt *tandate* ‘to weaken’, Lat *tendō* ‘to stretch’).

dredh ‘to turn, to rotate’ < EPA **dredza* < IE **dreǵh-* (Arm *dařnam* ‘to turn’).

dhemb ‘to ache’ < EPA **dzemba* < IE **ǵembh-* (Skt *jámbhate* ‘to snap at’, Lith *žembiù, žembti* ‘to cut’, Slav **zębq, *zębti* ‘to freeze, to feel cold’).

lend ‘acorn’ < EPA **lenta* < IE **lent-* ‘linse’ (Lat *lēns, lēntis*, OHG *linsi*, Slav **lętja*).

mbledh ‘to gather, to collect’ < EPA **ambi-ledza* < IE **leǵ-* (Gk *λέγω* id., Lat *legō* ‘to read, *to gather’).

tremb ‘to frighten’ < LPA **tremba* < EPA **trema* < IE **trem-* (Toch A *tärm-* ‘to get angry’, Gk *τρέμω* ‘to tremble (of fear)’, Lat *tremō* id.).

This material is opposed to forms with Proto-Albanian clusters, usually beginning with liquids—**ln, *rd, *rg, *rdz, *rk, *rm, *rn*, retaining LPA **je ~ *ja*:

djerr ‘to destroy’ < EPA **derna* < IE **der-* (Skt *dřṇāti* ‘to burst, to tear’, Gk *δέρω* ‘to skin’, Goth *gatairan* ‘to tear’).

jerm ‘delirium, absent-mindedness’ < EPA **erma*: Lith *eřmas* ‘monster’, Latv *erms* ‘wonderful apparition’.

pjell ‘to beget, to produce, to bear’ < EPA **pelna*, to Lat *pellō* ‘to drive, to push’.

pjerdh ‘to fart’ < EPA **perda* < IE **perd-* id. (Skt *párdate*, Gk *πέρδομαι*, OHG *ferzan*, Lith *pérdžiu, pérsti*).

tjerr ‘to spin’ < EPA **terka* < IE **terk^h-* ‘to turn’ (Toch B *tärk-*, Lat *torqueō*).

zvjerdh ‘to wean’ < EPA **-verdza*: Lith *veržiù, veřžti* ‘to lace, to tie’, Latv *vęrzt* ‘to turn’, Slav **verzti* ‘to bind’.

jargë ‘spit, phlegm’ < EPA **ergā*: Av *arazant-* ‘bad’, OHG *arg* ‘bad, evil’, Lith *aržùs* ‘lusty’.

LPA **je ~ *ja* is also preserved before the clusters, which tend to begin with velars:

djathtë ‘right’ < EPA **detsa* < IE **deks-* id. (Skt *dákṣiṇa-*, Gk *δεξιός*, Lat *dexter*).

jashhtë ‘outside’ < EPA **e(k)šti*, to IE **eǵh-s* ‘out’ (Gk *ἐξ*, Lat *ex*).

mjekër ‘chin, beard’ < EPA **smekrā* < IE **smekru-* id. (Hitt *zamankur-* ‘beard’, Skt *śmāśru-* id., Arm *mawrowkʿ* id., Lith *smākras* ‘chin’).

1.1.1.9. At a later stage, the first element of the diphthong was lost after affricates *c, ç*, palatals *gʲ, q* and liquids *l, r* (but after the latter only if it is the second element of a cluster). This can be observed in the following examples (some of them have already been adduced in 1.1.1.8):

cermë ‘cold, cool’.

çaj ‘to split, to cleave’, *çalë* ‘lame’, *çandër* ‘prop, support’, *çap* ‘to chew’, *çars* ‘to destroy, to spoil’, *çel* ‘to open’, *çem* ‘to bring to light, to disclose’.

gjalpë ‘butter’, *gjarpër* ‘snake’, *gjashtë* ‘six’, *gjetë* ‘foliage, green leaves’.

qas ‘to approach’, *qell* ‘to halt, to hold up, to carry’, *qep* ‘to sew (together), to seize’, *shqarr* ‘marten’, *shqerr* ‘to tear (cloth)’.

fle ‘to sleep’, *fletë* ‘wing, leaf’, *lend* ‘acorn’, *mbledh* ‘to gather, to collect’.

bredh ‘fir-tree’, *bredh* ‘jump, spring’, *brenda* ‘inside’, *dredh* ‘to turn, to rotate’, *kreh* ‘to comb’, *shtrek* ‘corpse, carrion’, *tremba* ‘to frighten’.

There is one exception to this distribution: *çjerr* ‘to tear up’.

1.1.1.10. In a few cases, LPA **je ~ *ja* loses its first element despite the rules described in 1.1.1.8-9. Thus, in *thark* ‘enclosure (especially, for milking)’ we find *a* that can be only explained from earlier **ja* if *thark* is to be derived from *thur* as suggested in *AED*, s.v. Therefore it could be necessary to revise this etymology and to return to another interpretation (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 39: from IE **k₁uorkos*). The form *esh* ‘hedgohog’ is even more difficult in view of widely attested initial **e-* in Indo-European, cf. Gk *ἐχίνοϛ* id., OHG *igil* id., Lith *ežys* id., Slav **ežb* id. The same is true of *me* ‘with’ < EPA **me(t)* etymologically connected with Goth *miþ* id., Gk *μέτᾱ* ‘in the middle, between’. Even more complicated is the case of *ferrë* ‘thorn, thorny bush’ which is compared with forms displaying a less clear root vowel, cf. ON *spjor* as opposed to Lat *sparus* ‘short spear’.

1.1.1.11. In a few words, *i* seems to reflect original **e* > **ĭe*. In *vīt* ‘year’, *i* belonged originally to the form of plural. The paradigm of this noun displayed an alternation of sg. **ĭe* ~ pl. **ĭi* and was later restructured under the influence of paradigmatic analogies. Thus, sg. *vīt* is a secondary formation replacing older *vĭjet*. Etymologically related *vīç* has its *i* of the same origin. In *zi* ‘black’, the vowel results from the contraction of earlier **zĕi* < EPA **džedĭja* < **g^hedĭjos*. As to the *i* in *ith* ‘behind’, its vowel makes it fairly close to Slavic (**jъz*) and Baltic (OPrus *is*, Lith *iš*, ELatv *iz*).

At the same time, a rather infrequent change of **e* to *i* is attested. This process took place before **m* followed by a sibilant or an affricate. Its early date is corroborated by the fact that the sibilant following emerging **i* was subject to the “ruki” rule. The following examples can illustrate this phonetic development:

gĭjthĕ, *gĭjdhĕ* ‘all’ < EPA **sem̥dza* < IE **sem-ĝho-* ‘one’ (Arm *ez* < **sem-ĝho-*).

mish ‘flesh, meat’ < EPA **memsa* < IE **memso-* id. (Skt *māṃsa* ‘flesh, meat’, Arm *mis*, Goth *mimz*, Slav **mešo*).

For the early chronology of the above shift, it is important to take into account a different change in Latin loanwords with a similar cluster (where, however, the source vowel was long):

peshĕ ‘weight; stone, boulder’ ⇔ Lat *pensum* id.

1.1.1.12. Short IE **i* yields EPA **i* > Alb *i* as shown by several attested examples:

bind ‘to convince, to persuade’ < EPA **binda*, a nasal present based on IE **bheidh-* ‘to persuade, to force’.

dhi ‘she-goat’ < EPA **aidzijā*: Gk αἴξ id., Arm *ayc* id.

ġji ‘breast, chest’ < EPA **sina*: Lat *sinus* ‘curve, fold’.

hi ‘ash’ < EPA **skina*: Lat *cinis* ‘dust’.

zi ‘black’ (see 1.1.1.11).

mbi ‘on, upon’ < EPA **ambi* < IE **ambhi* (Gk ἀμφί ‘about, around’, Goth *bi*, OIr *imm-* < Celt **mbi*).

1.1.1.13. Short IE **u* remained unchanged in EPA **u* > Alb *u* as corroborated by the following examples:

- butë* ‘soft, smooth’ < EPA **bugta* < IE **bhugh-* (NlR *bog* ‘soft’, Arm *bowt* ‘blunt’).
buzë ‘lip, end, edge, bank, stitch, rock’ < EPA **budjā*: Lith *budė* ‘tree-fungus, tinder, whet-stone’.
dru ‘tree; wood’ < EPA **druwa* < IE **dru-* id. (Slav **drъvo* ‘wood’, Skt *dru-* id., Av *dru-* id., Gk δρῦς ‘tree, oak’).
gjumë ‘sleep’ < EPA **supnā* < IE **sup-no-* (Gk ὕπνος ‘sleep’, Slav **sъnъ* id.).
hu ~ *hû* ‘picket, stake, pole, penis’ < EPA **skuna*: Slav **xujъ* ‘penis’ < **skoujos*.
sutë ‘female deer, doe’ < EPA **tšuktā* ‘horned animal’ < IE **kuk-* (Lith *šūkos* ‘comb’, *šukė* ‘crock’, *šuketas* ‘dented, chipped’).

1.1.2. Long vowels

1.1.2.0. The history of long vocalism in Proto-Albanian includes the merger of IE **ā* and **ē*, as well as the diphthongization and palatalization of rounded vowels at a later stage.

Literature: PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 282 (distribution of *y/i* < **ū*); WEIGAND *Gr.* 5; LOWMANN *Language* VIII 285-287 (tertiary opposition in length in Geg); MANN *Language* XXVI 379-388, *Hist. Gr.* 28; POLÁK *SCL* XI/3 661-668 (combinatorial mechanisms of Geg lengthening); ÇABEJ *BUSht* XIII/3 71-88 (chronology of **ū* > **î*), *StF* VII/2 77-79 (Geg lengths as continuants of Indo-European long vowels), *Probl. hist.* 136-140, *St.* III 113-114; DODI *CIEB* 265-275 (Geg lengths).

1.1.2.1. IE **ā* was preserved in EPA **ā*. Later it was labialized and changed to LPA **ā̃* and then, to Alb *o*.

- fioh* ~ *fiof* ‘to cool, to make cold’ < EPA **awa-tāja* < IE **tā-* ‘to melt’ (Slav **tajō*, **tajati*, Osset *tajyn* id.).
kollë ‘cough’ < EPA **kās-lā* < IE **k^hās-l-* id. (Slav **kašlъ*, Lith *kosulỹs*).
motër ‘sister’ < EPA **māter* < IE **māter-* ‘mother’ (Skt *mātār-*, Gk μήτηρ, Lat *māter*).
ploje ‘slaughter, carnage’ < **ploe* < EPA **plāgā*: Gk πληγή ‘blow’, Lat *plāga* ‘blow, slaughter’.

- shkop* ‘stick, cane’ < EPA **skāpa*: Gk σκᾶπος· κλᾶδος, Lat *scāpus* ‘shaft, stem’, OHG *skaft* ‘shaft, spear’.
shtoj ‘to increase’ < EPA **stānja* < IE **stā-* (Skt *tiṣṭhati* ‘to stand’, Gk ἵστανμι ‘to put’, Lat *stō* ‘to stand’, OHG *stān* id., Lith *stóju*, *stóti* id., Slav **stojǫ*, **stojati* id.).

1.1.2.2. As is clear from the attested development of IE **ē* in the position before clusters in **j*, Early Proto-Albanian still differentiated between IE **ā* and IE **ē*. Thus, we have to reconstruct EPA **ē*. However, at later stages it changed to *ā* LPA **ǎ* and merged with IE **ā* > EPA **ā*. As discussed above, the latter developed into LPA **ǎ* and eventually to Alb *o*. The evolution of IE **ē* to *o* can be corroborated by numerous examples:

- boj* ‘to drive, to mate’ < EPA **bāgnja* < IE **bhēg^h* with a lengthening similar to Lith *bėgti* ‘to run’, Latv *bēgt* id.
lodh ‘to tire, to weary’ < EPA **lāda* < IE **lēd-* (Goth *letan* ‘to let’, Gk ληθεῖν· κοπιᾶν, κερμηκέναι).
mos ‘not’ (prohibitive) < EPA **māts̥* < IE **mē* *k^he* ‘and not’ (Gk μήτε).
ngroh ‘to warm’ < EPA **en-grāja*: Slav **grějǫ*, **grěti* id.
plotë ‘full’ < EPA **plāta* < IE **plē-to-* ‘full’ (Skt *prātá-*, Lat *complētus*).
thom ‘to say’ < EPA **tsānsmi* < IE **kēns-* (OPers *θātīy* ‘to say, to speak’, Lat *cēnseō* ‘to assess, to value’).

1.1.2.3. IE **ō* was preserved as such in LPA **ō*. At a later stage, in the end of the Late Proto-Albanian period, it was diphthongized and resulted in LPA **ue*. This process was structurally parallel to, but not simultaneous with the diphthongization of **ū* that must have happened later if we can rely on the data of Latin loanwords (see 1.1.2.5). Then, LPA **ue* turned into **ö* and finally into Alb *e*.

- blertë* ‘green’ < EPA **blōra* < IE **bhlōros* (Lat *flōrus* ‘shining, bright’, OIr *blár* ‘gray’, W *blawr* id.).
hell ‘spear, spit’ < EPA **skōla*: Gk σκῶλος ‘pointed stake, thorn’.
kredh ‘to plunge, to immerse, to steep, to smother, to bespatter’ < EPA **krōda*: Slav **kradǫ*, **krasti* ‘to steal’, refl. **kradǫ se*, **krasti se* ‘to sneak, to steal up, to approach unnoticed’.

- ngjesh* ‘to gird’ < EPA **en-jāša* < IE **jōs-* (Av *yāghaiieiti* id., Gk ζώνυμι id., Lith *júosti* id., Slav **jasati* ‘to tear clothes’).
mehem ‘to fail’ < EPA **mōja*: OHG *muoan* ‘to work diligently’, Slav **majati* ‘to work slowly’.
tetë ‘eight’ < EPA **aktō(ti)* < IE **oktō(u)* ‘eight’ (Skt *aṣṭā*, Arm *owt’*, Gk ὀκτώ).
tres ‘to melt, to loosen, to dissolve’ < EPA **trōtja*: Slav **tratjo*, **tratiti* ‘to spend, to waste’.

In the beginning of the word, LPA **ue* was preserved in Alb *ve-* as in the word for ‘ear’ where a diphthong with a long first element is treated like a corresponding long vowel (see 1.1.3.8):

veshë < LPA **uesa* < EPA **ōusa*, close to Gk ὠς id.

1.1.2.4. IE **ī* did not change in Early Proto-Albanian and was later preserved as LPA **i* and Alb *i*:

- di* ‘to know’ < EPA **dīja*, zero-grade of IE **dheiə-* ‘to see’ (Skt *dhyāti*, *dhyāyati* ‘to observe, to feel, to think’, Av *dā(y)-* ‘to see’).
dikë ‘desire, lust’ < EPA **dikā*, substantivized adjective related to Lith *dỹkas* ‘idle, empty’, Slav **dikъ* ‘wild’.
ditë ‘day’ < EPA **dītā*: Gmc **tīdiz* ‘time’ (OHG *zīt*, OE *tīd*) and Skt *dīti* ‘brightness, splendor’.
hije, he ‘shadow’ < EPA **ksijā* < IE **skāi-* ~ **skī-* id. (Skt *chāyā*, Gk σκιά).
hirrë ‘whey’ < EPA **ksirā*: Skt *kṣīrā-* ‘milk’, Osset *æxsīr* id.
pi ‘to drink, to suck’ < EPA **pīja* < IE **pō(i)-* ~ **pī-* ‘to drink’ (Skt *pāti* ‘to drink’, Gk πίνω, Lat *bibō*).

1.1.2.5. IE **ū* was preserved as EPA **ū* but later diphthongized to LPA **ui* similar to LPA **ue* < **ō*. This development is proved indirectly by the similar evolution of groups including **ui-* and also, directly, by Old Albanian spelling *ui*. Eventually, **ui* changed to Tosk *y* ~ Geg *y* [ü] or, more often, Geg *i*. Cf. several examples below:

- fryj* ‘to blow’ < EPA **sprūgnja*: Lith *sprūgstu*, *sprūgti* ‘to escape, to get out’, Slav **prygati* ‘to jump, to spring’.
gjysh ‘grandfather’ < EPA **sūsā*: Skt *sūṣā* ‘progenitor’.

ngrydh ‘to work up, to foment, to ferment’ < EPA **en-krūda*: Lith *grūžiu*, *grūsti* ‘to stamp, to punch’, Latv *grūst* id.

rys ‘to practise, to exercise’ < EPA **rūtja* < IE **reuə-* : **rū-* (Lat *ruō* ‘to rush down, to fall down’, Slav **ryti* ‘to dig’, Lith *ráuti* ‘to tear, to pull’).

trys ‘to press, to compress, to squeeze’ < EPA **trūtja* < IE **treu-* ~ **trū-* (Gk τρώω ‘to wear out, to exhaust’, Lith *trūniù*, *trūnėti* ‘to rot, to go foul’).

1.1.2.6. In auslaut (sometimes formed by the early loss of final **-s* in Proto-Albanian), the first element of the diphthong disappeared and LPA **yi* yielded Alb *i*:

mi ‘mouse’ < EPA **mū(s)* < IE **mūs* id. (Skt *mūṣ-*, Gk μῦς, Lat *mūs*).

ti ‘thou’ < EPA **tū* continuing IE **tū* id. (Av *tū*, Gk ού, Lat *tū*, OIr *tú*).

thi ‘pig’ < EPA **tsū(s)* (with dissimilation of sibilants) < IE **sūs* id. (Gk ὕς, Lat *sūs*, OHG *sū*).

1.1.2.7. The glide of LPA **yi* was also lost after a labial:

bimë ‘plant’ < EPA **būmā* < IE **bhūmo-* (Gk φῦμα id.).

bisht ‘tail’ < EPA **būšta*, derivative of IE **bhū-* ‘to grow’.

mbij ‘to thrive, to grow, to shoot’ < EPA **en-būnja* < IE **bhū-* ‘to grow’.

mizë ‘fly’ based on EPA **mūjā*: ON *my* id., Gk μῦα id., Lat *musca* id.

or before it:

kripë ‘salt’ < EPA **krūpā* < IE **kreup-* (ON *hrufa* ‘scab’, Lith *kraupūs* ‘rough’, *kraupis* ‘scab’, Latv *kraūpis* ‘frail, brittle’, Slav **krupa* ‘groats’).

qipi ‘stack’, derived from EPA **kūpa*: OPers *kaufa-* ‘mountain’, OHG *hufo* ‘heap’, OE *héap* id.

The case of *mizë*, however, can also illustrate another phonetic context in which LPA **yi* changed to *i*. This development took place before **j* and **i* as in the following words:

drinjë ‘brushwood’ < EPA **drūnjā*, derivative of IE **dreu-* ‘tree’.
plish ‘kind of reed, *Phragmites communis*’ < EPA **plūši-*: Lith *pl(i)ūšis* ‘reed’.
shi ‘rain’ < EPA **sūja* (with dissimilation) < IE **sū-* id. (Gk ὕει, Toch A *swase*, Toch B *swese* ‘rain’, *sū-* ‘to rain’, OPrus *suge* ‘rain’ = [*sūjē*]).

1.1.3. Diphthongs

1.1.3.0. The system of Indo-European diphthongs was fully preserved in Early Proto-Albanian but later was totally reorganized and eventually destroyed at the Late Proto-Albanian stage. Diphthongs in **-j* changed to front monophthongs while all diphthongs **-y* lost their glide.

Literature: MEYER *Alb. St.* III 89-90; PEKMEZI 23 (EPA **au > e*); MEYER, BRUGMANN *IFL* 42 (IE **eu > e*); MANN *Language* XXVI 387-388, *Hist. Gr.* 28-29; ANTKOWSKI 40-43; PISANI *Saggi* 99-100 (EPA **ai > a*); ÇABEJ *StF* VII/2 80-82 (same as PISANI), *St.* III 121; HAMP *Etimologija* 1970 263-264 (loss of the second element in long diphthongs); GEORGIEV *Trakite* 116-117 (Dacian-Albanian parallelism in the development of **au > a*), 208 (reflexes of EPA **ai* depending on the position of stress).

1.1.3.1. The rare Indo-European diphthong **ai* was preserved in Early Proto-Albanian but later yielded Alb *e* as shown by the following examples:

edh ‘he-goat’ < EPA **aidza*. Gk αἶξ ‘goat’, Arm *ayc* id.
ethe ‘fever’ based on EPA **aida* < IE **aidhos* (Skt *edhas-* ‘firewood, fuel’, Gk αἶθος ‘fire’).

1.1.3.2. IE **oi* coincided in EPA **ai* with IE **ai*. It results in Alb *e*:

be ‘oath’ < EPA **baidā*: Slav **běda* ‘disaster’, Lat *foedus* ‘league, treaty’.
ledh ‘mud, alluvium, clay; wall, earth mound; river-mouth, balk’ < EPA **laida*: OPrus *laydis* ‘clay’.
lesh ‘wool, fleece, hair’ < EPA **laiša*: the Balto-Slavic word for ‘foliage’: Lith *laiškas* ‘leaf’, Latv *lāiška* ‘leaf on a linen stalk; stalk’, Slav **listъ* ‘leaf’.

qetë ‘(jagged) rock’ < EPA **klaitā* < IE **k̑loitos* (W *clud* ‘heap’, Lith *šlaitas* ‘slope’).

shteg ‘path, road’ < EPA **staiga* < IE **stoigho-* ‘way’ (Gk *στοῖχος* ‘row, line’, Goth *staiga* ‘way’, Latv *staiga* ‘walking’).

verë ‘wine’ < EPA **wainā* cognate with Gk *οἴνη* ‘vine’, *οἶνος* ‘wine’, Lat *vīnum* ‘wine’, Arm *gini* id.

1.1.3.3. IE **ei* yielded EPA **ei* that changed to LPA **i* > Alb *i*

citë ‘full, brim-full’ < EPA **tseita* < IE **k̑ejotos* (Slav **čítъ* ‘whole’, Lit *kietas* ‘hard’).

dimër ‘winter’ < EPA **deimena* < IE **ǵheimen-* id. (Skt *héman* endingless loc. ‘in winter’, Gk *χεῖμα* ‘winter’).

hime ‘bran’ < EPA **skeidma* < IE **skeid-men-* (Lith *skiemuõ* ‘opening used to insert the shuttle’).

ikëj ‘to go away, to run away’ < EPA **eika* close to Lith *eĩk*, *eĩki* ‘go!’ (with the imperative suffix of Balto-Slavic rather than Finno-Ugric origin).

lilë ‘small iron ring, loop-ring, link’ < EPA **leilā*: Lith *leilas* ‘thin, supple, flexible’.

1.1.3.4. As far as we can judge, long diphthongs in **-j* lost their last element and were treated as usual long vowels. There is only one reliable example:

rroj ‘to live, to stay’ < EPA **rānja* < IE **rēi-* (Lith *róju*, *róti* ‘to cope, to be ready’, *ríteti* ‘to stack (wood)’).

1.1.3.5. Rare IE **au* was preserved as EPA **au*, but the diphthong lost its glide and turned into LPA **a* > Alb *a* (or *e* under certain phonetic conditions). Cf. the following cases:

ag ‘twilight, dusk’ < EPA **auga* < IE **aug-* (Gk *αὐγή* ‘ray of light’).

thaj ‘to dry’ < EPA **sausnja* < IE **sauso-* ‘dry’ (Gk *αῦος*, MHG *sôr*, Lith *saūsas*, Slav **suxъ*).

err ‘darkness’ < EPA **ausra*: Lith *aušrà* ‘dawn’, Gk *ἔως* id.

lerë ‘dirt, mud’ < EPA **laurā*: Lith *laũrė* ‘dirty person’.

mbath ‘to put on (shoes)’ < EPA **amb(i)-autsa* < IE **au-* < **HeuH-* id. (Arm *aganim* ‘to put on (clothes)’, Lith *aunù*, *aũti*, Slav **uti*).

1.1.3.6. IE **ou* merged with **au* in Early Proto-Albanian. Its further development was the same as in 1.1.3.5:

dash ‘ram’ < EPA **dauša* < IE **dhouso-* ~ **dheuso-* (Goth *dius* ‘wild animal’, Lith pl. *daūsos* ‘paradise’, Slav **duxъ* ‘breath, spirit’).

ger ‘squirrel’ (*‘furry’) < EPA **gaurā*: Lith *gaūras* ‘hair, down, tuft of hair’, Latv *gauri* ‘pubic hair’, Mir *gúaire* ‘hair’.

lashtë ‘old; early, premature (of fruit)’ < EPA **lauša*: Goth *laus* ‘empty, loose’.

pah ‘scab, dust’ < EPA **pauja* < IE **poujo-* (Arm *hogi* ‘breath’).

shtrep ‘maggot, larva’ < EPA **straupa*, close to Slav **strupъ* ‘wound, scab, poison’.

1.1.3.7. IE **eu* was preserved as EPA **eu*. Then it lost its second element too and is now reflected as Alb *e*. This development is corroborated by several reliable etymologies:

brez ‘belt’ < **breuna* (with a late suffix): Lith *briaunà* ‘edge’.

derë ‘bitter; difficult’ (Tosk only) < EPA **deuna*: OS *tiono* ‘evil’, OE *teona* ‘wrong’.

deri ‘to, up to, till’ < EPA **deur(e)i*: Gk δέυρο, δέυρε, δέυρι ‘here’ (from IE **de-uro*).

hedh ‘to throw, to shoot’ < EPA **skeuda* < IE **skeud-* ‘to throw, to shoot’ (ON *skjóta*, OHG *sciozan*).

tredh ‘to castrate’ < EPA **treuda* < IE **treud-* (Lat *trūdō* ‘to push’, Goth *us-þriutan* ‘to burden’, Slav **trudъ* ‘labor, work’).

1.1.3.8. Diphthongs in **-y* with long first elements tended to lose their glides and were consequently treated as corresponding long monophthongs:

loqe ‘penis; testicles’ < EPA **lāuka*: Lith *liaukà* ‘gland’.

pelë ‘mare’ < EPA **pōulā*: Gk πῶλος ‘foal’, Goth *fula* id.

1.1.4. Development of the Early Proto-Albanian vocalism

1.1.4.0. The Late Proto-Albanian period including the tumultuous and lengthy epoch of Romanization was characterized by numerous

structural changes in Proto-Albanian phonology. Certain positions in the word (anlaut, last syllable) as well as certain phonetic contexts (e.g. all vowels before nasal sonorants) were subject to a myriad of alterations. Some of the Late Proto-Albanian processes have already been described in 1.1.1-3. At the end of the period, Proto-Albanian vocalism lost its quantitative opposition.

Literature: SPITZER *IF* XXXIX 105-113 (on *ua ~ ue*); JOKL *IF* XLIX 274-300 (history of *ua ~ ue*); PEDERSEN *BUSht* XIV/3 227 (secondary *-j* after anlaut *ua ~ ue*); PISANI *Saggi* 100 (nasalization of vowels); POLÁK *Orbis* XII/2 388 (similar development of *-an-* in Rumanian and Tosk); HAMP *RRL* XX/2 93-104; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 31-32 (*ye < e* explained by the loss of the following syllable), 40-41 (origin of *ě ~ a*); ÇABEJ *St.* III 119-120; OREL *LB* XXVII/4 49-55 (*y < -VwV-*), XXIX/4 70-71 (*ua ~ ue < Slav *ova*), *Linguistica* XXIV/1 438 (*y < -VwV-*).

1.1.4.1. Following the simplification of some inlaut clusters, preceding vowels were lengthened in Proto-Albanian:

dorë ‘hand’ < EPA **dōrā* < IE **ǵhesr-* id. (Gk χεῖρ, Hitt *keššar*, Arm *jern*).

krua ~ krue ‘spring, fountain’ < EPA **krōna*: Gk κρήνη id., OE *hræn* ‘wave’ < Gmc **xraznō*.

krye ‘head’ < EPA **krānjā* < **krasnjā*: Gk κρᾶνίον ‘skull, head’.

1.1.4.2. In Late Proto-Albanian all vowels preceding nasal sonorants were nasalized. In this position, short vowels **a*, **e* (before its diphthongization), **i* and **u* changed to LPA **â*, **ê*, **î*, **û* correspondingly. These new nasal vowels were completely preserved in Geg (in the orthography I am using, they are marked as *â* (derived from both **â* and **ê*), *î*, *û* only when not followed by a nasal consonant) but lost their nasalization in Tosk where they were replaced by *ě*, *i* and *u*. EPA **e* in this position could also occasionally yield Tosk *ě*, *e* ~ Geg *ê*. At the same time, the original nasal consonant was lost in certain morphological contexts.

gjë ~ gjâ ‘thing’ < EPA **san(s)* < IE **sont-s* ‘being’ (Skt *sant-*).

gji ~ gjî ‘breast, chest’ < EPA **sina*: Lat *sinus* ‘curve, fold’.

gju ~ gjû ‘knee’ < EPA **gluna* dissimilated from **g(a)nuna* < IE **ǵenu-* id. (Hitt *gēnu*, Skt *jānu-*, Gk γόνυ, Lat *genū*).

hu ~ *hû* ‘picket, stake, pole, penis’ < EPA **skuna* based on **skuja*: Slav **xujь* ‘penis’.

hënë ~ *hanë* ‘moon’ < EPA **ksandā*: Skt *cāndati* ‘(he) shines, is bright’, *candrá-* ‘shining; moon’.

lëndë ~ *landë* ‘wood, timber, material’ < EPA **lentā* < IE **lent-* (OHG *linta* ‘linden’, Lith *lentà* ‘board’, Slav **lǫtь* ‘bast’).

rij ~ *rî* ‘to make humid’ < EPA **rinja*: Skt *riṇāti* ‘to stream, to release’, Slav **rinǫti* ‘to flow’.

1.1.4.3. This development was shared by Early Proto-Albanian diphthongs even though reliable examples are not very frequent:

drënjë ‘cornel-cherry; healthy, sound’ < EPA **draunjā*, derived from IE **dreu-* ‘tree’.

gjër ‘soup’ ~ *gjanë* ‘mudbed, alluvium’ < EPA **jausna*: Skt neut. *yūṣ* ‘soup’, Lat *iūs* id., Lith *jūšė* ‘fish soup’.

hë ~ *hê* ‘now’ < EPA **skainai*, dative-locative of a noun related to Goth *skeinan*, OHG *skīnan* ‘to shine’.

lë ~ *lâ* ‘to let’ < EPA **laidna*: Lith *léisti* id., Latv *lāist* id., Goth *letan* id.

nëntë ~ *nand* ‘nine’ < EPA **neunti-* (with analogical restructuring of the cluster in Tosk) < IE **neum̥* id. (Skt *nāva*, Lat *novem*, Goth *niun*).

1.1.4.4. Before a nasal consonant or **r*, stressed EPA **ā* and **ō* (including long diphthongs and long vowels resulting from a compensatory lengthening) merged into **ō* which changed to LPA **ue*. The latter developed into **uâ* and eventually yielded Tosk *ua* ~ OGeg *uo*, Geg *ue*. In unstressed positions EPA **ā* and **ō* did not merge and developed as in all other phonetic contexts, i.e. yielded Alb *o* and *e*. The result is a paradigmatic and derivational alternation like that observed in *dorë*, sg. vs. *duar* ~ *duer*, pl. In many cases, alternations of this kind led to the rise of new analogical forms. Similar results derived from the development of disyllabic groups with middle *u* in the auslaut. The following examples demonstrate the development of EPA **ā* and **ō* in this position:

duaj ~ *duej* ‘sheaf’ < EPA **dōnja*: Skt *dhānā* ‘grain, cereals’, *dhānyā-* ‘grain’, Lith *dūona* ‘bread’.

pl. *duar* ~ *duer* ‘hands’ < EPA **dōrāi* < IE **ǵhesr-* id. (Gk χεῖρ, Hitt *keššar*, Arm *jeṛn*).

huaj ~ *huej* ‘foreign, strange’ < EPA **ksōn(w)ja* with Gk ξένος, Dor ξένφος ‘stranger, guest’.

krua ~ *krue* ‘spring, fountain’ < EPA **krōna*. Gk κρήνη id., OE *hræn* ‘wave’ < Gmc **xraznō*.

muaj ~ *muej* ‘month’ < EPA **mōsnja*, from the metathesis of IE **mēns-* ‘moon, month’ (Skt *mās-*, Gk μήν, Lat *mēnsis*, OIr *mí*).

quaj ~ *quej* ‘to call, to give a name’ < EPA **klōusnja*, a denominative based on IE **klēuos* ‘glory, word’ (Skt *śrávas-*, Gk κλέος, Slav **slovo*).

1.1.4.5. In some words, stressed EPA **ā* in a similar position before **n* and **l*, yielded *ye*. We do not have a satisfactory explanation of the differences in the reflexion of **ā*. It may be suspected that *ye* originally appeared in words where **i* was present in the following syllable, especially as it seems to alternate with *e* (as in *derě*, sg. vs. *dye*, pl.) while *ua* ~ *ue* is in alternation with *o*. This hypothesis is corroborated by what we observe in Latin loanwords. However, the original picture has been completely distorted by analogical transformations and other kinds of later changes. Here are some examples of *ye*:

fyell ~ *fyll* ‘flute’ < EPA **spāli-*: Gk σπηλαιον ‘cave, cavern’ < **hollow*’.

krye ‘head’ < EPA **krānjā* < **krasnjā*: Gk κρῶνιον ‘skull, head’.

qye ‘summit, peak’ < EPA **klāini* < IE **klōino-* ‘slanting, skew’ (Goth gen. pl. *hlaine* ‘hill’).

thyej ‘to break’ < EPA **tsā(i)nja* < IE **kēi-* ‘to sharpen’ (Skt *śísāti* ‘to sharpen’, Arm *sowr* ‘sharp; knife’).

In one case, the origin of *ye* remains totally unexplained:

pyes ‘to ask’ < EPA **pūta*. Hitt *kappuwe/a-* ‘to count’ < **kṃ-puH-*, Lat *putō* ‘to reckon, to ponder’, Slav **pytati* ‘to ask’.

1.1.4.6. Certain groups $V\bar{u}V$ and $V\bar{i}V$ (where V is a long monophthong or a diphthong) changed to single vowels. We have only one such example of $V\bar{i}V$ which, in fact, might have a completely different

explanation insofar as *i* is expected to fall between two front vowels. However, we adduce it here:

tre ‘three’ < EPA **treje* < IE **trejēs* id. (Skt *trayaḥ*, Gk τρεῖς, Lat *trēs*).

Groups *V_ɥV* yielded *ua* ~ *ue* if the first vowel was non-front and non-labial while the second vowel was non-front. This is well corroborated by the development of early Slavic loanwords but we also have at least one good example from the Indo-European lexicon:

grua ~ *grue* ‘woman, wife’ < EPA **grāwā*: Gk γράυς ‘old woman’.

If the first vowel was labial as well as the second one, the result was *y* as in the word for ‘two’:

dy ‘two’ < EPA **duwō* < IE **d(u)uō(u)* id.

If the first vowel was a diphthong, the group developed into *ye*:

lyej ‘to smear, to oil’ < EPA **elaiwanja*, based on **elaiwā* borrowed from Gk ἔλαι(F)ον ‘oil’.

ryej ‘to suffer’ < **raujinja* < EPA **raudinja*: Skt *róditi* ‘to weep, to roar’, Lat *rūddō* ‘to shout, to cry’, Lith *raudà* ‘weeping’, Slav **rydati* ‘to weep’.

Finally, if both vowels were palatal, the group yielded *y*, as in the following examples:

grykē ‘throat’ < EPA **grīwīkā* < IE **grīwā* ‘neck’ (Skt *grīvā*, Av *grīvā*, Latv *grīva* ‘river mouth’, Slav **griva* ‘mane’).

hyj ‘to enter’ < EPA **eiwīnja*, close to Skt *éva-* ‘speedy’, Lith *at-eīvis*, *at-éiva* ‘newcomer, stranger’, *per-eivis*, *pér-eiva* ‘tramp, vagrant’.

mbyll ‘to shut, to fasten’ < EPA **ambi-wēla*: Skt *valati* ‘to turn’, Gk ἐλῆεω ‘to roll tight up, to close’, OIr *fillid* ‘to bend’.

mbys ‘to strangle, to drown, to kill’ < EPA **ambi-wītja*: Skt *vyáthate* ‘to sway, to rock’, Goth *wiþon* ‘to pour’.

qyr ‘to look’ < EPA **kewīra*: Gk κοέω ‘to note’, Lat *caveō* ‘to be aware’, Goth *hausjan* ‘to hear’.

yll, hyll ‘star’ < EPA **skīw-ila*, derived from *hije* ‘shadow’.

1.1.4.7. In more than one etymologically reliable case we find *y* resulting from LPA **ʷi* < **i* irrespective of its Early Proto-Albanian source. The development of a new glide (asystematically appearing in one or in both standard Albanian dialects) is obviously caused by a following labial consonant:

lyp ‘to beg, to ask, to seek, to need’ < EPA **leipa* < IE **leip-* (Gk λίπτομαι ‘to be eager for, to long for’, Lith *liepiù, liēpti* ‘to order’).

krimb ~ *krym* ‘worm’ < EPA **krim-* < IE **kʷrmi-* id. (Skt *kṛmi-*, Lith *kirmis*).

rryp ~ *rrip* ‘belt’ < EPA **wripa*: Gk ῥάπτω ‘to sew together, to stitch’, Lith *veřpti* ‘to spin’.

The same development took place at the end of Proto-Albanian words (not to be confused with the position before **j* which became the Modern Albanian auslaut):

ay ‘he’ < EPA **a-ei* < IE **ei-* (Skt *ayám* ‘he’, Lat *is*).

sy ‘eye’ < EPA dual **atsř̥*: Skt *akṣī*, Av *ašī*, Lith *akì*, Slav **oči*.

1.1.4.8. Initial IE **ʷo-* changed to EPA **wa-* and then to Alb *u*:

udhë ‘way’ < EPA **wada* < IE **ʷedh-* ‘to beat, to break’

umas ‘to bark’, from an unattested **umë* < EPA **wamā*: Skt *vámīti* ‘to vomit’, Av *vam-* ‘to spit’, Gk ἔμεω ‘to spit out’, Lat *vomeō* ‘to vomit’.

unazë ‘finger-ring, small iron ring’, based on *unë* < EPA **wandā*: Arm *gind* ‘ring’, Goth *bi-windan* ‘to unwreath’.

unë ‘piece of a broken pot’ < EPA **wantā*: Arm *vandem* ‘to destroy’, OHG *wund* ‘wound’, MW *gweint*, praet. ‘(I) pierced’.

urë ‘bridge’ < EPA **warā*: Goth *warjan* ‘to prevent, to defend’, ON *vōr* ‘row of stones’, *ver* ‘dam’, Osc *veru* ‘door’.

uri ~ *û* ‘hunger’ < EPA **wana* < IE **ʷen-* ‘to want, to desire’ (Skt *vánati, vanóti* id., Lat *venus* ‘love’).

1.1.5. Unstressed vowels

1.1.5.0. Stress has played an important role in the evolution of the phonetic system and of the vocalism in particular. The history of Proto-Albanian stress is presented in 2.1. Here, only its influence on the vocalism will be outlined.

Literature: JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* 242 (initial vowels in Old Albanian); ÇABEJ *Probl. hist.* 123-132 (apheresis in *Mëshari*), *St.* III 116-118, 124-125 (contraction); OREL *Sov. slav.* 1982/3 92-96, 1982/5 84 (reduction of auslaut vowels).

1.1.5.1. The inherited system of Indo-European accent was reconfigured in Early Proto-Albanian, though its nature did not change. The Early Proto-Albanian accent was paradigmatic – its patterns were linked to morphological classes and subclasses. In some paradigms, the stress was barytonic, in others – oxytonic or mobile. While inlaut vowels in Proto-Albanian developed according to the rules described in 1.1.1-4, the history of the vowels at the end of the word was more complicated.

In auslaut, Proto-Albanian vowels were not changed if they were stressed. When unstressed (in certain barytonic and mobile accentual paradigms), all vowels lost one mora, or in other words, short vowels were completely lost while long vowels were shortened. For example:

- EPA sg. **skālā* ‘fish bone’ > **skāla*
- EPA pl. **skalās* ‘fish bones’ > **skalá(s)*
- EPA sg. **dwáigā* ‘branch’ > **dégga*
- EPA pl. **dwáigāi* ‘branches’ > **déggai*
- EPA sg. **dāusas* ‘ram’ > **dauš*
- EPA pl. **dāusai* ‘rams’ > **dáuši*

1.1.5.2. In Late Proto-Albanian the whole accentual system was radically changed under the influence of Latin. The stress in Proto-Albanian was now (with some important exceptions) shifted automatically to the second syllable of any word. In new paroxytona, the process of reduction of the new unstressed vowels led to the following results in the end of the word: unstressed *a* yielded *ě*, other unstressed vowels gave zero. Stressed vowels were altered as follows: *a* was preserved as *a*, *ai* changed to *e*, *e* was preserved as non-diphthongized *e*, *i*

appeared as *ë* or, in some cases, *i*. The forms adduced in 1.1.5.1. would now look as follows:

- EPA sg. **skālā* ‘fish bone’ > **skāla* > *halë*
 EPA pl. **skalās* ‘fish bones’ > **skalá(s)* > *hala*
 EPA sg. **dwáigā* ‘branch’ > **dégā* > *degë*
 EPA pl. **dwáigāi* ‘branches’ > **dégai* > *degë*
 EPA sg. **dásas* ‘ram’ > **dauš* > *dash*
 EPA pl. **dásai* ‘rams’ > **dáuši* > *desh*

1.1.5.3. Posttonic inlaut vowels were all reduced to *ë*, which is still preserved in the Old Albanian texts but completely lost afterwards. Numerous cases of this reduction are found in Latin proparoxytona borrowed to Albanian:

- kërp* ~ *kanp* ‘hemp’ ⇔ Rom **cannapis* id.
kumtër ‘godfather’ ⇔ Lat *compater* id.
prift ‘priest’ ⇔ Lat *presbyter* id.
shpretkë ~ *shpënetkë* ‘spleen’ ⇔ Lat *splēnētīcum* ‘related to the spleen’.
voshër (Geg) ‘Ligustrum vulgare’ ⇔ Lat *óleaster* id.

1.1.5.4. Pretonic non-high vowels were also reduced (or lost in some cases) as in *mërdhij* ‘to freeze’ < *mardh* ‘cold, frost’. Again, many examples are found in Latin loanwords:

- kërkoj* ‘to look for, to seek’ ⇔ Rom **circāre* id.
kështër ~ *kështën* ‘Christian’ ⇔ Lat *christiānus* id.
kështjellë ‘castle, fort’ ⇔ Lat *castellum* id.
këshyre ‘mountain path, path in the ravine’ ⇔ Lat *clausūra* ‘lock, bar, bolt; castle, fort’.
mërkosh ‘man lying in wife’s bed after childbirth and receiving visitors; lover’ ⇔ Rom **māricōsus* ‘husband-like’.
nëmëroj ‘to number, to count’ ⇔ Lat *numerāre* id.

Pretonic *o* in Latin loanwords, a phoneme missing in Proto-Albanian, was normally substituted with *u* as in the following examples:

- kurorë* ~ *kunorë* ‘crown’ ⇔ Lat *corōna* id.
kumerq ‘toll, duty’ ⇔ Lat *commercium* ‘trade, commerce’.

murtajë ‘plague’ ⇔ Rom **mortālia* id.
pulqyer ‘thumb; dwarf’ ⇔ Lat *pollicāris* ‘belonging to a thumb’.
pushtet ‘power’ ⇔ Lat *potestātem* id.
vullnet ‘will’ ⇔ Lat *voluntātem* id.

1.1.5.5. Unstressed vowels in the anlaut were subject to apheresis. The process dates back to Old Albanian where vowels before nasal and liquid sonorants were affected. Later it covered initial vowels before other types of consonants.

mbi ‘on, upon’ < EPA **ambi* < IE **ambhi* (Gk ἄμφί ‘about, around’, Goth *bī*, OIr *imm-* < Celt **ɪmbi*).
ngroh ~ *ngrof* ‘to warm’ < EPA **en-grāja*: Slav **grěti* id.
rosë ‘duck’ < EPA **anātjā* < IE **(a)nətiā* (Skt *ātī-* ‘water bird’, Gk *ῥῆσσα* ‘duck’).

The same process affected Latin loanwords:

blatë ‘wafer’ ⇔ Lat *oblāta* id.
kishë ‘church’ ⇔ Lat *ecclēsia* id.
lter ‘altar’ ⇔ Lat *altārium* id.
prill ‘April’ ⇔ Lat *aprīlis* id.
pupë ‘hoopoe’ ⇔ Lat *upupa* id.
shemë ‘swarm (of bees)’ ⇔ Lat *exāmen* ‘swarm’.

1.1.5.6. After the reduction of inlaut vowels had been completed, groups of vowels were contracted wherever they had been formed due to the fall of intervocalic voiced stops. The quality of the resulting vowel depended on the stressed element in the group. The unstressed element had already been reduced to *ë*. In Geg, where new long vowels exist, contracted vowels are long.

be ‘oath’ < EPA **baidā*: Slav **běda* ‘disaster’, Lat *foedus* ‘league, treaty’.
det ‘sea’ < EPA **deubeta* ‘depth’ < IE **dheub-* ‘deep’, cf. Gmc **deupibō* ‘depth’ > MDu *diepde*, MLG *dēpede*, E *depth*.
ryej ‘to suffer’ < **raujnja* < EPA **raudinja*: Skt *róđiti* ‘to weep, to roar’, Lat *rūđō* ‘to shout, to cry’, Lith *raudà* ‘weeping’, Slav **rydati* ‘to weep’.
sot ‘today’ < EPA **tsjā(i) dītāi* < IE **k̑iā dīti-* ‘this day’.

ve ‘widow’ < EPA **widewā*: Skt *vidhāvā* id., Lat *vidua* id., Goth *widuwo* id.

zi ‘black’ < EPA **džedi* < IE **gʰed-* (MHG *quāt* ‘dirt’, OE *cwéad* ‘bad’, Lith *gėda* ‘shame’, Slav **gadъkъ* ‘disgusting’, **gadъ* ‘reptile, worm’).

1.2. Vocalism of loanwords

1.2.0. The three chief sources of loanwords to (Proto-)Albanian were from (ancient) Greek, Latin and Slavic. Of these, the Greek material is of the least interest insofar as it reflects the system of vocalic change found in words inherited from Proto-Indo-European. Latin and Slavic loanwords, however, need to be described in more detail.

1.2.1. Vowels in Greek loanwords

1.2.1.0. Ancient Greek loanwords are rather scarce in Albanian. As far as their vocalism is concerned, it simply follows the normal development of the Albanian vocabulary. Cf. some examples:

bagëm ‘oil for anointment’ ⇔ Gk βάπτισμα ‘baptism’.
lakër ~ *lakën* ‘cabbage, greens’ ⇔ Gk λάχανον ‘greens’.
mokër ~ *mokën* ‘millstone’ ⇔ Gk μηχανή ‘device, instrument’.
presh ‘leek’ ⇔ Gk πράσιν id.

1.2.2. Vowels in Latin loanwords

1.2.2.0. Latin loanwords are of extreme importance for the history of Albanian phonology, especially its vocalism. The duration of the borrowing was so long that loanwords reflect several distinct chronological stages.

One of the remarkable features of the Romance-Albanian linguistic interference is the fact that both vocalic systems, Latin and Albanian, were equally unstable at the time of their interaction. While the Albanian system of vowels was rapidly changing, so too was Romance vocalism in a state of drastic transition, from the pattern of classical Latin to the systems of individual Romance languages of the Balkans.

Literature: MIHĂESCU *SCL* XXXI/3 307-309 (Lat *i* in Albanian);
BANFI *AIAK* 269-285.

1.2.3. Short vowels in Latin loanwords

1.2.3.1. Short Lat *a* is normally rendered as Alb *a*:

aftë ‘capable, proper’ ⇐ Lat *aptus* id.

barkë ‘boat’ ⇐ Lat *barca* id.

frashër ~ *frashën* ‘ash-tree’ ⇐ Lat *fraxinus* id.

harmëshor ‘stallion, stud-horse’ ⇐ Rom **armessārius* id.

kalë ‘horse’ ⇐ Lat *caballus* id.

shag ‘coarse linen fabric spread on the floor’ ⇐ Lat *sagum* ‘cloak made of coarse fabric’.

1.2.3.2. Like EPA **a*, Lat *a* could be influenced by the front vowel of the next syllable and changed to *e*:

emtë ‘aunt’ ⇐ Lat *amita* ‘paternal aunt’.

gjelbër ~ *gjelbën* ‘green’ ⇐ Lat *galbinus* ‘greenish-yellow’.

qelq ‘glass’ ⇐ Lat *calicem* ‘bowl, cup’.

The same result was achieved due to the generalization of plural forms, of which the Late Proto-Albanian ending **-i* caused umlaut, cf. the following examples:

belbë ‘stammering, dumb’ ⇐ Lat *balbus* ‘stammering, stuttering’.

brekë ‘pants’ ⇐ Lat *brācae* ‘trousers, breeches’.

dreq ‘devil’ ⇐ (nom. sg.) Lat *dracō* ‘dragon’.

engjëll ‘angel’ ⇐ Lat *angelus* id.

gjel ‘rooster’ ⇐ Lat *gallus* id.

qerr ‘wagon, cart’ ⇐ Lat *carrus* ‘two-wheeled wagon’.

A difficulty is presented by the development of Lat *a* in *bjeshkë* ‘mountain pasture’ ⇐ Rom **pastica* based on Lat *pastus* ‘pasture’.

1.2.3.3. Before nasals, Lat *a* yielded LPA **â* which developed, as in other cases, into Tosk *ë* ~ Geg *â*:

dëm ~ *dam* ‘damage’ ⇐ Lat *damnum* ‘hurt, harm, damage’.

gjëndër ~ *gjandër* ‘gland’ ⇐ Lat *glandula* ‘gland of the throat’.

këndellë ~ *kandellë* ‘lamp’ ⇐ Lat *candēla* ‘wax-light, tallow-candle’.

këngë ~ *kangë* ‘song’ ⇐ Lat *canticum* id.

mëngë ~ *mangë* ‘armful, sleeve’ ⇐ Lat *manicae* ‘sleeve’.

mëngoj (archaic), *mungoj* ‘to lack’ ⇐ Rom **mancāre* id.

1.2.3.4. Lat *e* was rendered as LPA **je* as a general rule:

kështjellë ‘castle, fort’ ⇐ Lat *castellum* id.

pjepër ~ *pjepën* ‘sweet melon’ ⇐ Rom **pepinem* id., cf. Lat *pepōnem* ‘kind of large melon, pumpkin’.

pjergull ‘vine-arbor, pergola’ ⇐ Lat *pergula* ‘shed, booth, vine-arbor’.

pjesë ‘part’ ⇐ Rom **petia* id.

pjeshkë ‘peach’ ⇐ Rom **pesca* < Lat *persica* id.

vjershë ‘poem’ ⇐ Lat *versus* ‘verse’.

The diphthong then developed into **ja*:

javë ‘week’ ⇐ Lat *hebdomas* id.

1.2.3.5. The glide was lost in the positions described in 1.1.1.8-9 or similar contexts (before *ng*, after *sh*):

bletë ‘bee, swarm, hive’ < **mbletë* ⇐ Rom **melettum*.

drejtë ‘straight, right’ ⇐ Lat *directum* id.

gjeshtër ‘broom’ ⇐ Rom **genistra* based on Lat *genista*, *genesta* ‘broom-plant, broom’.

gjuvengë ‘harlot’ ⇐ Lat adj. fem. *juvenca* ‘young’.

krel ‘curl, lock’ ⇐ Rom **cerebellus*.

kuvend ‘speech; council, meeting’ ⇐ Lat *conventus* ‘meeting, assembly’.

lepur ‘hare’ ⇐ Lat *leporem* id.

mend ‘mind’ ⇐ Lat *mentem* id.

shesh ‘plain, plane, flatness, square’ ⇐ Lat *sessus* ‘seat’.

The same applies to the development of **ja*:

qarr ‘Turkey oak, bitter oak’ ⇐ Lat *cerrus* id.

shalë ‘saddle; inner side of thigh, pair of legs’ ⇔ Lat *sella* ‘seat, saddle’.

shartoj ‘to cross (of animals), to engraft (of plants)’ ⇔ Rom **(in)sertāre* based on Lat *serere* ‘to sow’.

sharrë ‘saw’ ⇔ Lat *serra* id.

shat ‘hoe’ ⇔ Lat *sector* ‘cutter’.

1.2.3.6. In a few words we find Lat *e* rendered as Alb *e* in contexts disagreeing with the rules established for EPA **e* (see 1.1.1.6-10).

In one case, Alb *e* reflects an unstressed contracted group **ei* < **ebi* rather than Lat *e* so that it can be completely ignored as far as the history of *e* is concerned:

detyrë ‘duty, debt’ ⇔ Rom **debitūra* id.

In another case, we have to suppose some kind of analogical interaction obscuring the original vocalism:

egjër ‘*Lolium temulentum*’ ⇔ Lat *ebria* fem., ‘drunk’ influenced by *egër*.

In two more words we find no phonological explanation. Even though in both forms the non-diphthongized *e* is followed by a cluster beginning with *r*, this is hardly decisive, insofar as such clusters do not behave this way in Late Proto-Albanian words of other origins. This may mean that the cases below belong to a later historical stratum:

ferr ‘hell’ ⇔ Lat *infernum* id.

kumerq ‘toll, duty’ ⇔ Lat *commercium* ‘trade, commerce’.

1.2.3.7. A different layer of the Albanian vocabulary reflects Lat *e* as Alb *i*. Seemingly, those words were borrowed at a different time, at a different place or from a different kind of ancient Romance. Hypothetically, forms with *i* could penetrate Albanian at the stage when the Early Proto-Albanian phonological system had no short *e* (i.e. after the diphthongization of EPA **e* > **je* but before the reverse process in certain phonetic contexts). In other words, borrowed forms with *i* < *e* belong to a later layer than the rest of Latin words borrowed with *je*, *e* < *e*.

grigj ‘flock, herd’ ⇔ Lat *gregem* id.
gjinde ‘people’ ⇔ Lat *gentem* id.
mëshirë ‘pity, mercy’ ⇔ Lat *miseria* ‘wretchedness’.
nip ‘nephew, grandson’ ⇔ Lat nom. *nepōs* ‘grandson’.
prift ‘priest’ ⇔ Lat *presbyter* id.
prind ‘father, parent’ ⇔ Lat *parentem* id.

1.2.3.8. Stressed Latin *o* yielded Alb *o*:

bollë ‘kind of harmless snake’ ⇔ Rom **bola*, cf. Lat *bolea* ‘salamander’.
flok ‘hair’ ⇔ Lat *floccus* ‘lock, flock’.
korbull ‘keg, cask, wooden pail’ ⇔ Lat *corbula* ‘little basket’.
kulloštër ‘biestlings’ ⇔ Lat *colostra* id.
poshtë ‘down, below, under’ ⇔ Lat *post, poste* ‘behind, back’.
rrotë ‘wheel’ ⇔ Lat *rota* id.

Unstressed Latin *o* was reflected as Alb *u*:

gultoj ‘to get rid off’ ⇔ Lat *colluctāri* ‘to struggle, to contend’.
kular ‘curved piece of wood, ox-collar’ ⇔ Lat *collāre* ‘collar’.
kunat ‘brother-in-law’ ⇔ Lat *cognātus* ‘kinsman, blood relation’.
lepur ‘hare’ ⇔ Lat *leporem* id.
mulli ~ *mullî* ‘mill’ ⇔ Lat *molīnum* id.
pulqyer ‘thumb; dwarf’ ⇔ Lat *pollicāris* ‘belonging to a thumb’.

In two cases (probably, borrowed at a later stage) unstressed *o* is reflected in Albanian as *o*:

notoj ‘to swim’ ⇔ Rom **notāre* replacing classical Lat *natāre* id.
peshkop ‘bishop of the Orthodox church’ ⇔ Lat *episcopus* ‘bishop’.

In one case, *o* has been reduced to *ë*:

kërrutë ‘ewe with horns’ ⇔ Lat fem. adj. *cornūta* ‘horned’.

1.2.3.9. Stressed Latin *o* can be also rendered as Alb *u*. Words reflecting this development seem to form a separate lexical layer,

presumably of earlier origin than the rest of Latin words with *o*. Cf. the following examples:

- furrik, furriq* ‘chicken-coop, fowl-pen, roost, nesting-box’ ⇔ Lat *fornicem* ‘arch, vault’.
fushë ‘plain, open field, meadow’ ⇔ Lat *fossa* ‘ditch, trench, gutter, furrow’.
kuq ‘red’ ⇔ Rom **cocceus*, cf. Lat *coccineus* ‘scarlet’.
kurt ‘yard’ ⇔ Lat *cortem* id.
rrumbull ‘rolled into a ball’ ⇔ Rom **rombulus* based on Lat *rhombus* ‘magic whirligig or wheel’.
shpuzë ‘hot ashes’ ⇔ Lat *spodium* ‘ash’.

1.2.3.10. In two (related) words stressed Lat *o* seems to be reflected as Alb *e*:

- bretek* ‘frog’ ⇔ Rom **brotacus* id.
breshkë ‘tortoise’ ⇔ Balkan Rom **brotascus* or **brosacus* ‘tortoise, frog’.

It is probable that **o* of the first syllable was for some reason lengthened to **ō* in the Romance dialects of Albania.

1.2.3.11. Lat *i* yielded Alb *î*:

- bishtajë* ‘pod, hull, pea, green bean’ ⇔ Rom **pistālia* (> Rum *păstaie* ‘pod, hull’).
dishtë, dishkë ‘mill funnel’ ⇔ Lat *discus* ‘disk’.
iriq ‘hedgehog’ ⇔ Lat *ēricius* id.
ishull ‘island’ ⇔ Lat *insula* id.
këshill ‘council’ ⇔ Lat *consilium* id.
rriqër ~ rriqën ‘tick’ ⇔ Lat *ricinus* id.
virgjër ~ virgjin ‘maiden’ ⇔ Lat *virginem* id.

1.2.3.12. There exists, however, another layer of Latin loanwords in which Lat *i* is reflected as Alb *e*. It is probable that this group of words belongs to a later period when, on the one hand, new short *e* reappeared in Proto-Albanian and, on the other hand, short *i* in Latin merged with short *e*. It is interesting that loanwords with *i* ⇔ *e* belong, for the most part, to completely different semantic fields:

- fë* ‘belief, religion’ ⇔ Lat *fīdem* ‘faith’.
kreshpë ‘sheep with long and rough wool’ ⇔ Lat fem. adj. *crispa*
 ‘curled, crisp, uneven’.
meshë ‘mass’ ⇔ Lat *missa* id.
shenjë ‘sign’ ⇔ Lat *signum* id.
upeshk ‘bishop’ ⇔ Lat *episcopus* id.
ves ‘bad habit’ ⇔ Lat *vitium* ‘fault, defect, vice’.

Resulting *e* was occasionally changed to *ë* before sonorants:

- kërkoj* ‘to look for, to seek’ ⇔ Rom **circāre* id.
kështër ~ *kështën* ‘Christian’ < **kërshtën* ⇔ Lat *christiānus* id.
shtrëngoj ‘to press, to squeeze’ ⇔ Lat *stringere* ‘to stretch, to press,
 to squeeze’.

1.2.3.13. In two cases - apparently representing relatively early borrowings (between those where Lat *i* ⇔ Alb *i* and those where Lat *i* ⇔ Alb *e*) - Lat *i* is rendered as LPA **jē* ~ *jā*:

- mjerë* ‘unhappy, unfortunate’ ⇔ Rom **misrem* < Lat *miserem* id.
qark ‘circle’ ⇔ Lat *circus* id.

1.2.3.14. Lat *u* is reflected as Alb *u* in most cases:

- bulë* ‘bud’ ⇔ Lat *bulla* ‘bubble, boss, knob’
but ‘big barrel’ ⇔ Lat *buttis* id.
shumë ‘many, much’ ⇔ Lat *summus* ‘uppermost, highest’.
kunj ‘peg, wedge’ ⇔ Lat *cuneus* ‘wedge’
musht ‘must, new wine’ ⇔ Lat *mustum* id.
gjuvengë ‘harlot’ ⇔ Lat adj. fem. *juvenca* ‘young’, also ‘young
 cow’.

In a few cases, we find Alb *o* as a reflex of Lat *u*. It is clear that such words belong to the same chronological layer as the forms with *e* rendering Lat *i*.

- gomë* ‘resin’ ⇔ Rom **gumma*, a variant of Lat *gummi* id.
trofië ‘trout’ ⇔ Lat *tructa* id.

zmojle ‘fallow (land)’ ⇐ Rom **exmulgia*, a derivative of Lat *ē(x)mulgēre* ‘to milk out, to drain out’.

1.2.3.15. Before sonorants, unstressed *u* would occasionally yield ě:

nëmëroj ‘to number, to count’ ⇐ Lat *numerāre* id.

rrëmbej ‘to rob, to seize’ ⇐ Lat *rumpere* ‘to tear, to tear away’.

In two cases Lat *u* was lengthened and yielded Alb *y*:

kryq ‘cross’ ⇐ Lat *cruce* id.

myshk, *mushk* ‘moss, musk’ ⇐ Lat *muscus* id.

1.2.4. Long vowels in Latin loanwords

1.2.4.0. Long Latin vowels also reflect different chronological stages (and probably different areas) of Late Proto-Albanian and Romance phonetic development.

1.2.4.1. The normal reflex of Lat *ā* is Alb *a* as in the following examples:

blatë ‘wafer’ ⇐ Lat *oblāta* id.

famë ‘good reputation, rumor’ ⇐ Lat *fāma* ‘rumor, fame’.

fat ‘fate; bridegroom, husband, friend’ ⇐ Lat *fātum*.

natyrë ‘nature’ ⇐ Lat *nātūra* id.

shkallë ‘stairs, staircase’ ⇐ Lat *scālae* ‘stairs’

shtrat ‘bed; layer’ ⇐ Lat *strātum* id.

1.2.4.2. As in the case of short Lat *a* (see 1.2.3.2), Lat *ā* is often raised to Alb *e* before front vowels of various origins:

këlqere ‘lime’ ⇐ Lat fem. adj. *calcāria* ‘pertaining to lime’.

lter ‘altar’ ⇐ Lat *altārium* id.

martesë ‘marriage’ ⇐ Rom **maritātiō* id.

pushtet ‘power’ ⇐ Lat *potestātem* id.

shemë ‘swarm (of bees)’ ⇐ Lat *exāmen* ‘swarm’.

vullnet ‘will’ ⇐ Lat *voluntātem* id.

1.2.4.3. In a limited number of cases, stressed Lat *ā* yielded Alb *ye* before *r* (cf. a similar development for EPA **ā* in 1.1.4.5.):

mushkëllyer ‘dun, grey-brown, red-brown’ ⇔ Rom **muscellārius*
 ‘colored like a mouse’, cf. Lat *muscellārium* ‘mouse-trap’.
pulqyer ‘thumb; dwarf’ ⇔ Lat *pollicāris* ‘belonging to a thumb’.

Before nasals in auslaut, Lat *ā* seems to behave as short *a*, i.e. it yields Late Proto-Albanian *â* or *ê* (if raised), which then developed as described in 1.1.4.2:

pe ~ *pê* ‘thread’ ⇔ Lat *pānus* ‘thread wound upon the bobbin’.
shullë ~ *shullâ* ‘sunny spot’ ⇔ Lat *solānus* (*locus*) id.

Pretonic Lat *ā* was reflected as *ë*:

mërkosh ‘man lying in wife’s bed after childbirth and receiving visitors; lover’ ⇔ Rom **māricōsus* ‘husband-like’.

1.2.4.4. All the above loanwords must have penetrated Albanian after the process of labialization of EPA **ā* was completed. However, we know of at least one (considerably earlier) case of a Latin loanword which appears to reflect Lat *ā* ⇒ Alb *o*:

mollë ‘apple, apple tree’ ⇔ Lat *mālum* id.

1.2.4.5. The standard reflex of Lat *ē* is Alb *e*:

femër ~ *femën* ‘woman’ ⇔ Lat *fēmina* id.
këndellë ~ *kandellë* ‘lamp’ ⇔ Lat *candēla* ‘wax-light, tallow-candle’.
prëndverë ~ *prandverë* ‘spring’ ⇔ Rom **prīma vēra* (> Ital
primavera, Rum *primăvară*).
qetë ‘quiet’ ⇔ Lat *quiētus* id.
shpretkë ~ *shpënetkë* ‘spleen’ ⇔ Lat *splēnētīcum* ‘related to the spleen’.
vrerë ~ *vëner* m ‘gall, bile’ ⇔ Lat *venēnum* ‘potion, poison’.

Under the influence of following *i* or *j*, Lat *ē* was reflected as *î*:

bishë ‘beast, wild animal’ ⇐ Lat *bēstia* id.

iriq ‘hedgehog’ ⇐ Lat *ēricius* id.

kishë ‘church’ ⇐ Lat *ecclēsia* id.

ligj ‘law’ ⇐ Lat *lēge(m)* id. (affected by *-i-* of the oblique cases).

1.2.4.6. Two smaller groups of words with different reflexes belong to earlier stages of Albanian contacts with Romance. The oldest lexical layer demonstrates the development of Lat *ē* to Alb *o*, similar to the change of EPA **ē*:

logori ‘wailing, mourning, dirge’ ⇐ Lat *allēgoria* ‘allegory’.

mbloj ‘to fill’ ⇐ Lat *implēre* id.

qoj ‘to wake up’ ⇐ Lat *ciēre* ‘to move, to agitate’.

Another group of words presumably was borrowed after the shift **ē* > EPA **ā* had taken place but before the diphthongization of short EPA **e*, i.e. at the time when EPA **e* was the best possible substitute for Lat *ē*.

kashnjët ‘chestnut grove’ ⇐ Lat *castanētum* id.

rrjetë ‘net’ ⇐ Lat *rēte* id.

tjegull ‘brick’ ⇐ Lat *tēgula* id.

Before nasals in auslaut, Lat *ē* behaves as short *e* and yields Late Proto-Albanian *ê*:

fre ~ *frê* ‘bridle; grape-stalk; comb’ ⇐ Lat *frēnum* id.

1.2.4.7. The oldest Latin loanwords display *e* as a regular reflex of Lat *ō*, cf. for example:

herë ‘time, moment of time, hour’ ⇐ Lat *hōra* ‘hour’.

pemë ‘fruit-tree, fruit’ ⇐ Lat *pōmum* ‘fruit’, *pōmus* ‘fruit-tree’.

plep ‘poplar’ ⇐ Rom **plōpus*, metathesis of Lat *pōpulus* id.

premtoj ‘to promise’ ⇐ Lat *prōmittere* ‘to forbode, to promise’.

tërmet ‘earthquake’ ⇐ Rom **terrae mōtus* id.

tmerr ‘horror, fright’ ⇐ Lat *timōrem* id.

1.2.4.8. In a small number of loanwords, we find a substitution of Lat *ō* with Alb *u*:

kanushë ‘stork’ ⇔ Rom **cānōsus*, derivative of Lat *cānus* ‘white’.
urdhër ~ *urdhën* ‘order’ ⇔ Lat *ōrdinem* id.
ut ‘owl’ ⇔ Lat *ōtus* ‘horned owl’.

Cf. also one case in which we find *y* as a continuation of Lat *ō*, probably the result of Alb *u* before a syllable containing *i*:

zgjyrë ‘rust’ ⇔ Lat *scōria* ‘dross, slag’.

1.2.4.9. The most recent layer of Latin borrowings reflects Lat *ō* exactly as short Lat *o* (see 1.2.3.8). Stressed Lat *ō* gives Alb *o*:

kurorë ~ *kunorë* ‘crown’ ⇔ Lat *corōna* id.
mërkosh ‘man lying in wife’s bed after childbirth and receiving visitors; lover’ ⇔ Rom **māricōsus* ‘husband-like’.
rrobull ‘mountain pine’ ⇔ Lat *rōbur* ‘oak’ with a dissimilation of sonorants.
shëndosh ‘healthy’ ⇔ Rom **sanitōsus* id.
shqopë ‘briar’ ⇔ Lat *scōpa* ‘twig, branch’ (with secondary *-q-*).

Unstressed Lat *ō* is reflected as *u*, cf. the following examples:

dhuroj ‘to make a present’ ⇔ Lat *dōnāre* id.
kujtoj ‘to remember, to think’ ⇔ Lat *cōgitāre* id.
kulloj ‘to sieve, to sift, to filter’ ⇔ Lat *cōlāre* ‘to filter, to strain’.
ushtoj ‘to sound, to shout’ ⇔ Lat *ōscitāre* ‘to shout, to open mouth, to yawn’.

1.2.4.10. In anlaut before nasals Lat *ō* yields Alb *ua* ~ *ue*:

dragua ~ *dra(n)gue* ‘dragon’ ⇔ Rom **drancōnem*, a modification of Lat *dracōnem* id.
fajkua ~ *fajkue* ‘falcon’ ⇔ Lat *falcōnem* id.
ftua ~ *ftue* ‘quince’ ⇔ Rom **cotōneum* id., namely, ‘Cydonian apple’.
kapua ~ *kapue* ‘rooster’ ⇔ Lat *cāpōnem* ‘capon’.

Under uncertain conditions (after *i*?), we also find *ye*:

arsye ‘reason, understanding’ ⇔ *ratiōnem* id.

1.2.4.11. The history of Lat *r̄* in Albanian is identical with that of short Lat *i* (see 1.2.3.9-10). In most cases, it gives Alb *î*:

çimkë ‘bug’ ⇔ Lat *cīmicem* id.

fshikë ‘blister, bubble, bladder, bruise’ ⇔ Lat *vēsīca* ‘bladder’.

ijë ‘hip, side’ ⇔ Lat pl. *īlia* ‘groin, flank’.

lil ‘lily’ ⇔ Lat *līlium* id.

mik ‘friend’ ⇔ Lat *amīcus* id.

shpirt ‘soul, spirit’ ⇔ Lat *spīritus* id.

On the other hand, in several words borrowed at another stage of contacts we find Alb *e* as a reflex of *r̄*:

gjer ‘dormouse’ ⇔ Lat *glīrem* id.

prevë ‘open way, track, ford’ ⇔ Lat *prīvum (iter)* ‘private (road, passage)’.

shoretkë ‘hole of a honeycomb’ < **shortekë* ⇔ Rom **sortīca* ‘outlet’ derived from **sortīre* ‘to go out’.

1.2.4.12. Early loanwords with Lat *ū* reflect a change to *y*.

brymë ‘frost’ ⇔ Lat *brūma* ‘cold, frost’.

fryt ‘fruit’ ⇔ Lat *frūctus* id.

fytyrë ‘face’ ⇔ Lat *factūra* ‘formation, creature’.

latyrë ‘rinse-water’ ⇔ Rom **lavātūra* from Lat *lavāre* ‘to wash’.

myll ‘mule’ ⇔ Lat *mūlus* id.

natyrë ‘nature’ ⇔ Lat *nātūra* id.

In later loanwords, Lat *ū* is rendered as Alb *u*, cf. the following examples:

duroj ‘to be patient’ ⇔ Lat *dūrāre* id.

kërrutë ‘ewe with horns’ ⇔ Lat fem. adj. *cornūta* ‘horned’.

kukutë ‘fennel’ ⇔ Lat *cicūta* id.

nuse ‘bride, young woman, younger daughter-in-law’ ⇔ Rom **nūptia*, a local variant of Lat *nūpta* ‘married woman, wife, bride’.

rrugë ‘street’ ⇔ Lat *rūga* ‘wrinkle’.

rrushkull ‘a kind of thorny plant’ ⇔ Rom **rūsculus*, derivative of Lat *rūscus* ‘butcher’s-broom’.

1.2.5. Latin diphthongs

1.2.5.0. The only diphthong that existed in Latin and early Romance at the times of Albanian-Latin contacts was *au*. Other diphthongs (though we do not have examples for *oe*) had already become monophthongs, see 1.2.5.2.

1.2.5.1. Lat *au* shared the fate of EPA **au* and was rendered as Alb *a*:

ar ‘gold’ ⇔ Lat *aurum* id.

gaz ‘joy, laughter’ ⇔ Lat *gaudium* ‘joy’.

lar ‘laurel’ ⇔ Lat *laurus* id.

pak ‘a little, few’ ⇔ Lat *paucus* ‘few, little’.

shkagoj ‘to refuse, to decline’ ⇔ Lat *excaudicāre* ‘to uproot, to eradicate’.

Unstressed *au* was reduced to *ë*, which was, then, labialized to *u* under the influence of the preceding syllable:

këshyre ‘mountain path, path in the ravine’ ⇔ Lat *clausūra* ‘lock, bar, bolt; castle, fort’.

shurukoj ‘to thunder, to make noise’ ⇔ Rom **subraucāre* ‘to make hoarse’, cf. Ital dial. *surragare*.

Later loanwords borrowed at the time when EPA **au* had already become **a* reflect Lat *au* as **av* > *af*, unstressed *ëv* > *iv*:

kafshë ‘animal, thing’ ⇔ Lat *causa* ‘cause’.

lifqer, lifqar ‘waterfall’ ⇔ Rom **lavcārum* < Lat *lavācrum* ‘bath’ (with *-i-* < *-ë-*).

1.2.5.2. Lat *ae* coincided with short *e* (in open Rom **e*) long before the beginning of Albano-Romanian contacts. Its reflection is identical to that of Lat *e*:

grek ‘Greek’ ⇔ Lat *graecus* id.

pre ‘prey, booty, plunder’ ⇔ Lat *praeda* id.

qiell ‘sky, heaven’ ⇔ Lat *caelum* id.
shekull ‘age’ ⇔ Lat *saeculum* id.

1.2.6. Positional changes of vowels in Latin loanwords

1.2.6.0. As noted above, the phonetic adaptation of Latin words in Albanian is of considerable importance for the history of the Albanian vocalism. Several important phonetic changes of positional nature are described below, some of them being characteristic exclusively of Latin loanwords.

Literature: JOKL *IF* XXXVII 111 (prothetic *v-* in non-Latin words);
 DESNICKAJA *VJa* 1976/3 39 (prothetic *v-*); SYTOV *Probl. rek.* 45
 (prothetic *v-* in *vete*).

1.2.6.1. Latin vowels divided by *v*, or any other consonant which dropped in Late Proto-Albanian, depended upon the quality of both vowels. If the second vowel was *a*, the result of contraction was identical with the first vowel of the group.

arnoj ‘to mend, to repair’ ⇔ Lat *renovāre* ‘to renew’.
arrij ‘to come, to arrive’ ⇔ Rom **arrivāre* id.
blej ‘to buy’ ⇔ Rom **ablevāre* ‘to lift up, to relieve (from)’.
felë ‘honeycomb’ ⇔ Rom **favalīa*, cf. Ital *fiale* id.

If the second syllable was *i*, the group was reflected as Alb *y*:

gjykoj ‘to judge, to try’ ⇔ Lat *jūdicāre* id.
nytëroj ‘to murmur, to whisper’ ⇔ Lat *reiterāre* ‘to repeat’.
pylkë ‘wedge; end of an axe-handle’ ⇔ Lat *pavīcula* ‘rammer’.
qytet ‘city’ ⇔ Lat *cīvitāte* (*m*) id.

1.2.6.2. While in inlaut, Lat *o* was substituted (at different epochs) by *o* or *u*. Initially, it became LPA **u̯e*:

verbër ~ *verb* ‘blind’ ⇔ Lat *orbis* id.
vepër ‘work’ ⇔ Lat *opera* id.

Later, initial Lat *o* was substituted by Tosk *va* ~ Geg *vo* (OGeg *ve*) as in the following cases:

vaj ~ *voj* ‘oil’ ⇔ Lat *oleum* id.
varfër ~ *vorfën* ‘poor’ ⇔ Lat *orphanus* ‘orphan’.
voshër (Geg) ‘*Ligustrum vulgare*’ ⇔ Lat *óleaster* id.
ve ~ *vo* ‘egg’ < **vae* ~ *voe* ⇔ Lat *ōvum* ‘egg’.

Loanwords from other languages that penetrated Albanian during the same period were treated likewise:

vadhë ~ *vodhë* ‘sorb-apple’ ⇔ Gk *ὄνη* id.
vatër ~ *votër* ‘hearth, fireplace’ ⇔ Iran dial. **otar-* < Iran **atar-*, cf. Av *ātar-* ‘fire’.

1.2.6.3. In groups *-on-* and *-om-* the Latin vowel was always rendered as Alb *u* while the sonorant was only preserved if it was the first element of a cluster including an occlusive (normally, *nt* or *nc*):

krushk ‘bride’s man, unmarried relative’ < **kushk(ë)r* ⇔ Lat *consocer* ‘father-in-law’.
kundër ‘against’ ⇔ Lat *contra* id.
kungoj ‘to communicate’ ⇔ Lat *commūnicāre* id.
kushull ‘consul’ ⇔ Lat *consulem* id.
kuvend ‘speech; council, meeting’ ⇔ Lat *conventus* ‘meeting, assembly’.
rrufe ‘lightning’ ⇔ Lat *romphaea* ‘long sword’, adaptation of Gk *ῥομφαία* id.

Later, this group was rendered as *ë*:

këshill ‘council’ ⇔ Lat *consilium* id.

1.2.7. Vowels in Slavic loanwords

1.2.7.0. The majority of Slavic loanwords in Albanian belong to a relatively late period (presumably, after the VIII century CE) and reflect fully developed South Slavic dialects with such advanced phonetic features as denasalized *ɛ* and *ɔ*, lost weak “jers”, fully vocalized strong “jers”, metathesized groups of vowels with liquids and the like.

However, there also exists a limited group of loanwords (belonging to the VI - VIII centuries) reflecting some of the more archaic phonetic phenomena of Slavic. They are described below. It is important for the relative chronology of the Albanian vocalism that Slavic loanwords bear no traces of diphthongization of *e*.

1.2.7.1. Several Slavic loanwords reflect unstressed Slav **o* as Alb *a*, just like in other neighboring languages that borrowed from Slavic after the Southern migrations and expansions of Slavs (cf. Slav **slověne* ‘Slavs’ ⇒ Gk Σκλαβηνοί id.).

bagëti ~ *bakti* ‘domestic animal, (head of) cattle’, based on **bagët*
 ⇐ Slav **bogatz* ‘rich’.

kaçubë ‘bush’ ⇐ Slav **kočubъ*/**kočuba* ‘crest, tuft’.

karrup ‘fish-trap’ ⇐ Slav **korupъ* id. attested in Bulg *korup*.

karrutë ‘fermenter’ ⇐ Slav **koryto* ‘trough’.

matukë ‘mattock, hoe’ ⇐ Slav **motyka* id.

ragal ‘kennel’ ⇐ Slav **rogalb* ‘corner’.

Slav **o* appears as Alb *ë* in one example, likely due to vowel assimilation:

pëgëj ~ *pugâj* ‘to make dirty, to soil’ ⇐ Slav **poganiti* id.

We also find two interesting cases of Slav **a* (originally, a long vowel) reflected as EPA **ā* > *σ*:

kos ‘yogurt, clotted curds’ ⇐ Slav **kvasъ* ‘sour substance’.

vorbë ‘clay pot’ ⇐ Slav **varьba* ‘cooking’.

1.2.7.2. In early loanwords, Slav **y* < **ū* is rendered as Alb *u*:

bushër ‘raging, wild’ ⇐ Slav **bystrъ*, fem. **bystra* ‘quick’.

karrutë ‘fermenter’ ⇐ Slav **koryto* ‘trough’.

kulë ‘hernia’ ⇐ Slav **kyla* id.

llukë ‘lime-tree’ ⇐ Slav **lyko* ‘bast’.

matukë ‘mattock, hoe’ ⇐ Slav **motyka* id.

posullë ‘bill, slip, note, letter’ ⇐ Slav **posyla*.

purrë ‘hot ashes’ ⇐ Slav **pyr’ь* id.

Slavic “jers” **ь* and **ъ* (old short **i* and **u*) are reflected as *i* and *u* correspondingly, cf. the following examples:

muzg ‘dusk’ ⇔ Slav **мѣзга* ‘rainy weather’.

opingě ‘sandal’ ⇔ Slav **об(ѣ)ръпѣкъ* ‘sandal, shoe’, cf. SCr *opanak*.

trishe ‘shooting, sprout’ ⇔ Slav **трѣсь* ‘grape, stalk’, cf. SCr *trs*.

1.2.7.3. Groups *TerT*, *TorT* and *TolT* are preserved in early Slavic loanwords but *o* changes to Alb *a* as indicated above:

arqitě ‘rod (for basket weaving)’ ⇔ Slav **orkyta* ‘broom (plant), kind of willow’.

çerdhe ‘nest’ ⇔ Slav **čerda* ‘row, herd, flock’.

daltě ‘chisel’ ⇔ Slav **dolbto* id.

shark ‘woolen cloak; green skin of nuts’ ⇔ Slav **sorka* ‘shirt’.

vallkua ~ *vallkue* ‘fish trap’ ⇔ Slav pl. **volkove* ‘objects that can be dragged or carried, nets’.

Occasionally, *TorT* was rendered as an unusual South Slavic “polnoglasië” *-ara-*:

harabel ‘sparrow’ ⇔ Slav **vorbьlь* id.

karavelě ‘small round bread’ < **karavalě* ⇔ Slav **korvajь* ‘round bread’.

In two cases, **-or-* is reflected as *-ro-*. One of them seems to reflect a standard Old Church Slavic development of anlauting **or-*:

rob ‘serf, prisoner’ ⇔ Slav **orbь* id.

The second word is much more complicated and seems to reflect an unattested Slavic dialect in the Balkans insofar as all South Slavic languages developed *-ra-* here:

groshě ‘bean, lentil’ ⇔ Slav **goršь*, an adjective derived from **gorxь* ‘pea’.

1.2.7.4. Groups of “jers” followed by liquids in early Slavic loanwords are all represented as *-ul-* and *-ur-*, cf. the following examples:

bullog ‘dragon’s dwelling’ ⇐ **bъrlogъ* < Slav **bъrlogъ* ‘den, dwelling’.

grusht ‘fist’ ⇐ Slav **gъrstъ* ‘handful, hand’.

kulbë ‘kind of freshwater fish’ ⇐ Slav **къlba* ~ **къlbъ* id., cf. Pol *kielb*, Rus *kolba*.

vurkollak ‘vampire’ ⇐ Slav **vьlkodlakъ* ‘werewolf, vampire’.

In one word, however, we find a different phonetic development reflecting a dialectal source very close to Old Church Slavic:

treg ‘market’ ⇐ **trъgъ* (OCS *trъgъ*) < Slav **trъgъ* id.

1.2.7.5. In several cases, nasal vowels of Slavic loanwords are transformed into Albanian groups *vowel + nasal sonorant*:

lëndinë ‘untilled land, fallow field, grassland’ ⇐ Slav **lędina* id.

orendi ‘equipment, utensils’ ⇐ Slav **orędъje* id.

pendar ‘watchman’ ⇐ Slav **pędarъ* id.

porend ‘thorn-hedge’ ⇐ Slav **poređъ* ‘order, row’.

sembër ‘two peasants using the same pair of oxen or having common cattle’ ⇐ Slav **sebrъ* ‘neighbor, comrade, peasant’.

However, this substitution is not directly related to the chronology of borrowing since in many contemporary South Slavic (Bulgarian-Macedonian) dialects similar reflexes are found. An early date of borrowing is more probable when the vowel in Late Proto-Albanian is **a* or **u*. Such groups may reflect early Slavic or South Slavic groups **on* or **ъn*, cf. the following examples:

kënd ~ *kand* ‘corner, angle’ ⇐ Slav **kętъ* id.

sundoj ‘to rule’ ⇐ Slav **sęditi* ‘to judge’.

tangë ‘resentment, prejudice, damnation’ ⇐ Slav **tęga* ‘grief’.

zhumbinë ‘gum’ ⇐ Slav **zębina* id.

Other considerations (the development of Slav **č*) prove that two words with *o* replacing Slav **ę* must be quite archaic, cf.:

porosit ‘to order, to demand’ ⇐ Slav **poręčiti* id.

sodit ‘to observe’ ⇐ Slav **sęditi* ‘to judge’ (cf. *sundoj* above).

1.2.7.6. Two positional changes in early Slavic loanwords deserve special attention.

Even though we have only one reliable example, there seems to be a special treatment of initial *u-*, which is rendered as *vo-*:

vobektë ‘poor’ ⇔ Slav **ubogъ* id.

All groups having a structure *-V_uV-* yield *ua ~ ue*:

buall ~ buell ‘buffalo’ ⇔ Slav **byvolъ* id.

gatuaj ~ gatuej ‘make ready, prepare’ ⇔ Slav **gotovati, *gotoviti* ‘make ready, prepare’.

patkua ~ patkue ‘horseshoe’ ⇔ Slav **podъkovъ* id.

përrua ~ përrue ‘brook; river-bed’ ⇔ Slav **porovъ ~ *parovъ*, cf.

Pol *parów* ‘ravine’, name of a source in Greece Πορόβος.

torua ~ torue ‘trace; secret path’ ⇔ Slav pl. **torove* ‘paths, traces’.

vallkua ~ vallkue ‘fish-trap’ ⇔ Slav pl. **volkove* ‘objects that can be dragged or carried, nets’.

virua ~ virue ‘brook, rivulet’ ⇔ Slav pl. **virove* of **virъ* ‘whirlpool, water-pit’.

In one case, the same development is attested for a group with **-j-* in the middle:

zabua ~ zabue ‘linch-pin’ ⇔ Slav **zaboъjъ*.

1.3. Sonorants

1.3.0. The harmonious structure of Indo-European sonorants with their opposition of syllabic and asyllabic functions had been completely destroyed already in Early Proto-Albanian because of the development of original syllabic sonorants.

1.3.1. Syllabic sonorants

1.3.1.0. The history of syllabic sonorants in Albanian is relatively clear but quite contradictory as far as the areal characteristics of Albanian are

concerned. In its treatment of nasal and liquid sonorants Albanian displays features proper to two separate groups of Indo-European dialects.

Literature: MEYER *Alb. St.* III 42 ($*\eta > \ddot{e}n$), 78 ($iR, Ri < *R$); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 333 ($*\eta > i$); FAY *IF* XXXII 331 (*contra* PEDERSEN); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 91 ($uR, Ru < *R$), LKUBA 231 ($i\ddot{r}, ur$ from $*\ddot{a}r, r\ddot{i}$ from $*r$), 286 ($*\eta > \ddot{e}n$), *Sprache* IX/2 120-121 ($iR, Ri < *R$ but $ar < *f$); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 39-41 ($*\eta$ and $*\eta > a$); MANN *Language* XVII 13-14 ($uR, Ru < *R$), 21 ($*\eta > \ddot{e}n$), *Hist. Gr.* 36-37 ($*R > iR, uR$ but Ri, Ry before labials; $*N > \ddot{e}N \sim aN$); BARIĆ *Ist.* 23 (follows VASMER); ÇABEJ *Hyrje* 147 ($*\eta > un$), *St.* III 145, IV 212 (against $*r > ri$); KALUŽSKAJA, OREL *Antič. balk.* 3 28-30, *SBJa Kontakty* 17-19 (timbre i in short and timbre u in long syllabic sonorants), 21-22 (follow VASMER).

1.3.1.1. Both nasal sonorants, $*\eta$ and $*\eta$, yielded EPA $*a$. The latter was preserved as Alb a . Cf. the following examples:

avull ‘steam, vapor’ < EPA $*abula$ continuing $*\eta bh(u)lo-$, close to OHG *nebul* ‘fog’, OS *nifol* < Gmc $*nebulaz$.
gatë ‘heron’ < EPA $*gatā$ < IE $*g̑h̑ntā$, a variant of IE $*g̑han-s-$ ‘goose’, cf. Gmc $*ganta$ < IE $*g̑hand-$.
gjatë ‘long’ < EPA $*dlata$ < IE $*dl̑gh-to-$: IE $*(d)longho-$ id. (Lat *longus*, Goth *laggs*).
mat ‘bank, shore’ < EPA $*mata$ < $*m̑to-$: Lat *mōns* ‘mountain’.
shtatë ‘seven’ < EPA $*septati-$ derived from IE $*septm̑$ id. (Skt *saptá-*, Gk $\epsilon̑\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}$, Lat *septem*).

The vocalization of nasal sonorants preceded the development of unvoiced occlusives after sonorants to $(m)b$, $(n)d$, $(n)g$.

1.3.1.2. In several cases, EPA $*a$ < IE $*\eta$, $*\eta$ was raised to e as demonstrated by the following words:

$e-$ privative prefix ‘non-, un-’ (in *egjëll* ‘on an empty stomach’ and *esëll* id.) < EPA $*a-$ < IE $*\eta-$.
lehtë ‘light (adj.)’ < PALb $*laga$ < IE $*l̑g̑h-$ (Skt *raghú-* ‘hastening’, *laghú-* ‘light’, Gk $\epsilon̑λαχύς$ id., Lat *levis* id.).
thek ‘to roast, to toast (bread)’ < EPA $*tsaka$ < IE $*k̑nk-$ cf. Gk $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}γκει$: $\pi\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}$, $\kappa\alpha\gamma\kappa\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$: $\xi\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{\omega}$ $\phi\acute{\omicron}\beta\omega$ (Hes.), $\pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\kappa\alpha\gamma\kappa\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ ‘burning strongly’ (Hom.).
zet ‘twenty’ < EPA $*w(\bar{i})džatī$ < IE $*uik̑mtī$ id. (Skt *viṃśatī-*, Gk $\epsilon̑ἰκοσι$, Lat *vīginti*).

1.3.1.3. The history of syllabic liquid sonorants is extremely complicated. Already in Early Proto-Albanian they had changed to fully vocalized groups: IE **l̥* > EPA **il* and **ul*, and IE **r̥* > EPA **ir* and **ur*. Later, in some cases, the new groups were metathesized (see below). The distribution between palatal and labial variants has been considerably obscured by various secondary processes. However, some important factors that influenced the distribution between **iR* or **uR* can be established.

EPA **iR* appears before consonantal clusters as in the following examples:

birë ‘hole’ < EPA **birjā* < IE **bher-* (Lat *forō* ‘to bore, to pierce’, OHG *borōn* id.).

drithë ‘grain’ < EPA **dritsā* < IE **gh̥rzd-* ‘barley’ (Lat *hordeum*, OHG *gersta*).

dritë ‘light, lustre, pupil (of an eye)’ < EPA **driktā* < IE **derk̥-* ‘to look’.

drizë ‘blackthorn, sloe’ < EPA **dridzjā* < IE **dergh̥-* ‘to hold, to be firm’ (Skt *dṛhyati* ‘to be firm’, Slav **dbržati* ‘to hold’ < **dbrzjati* and, in particular, **dbrza* > Russ *dereza* ‘kind of thorny plant’).

grij ~ *grîj* ‘to cut into pieces, to gnaw, to eat away’ < EPA **grinja* < IE **g^her-* ‘to swallow’ (Skt *girāti*, Arm *eker*, Lat *vorō*, Lith *geriù*, *gérti* ‘to drink’, Slav **žerti*).

pirë ‘pore’ < EPA **pirjā*: Gk *πείρω* ‘to bore’, Slav **perjō* id.

rris ‘to pull up, to move up, to increase, to grow’ < EPA **writja* < IE **uert-* ‘to turn’ (Skt *vartate*, Lat *vertō*, Goth *wairþan* ‘to become’).

shtrij ‘to spread, to stretch’ < EPA **strinja*: Skt *stṛnāti* ‘to spread, to scatter’, Gk *σπόρῶμι* ‘to spread, to stretch’, Lat *sternō* id.

The same rule applies to two words with a secondary development of *-i-* into *-e-* (see also below):

grellë ‘deep place’ < EPA **gritlā*: Lith *gurklỹs* ‘crop’, OPrus *gurcle* ‘throat’, Slav **gbrdlo* id., cf. also **žerdlo* ‘river-bed; opening’.

grerë ~ *grenzë* ‘wasp, hornet’ < **grisnā*: Lat *crābrō* ‘hornet’, OHG *hornaz* id., Lith *širsuō* id., Slav **sbršęnъ* id.

1.3.1.4. EPA **iR* also reflects Indo-European liquid sonorants when followed by **-i-* or **-j-* in the next syllable:

- birq* ‘heap, heap of sand, sand-dune’ < EPA **birki*: Slav **bъrkъ* ‘moustache, hair, trunk’.
krimb ~ *krym* ‘worm’ < EPA **krim-* (with unexplained Geg *y*) < IE **kʷrmi-* id. (Skt *kṛmi-*, Lith *kirmis*).
ri ‘new, young, recent’ < EPA **rija*, derivative of IE **er-* ~ **or-* ‘to rise, to make move’, cf. ON *qrr* ‘quick’, OS *aru* id.
rime ‘rain-worm’ < EPA **wrimi* < IE **uṛmi-* **uṛmo-* ‘worm’ (Lat *vermis* id., Goth *waúrms* ‘worm, snake’, Lith *vařmas* ‘insect’).

There are some cases in which there are no obvious traces of **-i-*:

- rribë* ‘gale, wind, waterfall, torrent’ < EPA **wrib(i)* < IE **uērb(h)-* ‘to turn, to bend’.
thirr ‘soot’ derived from EPA **tsirw(i)*: Lith *šičvas* ‘gray’.

1.3.1.5. In all other positions, Indo-European liquid sonorants yielded EPA **uR*:

- grurë* ~ *grunë* ‘wheat’ < EPA **grunā* < IE **gʷr̥nom* ‘grain’ (Lat *grānum*, OIr *grán*, Goth *kaurn*, Lith *žirnis*, Slav **zьrno*).
kulpër ~ *kulpën* ‘ivy, clematis’ < EPA **kulpa*: Lith *kilpa* ‘loop’, Latv *ciļpa* id.
hudhër ‘garlic’ < EPA **skurdā*: Gk σκόροδον id.
murg ‘dark, grey’ < EPA **murga*: Lith *mārgas* ‘multicolored’, *mīrguōti* ‘to sparkle, to shine’, Latv *mīrga* ‘gleam’, *mūrgs* ‘fantastic image’.
ndulkem ‘to ripen’ < EPA **en-tulka*: Lith *telkiù*, *telkti* ‘to gather, to bring together’, Slav **telkti* ‘to beat, to pound’.
ujk ‘wolf’ < EPA **(w)ulka* < IE **uʎkʷos* id. (Skt *vṛka-*, Gk λύκος, Lat *lupus*, Goth *wulfs*).
ulzë ‘kind of maple’ derived from EPA **ulma* < IE **lmo-* ‘elm’ (Lat *ulmus*, ON *almr*, OIr *lem*).

1.3.1.6. In four cases the *i* in *-ri-* has been replaced by *e*:

- grellë* ‘deep place’ < EPA **gritlā*: Lith *gurklīs* ‘crop’, OPrus *gurcle* ‘throat’, Slav **gьrdlo* id., cf. also **žerdlo* ‘river-bed; opening’.

grerë ~ *grenzë* ‘wasp, hornet’ < EPA **grisnā*: Lat *crābrō* ‘hornet’, OHG *hornaz* id., Lith *širšuō* id., Slav **syršeny* id.
dregë ‘scab’ < EPA **drigā*: West Gmc **targjan* ‘to pull, to stir’, Slav **dъrgati* ‘to pull, to tug’, Lith *dîrginti* ‘to move, to irritate’.
drekë ‘lunch, dinner, midday meal’ < EPA **drikā* < IE **dṛkʷā* close to Bret *dibri* ‘lunch’, OBret *diprim* ‘to eat’.

The phonetic conditions of this change remain uncertain.

1.3.1.7. In half of the known words reflecting Indo-European liquid sonorants, the resulting Early Proto-Albanian groups were metathesized (except for EPA **il*). There is no definite phonetic factor which can explain this phenomenon. The situation is illustrated by the following contrastive pairs.

ir ~ *ri*

thirr ‘soot’ < EPA **tsirwī*: Lith *širvas* ‘gray’.
trim ‘hero, brave, courageous’ < EPA **trima* < IE **tṛmo-*, cf. Arm *tārm* ‘young, fresh, green’.

ur ~ *ru*

purth ‘diarrhoea’, derived from EPA **purwa*: Lith *puřvas* ‘filth, dirt’, Latv *pūrvs* ‘swamp, marsh’.
brumë ‘dough’ < EPA **bruma*: Gmc **barma* ‘yeast’ and Lat *fermentum* ‘leaven, yeast’.

ul ~ *lu*

kulpër ~ *kulpën* ‘ivy, clematis’ < EPA **kulpa*: Lith *kilpa* ‘loop’, Latv *cilpa* id.
gjuhë ‘tongue, language’ < EPA **gluxā*: the Indo-European dialectal word for ‘sound’ **golso-* (ON *kall* ‘shout’, Lith *gālsas* ‘echo’, Slav **golsъ* ‘voice’).

1.3.2. Asyllabic sonorants

1.3.2.0. Asyllabic sonorants were well preserved in Proto-Albanian, though some of them underwent serious changes during later stages of phonetic development. For positional changes of asyllabic sonorants see 1.4.6.

Literature: MEYER *Alb. St.* III 38-39; WEIGAND *BA* III 218-222 (Rumanian rhotacism resulting from Albanian influence); PEDERSEN *BUShtXIV/3* 228 (-*m* > -*mb*); HAMP *KZLXXVI* 135 (**r* > *re* before long **ā*), *LXXVII* 252-253 (same), *IF LXVI/1* 51-52; MANN *Language XVII* 12-23; MINSHALL *Language XXXII* 627-632 (development of **j* in clusters with laryngeals in Albanian); ÇABEJ *BShkSh I/3* 37-59 (IE **j-* > Alb *z-*), *XV/4* 54 (expressive *rr* < **r*), *Zifonetik IX/3* 203-229 (on IE **j* in Albanian), *RShk* 1964/1 7-9 (cluster -*mb* < **m*), *St.* III 131-136, 139; OREL *FLH VIII/1-2* 37-50 (IE **j* in Albanian).

1.3.2.1. IE **j* remained unchanged in Early Proto-Albanian, for which we reconstruct EPA **j*. However, its further history is quite complicated.

In most cases (before EPA **a*, **e* and **ō*), it yielded *gj* in anlaut as corroborated by several reliable examples:

gjem ‘bridle’ < EPA **jema*: Skt *yāma*-id.

gjer ‘till’ < EPA **(a)jeri*: Gk ἤρι < ἤερι ‘early’ further relater to Gmc **airiz* ‘before, ere’ (Goth *air*, ON *ár*) and Av *ayar* ‘day’.

gjesh ‘to knead’ < EPA **jesja*: Skt *yásyati* ‘to boil’, Gk ζέω ‘to boil, to cook’.

gjër ‘soup’ (Tosk) < EPA **jausna*: Skt neut. *yūṣ* ‘soup’, Lat *iūs* id., Lith *júšė* ‘fish soup’.

gjuaj ~ *gjuiej* ‘to hunt’ < EPA **jōgnja*: OHG *jagōn* ‘to hunt’.

ngjesh ‘to gird’ < EPA **en-jōša*: Av *yāghayeiti* id., Gk ζώνυμι id., Lith *júosti* id., Slav **jasati* ‘to tear clothes’ < **to tear into bands*, **po-jasъ* ‘belt’.

Before EPA **ā* and **u*, EPA **j* was preserved as Alb *j*.

a-jo ‘she; that’ < EPA **a-jā* < IE **jā* id., fem. sg. of **jo-*.

josh ‘to curl, to fondle, to caress’ < EPA **jāudsja* < IE **jeudh-* (Skt *yúdhya* ‘to fight, to struggle’, Toch A *yutk-* ‘to take care of, to trouble about’, Lith *jáudinti* ‘to excite, to arouse’).

ju ‘you’ < EPA **ju* (with secondary short **u*): Lith *jūs* id., Goth *jus* id., Gk ὑμεῖς id., Skt acc. *yusmán* id.

1.3.2.2. In the anlaut, EPA **j* was lost after front vowels, cf. the following examples:

dí ‘to know’ < EPA **dīja* < IE **dhejə-* (Skt *dhyāti*, *dhyāyati* ‘to observe, to feel, to think’, Av *dā(ii)-* ‘to see’).

fle ~ *flê* ‘to sleep’ < EPA **awa-leja*: Slav **lějo*, **lějati* ‘to doze, to slumber’.

ri ‘new, young, recent’ < EPA **rija*, derivative of IE **er-* ~ **or-* ‘to rise, to make move’, cf. ON *qrr* ‘quick’, OS *aru* id.

shi ‘rain’ < EPA **sūja* (with irregular development of the initial **s-*) < IE **sū-* ‘rain; to rain’ (Gk ὕει, Toch A *swase*, Toch B *swese* ‘rain’, *sū-* ‘to rain’, OPrus *suge* ‘rain’ = [*sūjē*]).

1.3.2.3. After all other vowels, medial **j* gave Alb *h* (Geg *f* in the auslaut of most verbs):

bahe ‘sling’ < EPA **bajā* etymologically close to Slav **bojъ* ‘fight’; to IE **bhei-* ‘to strike, to beat’.

ftoh ~ *ftof* ‘to cool, to make cold’ < EPA **awa-tāja* < IE **tā-* ‘to melt’ (Slav **tajō*, **tajati*, Osset *tajyn*).

ngroh ‘to warm’ < EPA **en-grāja*: Slav **grějō*, **grěti* id.

pah ‘scab, dust’ < EPA **pauja* < IE **peu-* ‘to blow up’, cf., in particular, Arm *hogi* ‘breath’ < IE **poujō-*.

shtrohë ~ *shtrofë* ‘kennel’ < EPA **strājā*: Latv *straja* ‘stall covered with straw’, Slav **strojъ* ‘construction’.

vehte ‘self’ < EPA **swaja* (with a secondary suffix *-t-*) < IE **swojos* ‘own’ (Slav **svojъ*, OPrus *swais*).

An important exception could be presented by a new etymology of the following word (DEMIRAJ *AE* 127):

dej ‘the day after tomorrow’ < EPA **dajau* continuing IE loc. dual **dwoj-ous*.

However, a better explanation can be given, interpreting *dej* as EPA **dejwei* < **dejei*, with a specific development of the cluster **-jū-*.

1.3.2.4. IE **y* gave **w* in Early Proto-Albanian. In anlaut, this sound yielded Alb *v*:

verë ~ *venë* f ‘wine’ < EPA **wainā* cognate with Gk οἴνη ‘vine’, οἶνος ‘wine’, Lat *vīnum* ‘wine’, Arm *gini* id.

vesh ‘to put on (clothes)’ < EPA **wesja* < IE **ues-* (Skt *vāste* ‘to wear, to be dressed in’, Gk ἔννυμι ‘to dress’).

vjedh ‘to steal’ < EPA **wedza* < IE **uegh-* (Skt *vāhati* ‘to drive’, Lat *vehō* ‘to bear, to carry’, Goth *gawigan* ‘to steal’).

vjel ‘to pluck (fruit), to vintage’ < EPA **wela*: Gk εἴλω ‘to shut in, to press’, Lith *su-valyti* ‘to harvest, to reap’.

vjell ‘to vomit’ < EPA **welwa*: Lat *volvō* ‘to turn’.

vjerr ‘to hang’ < EPA **wera*: Gk ἀείρω ‘to raise up’, Lith *veriù*, *vérti* ‘to weigh’, *sveriù*, *sveřti* ‘to open, to thread’.

In anlaut, IE **uō-* > EPA **wa-* becomes *u-*:

- udhě* ‘way’ < EPA **wada* < IE **uēdh-* ‘to beat, to break’ (cf. Slav **trepati* ‘to beat’ ~ **tropa* ‘path’), or IE **ueǵh-* ‘way’.
ul ‘to lower’ < EPA **wala* < IE **uel-* (Gk εἴλω ‘to shut in, to press’, Lith *valýti* ‘to clean’, *iš-valýti* ‘to carry away’).
unazě ‘finger-ring, small iron ring’ derived from EPA **wandā*: Arm *gind* ‘ring’, Goth *bi-windan* ‘to unwreath’.
urě ‘bridge’ < EPA **warā*: ON *vqr* ‘row of stones’, *ver* ‘dam’, Osc *veru* ‘door’.
urě ‘burning log’ < EPA **warā*: Arm *vařem* ‘to kindle (fire)’, Hitt *uar-* ‘to burn’.
uri ~ *û* ‘hunger’ < EPA **wana* < IE **uēn-* ‘to want, to desire’ (Skt *vánati*, *vanóti* id., Lat *venus* ‘love’).

1.3.2.5. The development of IE **u* surrounded by long vowels or diphthongs has been described above, see 1.1.4.6. When preceded by short EPA **a*, **w* was preserved as Alb *v*:

- avěr* ‘ice-floe’ < EPA **awera* < IE **auer-*, **aueđ-* ‘to make wet’.
gravě ‘cave, den, lair’ < EPA **gravi-*: Lith *griovà*, Latv *grava* ‘ravine, precipitous valley’, OPrus *grauwus* ‘side’.
vras ‘to kill’ < EPA **awa-rautja*, derived from IE **reu-* ‘to tear, to destroy’ (Skt *rutá-* ‘broken’, Lat *ruō* ‘to fall down, to rush down’).

Before unvoiced stops, **awa-* is attested as *f*. By analogy, it also assumes this form in certain words before sonorants:

- flak* ‘to throw, to fling’ < EPA **awa-laka*, derived from IE **lēk-* **læk-* ‘to bend, to jump’ (MHG *lecken* ‘to throw back, to spring’, Lith *lekiù*, *lėkti* ‘to fly’, Latv *lēkt* ‘to spring, to jump’).

In other cases **w* was lost:

- dru* ~ *drû* ‘tree; wood’ < EPA **druwa*: Slav **drъvo* ‘wood’, Skt *dru-* id., Av *dru-* id., Gk δρῦς ‘tree, oak’.
kri ~ *krî* ‘woodworm, moth’ < EPA **kriwi-* < IE **k̑ȓui-* (Slav **čьrvьb* ‘worm’).
ve ‘widow’ < EPA **widewā*: Skt *vidhāvā* id., Lat *vidua* id., Goth *widuwo* id.

1.3.2.6. IE **m* was preserved as EPA **m* > Alb *m* in all positions:

- dem* ‘young bull’ < EPA **dama*: OIr *dam* ‘ox’ and Gk δάμαλος ‘calf’.

- dimër* ‘winter’ < EPA **deimena* < IE **ǵheimen-* id. (Skt *heman* loc. ‘in winter’, Gk χεῖμα ‘winter’).
mardhë ‘chill, frost, ice’ < EPA **mardzā*: Slav **morzъ* ‘frost’.
mi ‘mouse’ < EPA **mū(s)* < IE **mūs* id. (Skt *mūṣ-*, Gk μῦς, Lat *mūs*).
motër ‘sister’ < EPA **māter* < IE **māter-* ‘mother’ (Skt *mātār-*, Gk μήτηρ, Lat *māter*).
mut ‘excrement’ < EPA **mukta*: Skt *muktá-* ‘released’, further cf. Skt *muñcáti* ‘to loose, to free’, Lith *mùkti* ‘to get free, to flee’.

At the end of the word **m* occasionally becomes *mb*:

- krimb* ~ *krym* ‘worm’ < EPA **krim-* (with unexplained Geg *y*) < IE **kʷrmi-* id. (Skt *kṛmī-*, Lith *kirmis*).
shkrumb ‘black ashes, anything burned to ashes’ < EPA **iṣ-kruma* < IE **krem-* (Lat *cremō* ‘to burn’).
tremb ‘to frighten’ < EPA **trema*: Toch A *tärm-* ‘to get angry’, Gk τρέμω ‘to tremble (from fear)’, Lat *tremō* id.

1.3.2.7. IE **n* was preserved as EPA **n*. In anlaut, it is continued by Alb *n*:

- natë* ‘night’ < EPA **nakti-* corresponding to IE **nokʷt-* id. (Skt *nákt-*, Gk νύξ, Lat *nox*).
ne ‘we’ < EPA **nō(s)*: Skt *nas-*, Av *nō*, Lat *nōs* id.
nesër ‘tomorrow’ < EPA **natšōr* < IE **nokʷtjōr* (W *neithiwr*, *neithwyr* ‘last night’, Bret *neizæer*, *neizür* id.).
nëmë ~ *namë* ‘curse’ < EPA **namā* < IE **nem-* (Gk νέμω ‘to distribute’, cf. νέμεσις ‘wrath’, Goth *niman* ‘to take’).
nëntë ~ *nand* ‘nine’ < EPA **neunti-* (with analogical change of **nt* in Tosk) < IE **neun̥* id. (Skt *náva*, Lat *novem*, Goth *niun*).
nuk ‘not’ < EPA **nuka* composed of **nu* < IE **ne* colored by the following labiovelar and **ka* < **kʷo-*, a pronominal stem.

1.3.2.8. Between two vowels EPA **n* was preserved in Geg as *n* but changed to Tosk *r*. This process is known as Tosk rhotacism. As demonstrated by Latin loanwords reflecting the same process, it took place after unstressed vowels:

- dimër* ‘winter’ < EPA **deimena* < IE **ǵheimen-* id. (Skt *heman* loc. ‘in winter’, Gk χεῖμα ‘winter’).
gjarpër ~ *gjarpën* ‘snake’ < EPA **serpena* < IE **serp-* ‘to crawl’ (Lat *serpens* ‘snake, serpent’, *serpō* ‘to crawl’).
gjerë ~ *gjanë* ‘broad, wide’ < EPA **saina* < IE **sēi-* ‘long, late’ (OE *sīd* ‘long, wide’, Goth *seipus* ‘late’, OIr *síth* ‘long’, Lat *serus* ‘late’).

llërë ~ *llanë* ‘forearm, ell’ < EPA **alenā*: Gk ὠλένη ‘elbow’, Lat *ulna*, OHG *elina*.
thëri ~ *thëni* ‘louse’ < EPA **tsanidā*: Gk κονίς ‘nit’, OHG *hniz* id.
verë ~ *venë* f ‘wine’ < EPA **wainā* cognate with Gk οἴνη ‘vine’, οἶνος ‘wine’, Lat *vīnum* ‘wine’, Arm *gini* id.

After stressed vowels **n* was lost in Late Proto-Albanian:

bli ~ *blī* ‘linden’ < EPA **blini*: Lith *blindis*, *blendis* ‘Salix caprea’.
dre ~ *drē* ‘deer’ < EPA **drani*:- ἄρανίς [for δρ-] ἔλαφος.
gji ~ *gjī* ‘breast, chest’ < EPA **sina*: Lat *sinus* ‘curve, fold’.
gju ~ *gjū* ‘knee’ < EPA **gluna* dissimilated from **g(a)nuna* < IE **genu*-id. (Hitt *gēnu*, Skt *jānu*-, Gk γόνυ, Lat *genū*).
hu ~ *hū* ‘picket, stake, pole, penis’ < EPA **skuna* replacing earlier **skuja*: Slav **xujb* ‘penis’.
tru ~ *trū* ‘brain’ < EPA **taruna*: Skt *tāruṇa*- ‘young, tender’, Av *tauruna*- ‘young’, cf. also Gk τέρην ‘tender’, τέρυ ἄσθενές, λεπτόν (Hes.).

1.3.2.9. IE **l* yielded EPA **l*. The latter is normally preserved as Alb *l* in anlaut.

lashtë ‘old; early, premature (of fruit)’ < EPA **laus-ta*: Goth *laus* ‘empty, loose’.
ledh ‘mud, alluvium, clay; wall, earth mound; river-mouth, balk’ < EPA **laida*: OPrus *laydis* ‘clay’.
lë ~ *lā* ‘to let’ < EPA **laidna*: Lith *léisti* id., Latv *lāist* id.
lodh ‘to tire, to weary’ < EPA **lada*: Goth *letan* ‘to let’, Gk ληδεῖν κοπιᾶν, κεκμηκέναι (Hes.) and the like.
lug ‘trough, water-trough, long gutter, pipe’ < EPA **luga*: Slav **lъga* ‘spoon, blade’, **lъžica* id.
lus ‘to pray, to invoke, to beg’ < EPA **lugtja*: Lith *lūgōti* ‘to ask, to pray’, Latv *lūdzu*, *lūgt* ‘to ask, to invite’, OHG *lockōn* ‘to lure, to entice’.

In a few cases (belonging to the expressive vocabulary) we find initial *ll*:

llukë ‘foul egg’ < EPA **lukā* < IE **leu(ə)*- ‘dirt’.
llup ‘to gulp down, to swallow’ < EPA **lupa*: Skt *lumpāti* ‘to break, to injure’, Lith *lūpti* ‘to peel’, Latv *lupt* ‘to peel; to eat’, Slav **lupiti* ‘to peel’.

In one word, initial *ll*-remains unexplained:

llërë ~ *llanë* ‘forearm, ell’ < EPA **alenā*: Gk ὠλένη ‘elbow’, Lat *ulna*, OHG *elina*.

1.3.2.10. Between two vowels, EPA **l* originally yielded Alb *ll*:

ballë ‘forehead’ < EPA **balā*: Skt *bhāla*-id., OPrus *ballo* id.

dhallë ‘buttermilk’ < EPA **dzalā*: Gk γάλα id.

hell ‘spear, spit’ < EPA **skōla*: Gk σκῶλος ‘pointed stake, thorn’.

mëllenjë ‘blackbird’ < EPA **melanjā* < IE fem. adj. **melənjā* ‘black’ (Gk μέλαινα id., cf. also Skt *malinā*-, fem. *malinī* ‘dirty, unclean, Latv *mēļns* ‘black’).

sjell ‘to bring’ < EPA **tšela* < IE **k^hel-* (Skt *cāрати* ‘to move, to walk’, Gk πέλω ‘to come into existence, to become’, Lat *colō* ‘to cultivate, to till’).

vëlla ‘brother’ < EPA **swe-laudā*, composite of pronominal IE **sue* and **laudā* < IE **leudh-* (OHG *liut* ‘people’, Slav **ljudъ* id.).

Later, due to interdialectal influences and various analogical processes, it was sometimes replaced by *-l-*:

bal ‘dog with a white spot on its forehead; white-haired’ < EPA **bala* close to Lith *bālas* ‘white’, Latv *bāls* ‘pale’, Gk φαλός· λευκός (Hes.).

pelë ‘mare’ < EPA **pōulā*: Gk πῶλος ‘foal’, Goth *fula* id.

In Late Proto-Albanian, intervocalic **l* changed to *j* if followed by a front vowel (only **lʔ*). This phonetic context typically is repeated in plurals of masculine nouns (ending in EPA **-ai* > LPA **-j*) with a stem ending in *-ll*, cf. for example:

avull: pl. *avuj* ‘steam, vapor’

buall ~ *buell*: pl. *buaj* ~ *buej* ‘buffalo’

dell: pl. *dej* ‘tendon’

diell: pl. *diej* ‘sun’

ehull: pl. *ehuj* ‘icicle’

nyell: pl. *nyej* ‘ankle, gnarl, knot’

In a few nouns *ll* was restored in the plural as a result of analogy and changes in declension type:

hisëll ~ *hîsëll*: pl. *hisëlla* ~ *hîsëlla* ‘burning nettle’

këshill: pl. *këshilla* ‘council’

ndryshkull: pl. *ndryshkulla* ‘boil, abscess’

In feminine nouns where the plural was formed by the EPA ending **-ās* > LPA **a*, final *l* was preserved:

- brushtull*: pl. *brushtulla* ‘heather’
korbull: pl. *korbulla* ‘keg, cask, wooden pail’
mjegull: pl. *mjegulla* ‘cloud’
modhull: pl. *modhulla* ‘vetch, chickling, chick-pea’
ndrikull: pl. *ndrikulla* ‘godmother; midwife’
nofull: pl. *nofulla* ‘jaw, jawbone, cheekbone’

EPA **l* also gives Alb *l* in consonantal clusters (unless they develop as described in 1.4.6 passim):

- blertë* ‘green’ < EPA **blōra* < IE **bhlōros* (Lat *flōrus* ‘shining, bright’, OIr *blár* ‘gray’, W *blawr* id.).
elb ‘barley’ < EPA **albī*: Gk ἄλφι ‘kind of grain’.
ëmbël ~ *ambël* ‘sweet’ < EPA **amla*: Skt *amlā-* ‘sour’.
gjalpë ‘butter’ < EPA **selpi-*: Skt *sarpīś-* ‘clarified butter’ (but cf. Gk ἔλπος· ἔλαιον, στέαρ, εὐθηγία (Hes.), OHG *salba* ‘ointment’).
mjaltë ‘honey’ < EPA **melita* < IE **melit-* id. (Hitt *milit*, Gk μέλι, Goth *milip* id.).

1.3.2.11. IE **r* did not change in Early Proto-Albanian. In all positions EPA **r* is reflected as Alb *r* or as Alb *rr*. In consonantal clusters we normally find *r*:

- brydh* ‘weak, pliant, mild’ < EPA **brūdza*: Lat *frūx* ‘fruit’, Goth *brukjan* ‘to use’.
çandër ‘prop, support’ < EPA **štšentra* < IE **kēntrom* (Gk κέντρον ‘goad, spur’, cf. also Latv *sīts* ‘spear, lance’ < Balt **šintas*).
dru ‘tree; wood’ < EPA **druwa* < IE **dru-* id. (Slav **drъvo* ‘wood’, Skt *dru-* id., Av *dru-* id., Gk δρῦς ‘tree, oak’).
dhëndër ~ *dhandër* ‘bridegroom~ son-in-law’ < EPA **dzanra* < IE **gēnēr-* ‘son-in-law’ (Lat *gener*).
kredh ‘to plunge, to immerse, to steep, to smother, to bespatter’ < EPA **krōda*: Slav **kradŏ*, **krasti* ‘to steal’, refl. **kradŏ se*, **krasti se* ‘to sneak, to steal up, to approach unnoticed’.
pjerdh ‘to fart’ < EPA **perda* < IE **perd-* id. (Skt *párdate*, Gk πέρδομαι, OHG *ferzan*, Lith *pérdžiu*, *pérsti*).

1.3.2.12. The distribution of the two reflexes, *r* and *rr*, remains unknown. Words with *rr* are somewhat more numerous:

- barrë* ‘load, burden’ < EPA **barā*: Gk φορᾶ ‘load’.

- hirrë* ‘whey’ < EPA **ksirā*: Skt *kṣīrā-* ‘milk’, Osset *æxšīr* id.
kërr ‘donkey, ass, foal; gray’ < EPA **kara*: Skt *khāra-* ‘donkey’, Av *xarō* id., Scyth **xara*, Osset *xæræg* id.
rrek ‘to strain, to bother’ < EPA **raika*: Lith *reikà* ‘need, necessity’, *reikti* ‘to be necessary’ further explained in
rrjedh ‘to flow’ < EPA **redza*: Lat *rigāre* ‘to wet, to moisten’, ON *raki* ‘wetness’.
vjehërr ‘mother-in-law’ < EPA **swexurā* (with assimilation from expected **swetsurā*) < IE **suekrū-* (Skt *śvaśrū-* ‘mother-in-law’, Lat *socrus* id.).

Examples of EPA **r* > Alb *r* are also rather common:

- arë* ‘field’ < EPA **arā*: Latv *āra* id., Hitt *arḫa-* ‘border, area’, Lyd *aara-* ‘farmstead, land’, Mess *aran*.
bar ‘grass’ < EPA **bara*: Lat *far* ‘sort of grain, spelt’, ON *barr* ‘spelt’.
farë ‘seed, semen, kin’ < EPA **sparā* < IE **sper-* (Gk fem. σπορά ‘seed’, σπείρω ‘to spill, to sow’, σπέρμα ‘semen, seed’).
mirë ‘good’ < EPA **mira* forming a separate isogloss with Slav **mīrъ* (further to IE **mēi-*: **mī-* ‘mild, weak, nice’).
rjep ‘to strip off (skin or bark), to tear off’ < EPA **repa* < IE **rep-* (Gk ἐρέπτομαι ‘to eat’, Lat *rapiō* ‘to seize, to grasp’, Lith *rėpti* ‘to grasp’).
t-jetër ‘other’ < EPA **etera*: Slav **eterъ* ‘some, somebody’.

1.3.2.13. In the final position after **e*, EPA **r* was regularly lost as demonstrated by the following examples:

- bie* ‘to bring’ < EPA **bera* < IE **bher-* ‘to bring, to carry’ (Skt *bhāratī*, Gk φέρω).
shie ‘to pour in, to put in, to throw’ < EPA **stera*: Skt *stṛṇāti* ‘to spread, to scatter’, Gk στόρνυμι ‘to stretch, to spread’, Lat *sternō* ‘to spread’, Slav **stьrǫ*, **stertī* id.
zie ‘to boil, to cook’ id. < EPA **džera* < IE **gʰher-* (Gk θέρομαι ‘to become hot, to warm, to burn’, OIr *fogair* ‘(he) warms’).

However, *r* was analogically restored in several verbs, as in the following cases:

- çjerr* ‘to tear up’ < EPA **štšera*: OIr *scaraim* ‘to separate’, ON *skeira* ‘to cut’, Lith *skiriù*, *skirti* ‘to separate’.
djerr ‘to destroy’ < EPA **dera*: Skt *dṛṇāti* ‘to burst, to tear’, Gk δέρω ‘to skin’, Goth *gatairan* ‘to tear’.

1.3.3. Asyllabic sonorants in loanwords

1.3.3.0. Greek borrowings contain only marginal information on the development of asyllabic sonorants. At the same time, Latin and early Slavic loanwords are rich with phonetically representative material which adds to our understanding of the Proto-Albanian development. For positional changes of asyllabic sonorants in Latin loanwords see 1.4.7.

1.3.3.1. In the beginning of a word, Lat *j* is rendered as Alb *gj*. Cf. the following examples:

gjuvengë ‘harlot’ ⇐ Lat adj. fem. *juvenca* ‘young’.

gjykoj ‘to judge, to try’ ⇐ Lat *jūdicāre* id.

gjymtyrë ‘joint, limb’ ⇐ Lat *junctūra* ‘juncture, joint’.

ngjëroj ~ *gjinonj* ‘to try, to sample, to taste’ ⇐ Lat *jējūnāre* ‘to fast’ (with a secondary prefix in Tosk).

zgjua ~ *zgjue* ‘bee-hive’ ⇐ Lat *jānuā* ‘door, entrance’ (with a new prefix *z-*).

In the middle of the word Lat *-j-* is either retained as Alb *-j-* or dropped. However, the material is simply too limited for us to obtain a clearer picture. The following words can be adduced:

maj ‘May’ ⇐ Lat *Mājus* id.

taftar ‘funnel’ ⇐ Rom **traiectārium* id. for Lat *traiectōrium* id.

The loss of intervocalic *-j-* may be characteristic of the chronological stage where the change *-ct- > -ft-* took place.

1.3.3.2. In the beginning of a word, Lat *v* is always preserved in Alb *v*:

va ‘ford’ ⇐ Lat *vadum* id.

vjershë ‘poem’ ⇐ Lat *versus* ‘verse’.

vjetër ‘old’ ⇐ Lat *veterem* id.

vrer ~ *vëner* ‘gall, bile’ ⇐ Lat *venēnum* ‘potion, poison’.

vullnet ‘will’ ⇐ Lat *voluntātem* id.

vrigull ‘flap, lobe’ ⇐ Lat *verriculum* ‘seine’.

The result is the same for words resulting from later univerbation (if *v-* was in the beginning of a lexeme in Latin):

prëndverë ~ *prandverë* ‘spring’ ⇐ Rom **prīma vēra* (> Ital *primavera*, Rum *primăvară*).

If Lat *v* is followed by a group vowel + nasal sonorant, it yields Alb *m*:

mënjill ‘vigil; fast’ ⇔ Rom **vingilia*, cf. Lat *vigilia* ‘vigil’.
mëshikë ‘bubble, blister, bladder’ ⇔ Rom **vënsica* for Lat *vēsica* ‘bladder’.

1.3.3.3. In inlaut, Lat *v* was only preserved after *u*:

gjuvengë ‘harlot’ ⇔ Lat adj. fem. *juvenca* ‘young’.

It was lost after other vowels:

latyrë ‘rinse-water’ ⇔ Rom **lavātūra* from Lat *lavāre* ‘to wash’.
noshtrë ‘sprout, young plant, sapling’ ⇔ Rom **nóvaster* > Ital dial. *novastro* id.
shijë ‘taste’ ⇔ Rom **suāvilia*, based on Lat *suāvis* ‘sweet’.
shqa ‘Bulgarian’ (Geg) ⇔ Lat *sclavus* ‘Slav’.
ulli ~ *ullë* ‘olive (tree)’ ⇔ Lat *olīvus* ‘olive tree’.
vuj ~ *vuej* ‘to suffer’ ⇔ Lat *vīvere* ‘to live, to survive’.

1.3.3.4. Lat *m* has been preserved in all phonetic contexts:

famull ‘godchild’ ⇔ Lat *famulus* ‘servant, attendant’.
kulm ‘ridge, peak; wave’ ⇔ Lat nom. *culmen* id.
mashkull ‘man, male’ ⇔ Lat *masculus* ‘male, masculine’.
meshë ‘mass’ ⇔ Lat *missa* id.
mënd ‘moment’ ⇔ Lat *mōmentum* id.
qumësht ‘milk, whey’ ⇔ Rom **clomostum* < Lat *colostrum* colostrum, beestings’.

1.3.3.5. Initial Lat *n*- was preserved in Albanian:

natyrë ‘nature’ ⇔ Lat *nātūra* id.
nëmëroj ‘to number, to count’ ⇔ Lat *numerāre* id.
nip ‘nephew, grandson’ ⇔ Lat nom. *nepōs* ‘grandson’.
notoj ‘to swim’ ⇔ Rom **notāre* for Lat *natāre* id.
nuse ‘bride, young woman, younger daughter-in-law’ ⇔ Rom **nūptia*, variant of Lat *nūpta* ‘married woman, wife, bride’
nyje ‘knot’ ⇔ Lat *nōdus* id.

1.3.3.6. Intervocalic Lat *n* was preserved as Geg *n* but rhotacized in Tosk after unstressed vowels:

arbër ~ *arbën* ‘Albanian (particularly, of Italy and Greece)’ ⇔ Rom **albanus* rendering Illyr Ἀλβανοί (Ptol.).

armik ~ *anëmik* ‘enemy’ ⇔ Lat *inimicus* id.
gjelbër ~ *gjelbën* ‘green’ ⇔ Lat *galbinus* ‘greenish-yellow’.
kërp ~ *kanp* ‘hemp’ ⇔ Rom **cannapis* for Lat *cannabis* id.
mështekër ~ *mështekën* ‘birch’ ⇔ Lat *masticinus* ‘related to the mastic-tree’.
murg ~ *mung* ‘monk’ ⇔ Lat *monachus* id.

However, intervocalic Lat *n* was lost after stressed (i.e. usually, long) vowels at the end of the word:

fli ~ *flî* ‘sacrifice’ ⇔ Rom **firgilinum*.
fre ~ *frê* ‘bridle; grape-stalk; comb’ ⇔ Lat *frënum* id.
kushëri ~ *kushëri* ‘cousin’ ⇔ Lat *consobrînus* id.
lëti ~ *lëfi* ‘Italian, Latin, Catholic’ ⇔ Lat *Latînus* ‘Latin’.
li ~ *lî* ‘flax, linen’ ⇔ Lat *lînum* id.
pe ~ *pê* ‘thread’ ⇔ Lat *pânus* ‘thread wound upon the bobbin’.

If the word contained another *n* or *r*, intervocalic *n* yielded Tosk *r* even if it appeared after a stressed vowel:

kështër ~ *kështën* ‘Christian’ ⇔ Lat *christiānus* id.
rërë ~ *ranë* ‘sand’ ⇔ Lat *arëna* id.
rrëshirë ~ *rrëshinë* ‘resin’ ⇔ Lat *rēsîna* id.
rriqër ~ *rriqën* ‘tick’ ⇔ Lat *ricinus* id.
vrer ~ *vëner* ‘gall, bile’ ⇔ Lat *venënum* ‘potion, poison’.

In the intervocalic position, both *m* and *n* could develop a homorganic occlusive after them:

pendë ‘feather; pair (of oxen)’ ⇔ Lat *pinna, penna* ‘feather’.
rremb ~ *rrem* ‘branch’ ⇔ Lat *rāmus* id.
shembëllej ‘to resemble’ ⇔ Lat *similāre* id.
umb ‘ploughshare’ ⇔ Lat nom. *vōmis* id.

1.3.3.7. Initial Lat *l*- is reflected as Alb *l*-:

lafshë ‘crest (of bird), comb’ ⇔ Lat *laxa (cutis)* ‘loose (skin)’.
lar ‘laurel’ ⇔ Lat *laurus* id.
lepër ‘leprosy’ ⇔ Lat *lepra* id.
lepur ‘hare’ ⇔ Lat *leporem* id.
ligj ‘law’ ⇔ Lat *lêge(m)* id.
lucë ‘mud, mire’ ⇔ Lat *lutea* ‘muddy’.

In consonantal clusters, Lat *l* tends to be preserved as *-l-*:

blej ‘to buy’ ⇔ Rom **ablevāre* ‘to lift up, to relieve (from)’.
gjelbër ~ *gjelbën* ‘green’ ⇔ Lat *galbinus* ‘greenish-yellow’.
kaltër ‘blue, sky blue’ (Tosk) ⇔ Rom **calthinus* ‘yellow, yellowish’, based on Lat *caltha* ‘*Calendula officinalis*’.
qelq ‘glass’ ⇔ Lat *calicem* ‘bowl, cup’.

However, there is one exception when Lat *l* is substituted by *ll* in a cluster:

plljë ‘upland, gentle slope’ ⇔ **plagi* id.

1.3.3.8. In other positions, Lat *l* is usually substituted by Alb *ll*:

djall ‘devil’ ⇔ Lat *diabolus* id.

kërshëndella ‘Christmas’ ⇔ Lat *Christi nātāle* id.

mrekull ‘miracle’ ⇔ Lat *mirāculum* id.

plljë ‘upland, gentle slope’ ⇔ Rom **plagi* id., cf. Rum *plai*, Ital *piaggia*.

prill ‘April’ ⇔ Lat *aprīlis* id.

shpatull ‘shoulder, shoulder blade’ ⇔ Rom **spatula* id.

In later loanwords Lat *l* can be also represented by Alb *l* or even *j* < *l*:

hingël ‘girth’ ⇔ Rom **hinnicula*, derivative of Lat *hinnus* ‘mule’.

kalë ‘horse’ ⇔ Lat *caballus* id.

kular ‘curved piece of wood, ox-collar’ ⇔ Lat *collāre* ‘collar’.

mandile ‘kerchief’ ⇔ Lat *mantīle* ‘towl, napkin’.

mbuloj ‘to cover, to bury’ ⇔ Rom **manipulāre* ‘to dig in handfuls’, cf. Lat *manipulus*.

shtijë ‘spear, ray’ ⇔ Lat *hastīle* ‘spear’.

In old and newly formed clusters (including *g?*), Lat *l* is rendered as *r*:

dërgoj ‘to send’ ⇔ Lat *dēlēgāre* id.

grëmëratë ‘beestings, clots of curdled milk’ ⇔ Lat *glomerātum* participle of *glomerāre* ‘to wind into a ball, to gather into a round heap’.

1.3.3.9. The phonological opposition between *r* and *rr* is weak and often lost in dialects. As a result, the old distribution of initial *rr*- versus medial

-*r*-, which continues Lat *r*, has several exceptions.

In anlaut, the regular reflex of Lat *r* is Alb *rr*:

rreze ‘ray, spoke’ ⇔ Lat *radius* id.

rrëshajë ‘Pentecost’ ⇐ Lat *Rōsālia* ‘Rosalties’.
rrëshirë ~ *rrëshinëf* ‘resin’ ⇐ Lat *rēsīna* id.
rripë ‘precipice, stone wall’ ⇐ Lat *rīpa* ‘bank, coast’.
rriqër ~ *rriqën* ‘tick’ ⇐ Lat *ricinus* id.
rrumbull ‘rolled into a ball’ ⇐ Rom **rombulus* based on Lat *rhom-*
bus ‘magic whirligig or wheel’.

There are three exceptions in which we find Alb *r* in anlaut:

regj ‘king’ ⇐ Lat *rēgem* id.
rëmër ~ *rëmen* ‘Valachian; shepherd’ ⇐ Lat *Romānus* ‘Roman’.
rungoj ‘to weed’ ⇐ Lat *runcāre* id.

1.3.3.10. In inlaut Lat *r* normally gives Alb *r*:

armë ‘weapon’ ⇐ Lat *arma* id.
brymë ‘frost’ ⇐ Lat *brūma* ‘cold, frost’.
fruer ‘February’ (Geg) ⇐ Lat *februārius* id.
fytyrë ‘face’ ⇐ Lat *factūra* ‘formation, creature’.
gjer ‘dormouse’ ⇐ Lat *glīrem* id.
irë ‘wrath, heroism’ ⇐ Lat *īra* ‘wrath’.
zhur ‘gravel’ ⇐ Lat *saburra* ‘sand ballast’.

There exist several exceptions with Lat *-r* ⇒ Alb *-rr-*:

kandërr ‘insect’ ⇐ Lat *cantharis* ‘beetle, worm’.
krrokull ‘saffron’ ⇐ Rom **croculum* deminutive of Lat *crocum* id.
ndërroj ‘to change, to alter’ ⇐ Lat *alterāre* id.
parriz ‘paradise’ ⇐ Lat *parādīsus* id.
përrallë ‘tale, story’ ⇐ Lat *parabola* ‘proverb, speech’.
tmerr ‘horror, fright’ ⇐ Lat *timōrem* id.

1.3.3.11. Geminated Latin sonorants *ll* and *rr* have a history of their own. Lat *ll* gave Alb *l*:

bulë ‘bud’ ⇐ Lat *bulla* ‘bubble, boss, knob’.
gjel ‘rooster’ ⇐ Lat *gallus* id.
krel ‘curl, lock’ ⇐ Rom **cerebellus* ‘related to the head’ based on
 Lat *cerebrum* ‘brain, skull’.
pulë ‘hen’ ⇐ Rom **pulla* ‘hen’.
qel ‘scab’ ⇐ Lat *callum* ‘corn, hard skin’.
tryelë ‘bore, drill’ ⇐ Rom **terebellum* id.

In one case we find *j* replacing *l* < *ll*:

myjëf ‘hardwood interior of trees, medulla’ ⇐ Lat *medulla* id.

Geminate Lat *rr* is reflected in Albanian as *rr*:

- arrij* ‘to come, to arrive’ ⇔ Rom **arrivāre* id.
karrë ‘cart’ ⇔ Lat *carrum* ‘two-wheeled wagon’.
porriq m ‘leek’ ⇔ Rom **porricium* derived from *porrum* id.
qarr ‘Turkey-oak, bitter-oak’ ⇔ Lat *cerrus* id.
qerr ‘wagon, cart’ ⇔ Lat *carrus* ‘two-wheeled wagon’.
sharrë ‘saw’ ⇔ Lat *serra* id.

1.3.3.12. Early Slavic loanwords reflect some remarkable features differentiating them from later words of the same origin, insofar as asyllabic sonorants are concerned.

While in late Slavic loanwords the regular substitution of Slav **j* with Alb *j* is attested, there are several words in which the reflexes of Slav **j* coincide with those of EPA **j*. In one word, anlaut Slav **j* yields Alb *gĭ*:

- gjezdis* ‘to go for a walk, to roam’ ⇔ Slav **jězditi* ‘to ride’.

In inlaut, Slav **j* is changed to Alb *h*:

- krah* ‘arm shoulder, side’ ⇔ Slav **krajb* ‘end, side, extremity’.
krahinë ‘region, area’ ⇔ Slav **krajina* id.
krahis ‘to sweep up (wheat); to cut (branches)’ ⇔ Slav **krajiti* ‘to cut, to winnow’.
llohë ‘rain with snow, snow-broth, dampness’ ⇔ Slav **lojb*
**‘anything liquid’ > ‘fat’.*
postahë ‘blanket, quilt used for sitting’ ⇔ Slav **postaja* ‘bed cover’.

In one case, the fall of intervocalic Slav **v* is attested between short vowels:

- shkërdhec* ‘keg, barrel’ ⇔ Slav **skovordьcъ* ‘pan’.

In early Slavic loanwords **l* is usually reflected as *ll*:

- buall* ~ *buell* ‘buffalo’ ⇔ Slav **byvolь* id.
llohë ‘rain with snow, snow-broth, dampness’ ⇔ Slav **lojb*
**‘anything liquid’ > ‘fat’.*
llukë ‘lime-tree’ ⇔ **lyko* ‘bast’.

Intervocalic Slav **r* in early loanwords is regularly substituted by Alb *rr*:

- karrup* ‘fish-trap’ ⇔ Slav **korupь* id.
karrutë ‘fermenter’ ⇔ Slav **koryto* ‘trough’.
orrll ‘eagle, buzzard’ ⇔ Slav **orьь* id.

përrua ~ *përrue* ‘brook; river-bed’ ⇔ Slav **porovъ* ~ **parovъ*.
purrë ‘hot ashes’ ⇔ Slav **pyr’ь* id.

Despite JOKL *IF* XXXVII 106-107 and SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 323, there are no traces of Tosk rhotacism in Slavic loanwords in Albanian. Their claim has been based on erroneous etymologies such as VASMER’s (*Alb. Wortforsch.* 65) explanation of *vrërët* ~ *vranët* ‘dark, cloudy’ from South Slav **vranъ* ‘black’. The Albanian adjective is a deverbative while the corresponding verb is based on *re* ‘cloud’ (OREL *AED* 516). Similarly, Tosk *tërsirë* ‘rope’ is not borrowed from Slav **tračina* despite JOKL *A ArbSt* I 46, but is derived from *tërësi* ‘wholeness, totality, unity’, the latter being related to *tëre* ~ *tanë* ‘all, whole’.

1.4. Consonants

1.4.0. The changes in the consonant system of Proto-Albanian are even more radical than those found among its vowels and sonorants. At the same time, Proto-Albanian reflects, though indirectly, certain phonological oppositions of Indo-European which were lost in most of the other branches of the family, such as the triple oppositions of velars.

1.4.1. Spirants

1.4.1.0. Early Proto-Albanian maintained IE **s* in some positions. However, by the time of Late Proto-Albanian IE **s* has been lost or replaced in all positions.

Literature: MEYER *Wb.* 45 (**s*- > *h*- before *u*), *Alb. St.* III 44 (dissimilation in *thi*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 278-280 (**s*- > *h*- before *u*), 283 (dissimilation of initial **s* > *thi*), 284-287 (**s*- > *gj*- if the first syllable is stressed); TAGLIAVINI *St. alb.* V-VI 12 (**s* > **š* > *th* in *thi* and *thaj*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 38, *Hist. Gr.* 37-38; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 15 (**s*- > *h*- before *u*); HAMP *Etimologija 1970* 268-269 (rejects **s*- as a source of intervocalic Alb *-h*-); ÇABEJ *St.* III 137-139; OREL *Sov. slav.* 1982/3 94 (“ruki” rule in Albanian), *IJaK* 140-144, *Sprache* XXXI/2 279-284.

1.4.1.1. In initial position, IE **s* was preserved as **s* in Early Proto-Albanian. Later, however, it merged with the continuant of IE **j* in LPA **j* > Alb *gj*:

gjak ‘blood’ < EPA **saka*: Gk ὀρός ‘juice’, Lith *sakaĩ* ‘resin’, Slav **sokъ* ‘juice’.

gjalpë ‘butter’ < EPA **selpa*: Gk ἔλπος· ἔλαιον, στέαρ, εὐθηνία (Hes.), Skt *sarpīś-* ‘clarified butter’, OHG *salba* ‘ointment’.

gjarpër ~ *gjarpën* ‘snake’ < EPA **serpena* < IE **serp-* ‘to crawl’ (Lat *serpens* ‘snake, serpent’, *serpō* ‘to crawl’).

gjerb ‘to gulp, to drink’ < EPA **serba*: Lat *sorbeō* ‘to sup up, to suck in’, Gk ῥοφέω id., Lith *surbiù*, *suĩbti* id., Slav **s̑rbati* ‘to gulp, to sup up’.

gjë ~ *gja* ‘thing’ < EPA **san(s)*, participle of IE **es-* ‘to be’, **sont-s* (Skt *sant-*, Gk ὄν).

gjumë ‘sleep’ < EPA **supna* < IE **suep-* ‘to sleep’, cf. **sup-no-* (Gk ὕπνος ‘sleep’, Slav **sъпъ* id.).

In three cases, word initial IE **s* did not become Alb *gj* due to dissimilation:

shi ‘rain’ < EPA **sūja* (with dissimilation in the later form **jūja*) < IE **sū-* id. (Gk ὕει, Toch A *swase*, Toch B *swese* ‘rain’, *sū-* ‘to rain’, OPrus *suge* ‘rain’ = [*sūjē*]).

thaj ‘to dry’ < EPA **sausnja* < IE **sauso-* ‘dry’ (Gk αῦος, MHG *sōr*, Lith *saūsas*, Slav **suxъ*).

thi ‘pig’ < EPA **tsūs* (with dissimilation of sibilants) < IE **sūs* id. (Av gen. sg. *hū*, Gk ὕς, Lat *sūs*, OHG *sū*).

1.4.1.2. In the intervocalic position, IE **s* became EPA **x*, which is reflected as *h* or altogether lost already in Old Albanian texts:

gjuhë ‘tongue, language’ < EPA **gulxā*: the Indo-European dialectal word for ‘sound’ **golso-* (ON *kall* ‘shout’, Lith *gaĩsas* ‘echo’, Slav **golsъ* ‘voice’).

ka ‘ox’ < EPA **kaxa* < IE **koso-*, derivative of IE **kes-* ‘to scratch, to cut’, cf. Slav **volъ* ‘ox’ ~ **valiti* ‘to throw down’ > ‘to castrate’.

kezë ‘woman’s head-dress, bonnet, hair-net’, derivative in *-zë* of EPA **kaxā* ‘plaited hair’: Slav **kosa* id., ON *haddr* ‘woman’s hair’.

kohë ‘time’ < EPA **kāxā*: Slav **časъ* id.

vajzë ‘girl’, based on **varë* < EPA **swesarā*: Skt *svāsar-*, Arm *kóyr*, Lat *soror*.

vjehërr ‘mother-in-law’ < EPA **swexurā* (with assimilation from expected **swetsurā*) < IE **suekrū-* (Skt *śvaśrū-* ‘mother-in-law’, Lat *socrus* id.).

1.4.1.3. However, after **ř* and **ř̥* as well as diphthongs in **-i* and **-u*, IE **s* changed to **š*. Thus, Proto-Albanian had a kind of “ruki” rule similar to that of Balto-Slavic and Indo-Iranian. Cf. the following examples:

dash ‘ram’ < **dauša* < EPA **dausa* < IE **dhouso-* ~ **dheuso-* (Goth *dius* ‘wild animal’, Lith pl. *daūsos* ‘paradise’, Slav **duxъ* ‘breath, spirit’).

gËjsh ‘grandfather’ < **sūša* < EPA **sūsa*: Skt *sūšā* ‘progenitor’.

lesh ‘wool, fleece, hair’ < **laiša* < EPA **laisa*: Lith *laiškas* ‘leaf’, Latv *laiška* ‘leaf on a linen stalk; stalk’, Slav **listъ* ‘leaf’.

pishë ‘pine’ < **pīšā* < EPA **pīšā*: Gk πίτυς, Lat *pīnus* (from **pītsnos* or **pīsnos*).

plish ‘kind of reed, Phragmites communis’ < **plūši* < EPA **plūsi-*: Lith *pl(i)ūšis* ‘reed’.

prush ‘ember, glowing coal’ < **pruša* < EPA **prusa*: Lat *prūna* id. < **prusnā*, Skt *ploṣati* ‘to burn’.

1.4.2. Occlusives: labials and dentals

1.4.2.0. The tertiary opposition of Indo-European unvoiced, voiced and aspirate voiced occlusives neutralized its aspirate/non-aspirate component in Proto-Albanian, as in Balto-Slavic.

Literature: MANN *Language* XXVIII 31-33 (spirantization of **d*), *Hist. Gr.* 32-33; ÇABEJ *St.* III 128-131; OREL *SBJa Kontakty* 22-23 (conditions of **d* > *dh*).

1.4.2.1. Indo-European unvoiced labial **p* was preserved as EPA **p* > Alb *p*.

glepë ‘matter from eyes, rheum (in eyes)’ < EPA **ka-laipā*, derived from IE **leip-* ‘to smear with fat’.

ap, *jap* ‘to give’ < EPA **apa* < IE **ap-* ~ **ēp-* ‘to seize, to take’ (Hitt *ēp-* ~ *ap-* ‘to seize’, Skt *āpnóti* ‘(he) reaches, overtakes’, Gk ἄπτω ‘to fasten, to bind’, Lat *apīscor* ‘to grasp’).

kripĕ ~ *krypĕ* ‘salt’ < EPA **krūpā*: ON *hrufa* ‘scab’, Lith *kraupūs* ‘rough’, *kraupis* ‘scab’, Latv *kraūpis* ‘frail, brittle’, Slav **krupa* ‘groats’.

plak ‘old man’ < EPA **p(e)laka* < IE **p(e)lākos* (Lith *pilkas* ‘gray’ < **p̥lākos*, cf. Gk πολίος ‘gray, grizzled’).

plotĕ ‘full’ < EPA **plāta* < IE **plēto-* ‘full’ (Skt *prātā-*, Lat *complētus*).

prish ‘to destroy, to spoil, to waste’ < EPA **priša*: Gk πρίω ‘to saw’.

rjep ‘to strip off (skin or bark), to tear off’ < EPA **repa* < IE **rep-* (Gk ἐρέπτομαι ‘to eat’, Lat *rapīō* ‘to seize, to grasp’, Lith *rėpti* ‘to grasp’).

1.4.2.2. A rare Indo-European phoneme **b* yielded EPA **b* and, further, Alb *b*:

bajgĕ ‘dung’ < EPA **balgā*: Gk βόλβιτον ‘cow dung’ < IE **bolg^u*.

rrabe ‘rocky desert (with bushes)’ < EPA **rauba*: Goth *raupjan* ‘to rip’, OHG *roufen* id.

shkĕlbozĕ ‘bark’ < EPA **skalbā*: ON *skalpr* ‘ship’, *skelpa* ‘grimace’ < **‘crack, split’*, MLG *scholpe* ‘mussel’.

1.4.2.3. IE **bh* merged with IE **b* in EPA **b*, developing into Alb *b*:

bardhĕ ‘white’ < EPA **bardza* < IE **bherag^h-* ‘to shine; white’ (Skt *bhrājate* ‘(he) shines, beams, glitters’, Goth *bairhts* ‘light, shining’).

běj ~ *bâj* ‘to do, to make’ < EPA **banja*: Gk φαίνω ‘to appear’.

brej ~ *brĕj* ‘to gnaw’ < EPA **brainja* < IE **bhrei-* ‘to cut’ (Skt *bhrīñāti* ‘(he) injures’, Lat *friō* ‘to rub’, Slav **briti* ‘to shave’).

elb ‘barley’ < EPA **albī*: Gk ἄλφι ‘kind of grain’.

gjerb ‘to gulp, to drink’ < EPA **serba* < IE **serbh-* (Lat *sorbeō* ‘to sup up, to suck in’, Gk ῥοφέω id., Lith *surbiù*, *suřbti* id., Slav **sřrhati* ‘to gulp, to sup up’).

humb ‘to leave, to lose, to spoil, to miss, to drown’ < EPA **skumba*, nasal present of IE **skeubh-* (Goth *af-skiuban* ‘to push away, to reject’, Lith *skumbù*, *skùbti* ‘to hurry, to hasten’).

If followed by **u*, EPA **b* changes to *v* after a vowel:

avull ‘steam, vapor’ < EPA **abula* continuing **ḡbh(u)lo-*, close to OHG *nebul* ‘fog’, OS *nifol* < Gmc **nebulaz*.

1.4.2.4. Unvoiced IE **t* was preserved as EPA **t* > Alb *t*. Cf. the following cases:

ditë ‘day’ < EPA **dītā* < **dīti*: Gmc **tīdiz* ‘time’ (OHG *zīt*, OE *tīd*) and Skt *dīti* ‘brightness, splendor’.

jetë ‘life’ < EPA **eta*, related Gk ἐτέος ‘true, real’, ἑτά: ἀληθῆ, ἀγαθά (Hes.), ἐτάζω ‘to test’.

motër ‘sister’ < EPA **māter* < IE **māter-* ‘mother’ (Skt *mātār-*, Gk μήτηρ, Lat *māter*).

tetë ‘eight’ < EPA **aktōti* < IE **oktō(u)* id. (Skt *aṣṭā*, Arm *owt*, Gk ὀκτώ)

trap ‘ferry’ < EPA **trapa*: Slav **tropa* ‘path’.

tre ‘three’ < EPA **treje* < IE **trejēs* id. (Skt *trayaḥ*, Gk τρεῖς, Lat *trēs*).

tund ‘to move, to stir, to swing’ < EPA **tunda*: Skt *tundate* ‘to push, to strike’, Lat *tundō* ‘to push’.

1.4.2.5. IE **d* yielded EPA **d* > Alb *d*:

dem ‘young bull’ < EPA **dama*: OIr *dam* ‘ox’ and Gk δάμαλος ‘calf’.

djathhtë ‘right’ < EPA **detsa* < IE **deks-* id. (Skt *dákṣiṇa-*, Gk δεξιός, Lat *dexter*).

djerr ‘to destroy’ < EPA **dera* < IE **der-* (Skt *dhṛṇāti* ‘to burst, to tear’, Gk δέρω ‘to skin’, Goth *gatairan* ‘to tear’).

dredh ‘to turn, to rotate’ < EPA **dredza* < IE **dreǵh-* (Arm *darṇam* ‘to turn’, *darj* ‘curve, turn’).

dy ‘two’ < EPA **duwō* < IE **d̥uō(u)* id. (Skt *dváu*, Av *dva*, Gk δύο, Lat *duo*).

mund ‘to be able’ < EPA nasal present **munda*: Lith *mudà* ‘possibility’, *mudúoti* ‘to try, to attempt’, Skt *módate* ‘to rejoice, to be merry’.

1.4.2.6. The Indo-European voiced aspirate **dh* merged with **d* in EPA **d* > Alb *d*:

- dal* ‘to go out’ < EPA **dala*: Gk θάλλω ‘to bloom’, i.e. ‘to appear, to come out’.
- dash* ‘ram’ < EPA **dauša* < IE **dhouse-* ~ **dheuso-* ‘breath, breathing, animal’ (Gmc **deuzan* ‘wild animal’, Lith pl. *daūsos* ‘paradise’, Slav **duxъ* ‘breath, spirit’).
- djalë* ‘boy, youth’ < EPA **dela* < IE **dhēi-* ‘to suck’ (Latv *dēls* ‘son’, Lat *filius* id.).
- djeg* ‘to burn’ < EPA **dega* < IE **dheg^h-* ‘to burn’ (Skt *dāhati*, Toch AB *tsak-*, *tsäk-*, Lit *degù*, *dègti*).
- duaj* ~ *duej* ‘sheaf’ < EPA **dōnja*: Skt *dhānā* ‘grain, cereals’, *dhānyā-* ‘grain’, Lith *dúona* ‘bread’.
- end* ‘pollen’ < EPA **anda*: Skt *ándhas-* ‘herb’, Gk ἄνθος ‘flower’.

1.4.2.7. In the intervocalic position and after *r*, Proto-Albanian **d* was also preserved (see 1.4.5, though). At a very late stage, presumably in the X - XII centuries, this sound was spirantized, probably under the influence of medieval Greek. The result was Alb *dh*:

- gardh* ‘fence’ < EPA **garda*: Goth *gards* ‘house’, Lith *gaĩdas* ‘fence’, Slav **gordъ* ‘town, fence’.
- gledhë* ‘caress’ < EPA **gladā*: Lat *glaber* ‘smooth’, OHG *glat* ‘shining, even, smooth’, Lith *glodùs* ‘smooth’, Slav **gladъkъ* id., **gladiti* ‘to caress’.
- hedh* ‘to throw, to shoot’ < EPA **skeuda* < IE **skeud-* ‘to throw, to shoot’ (ON *skjóta*, OHG *sciozan*).
- herdhe* ‘testicles’ < EPA **ardzai* < IE **orĝhi-* ~ **rĝhi-* id. (Av dual. *ərəzī*, Gk ὄρχις, Arm *orjik*, Mlr *uirgge* id.).
- krodhë* ‘bee-hive’ < EPA **krādā*: Goth *hrot* ‘roof’, Slav **krada* ‘heap, pile’.
- tredh* ‘to castrate’ < EPA **treuda*: Lat *trūdō* ‘to push’, Goth *us-þriutan* ‘to burden’, Slav **trudъ* ‘labor, work’.

Occasionally, EPA **d* appears as Alb *dh* in anlaut. It was spirantized intervocalically by the loss of the initial vowel:

- dhunë* ‘labor pains, shame, disgrace’ < EPA **edunti* or **adunti*: Gk ὀδύνη ‘labor pains’, Arm *erkn* id.

Analogical forces are at work in the word for ‘ten’:

dhjetë ‘ten’ < EPA **dets-t i* < IE **deḱm̥* ‘ten’ (Skt *dásā*, Gk δέκα, Lat *decem*).

The influence came from compounds, such as *njëmbëdhjetë* ‘eleven’, *dymbëdhjetë* ‘twelve’ and so on. In such cases **d* was situated between the two Proto-Albanian vowels of **ambi dekti*.

1.4.3. Occlusives: velars

1.4.3.0. The Proto-Albanian velars retained an important tertiary opposition - that of “pure” velars, palatal velars and labiovelars (the latter are differentiated from other velars before front vowels but merge with “pure” velars elsewhere). In this sense, the Proto-Albanian system of occlusives supports the Luwian evidence that Proto-Indo-European possessed three distinct velar oppositions.

Literature: MEYER *Alb. St.* III 28-30 (voiced and voiced aspirates in anlaut); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI *passim* (reflexes of labiovelars), 331 (despirantization of Alb *dh* in anlaut); HERMANN *KZ* XLI 46-64 (criticizes PEDERSEN’s analysis of labiovelars in Albanian); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 127-161 (development of labiovelars, reconstruction of **tš*, **dž* in Proto-Albanian), *IF* XXXVII 90-95; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33-36, *Hist. Gr.* 33-34; ÇABEJ *Sprache* XVIII 141-143, *St.* III 127-128, IV 212-218; JUCQUOIS *Muséon* LXXVIII/3-4 439 (*c-* as an early preserved reflex of **k̥*); ÖLBERG *Gedenkschr. Brandenstein* 109-118 (**k̥* before **u* and **y*); MARTINET *Indo-Celtica* 89-93; RUSAKOV *LIs* 1981 192 (secondary *c-* < *th-*), *JaLB* 100-106 (initial *d-* and *dh-*); OREL *SBJa Kontakty* 22-23 (distribution of *d-* and *dh-* in anlaut).

1.4.3.1. “Pure” velars are well preserved in Albanian. Unvoiced IE **k* (as well as **kh*, if such a phoneme existed) gave EPA **k* > Alb *k* as in the following examples:

bark ‘belly, womb, abdomen’ < EPA **barukā*: βάρυκα: αἰδοῖον
παρὰ Ταραθντίνοις .

dikë ‘desire, lust’ < EPA **dīkā*: Lith *dỹkas* ‘idle, empty’, Slav **dikъ* ‘wild’.

kam ‘to have’ < EPA **kapmi* < IE **kap-* ‘to seize, to grasp’ (Lat *capīō* id., Goth *haban* ‘to have’).

kërr ‘donkey, ass, foal, gray’ < EPA **kara*: Skt *khāra*- ‘donkey’, Av *xarō* id., Scyth **xara*, Osset *xæræg* id.

korr ‘to reap, to harvest’ < EPA **kāsra*: Lith *kasù, kàsti* ‘to dig’, Slav **kosa* ‘scythe’.

kredh ‘to plunge, to immerse, to steep, to smother, to bespatter’ < EPA **krōda*: Slav **krado, *krasti* ‘to steal’, refl. **krado se, *krasti se* ‘to sneak, to steal up, to approach unnoticed’.

In the preverb **kom* > EPA **ka-*, IE **k* > Alb *g*:

gështallë, kështallë ‘splint, piece of wood’ < EPA **ka-stalnā* < IE **stel-* (Gk στῆλλω ‘to put, to set’, OHG *stellen* ‘to put’, OPrus *stallīt* ‘to stand’).

glepë ‘matter from eyes, rheum (in eyes)’ < EPA **ka-laipā* < IE **leip-* ‘to smear with fat’.

gloq ‘rheum (in eyes), testis’ < EPA **ka-lāukja* < IE **leuk-* ‘to shine; shining, white’.

1.4.3.2. Voiced IE **g* yields EPA **g*, which is preserved as Alb *g*:

ag ‘twilight, dusk’ < EPA **auga* < IE **aug-* ‘to increase’ (Gk αὐγή ‘ray of light’).

gjuhë, gluhë ‘tongue, language’ < EPA **gulxā*: the Indo-European dialectal word for ‘sound’ **golso-* (ON *kall* ‘shout’, Lith *gālsas* ‘echo’, Slav **golsъ* ‘voice’).

lig ‘bad, ill’ < EPA **liga*: Gk ὀλίγος ‘small, few’, λοιγός ‘destruction, death’, Lith *ligà* ‘illness’, Latv *liga* id.

plog ‘granary, barn, heap’ < EPA **plāga*: Gk πλόγιος ‘placed sideways, sloping, leaning’, Lat *plaga* ‘quarter, region’.

shtagë ‘pole, stick’ < EPA **stagā*: ON *stjaki* id., Latv *stēga* ‘long pole’.

shtregë ‘pile of wood’ < EPA **stragā*: MHG *strac* ‘tight’, OE *strec* ‘hard, strong’.

1.4.3.3. Voiced aspirate IE **gh* merged with IE **g* in EPA **g* > Alb *g*, cf. the following examples:

dregë ‘scab’ < EPA **dragā*: West Gmc **targjan* ‘to pull, to stir’ (Germ *zergen*), Slav **dъrgati* ‘to pull, to tug’, Lith *dirginti* ‘to move, to irritate’.

- grabë* ‘erosion, hollowing out’ < EPA **grabā* < IE **ghrebh-* ‘to dig’ (OHG *grab* ‘grave’, Slav **grobъ* id.).
- grih* ‘to sharpen’ < EPA **greiska*: Gk χρίω ‘to rub, to anoint, to prick’, Lith *griėjù*, *griėti* ‘to scoop cream from milk, to take hold of’.
- guall* ‘shell, skull’ < EPA **gōl(w)a*: Arm *glowx* ‘head’ < **ghōlu-*, Lith *galvà* id., Slav **golva* id.
- mjegull* ‘cloud’ < EPA **meglā*: Gk ομίχλη ‘fog, mist’, Lith *miglà* id., Slav **mьgla* ‘darkness, mist’.
- ngaj* ‘to run’ < EPA **en-ganja*: Skt *jāhāti* ‘to leave, to abandon’, OHG *gān*, *gēn* ‘to go’.

In one case, EPA **g* has been unvoiced in anlaut:

- kreh* ~ *kref* ‘to comb’ < EPA **grebska*: Lith *grėbti* ‘to rake’, Slav **grebъ*, **grebti* ‘to row, to rake’.

1.4.3.4. Palatal velars developed (with one important positional exception) into sibilant affricates. Unvoiced IE **k̥* gave EPA **ts*, which became Alb *th*:

- athët* ‘harsh, sour, rancid’ < EPA **ats-eta* < IE **ak̥-* ‘sharp’ (cf. Lat *acidus* ‘sour’).
- qeth* ‘to cut (hair)’ < EPA **kaitsa*: Skt *késā-* ‘hair (of the head)’, Lith *káisti* ‘to scrape, to shave’.
- thekë* ‘fringe’ < EPA **tsakā*: Skt *śākhā* ‘branch’, Lith *šakà* id.
- thep* ‘peak, point, cog, tooth’ < EPA **tsaipa*: Skt *śépa-* ‘tail, penis’, Lat *cippus* ‘pole’.
- thjermë* ‘gray’ , EPA **tserma*: Lith *šĩrmas* ‘gray’.
- thjerrë* ‘lentil’ < EPA **tserā* < IE **ki-ker-* (Lat *cicer* ‘pea’, Arm *siserin* id.).

In several cases, the original affricate is retained in modern Albanian as *c*:

- acar* ‘steel’ < EPA **atsara* ‘sharp’: OIr *aiche* ‘sharp’, Gk ἄκρον ‘point, top’, Lith *ašrùs* ‘sharp’, Slav **ostrъ* id.
- cermë* ‘cold, cool’ < EPA **tsermā*: Lith *šarmà* ‘frost’, Latv *sarma* id.

cërij ‘to melt butter’ < EPA **tsira*: Skt *śrāyati* ‘to cook, to fry’, Gk κίρνημι ‘to mix’.

1.4.3.5. Voiced IE **ǵ* yielded EPA **dz* in all positions. Later **dz* became Alb *dh*:

bardhë ‘white’ < EPA **bardza* < IE **bherǵ-* ‘to shine; white’ (Skt *bhrājate* ‘(he) shines, beams, glitters’, Goth *bairhts* ‘light, shining’).

dhemb ‘to ache’ < EPA **dzemba*: Skt *jámbhate* ‘to snap at’, Lith *žembiù*, *žem̃bti* ‘to cut’ and Slav **zëbo*, **zëbti* ‘to freeze, to feel cold’.

dhëmb ~ *dhamb* ‘tooth’ < EPA **dzamba* < IE **ǵombho-* ‘peg, tooth’ (Skt *jámbha-* ‘bit, peg’, Gk γόμφος ‘peg’, Toch A *kam* ‘tooth’, B *keme* id., Latv *zùobs* id., Slav **zobъ* id.).

dhëndër ~ *dhandër* ‘bridegroom, son-in-law’ < EPA **dzanra* < IE **ǵenər-* ‘son-in-law’ (Lat *gener*).

kedh ‘kid’ < EPA **kadza*: Slav **koza* ‘she-goat’.

rudhë ‘wrinkle’ < EPA **rudzā*: Lat *rūga* id.

1.4.3.6. Voiced aspirate **ǵh* merged with **ǵ* in EPA **dz* > Alb *dh*:

dredh ‘to turn, to rotate’ < EPA **dredza* < IE **dreǵh-* (Arm *dařnam* ‘to turn’, *darj* ‘curve, turn’).

dhjes ‘to defecate’ < EPA **dzetja*: Skt *hadati* id., Gk χέζω id.

herdhe ‘testicles’ < EPA **ardzai* < IE **orǵhi-* ~ **rǵhi-* id. (Av dual *ərəzī*, Gk ὄρχις, Arm *orjik*, Mir *uirgge* id.).

mardhë ‘chill, frost, ice’ < EPA **mardzā*: Slav **morzъ* ‘frost’.

vjedh ‘to steal’ < EPA **wedza* < IE **ueǵh-* (Skt *váhati* ‘to drive’, Lat *vehō* ‘to bear, to carry’, Goth *gawigan* ‘to steal’).

zvjerdh ‘to wean’ < EPA **verdza*: Lith *veržiu*, *veržti* ‘to lace, to tie’, Latv *vērzt* ‘to turn’, Slav **verzti* ‘to bind’.

In one case EPA **dz* is reflected as Alb *d*:

dimër ~ *dimën* ‘winter’ < EPA **deimena* < IE **ǵheimen-* id. (Skt *heman* loc. ‘in winter’, Gk χεῖμα ‘winter’).

1.4.3.7. In anlaut, EPA **dz* was dissimilated to **d* if followed by a sibilant. Hence, numerous cases with initial Alb *d* reflecting IE **ǵ* or **ǵh*:

dorë ‘hand’ < EPA **dārā* < IE **ǵhesr-* id. (Gk χεῖρ, Hitt *keššar*, Toch A *tsar-*, B *šar-*, Arm *jeṛn*).

djerr ‘fallow land’ < EPA **dersa* < IE **ǵhersos* (Gk χέρος ‘dry land’).

drithë ‘grain’ < EPA **dritsā* < IE **ǵhrzd-* (Lat *hordeum* ‘barley’, OHG *gersta* id.).

dua ~ *due* ‘to love’ < EPA **dāusnja* < **dāusnja* < IE **ǵeus-* ‘to taste’ (Skt *jósati* ‘to be fond of’, Gk γεύομαι).

dyllë ‘wax’ < EPA **dūla* < **dusla*. Gk χυλός ‘juice’.

1.4.3.8. Before **u* (including the newly developed glide of syllabic **r* > **ur*), EPA **ts* and **dz* became **tš* and **dž* (cf. a similar fate of clusters **tsw* and **dzw*).

sukë ‘low hill’ < EPA **tsukā*: Skt *sūka-* ‘awn of grain; spike of insect’, Av *sūkā-* ‘needle’.

sumbull ‘round button; bud’ < EPA **tumba* continuing IE **kumb-*, cf. Gk κύμβη ‘bowl’, OIr *comm* ‘vessel’.

sup ‘shoulder’ < EPA **tsupa*: Skt *sūpti-* id., Av *supti-* id., MLG *schuft* ‘front shoulder-blade (of animals)’.

surmë ‘dark grey’ < EPA **tsurma* < IE **k̑rmo-* (Lith *šīrmas* ‘grey’).

sutë ‘female deer, doe; hornless’ < EPA **tsuktā* < IE **kuk-* (Lith *šūkos* ‘comb’, *šūkë* ‘crock’, *šuketās* ‘dented, chipped’, Lat *suka* ‘brush’).

zulë ‘shout, glory’ < EPA **dzulā* < IE **ǵhauə-* < **ǵheuH-* ‘to call’ (Skt *hāvate*, Av *zavaiti*, Slav **zъvati*).

1.4.3.9. At a very early stage, in many words containing sonorants and, in particular, in the immediate contact with sonorants, palatal velars were depalatalized in Proto-Albanian and merged with “pure” velars:

flugë ‘shingle’ < EPA **awa-luga* < IE **leuǵ-* (Skt *rujāti* ‘to break’, Lat *lūgeō* ‘to mourn, to deplore’).

garë ‘competition, race’ < EPA **garā* < IE **ǵher-* ‘to wish, to feel inclination’ (Gk χαίρω ‘to rejoice’, χάρμη ‘joy of battle; battle, fight’).

grurë ~ *grunë* ‘wheat’ < EPA **grunā* < IE **ǵr̥nom* ‘grain’ (Lat *grānum*, OIr *grán*, Goth *kaurn*, Lith *žirnis*, Slav **zbrno*).
gju ~ *gjû* ‘knee’ < EPA **gluna* dissimilated from **g(a)nuna* < IE **ǵenu-* id. (Hitt *gēnu*, Skt *jānu-*, Gk γόνυ, Lat *genū*).
krye ‘head’ < EPA **krānjā* < **krasnjā*: Gk κρᾶνιον ‘skull, head’.
mjekër ‘chin, beard’ < EPA **smekrā* < IE **smekru-* id. (Hitt *zamankur-* ‘beard’, Skt *śmāśru-* id., Arm *mawrowk’* id., Lith *smākras* ‘chin’).

1.4.3.10. Before non-front vowels, labiovelars merged with “pure” velars in EPA **k*, **g*. The intermediate stage of this development can be reconstructed as **k^w*, **g^w*. In all positions, other than before front vowels, **w* was lost. The resulting consonants were identical with “pure” velars.

IE **k^w* yielded EPA **k* > Alb *k*:

darkë ‘supper’ < EPA **darkā* < IE **dork^wom* reflected in Gk δόρπον id.
gjak ‘blood’ < EPA **saka*: Gk ὀρός ‘juice’, Lith *sakai* ‘resin’, Slav **sokъ* ‘juice’.
kollë ‘cough’ < EPA **kāslā* < IE **k^wās-* (Slav **kašlъ* id., Lith *kosulys* id.).
krimb ~ *krym* ‘worm’ < EPA **krim-* (with unexplained Geg *y*) < IE **k^wrimi-* id. (Skt *kṛmi-*, Lith *kirmis*).
ndjek ‘to follow, to chase, to pursue’ < EPA **en-teka* < IE **tek^w-* ‘to run, to flow’ (OIr *techim* ‘to flee’, Lith *tekù*, *tekëti* ‘to run’, Slav **tekō*, **tekti* ‘to flow, to run’).
pjek ‘to bake, to cook’ < EPA **peka* < IE **pek^w-* id. (Skt *pācati*, Gk πέσσω, Lat *coquō*, Slav **pekō*, **pekti*).

1.4.3.11. In the same position, IE **g^w* gave EPA **g*, preserved as Alb *g*:

bajgë ‘dung’ < EPA **balgā*: Gk βόλβιτον ‘cow dung’ < **bolg^w*.
gosë ‘water-hole, pit’ < EPA **gātjā* < IE **g^wā-*: Slav **gatъ*/*gatъ* ‘dam, pool’ and Skt *gātú-* ‘passage, way’.
grah ~ *graf* ‘to spur on, to call, to roar’ < EPA **graska* < IE **g^werə-* (Skt *grṇāti* ‘to call, to invoke’, *giras-* ‘song’, Lith *giriù*, *girti* ‘to praise’).

grellë ‘deep place’ < EPA **gritlā*: Lith *gurklỹs* ‘crop’, OPrus *gurcle* ‘throat’, Slav **gьrdlo* id., cf. also **žerdlo* ‘river-bed; opening’.

grij ~ *grįj* ‘to cut into pieces, to gnaw, to eat away’ < EPA **grinja* < IE **g^herə-* ‘to swallow’ (Skt *girāti*, Arm *eker*, Lat *vorō*, Lith *geriù*, *gérti* ‘to drink’, Slav **žerti*).

gur ‘stone, rock’ < EPA **gura* < IE **g^herə-* ‘mountain’ (Skt *girí-*, Av *gairi-*, Lith *girià* ‘wood’, Latv *dziria* id., Slav **gora* ‘mountain, wood’).

1.4.3.12. The same continuant, Alb *g* < EPA **g*, results from IE **g^hn*.

djeg ‘to burn’ < EPA **dega* < IE **dheg^h-* ‘to burn’ (Skt *dáhati*, Toch AB *tsak-*, *tsäk-*, Lit *degù*, *dègti*).

garbe ‘flower-pot’ < EPA **gar-ibā* < IE **g^hher-* ‘to burn’ (cf. Slav **gьрпъ* ‘oven, pot’).

ngroh ~ *ngrof* ‘to warm’ < EPA **en-grāja* < IE **g^hher-*: Slav **grějo*, **grěti* ‘to warm’.

1.4.4. Palatalizations

1.4.4.0. Chronologically, the first palatalization in Albanian was that of Indo-European palatal velars. As described above, it led to the formation of two affricates **ts* and **dz*. A second palatalization affected old labiovelars. A third palatalization led to the affricatization of dentals before LPA **j* of various origins. A fourth and final palatalization affected all remaining Proto-Albanian velars.

Before the second palatalization began, old labiovelars had already been decomposed into clusters **kw* and **gw*. The palatalization was carried out under the influence of the following front vowels (a similar development took place in clusters with **j*). The resulting clusters were **tsw* and **dzw*, which yielded EPA **tš* and **dž*, as did the clusters continuing **k^u* and **g^u*.

Literature: MANN *Hist. Gr.* 34-35; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/2 140 (different reflexes of **rj* depending on the place of stress).

1.4.4.1. Before front vowels, IE **k^u* gave EPA **tš*, which later developed into Alb *s*:

mos ‘not’ (prohib.) < EPA **mātš* < IE **mē k^ue*, cf. Gk μήτε ‘and not’.

pesë ~ *pēsë* ‘five’ < EPA **pentše* < IE **penk^ue* ‘five’ (Skt *pāñca*, Gk πέντε, Lat *quīnque*).

sarkë ‘build, frame, figure (of human body)’ < EPA **tšerkā* < IE **k^uer-* ‘to make, to build’ (Skt *karōti*, Lith *kùrti*).

sjell ‘to bring’ < EPA **tšela* < IE **k^uel-* (Skt *cáрати* ‘to move, to walk’, Gk πέλω ‘to come into existence, to become’, Lat *colō* ‘to cultivate, to till’).

sorrë ‘crow’ < EPA **tšārsnā* corresponding to Skt *kṛṣṇā-* ‘black, dark’, OPrus *kirsnan* ‘black’, Slav **čьrнѣ* id.

sy ‘eye’ < EPA **atšīwi*. Skt *akṣī*, Av *aši*, Lith *akì*, Slav **oči*.

In one case, the original Proto-Albanian affricate might be preserved:

çë ‘what’ < EPA **tši* < IE **k^uiđ*. Hitt *kuit*, Gk τί, Lat *quid*.

However, *çë* appears to continue a syntactic complex, probably - IE **k^uod so*.

Nevertheless, the affricate appears to be preserved in at least one case:

çitë ‘full, brim-full’ < EPA **tšeita* < IE **k^ueǵetos* (Slav **čitъ* ‘whole’, Lith *kietas* ‘hard’).

The affricate **tš* > *s* resulted from **k^u* before **j*:

nīs ‘to start, to begin, to prepare for journey’ < EPA **neitša* < IE **neik^uǵō* (Lith *su-nikti* ‘to set upon, to attack’, Slav **niknōti* ‘to rise, to grow’).

vdes ‘to die’ < EPA **awa-takja* < IE **tek^u* ‘to run, to flow’ (OIr *techim* ‘to flee’, Lith *tekù*, *tekēti* ‘to run’, Slav **teko*, **tekti* ‘to flow, to run’).

1.4.4.2. Before front vowels and **j*, IE **g^u* became EPA **dž* > Alb *z*, *x*:

mzith ‘ankle’ based on EPA **džija* < IE **g^uǵiā* ‘tendon, bow-string’ (Skt *jyā*, Av *ǵyā*, Gk βίός).

nxit ‘to urge, to stimulate, to hurry’ < EPA **džita*, IE **g^uǵ-* ‘to live’ (Skt *jīvati*, Lat *vīvō*, OE *cwicu* ‘alive, living’ > E *quick*).

zě ~ *zâ* ‘to seize, to grasp, to touch’ < EPA **džeina* < IE **g^hejə-* ‘to overpower’ (Skt *jyā* ‘force, power’, *jáyati* ‘to win, to conquer’, Gk βίη ‘power’).

zi ‘black’ < EPA **džedi* < IE **g^hed-* (MHG *quāt* ‘dirt’, OE *cwéad* ‘bad’, Lith *gėda* ‘shame’, Slav **gadъkъ* ‘disgusting’, **gadъ* ‘reptile, worm’).

zorrě ‘gut’ < EPA **džārnā* < IE **g^herə-* ‘to swallow’ (Lith *žarnà* ‘gut’).

1.4.4.3. IE **g^h* merges with **g^u* in EPA **dž* > Alb *z* before a front vowel or **j*:

ndez ‘to set alight, to ignite’ < EPA **en-dadžja*, causative IE **-dhog^hhejō* < IE **dheg^h-* ‘to burn’.

zjej ‘to boil, to cook’ < EPA **džernja* < IE **g^hher-* (Gk θέρομαι ‘to become hot, to warm, to burn’, OIr *fogeir* ‘(he) warms’).

zjarr ‘fire’ < EPA **džera* < IE **g^hheres-* (Skt *hāras-* ‘flame, heat’, Gk θέρος ‘summer’, Arm *jer* id.).

1.4.4.4. EPA **t*, **d* and **x* (< **s*) yielded **tš*, **dž* and **š* before **j*. IE **t* > EPA **tš* > *s*:

djersě ‘perspiration’ < EPA **widertjā*: Gk ἰδρώς id. < **suidrōt-s*.
nus ‘thread, string’ (Geg) < EPA **snutja* < IE **sneu-* ‘to turn, to spin’ (Skt *snāvan-* ‘band, sinew’).

pres ‘to wait, to expect’ < EPA **pratja*: Goth *frapjan* ‘to think, to understand’, Lith *prantù*, *pràsti* ‘to get used, to understand’.

pyes ‘to ask’ < EPA **pūta*: Lat *putō* ‘to reckon, to ponder’, Slav **pytati* ‘to ask’

shkas ‘to slip, to slide’ < EPA **skatja* corresponding to Lat *scateō* ‘to stream, to flow out’, Lith *skantù*, *skàsti* ‘to spring, to jump’.

tres ‘to melt, to loosen, to dissolve’ < EPA **trōtja*: Slav **tratjō*, **tratiti* ‘to spend, to waste’.

Occasionally, a more archaic stage of EPA **tš* > Alb *c* is preserved (cf. the similar development of **k^u* > **tš* > *c* before a front vowel or **j*):

bac ‘elder brother, uncle’ < EPA **batja*: Slav **bat’ a* ~ **batja* ‘elder brother, father’.

mjalcě ‘bee’ < EPA **melitjā*: Gk μέλισσα < **μέλιτjα* id.

1.4.4.5. In the same position, EPA **d* (going back to IE **d* and **dh*) becomes **dž* > Alb *z*:

bruz ‘blue, indigo’ < EPA **brudja* < IE **bhrou-dh-* (Slav **brudъ* ‘dirt’, **brudьнъ* ‘dirty’).

buzë ‘lip, end, edge, bank, stitch, rock’ < EPA **budjā*: Lith *budė* ‘tree-fungus, tinder, whet-stone’.

gjazë ‘riverside forest’ < EPA **sedja* < IE **sed-* ‘to sit, to be settled’, cf. in particular Slav **sadъ* ‘garden, grove’.

loz ‘to move, to shake, to play’ < EPA **lādja*: Slav **ladъ* ‘order, peace’, **laditi* ‘to make order, to make peace’.

mëz ~ *mâz* ‘foal’ < EPA **mandja*, derived from *mënd* ‘to feed, to suckle’ < IE **mzd-*.

1.4.4.6. The development of IE **sj* > **xj* into **š* > Alb *sh* is well attested:

gjesh ‘to knead’ < EPA **jesja*: Skt *yásyati* ‘to boil’, Gk ζέω ‘to boil, to cook’.

shosh ‘to sift’ < EPA **sjāsja*: Gk ἰθέω id., Lith *sijóju*, *sijóti* id., Slav **sějati* id.

shotë ‘big duck’ < EPA **sjāutā*: W *hwyad* id., OCorn *hoet* id., Bret *houat* id.

vesh ‘to put on (clothes), to cover’ < EPA **wesja* to **ues-* (Skt *váste* ‘to wear, to be dressed in’, Gk ἔνυμι ‘to dress’, and in particular Skt *vāsáyati* and Goth *wasjan* id.).

EPA **ts* and **dz* reflecting Indo-European palatals yielded **tš* and **dž* before **j*:

drizë ‘blackthorn, sloe’ < EPA **dridzjā* < IE **derǵh-* ‘to hold, to be firm’ (Skt *dr̥hyati* ‘to be firm’, Slav **dърžati* ‘to hold’ < **dърzjati* and, in particular, **dърza* > Russ *dereza* ‘kind of thorny plant’).

sivjet ‘this year’ < EPA **tsjei wetei*, dat.-loc. sg. continuing IE **k̑jei wetei*.

sot ‘today’ < EPA **tsjā(i) dītāi*, dat.-loc. sg. continuing IE **k̑jā dītī-*.

visë ‘place’ < EPA **witsjā* < IE **ueik̑jā* similar to Gk οἰκία ‘dwelling, house’.

However, in certain cases palatal velars were depalatalized in Proto-Albanian and their development before **j* was identical with that of “pure” velars:

kënaq ‘to please, to satisfy’ < EPA **ka-nakja*: Goth *ga-nah* ‘to be enough’, OHG *gi-nah* id. Further related to IE **nek-* (Skt *násati* ‘to reach’).

1.4.4.7. Under the influence of LPA **j*, sonorants were also palatalized (with the exception of **m*). Before **j*, LPA **l* was retained. Later, it occasionally changed to *j*, though:

çalë ‘lame’ < EPA **štšalja*: Gk σκολιός ‘crooked’, Lat *scelus*.

çel ‘to open’ < EPA **štšelja*: Hitt *iškallāi-* ‘to tear up’, ON *skilja* ‘to split’, Lith *skeliù, skélti* id.

dal ‘to go out’ < EPA **dalja*: Gk θάλλω ‘to bloom’.

halë ‘fish bone, splinter; pine’ < EPA **skaljā*: Lith *skalà* ‘stick of firewood’, Latv *skala* ‘splinter (used to furnish light)’.

majë ‘tip, top, point, peak, summit’ < EPA **maljā*: Lith *malà* ‘land’, Latv *mala* ‘bank, shore’.

vjel ‘to pluck (fruit), to vintage’ < EPA **welja*: Gk εἴλω ‘to shut in, to press’, Lith *su-valyti* ‘to harvest, to reap’.

1.4.4.8. In the same position, **n* changed to Alb *ɲj*. The latter developed into *j* in some dialects and in certain morphological classes. Cf. the following examples:

běj ~ báj ‘to do, to make’ < EPA **banja*: Gk φαίνω ‘to appear’.

brej ~ brêj ‘to gnaw’ < EPA **brainja* < IE **bhrei-* ‘to cut’ (Skt *bhrīṇāti* ‘(he) injures’, Lat *friō* ‘to rub’, Slav **briti* ‘to shave’).

huaj ~ huej ‘foreign, strange’ < EPA **ksānja* connected with isolated Gk ξένος, Dor ξένφος ‘stranger, guest’.

mëllenjë ‘blackbird’ < EPA **melanjā* < IE fem. adj. **melənjā* ‘black’ (Gk μέλαινα id., cf. also Skt *malinā-*, fem. *malinī* ‘dirty, unclean, Latv *mēļns* ‘black’).

njer, ɲjeri ‘man, person, human being’ < EPA **nera*: Skt *nár-* ‘man’, Gk ἀνήρ id., Arm *ayr* id.

thinjë ‘gray hair’ < EPA **tsinja*: Skt *śyāvā-* ‘dark brown’, Av *syāva-* ‘black’, Slav **sivъ* ‘dark gray’.

In Late Proto-Albanian, **n* was also palatalized and changed to *nj* at the end of the word before auslauting **j* < **ai* (found in plurals of substantives). However, if **j* was followed by a consonant, the preceding **n* was not palatalized. Hence, numerous plurals in *-nj* < **-n-i* < EPA **-n-ai* of nouns in *-n* are in contrast with 3 pl. present of verbs in *-n* < **-n-i-t* < EPA **-n-ī-t*.

1.4.4.9. IE **r* before **j* gives Alb *rr*:

derr ‘pig’ < EPA **darja*: Gk χοῖρος id. < IE **ǵhorjōs*.

ëndërr ~ *andërr* ‘dream, sleep’ < EPA **anrjā* < IE **onerjō-* (Gk ὄνειρον, ὄνειρος, Arm *anowrj*).

shperr ‘to win (money), to gain’ < EPA **sparja*: Gmc **sparōjan* ‘to leave unharmed, to keep’ (ON *spara*, OHG *sparōn*, OE *sparian*).

shqerr ‘to tear (cloth)’ < EPA **iš-kerja*: Skt *kṛṇāti* ‘to diminish’, Gk κείρω ‘to cut’.

1.4.4.10. At a later chronological stage, Proto-Albanian velars were palatalized before **j* ~ **ǰ* (of any origin, including **ǰ* as the first component of a diphthong), before diphthongs in **-i*, as well as **ǰ* and **ū*, both old and new. In this environment, *ǰj* < **g* and *q* < **k*:

dergj ‘to lie down, to lay sick, to be ill’ < EPA **dergja*: Lith *dīrginti* ‘to move’, *dīrgti* ‘to lose energy, to become weak’, Slav **dъrgati* ‘to pluck, to pull’ and Gmc **targjan* ‘to tear’.

keq ‘bad, evil’ < EPA **kakja*: Gk κακός ‘bad’.

qell ‘to halt, to hold up, to carry’ < EPA **kela*: Skt *kaláyati* ‘to impel’, Gk κέλωμαι ‘to drive on’.

qeth ‘to cut (hair)’ < EPA **kaiṣa*: Skt *kéśa-* ‘hair (of the head)’, Lith *káisti* ‘to scrape, to shave’.

qipi ‘stack’ < EPA **kūpa*: OPers *kaufa-* ‘mountain’, OHG *hufo* ‘heap’, OE *héap* id. and also *houf* id., Lith *káupas* id., Slav **kupa* id.

qyl ‘slime, mud’ < EPA **kūla*: Lith *kúla* ‘outgrowth’, Slav **kyla* id.

regj ‘to tan’ < EPA **raugja*: ON *reykr* ‘smoke’, OHG *rouh* id.

1.4.5. Rhythmic rule

1.4.5.0. A special change affecting intervocalic voiced occlusives in certain conditions can be observed in Late Proto-Albanian. It takes place both in Albanian words of Indo-European origin and in Latin loanwords (where its effects can be better followed). The change is connected with the syllabic structure of words and, therefore, must be linked to the transformation of accentual patterns in Late Proto-Albanian.

Literature: ÇABEJ *St.* III 141-142; OREL *SBJa Kontakty* 26-27 (accentual conditions of the rhythmic rule); KALUŽSKAJA *Antič. balk.* 519 (loss of intervocalic occlusives); RUSAKOV *RB* 132-133.

1.4.5.1. Proto-Albanian intervocalic voiced occlusives are preserved in disyllabic words where they develop according to the rules of 1.4.2. LPA **b* yields Alb *b*, **d* gives Alb *dh* and **g* remains unchanged as Alb *g*:

djeg ‘to burn’ < EPA **dega* < IE **dhegʰh-* ‘to burn’ (Skt *dāhati*, Toch AB *tsak-*, *tsäk-*, Lit *degù*, *dègti*).

dregë ‘scab’ < EPA **dragā*: West Gmc **targjan* ‘to pull, to stir’ (Germ *zergen*), Slav **dъrgati* ‘to pull, to tug’, Lith *dirginti* ‘to move, to irritate’.

gledhë ‘caress’ < EPA **gladā*: Lat *glaber* ‘smooth’, OHG *glat* ‘shining, even, smooth’, Lith *glodùs* ‘smooth’, Slav **gladъкъ* id., **gladiti* ‘to caress’.

grabë ‘erosion, hollowing out’ < EPA **grabā* < IE **ghrebh-* ‘to dig’ (OHG *grab* ‘grave’, Slav **grobъ* id.).

rrabe ‘rocky desert (with bushes)’ < EPA **rauba*: Goth *raupjan* ‘to rip’, OHG *roufen* id.

trëdh ‘to castrate’ < EPA **treuda*: Lat *trūdō* ‘to push’, Goth *usþriutan* ‘to burden’, Slav **trudъ* ‘labor, work’.

1.4.5.2. The same results are observed in Latin loanwords where Lat *d* and *g* are substituted by Alb *dh* and *g* (we have no reliable examples for *b* in this position):

bigë ‘forked stick, branch; double-crested mountain’ ⇔ Lat *bīga* ‘pair of animals; team for ploughing’.

modh ‘bushel’ ⇐ Lat *modus* ‘measure’.

plagë ‘wound’ ⇐ Lat *plāga* id.

rrugë ‘street’ ⇐ Rom **rūga* id. < Lat *rūga* ‘wrinkle’.

1.4.5.3. In polysyllabic words intervocalic voiced occlusives changed to fricatives **-β-*, **-δ-*, **-γ-*, which eventually merged with LPA **-x-* and either were lost or (in a few cases) were preserved as Alb *h*. The following cases corroborate the rhythmic rule:

det ‘sea’ < EPA **deubeta* ‘depth’ < IE **dheub-* ‘deep’, cf. Gmc **deupībō* ‘depth’ > MDu *diepde*, MLG *dēpede*, E *depth*.

kij ‘to prune, to trim’ < EPA denominative **kadinja* related to *kadhë* ‘pruning-knife, billhook with long handle’ < IE **(s)ke(n)d-* (Skt *skhadate* ‘to split’, Gk σκεδάννυμι ‘to scatter, to disperse’).

nge ‘time, leisure, chance, opportunity’ < EPA **en-gadā*: Slav **godъ* ‘time, year’.

rrush ‘grape’ < EPA **rāguša*: Gk ῥάξ id. Intermediate stages of the Proto-Albanian development are reflected in the name of Illyr *Ragusa* ~ *Ragusium* Ῥαούσα.

sot ‘today’ < EPA dat.-loc. sg. **tsjā(i) dītāi* < IE **kājā dīti-*.

vëlla ‘brother’ < EPA **swe-laudā*, composite of pronominal IE **sue* and **laudā* < IE **leudh-* (OHG *liut* ‘people’, Slav **ljudъ* id.).

A limited number of exceptions are known. In two cases traditional reconstructions must be modified in order to comply with the rhythmic rule:

be ‘oath’ < EPA **baidesā* (rather than **baidā*): Slav **běda* ‘disaster’, Lat *foedus* ‘league, treaty’. The Albanian word is a reshaped *s*-stem similar to that of Latin.

dra ~ *drâ* ‘oil-cake, melted butter’ < EPA **dragijā* (rather than **dragā*): ON pl. *dreggiar* ‘yeast’, OPrus *dragios* ‘yeast’, OLith *dragés* id., Lett dial. *dradzi* ‘sediment in melted butter’.

One case remains obscure and may need a revision of its etymology:

ha ‘to eat’ < EPA **ed-ska* derived from IE **ed-* id. rather than EPA **eda*.

1.4.5.4. The same change took place in Latin loanwords:

- bujk* ‘peasant’ ⇔ Lat *bubulcus* ‘ploughman, herdsman’.
kalë ‘horse’ ⇔ Lat *caballus* id.
kreshmë ‘fast’ ⇔ Lat *quadragesima* ‘Lent, fast of forty days’.
mjek ‘physician, doctor’ ⇔ Lat *medicus* id.
mjeshhtër ‘master, builder’ ⇔ Lat *magister* ‘master’.
pyll ‘forest’ ⇔ Rom **padūlem* < Lat *palūdem* ‘swamp’.

Words with no traces of the rhythmic rule belong to a later layer of Latin loanwords:

- adhuroj* ‘to adore’ ⇔ Lat *adorāre* id.
rregull ‘rule, norm’ ⇔ Lat *rēgula* id.
rrobull ‘mountain pine’ ⇔ Lat *rōbur* ‘oak’.
trashëgoj ‘to inherit’ ⇔ Lat *trānsigere* ‘to reach an accord, to carry out transaction’.

In two cases, Albanian words should be reinterpreted as dialectal Italian loanwords rather than borrowings from Latin (*fë* ‘belief’, *va* ‘ford’).

1.4.6. Consonantal clusters

1.4.6.0. Consonantal clusters underwent drastic changes in Proto-Albanian and at later stages.

Literature: PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 544 (clusters with **w*), *KZ* XXXVI 286-288 (**sy-* > *d*), 290 (merger of **sk* and **sk̂*), 308 (IE **-tt-* > *-s-*), 339 (development of **gn*); JOKL *Studien* 17 (**sy-* > *d*), *IF* XXX 192-210 (on **sk*, **sk̂*), *LKUBA* 207 (clusters with *liquida*), 261-262 (IE **-tt-*), *Mélanges Pedersen* 146-148 (development of **ky* to **tŝ*); BARIĆ *A ArbSt* III 214-221 (development of **sk*, **sk̂*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 214 (clusters with **w*); MANN *Language* XVII 15 (**rn* > *rr*), XXVIII 33 (depalatalization of palatals), 37 (development of **sr*, **ŝ*), *Hist. Gr.* 37-39; CIMOCHOWSKI *BUSht* XIII 41-44; GÄTERS *KZ* LXXIII/1-2 108 (development of IE **rj*); SOLTA *IF* LXX/3 276-315 (Albanian-Armenian parallels); ÖLBERG *Gedenkschr. Brandenstein* 109-118; HAMP *KZ* LXXVII 252-253 (IE **-tt-*); ÇABEJ *Sprache* XVIII 146-153 (reflexes of **sk*, **sk̂*), *St.* III 142-143, IV 56-64 (groups *nd*, *ng*), IV 218-220 (**sk* > *sh*), 220-221 (**nt* > unrhotalized *n*), 221 (**jr*

> *rr*); RUSAKOV *LIs 1981* 195-202; OREL *Antič. balk.* 3 37-39 (IE **d_g* > Alb *b* before front vowels), *LB XXVIII/4* 51-53 (clusters **sp*, **st*, **sk*).

1.4.6.1. All clusters consisting of liquid sonorants followed by EPA **w* changed in the same direction: they lost their second element while modifying the first one. EPA **lw* yielded Alb *ll*:

amull ‘stagnant (of water)’ < EPA **a-mulwa*: Lith *muļvė* ‘silt, marsh’, *mūlti* ‘to get dirty’.

diell ‘sun’ < EPA **delwa*: Skt *hāri-* ‘pale, yellowish’, Av *zairi-* id., Lat *helvus* ‘yellowish’, Lith *žėļvas* id.

gjallë ‘alive’ < EPA **salwa*: Skt *sārva-* ‘complete, whole’, Gk ὅλος ‘whole’, Lat *salvus* ‘healthy’, Toch A *salu* ‘completely’.

miell ‘flour’ < EPA **melwa* < IE **melwo-* (OHG *mēlo* id., ON *mjǫl* id., Slav **melvo* ‘grain for grinding’).

vjell ‘to vomit’ < EPA **welwa*: Lat *volvō* ‘to turn’.

As far as EPA **rw* is concerned, it invariably gave Alb *rr*:

arrë ‘walnut-tree, walnut’ < EPA **arwā*: Gk ἄρυα τὰ Ἡρακλεωτικὰ κάρυα, Hes.

berr ‘sheep, goat’ < EPA **barwa*: ON *borgr* ‘hog’, OHG *barug*, *baruh* id., Slav **borvъ* ‘boar’.

morr ‘louse’ < EPA **mārwa*: OIr *moirb* ‘ant’, Slav **morvъ* id.

thirr ‘soot’ < EPA **tsirwa*: Lith *šiřvas* ‘gray’.

verrë ‘hole’ < EPA **werwā*: Skt *urú-* ‘wide’, *vāras-* ‘space, width’, Gk εὐρύς ‘wide’.

EPA **wr* gave the same results as **rw*:

rra ‘belly-worm’ < EPA **wragā*: OIr *frige* ‘vermin, flesh-worm’ < **wrg-*.

rrah ‘to beat, to strike’ < EPA **wragška*: Gk ῥάσσω id. < IE **wragh-*.

rrënjë ~ *rranjë* ‘root; oak’ < EPA **wradnjā*: Gk ῥάδιξ ‘branch’, id., Lat *rādīx* ‘root’, W *gwraidd*.

rrime ‘rain-worm’ < EPA **wrima* < IE **wṛmi-* ~ **wṛmo-* ‘worm’ (Lat *vermis* id., Goth *waúrms* ‘worm, snake’, Lith *vařmas* ‘insect’).

rris ‘to pull up, to move up, to increase, to grow’ < EPA **writja* < IE **uert-* ‘to turn’ (Skt *var̥tate*, Lat *vertō*, Goth *wairþan* ‘to become’).

rrum ‘clapper; maize-cob stripped of corns’ < EPA **wrubna*: Gk ῥόμνος ‘thorny bush’ < **urbno-*.

1.4.6.2. EPA **w* lost before all vowels when following an occlusive:

botē ‘earth; world’ < EPA **bwātā* based on IE **bheuə-* ~ **bhū-* ‘to be, to grow’.

dak ‘big ram’ < EPA **dwaka*: Lith *dvėkti* ‘to breathe’, *dvākas* ‘breath’.

degē ‘twig, branch’ < EPA **dwaigā*: OHG *zwīg* id., Germ *Zweig*.

derē ‘door’ < EPA **dwōrā* < IE **dh̥uer-* id. (Skt *dvār-*, Gk θύρα, Toch B *twere*).

gjeth ‘foliage, green leaves’ < EPA **gadza*: OHG *questa* ‘tuft’, ON *kuistr* ‘branch’, Slav **gvozdb* ‘wood, forest’.

kem ‘incense’ < EPA **kapna* < IE **k̥uēp-* (Gk καπνός ‘smoke’).

tērē ~ *tanē* ‘whole, all’ < EPA **twana* < **tuono-* < IE **teuə-* ‘to swell’ (cf. in particular Lith *tvinti* ‘to rise, to swell (of water)’, *tvānas* ‘flood’).

EPA **sw* is concerned, it lost its first element and gave Alb *v*, cf. the following examples:

vajzē ‘girl’, based on **varē* < EPA **swesarā*: Skt *svásar-*, Arm *kóyr*, Lat *soror*.

vehte ‘self’ < EPA **swaja* (with a secondary suffix *-t-*) < IE **swojos* ‘own’ (Slav **svojb*, OPrus *swais*).

vëlla ‘brother’ < EPA **swe-laudā*, composite of pronominal IE **sue* and **laudā* < IE **leudh-* (OHG *liut* ‘people’, Slav **ljudb* id.).

vjehërr ‘mother-in-law’ < EPA **swexurā* (with assimilation from expected **swetsurā*) < IE **suekrū-* (Skt *śvaśrū-* ‘mother-in-law’, Lat *socrus* id.).

When followed by **w*, Proto-Albanian affricates **ts* and **dz* changed to **tš* and **dž*, exactly as in the position before **u*. The same process affected words beginning in **wits-* > **wdz* > **dzw* > **dž*.

samě ‘dog’s excrements’ < EPA **tswa(n)-ma*, a derivative in **-mo-* of the Indo-European word for ‘dog’, cf. Skt *śvā*, Gk *κύων*, OIr *cú*, Lith *šuo*.

zet ‘twenty’ < EPA **w(i)tsatī* < IE **μῑκῑmῑ* id. (Skt *virṣatī-*, Gk *ἑῑκοσι*, Lat *vīginti*).

zě ~ *zâ* ‘voice’ < EPA **dzwana* < IE **ǵh̥yēn-* (Arm *jain* ‘voice’, Slav **zvонъ* ‘ringing, sound’).

zot ‘lord, master, god’ < EPA **w(i)ts-pati-*: Skt *viś-pati-* ‘lord of the house’.

1.4.6.3. Consonantal clusters +**j* usually lost or modified their first element. Then, the palatalization took place.

EPA **bnj* > Alb (n)*j*

gjaĵ ‘to resemble, to be like; to suit, to become; to seem; to happen’ < EPA **ga-lab-nja*, a denominative verb based on **lab-*: Lith *lābas* ‘good’, Latv *labs* id.

kruaj ~ *kruej* ‘to scratch’ < EPA **krābnja* further connected with IE **ǵh̥rebh-*.

vej ‘to weave’ < EPA **webnja*: Skt *ubhnāti* ‘to lace up’, OHG *weban* ‘to weave’, Toch B *wāp-* id.

EPA **dnj* > Alb (n)*j*

gjeĵ ~ *gĵĵ* ‘to find’ < EPA **gadnja*: Gk *χάυνδανω*, aor. *ἔχασδον* ‘to seize, to grasp’, Lat *pre-hendō* id., ON *geta* id.

lej ‘to give birth; to be born; to rise (of the sun)’ < EPA **laidnja*: Lith *léisti* ‘to let’, Latv *laīst* id.

luaj ~ *luej* ‘to move, to shake, to play’ < EPA **lādnja*, a denominative verb connected with Slav **ladъ* ‘order, peace’, **laditi* ‘to make order, to make peace’.

rřenĵe ~ *rranĵe* ‘root; oak’ < EPA **wradnja*: Gk *ράδιξ* ‘branch’, id., Lat *rādīx* ‘root’, W *gwraidd*.

EPA **gnj* > Alb (n)*j*

boj, *bohet* ‘to mate’ < EPA **bāgnja*: Lith *bėgti* ‘to run’, Latv *bēgt* id., OPrus *begeyte* id., Slav **běgti* id., Gk *φέβομαι* id.

enjĕ ‘juniper, yew’ < EPA **aignjā* related to the Germanic word for ‘oak’: ON *eik*, OHG *eih*.

enjĕ ~ *êjĕ* ‘dairy goat’ < EPA **agnjā*: Gk ἀμνός ‘lamb’, Lat *agnus* id.

ruaj ~ *ruej* ‘to guard, to keep, to observe’ < EPA **rāgnja*: ON *rókja* ‘to take care of’, Gk ἀρήγω ‘to assist, to defend’.

ujĕ ‘water’ < EPA **udnjā* < IE **ued-* ~ **uod-* id.

EPA **knj* > Alb *nj*

prĕnjĕ ‘freckle, sunspot’, derivative in *-kĕ* of EPA **priknjā*: Skt *pfśni-* ‘spotted, speckled’, Gk περκνός ‘dark, spotted’, W *erch* ‘spotted’.

EPA **rnj* > Alb (*nj*)

mbaj ‘to hold, to carry’ < EPA **en-barnja*, a causative related to IE **bher-* ‘to bear’.

ziej ‘to boil, to cook’ < EPA **džernja* < IE **g^hther-* (Gk θέρομαι ‘to become hot, to warm, to burn’, OIr *fogair* ‘(he) warms’).

EPA **snj* > Alb (*nj*)

muaj ~ *muej* ‘month’ < EPA **mōsnja*, from the metathesis of IE **mēns-* ‘moon, month’ (Skt *mās-*, Gk μήν, Lat *mēnsis*, OIr *mī*).

quaj ~ *quej* ‘to call, to give a name’ < EPA **klōusnja*, a denominative based on IE **kleuos* ‘glory, word’ (Skt *śrávas-*, Gk κλέος, Slav **slovo*).

thaj ‘to dry’ < EPA **sausnja* < IE **sauso-* ‘dry’ (Gk αῦος, MHG *sôr*, Lith *saūsas*, Slav **suxъ*).

EPA **snj* > Alb (*nj*)

maj ~ *mâj* ‘to feed, to fatten’ < EPA **mazdnja*, a deverbative based on IE **mazd-* ‘feeding’ (OHG *mast*, Skt *médas-* ‘fat, marrow’).

EPA **dtj, *gtj, *ktj* > Alb *s*

lus ‘to pray, to invoke, to beg’ < EPA **lugtja*: Lith *lūgóti* ‘to ask, to pray’, Latv *lūdzu, lūgt* ‘to ask, to invite’, OHG *lockōn* ‘to lure, to entice’.

nesër ‘tomorrow’ < EPA **natšōr* continuing **nok^htjōr*, cf. W *neithiwr, neithwyr* ‘last night’, Bret *neizœr, neizür* id.

zhys ‘to dive’ < EPA **diš-ūd-tja* derived from IE **ued-* ~ **ud-* ‘water’.

EPA **dsj, *ksj* > Alb *sh*

josh ‘to curl, to fondle, to caress’ < EPA **jāudsja* < IE **ǵeudh-* (Skt *yúdhya-* ‘to fight, to struggle’, Toch A *yutk-* ‘to take care of, to trouble about’, Lith *jáudinti* ‘to excite, to arouse’).

push ‘fluff, down, nap, pile’ < EPA **puksja*: Skt *púccha-* ‘tail’ < **puksko-*, Slav **puxъ* ‘down’ < **pouksō-*.

qesh ‘to laugh’ < EPA **kaksja*, cf. similar onomatopoeic verbs in Skt *kákhati* id., Gk *καχάζω* id.

teshë f ‘speck of dust, little splinter’ < EPA **taksjā* < IE **teks-* (Skt *takṣati* ‘to carpenter, to cut’, Lat *texō* ‘to weave’, Lith *tašyti* ‘to hew’).

In EPA **nrj* the segment **rj* changed to *rr* and then, epenthetic *d* was added so that **nrj* resulted in *-ndërr*:

ëndërr ~ *andërr* ‘dream, sleep’ < EPA **anrjā* < IE **oner-* ‘word’ (Gk *ὄναρ*) ~ **onerjo-* id. (Gk *ὄνειρον, ὄνειρος*, Arm *anowrj*),

1.4.6.4. Anlaut clusters consisting of velar occlusives followed by EPA **l* are relatively well preserved in Albanian. While in some areas they remain unchanged, in the majority of dialects **l* gave *j* and the clusters eventually yielded *gj* and *q* (the latter could later become depalatalized and turn to *k*). Cf. the following examples:

gjemb, glëmb ‘thorn’ < EPA **glamba*, comparable with Slav **glōb-okъ* ‘deep’ < **‘hollowed’*, **glōbъ* ‘trunk, stump, cabbage-stump’, cf. also Gk *γλόφω* ‘to scrape up’.

qep ‘to sew (together), to seize’ < EPA **klepa*: Slav **klepati* ‘to beat, to knock’.

qetë ‘(jagged) rock’ < EPA **klaitā*: W *clud* ‘heap’ and Lith *šlaitas* ‘slope’.

qos ‘to end, to finish’ < EPA **klā(u)tja* derived from the Indo-European word for ‘key’: Gk κλήίς, Lat *clāvis*. Cf. Lith *kliaudyti* ‘to stop, to prevent’.

quaj ~ *quej* ‘to call, to give a name’ < EPA **klāusnja*, a denominative based on IE **kl̥eḡos* ‘glory, word’: Skt *śrávas-*, Gk κλέος, Slav **slovo*.

qye ‘summit, peak’ < EPA **klaina* to IE **kloino-* ‘slanting, skew’ (Goth gen. pl. *hlaine* ‘hill’).

The one example of medial **g/* attests an anaptyctic vowel:

mjegull ‘cloud’ < EPA **meglā*: Gk ὀμίχλη ‘fog, mist’, Lith *miglà* id., Slav **mьgla* ‘darkness, mist’.

EPA **gr* and **kr* are well preserved in Albanian:

grabë ‘erosion, hollowing out’ < EPA **grabā*: OHG *grab* ‘grave’, Slav **grobъ* id.

grah ~ *graf* ‘to spur on, to call, to roar’ < EPA **graska*: Skt *gr̥ṇāti* ‘to call, to invoke’, Lith *giriù*, *girti* ‘to praise’.

grij ~ *gr̥j* ‘to cut into pieces, to gnaw, to eat away’ < EPA **grinja* < IE **g^her-* ‘to swallow’ (Skt *girāti*, Arm *eker*, Lat *vorō*, Lith *geriù*, *gérti* ‘to drink’, Slav **žerti*).

kri ~ *kr̥i* ‘woodworm, moth’ < EPA **kriwi-*, to IE **k^hṛui-* (Slav **čьrvь* ‘worm’).

kripë ~ *krypë* ‘salt’ < EPA **krūpā*: ON *hrufa* ‘scab’, Lith *kraupis* ‘rough’, *kraupis* ‘scab’, Latv *kraūpis* ‘frail, brittle’, Slav **krupa* ‘groats’.

krua ~ *krue* ‘spring, fountain’ < EPA **krāna* < **krasna*: Gk κρήνη id., OE *hræn* ‘wave’ < Gmc **xraznō*.

Initial **kr* occasionally became voiced:

grerë ~ *grenzë* ‘wasp, hornet’ < EPA **graisnā*: Lat *crābrō* ‘hornet’, OHG *hornaz* id., Lith *širšuō* id., Slav **sьršęnъ* id.

In the intervocalic position, the velar in **gr* was lost, cf. the following examples:

blorë ‘sling’ < EPA **blāgrā*, comparable with Lat *flagrum* ‘whip’,
cf. further ON *blekkja* ‘to beat, to strike’.

përmjerr ‘to urinate’ < EPA **per-megra*: IE **meiǵh-* id. (Skt
méhati, Gk ὀμείχω, Lat *meiō*, ON *míga*).

1.4.6.5. The number of examples illustrating the evolution of clusters including dentals and **l* is very limited. The rare initial cluster **dl* merged with **gl*:

gjatë, *glatë* ‘long’ < EPA **dlata* continuing IE **dlǵh-to-*, cf.
**(d)longho-* (Lat *longus*, Goth *laggs*).

As to **tl*, it developed into *ll* in the middle of the word:

grellë ‘deep place’ < EPA **gritlā*: Lith *gurklỹs* ‘crop’, OPrus
gurcle ‘throat’, Slav **gьrdlo* id., cf. also **žerdlo* ‘river-bed;
opening’.

EPA **sl* yields Alb *ll* in all positions:

dell ‘tendon’ < EPA **daisla*: Lith *gýsla* ‘blood-vessel, tendon’, Slav
**žila* ‘tendon’.

dyllë ‘wax’ < EPA **dūla* < **dusla*: Gk χυλός ‘juice’.

kollë ‘cough’ < EPA **kāslā*: Slav **kašlb* id., Lith *kosulỹs* id.

llënjëz ‘mud, silt’ < EPA **slinjā*: Lith *sliēnas* ‘saliva, mucus, slime’,
Slav **slina* ‘saliva’.

qull ‘porridge’ < EPA **klu-sla*: Gk κλύζω ‘to rinse’, Lat *cluō* ‘to
clean’.

If **k̂* was not depalatalized before **l*, the resulting cluster **tsl* yielded
**sl* > *ll*:

pellë ‘comb’ < EPA **petslā*: Gk πέκω ‘to comb’, Lith *pëšti* ‘to pull,
to pluck’, Lat *pecten* ‘comb’.

tollë ‘bald spot; drum membrane’ < EPA **tāslā* < **tēk̂slā*: Lat *tēla*
‘cloth’, OHG *dehsala* ‘axe’, Slav **tesla* id.

1.4.6.6. Numerous clusters including dentals and **r* were well preserved in Albanian. EPA **dr* gave *dr*:

drang ‘barge-pole, punting-pole; young creature, cub’ < EPA **dranga*: ON *drangr* ‘stone-pillar’, *drengr* ‘thick trunk’, Lith *dránga* ‘perch, pole’, Slav **drogъ* ~ **droga*.
dre ~ *drê* ‘deer’ < EPA **drani*:- ὄρνις [for δρ-]: ἔλαφος.
dredh ‘to turn, to rotate’ < EPA **dredza* continuing IE **dreǵh-* (Arm *dar̄nam* ‘to turn’, *dar̄j* ‘curve, turn’).
dritë ‘light, lustre, pupil (of an eye)’ < EPA **driktā* based on IE **derk-* ‘to look’ cf. in particular, OE *torht* ‘bright’, OHG *zoraht*.
dru ~ *drû* ‘tree; wood (f, pl. *dru*)’ < EPA **druwa*: Slav **drъvo* ‘wood’, Skt *dru*-id., Av *dru*-id., Gk δρῦς ‘tree, oak’.
dre, *droe* ‘fear’ < PALb **drāwā*: Latv *druvas* ‘fear’ and Lith *draudžiù*, *draūsti* ‘to forbid, to deter, to scare off’.

EPA **tr* did not change:

trap ‘ferry’ < EPA **trapa*: Slav **tropa* ‘path’ further related to IE **trep-* ‘to tread’.
tre ‘three’ < EPA **treje* < IE **trejes* id. (Skt *trayaḥ*, Gk τρεῖς, Lat *trēs*).
tredh ‘to castrate’ < EPA **treuda*: Lat *trūdō* ‘to push’, Goth *usþriutan* ‘to burden’, Slav **trudъ* ‘labor, work’.
tremb ‘to frighten’ < EPA **trema*: Toch A *tärm-* ‘to get angry’, Gk τρέμω ‘to tremble (of fear)’, Lat *tremō* id.
tres ‘to melt, to loosen, to dissolve’ < EPA **trōtja*: Slav **tratjǫ*, **tratiti* ‘to spend, to waste’.
trim ‘hero’, adj. ‘brave, courageous’ < EPA **trima*: IE **tr̥mo-* (Arm *tárm* ‘young, fresh, green’).

In inlaut, anaptyctic *ë* developed within Alb *tr* and *dr* at a very recent stage:

tjetër ‘other’ < EPA **etera*: Slav **eterъ* ‘some, somebody’.
motër ‘sister’ < **mātrā* < EPA **māter* < IE **māter-* ‘mother’ (Skt *mātār-*, Gk μήτηρ, Lat *māter*).

The cluster **sr* gives Alb *rr* in all positions:

err ‘darkness’ < EPA **ausra*: Lith *aušrà* ‘dawn’, Gk ἔως id.

korr ‘to reap, to harvest’ < EPA **kāsra*: Lith *kasù, kàsti* ‘to dig’, Slav **kosa* ‘scythe’.

rrag ‘apron’ < EPA **srauga*: Lith *srúoga* ‘skein, hank; tuf, hairlock’, *srauga* id.

rrymë ‘flow (of water)’ < EPA **srūmā*: Gk *πέεμα* ‘stream’, ON *straumr* id., Lith *sraumuõ* ‘fast stream’.

The development of **str* is of special interest. It seems to reflect *dhr* < **dʒr* < **tsr*, with a secondary variant *dr*:

badhër, badër ‘narcissus, daffodil’ < EPA **bastrā*: Skt *bhástrā* ‘bellows’, further based on **bhes-* ‘to blow’.

thadër ‘a kind of double-sided axe’ < EPA **tsestrā*: Skt *śastrā* ‘knife, sword’.

Initial clusters with second **r* can occasionally lose the *r*:

përpush ‘to poke, to stir up’ < **për-prush*, cf. *prush* ‘ember, glowing coal’.

shkep, shkrep ‘to resemble’, a prefixed derivative of **krep* < EPA **krepa* ‘body’: Skt *kṛp-* ‘shape, beautiful appearance’, Lat *corpus* ‘body’, OHG *hrēf* ‘body, lap’.

shpall ‘to announce, to declare’ < **shprall*, based on *prallë* ‘tale, story’.

1.4.6.7. When appearing in clusters with nasal sonorants, liquids created homorganic epenthetic consonants:

dhëndër ~ dhandër ‘bridegroom, son-in-law’ < EPA **dʒanra* < IE **ǵenēr-* ‘son-in-law’ (Lat *gener*).

ëmbël ~ ambël ‘sweet’ < EPA **amla*: Skt *amlā-* ‘sour’.

Rarely attested **r/* yielded *l, j*:

bilë, bijë ‘daughter’ < EPA **bir(i)lā* derived from *bir* ‘son’.

1.4.6.8. When followed by occlusives, EPA **l* and **r* were preserved. However, Alb *l* can change to *j* in most dialects:

- ajkë* ‘cream, wool fat’ < EPA **alkā* related to Lith *álkti* ‘be hungry’, *áika* ‘hunger’, Slav **olkti* ‘be hungry’.
- argësh* ‘crude raft supported by skin bladders, crude bridge of crossbars, harrow’ < EPA **argusa*: Skt *argala-* ‘bolt’, OE *reced* ‘building, house’.
- bajgë, balgë* ‘dung’ < EPA **balgā*: Gk βόλβιτον ‘cow dung’ < IE **bolg^u*.
- darkë* ‘supper’ < EPA **darkā* < IE **dork^uom* reflected in Gk δόρπον id.
- heq, helq* ‘to draw, to pull’ < EPA **skalkja*: Gk ὀλκέω < **solkejō* based on ἔλκω ‘to draw’. The variant *heq* goes back to **hejq*.

In one case, however, EPA **rk* yielded *rr*:

- tjerr* ‘to spin’ < EPA **terka*: Toch B *tärk-* ‘to turn’ (only as part. pret.), Lat *torqueō* id. and the like

Clusters consisting of a liquid followed by **s* or by an affricate developed into *l(l)* and *r(r)*:

- djerr* ‘fallow land’ < EPA **dersa* < IE **ǵhersos* (Gk χέρος ‘dry land’).
- kalli* ‘ear of grain’ based on EPA **kalsa*: Slav **kolsъ* ‘ear of grain’.
- marrtë* ‘murky, cloudy, dim, dull’, derived from EPA **marsa*: Slav **morxъ* ‘dusk, fog’.
- mjel* ‘to milk’ < EPA **melga*: Gk ἀμέλω id., Lat *mulgeō* id., Lith *mélžiu, mėlžti* id.
- ter* ‘to make dry’ < EPA **tarsja*: Skt *tarśáyati* id., Lat *torreō* id., ON *þerra* id.

In inlaut, the reflex of EPA **rtš* is *(r)s*. This may be the result, however, of preserved derivational connections:

- dasmë, darsmë* ‘wedding’ < EPA **dartšimā*, derived from *darkë*.

Longer clusters beginning with liquids were radically simplified:

- barmë* ‘bast’ < EPA **bardzmā* derived from **bardza* > *bardhë* ‘white’.

bashkë ‘fleece’ < EPA **bar(u)škā*: *barukë* id. and derived from *berr* ‘sheep, goat’.

et ‘thirst’ < EPA **alk-ti-*: Lith *álkti* ‘to be hungry’, Slav **olkati* id., OHG *ilgi* ‘hunger’.

kashtë ‘straw’ < EPA **kalstā*, derivative of *kalli* ‘ear of grain’.

1.4.6.9. The groups **ln* and **rn* have been preserved until a very late stage, probably until the early Middle Ages. Then, both clusters were simplified. EPA **ln* developed into *ll*:

bolle ‘testicles’ < EPA **bālnā*: Gk φαλλός ‘phallus’, Lat *follicis* ‘bellows’, OIr *ball* ‘limb, member’.

gëshallë ‘splint, piece of wood’ < EPA **ka-stalnā* < IE **stel-*.

hall ‘trouble, misery, plight, sorrow’ < EPA **skalna*: Gmc **skallaz* ‘thin, dry, shallow’ ~ **xallaz* ‘weak, tired’.

kall ‘to insert, to thrust, to place, to incite, to set on fire’ < EPA **kalna* < IE **k^holo-* derived from **k^hel-* ‘to turn’.

pjell ‘to beget, to produce, to bear’ < EPA **pelna*: Lat *pellō* ‘to drive, to push’, Gk πάλλω ‘to poise, to swell, to swing’.

EPA **rn* gave Alb *rr*:

barrë ‘fetus’ < EPA **barnā*, cognate with Gmc **barnan* ‘child’.

djerr ‘to destroy’ < EPA **derna*: Skt *द्वर्णाति* ‘to burst, to tear’, Gk δέρω ‘to skin’, Goth *gatairan* ‘to tear’.

kurrë ‘never, ever’ < EPA **kur ne*, a compound of *kur* ‘when’ and the negation particle **ne*.

marr ‘to take, to grasp’ < EPA **marna*, a denominative based on the Indo-European heteroclitic stem **m^her/n-*: Hitt *mānijahh-* ‘to hand over’, Gk μόρη, Lat *manus*.

verr ‘alder’ < EPA **werna*: Bret *gwern* id., W *gwernen* id., MĪr *fern* id. and Arm *geran* ‘beam, timber’

zorrë ‘gut’ < EPA **džārnā*: Lith *žarnà* id.

The cluster **rsn* also produced Alb *rr*:

sorrë ‘crow’ < EPA **tšārsnā* corresponding to Skt *कृष्ण-* ‘black, dark’, OPrus *kirsnan* ‘black’, Slav **čьrnъ* id.

1.4.6.10. All clusters consisting of an occlusive followed by EPA **m* developed into Alb *m*:

amëz ‘odour, aroma’ derived from EPA **admā*: Gk ὀδμή id., Lat *odor* id., Lith *úosti* ‘to smell’.

bram ‘residue, scoria, rust, ear-wax’ < EPA **bradma*: Skt *bradhná-* ‘reddish, yellow’, Slav **bronъ* ‘colored’ < **brodnъ*.

hime ‘bran’ < EPA **skeidma* < IE **skeid-men-*: Goth *skaidan* ‘to divide’, Lith *skiedžu*, *skiesti* ‘to make thin’, cf. Lith *skiemuõ* ‘opening used to insert the shuttle’ < **skeid-men-*.

kam ‘to have’ < EPA **kapmi* < IE **kap-* ‘to seize, to grasp’ (Lat *capio* id., Goth *haban* ‘to have’).

Likewise, EPA **nm* > Alb *m*:

emër ~ *emën* ‘name’ < EPA **enmen-* or **inmen-*: OIr *ainm* id., Slav **jъmę* id., OPrus *emnes* id.

EPA **sm* > Alb *m* in all positions:

imtë ‘tiny, small’ < EPA **īma* continuing **īs-mos*, cf. Skt *īṣát* ‘little, a little, slightly’, Lith *įsas* ‘short’, Latv *īss* id.

jam ‘to be’ < EPA **es-mi* < IE **es-* id. (Skt *ásmi*, Gk εἶμί).

mjekër ‘chin, beard’ < EPA **smekrā*: Hitt *zamankur-* ‘beard’, Skt *śmáśru-* id., Arm *mawrowk’* id., Lith *smākras* ‘chin’.

mug ‘twilight’ < EPA **smuga*: OE *smoca* ‘smoke’, OIr *múch* id., Arm *mowx* id.

EPA **nsm* simplified to Alb *m*:

thom ‘to say’ < EPA **tsānsmi*: OPers *θātīy* ‘to say’, Lat *cēnseō* ‘to assess, to value’.

Before spirants and affricates **m* was dropped:

gjihtë ‘all’ < EPA **semdza* < IE **sem-ǵho-* ‘one’ (Arm *ez*).

mish ‘flesh, meat’ < EPA **mema* < IE **memso-* id. (Skt *māṃsa* ‘flesh, meat’, Arm *mis*, Goth *mimz*, Slav **mešo*).

1.4.6.11. The history of clusters with **n* is more complicated than those in **m*. Groups consisting of a labial and **n* yielded *m*:

gjaln ‘rope, lace’ < EPA **salpna*: Slav **solpiti* ‘to stick out’, Lith *iš-selpinėti* ‘to get divided’.

gjumė ‘sleep’ < EPA **supna* < IE **sup-no-* id. (Gk ὑπνος, Slav **sъnъ*).

karmė ‘rock’ < EPA **karpnā* further related to *karpė* id.

kem, qem ‘incense’ < EPA **kapna*: Gk καπνός ‘smoke’.

kėrmė ‘carcass, carion, cadaver’ < EPA **karp-nā*: Skt *kṛp-* ‘shape, beautiful appearance’, Lat *corpus* ‘body’, OHG *hrēf* ‘belly, body’.

lum ‘blessed, happy, lucky, fortunate’ < EPA **lubna*, an adjective in **-no-* derived from IE **leubh-* ‘to love, to wish’.

EPA **gn* (with **g* of any origin) changed to *nj*:

enjė ‘juniper, yew’ < EPA **aignjā*: ON *eik*, OHG *eih*.

enjė ~ *ėjė* ‘dairy goat’ < EPA **agnjā*: Gk ἄμνος ‘lamb’, Lat *agnus* id.

njoh ~ *njof* ‘to know’ < EPA **gnāska*: IE **gēnə-* ~ **gñō-* id., cf. Gk γιγνώσκω, Epidaur γνώσκω, Lat (*g*)*nōscō*.

EPA **sn* became **n*, which is preserved as such in anlaut:

nus ‘thread, string’ < EPA **snutja*: Skt *snāvan-* ‘band, sinew’.

In auslaut, however, **n* was occasionally lost. When it was preserved, it was rhotacized in Tosk:

grerė ~ *grenzė* ‘wasp, hornet’ < EPA **graisnā*: Lat *crābrō* ‘hornet’, OHG *hornaz* id., Lith *širšuō* id., Slav **sъršєnъ* id.

gjėr ‘soup’ ~ Geg *gjanė* ‘mudbed, alluvium’ < EPA **jausna*: Skt neut. *yūṣ* ‘soup’, Lat *iūs* id., Lith *jūšė* ‘fish soup’.

krua ~ *krue* ‘spring, fountain’ < EPA **krōna*: Gk κρήνη id., OE *hræn* ‘wave’ < Gmc **xraznō*.

krye ‘head’ < EPA **krānjā* < **krasnjā*: Gk κρᾶνίον ‘skull, head’.

muaj ~ *muej* ‘month’ < EPA **mōsnja*, from the metathesis of IE **mēns-* ‘moon, month’ (Skt *mās-*, Gk μήν, Lat *mēnsis*, OIr *mí*).

The development of **dn* was similar to that of **sn*:

lë ~ lâ ‘to let’ < EPA **laidna*: Lith *lėisti* id., Latv *lāist* id., Goth *letan* id.

1.4.6.12. Clusters in which **n* is followed by velars (including those derived from old palatals) emerged as *ng*:

ang ‘fear, nightmare’ < EPA **anga* corresponding to Skt *ámhas-* ‘fear’, Lat *angor* ‘unrest, fear’, OIr *cumcae* gl. ‘angor’ < Celt **kom-ong-ǵā*.

angërr ‘skin, intestines’ < EPA **angarā* related to Arm *anjn* ‘soul, person’, ON *angi* ‘smell, odor’.

bung ‘kind of oak, Quercus sessiflora’ < EPA **bunka*: Arm *bow*n ‘trunk’.

nga ‘out’ < EPA **en-ka*, a compound consisting of **en-* identical with IE **en* ‘in’ and EPA **ka*, which is related to Slav **къ* ‘to, towards’.

ngul ‘to thrust in, to stick in’ < EPA **en-kula*: Lith *kùlti* ‘to thresh’, Latv *kuļt* ‘to strike’.

If the palatal changed to an affricate, **n* was lost:

pesë ~ pêšë ‘five’ < EPA **pentše* < IE **penk^ue* ‘five’ (Skt *pāñca*, Gk πέντε, Lat *quīnque*).

In auslaut, the cluster **nt* normally gives *ɾ*:

anë ‘side’ < EPA **antā*: Skt *ánta-* ‘end’, Goth *andëis* id.

banë ‘dwelling’ < EPA **banti*, derived from *bëj* ‘to make, to do’.

dhunë ‘labor pains, shame, disgrace’ < EPA **eduntī*: Gk ὀδύνη ‘labor pains’, Arm *erkn* id.

man ‘mulberry’ < EPA **manta*: Dac μαντεία ‘blackberry’.

vonë ‘late’ < EPA participle **wāntī*: Skt *vāyati* ‘to vanish, to become exhausted’, Lith *vójus(i)* ‘ailing’, Latv *vâjš* ‘meager, weak’.

If preceded by **e*, EPA **nt* became *nd*:

brenda ‘inside’ < EPA **(en) per enta*, a sequence of clitics.

çandër ‘prop, support’ < EPA **iš-skentra* < IE **(s)kentrom* (Gk κέντρον ‘goad’).

lend ‘acorn’ < EPA **lenta* < IE **lent-* ‘lentil’ (Lat *lēns, lēntis*, OHG *linsi*, Slav **lętja*).

lëndë ~ *landë* ‘wood, timber, material’ < EPA **lentā*: Gmc **lendō* ‘linden’ (OHG *linta*, OE *lind*), Lith *lentà* ‘board’, Slav **lętz* ‘bast’.

vend ‘place’ < EPA **wen-ta*, based on *vē* ‘to put’ < EPA **wena*.

1.4.6.13. The history of clusters beginning in **s* seems to be particularly complicated. Despite many attempts at their elucidation, our understanding remains incomplete.

The cluster **sp* regularly reflects as *f* in anlaut. It is likely that a medial stage **ps* existed (cf. below):

farë ‘seed, semen, kin’ < EPA **sparā* < IE **sper-* ‘to spill, to sow’ (Gk σπείρω id., σπέρμα ‘semen, seed’).

fend ‘to fart’ < EPA **spenda*: Skt *spandate* ‘to shiver’, Gk σφαδάζω ‘to shiver, to tremble’.

ferrë ‘thorn, thorny bush’ < EPA **spernā* < IE **sper-* ‘spear, stick’ (Lat *sparus* ‘short spear’, Gmc **speru-* ‘spear’ > ON *spjör*).

fjalë ‘word, speech, tale’ < EPA **spelā*: Goth *spill* ‘story, fable’, ON *spjall* ‘story, speech’, OE *spell* id., OHG *spel, spell* id. and Arm *arāspel* ‘fable’.

fryj ~ *fryej* ‘to blow’ < **sprūgnja*: Lith *sprūgstu, sprūgti* ‘to escape, to get out’, Slav **prygati* ‘to jump, to spring’.

fus ‘to put in, to thrust in, to insert; to plant’ < EPA **sputja*: Lat *putō* ‘to trim, to prune’, Toch A, B *putk-* ‘to divide’.

fyt ‘throat, gullet’ < EPA **spūta*: Lat *spuō* ‘to spit’, *spūtum* ‘spittle’, Gk πτύω ‘to spit’.

EPA **ps* yielded *f*:

afër ‘near’ < EPA **apsera*, a contamination of **aps*, a variant of IE **apo*, and of **apero* (Skt *āpara* ‘posterior, later’, Goth *afar* ‘after’).

No examples of medial **sp* are attested. There are alleged cases where **sp* yields Alb *shp*, however these examples are better explained as

derivatives where a morphological boundary separates the **s* and **p*. Cf. the following example:

shpardh, shparr ‘oak’ < EPA **is-pardza*. ON *forkr* ‘stick, pole’ continuing IE **perǵ-*.

There may be, however, one example which supports this position:

shperr ‘to win (money), to gain’ < EPA **sparja*. Gmc **sparōjan* ‘to leave unharmed, to keep’: ON *spara*, OHG *sparōn*, OE *sparian*.

1.4.6.14. The cluster **st* gave *sht* in all positions:

asht ‘bone’ < EPA **ašti* or **ašta* < IE **ost(i)-* ‘bone’ (Hitt *ḫaštai*, Skt *āsthi*, Gk ὀστέον).

brushtull ‘heather’ < EPA **brust-ula*: Slav **brъstь* ‘sprout, bud’ and OS *brustian* ‘to shoot, to sprout’.

kəshṭallē ‘splint (in medicine)’ < EPA **ka-stalā*: Goth *stols* ‘chair’, Lith *stālas* ‘table’, Slav **stolъ* ‘table, pole’.

shtagē ‘pole, stick’ < EPA **stagā*: ON *stjaki* id., Latv *stēga* ‘long pole’.

shtang ‘hard’ < EPA **stanga*: ON *stinga* ‘to put, to stick’, Lith *stėngiu, stėngti* ‘to be able’, *stiūngti* ‘to become hard’, Latv *stiūgt* id.

shteg ‘path, road’ < EPA **staiga* < IE **stoigho-* ‘way’ (Gk στῶιχος ‘row, line’, Goth *staiga* ‘way’, Latv *staīga* ‘walking’, *sīga* ‘path’, Slav **stъza* id.).

Alb *sht* is also the end product of triconsonantal clusters ending in **st*:

gjashtë ‘six’ < EPA **seksti-*, derivationally close to Skt *ṣaṣṭi-* ‘six tens’.

jashtë ‘outside’ < EPA **eksta* derived from IE **eǵh-s* ‘out’: Gk ἔξ, Lat *ex* and the like.

kashtë ‘straw’ < EPA **kalstā*, derivative of *kalli* ‘ear of grain’.

rrashtë ‘bone, skull, skeleton, shell’ < EPA **wragšta*, derivative of *rrah* ‘to beat, to strike’ < **wrag-ska*.

The voiced correlate of **st* reflected as **zd* > **dz* > *dh*:

pidh ‘female pudenda’ < EPA **p(e)izda*: Slav **pizda* id. and OPrus *peisda* ‘bottom’.

However, when preceded by voiced consonants, **zd* was dissimilated to **ts* > *th*:

drihtë ‘grain’ < EPA **dritsā*: Lat *hordeum* ‘barley’, OHG *gersta* id. < IE **ǵhrzd-*.

gjethe ‘foliage, green leaves’ < EPA **gadza*: OHG *questa* ‘tuft’, ON *kvistr* ‘branch’, Slav **gvozdb* ‘wood, forest’.

1.4.6.15. In anlaut, EPA **sk* of any origin (i.e. reflecting IE **sk* or **sk̥*) could either develop into *shk* or become metathesized and change to *h* through the intermediate stage of **ks*. As we know, the latter would give Alb *h* as proved by the following example:

hirrë ‘whey’ < EPA **ksirā*: Skt *kṣīrā-* ‘milk’, Osset *æxsīr* id.

Metathesis did not normally take place in Proto-Albanian roots containing an unvoiced consonant:

shkak ‘reason, cause; noose, snare, trap’ < EPA **skaka*: ON *skaga* ‘to protrude’, Slav **skokъ* ‘jump’ < IE **skek-* ‘to jump, to be agile’.

shkas ‘to slip, to slide’ < EPA **skatja* corresponding to Lat *scateō* ‘to stream, to flow out’, Lith *skantù*, *skàsti* ‘to spring, to jump’.

shkep ‘to rip open, to unrip, to tear’ < EPA **skaipa*: ON *skifa* ‘to split’, OFris *skīvia* ‘to divide’.

shkop ‘stick, cane’ < EPA **skāpa*: Gk σκάπος· κλάδος, σκῆπτρον ‘staff’, Lat *scāpus* ‘shaft, stem’,

shkund ‘to shake, to swing’ < EPA **skunta*, nasal present of IE **skeut-*(MĪr *scothaid* ‘to cut off’, Lith *skutù*, *skùsti* ‘to scrape’).

There is no metathesis in words beginning with **skr-*:

shkrabë ‘scrawl’ < EPA **skrabā*: Lat *scrobis* ‘pit’, OE *screpan* ‘to scratch’, Lith *skrebëti* ‘to rustle’, Slav **skrebtì* ‘to scratch’.

EPA **sk* is regularly metathesized to **ks* > Alb *h* in Proto-Albanian roots with voiced occlusives:

hedh ‘to throw, to shoot’ < EPA **kseuda*: ON *skjóta*, OHG *sciozan* and other continuants of Gmc **skiutan* ‘to shoot’.

hime ‘bran’ < EPA **skeidma*: Goth *skaidan* ‘to divide’, Lith *skiedžu*, *skiesti* ‘to make thin’, cf. Lith *skiemuō* ‘opening used to insert the shuttle’ < **skeid-men-*.

The same development takes place in roots with sonorants **l*, **r*, **m*, **n*, **j*, **w*:

harr ‘to weed, to cut down’ < EPA **skarna* < IE **sker-* ‘to cut’, cf.

Goth *us-skarjan* ‘to tear out’, Lith *skiriù*, *skirti*.

hell ‘spear, spit’ < EPA **skōla*: Gk σκῶλος ‘pointed stake, thorn’.

hēnē ‘moon’ < EPA **ksandā*: Skt *cāndati* ‘(he) shines, is bright’, *candrá-* ‘shining; moon’.

hije ‘shadow’ < EPA **ksijā* < IE **skāi-* ~ **skī-* (Skt *chāyā* id., Gk σκιά id.).

hīr ‘grace, favor, mercy’ < EPA **skīra*: Goth *skeirs* ‘clear’, Slav **ščirъ* ‘clean’.

hu ~ *hū* ‘picket, stake, pole, penis’ < EPA **skuja*: Slav **xujъ* ‘penis’.

humb ‘to leave, to lose, to spoil, to miss’ < IE **skeubh-* (Goth *af-skiuban* ‘to push away, to reject’, Lith *skumbù*, *skùbti* ‘to hurry, to hasten’).

There are a few exceptions that may require a revision of the presently accepted etymologies:

hip(ěj) ~ *hypi* ‘to go up’ < EPA **skūpa*: Lith *kùpti* ‘to rise’, Latv *kupt* ‘to gather, to build up’.

shkëlbozë ‘bark’ based on **shkalbë* < EPA **skalbā*: ON *skalpr* ‘ship’, *skelpa* ‘grimace’ < *‘crack, split’, MLG *scholpe* ‘mussel’.

The emerging new sound *h* was extremely unstable in anlaut and was dropped in various words in almost all of the Albanian dialects. At the same time, a non-etymological *h* appeared in quite a few Albanian words, cf. for example:

herdhe ‘testicles’ < EPA **ardzai*: IE **orghi-* ~ **r̥ghi-* id. (Av dual. *ərəzi*, Gk ὄρχις, Arm *orjik*, Mlr *uirgge* id.).

hikërr ‘sour milk; buckwheat’ < EPA **eikrā*, an *r*-derivative of *ik*,
ikëj ‘to go’ (for the semantic development cf. Germ *gerinnen*
‘to coagulate’ < *rinnen* ‘to run’).

1.4.6.16. Alb *shk* ~ *shq* in anlaut may also result from the development of the prefix **iš-* and a root initial **k-*:

shkal ‘to bring down, to drag, to roll, to charm (of fairies)’ < EPA **iš-kala*: IE **k^hel-* ‘to turn, to roll’.

shkel ‘to make a step, to walk’ < EPA **iš-kalja*: Skt *kaláyati* ‘to drive’, Gk κέλλω id.

shkul ‘to tear out, to pull out, to eradicate’ < EPA **iš-kula*: Lat -*cellō* ‘to rise high’, Lith *keliù*, *kélti* ‘to lift’.

shqerr ‘to tear (cloth)’ < EPA **iš-kerja*: Skt *kṛṇāti* ‘to diminish’, Gk κείρω ‘to cut’.

If the prefix **iš-* was followed by a root initial **sk*, the new cluster yielded Alb *ç*:

çaj ‘to split, to cleave, to smash, to batter, to chop up’ < EPA **iš-skednja* < IE **sked-* ‘to split’ (Skt *skhadate*, Gk σκεδώννυμι).

çalë ‘lame’ < EPA **iš-skala*: Gk σκολιός ‘crooked’, Lat *scelus*.

çandër ‘prop, support’ < EPA **iš-skentra* to IE **(s)kentrom* (Gk κέντρον ‘goad’).

çars ‘to destroy, to spoil’ < EPA **iš-skertja*: ON *skera* ‘to cut’, Lith *skirti* id.

çem ‘to bring to light, to disclose, to reveal, to broach’ < EPA **iš-skepna*: Slav **ščepati* ‘to split’.

çjerr ‘to tear up’ < EPA **iš-skera*: OIr *scaraim* ‘to separate’, ON *skera* ‘to cut’, Lith *skiriù*, *skirti* ‘to separate’.

1.4.6.17. Medially, an original cluster with a “pure” velar **sk* developed into Alb *shk* (the same applies to triconsonantal clusters ending in **sk*):

ashkë ‘wood splinter’ < EPA **a(k)škā*, a derivative of IE **ak^s-* ‘axis’: Skt *ākṣa-*, Gk ἄξων, Lat *axis*.

bashkë ‘fleece’ < EPA **barškā*: *berr* ‘sheep, goat’.

bashkë ‘together’ < EPA **bakskā*: Lat *fascis* ‘bundle’, *fascia* ‘band, bandage’.

eshke ‘kidney’ < EPA **aiškā*: Slav **jьsto* id. and ON *eista* ‘testicle’ < **oidsto-*.

fishkem ~ *fyshkem* ‘to wither, to fade’ < EPA **spūška*: Lith *pūškas* ‘blister, fin, pimple’, Latv *pusks* ‘tuft’.

flashkēt ‘sluggish, lame’ < **plashkēt* < EPA **plakska*: Lith *plóksčias* ‘flat’, Slav **ploskъ* id. and Slav **ploхъ* ‘flat, bad, evil, poor’.

The cluster **sk̥* was metathesized and gave Alb *h* (the same applies to triconsonantal clusters ending in **sk̥*). This development is corroborated by numerous Albanian verbs in **-sk̥e/o-*:

grah ~ *graf* ‘to spur on, to call, to roar’ < EPA **graska*: Skt *grṇāti* ‘to call, to invoke’, Lith *giriù, girti* ‘to praise’.

grih ‘to sharpen’ < EPA **greiska*: Gk χρίω ‘to rub, to anoint, to prick’, Lith *griėjù, griėti* ‘to scoop cream from milk, to take hold of’.

kreh ~ *kref* ‘to comb’ < EPA **grebska*: Lith *grėbti* ‘to rake’, Slav **grebъ, *grebti* ‘to row, to rake’.

meh ~ *mef* ‘to soak’ < EPA **meu-ska*: Latv *maût* ‘to dive’, Slav **myti* ‘to wash’.

njeh ~ *njef* ‘to count, to consider’ < EPA **nemska*: Gk νέμω ‘to divide’, Goth *niman* ‘to take’, Lat *numerus* ‘member, element, number’ and *nummus* ‘coin, money’.

shoh ~ *shof* ‘to see’ < EPA **sākska*: Skt *sācate* ‘to accompany, to follow’, Gk ἑπομαι, Lat *sequor*, Goth *saihan* ‘to see’.

1.4.6.18. Clusters consisting of an affricate and **s* develop into a simple affricate:

djathtë ‘right’ < EPA **detsa* < **detssa* < IE **deks-* id. (Skt *dākṣiṇa-*, Gk δεξιός, Lat *dexter*).

ith ‘behind’ < EPA **its*, a form of IE **eǵhs* ‘from, out of’.

In old derivatives with the preverb **iš-* we can observe a phenomenon, which was later obscured by analogical processes - the unvoicing of the following voiced consonants:

shkabë ‘eagle’ < EPA **iš-gabā*, a prefixal formation related to *gabonjë* id.

shkardhë ‘dog-chain; a long stick attached to a dog’s neck to prevent it from biting its master’ < EPA **iš-gardā*: Slav **jъz-gorda* ‘fence’.

shpie ‘to bring away’ < **iš-bera*, derivative of *bie* ‘to bring’.

1.4.6.19. Clusters of two stops normally lose the first element:

butë ‘soft, smooth’ < EPA **buta* < IE **bhugh-to-* comparable with Nlr *bog* ‘soft’ < **bhugho-*, Arm *bowt* ‘blunt’.

dje ‘yesterday’ < EPA **de*: Skt *hyás* id., Gk *χθές* id., Lat. *heri* id.

dritë f, pl. *drita* ‘light, lustre, pupil (of an eye)’ < EPA **driktā* based on IE **derk-* ‘to look, cf. in particular, OE *torht* ‘bright’, OHG *zoraht*.

fletë ‘wing, leaf’ < EPA **awa-lekta*, a prefixed derivative of IE **lek-* ‘to fly’ (Lith *lekiù*, *lėkti*, Latv *lėkt*, OHG *lecken* ‘to jump, to kick’).

gjatë, *glatë* ‘long’ < EPA **dlata* continuing IE **dlŋgh-to-*, cf. **(d)longho-* (Lat *longus*, Goth *laggs*).

natë ‘night’ < EPA **nakti-* corresponding to IE **nok^ht-* id. (Skt *nākt-*, Gk *νύξ*, Lat *nox*).

tetë ‘eight’ < EPA **aktōti* < IE **oktō* id. (Skt *aṣṭā*, Arm *owt*, Gk *ὀκτώ*)

Clusters of two dentals, however, yielded EPA **tš* through a series of earlier changes from **tšt* < **tst* < **t^st*:

besë ‘pledge, truce, trust’ < EPA **baitšā* continuing to IE **bhoidh-tā* further connected with IE **bheidh-* ‘to persuade, to force’.

pasur ~ *pasun* (participle of *kam* ‘to have’) < EPA **patš-* continuing **pot-to*, cf. Lat *potior* ‘to take possession of’.

The Albanian word for ‘earth’ attests a specific development of the rare Indo-European cluster **dhǵh*:

dhe ‘earth, land’. From PAIb **dzō* reflecting IE **dhǵhōm* ‘earth’: Hitt *tekan*, Toch A *tkam*, B *kem*, Skt *kṣam-*, Gk *χθών*.

1.4.7. Consonants in loanwords

1.4.7.0. The history of consonants in loanwords is complicated, though particularly instructive as far as Latin borrowings are concerned. They allow us to build the whole system of relative and absolute chronology for the Albanian consonantism.

Literature: WEIGAND *BA* III 221 (prothetic *h* before *a-*, *u-*, *y-*);
RUSAKOV *RB* 127-144 (Lat *s* in Albanian).

Greek loanwords

1.4.7.1. As the number of ancient Greek loanwords is very limited, we can only mark some selected but important features. The most interesting one is the way in which Albanian treats Greek unvoiced aspirates (later fricatives). The oldest loanwords reflect Gk θ, χ as Albanian unvoiced stops - *t*, *k*. Cf. the following examples:

lakër ~ *lakën* ‘cabbage, greens’ ⇐ Gk λάχανον ‘greens’.
lëpjetë ‘orach, dock’ ⇐ Gk λάπαθον id.
mokër ~ *mokën* ‘millstone’ ⇐ Gk μηχανή ‘device, instrument’.

It is also important to notice that Gk σ is rendered as Alb *sh*:

preshe ‘leek’ ⇐ Gk πράσον id.

As far as consonantal clusters are concerned, it is interesting that Gk πτ does not develop the same way as Lat *pt*. Rather, it gives an unusual result - Alb *g* (secondarily voiced due to the assimilation with the anlaut consonant?):

bagëm ‘oil for anointment’ ⇐ Gk βάπτισμα ‘baptism’.

The same word illustrates the evolution of Gk σμ to Alb *m*.

Latin loanwords

1.4.7.2. In Latin loanwords unvoiced spirants are normally reflected as Alb *sh* in all positions:

- dëshiroj* ‘to wish’ ⇐ Lat *dēsīderāre* ‘to long for, to desire’.
fishë ‘plain, open field, meadow’ ⇐ Lat *fossa* ‘ditch, trench, gutter’.
push ‘fathom, pace, outstretched arms’ ⇐ Lat *passus* ‘step, pace’.
shesh ‘plain, plane, flatness, square’ ⇐ Lat *sessus* ‘seat’.
shullë ~ *shullâ* ‘sunny spot’ ⇐ Lat *solānus* (*locus*) id.
shushunjë ‘leech’ ⇐ Rom **saguisungia* < Lat *sanguisuga* id.

In several cases *sh* was replaced by *ç* at a later stage of development:

- balçëm, balshëm* ‘balm’ ⇐ Lat *balsamum* id.
kaçile, kashile ‘basket, hand-basket’ ⇐ Lat *quasillum* ‘small basket’
kaçule ‘hood’ ⇐ Lat *casula* ‘hut’, later ‘hooded coat’.

One difficult exception shows *zh* instead of *sh*,

- zhur, shur* ‘gravel’ ⇐ Lat *saburra* ‘sand ballast’.

The rare Latin phoneme *z* (usually in the suffix *-izāre*) is rendered as *x* ~ *z*:

- pagëzroj* ‘to baptise’ ⇐ Lat *baptizare* id.
rënxiroj ‘to cause a hernia’ ⇐ Rom **hernizāre* based on *hernia* ‘rupture, hernia’.

1.4.7.3. Labial consonants are well preserved in Latin loanwords (see 1.4.5 as far as the rhythmic rule is concerned). Lat *b* gives Alb *b*.

- bishë* ‘beast, wild animal’ ⇐ Lat *bēstia* id.
brymë ‘frost’ ⇐ Lat *brūma* ‘cold, frost’.
bukë ‘bread; meal, meal-time’ ⇐ Lat *bucca* ‘mouth’ (in Balkan Romance - ‘food’).
bulë ‘bud’ ⇐ Lat *bulla* ‘bubble, boss, knob’.
gjelbër ~ *gjelbën* ‘green’ ⇐ Lat *galbinus* ‘greenish-yellow’.
korbull ‘keg, cask, wooden pail’ ⇐ Lat *corbula* ‘little basket’.

Lat *p* is rendered as Alb *p*:

krepull ‘inebriated’ ⇔ Rom **crāpulus*, cf. Lat *crāpula* ‘excessive wine-drinking, inebriation’.

pak ‘a little, few’ ⇔ Lat *paucus* ‘few, little’.

paq ‘peace’ ⇔ Lat *pacem* id.

pjergull ‘vine-arbor, pergola’ ⇔ Lat *pergula* ‘shed, booth, vine-arbor’.

prind ‘father, parent’ ⇔ Lat *parentem* id.

turp ‘shame’ ⇔ Lat *turpe* id.

In one case, Lat *p* is unexpectedly reflected as Alb *m*:

mëkat ‘sin’ ⇔ Lat *peccātum* id.

A significant number of Latin words with initial labials underwent the process of unvoicing/voicing in Albanian. Their development is probably explained by various assimilations and dissimilations with neighboring consonants.

bishtajë ‘pod, hull, pea, green bean’ ⇔ Rom **pistālia*, cf. Lat *pistāre* ‘to pound’.

bjeshkë ‘mountain pasture’ ⇔ Rom **pastica* based on Lat *pastus* ‘pasture’.

bulbër ‘street dust’ ⇔ Lat *pulverem* ‘dust’.

pagëzuj ‘to baptise’ ⇔ Lat *baptizare* id.

prokë ‘nail, fork’ ⇔ Rom **brocca*, **broccia* ‘fork, roasting-spit’.

Lat *f* is reflected as Alb *f*:

fat ‘fate; bridegroom, husband, friend’ ⇔ Lat *fātum*.

fëmijë ‘child, family, spouse’ ⇔ Lat *famīlia* ‘family’.

flok ‘hair’ ⇔ Lat *floccus* ‘lock, flock’.

fortë ‘strong’ ⇔ Lat *fortis* id.

fund ‘bottom, end’ ⇔ Lat *fundus* ‘bottom’.

furkë ‘distaff, fork’ ⇔ Lat *furca* ‘fork’.

1.4.7.4. Latin dental stops are well preserved in Albanian. Lat *d* yielded Alb *d* in anlaut:

denjë ‘worth’ ⇔ Lat *dignus* id.

detyrë ‘duty, debt’ ⇔ Rom **debitūra* id.

- dëm* ~ *dam* ‘damage’ ⇐ Lat *damnum* ‘hurt, harm, damage’.
dishtë, dishkë ⇐ Lat *discus* ‘disk’.
dragua ~ *dra(n)gue* ‘dragon’ ⇐ Rom **drancōnem*, cf. Lat *dracōnem*
 id.
duroj ‘to be patient’ ⇐ Lat *dūrāre* id.

In the intervocalic position and after *r*, Lat *d* became Alb *dh*:

- kordhë* ‘gut string’ ⇐ Lat *chorda* ‘gut, catgut’.
lardh ‘fat bacon’ ⇐ Lat *lāridum, lārdum* id.
modh ‘bushel’ ⇐ Lat *modus* ‘measure’.
prodhøj ‘to produce’ ⇐ Lat *prōdāre* id.
shurdhër, shurdhët ‘deaf’ ⇐ Lat *surdus* id.
verdhë ‘yellow’ ⇐ Lat *viridis* ‘green’.

Lat *t* yielded Alb *t* in all positions:

- fshat* ‘village’ ⇐ Lat *fossātum* ‘ditch’, *‘surrounded by a ditch’.
kërrutë ‘ewe with horns’ ⇐ Lat fem. adj. *cornūta* ‘horned’.
tërmet ‘earthquake’ ⇐ Rom **terrae mōtus* id.
tmerr ‘horror, fright’ ⇐ Lat *tīmōrem* id.
turmë ‘crowd, herd’ ⇐ Lat *turma* id.
turp ‘shame’ ⇐ Lat *turpe* id.

In one case, however, Lat *t* became voiced in initial position:

- dëshmoj* ‘to testify’ ⇐ Rom **testimōniāre* id.

In the inlaut, Lat *t* could be dropped when following the stressed syllable of proparoxytona if the following consonant was *c*. In fact, the vowel of the second syllable was reduced to zero and the resulting cluster *tc* gave Alb *k*. Cf. the following examples:

- krejë* ‘maple’ ⇐ Lat (*acer*) *Crēticum* ‘Cretan maple’.
shemër ~ *shemërk* ‘mistress, concubine, rival’ ⇐ **sub-marītica*, cf.
 Lat *marīta* ‘married woman’.

1.4.7.5. Lat *g* is rendered as Alb *g*:

grëmëratë ‘beestings, clots of curdled milk’ ⇐ Lat *glomerātum*, participle of *glomerāre* ‘to wind into a ball, to gather into a round heap’.

grigj ‘flock, herd’ ⇐ Lat *gregem* id.

gusht ‘August’ ⇐ Lat *augustus* id.

mërgoj ‘to exile, to drive away’ ⇐ Lat *mergere* ‘to thrust, to push’.

murg ~ *mung* ‘monk’ ⇐ Lat *monachus* id.

rregull ‘rule, norm’ ⇐ Lat *rēgula* id.

Lat *c* and *qu* gave Alb *k*:

ark ‘bow’ ⇐ Lat *arcus* id.

dëkoj ‘to hit, to strike’ ⇐ Lat *indicere* in its specific meaning ‘to impose, to inflict’ > *‘to inflict pain’.

karrigë ‘chair’ ⇐ Lat *quadrīga* ‘set of four’ (here, ‘of four legs’).

kërkoj ‘to look for, to seek’ ⇐ Rom **circāre* id.

kreshmë ‘fast’ ⇐ Lat *quādrāgēsima* ‘Lent, fast of forty days’.

kuq ‘red’ ⇐ Rom **cocceus*, cf. Lat *coccineus* ‘scarlet’.

Sometimes Lat *c* could be voiced as a result of a complicated assimilation, as in the following case where, after the fall of a vowel, -*dc*- yielded -*dg*- and then *g*:

mëgashtër ‘sage’ ⇐ Rom **medicāster* reflected in Ital *medicastro*.

However, in several cases Lat *c* was voiced for unknown reasons in anlaut:

gërshërë ~ *gërshanë* ‘scissors’ ⇐ Rom **carsānia*, an irregular phonetic transformation of **caesānia*.

gështenjë ‘chestnut’ ⇐ Lat *castanea* id.

gjëmoj ⇐ Lat *clāmāre* ‘to cry, to shout’.

There is no explanation for the fall of intervocalic *c* in the following example unless it is, in fact, a later borrowing from Romance:

grill ‘lumpy soil, waste land, slate’ ⇐ Lat *gracilis* ‘poor (of soil)’.

1.4.7.6. Initial Lat *h* was lost in Albanian. Occasionally, the following vowel was lost as well:

javë ‘week’ ⇐ Lat *hebdomas* id.
shtijë ‘spear, ray’ ⇐ Lat *hastīle* ‘spear’.
urrej ‘to hate’ ⇐ Lat *horrēre* ‘to be afraid, to be astonished’.

However, a new prothetic *h* reappeared in Albanian, sometimes in those Albanian words where original *h* had been lost:

herë ‘time, moment of time, hour’ ⇐ Lat *hōra* ‘hour’.
hingël ‘girth’ ⇐ Lat **hinnicula*, derivative of Lat *hinnus* ‘mule’.

Alb *h* also appears in many words where Latin never had *h*:

hark, ark ‘bow’ ⇐ Lat *arcus* id.
harmëshor ‘stallion, stud-horse’ ⇐ Rom **armessārius*, a phonetic variant of Lat *admissārius* id.
harroj ‘to forget’ ⇐ Lat *aberrāre* ‘to forget (for a time)’.
hermoj ‘to dig’ ⇐ Rom **exrīmārī* ‘to hoe, to dig out’, cf. Lat *rīmārī* ‘to hoe’.
hetoj ‘to search, to inquire, to discover’ ⇐ Lat *ēdictāre* ‘to announce’.

Prothetic *h-* can also appear in Albanian words of different origin:

ajkë ‘cream’ > *hakë* id.
arrëzë ~ *anëzë* ‘wasp’ > *hanëzë* id.
yll ‘star’ > *hyll* id.

1.4.7.7. Latin dentals, velars and sonorants were palatalized in certain positions just like the corresponding consonants in words of Indo-European origin.

Latin dentals were palatalized before *j* (graphically - Lat *i* or *e*). Lat *dj* yielded Alb *z*:

gaz ‘joy, laughter’. From Lat *gaudium* ‘joy’.
mërzej ‘to rest at noon (of animals)’ ⇐ Lat *meridiāre* ‘to take a mid-day nap’.
mizoj ‘to rage, to snarl, to hate’ ⇐ Rom **invidiāre* id.
rreze ‘ray, spoke’ ⇐ Lat *radius* id.
shpuzë ‘hot ashes’ ⇐ Lat *spodium* ‘ash’.

zërë ~ *zanë* ‘goddess of forests, fairy, beautiful maiden’ ⇐ Lat *Dīana*.

In one case, however, *dj* unexpectedly gives *gj*:

agjëroj ~ *agjënoj* ‘to fast’ ⇐ Rom **adiūnāre* id.

Lat *tj* and triconsonantal clusters in *-tj* became Alb *s*:

mars ‘March’ ⇐ Lat *Martius* id.

nuse ‘bride, young woman, younger daughter-in-law’ ⇐ Rom **nūptia*, a local variant of Lat *nūpta* ‘married woman, wife, bride’; for the formation cf. *nūptiae* ‘wedding’.

pësoj ‘to suffer, to endure’ ⇐ Rom **patiāre*, cf. Lat *patior* id.

pjesë ‘part’ ⇐ Rom **petia* id.

pus ‘well, fountain’ ⇐ Lat *puteus* ‘well’.

shkorsë ‘rug made of goat wool’ ⇐ Lat *scortea*, fem. adj. ‘made of fur or of hide’.

ves ‘bad habit’ ⇐ Lat *vitium* ‘fault, defect, vice’.

A few words preserve the intermediate stage between *tj* and Alb *s* which seems to be **ts* > *c*:

lucë ‘mud, mire’ ⇐ Lat *lutea* ‘muddy’.

malcoj ‘to inflame, to make sore’ ⇐ Rom **malitiāre*, cf. Lat *malitia* ‘badness, spite’.

1.4.7.8. Velars were palatalized before *j* and front vowels (including the front vowels of accusative and oblique cases in Latin forms, which later generalized to the whole Albanian paradigm, as well as the front vowels resulting from Albanian umlaut). Lat *c* changed to *q*:

faqë ‘face, cheek’ ⇐ Lat *faciēs* ‘face’.

fqinjë ‘neighbor’ ⇐ Rom **vīcīnius* based on Lat *vīcīnus* id.

iriq ‘hedgehog’ ⇐ Lat *ēricius* id.

kumerq ‘toll, duty’ ⇐ Lat *commercium* ‘trade, commerce’.

kuq ‘red’ ⇐ Rom **cocceus*, cf. Lat *coccineus* ‘scarlet’.

qelq ‘glass’ ⇐ Lat *calicem* ‘bowl, cup’.

In dialects, *q* was occasionally replaced by *ç* and even by *sh*:

çimkë, qimkë ‘bug’ ⇐ Lat *cīmicem* id.

mlyç, mlysh ‘kind of fish, pike’ ⇐ Rom **maris lūcius* ‘sea pike’.

Analogical processes leading to the generalization of the palatalized form in a paradigm could also work the other way round, though less frequently:

shok, shoq ‘comrade, friend’ ⇐ Lat *socius* ‘comrade, companion’.

Lat *g* became Alb *gj*:

gjel ‘rooster’ ⇐ Lat *gallus* id.

gjinde pl. ‘people’ ⇐ Lat *gentem* id.

ligj ‘law’ ⇐ Lat *lēge(m)* id.

mëngji ~ *mangji* ‘sorcery, witchcraft; medicine’ ⇐ Lat *magīa* ‘magic, sorcery’ (with secondary nasalization).

regj ‘king’ ⇐ Lat *rēgem* id.

ungjill ‘gospel’ ⇐ Lat *evangelium* id.

In a few cases the resulting *gj* developed into *j*:

pllajë ‘upland, gentle slope’ ⇐ Rom **plagia* id.

1.4.7.9. The sonorants *r* and *l* remained unaffected before front vowels and *j*. In combination with *j*, Lat *l* would normally give Alb *l*, which often changes to *j*:

faj ‘guilt, sin’ ⇐ Rom **fallia*, derivative of Lat *fallere* ‘to deceive, to trick’.

mel ‘millet’ ⇐ Lat *milium* id.

milë, mijë ‘thousand’ ⇐ Lat *mīlia* id.

rrëshajë ‘Pentecost’ ⇐ Lat *Rōsālia* ‘Rusalies’.

shkëndijë ‘spark’ ⇐ Rom **scintilia* id. instead of the more widely known Lat *scintilla* id.

tërfojë ‘trefoil, shamrock’ ⇐ Lat *trifolium* id.

Lat *nj* (and Rom **nj* from various Latin sources) is always reflected as Alb *nj*:

- fqinjë* ‘neighbor’ ⇐ Rom **vīcīnius* based on Lat *vīcīnus* id.
gështenjë ‘chestnut’ ⇐ Lat *castanea* id.
kunj ‘peg, wedge’ ⇐ Lat *cuneus* ‘wedge’.
linjë ‘linen shirt; linen’ ⇐ Lat *līneum* ‘linen garment’.
tenjë ‘moth, wood-engraver’ ⇐ Lat *tinea* ‘moth, worm’.

1.4.7.10. The development of Latin consonantal clusters in Albanian is quite well attested.

Clusters with *j* were partly described above. Triconsonantal clusters are mostly simplified by losing their first element and by undergoing palatalization. We only have a few attestations of this development:

- bishë* ‘beast, wild animal’ ⇐ Lat *bēstia* id.
gulçoj ‘to worry, to disturb’ ⇐ Rom **colluctiāre*, cf. Lat *colluctāri* ‘to struggle, to contend’.
maraj ‘fennel’ ⇐ Rom **marathrium*, derivative of Lat *marathrum* id.

The rare cluster *bj* seems to have undergone a peculiar development to *vgj* in the following case:

- vgje* ~ *vgjë* ‘pine’ ⇐ Lat *abiegnum* ‘related to fir’, derivative of *abietem* ‘fir’.

Clusters containing Lat *v* (graphically - *u* or *v*) are not numerous. In the one case where *v* follows a velar, it is dropped (insofar as the cluster *gv* was, in fact, one phoneme [g^v] > [g] in Latin):

- lëngo* ‘to weaken, to languish’ ⇐ Lat *languēre* ‘to be faint, languid’.

In the middle of the word, clusters *lv* and *rv* gave Alb *lb* and *rb* (unlike the Late Proto Albanian **lw* and **rw*):

- bulbër* ‘street dust’ ⇐ Lat *pulverem* ‘dust’.
korb ‘raven’ ⇐ Lat *corvus* id.
shëlboj ‘to save, to deliver’ ⇐ Lat *salvāre* id.
shërbej ‘to serve’ ⇐ Lat *servīre* id.

However, in the new anlaut created by the apheresis of the initial vowel, *lv* and *rv* yielded **ll* > *n* (by dissimilation) and *rr*:

nullë f ‘gum’ ⇐ Lat *alveolum* ‘dental alveole’.

rryllë ~ *rrillë* ‘lentil’ ⇐ Lat *ervilla* id.

In similar conditions Lat *nv* produced Alb *m*:

mësoj ‘to teach, to train’ ⇐ Rom **invitiāre* id.

mizoj ‘to rage, to snarl, to hate’ ⇐ Rom **invidiāre* id.

1.4.7.11. Clusters containing liquid sonorants are numerous, though their history is not always clear.

In anlaut, Lat *br* and *dr* were preserved:

brejë ‘pants’ ⇐ Lat *brācae* ‘trousers, breeches’.

brek ‘frog’ ⇐ Rom **brotacus* id.

brymë f. ‘frost’ ⇐ Lat *brūma* ‘cold, frost’.

dragua ~ *dra(n)gue* ‘dragon’ ⇐ Rom **drancōnem*, cf. Lat *dracōnem* id.

However, medially voiced labials and dentals were dropped before *r* yielding *r(r)*:

farkë ‘smithy’ ⇐ Lat *fābrica* ‘workshop’.

harroj ‘to forget’ ⇐ Lat *aberrāre* ‘to forget (for a time)’.

karrigë ‘chair’ ⇐ Lat *quadrīga* ‘set of four’ (here, of four legs).

kreshmë ‘fast’ ⇐ Lat *quādrāgēsima* ‘Lent, fast of forty days’.

lërushkë ~ *larushkë* ‘wild vine, kind of grape, clematis’ ⇐ Lat *lābrusca* ‘wild vine’.

shurukoj ‘to thunder, to make noise’ ⇐ Rom **subraucare* ‘to make hoarse’.

In one case, however, *br* yields **gr* > *gj(ë)r*:

egjë ‘*Lolium temulentum*’ ⇐ Lat *ebria* f. ‘drunk’.

The group *sr* was reduced to *r*:

mjerë ‘unhappy, unfortunate’ ⇔ Lat *miserem* id. > Rom **misrem*.

In anlaut clusters, *r* sporadically disappeared after unvoiced stops:

kështër ~ *kështën* ‘Christian’ ⇔ Lat *christiānus* id.

pall, *përrall* ‘to jest, to trifle’ based on *përrallë* ‘tale, story’ ⇔ Lat *parabola* ‘proverb, speech’.

The Latin cluster *rn* gave *rr* (or, occasionally, *r*) in Albanian:

ferr ‘hell’ ⇔ Lat *infernum* id.

furr ‘oven’, *furrë* id. ⇔ Lat *furnus* id.

furrik ‘chicken-coop, fowl-pen, roost, nesting-box’ ⇔ Lat *fornicem* ‘arch, vault’.

kërrutë ‘horned ewe’ ⇔ Lat fem. adj. *cornūta* ‘horned’.

luqerë ‘lamp, lantern’ ⇔ Lat *lucerna* id.

vërrë ~ *vërrë* ‘winter pasture’ ⇔ Rom **hiberninum*, derivative of Lat *hibernum* ‘winter’.

In triconsonantal clusters, Lat *r* was usually lost in the beginning of the cluster:

pjeshkë ‘peach’ ⇔ Rom **pesca* < Lat *persica* id.

1.4.7.12. Latin clusters consisting of velars followed by *l* remained unchanged till the end of the Middle Ages. Later in some dialects *l* gave *j*, which palatalized velars yielding *gj* and *q*. The unvoiced palatal was then depalatalized in an even more limited number of dialects resulting in *k*. Some words with *k* < Lat *cl* were occasionally absorbed by standard literary dialects of Albanian.

gjelbër ~ *gjelbën* ‘green’ ⇔ Lat *galbinus* ‘greenish-yellow’.

gjer ‘dormouse’ ⇔ Lat *glīrem* id.

gjëndër ~ *gjandër* ‘gland’ ⇔ Lat *glandula* ‘gland of the throat’ with the dissimilation of *liquida*.

këshyre ‘mountain path, path in the ravine’ ⇔ Lat *clausūra*, *clūsūra* ‘lock, bar, bolt; castle, fort’.

kishë, *qishë* ‘church’ ⇔ Lat *ecclēsia* id.

qartë ‘clear’ ⇔ Lat *clārus* id.

qengj ‘lamb’ ⇔ Rom **ācing(u)lus* < Lat *āgniculus* id.

qumësht, klumësht ‘milk, whey’ ⇔ Rom **colostrum*.

Lat *gl* became *jl* intervocalically:

zmojle ‘fallow (land)’ ⇔ Rom **exmulgia*, a derivative of Lat *ē(x)mulgēre* ‘to milk out, to drain out’.

The Latin cluster *lc* initially became *lk*. Later, *l* changed to *j* in most dialects:

bujk, bulk ‘peasant’ ⇔ Lat *bubulcus* ‘ploughman, herdsman’.
fajkua ~ fajkue ‘falcon’ ⇔ Lat *falcōnem* id.

At least, in one case *j < l* was dropped before a velar:

fujq ‘power, strength, force’ ⇔ Rom **fulcius*, derived from *fulcīre* ‘to prop up, to support, to make strong’.

In the initial position Lat *ml* (emerging after the loss of inlaut vowels), changed to Alb *bl*:

bletë ‘bee, swarm, hive’ ⇔ Rom **melettum*, cf. *mellarium* ‘bee-hive, apiary’.
bluaj ~ bluej ‘to grind’ ⇔ Lat *molere* id.

In the initial position, Lat *sl* and *scl* normally gave *shq-* or, for reasons unclear, *sq*:

shqufur, squfur ‘sulphur’ ⇔ Rom **slufurem* instead of Lat *sulphurem*.
shqa ‘Bulgarian’ ⇔ Lat *sclavus* ‘Slav’.
shqepoj ‘to be lame’ ⇔ Rom **sclōpus*.

Triconsonantal clusters with initial *l* (appearing after the loss of inlaut vowels) drop their middle element:

kulte ‘water melon, gourd’ ⇔ Rom **cuculbīta*, a variant of Lat *cucurbita* ‘gourd’.
kultër ‘pillow, cushion’ ⇔ Lat *culcitra* id.

However, in one case this process was accompanied by the voicing of an unvoiced occlusive:

vigje ‘gifts (on marriage or birth); dinner on the third day after child’s birth’ ⇔ Lat *vīctūālia* ‘victuals’.

1.4.7.13. Lat *mn* dropped the second nasal and, occasionally, a secondary homorganic occlusive formed:

dēm ~ *dam* ‘damage’ ⇔ Lat *damnum* ‘hurt, har damage’.

shkëmb ~ *shkamb* ‘seat, throne; rock’ ⇔ Lat *scamnum* ‘bench, throne’.

In clusters consisting of a nasal sonorant and an unvoiced stop, the latter became voiced:

gjinde ‘people’ ⇔ Lat *gentem* id.

gjuvengë ‘harlot’ ⇔ Lat fem. *juvenca* ‘young’, also ‘young cow’.

këmborë ~ *këmbonë* ‘bell’ ⇔ Rom **campona*, a derivational variant of Lat *campana* id.

mbret ‘king’ ⇔ Rom **imperātus* for Lat *imperātor* ‘emperor’.

rrëmbej ‘to rob, to seize’ ⇔ Lat *rumpere* ‘to tear, to tear away’.

shëndosh ‘healthy’ ⇔ Rom **sanitōsus* id.

trung ‘trunk’ ⇔ Lat *truncus* id.

In heterorganic clusters, regressive assimilations took place:

mbesë ‘niece, granddaughter’ ⇔ Lat *nepōtia* id.

mbuloj ‘to cover, to bury’ ⇔ Rom **manipulāre* ‘to dig in handfuls’, cf. Lat *manipulus* ‘handful’.

Clusters with voiced occlusives did not change significantly. However, *ng* before front vowels, having changed to expected *ngj*, further developed into *nj*.

mënjill ‘vigil; fast’ ⇔ Rom **vingilia*, cf. Lat *vigilia* ‘vigil’.

shushunjë ‘leech’ ⇔ Rom **saguisungia* < Lat *sanguisuga* id.

ushunjë ~ *ushûj* ‘lard’ ⇔ Lat *axungia* id.

Original *ngj* from *ng* or from assimilated *ng* < *nd* was only retained in a limited number of words.

mallëngjej ‘to touch, to move, to stir’ ⇔ Lat *malum angere* ‘to cause pain’.

rrëngjej ‘to shine’ ⇔ Lat *renīdēre* ‘to shine’.

Clusters with nasals following *g* have a complicated history. Before *m* the voiced velar was lost:

timër ~ *timën* ‘weft, woof’ ⇔ Lat *tegmīnem* ‘cover’.

In some words the same development characterized *gn*. This cluster changed to *n* and could disappear at the end of the word exactly like simple *n*:

kunat ~ *kunetën* ‘brother-in-law’ ⇔ Lat *cognātus* ‘kinsman, blood relation’.

vgje ~ *vgjë* ‘pine’ ⇔ Lat *abiegnum* ‘related to fir’, derivative of *abietem* ‘fir’.

In other (older?) loanwords Lat *gn* yields *nj*:

denjë ‘worth’ ⇔ Lat *dignus* id.

shenjë ‘sign’ ⇔ Lat *signum* id.

In another case we find *ng* reflecting Lat *gn*:

peng ‘pledge, pawn’ ⇔ Lat *pignus* id.

The cluster *ns* was regularly simplified and changed to *sh*:

ishull ‘island’ ⇔ Lat *insula* id.

mëshere ‘small piece of cheese’ ⇔ Rom **mensōra* for Lat *mensūra* ‘measure’.

mëshoj ‘to be heavy, to bear down’ ⇔ Rom **pesāre* < Lat *pensāre* ‘to weigh’.

peshë ‘weight; stone, boulder’ ⇔ Lat *pensum* id.

trashëgoj ‘to inherit’ ⇔ Lat *trānsigere* ‘to reach an accord, to carry out transaction’.

Numerous triconsonantal clusters (many of them resulting from the loss of unstressed interconsonantal vowels) containing nasal sonorants developed as such:

bekoj ‘to benedict’ ⇔ Lat *benedicere* id.

kumtër ‘godfather’ ⇔ Lat *compater* id.

këngë ~ *kangë* ‘song’ ⇔ Lat *canticum* id.

A special case is the evolution of Lat *nct*. The history of this cluster is discussed below, together with Lat *ct*.

1.4.7.14. The most interesting development among Latin clusters consisting of two occlusives is that of *ct*. Secondary clusters resulting from the loss of inlaut vowels, as well as *ct* < *gt*, are also included here. The development of triconsonantal *nct* is considered here as well. Lat *ct* has several reflexes in Albanian: *jt*, *ft*, and *t*.

Several Latin loanwords reflecting *ct* as *ft* (and *nct* as *mt* < **nft*) came from the East Balkan area where, in Rumanian, *ct* is normally represented by Rum *pt*.

dëftoj ‘to show, to point’ ⇔ Rom **indictāre* id.

ftua ~ *ftue* ‘quince’ ⇔ Rom **cotōneum* id., namely, ‘Cydonian apple’.

gjymtyrë ‘joint, limb’ ⇔ Lat *junctūra* ‘juncture, joint’.

luftë ‘fight, war’ ⇔ Lat *lucta* ‘wrestling’, cf. Rum *luptă* ‘fight’.

taft ‘stench; scorching heat’ ⇔ Lat *tāctus* ‘touch, feeling’.

taftar ‘funnel’ ⇔ Rom **traiectārium* id., cf. Lat *traiectōrium* id.

troftë ‘trout’ ⇔ Lat *tructa* id.

A different development of *nct* ⇒ *ft* is found in the following case:

puftë ‘empty, hollow’ (only in the expression *arrë pufte* ‘empty nut’) ⇔ Lat fem. *puncta* ‘punctured, having a hole’.

In all other cases, *ct* changed to *jt* and *nct* to *(n)jt* according to the West Balkan (and West Romance) norm:

drejtë ‘straight, right’ ⇔ Lat *directum* id.

majtë ~ *mâjtë* 'left' ⇐ Rom **manctus*, based on Lat *mancus* 'maimed, infirm'.

pajtoj 'to appease, to reconcile, to hire, to engage' ⇐ Rom **pāctāre*.
shenjtë 'saint' ⇐ Lat *sanctus* id.

shtrënjtë 'dear, expensive' ⇐ Rom **strinctus* 'narrow' (Rum *strîmt*, Venet *strento*, Sîtal *strinto*).

trajtoj 'to deal with, to treat' ⇐ Lat *tractāre* id.

Later, *j* was lost so that *ct* yielded *t* and *nct* gave *nd* if the cluster followed *e*, *i*, *u* or *ū*:

fluturoj 'to fly' ⇐ Rom **fluctulāre* < Lat *fluctuāre* 'to move in waves, to move to and fro'.

fryt 'fruit' ⇐ Lat *frūctus* id.

fytyrë 'face' ⇐ Lat *factūra* 'formation, creature'.

hetoj 'to search, to inquire, to discover' ⇐ Lat *ēdictāre* 'to announce'.

kundoj 'to hesitate' ⇐ Lat *cunctāri* id.

pite 'honeycomb' ⇐ Lat *pecten* 'comb'.

shat 'hoe' ⇐ Lat *sector* 'cutter'.

shete 'bran' ⇐ Lat *sectum*, participle of *secō* 'to cut'.

undyrë 'fat' ⇐ Lat *unctūra* 'ointment'.

vitore 'mythical serpent (keeper of the house), fairy, fate; mother of many children' ⇐ Lat *victoria* 'victory'.

The following example appears to be at variance with this rule. However, this is illusory. Intervocalic *g* was lost before the reduction of unstressed vowels and the sequence of two vowels contracted. The form below never had the cluster *gt* > *ct*:

kujtoj 'to remember, to think' < **kuitoj* ⇐ Lat *cōgītāre*.

Secondary *q* < *t* before a front vowel appears in the following example:

pliq 'twisted woollen cord' ⇐ Lat *plecta* 'border of interwoven lines in relief, *plait'.

One more case seems to preserve *k* in the consonantal group for an unknown reason:

liktyrë f ‘rope for binding a bundle of wood; band, bandage’ ⇔ Lat *ligātūra* ‘band, bunch’.

The Latin cluster *tt* reflects as simple *t* in Albanian:

bletë ‘bee, swarm, hive’ ⇔ Rom **melettum*, cf. *mellarium* ‘beehive, apiary’.

but ‘big barrel’ ⇔ Lat *buttis* id.

gutë ‘gout’ ⇔ Rom **gutta* ‘drop’ used as a name of the disease, cf. Rum *gutǎ* id.

Lat *pt* yielded Alb *ft*:

aftë ‘capable, proper’ ⇔ Lat *aptus* id.

qift ‘kite, kind of vulture’ ⇔ Lat *accipiter* ‘vulture’.

In one case, *pt* was preserved after the fall of the inlaut vowel. This allows us to establish relative chronology of the process:

leptyrë ‘muddy place’ ⇔ Rom **lippitūra*, cf. Lat *lippitūdo* ‘blear- edness, rheum’.

The following case can be explained only if we presume a chain of assimilations and recombinations from *bapt-* to **pabt-* > **pagd-* > **pag-*:

pagëztoj ‘to baptise’ ⇔ Lat *baptizāre* id.

1.4.7.15. Clusters containing *s* reflect a complicated picture. Group *x* (= *cs*) yielded two reflexes. In some words *fsh* < *x* is found, similar to *ft* < *ct*. It presumably passed through the stage of **psh*:

kofshë ‘hip, thigh’ ⇔ Lat *coxa* ‘hip’.

lafshë ‘crest (of bird), comb’ ⇔ Lat *laxa* (*cutis*) ‘loose (skin)’.

mëndafsh ‘silk’ ⇔ Lat *metaxa* ‘raw silk’ (with secondary *-n-*).

In other cases, the reflex is *sh*. This development is parallel to that of *ct* into *jt*, *t*. Cf. the following examples:

bush ‘boxwood’ ⇔ Lat *buxus* id.

frashër ~ *frashën* ‘ash-tree’ ⇔ Lat *fraxinus* id.

proshmoj, prozhmoj ‘to slander, to libel’ ⇐ Lat *proximāre* ‘to come near, to approach’.

shij ~ shī ‘to thresh’ ⇐ Lat *exigere* ‘to drive away, to push out, to throw’.

shqipoj ‘to speak clearly, to understand’ ⇐ Lat *excipere* id.

In one case, representing a borrowing of a later date, *x* became voiced *z* before a sonorant:

zmojle f ‘fallow (land)’ ⇐ Rom **exmulgia*, a derivative of Lat *exmulgēre* ‘to milk out, to drain out’, cf. Rum *zmulge*.

The cluster *ps* yielded *fs* in Albanian, just like some of the words with *cs*:

grifshë ‘jay, magpie’ ⇐ Rom **gripsa* based on Lat *gryps* ‘griffin’.

kafshoj ‘to bite’ ⇐ Lat *capessere ~ capissere* ‘to seize, to snatch at’.

Lat *st* is normally reflected as Alb *sht*:

pashtrak ‘pasture rent, pasturage money’ ⇐ Rom **pastūrācus* based on Lat *pastūra* ‘pasture’.

poshtë ‘down, below; under’ ⇐ Lat *post, poste* ‘behind, back’.

shtallë ‘stall’ ⇐ Lat *stabulum* id.

shtat ‘figure, image’ ⇐ Lat *status* ‘height, stature’.

Occasionally, however, Lat *st* > *sht* is replaced by *ç*:

çmoj ‘to estimate’ ⇐ Lat *aestimāre* id.

Triconsonantal clusters beginning with *s* (including those resulting from the loss of inlaut vowels) tend to lose their second dental element, cf. the following examples:

bjeshkë ‘mountain pasture’ ⇐ Rom **pastica* based on Lat *pastus* ‘pasture’.

dëshmoj ‘to testify’ ⇐ Rom **testimōniāre*.

mushllinzë ‘clambering vetch’ based on **mushllī* ⇐ Rom **mushllīna*, derivative of Lat *mustēla* ‘weasel’.

All three consonants are preserved in Lat *str* ⇔ Alb *sht(ë)r*:

kulloštër ‘biestlings’ ⇔ Lat *colostra* id.

mješštër ‘master, builder’ ⇔ Lat *magister* ‘master’.

shtrat ‘bed; layer’ ⇔ Lat *stratum* id.

shtrëngoj ‘to press, to squeeze’ ⇔ Lat *stringere* ‘to stretch, to press, to squeeze’.

voshštër ‘Ligustrum vulgare’ (Geg) ⇔ late Lat *oléaster*.

If the second element was a labial, a triconsonantal cluster lost initial *s*:

prift ‘priest’ ⇔ Lat *presbyter* id.

The group *xc* (= *csc*) gives Alb *ç*:

çoj ‘to bring, to rise, to send’ ⇔ Lat *excire, exciēre* ‘to call out, to cause, to wake’.

Slavic loanwords

1.4.7.16. Slavic occlusives are well preserved in Albanian. The change of Slav **d* after vowels and *r* to Alb *dh* can be explained by positing an earlier borrowing period:

çerdhe ‘nest’ ⇔ Slav **čerda* ‘row, herd, flock’.

gërmadhë ‘ruin’ ⇔ Slav **gromada* ‘heap, mass’.

kordhë ‘sword’ ⇔ Slav **korъda* id.

shkërdhec ‘keg, barrel’ ⇔ Slav **skovordьсь* ‘pan’.

In early Slavic borrowings Slav **k* gives Alb *g*:

borigë ‘kind of pine; splinter’ ⇔ Slav **borika* ‘fir-tree, pine’.

gajgë ‘kind of nut’ ⇔ Slav **galyka* derived from **gal’a* ‘lump, pebble’.

gëlbazë ‘a liver illness of sheep caused by worms’ ⇔ Slav **кълбаса* ‘stuffed gut, sausage’.

gërçak ‘jug, pitcher’ ⇔ Slav **кѣрчакъ* ‘clay vessel, pitcher’.

gërhas ‘to snore’ ⇔ Slav **кѣрхати* ‘to cough, to expectorate’.

ravgë ‘path (in mountains)’ ⇔ Slav **ровькѣ* ‘ditch’.

Early Slav **s* is reflected as *sh* in Albanian:

koleshkë ‘cart’ ⇐ Slav **kolesъka* id.

shap ‘disease of the cattle, Aphta epizootica’ ⇐ Slav **sapъ* ‘glanders’.

sharë ‘offence’ ⇐ Slav **sora*, cf. Russ *ssora* ‘row’ < **sъsora*.

shark ‘woolen cloak; green skin of nuts’ ⇐ Slav **sorka* ‘shirt’.

trishë ‘shooting, sprout’ ⇐ Slav **trъsъ* ‘grape, stalk’.

One Slavic affricate in early loanwords has an unusual reflex in Albanian. In the earliest loanwords, Slav **č* is substituted by EPA **tš* > Alb *s*:

bisk ‘branch, twig’ ⇐ Slav **bičъkъ* derived from **bičъ* ‘whip’.

brisk ‘razor, penknife’ ⇐ Slav **bričъkъ*, diminutive of **bričъ* id.

porosit ‘to order, to demand’ ⇐ Slav **poročiti* id.

Later, at a stage when Albanian has already developed a new affricate *c* but still had no *ç*, Slav **č* was reflected as Alb *c*:

care ‘witch’ ⇐ Slav **čara* ‘witchcraft’.

cermë ‘arthritis’ ⇐ Slav **čьrmъ* ‘inflammation’.

cëril ‘thrush’ ⇐ Slav **čьrnidlo* ‘black (object)’.

cub ‘with a short tail, with the tail cut off’ ⇐ Slav **čubъ* ‘tuft of hair, stump, a cut off piece’.

kërc ‘stump’ ⇐ Slav **kьrcъ* id.

kërcas ‘to cry, to shout, to rattle, to thunder, to sound’ ⇐ Slav **kričati* ‘to cry, to shout’.

In one case, we also have Slav **ž* replaced by Alb *z*:

nozikë ‘knife worn in the belt’ ⇐ Slav **nožikъ*, a diminutive of **nožъ* ‘knife’.

In a limited number of Slavic loanwords, several clusters changed in a way that could indicate their early presence in Albanian. Cf. the following examples:

bushër ‘raging, wild’ ⇐ Slav **bystrъ* ‘quick’.

dromcë ‘crumb, bit’ ⇐ Slav **drobnica* ‘trifle, small object’.

garris 'to neigh' ⇔ Slav **gavъriti* ~ **gavъrati* 'to tease, to spoil'.

gorricě 'wild pear' ⇔ Slav **gorъnica* id.

koc 'bone, skull' ⇔ Slav **kostь* id.

věrsě ~ *věrcě* 'age' ⇔ Slav **vъrsta* 'age, kind, kin'.

2. MORPHONOLOGY AND WORD-FORMATION

2.1. Stress

2.1.0. Our knowledge of how the Albanian stress system developed is, unfortunately, very limited. Significant parts of our description are, therefore, a reconstruction requiring further research and comparative material.

2.1.1. Late Proto-Albanian Stress

2.1.1.0. At the time of Latin-Albanian contacts, the Late Proto-Albanian stress must have radically changed in comparison with its earlier structure (see below). Numerous loanwords influenced the stress patterns so that the stress became dynamic and linked to two fixed syllables in the word: the penultimate and praepenultimate.

Literature: JOKL *LKUBA* 7; ÇABEJ *Hyrje* 101-103, *St.* III 108-112; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 87-88; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/2 140.

2.1.1.1. The distribution between these two types of stress is particularly well preserved in Latin loanwords. All disyllabic words are paroxytona:

denjë ‘worth’ ⇔ Lat *dignus* id.

karrë ‘cart’ ⇔ Lat *carrum* ‘two-wheeled wagon’.

mall ‘homesickness, longing, affection’ ⇔ Lat *malum* ‘evil, misfortune’.

napë ‘cloth, napkin, towel, kerchief’ ⇔ Rom **nappa* (> Fr *nappe* ‘table-cloth’).

pak ‘a little, few’ ⇔ Lat *paucus* ‘few, little’.

pallë ‘pole, club, washing-stick, sword, mallet’ ⇔ Lat *pāla* ‘spade, shovel’.

One also finds numerous paroxytona in words with more than two syllables:

fajkua ~ *fajkue* ‘falcon’ ⇔ Lat *falcōnem* id.

natyrë ‘nature’ ⇐ Lat *nātūra* id.

parriz ‘paradise’ ⇐ Lat *parādīsus* id.

pashtrak ‘pasture-rent, pasturage money’ ⇐ Rom **pastūrācus*
based on Lat *pastūra* ‘pasture’.

qytet ‘city’ ⇐ Lat *cīvitāte(m)* id.

rërë ~ *ranë* ‘sand’ ⇐ Lat *arēna* id.

These cases are opposed by a large group of proparoxytona:

balçëm ‘balm’ ⇐ Lat *balsamum* id.

emtë ‘aunt’ ⇐ Lat *amita* ‘paternal aunt’.

engjëll ‘angel’ ⇐ Lat *angelus* id.

lepur, *lepuj* ‘hare’ ⇐ Lat *leporem* id.

mashkull ‘man’, ‘male’ ⇐ Lat *masculus* ‘male, masculine’.

ndrikull ‘godmother; midwife’ ⇐ Lat *mātrīcula* used in the sense of
Rom **mātrīna* id. > Ital *madrina*.

When borrowed into Late Proto-Albanian, Latin words preserved the place of their stress.

2.1.1.2. A similar picture is found in the Indo-European vocabulary of Albanian. All disyllabic words are paroxytona:

darkë ‘supper’ < EPA **darkā* < IE **dork^uom* reflected in Gk
δόρπον id.

dhallë ~ *dhalltë* ‘buttermilk’ < EPA **dzalā*: Gk γάλα, gen.
γάλακτος ‘milk’.

edh ‘he-goat’ < EPA **aidza*: Gk αἴξ ‘goat’, Arm *ayc* id.

farë ‘seed, semen, kin’ < EPA **sparā*: Gk fem. σπορά ‘seed’ and
further related to **sper-* ‘to spill, to sow’ (Gk σπείρω id.,
σπέρμα ‘semen, seed’).

gjak ‘blood’ < EPA **saka*: Gk ὀρός ‘juice’, Lith *sakaĩ* ‘resin’, Slav
**sokъ* ‘juice’.

jerm ‘delirium, absent-mindedness’ < EPA **erma*: Lith *eĩmas*
‘monster’, Latv *erms* ‘wonderful apparition’, *ermi* ‘wonders,
miracles’.

There also exist polysyllabic paroxytona:

- glepë* ‘matter from eyes, rheum (in eyes)’ < EPA **ka-laipā*, derived from IE **leip-* ‘to smear with fat’.
- këpurdhë* ‘fungus, mushroom’ < EPA **kapurdā*: Lith *këpuré* ‘cap’, Latv *çepure* id.
- lumak* ‘bud, shoot; lichen, moss’ < **lubnaka* based on IE **leubh-* ‘to peel, to skin’ (Lith *lubà* ‘board (of a ceiling)’, Latv *luba* ‘bark, board’, OPrus *lubbo* ‘board’, Slav **льбъ* ‘forehead, skull’).
- mëllenjë* ‘blackbird’ < EPA **melanjā* from IE fem. **melənjā* ‘black’ > Gk *μέλαινα* id., cf. also Skt *malinā-*, fem. *malinī* ‘dirty, unclean, Latv *mēļns* ‘black’.
- tetë* ‘eight’ < EPA **aktōti* < IE **oktō* id. (Skt *aṣṭā*, Arm *owt*, Gk *ὀκτώ*).
- urelë* ‘water-pit’ < EPA **urelā*: ON *úr* ‘drizzle’, OPrus *wurs* ‘pool’, Gk *ὕδωρος* ‘devoid of water’.

Other polysyllabic words are proparoxytona:

- athët* ‘harsh, sour, rancid’ < EPA **atseta* < IE **ak-* ‘sharp’, with some derivatives developing the meaning ‘sour’, such as Lat *acidus*.
- garbe* ‘flower-pot’ (originally, **‘pot’*) < EPA **garibā*, cf. Slav **гърънь* ‘pot’ derived from IE **gʰer-* ‘to burn’.
- modhull* ‘vetch, chickling, chick-pea’ < EPA **mādzula* close to Lith *mažūlis* ‘small’ and further related to Lith *māžas* id.
- motër* ‘sister’ < EPA **māter* < IE **māter-* ‘mother’ (Skt *mātār-*, Gk *μήτηρ*, Lat *māter*).
- tjetër, jetër* ‘other’ < PALb **etera*: Slav **eterъ* ‘some, somebody’.
- thelb* ‘kernel (of a nut)’ < EPA **tsaliba*, a derivative of IE **kel-* ‘to cover’.

At a later stage, unstressed penultimate vowels of proparoxytona were reduced and lost, with the exception of the words where the vowels were followed by liquid sonorants (cf. examples above).

2.1.1.2. It is clear that—unlike Latin loanwords—the opposition of prooxytona and proparoxytona in the Albanian words of Indo-European origin was not caused by the quantity of the penultimate vowel. Without any doubt, this opposition goes back to the Early Proto-Albanian stage when the stress must have been paradigmatically mobile.

In Late Proto-Albanian, there remain only a few individual traces of paradigmatic mobility. An interesting case is that of *tjetër, jetër* ‘other’ (the form *tjetër* results from crasis with the preceding particle *të* and/or from the analogical influence of the plural). It continues LPA **éterā* with the stress on the initial syllable. However, its irregular plural is *tjerë*. The only reasonable explanation of this form is to suppose a Proto-Albanian source reconstructed as **etérai* with the stress on the penultimate syllable. Thus, the Late Proto-Albanian paradigm consisted of two opposed forms:

sg.	pl.
<i>*éterā</i>	<i>*etérai</i>

Another interesting example of this kind is that of Tosk *vēsht* ~ Geg *vēsht* ‘vineyard’. As it is clearly related to *verë* ~ *venë* ‘wine’ < **wainā* etymologically, we should reconstruct Proto-Albanian **wáinesta* as its source (note that the position of the stress is defined by the nasal quality of the Geg vowel). On the other hand, the plural forms of this word, Tosk *vreshta* ~ Geg *vneshta* can be only explained if we accept a reconstruction of Proto-Albanian **wainésta*. Again, further evidence for accentual opposition in a Late Proto-Albanian paradigm:

sg.	pl.
<i>*wáinesta</i>	<i>*wainésta</i>

2.1.2. Early Proto-Albanian Stress

2.1.2.0. We assume that the feature of paradigmatic mobility was inherited from Early Proto-Albanian, a stage for which our reconstruction can be more detailed. A more or less full reconstruction can be suggested for the nominal accent. The reconstruction of the verb’s accent is of no historical value, as it was paradigmatically fixed even in Early Proto-Albanian.

Literature: OREL *Sov. slav.* 1982/3 92-96, 1982/5 83-90, *Lingv. issled.* II 31-39, *ZfBalk* XIX/2 121-130, XXII/1 76-85, 86-87, XXIII/2 140-145.

2.1.2.1. As described in 1.1.5.1-2, Albanian nouns can be divided into two accentual paradigms according to the development of their auslaut vowels in singular and plural forms. On the one hand, there existed barytonic nouns that had the stress linked to the stem of the word both in the singular and in plural (accentual type *A*), cf. the following examples:

sg. **dwaígā* > **déga* > *degë* 'branch'
 pl. **dwaígāi* > **dégai* > *degë* 'branches'

sg. **dáusa(s)* > **dauš* > *dash* 'ram'
 pl. **dáusai* > **dáuši* > *desh* 'rams'

On the other hand, there existed mobile/oxytonic nouns, which had the stress on the stem in the singular but on the ending in the plural (accentual type *B*):

sg. **skálā* 'fish bone' > **skála* > *halë* 'fish bone'
 pl. **skalās* 'fish bones' > **skalá(s)* > *hala* 'fish bones'

sg. **mātas* > **mât* > *mot* 'year'
 pl. **mātái* > **mâté* > *mote* 'years'

In numerous *masculina* the original ending *-e* was replaced, due to analogy, by *-a*, which was originally characteristic of *ā*-stems only:

sg. **dárjas* > **dérja* > *derr* 'pig'
 pl. **darjái* > **derjé* > *derra* instead of **derre* 'pigs'

In Late Proto-Albanian the place of stress became limited to the second and the third syllables of the word, and all Early Proto-Albanian words with a stress on the last syllable became Late Proto-Albanian paroxytona.

After the Late Proto-Albanian transformation of the stress patterns had been completed, the opposition between types *A* and *B* became purely morphological. Loanwords (including Latin loanwords) were distributed between the two types. A considerable majority merged with the more productive type *B*. Hence the grammatical opposition of type *A*

loanwords: *qen* ‘dog’, pl. *qen*, and type *B* loanwords: *lafshë* ‘crest (of bird), comb’, pl. *lafsha*, *maj* ‘hammer’, pl. *maja*.

2.1.2.2. Derivatives in *-th* (usually, diminutives) preserve the accentual type of the original nouns. Nouns of the type *A* produce derivatives of the type *A*:

bri ‘horn’, pl. *bri*, *brirë* ➤ *brirth* ‘feeler, tendril’, pl. *brirthë*.
lez ‘wart’, pl. *lezë* ➤ *lyth* id., *lythë*
sy ‘eye’, pl. *sy* ➤ *syth* ‘loop, bud’, pl. *sythë*
tra ‘beam, post’, pl. *trerë*, *trarë*, *trenj* ➤ *trath* ‘lath, slat’, pl. *trathë*
uri ‘mole’, pl. *urinj* ➤ *urith* id., pl. *urithë*
ve ‘egg’, pl. *ve* ➤ *veth* ‘maggot’, pl. *vethë*
vesh ‘ear’, pl. *veshë* ➤ *vëth* ‘earring’, pl. *vëthë*

Nouns of the type *B* produce derivatives of the type *B*:

birë ‘hole’, pl. *bira* ➤ *birth* ‘pimple’, pl. *birtha*
halë ‘fish bone’, pl. *hala* ➤ *halth* ‘needle’, pl. *haltha*
kap ‘cover’, pl. *kapa* ➤ *kapth* ‘path (in a swamp)’, pl. *kaptha*
krand ‘brushwood, twig’, pl. *krande* ➤ *kranth* ‘little leaf’, pl. *krantha*
lak ‘trap, sling’, pl. *leqe* ➤ *lakth* id., pl. *lakthe*, *laktha*
shteg ‘path, way’, pl. *shtigje*, *shtegje* ➤ *shtekth* ‘sinciput’, pl. *shtektha*
thind ‘beak’, pl. *thinda* ➤ *thimth* ‘thorn’, pl. *thimtha*

There are a few exceptions, with derivatives of the type *A* belonging to the generally more productive type *B*:

gur ‘stone’, pl. *gurë* ➤ *gurth* id., pl. *gurtha*
zog ‘bird’, pl. *zogj* ➤ *zokth* ‘little bird’, pl. *zoktha*

2.1.2.3. A similar distribution is found in secondary plurals (old *collectiva*) in *-z*. Nouns belonging to the accentual type *A* develop a plural in *-ëz*:

bir ‘son’ ➤ pl. *bij*, *bijëz*
djalë ‘boy’ ➤ pl. *djel*, *djelm*, *djelmëz*
ijë ‘hip, side’ ➤ pl. *ijë*, *ijëz*

- njer* 'man' > pl. *njer*, *njerëz*
thua 'nail' > pl. *thonj*, *thonëz*
ve 'egg' > pl. *ve*, *vez*, *veëz*
vesh 'ear' > pl. *veshë*, *veshëz*

However, diagnostically these plurals are irrelevant, since nouns of the accentual type *B* form plurals in *-az*, but usually with a parallel form in *-ëz*.

- grerë* 'wasp' > pl. *grera*, *greraz*, *grerëz*
vashë 'girl' > pl. *vasha*, *vashaz*, *vashëz*
varr 'tomb' > pl. *varre*, *varraz*

In other words, only plurals in *-az* can serve as an indicator of the original accentual status of a noun.

2.1.2.4. With the exception of a few adjectives, which reflect an opposition of accentual paradigms similar to that of the nouns, most of adjectives have developed new accentual features.

The old distribution of accents is still represented by the (masculine) adjectives *madh* 'big' and *lig* 'bad, evil'. While *lig* has the plural *ligj* and belongs to the accentual type *A*, *madh* with its plural *mëdhenj* based on earlier **mëdhe* reflects accentual type *B*:

	A	B
sg.	<i>lig</i> < <i>*līga</i>	<i>madh</i> < <i>*mádza</i>
pl.	<i>ligj</i> < <i>*lígai</i>	<i>*mëdhe</i> < <i>*madzái</i>

In other adjectives, we observe completely different accentual structures. Masculine adjectives (*o*-stems) have *-ë* in the singular going back to stressed EPA **-ǎ* < IE **-o-s*. In the plural, *-e* reflects EPA **-ái* < IE **-oi*. In other words, masculine adjectives belong to an accentual paradigm, which is unattested in substantives. All forms of this accentual type (*C*) are oxytonic. At the same time, feminine adjectives (*ā*-stems) have *-ë* from unstressed EPA **-ā* < IE **-ā* in the singular and *-a* in the plural from stressed EPA **-ǎ(s)* < IE **-ās*. In other words, feminine adjectives belong to the accentual type *B*. Masculine and feminine forms are accentually contrasted.

The situation is totally different in adjectives with the suffixes **-m-* and **(i)sam-* (> *-shēm*). Masculine adjectives belong either to accentual type *A* (i.e. have a zero ending or *-ĕ* in the singular from unstressed EPA **-a* < IE **-o-s*), or to type *B* (with stressed EPA **-á* in the singular and a zero ending in the plural from unstressed EPA **-ai* < IE **-oi*). The variations of stress in the singular with its secondary *-ĕ* - whatever the explanation might be - is of no relevance to the accentual type. Feminine adjectives in **-m-* and **(i)sam-* have *-e* in the singular and in the plural. Even though there is no certainty as to the source of this ending (it may be connected with stems in **-jē* or in **(i)jā*), it is indubitably oxytonic, i.e. feminine adjectives belong to the accentual type *C*.

Cf. the following examples (*mirĕ* ‘good’ and *kolmĕ* ‘pretty, winsome’):

masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
sg. <i>mirĕ</i> < <i>*mirá</i>	<i>mirĕ</i> < <i>*mírā</i>	<i>kolm(ĕ)</i> < <i>*kālíma</i>	<i>kolme</i> < <i>*kālímijā</i>
pl. <i>mire</i> < <i>*mirái</i>	<i>mira</i> < <i>*mirás</i>	<i>kolm(ĕ)</i> < <i>*kālímái</i>	<i>kolme</i> < <i>*kālímijās</i>

Thus, in both types of adjectives masculine and feminine are accentually contrasted:

I	<i>C</i>	<i>B</i>
II	<i>A</i>	<i>C</i>

As far as the accentually archaic adjective *lig* preserved an opposition of accentual types *A* and *B* between its masculine and feminine forms and *C* appears to be complementary distributed with *A* and *B*, it can be assumed that *C* is a secondary accentual type replacing **A* in the first group of adjectives and **B* in the second:

I	<i>*A</i>	<i>B</i>
II	<i>A</i>	<i>*B</i>

2.1.2.5. Nouns belonging to accentual type *A* correspond to Indo-European words defined as accentually oxytonic/mobile (numbers and letters in parentheses following Baltic and Slavic forms refer to their

accentual paradigms). This can be corroborated by the following relevant material: *

Consonant and root stems

kri ~ *krî*, pl. *kri* ~ *krî* 'woodworm, moth' < EPA **kriwi*-. Slav **čьrvь* 'worm' (c).

OAlb *njer*, pl. *njer* 'man, person, human being' < EPA **nera*-. Gk ἀνήρ 'man', gen. ἀνδρός; in Sanskrit the stress of *nár*- can be explained by the generalization of the nominative.

s-stems

hi ~ *hî* 'ash', pl. *hi*- *hî*, *hin* < EPA **skina* < **skines*-. Lat *cinis* 'dust, ash' < **cenēs*- with an unstressed shortened vowel from *(s)*kēnes*-.

u-stems

grua ~ *grue*, pl. *gra* 'woman, wife' < EPA **grāwā*-. Gk γράϋς 'old woman'.

valē, pl. *valē* 'wave' < EPA **walā*-. Slav **valь* id. (c).

o-stems (masculine)

bri ~ *brî*, pl. *bri*, *brinj*, *brirë* ~ *brinë* 'horn' < EPA **brina*-. Germ **brendā* (Swed *brind* 'deer', Norw *bringe* id.).

djalë, pl. *djem*, *djelm*, dial. *djel* 'boy, youth' < EPA **dela*-. Latv *dēls* 'son', Swed dial. *del*, *däl* 'nipple' < Germ **đēláz*.

duaj ~ *duej*, pl. 'sheaf' < EPA **dōnja*-. Skt *dhānyā*- 'grain'.

dhëmb ~ *dhamb*, pl. *dhëmbë* ~ *dhambë* 'tooth' < EPA **dzamba*-. Slav **zobь* id. (c); in other languages this word is barytonic, cf. Skt *jāmbha*- id. The Slavic accent is hardly innovative.

dhëndër ~ *dhandër*, pl. *dhëndurë* ~ *dhandurë* 'bridegroom, son-in-law' < EPA **dzenra*-. Skt *jārā*- 'suitor', Gk γαμβρός 'son-in-law'.

esh, pl. *eshë* 'hedgehog' < EPA **edzja* (with phonetic difficulties): Lith *ežys* id. (4), Slav **ežь* id. (c).

* Arranged according to the paradigmatic classes of Indo-European parallels, not Proto-Albanian stems.

- gji* ~ *gĵi*, pl. *gji* ~ *gĵi* ‘breast, chest’ < EPA **sina*: Lat *sinus* ‘curve, fold’ with the shortening of unstressed **ɥ*.
- gĵysh*, pl. *gĵyshĕ*, *gĵyshĕr* ~ *gĵyshĕn* ‘grandfather’ < EPA **sūsa*: Skt *sūṣā* ‘progenitor’.
- kohĕ*, pl. *kohĕ* ‘time’ < EPA **kāxā*: Slav **časъ* id. (traces of a mobile paradigm in Old Russian). From the Indo-European perspective the word could be an old neuter.
- plak*, pl. *pleq* ‘old man’ < EPA **p(e)laka* < **peləkos*: Lith *pilkas* ‘grey’ (3) < **pļəkos*.
- ter*, pl. *terĕ*, *tera* ‘bull’ < **taura*: Lith *taūras* id. (4), Slav **turъ* id. (c). Gk τᾰύρος id. is barytonic.
- ujk*, pl. *ujq*, *ujqĕr* ~ *ujqĕn* ‘wolf’ < EPA **(w)ulka*: Lith *vil̄kas* id. (4), Slav **vьlkъ* id. (c) as opposed to barytonic Skt *v̄ṛka-* id., Gk λύκος id.
- vĵehĕrr*, pl. *vĵehĕrr* ‘father-in-law’ < EPA **swesura* < **swetsurā*: Gk ἑκυρός id., Lith *še~šuras* id. (3), Slav **svekъrъ* id. (c) but cf. barytonic Skt *śvāsura-* id., OHG *swehur* id. < Germ **swéxuraz*.
- zĵarm*, pl. dial. *zĵerm*, *zĵermĕ*, innovative *zĵarme* ‘fire’ < EPA **džerma*: Skt *gharmā-* ‘sun-heat’, Gk θερμός ‘warm’, Afgh *γarmā* ‘noon, heat’, *γarmĕ*.

o-stems (neuter)

- ballĕ*, pl. *ballĕ* ‘forehead’ < EPA **balā*: Gk φαλός ‘white’, Lith *bālas* ‘anemone’ (4), cf. the same semantic development in Skt *bhāla-* id., OPrus *ballo* id.
- dash*, pl *desh* ‘ram’ < EPA **dauša*: Gmc **deuzán* ‘wild animal’ (Goth *dīus*, ON *dýr*), Slav **duxъ* ‘breath, spirit’ (c).
- fĵalĕ*, pl. *fĵalĕ* ‘word, speech, tale’ < EPA **spelā*: Goth *spill* ‘story, fable’, ON *spjall* ‘story, speech’, OE *spell* id., OHG *spel*, *spell* id. < Gmc **spellán*.
- grurĕ* ~ *grunĕ* ‘wheat’ (singularized pl.) < EPA **grunā*: Skt *jūrṇá-*, *jīrṇá-* ‘old, decayed, withered’, Afgh *zōray* ‘seed’ (based on **zərnám*). However, Lat *grānum*, OIr *grán*, Lith *žirnis* (1), Slav **zьrno* are barytonic.
- gĵuhĕ*, pl. *gĵuhĕ* ‘tongue, language’ < EPA **gulsā*: ON *kall* ‘shout’ < Gmc **kalzán*, Slav **golsъ* ‘voice’ (c).
- hirrĕ*, pl. *hirrĕ* ‘whey’ < EPA **ksirā*: Skt *kṣīrā-* ‘milk’.

i-stems

- botë*, pl. *botë*, innovative *bota* 'earth; world' < EPA **bwāti*: Skt *bhūtī-* 'existence', Lith *būtis* id. (3 > 4), Ir *buith* id. (with the shortening of the unstressed vowel).
- ditë*, pl. *dit*, *ditë* 'day' < EPA **dīti*: Gmc **tīdtíz* 'time' (OHG *zīt*, OE *tīd*) and Skt *su-dīti* 'fair day'.
- grath*, pl. *grathë* 'tooth, prong (of a device), bristle', deminutive of EPA **graba*: Slav **grobъ* (c).
- gur*, pl. *gurë* 'stone, rock' < EPA **guri*: Skt *girī-* 'mountain'.
- gjollë*, pl. *gjollë* 'clearing or pasture where salt is strewn for sheep; patch of ground for sowing' < EPA **sālī*: Slav **solъ* 'salt' (c).
- natë*, pl. *net*, *netë* 'night' < EPA **nakti-*: Slav **noktъ* id. (c) opposed to barytonic Lith *naktis* id. and Skt *nakt-*.
- sy*, pl. *sy* 'eye' < EPA dual **atšīwi*: Lith *akis* id. (4), dual *akì*, Slav **oko* id. (c), dual **očì*.
- vesh*, pl. *veshë* 'ear' < EPA **wauśi*: Lith *ausis* id. (4), Latv *auss*, Slav **uxo* id. (c), dual. **ušì*.
- zet* 'twenty', pl. (*dy*)*zet* 'forty' < EPA **w(i)džati*: Skt *vimśatī-* id., Afgh -*wīšt* id., Gk εἴκοσι id.

ā-stems

- barrë*, pl. *barrë* 'load, burden' < EPA **barā*: Gk φορὰ 'load'.
- bathë*, pl. *bathë* 'broad bean' < EPA **batsā*: Gk φακῆ 'dish of lentils', φακός 'lentil'.
- farë*, pl. *farë*, secondary *fara* 'seed, semen, kin' < EPA **psarā*: Gk σπορά 'seed'.
- grykë*, pl. *grykë*, secondary *gryka* 'throat' < EPA **grīwīkā*, derivative of **grīwā*: Skt *grīvā* 'neck', Afgh *gərwā* 'clavicle'. Latv *grīva* 'river mouth' and Slav **grīva* 'mane' are barytonic.
- guall*, pl. *guaj* 'shell, skull' < EPA **gālwa*: Lith *galvā* (3), Slav **golva* (c).
- kapë*, pl. *kapë* 'armful of corn; shock, pile' < EPA **kapā*: Slav **kopa* 'mow, shock, stack' (c) but Gk κόπη 'manger, crib' is barytonic.
- lëndë* ~ *landë*, pl. *lëndë* ~ *landë* 'wood, timber, material' < EPA **lentā*: Gmc **lendtō* 'linden' (OHG *linta*, OE *lind*), Lith *lentā* 'board' (4).
- lopë*, pl. *lopë* 'cow' < EPA **lāpā*: Latv *luõps* 'cattle'.

němě ~ *namě*, pl. *němě* ~ *namě* ‘curse’ < EPA **namā*: Gk νομή ‘meadow’. Both words, despite the semantic differences, are connected with Gk νέμω ‘to distribute’, Goth *niman* ‘to take’, cf. in particular Gk νέμεσις ‘wrath’.

palě, pl. *palě* ‘pair; fold; group, class, party’ < EPA **palā*: Slav **pola* ‘flap, tail’ (c).

pordhě, pl. *pordhě* ‘fart’ < EPA **pārdā*: Gk πορδή id.

thekě, pl. *thekě* ‘fringe’ < EPA **tsakā*: Lith *šakà* ‘branch’ (4), Slav **soxa* ‘branch, plough’ (c). Skt *śākhā* ‘branch’ is barytonic.

shtazě, *shtězě* ~ *shtâzě*, pl. *shtazě*, *shtězě* ~ *shtâzě* ‘animal’ < EPA **stadjā* (with secondary nasalization): Gmc **stēđjā* ‘steady, fast’ (OHG *stātī*).

zorrě, pl. *zorrě* ‘gut’ < EPA **džārnā*: Lith *žarnà* id. (3).

Several archaic forms show us that words belonging to accentual type *A* originally had a tendency of shifting stress to the preceding clitic (i.e. the stress of this type was originally mobile, as in other Indo-European languages):

sonte ‘this night’ < EPA **tsjā(i) naktāi*, dat.-loc. sg.

sot ‘today’ < EPA **tsjā(i) dītāi*, dat.-loc. sg.

dyzet ‘twenty’ < EPA **duwō witsati*

2.1.2.6. Nouns belonging to accentual type *B* correspond to barytonic words in Indo-European. This can be corroborated by the following material:

Consonantal stems

gję ~ *gją*, pl. *gjera* ~ *gjana* ‘thing’ < EPA **san(s)*: Gmc **sánþ* ‘true’ (ON *sannr*, *saðr*, OE *sóð*).

krye, pl. *krerě* ~ *kreně* ‘head’ < EPA **krā(s)nā*: Gk κράνα: κεφαλή. A remade consonantal stem,

madh ‘big, large’, pl. *mēdhenj* (based on **mēdhe*) < EPA **madza*: Skt *māhi-* ‘great, large’, Gk μέγας id., neut. μέγα.

thëri ~ *thëni*, pl. *thëria* ~ *thënia* (*thëri* ~ *thëni* is secondary) ‘louse’ < EPA **tsanid-*: Gk κόνις ‘nit’.

Heteroclititic stems

elb, pl. *elbëra* ~ *elbëna* ‘barley’ < EPA **albi*: Gk ἄλφι ‘kind of grain’.

eshtë, pl. *eshta* ‘fibre, muscle fibre’ < EPA **astī*: Skt *ásthi* id.

n- and r-stems

dimër ~ *dimën*, pl. *dimra* ~ *dimna* ‘winter’ < EPA **deimena*: Skt *hēman* loc. ‘in winter’, Gk χεῖμα ‘winter’.

emër ~ *emën*, pl. *emra* ~ *emna* ‘name’ < EPA **enmer*: Slav **jъmę* id. (b?).

motër, pl. *motra* ‘sister’ < EPA **māter*: Afgh *mōr* ‘mother’, Lith *mótė* id. (1), Latv *māte* id., Slav **mati* id. (a). However, several Indo-European forms are oxytonic: Skt *mātār-*, Gk μήτηρ, μητρός.

rrymë, pl. *rryma* ‘flow (of water)’ < EPA **srūmā*: Gk ῥέυμα ‘stream’.

s-stems

ang ‘fear, nightmare’ < EPA **anga(s)*: Skt *ámhas-* ‘fear’.

end ‘pollen’ < EPA **anda(s)*: Skt *ándhas-* ‘herb’, Gk ἄνθος ‘flower’.

ethe, pl. ‘fever’ < EPA **aida(s)*: Skt *édhas-* ‘firewood, fuel’, Gk αἶθος ‘fire’.

vit, *vjet*, pl. *vite* ‘year’ < EPA **weta(s)*: Gk ἔτος id.

zjarr, pl. *zjarre* ‘fire’ < EPA **džera(s)*: Skt *hárās-* ‘flame, heat’, Gk θέρος ‘summer’.

u-stems

mjekër, pl. *mjekra* ‘chin, beard’ < EPA **smekru*: Skt *śmáśru-* id.

o-stems (masculine)

ar, pl. *ara* ‘bear’ < EPA **ara*: Skt *ḥkṣa-* id., Afgh *yóž* id., Gk ἄρκτος id.

derr, pl. *derra* ‘pig’ < EPA **darja*: Gk χοῖρος id.

- drang*, pl. *drangje* ‘barge-pole, punting-pole; young creature, cub’ < EPA **dranga*: Lith *draĩgas* ‘perch, pole’ (4), Slav **drogъ* (b).
- gardh*, pl. *gardhe*, *gjerdhe* ‘fence’ < EPA **garda*: Lith *gaĩdas* ‘fence’ (2 > 4), Slav **gordъ* ‘town, fence’ (c).
- hell*, pl. *helle*, *heje*, secondary *hej* ‘spear, spit’ < EPA **skōla*: Gk σκῶλος ‘pointed stake, thorn’.
- kërr*, pl. *kërra* ‘donkey, ass, foal; gray’ < EPA **kara*: Skt *khāra* ‘donkey’.
- krep*, pl. *krepa* ‘rock’ < EPA **krepa*: Gmc **xréfaz* ‘body’ (OE *hrif*, OHG *href*), probably, a remade root noun.
- lapë*, pl. *lapa* ‘hard piece of meat or skin; peritoneum; leaf’ < EPA **lapā*: Lith *lāpas* ‘leaf’ (2), Gk λοπός ‘shell, husk, bark’.
- mardhë* ‘chill, frost, ice’. < EPA **mardza*: Slav **morzъ* ‘frost’ (a).
- mitë*, pl. *mita* ‘shoot’ < EPA **meita*: Lith *miētas* ‘post, stake’ (2).
- qetë*, pl. *qeta* ‘(jagged) rock’ < EPA **klaitā*: Lith *šlaĩtas* ‘slope’ (2).
- rrime*, pl. *rrime* ‘rain-worm’ < EPA **wrima*: Gk ρόμος ‘worm’.
- shteg*, pl. *shtigje* ‘path, road’ < EPA **staiga*: Gk στῶιχος ‘row, line’.
- shtrohë* ~ *shtrofë*, pl. *shtroha* ~ *shtrofa* ‘kennel’ < EPA **strājā*: Latv *straja* ‘stall covered with straw’, Slav **strojъ* ‘construction’.
- tul*, pl. *tule*, *tula* ‘meat, flesh, pulp’ < EPA **tula*: Gk τύλη ‘swelling’, Slav **tylъ* ‘back side’ (a).
- thep*, pl. *thepa* ‘peak, point, cog, tooth’ < EPA **tsaipa*: Skt *śépa* ‘tail, penis’.
- vidh*, pl. *vidha* ‘elm’ < EPA **wī(n)dza*: Slav **vęzъ* id. (a).
- zë* ~ *zâ*, pl. *zëra* ~ *zana* ‘voice’ < EPA **dzwana*: Slav **zvонъ* ‘ringing, sound’ (a).

o-stems (neuter)

- darkë*, pl. *darka* ‘supper’ < EPA **darkā*: Gk δόρπον id.
- ëndërr* ~ *andërr*, pl. *ëndrra* ~ *andrra* ‘dream, sleep’ < EPA **anrjā*: Gk ὄνειρον, ὄνειρος.
- grabë*, pl. *graba* ‘erosion, hollowing out’ < EPA **grabā*: Slav **grobъ* ‘pit, tomb’ (b).
- grellë*, pl. *grella* ‘deep place’ < EPA **gritlā*: Slav **gъrdlo* ‘throat’ (a), **žerdlo* ‘river-bed; opening’ (b).
- gjeth*, pl. *gjeth* ‘foliage, green leaves’ < EPA **gadza*: Slav **gvozdъ* ‘wood, forest’ (b).
- hudhër*, pl. *hudhra* ‘garlic’ < EPA **skurdā*: Gk σκόροδον id.

shtagë, pl. *shtaga* ‘pole, stick’ < EPA **stagā*: Slav *stogъ* ‘mow, stack’ (b).

i-stems

besë, pl. *besa* ‘pledge, truce, trust’ < EPA **baitšī*: Gk πίστις ‘faithful, trustworthy’.

herdhe, pl. ‘testicles’ < EPA **ardzai*: Gk ὄρχις.

krimb ~ *krym*, pl. *krimba*, *kërminj* ~ *kryma* ‘worm’ < EPA **krimi*: Skt *kṛmi-*, Lith *kirmis*, gen. *kiřmies* (> 4).

mot, pl. *mote* ‘time, weather, storm, thunderbolt’ < EPA **māti-*: Skt *māti-* ‘measure’, Gk μήτις id.

vëng ~ *vang*, pl. *vëngje* ~ *vangje* ‘hoop, tire, ring, rim’ < EPA **wengā*: Lith *vėngis* ‘arc’ (1).

zot, pl. *zotërinj*, *zotër*, OAlb *zota* ‘lord, master, god’ < EPA **w(i)tš-pati-*: Skt *viś-pāti-* ‘lord of the house’, Lith *viėšpats* ‘lord’ (1).

ā- and ī-stems

bark, pl. *barqe* ‘belly, womb, abdomen’ < EPA **baruka*: βάρ<υ>κα· αἰδοῖον παρὰ Ταραντίοις.

grimë, pl. *grima* ‘crumb, bit’ < EPA **grimā*: Gk βρώμη ‘food, meal’.

hurbë, pl. *hurba* ‘swallow, mouthful’ < EPA **skurbā*: Latv *šķiřba* ‘fissure, slot’, Slav **ščьrba* id. (b).

karpë, pl. *karpa* ‘rock’ < EPA **karpā*: Lith *kārpa* ‘wart’, *kaĩpas* ‘cut, hack, notch’ (2), MLG *scharf* ‘potsherd’ < Gmc **skārfaz*.

kedh, pl. *kedhë*, *kedha* ‘kid’ < EPA **kadza*: Slav **koza* ‘she-goat’ (b).

kripë ~ *krypë*, pl. *kripëra* ~ *krypna* ‘salt’ < EPA **krūpā*: Slav **krupa* ‘groats’ (b).

krua ~ *krue*, pl. *kroje* (secondary form - *kronj*) ‘spring, fountain’ < EPA **krāna*: Gk κρήνη id.

kulp ‘ivy, clematis’, pl. **kulpa* (based on the paradigm of the diminutive *kurth*, pl. *kurthe*) < EPA **kulpa*: Lith *kilpa* ‘loop’ (1).

lerë, pl. *lera* ‘heap of stones, pebble bank’ < EPA **laurā*: Gk λούρα ‘alley, pass between rocks’.

lingë, pl. *linga* ‘small bell’ < EPA **lingā*: Lith *lingė* ‘flexible pole; bend’ (1), Latv *liņga* ‘loop’.

- loqe*, pl. *loqe* ‘penis; testicles’ < EPA **lāuka*: Lith *liaukà* ‘gland’ (2 > 4).
- llërë ~ llanë*, pl. *llëra ~ llana* (*llërë ~ llanë* is secondary) ‘forearm, ell’ < EPA **alenā*: Gk *ὠλένη* ‘elbow’.
- mëllenjë*, pl. *mëllenja* ‘blackbird’ < EPA **melanjā*: Gk fem. *μέλαινα* ‘black’, Latv *mēlns* id. But Skt *malinā-* is oxytonic.
- mjalcë*, pl. *mjalca* ‘bee’ < EPA **melitjā*: Gk *μέλισσα* < **μέλιτjα* id.
- mjegull*, pl. *mjegulla* ‘cloud’ < EPA **meg(u)lā*: Gk *ὀμίχλη* ‘fog, mist’, Lith *miglà* id. (2), Slav **mьgla* ‘darkness, mist’ (b).
- modhull*, pl. *modhulla* ‘vetch, chickling, chick-pea’ < EPA **mādzula*: Lith *mažūlis* ‘small’ (2).
- pidh*, pl. *pidhe* ‘female pudenda’ < EPA **p(e)izda*: Slav **pizda* id. (b).
- rosë*, pl. *rosa* ‘duck’ < EPA **anātjā*: Gk *ῥῆσσα* ‘duck’.
- sorrë*, pl. *sorra* ‘crow’ < EPA **tšārsnā*: Afgh *kín* ‘left’, fem. *kína*, Slav **чѣрнъ* ‘black’, fem. **чѣрна* opposed to Skt *kṛṣṇā-* ‘black, dark’.
- trap*, pl. *trapa* ‘ferry’ < EPA **trapa*: Slav **tropa* ‘path’ (b).
- verë ~ venë* ‘wine’ < EPA **wainā*: Gk *οἶνη* ‘vine’.
- ve*, pl. *va*, *veja* ‘widow’ < EPA **widewā*: Skt *vidhāvā* id., Slav **vьdova* id. (b).
- zonjë* ‘wife’, pl. *zonja* < EPA **w(i)tš-patnjā*: Skt *pātnī* id., *sa-pātnī* ‘one of the wives’.

2.1.2.7. Cases at variance with the distribution of *A* and *B* are not numerous:

- arë*, pl. *ara* ‘field’ < EPA **arā*: Latv *āra* id.
- be*, pl. *be* ‘oath’ < EPA **baidā*: Slav **běda* ‘disaster’ (b).
- derë*, pl. *dye* ‘door’ < EPA **dwōrā*: Skt *dvār-*, Gk *θύρα*.
- gjak*, pl. *gjaqe*, *gjakra ~ gjakna* ‘blood’ < EPA **saka*: Gk *ὀπός* ‘juice’, Lith *sakaĩ* ‘resin’ (4), Slav **sokъ* ‘juice’ (c).
- halë*, pl. *hala* ‘fish bone, splinter; pine’ < EPA **skalā*: Lith *skalà* ‘stick of firewood’ (4).
- hu ~ hû*, pl. *hunj* ‘picket, stake, pole, penis’ < EPA **skuja*: Slav **xujь* ‘penis’ (b).
- qengjë*, pl. *qengja* ‘beehive’ < EPA **kenagā*: Gmc **xunagán* ‘honey’ (ON *hunang*, OE *hunig*, OHG *honag*).

rreth, pl. *rrathë* ‘hoop, rim (of wheel); circle’, diminutive of type A: Skt *rátha-* ‘wagon’.

2.2. Alternations

2.2.0. Albanian has various phonetic alternations reflecting morphological processes going back to different stages of its development. Consonantal alternations normally result from relatively recent phonetic changes (mainly palatalizations and the like) while vocalic alternations preserve both recent developments (for example, Albanian umlaut in nouns and verbs) and archaic features (Indo-European ablaut).

2.2.1. Consonantal alternations

2.2.1.0. Productive consonantal alternations were generated by a series of Proto-Albanian palatalizations, among other processes. At the same time, other and earlier phonetic shifts such as the affricatization of labiovelars only resulted in isolated non-productive and non-paradigmatic alternations, hardly realized by modern speakers of Albanian, cf. for example the related pair *darkë* ‘supper’ < EPA *darkā* vs. *da(r)smë* ‘wedding feast’ < EPA *dartš-imā* reflecting an alternation *k* : *s* (EPA **k* : **tš*). A similar alternation of voiced consonants *g* : *z* (EPA **g* : **dž*) is found in *djeg* ‘to burn’ vs. *ndeza* ‘to set alight, to ignite’ < EPA **endadžja*. This alternation, however, can be characterized as “traditional” and “non-paradigmatic” insofar as it has not become a structurally relevant device in word-formation or morphology.

Literature: DOMI *RES* XLV 25 (timbre alternation); DESNICKAJA *IFI* 86-91 (survey of alternations); LEKOMCEVA *Balkanica* 102-108 (typological parallels to the timbre alternation).

2.2.1.1. The main productive alternations of consonants in Albanian were created in paradigms of verbs and nouns due to the phonetic development of clusters with **j* and/or palatalization of consonants in certain forms of the paradigm.

The alternation *t* : *s* is widespread in the verbal paradigms of Geg, where the first element of the alternation appears in the 2-3 sg. present and in the aorist while the second element characterizes the 1 sg. present. The first element *t* continues the last consonant of the Early Proto-Albanian verbal stem **t* while the second element goes back to

EPA **tj*. In Tosk the 1 sg. present has been analogically changed under the influence of the 2-3 sg. Cf. the following examples:

	2 sg. pres.	1 sg. aor.	1 sg. pres.
'to pray'	<i>lut</i> < <i>*lutet</i>	<i>luta</i> < <i>*luta</i>	<i>lus</i> < <i>*lutja</i>
'to measure'	<i>mat</i> < <i>*matet</i>	<i>mata</i> < <i>*mata</i>	<i>mas</i> < <i>*matja</i>
'to urge'	<i>ngut</i> < <i>*en-gutet</i>	<i>nguta</i> < <i>*en-guta</i>	<i>ngus</i> < <i>en-gutja</i>
'to practise'	<i>ryt</i> < <i>*rütet</i>	<i>ryta</i> < <i>*rūta</i>	<i>rys</i> < <i>*rütja</i>
'to pull up'	<i>rrit</i> < <i>*writet</i>	<i>rrita</i> < <i>*writa</i>	<i>rris</i> < <i>*writja</i>
'to frighten'	<i>tut</i> < <i>*tutet</i>	<i>tuta</i> < <i>*tuta</i>	<i>tus</i> < <i>*tutja</i>

A similar alternation is established between *n* and dial. *nj*, *j*, lit. *j*. The second element of the alternation is attested in 1 sg. present while the first element dominates the rest of the present paradigm (the aoristic form, however, belong to other morphological types, sometimes built on the basis of the 1 sg. pres.):

	3 sg. pres.	1 sg. aor.	1 sg. pres.
'to mate'	<i>bon</i> < <i>*bā(g)net</i>	(<i>bova</i>)	<i>boj</i> < <i>*bā(g)nja</i>
'to gnaw'	<i>bren</i> < <i>*brenet</i>	(<i>brejta</i>)	<i>brej</i> < <i>*brenja</i>
'to find'	<i>gjen</i> < <i>*gadnet</i>	(<i>gjeta</i>)	<i>gjej</i> < <i>*gadnja</i>
'to wash'	<i>lan</i> < <i>*launet</i>	(<i>lava</i>)	<i>laj</i> < <i>*launja</i>
'to feed'	<i>man</i> < <i>*mazdnet</i>	(<i>majta</i>)	<i>maj</i> < <i>*mazdnja</i>
'to divide'	<i>ndan</i> < <i>*en-danet</i>	(<i>ndajta, ndava</i>)	<i>ndaj</i> < <i>*en-danja</i>

2.2.1.2. A productive alternation attested in the nominal system is that of velars : palatalized velars, i.e. *k* : *q*, *g* : *gj*. The second element of the alternating pairs appears in the plural as opposed to the singular.

	sg.	pl.
'twilight'	<i>ag</i> < <i>*auga</i>	<i>agje</i> < <i>*augai</i>
'belly'	<i>bark</i> < <i>*barka</i>	<i>barqe</i> < <i>*barkai</i>
'barge-pole'	<i>drang</i> < <i>*dranga</i>	<i>drangje</i> < <i>*drangai</i>
'oak'	<i>dushk</i> < <i>*duska</i>	<i>dushqe</i> < <i>*duskai</i>
'old man'	<i>plak</i> < <i>*plaka</i>	<i>pleq</i> < <i>*plakai</i>
'heap'	<i>tog</i> < <i>*tāga</i>	<i>togje</i> < <i>*tagai</i>

The same alternation of velars and palatalized velars is also attested in the verbal system where it is characteristic of the opposition between present and aorist forms of certain verb groups:

	present	aorist
'to burn'	<i>djeg</i>	<i>dogja</i>
'to bake'	<i>pjek</i>	<i>poqa</i>
'to follow'	<i>ndjek</i>	<i>ndoqa</i>

One more productive alternation is found in the nominal system between *ll* and *j*. The source of this palatalization is medial **l* before **j* in Late Proto-Albanian:

	sg.	pl.
'people'	<i>popull</i>	<i>popuj</i>
'mullet'	<i>qefull</i>	<i>qefuj</i>
'pine'	<i>rrobull</i>	<i>rrobuj</i>
'seam, edge'	<i>skundill</i>	<i>skundij</i>
'rag, cloth'	<i>sukull</i>	<i>sukuj</i>
'title'	<i>titull</i>	<i>tituj</i>

2.2.1.3. Another source of productive alternations in Albanian consonantism is the voicing of unvoiced occlusives after nasals. It often occurs at the juncture between prefixes and nominal stems:

<i>ka</i> 'out'	<i>nga</i> id.
<i>kordh</i> 'to die (of animals)'	<i>ngordh</i> 'to die'
<i>kunjoj</i> 'to close with a peg'	<i>ngujoj</i> 'to enclose'
<i>pas</i> 'after, behind'	<i>mbas</i> id.
<i>pjell</i> 'to beget'	<i>mbjell</i> 'to sow'
<i>prodh</i> 'to produce'	<i>mbrodh</i> 'to help'

Unvoicing is found in the position after the prefix *sh-*:

<i>bie</i> 'to bring, to carry'	<i>shpie</i> 'to carry away'
<i>gardhë</i> 'fence'	<i>shkardhë</i> 'dog chain'
<i>gërryej</i> 'to scrape'	<i>shkryej</i> 'to make dirty'
<i>glepë</i> 'matter from the eyes'	<i>shklepë</i> id.

2.2.2. Vocalic alternations

2.2.2.0. Numerous vocalic alternations were caused by relatively recent factors, such as the reduction of vowels and diphthongization of Proto-Albanian long monophthongs.

2.2.2.1. In the nominal system, one such alternation is that between *ua* ~ *ue* and *o*:

	sg.	pl.
'falcon'	<i>fajkua</i> ~ <i>fajkue</i>	<i>fajkonj</i>
'honeycomb'	<i>huall</i> ~ <i>huell</i>	<i>hoje</i>
'roebuck'	<i>kapruall</i> ~ <i>kapruell</i>	<i>kaproj</i>
'rooster'	<i>kapua</i> ~ <i>kapue</i>	<i>kaŋonj</i>
'stable'	<i>katua</i> ~ <i>katue</i>	<i>katonj</i>
'spring'	<i>krua</i> ~ <i>krue</i>	<i>kronj</i>

The same alternation is productive in the verbal morphology. It characterizes the present/aorist opposition:

	present	aorist
'to be afraid'	<i>druaj</i> ~ <i>druej</i>	<i>drova</i>
'to grind'	<i>bluaj</i> ~ <i>bluej</i>	<i>blova</i>
'to prepare'	<i>gatuaj</i> ~ <i>gatuej</i>	<i>gatova</i>
'to hunt'	<i>gjuaj</i> ~ <i>gjuej</i>	<i>gjova</i>
'to scratch'	<i>kruaj</i> ~ <i>kruej</i>	<i>krova</i>
'to write'	<i>shkruaj</i> ~ <i>shkruej</i>	<i>shkrova</i>

2.2.2.2. In word-formation, another relatively recent alternation is based on the reduction of unstressed vowels. The most frequent alternation type is *a* : *ë* as in the following pairs:

<i>faj</i> 'guilt, sin'	<i>fëjej</i> 'to make a mistake'
<i>kalb</i> 'to let rot'	<i>këlboqe</i> 'sputum'
<i>kall</i> 'to insert'	<i>këllas</i> 'to put into'
<i>lakur</i> 'naked'	<i>lëkurë</i> 'skin, bark'
<i>lap</i> 'to slurp'	<i>lëpij</i> 'to lick'
<i>lapë</i> 'leaf'	<i>lëpitkë</i> 'slipper'

mardhë 'cold, frost'*mërdhij* 'to chill'

At the same time, other pairs such as *e* : *ë*, *i* : *ë*, *o* : *ë* and *u* : *ë* are also attested:

dell 'tendon'*dëllinjë* 'juniper'*fund* 'bottom, end'*fëndyell* 'awl'*lopë* 'cow'*lëpec* 'old ox or cow'*luftë* 'fight'*lëftoj* 'to fight'*rrem* 'false'*rrëmaç* 'lefthanded'*rripë* 'precipice'*rrëpirë* id.*rrufe* 'lightning'*rrëfeshk* 'kind of thistle'

2.2.3. Vocalic alternations: Umlaut

2.2.3.0. Albanian umlaut developed in the Late Proto-Albanian period, when unstressed auslaut vowels lost one mora and Albanian diphthongs were monophthongized. Both factors led to the development of front vowels in the nominal endings. Later, under the influence of structural parallelisms, umlaut was also introduced into several Slavic loanwords. In Albanian, two types of umlaut are attested: the raising of EPA **a* > *e* and of EPA **e* > *i*.

Literature: MEYER *Alb. Gr.* 4 (**e* > *i* before clusters); PEKMEZI 56; ÇABEJ *RShk* 5-27, *LP* VII 145-200, VIII 145-200 (generalization of *e* < *a* and *i* < *e* in nominal paradigms); ŠIROKOV *Ež. ČGU* 1957 230; DOMI *RES* XLV 28 (follows MEYER); DODI *CIEB* 267-268; DESNICKAJA *VJa* 1965/6 40-41 (Germanic parallels to the Albanian umlaut), *IFI* 89; ÇABEJ *St.* III 114-115, 309-402.

2.2.3.1. The umlaut *a* : *e* is found in nouns and in verbs. Nominally, it is characteristic of the plurals of *o*- and *i*-stems but, occasionally, also appears in other types of stems:

	sg.	pl.
'bone'	<i>ashtë</i>	<i>eshtra</i> ~ <i>eshtrna</i>
'father'	<i>at</i>	<i>etër</i> ~ <i>etën</i>
'ram'	<i>dash</i>	<i>desh</i>
'trap, snare'	<i>lak</i>	<i>leq, leqe</i>
'night'	<i>natë</i>	<i>net</i>

‘goat’ *sqap* *sqep, sqepe*

In numerous nouns *a* was restored in the plural by analogy:

	sg.	pl.
‘twilight’	<i>ag</i>	<i>agje</i>
‘belly’	<i>bark</i>	<i>barqe</i>
‘cat’	<i>dac</i>	<i>daca</i>
‘guilt’	<i>faj</i>	<i>faje</i>
‘fathom’	<i>pash</i>	<i>pash</i>
‘enclosure’	<i>thark</i>	<i>tharq, tharqe</i>

In many other nouns, the raised *e* < **a* of the plural was generalized (and an innovative plural in *-a* was often introduced):

	sg.	pl.
‘sheep, goat’	<i>berr</i> < <i>*barwa</i>	<i>berra</i>
‘young bull’	<i>dem</i> < <i>*dama</i>	<i>dema</i>
‘squirrel’	<i>ger</i> < <i>*gaura</i>	<i>gera</i>
‘foliage’	<i>gjeth</i> < <i>*gazda</i>	<i>gjeth</i>
‘rock’	<i>krep</i> < <i>*krapa</i>	<i>krepa</i>
‘bull’	<i>ter</i> < <i>*taura</i>	<i>terë</i>

2.2.3.2. In verbs, the same alternation *a* : *e* is widely attested in present verbal forms in **-atj-* (as well as some other, less frequent types). The form in *a* characterizes the 1 sg. in **-atj-a*, while the form in *e* appears in the 2-3 sg in **-at-ī-s*, **-at-ī-t*.

	1 sg.	2-3 sg.
‘to shout’	<i>bērtas</i>	<i>bērtet</i>
‘to go out’	<i>dal</i>	<i>del</i>
‘to talk’	<i>flas</i>	<i>flet</i>
‘to swell’	<i>mbufas</i>	<i>mbufet</i>
‘to urge’	<i>ngas</i>	<i>nget</i>
‘to knock’	<i>trokas</i>	<i>troket</i>

2.2.3.3. The umlaut (*j*)*e* : *i* is even less regular than *a* : *e*. Chronologically, it belongs to a later period in the history of Albanian. It affects Alb *e* of various origins, in particular, *e* raised from **a*. We do not know exactly what phonetic mechanism led to the development of this umlaut. Quite probably, *i* derived from the diphthongized root vowel *je*, which had been influenced by a new *i* or *j* in the following syllable.

In verbal morphology (where this type of the umlaut was originally developed), (*j*)*e* : *i* appears in certain verb forms characterized by *i* or *j* in the suffix, such as in the 2 pl. present and 1 sg. imperfect:

	3 sg. pres.	2 pl. pres.	1 sg. impf.
'to go out'	<i>del</i>	<i>dilni</i>	<i>dilja</i>
'to burn'	<i>djeg</i>	<i>digjni</i>	<i>digja</i>
'to bake'	<i>pjek</i>	<i>piqni</i>	<i>piqja</i>
'to give birth'	<i>pjell</i>	<i>pillni</i>	<i>pillja</i>
'to turn'	<i>sjell</i>	<i>sillni</i>	<i>sillja</i>
'to die'	<i>vdes</i>	<i>vdisni</i>	<i>vdisja</i>

The same umlaut appears in some aorist stems (quite often followed by *i* of the next syllable):

	3 sg. pres.	3 sg. aor.
'to rock'	<i>luhet</i>	<i>luhiti</i>
'to swell'	<i>mbufet</i>	<i>mbufiti</i>
'to raise'	<i>ngre</i>	<i>ngriti</i>
'to sprinkle'	<i>spërket</i>	<i>spërkiti</i>
'to knock'	<i>troket</i>	<i>trokiti</i>
'to die'	<i>vdes</i>	<i>vdiq</i>

2.2.3.4. Due to analogy, the umlaut (*j*)*e* : *i* was transferred to the nominal system where it affected a relatively small number of substantives. All, or nearly all, of them end in a velar. Hence, the umlaut is paralleled by the alternation of velar : palatalized velar. Structurally, the umlaut (*j*)*e* : *i* is identical with the umlaut *a* : *e*, as it supports the opposition singular *vs.* plural. Cf. the following cases:

	sg.	pl.
‘bank, hill’	<i>breg</i>	<i>brigje, bregje</i>
‘piglet’	<i>derk</i>	<i>dirq</i>
‘avalanche’	<i>ortek</i>	<i>ortiqe</i>
‘fish’	<i>peshk</i>	<i>pishq, peshq</i>
‘path’	<i>shteg</i>	<i>shtigje, shtegje</i>

In a few words, *i* was generalized and is now found in the forms of singular. This seems to be the case of *irë* ‘dun’. If it is to be connected with *err* ‘darkness’, then the source must have been EPA **ausra*. The first umlaut created a paradigm of sg. **arë* ~ pl. **erë*. The *e* of the plural was generalized: sg. **erë* ~ pl. **erë*. Finally there was a second umlaut: sg. **erë* ~ pl. **irë*. From this stage, the new singular *irë* was extracted.

2.2.4. Vocalic alternations: Ablaut

2.2.4.0. Albanian has, to a considerable extent, inherited the Indo-European system of ablaut. However, it has been significantly modified by phonetic forces. Some types of ablaut, not so important in Indo-European, have flourished. Other types, once productive, have been lost altogether or are severely fragmented.

Literature: MEYER *IF V* 180-184 (long grade in aorists); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 28-88; ÇABEJ *St.* III 124; OREL *ZfBalk XXXIII/1* 67-68 (long grade replacing zero grade in nouns).

2.2.4.1. Indo-European *e*-grade is reflected in numerous present stem forms:

bie ‘to bring’ < EPA **berja* < IE **bher-* ‘to bring, to carry’ (Skt *bhárati*, Gk φέρω, Lat *ferō*).

bredh ‘to jump, to spring’ < EPA **breda*: Slav **bredq*, **bresti* ‘to wade, to ford’, Lith *brendù*, *brìsti* id.

djeg ‘to burn’ < EPA **dega* < IE **dheg^h-* ‘to burn’ (Skt *dáhati*, Toch AB *tsak-*, *tsäk-*, Lit *degù*, *dègti*).

mbledh ‘to gather, to collect’ < EPA **ambi-ledza* < IE **leǵ-* (Gk λέγω id., Lat *legō* ‘to read, *to gather’).

mjel ‘to milk’ < EPA **melga*: Gk ἀμέλω id., Lat *mulgeō* id., Lith *mélžiu*, *mélžti* id.

sjell ‘to bring’ < EPA **tšela* < IE **k^uel-* (Skt *cáрати* ‘to move, to walk’, Gk *πέλω* ‘to come into existence, to become’, Lat *colō* ‘to cultivate, to till’).

Indo-European *e*-grade is also attested in a few nouns:

miell ‘flour’ < EPA **melwa* < IE **melwo-* (OHG *mēlo* id., ON *mjöl* id., Slav **melvo* ‘grain for grinding’).

mjedhër ‘mulberry; tares’, a suffixed derivative of **mjedh*: Lith *mēdis* ‘tree’, Latv *mežs* ‘wood’.

2.2.4.2. Occasionally, expected *e*-grade is replaced by a zero grade:

djalë ‘boy, youth’ < EPA **dela*: Latv *dēls* ‘son’, Lat *filius* id.

leh ~ *lef* ‘to bark’ < EPA **laja*: Skt *rāyati* id., Lith *lōju*, *lōti* id., Slav **lajati*.

nduk ‘to pluck out, to pull out, to tear’ < EPA **en-duka*: Goth *tiuhan* ‘to pull’, Lat *dūcō* id.

However, present stems more frequently show lengthened grade. Usually long grade presents are derivatives (often, derivatives in **-nja* or in **-ja*) from original full grade presents.

boj, *bohet* ‘to mate’ < EPA **bāgnja*: Lith *bėgti* ‘to run’, Latv *bēgt* id., OPrus *begeyte* id., Slav **běgti* id., Gk *φέβομαι* id.

josh ‘to curl, to fondle, to caress’ < EPA **jāudsja* < IE **ǵeudh-* (Skt *yúdhya* ‘to fight, to struggle’, Toch A *yutk-* ‘to take care of, to trouble about’, Lith *jáudinti* ‘to excite, to arouse’).

kruaj ~ *kruej* ‘to scratch’ < EPA **krābnja* further connected with IE **ghrebh-*.

quaj ~ *quej* ‘to call, to give a name’ < EPA **klāusnja*, a denominative based on IE **kleuos* ‘glory, word’ (Skt *śrāvas-*, Gk *κλέος*, Slav **slovo*).

In other types of presents, lengthening is less frequent. Cf. some examples:

dua ~ *due* ‘to love’ < EPA **dāusnja* < **dāusnja* < IE **ǵeus-* ‘to taste’ (Skt *jōṣati* ‘to be fond of’, Gk *γεύομαι*).

shoh ~ *shof* ‘to see’ < EPA **sākska*: Skt *sācate* ‘to accompany, to follow’, Gk ἑπομαι, Lat *sequor*, Goth *saihan* ‘to see’.
shporr ‘to move away, to drive away’ < EPA **-pāra*: Skt *pīparti* ‘to bring over, to save’, Gk περῶω, πείρω ‘to penetrate’.

Lengthening of the full grade is also attested in several nouns:

huaj ~ *huej* ‘foreign, strange’ < EPA **ksānja* connected with isolated Gk ξένος, Dor ξένφος ‘stranger, guest’.
tog ‘heap, pile’ < EPA **tāga*: Gk τέγη ‘roof’, OIr *tech* ‘house’ < IE **tegos*.

2.2.4.3. Lengthened grade is typical of aorists corresponding to thematic presents with a plain full grade. It is generally believed that this long grade is of Indo-European origin, related to the lengthened grades found among Germanic strong class IV and V preterites and to some of the Latin long vowel perfects.

	1 sg. pres.	1 sg. aor.
‘to jump’	<i>bredh</i>	<i>brodha</i>
‘to burn’	<i>djeg</i>	<i>dogja</i>
‘to draw’	<i>heq</i>	<i>hoqa</i>
‘to strip off’	<i>rjep</i>	<i>ropa</i>
‘to throw’	<i>shtjell</i>	<i>shtolla</i>
‘to wean’	<i>zvjerdh</i>	<i>zvordha</i>

In Proto-Albanian, the aoristic lengthening became productive and spread beyond the aorists with accompanying thematic presents:

	1 sg. pres.	1 sg. aor.
‘to go out’	<i>dal</i>	<i>dola</i>
‘to take’	<i>marr</i>	<i>morra</i>

Some lengthened grades having external correspondences to other Indo-European dialects:

loqe ‘penis, testis’ < singularized pl. EPA *lāukai* close to Lith *liaukà* ‘gland’ < **lēuk-*, long grade of **leuk-* ‘white’.

2.2.4.4. In Albanian, *o*-grade is typical of (deverbative) nouns, especially *nomina actionis*:

dak ‘big ram’ < EPA **dwaka*: Lith *dvėkti* ‘to breathe’, *dvākas* ‘breath’.

darkë ‘supper’ < EPA **darkā* < IE **dork^uom* reflected in Gk *δόρπον* id.

mardhë ‘chill, frost, ice’ < EPA **mardzā*: Slav **morzъ* ‘frost’.

nëmë ~ *namë* ‘curse’ < EPA **namā*: Gk *νέμω* ‘to distribute’, Goth *niman* ‘to take’.

pah ‘scab, dust’ < EPA **pauja* < IE **poujo-*: Arm *hogi* ‘breath’.

trap ‘ferry’ < EPA **trapa*: Slav **tropa* ‘path’ and further related to IE **trep-* ‘to tread’.

In many cases, *o*-grade is characteristic of present stems, some of them (but not all) representing original causatives and denominatives in **-nja* ~ **-ja*:

brej ~ *brëj* ‘to gnaw’ < EPA **brainja* < IE **bhrei-* ‘to cut’ (Skt *bhrīṇāti* ‘(he) injures’, Lat *friō* ‘to rub’, Slav **briti* ‘to shave’).

lej ‘to give birth; to be born; to rise (of the sun)’ < EPA **laidnja*: Lith *léisti* ‘to let’, Latv *lāst* id.

mbaj ‘to hold, to carry’ < EPA causative **en-barnja* < IE **bher-* ‘to bear’.

ndez ‘to set alight, to ignite’ < EPA **en-dadžja*, causative IE **dhog^hhejō* < IE **dheg^h-* ‘to burn’.

regj ‘to tan’ < EPA **raugja*: ON *reykr* ‘smoke’, OHG *rouh* id.

ter ‘to make dry’ < EPA **tarsja*: Skt *tarṣáyati* id., Lat *torreō* id., ON *perra* id.

Some *o*-grade nouns were transformed into zero grades in Albanian:

bruz ‘blue, indigo’ < EPA **brudja* < IE **bhrou-dh-* (Slav **brudъ* ‘dirt’, **brudьnъ* ‘dirty’).

gjuhë ‘tongue, language’ < EPA **gulxā*, connected with the Indo-European dialectal word for ‘sound’ **golso-* (ON *kall* ‘shout’, Lith *gālsas* ‘echo’, Slav **golsъ* ‘voice’).

gjurmë ‘trace’ < EPA **surma*: Skt *sárma-* ‘flow’, Gk *ὄρμη* ‘assault, attack’, further connected with IE **ser-* ‘to flow’.

One noun attests lengthened grade in place of an original *o*-grade:

zorrë ‘gut’ < EPA **džārnā* < IE **g^herə-* ‘to swallow’ (Lith *žarnà* ‘gut’).

2.2.4.5. Many Albanian thematic presents are derived from zero-grade stems:

flak ‘to throw, to fling’ < EPA **awa-laka*, derived from IE **lēk-* **læk-* ‘to bend, to jump’ (MHG *lecken* ‘to throw back, to spring’, Lith *lekiù, lēkti* ‘to fly’, Latv *lèkt* ‘to spring, to jump’).

ndulkem ‘to ripen’ < EPA **en-tulka*: Lith *telkiù, telkti* ‘to gather, to bring together’, Slav **telkti* ‘to beat, to pound’.

ngul ‘to thrust in, to stick in’ < EPA **en-kula*: Lith *kùlti* ‘to thresh’, Latv *kuļt* ‘to strike’.

shtrij ‘to spread, to stretch’ < EPA **strinja*: Skt *stṛṇāti* ‘to spread, to scatter’, Gk στόρνυμι ‘to spread, to stretch’, Lat *sternō* id.

thek ‘to roast, to toast (bread)’ < EPA **tsaka* < IE **k^hak-* cf. Gk κέγκει· πεινᾶ, καγκομένης· ξηρᾶς τῶ φόβῳ (Hes.), πολυκαγκῆς ‘burning strongly’ (Hom.).

The number of zero grade nouns inherited from Indo-European is insignificant, cf. for example the following form:

burdhë ‘kind of sack’ < EPA **burdā* < IE **bh^hrdh-*: ON *borð* ‘board, edge’, OE *bord* id.

On the other hand, several old zero grade nouns were transformed into lengthened grades or *o*-grades:

bolle ‘testicles’ < EPA **bālnai*: Gk φαλλός ‘phallus’, Lat *follis* ‘bellows’, OIr *ball* ‘limb, member’.

dell ‘tendon’ < EPA **daisla*: Lith *gýsla* ‘blood-vessel, tendon’, Slav **žila* ‘tendon’.

grerë ~ *grenzë* ‘wasp, hornet’ < EPA **graisnā*: Lat *crābrō* ‘hornet’, OHG *hornaz* id., Lith *širšuō* id., Slav **syršeny* id.

kërmë ‘carcass, carion, cadaver’ < EPA **karp-nā*: Skt *kṛp-* ‘shape, beautiful appearance’, Lat *corpus* ‘body’, OHG *hrēf* ‘belly, body’.

sorrë ‘crow’ < EPA **tšārsnā*: Skt *kr̥ṣṇá-* ‘black, dark’, OPrus *kirsnan* ‘black’, Slav **čьрънь* id.

Occasionally, this lengthening is caused by a following schwa. Cf. *bolle* < EPA **bāl̥na* < **bhol̥nos*.

2.3. Affixation

2.3.0. The main instrument of word-formation in Proto-Albanian is affixation. Numerous prefixes and suffixes were inherited by Proto-Albanian from Indo-European. The process of affixation has since become extremely productive.

In some affixes, an Albanian morpheme and a borrowed element have merged so completely that we are unable to differentiate them. Thus, Alb *për-* continues both EPA **per* ~ **pra* and Lat *per* ~ *prō*. Alb *sh-* goes back to both EPA **is-* and Lat *ex-*. Borrowed affixes introduced via loanwords have also become productive. Cf. such forms as *palcë* ‘marrow’ derived from *palë* ‘pair, fold’ by means of a Slavic suffix **-bca* ⇨ Alb *-cë*, *lajthi* ‘hazel-tree, hazel-nut’ built from *lakth* ~ **laqth* ‘loop, noose’ with the help of the Latin suffix *-ia* ⇨ Alb *-i*, and *ndërzej* ‘to mate’, a derivative of the lexeme *zë* ~ *zâ* ‘to seize, to grasp, to touch’ containing the Latin prefix *inter-* ⇨ Alb *ndër-*.

2.3.1. Suffixation of nouns

2.3.1.0. Verbal suffixes are described in sections 3.1.1-2. Nominal suffixes are classified according to their “main element”. This is purely a convention. Often this “main element” happens to be, historically, an old suffix of Indo-European origin.

Literature: XHUVANI-ÇABEJ *Prapasht.* passim; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 113-129; DESNICKAJA *Sravn.* 192-210.

Labial suffixes

2.3.1.1. The number of words presumably containing the suffix **-b-* < IE **-bho-* ~ **-bhā*, as attested in Balto-Slavic (cf. Lith *dárbas* ‘work’, and elsewhere, cf. Gk ἔλαφος ‘stag’, Lat *morbus* ‘illness’ beside *morior* ‘to die’) is very limited in Albanian.

tharbët ‘sour’ based on **tharbë*, derived from *thar* ‘to add ferment to milk’.

thumb ‘sting, thorn’ derived from *thua* ~ *thue* ‘(finger) nail’ < EPA **atsāna* to IE **ak-* ‘sharp’; structurally similar with Gk ἄκωνος ‘thorny fruit’, ἄκαινα ‘tip, point’.

As in Balto-Slavic, in Proto-Albanian one finds a number of examples containing thematized suffixes **-ab-* and **-ib-*. These suffixes are identical with those found in the Slavic *nomina abstracta* **-ob(a)* and **-ьb(a)* (cf. Slav **zloba* ‘anger’, **borьba* ‘fighting’) and the Baltic *nomina actionis* found in Lith *-yba*.

garbe ‘flower-pot’ < EPA **gar-ibā* < IE **g^hher-* ‘to burn’ (cf. Slav **гърънь* ‘oven, pot’).

kërrabë ‘hook, staff, staff’ derived from **karë* < EPA **karā*: Slav **kora* ‘bark’, Lith *kerù*, *kérti* ‘to become separated’ and further with IE **(s)ker-* ‘to cut’.

llurbë ‘sediment, mud’ < EPA **lur(i)bā* derived from **lu-r-a*, close to Lith *laũrë* ‘dirty person’.

thelb ‘kernel (of a nut)’ < EPA **tsaliba*, a derivative of IE **kel-* ‘to cover’, cf. OHG *hulsa* ‘shell’, OE *hulu* id.

2.3.1.2. The unvoiced labial **-p-* is very rare as a suffix. It has no clear Indo-European parallels.

cup ‘odd (uneven)’ < EPA **tsupa* from IE **k(e)u-po-*, based on **keu(ə)-* ‘to swell’, cf. Skt *śūnyá-* ‘empty’.

shtalp ‘rennet’ < EPA **stalpa*: Gk στέλλω ‘to put, to set’, OHG *stellen* ‘to put’, OPrus *stallīt* ‘to stand’.

Secondary suffixes based on **-p-* are also very rare:

kërc ‘stump’ > *këçcep* ‘stump, log, branch’

kashtë ‘straw’ > *kashtup* ‘skin of corn-cob’

Dental suffixes

2.3.1.3. The Indo-European suffix **-dh-* (in some cases, definitely continuing IE **dhē-* ‘to put, to set’) is retained in Albanian as EPA **-d-* > *dh*:

hurdhë ‘pond, pool’ < EPA **wurdā*: Slav **virъ* ‘whirlpool’, **variti* ‘to cook’, Lith *vėrdu*, *virti* id.

këpurdhë ‘fungus, mushroom’ < EPA **kapurdā*: Lith *kėpurė* ‘cap’, Latv *cepure* id.

This suffix seems to be genetically unrelated to EPA **-dj(a)* and its derivatives. The latter is connected with Gk $-\alpha\delta-$, $-\iota\delta-$, cf. $\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ ‘pasturing’, $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\pi\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ‘shield’, and their (less frequent) parallels in Indo-Aryan and Italic. EPA **-dj(a)* > *-ëz* is often used in deverbatives:

bluaj ‘to grind’ > *blozë* ‘soot’
dredh ‘to turn’ > *ndrizë* ‘band, bandage’
lej ‘to give birth’ > *lez*, *lemzë* ‘birthmark’
ruaj ~ *ruēj* ‘to guard, to keep’ > *ruazë* ‘glass bead’
shkoj ‘to walk’ > *shkozë* ‘beech’
shqyej ‘to break’ > *shqezë* ‘harrow’

Quite often, *-zë/-ëz* appears in denominatives where it reflects thematic EPA **-adja* or **-adjā*:

amë ‘odor’ > *amëz* ‘odor’
gjellë ‘food’ > *gjellëz* ‘salt’
mëllenjë ‘blackbird’ > *mëllezë* ‘blackbird’
miell ‘flour’ > *miellazë* ‘fine snow’
pe ~ *pë* ‘thread’ > *pejzë* ‘muscle, sinew’
thellë ‘dark’ > *thëllëzë* ‘partridge’
vajë ‘girl’ > *vajzë* ‘girl’

Rarer forms are based on EPA **-idja* > *-iz*:

**kurr* > *kurriz* ‘spine’
murrët ‘dark’ > *murriz* ‘briar’

2.3.1.4. One of the most widespread suffixes in the Albanian nominal system is **-ta* ~ *-tā*, which continues the Indo-European verbal adjective suffix **-to-*.

butë ‘soft, smooth’ < EPA **buta* < IE **bhugh-to-* comparable with Nlr *bog* ‘soft’ < **bhugho-*, Arm *bowt* ‘blunt’.

- fletë* ‘wing, leaf’ < EPA **awa-lekta* < IE **lek-* ‘to fly’ (Lith *lekiù*, *lėkti*, Latv *lėkt*, OHG *lecken* ‘to jump, to kick’).
hut ‘vain, empty’ < EPA **uta*, based on IE **euə-* : **uā-* ‘empty’, cf. Skt *ūnā-* ‘missing’, Lat *vānus* ‘empty’.
latë ‘small axe’ < EPA **laptā* close to (thematic) Slav **lopata* ‘spade’, Lith *lópezta* id. and (athematic) OPrus *lopto*.
lot ‘tear’ < EPA **lā(i)ta*, based on IE **lēi-* ‘to pour, to flow’.
mut ‘excrement’ < EPA **mukta*: Skt *muktā-* ‘released’.

The same suffix **-ta* (or its thematic variant **-ata*?) is productive in Albanian adjectives:

- dial. *blerë* ‘green’ > *blertë* id.
cermë ‘cold’ > *cemtë* id.
 OAlb *djathë* ‘right (side)’ > *djathtë* ‘right’
hidhem ‘to jump, to overflow’ > *hidhët* ‘bitter, sad’
lashë ‘old, early’ > *lashtë* id.
mek ‘to make wet’ > *mekët* ‘wet’

Corresponding thematic suffixes in substantives are relatively rare. They include EPA **-eta* > *-et* and **-atā* > *-atë*. The latter is identical with the Slavic suffix of *nomina abstracta* **-ota*, cf. **orb-ota* ‘work, labour’, **kras-ota* ‘beauty’ and the like.

- det* ‘sea’ < EPA **deubeta* ‘depth’ < IE **dheub-* ‘deep’, cf. Gmc **deupibō* ‘depth’ > MDu *diepde*, MLG *dēpede*, E *depth*.
lëgatë ‘marsh’ < EPA **leugatā*: Illyr ἔλος Λούγεον χαλούμενον (Strabo 7.43), Lith *liūgas* ‘marsh’, Slav **luža* ‘pool’.
lëngatë, *ligatë* ‘illness, sickness, ailment’ < EPA **ligatā* derived from **liga* > *lig* ‘ill, bad’.

EPA **-uta* > *-ut* is attested only once, though it is probably related to Balto-Slavic **-ūtъ*, **-ūta*.

- makut* ‘greedy, gluttonous’ based on **mak* derived from *maj* ‘to feed’.

2.3.1.5. In a limited number of substantives, we find the old suffix **-ti-* continuing IE **-ti-*, cf. Skt *srutt-* ‘flowing, streaming’, Gk ῥύσις id., Lat

vītis ‘vine’, OIr *féith* ‘sinew’, Lith *výtis* ‘twig of willow tree’ and the like.

- besë* ‘pledge, truce, trust’ < EPA **baitšī* close to Gk *πίστις* ‘faithful, trustworthy’.
botë ‘earth; world’ < EPA **bwātī*: Skt *bhūtī-* ‘existence’, Lith *būtis* id., Ir *buith* id.
dhunë ‘labor pains, shame, disgrace’ < EPA **eduntī* or **aduntī*: Gk *ὀδύνη* ‘labor pains’, Arm *erkn* id.
et ‘thirst’ < EPA **alk-tī-*: Lith *álkti* ‘to be hungry’, Slav **olkati* id., OHG *ilgi* ‘hunger’.

Historically based on **-ti-* is **-tja* ~ **-tjā*.

- djersë* ‘perspiration’ < EPA **widertjā*: Gk *ἰδρώς* id. < **suidrōt-s*.
dosë ‘pig, sow’ < EPA **dā(i)tjā*, derived from IE **dhē(i)-* ‘to suckle’.
nus ‘thread, string’ < EPA **snutjā*: Skt *snāvan-* ‘band, sinew’ and further to IE **sneu-* ‘to turn, to spin’.
plis ‘clod of earth, sod, piece of turf’ < EPA **plitjā*: Skt *phālati* ‘to burst, to split’, Lat *spolium* ‘stripped skin or hide, spoil’.
qersë ‘fallow land’ < EPA **kerktjā*: Slav **кѣрць* ‘stuffed plot’, Latv *kūrkt* ‘to become empty (of a turnip)’, OPrus *Curche* ‘the last sheaf in which a deity hides’.

The secondary suffix **-atj-* is based on **-tj-*:

- dërrasë* ‘board, stone plate’ < EPA **deratjā* based on IE **der-* ‘to tear, to split’.
gërresë ‘scraper’ < EPA **garatjā*, derived from *grij* ‘to cut into pieces’ < IE **g^her-*.
gjysmë, *gjym(ë)së* ‘half’ < EPA **jūmatjā*: Latv *jumis* ‘double fruit’, Skt *yamā-* ‘duplicate; twin’, Mir *emon* ‘twins’, Lat *im-āgō* ‘imitation, copy’.
shklesë ‘roof shingle’ < EPA **skalatjā* derived from *shkel* ‘to make a step, to walk’ < EPA **skala*.

Velar suffixes

2.3.1.6. Words where we find suffixes based on a voiced velar (EPA *-g- < IE *-g-) are very few. The same suffix is rather well attested in Balto-Slavic, cf. Slav **struga* ‘current, ship’, **četyrbgъ* ‘Thursday’. The following two cases are fairly reliable:

var ‘to hang’ > *varg* ‘row, chain, ring’
mëllë ~ *mullë* ‘swelling, lump’ > *mëllugë* ‘scale, scar, mark’

2.3.1.7. The primary suffix **-ka-* related to IE **-ko-* is attested in many Albanian words. Among the other Indo-European daughter languages it is preserved nearly everywhere, cf. Skt *dhākā-* ‘receptacle’, Gk θήκη id., Lith *pilkas* ‘grey’, Slav **znakъ* ‘sign’ and the like.

gak ‘boar’ < EPA **gauka* < IE **g^hou-* ‘cow’, similar to Maced γοτῶν (leg. γοῦτῶν): ὄν (Hes.) < **g^hou-to-*.

sarkë ‘build, frame, figure (of human body)’ < EPA **tšerkā* derived from IE **k^her-* ‘to make, to build’ (Skt *karōti*, Lith *kūrti*).

shtrek ‘corpse, carrion’ < EPA **streka* derived from IE **ster-* ‘unclean liquid, manure’.

thark ‘enclosure (especially, for milking)’ < EPA **tserka*, derived from *thur* ‘to fence, to enclose, to plait, to weave’ < EPA **tsurja*.

thikë ‘knife’ < EPA **tsikā*, derived from IE **kēi-* ‘to sharpen’ (Skt *śīśāti* ‘to whet, to sharpen’, Arm *sowr* ‘sharp; knife’).

thirqe ‘chickpea’, singularized plural of **thirk*, derived from *thjerrë* ‘lentil’ < EPA **tserā*, a non-reduplicated parallel of Lat *cicer* ‘pea’, Arm *siserēn* id. < IE **kī-ker-*.

This suffix served as a basis for the formation of secondary suffixes **-ik-* and **-uk-* similar to Lith *-ikas*, *-ukas*, Slav **-ьць* and **-ькъ*. IE **-iko-* is pretty well attested, cf. Skt *vāsant-ika-* ‘belonging to spring’, *vāṣṣ-ika-* ‘belonging to the rainy season’, Gk ἵππ-ικός ‘belonging to horses’, νυμφ-ικός ‘bridal’. Cf. the following examples of **-ik-*:

berk ‘bast’ < EPA **bardzika* derived from PAIb **bardza* > *bardhë* ‘white’.

brengë ‘grief, sorrow’ < EPA **brainikā* connected with **brainja* > *brej* ‘to gnaw’.

- bung* ‘kind of oak, *Quercus sessiflora*’ < EPA **bunika* derived from IE **bheu-* ‘to grow’ and closely related to Arm *bown* ‘trunk’.
grykĕ ‘throat’ < EPA **grīwīkā* < IE **g^hrīwā* ‘neck’ (Skt *grīvā*, Av *grīvā*, Latv *grīva* ‘river mouth’, Slav **grīva* ‘mane’).
petk ‘clothes, garment’ < EPA **patika*, derivative of *petĕ* ‘layer (of a flaky pâté); metal plate; flat stone’ < EPA **pati-* ‘flat object’ compared with IE **pet-* ~ **petə-* ‘to stretch’: Gk πετάννυμι *id.*, Lat *pateō* ‘to stretch, to be spread’.
shtalkĕ ‘frame’ < EPA **stalikā*, nominal derivative based on IE **stel-*, cf. Skt *sthāla-* ‘elevation’, Gk στολή ‘equipment’, MLG *stale* ‘post’.

EPA **-uk-* is less frequent:

- bark* ‘belly, womb, abdomen’ < EPA **baruka*: βάρ<υ>κα· αἰδοῖον παρὰ Ταραντίνοις continuing **bhor-uko-*.
barukĕ ‘fleece’ < EPA **barukā* derived from **barwa* > *berr* ‘sheep, goat’.

The origins of the suffix *-ak* ~ *-akĕ* are not quite clear. It may be borrowed from Slavic, though one cannot exclude its connection with such morphemes as Slav **-okъ* continuing IE **-ok^u-* rather than **-ok-*.

- bĕrrakĕ* ‘muddy pool, pond, swamp’ < EPA **bĕr-akā* derived from *bĕrĕ* ‘hole’.
lĕmaqe ‘expanse of rubble, stoneslide, pile of stones’, singularized plural of **lĕmak*, derived from *lĕmĕ* ~ *lamĕ* ‘threshing-floor, wine-press’ < EPA **lamā*: OHG *lam* ‘lame’, Slav **lomъ* ‘breaking; crow-bar; broken branches’.
lumak ‘bud, shoot; lichen, moss’ < EPA **lubn-aka* < IE **leubh-* ‘to peel, to skin’, cf. Lith *lubà* ‘board (of a ceiling)’, Latv *luba* ‘bark, board’, OPrus *lubbo* ‘board’, Slav **lъbъ* ‘forehead, skull’.

As to the suffix *-ok* (or *-oq* in singularized plurals), it continues EPA **-āk-* identical with Gk *-ᾱξ*, Lat *-ācus*, Celt **-ākos*, Lith *-okas*, Slav **-akъ*, cf. Gk *véᾱξ* ‘youth’, Lat *opācus* ‘shadowy’, OIr *cumachtach* ‘mighty’, Lith *juodókas* ‘blackish’, Slav **novakъ* ‘novice’.

harrok ‘he-goat’ < EPA **skar-āka*: Lith *skerỹs* ‘ram’, Latv *škēris* id., further connected with Gk σκάρω ‘to spring, to dance’.

këlboqe ‘sputum’, singularized plural of **këlbok* < EPA **kalb-āka* derived from *kalb* ‘to let rot’.

tarok ‘young bull’ < EPA **taur-āka* related to *ter* ‘bull’.

therokë ‘Passerina hirsuta; sweepings’ < EPA **tser-ākā* derived from *ther* ‘to slaughter, to pierce’ < EPA **tsera*: Skt *śṛṇāti* ‘to smash, to crush’, Gk κήρ ‘death’, OIr *do-cer* ‘(he) fell’.

2.3.1.8. One of the most productive suffixes in the system of Albanian noun is *-th* continuing EPA **-ts-* < IE **-k-*. However, the latter is nearly non-existent as an Indo-European suffix (with the exception of such rare cases as Skt *yuvaśá-* = Lat *iuventus* ‘youthful, young’). In many cases *-th* is used to form diminutives.

krand ‘Reisig, Blaetterzweig’ > *kranth* ‘little leaf’

lak ‘trap, sling’ > *lakth* id.

lez ‘Warze’ > *lyth* id.

sy ‘eye’ > *syth* ‘Masche, Knospe’

uri ‘Maulwurf’ > *urith* id.

ve ‘egg’ > *veth* ‘Made, Fliegenmade’

In many other words, it alters the meaning of the nominal stem, cf. the following examples:

birë ‘hole’ > *birth* ‘pimple’

bri ‘horn’, *brirë* > *brirth* ‘tentacle’.

halë ‘fish bone’ > *halth* ‘needle’

kap ‘lid, cover’ > *kapth* ‘path, mule track’

shteg ‘path, way’ > *shtekth* ‘parting (of hair)’

tra ‘beam, post’ > *trath* ‘roof slat’

vesh ‘ear’ > *vëth* ‘earring’

Suffixes in -s-

2.3.1.9. One of the most frequent *s*-suffixes in Albanian is **-us-* > *-(u)sh*, originally reflecting the perfect participle formant **-ues-* ~ **-us-*.

argēsh ‘crude raft supported by skin bladders, crude bridge of crossbars, harrow’ < EPA **argusa*: Skt *argala-* ‘bolt’, OE *reced* ‘building, house’.

lēpushē ‘mullein; broad-leafed plant’ < **lapusā* derived from *lapē* ‘hard piece of meat or skin; peritoneum; leaf’ < EPA **lapā*: Lith *lāpas* ‘leaf’, Gk *λοπός* ‘shell, husk, bark’.

meksh ‘buffalo-calf’ < EPA **magusa*: OIr *maug* ‘slave’, Goth *magus* ‘youth’ (from IE **maghu-*: **maghos*).

mērshē ‘corpse, carrion’ < EPA **merusa* based on IE **mer-* ‘to die’ (Skt *mriyāte*, Lith *mīrti*, Slav **mertī*).

moshē ‘age’ < EPA **mātusā* derived from **māti-* > *mot* ‘time’.

rrush ‘grape’ < EPA **rāgusa*: Gk *ρόξ* id.

viç ‘calf’ < EPA **vetusa* further related to **weta* > *vit* ‘year’.

In one case, the same suffix appears with a long vowel **-ūs-* > *-ysh*:

kēlysh ‘young of animal, cub’ < EPA **kul-ūsā*: Gk *κύλλα*: *σκύλαξ*, *Ἡλείοι*, Hes. further connected with *σκύλαξ* ‘young dog, cub’.

A rare suffix EPA **-esja* is used to form *nomina agentis*.

lupesh ‘glutton’ < EPA **lup-esja* derived from *llup* ‘to gulp down, to swallow’ < EPA **lupa*: Skt *lumpāti* ‘to break, to injure’, Lith *lūpti* ‘to peel’, Latv *lūpt* ‘to peel; to eat’, Slav **lupiti* ‘to peel’.

2.3.1.10. Several suffixes include *-s-* as their first element. EPA **-sk-* > *-shk* is probably related to the formant in Gk *δίσκοϛ* ‘quoit’, *βοσκή* ‘fodder’ (if not from **-sk-*).

dushk, *drushk* ‘oak’ < EPA **dru-ska*, a derivative of *dru* ‘tree’.

bashkē ‘fleece’ < EPA **baru-skā* derived from *berr* ‘sheep, goat’ < EPA **barwa*.

The following suffix **-isk-* (originally, an adjectival suffix) is based upon **-sk-* and can be immediately compared with a productive Balto-Slavic adjectival formant: Lith *lietùviškas* ‘Lithuanian’, Slav **děṭьskъ* ‘childish’.

dryshk ‘rust’ < EPA **drūdžiska* derived from **drūdza* > *drydhēt* ‘easy to plane (of wood)’ < EPA **drūdza* close to Slav **dryzgati*, **druzgati* ‘to squeeze, to crush’.

kreshkē ‘foliage’ < EPA **ka-rand-iskā* derived from *krēnd* ~ *krande* ‘foliage; brushwood; leaves used as fodder; chips; branch without leaves’ < EPA **ka-randa*, a prefix formation connected with IE **rendh-* ‘to tear (asunder)’ and, in particular, with OHG *rinda*, *rinta* ‘rind’, OE *rinde* id.

Suffix **-sta* ~ **-stā* was originally an adjectival suffix. In some cases, it might be connected with IE **stā-* ‘to stand, to put’.

bisht ‘tail’ < EPA **bū-sta*, derivative of IE **bhū-* ‘to grow’.

breshtë ‘wild, rough, rugged, rude’ < EPA **braišta* derived from *brej* < EPA **brainja* further connected with IE **bhrei-* ‘to cut’ (Skt *bhrīṇāti* ‘(he) injures’, Lat *friō* ‘to rub’, Slav **briti* ‘to shave’).

lagshtë ‘wet’ < **lag-sta* derived from *lag* ‘to wet’.

Several nouns with instrumental meaning are formed with the suffix **-ist-*.

gashtë ‘whetstone’ < EPA **galistā*, a suffixed derivative related to Lith *gālas* ‘end’, Latv *gals* id.

heshtë ‘spear’. < EPA **skōlistā*, derived from *hell* ‘spear’ < **skōla*.

kabisht ‘earwig’ < EPA **kab-ista*. Lith *kabėti* ‘to hang’, *kaba* ‘crooked tree’.

kashtë ‘straw’ < EPA **kalsistā*, derivative of *kalli* ‘ear (of grain)’.

lakshte ‘dew’ < EPA **laug-ista* derived from *lag* ‘to wet, to soak, to bathe, to wash’ < EPA **lauga*.

Nouns denoting location or period of time are formed with the suffix **-est-* > *-sht*, cf. Slav **-istje* > **-išče*.

blishtē ‘linden wood’ < EPA **blin-estā* based on *bli* ‘linden’.

kopsht ‘garden’ < EPA **kāp-esta*. Gk κῆπος id., OHG *huoba* ‘plot of land’.

vēsht ~ *vēsht* ‘vineyard’ < EPA **wain-esta* derived from **wainā* > *verē* ~ *venē* ‘wine’.

vjeshtë ‘autumn’ < EPA **wel-estā* derived from *vjel* ‘to pluck (fruit), to vintage’ < EPA **wela*: Gk εἴλω ‘to shut in, to press’, Lith *su-valýti* ‘to harvest, to reap’.

In Albanian, we find isolated traces of a suffix **-sla*, which is historically identical to Slav **-slo-*: **maz-slo* ‘butter’, **pręd-slo* ‘spindle’ and Lat **-slo-* in *ālum* ‘wild garlic’, *prēlum* ‘winepress’.

qull ‘porridge’ < EPA **klu-sla*: Gk κλύζω ‘to rinse’, Lat *cluō* ‘to clean’.

Suffixes in liquida

2.3.1.10. The primary suffix **-l-* is quite productive in Albanian. Historically it is connected with IE **-lo-*, cf. Gk στῦλος ‘pillar’, Lat *caelum* ‘chisel’, Goth *stols* ‘stool, seat’ and the like.

bukël ‘weasel’ < EPA **buklā* connected with *bukur* ‘beautiful’.

mill ‘sheath’ < EPA **meila*: Skt *minōti* ‘to fasten’, OIr *-tuidmen* id.

pellë ‘comb’ < EPA **petslā*: Gk πέκω ‘to comb’, Lith *pęšti* ‘to pull, to pluck’, Lat *pecten* ‘comb’.

tollë ‘bald spot; drum membrane’ < EPA **tāslā* < IE **tēkslā*: Lat *tēla* ‘cloth’, OHG *dehsala* ‘axe’, Slav **tesla* id.

vogël ‘small’ < EPA **wāgla*: Lat *vagor* ‘to roam around’, OIr *fán* ‘slope’ < **μāgno-*.

zulë ‘shout, glory’ < EPA **dzulā* < IE **gheμə-* ‘to call’ (Skt *hāvate*, Av *zavaiti*, Slav **zъvati*).

Among the secondary suffixes based on EPA **-l-*, the most productive is **-ul-*.

eh ‘to sharpen’ > *ehull* ‘icicle’

greh ‘to comb’ (variant of *kreh*) > *grehull* ‘thicket’

ha ‘to eat’ > *hamull* ‘stubble-field’

pendë ‘feather’ > *pendull* id.

pizgë ‘splinter’ > *pizgull* id.

sukë ‘low hill’ > *sukull* ‘lump’

thumb ‘thorn’ > *thumbull* ‘button’

uthët ‘sour’ > *uthull* ‘vinegar’

Another important suffix is **-il-* ~ **-īl-*. The latter can be compared with *-yla-* in Lith *akýlas* ‘observant’.

bijē ‘daughter’ < EPA **birilā* derived from **bira* > *bir* ‘son’.

kěrmill ‘snail, slug’ < EPA **krim-īla* derived from *krimb* ‘worm’ < EPA **krima*.

kěrrlē ‘sloppy mud, slime’ < EPA **kar-īlā*: ON *horr* ‘snivel’, OHG *horo* ‘excrement’, Gk κόρυζα ‘snivel’.

yll ‘star’ < EPA **skīw-ila*, a derivative of **skijā* > *hije* ‘shadow’.

In a few word we find **-el-*, which is related to the formant of Lith *didelis* ‘great’, *paršėlis* ‘piglet’.

gobellē ‘deep place (in water)’ < EPA **gāub-elā*: Lith *gaūbti* ‘to cover, to wrap’, Slav **gъbnŋti* ‘to bend’.

urelē ‘water-pit’ < EPA **urelā*: ON *ūr* ‘drizzle’, OPrus *wurs* ‘pool’, Gk ἄν-αυρος ‘devoid of water’.

2.3.1.11. The Indo-European adjectival suffix **-ro-* is continued by EPA **-ra-*. In Indo-European it is widely attested, cf. Skt *vāj-ra-* ‘thunderbolt’, Gk ἑλαφρός ‘light, brisk’, Lat *sacer* ‘sacred, holy’ and the like.

larē ‘white spot’, ‘spotted, motley’ < EPA **laurā*, based on *laj* ‘to wash’ < EPA **launja*: Gk λούω id., Lat *lavō* id.

makěrr ‘stagnant green on ponds’ < EPA **makra* derived from *makē* ‘glue, scum, skin (on the milk or other liquids)’. Cf. Slav **mokrъ* ‘wet’.

mirē ‘good’ < EPA **mīra* forming a separate isogloss with Slav **mirъ* ‘peace’ (related to IE **mei-*).

shtalbēr ‘wooden snare’ < EPA **stalbra*: ON *stolpi* ‘beam, girder’, Lith *stuļbas* ‘post, pole’, Slav **stъlbъ* id.

thembēr ‘heel’ < EPA **tsambrā* < IE **(s)kamb-* ‘to bend’: Gk σκαμβός ‘bent, crooked’, OIr *camm* id.

A secondary suffix **-ur-* is rather productive.

blehurē ‘pale’ < EPA **blaid-ura*: Slav **blědъ* id., OE *blāt* id.

bukur ‘beautiful, fine’ < EPA **bukura* connected with *bukěl* ‘weasel’.

lakur ‘naked’ < EPA **lauk-ura* derived from IE **leuk-* ‘to shine, to be white’.

In a limited number of words, IE **-tro-* > EPA **-tra-* is attested. It is connected with similar morphemes in many other Indo-European languages, cf. Gk *ρόπτρον* ‘tambourine’, Lat *rōs-tru-m* ‘beak’, OIr *criathar* ‘sieve’, Lith *vėtra* ‘storm’.

ketēr ‘squirrel, dormouse’ < EPA **kōk-tra*: Lith **kuokas* ‘dance’ (reconstructed from *kuokinė* ‘dancing party’) and Slav **skakati* ‘to jump, to spring’.

pītēr ‘frequent’ < EPA **pimtra*: OIr *éim* ‘quick, fast’, ON *finr* id.

thadēr ‘a kind of a double-sided axe’ < EPA **tsestrā*: Skt *śastrā-* ‘knife, sword’.

Suffixes in nasal sonorants

2.3.1.12. Deverbative adjectives and other, originally adjectival, derivatives are formed with EPA **-ma* < IE **-mo-*. Historically the same suffix is also used to form nouns from original verbs and nouns. Cf. in other Indo-European languages: Skt *ājma-* ‘path, course’, Gk *φλογμός* ‘brand’, Goth *doms* ‘judgement, sentence’.

barmē ‘bast’ < EPA **bardzmā* derived from **bardza* > *bardhē* ‘white’.

bimē ‘plant’ < EPA **būmā* < IE **bhūmo-* (Gk *φῦμα* id.).

bram ‘residue, scoria, rust, ear-wax’ < EPA **bradma*: Skt *bradhnā-* ‘reddish, yellow’, Slav **bronъ* ‘colored’ < **brodnъ*.

brimē ‘hole’ < EPA **brima*, an adjective in **-mo-* based on IE **bher-*.

grimē ‘crumb, bit’ < EPA **grima* derived from *grij* ~ *grīj* ‘to cut into pieces, to gnaw, to eat away’ < IE **g^her-* ‘to swallow’ (Skt *girāti*, Arm *eker*, Lat *vorō*, Lith *geriù*, *gérti* ‘to drink’, Slav **žerti* id.)

samē ‘dog’s excrements’ < EPA **tswa(n)-ma*, a derivative in **-mo-* of the Indo-European word for ‘dog’, cf. Skt *śvā*, Gk *κύων*, OIr *cú*, Lith *šuõ*.

term ‘foundation, plot of land’ < EPA **tarsma* derived from *ter* ‘to make dry’ < EPA **tarsja*, causative of **ters-*, cf. Skt *tarṣáyati* id., Lat *torreō* id., ON *þerra* id.

In a few cases, EPA **-ma* seems to result from the analogical modification of IE **-men-*, cf. for example:

hime ‘bran’ < EPA **skeidma* < IE **skeid-men-*: Goth *skaidan* ‘to divide’, Lith *skiedžu, skiesti* ‘to make thin’, cf. Lith *skiemuõ* ‘opening used to insert the shuttle’ < **skeid-men-*.

pjalm ‘dust, thin dust, fine flour’ < EPA **pelma*: Slav **polme* ‘flame’: Gk πᾶλη ‘fine flour’, Skt *palala-* ‘ground sesamum’, Lith *pelenaĩ* ‘ashes’, Latv *pēlni* id., Lat *pollen* ‘dust, fine flour’.

In several words, a secondary suffix **-im-* is attested, cf. Lith *-imas* in abstract verbal substantives: Lith *sukìmas* ‘turning’.

dasmė, darsmė ‘wedding’ < EPA **dartšimā*, derived from *darkē*.

helm ‘poison; grief, sorrow’ < EPA **skalima* connected with *hall* ‘trouble, misery, plight, sorrow’ < EPA **skalna*, cf. Gmc **skallaz* ‘thin, dry, shallow’ (E *shallow*) ~ **xallaz* ‘weak, tired’ (MHG *hel, hellec*).

kolmė ‘pretty, winsome’ < EPA **kālīma*, derivative of IE **kal-*: Skt *kalyá-* ‘healthy’, Gk Hom κᾶλός ‘beautiful’.

lismė ‘slate, fragile earth, stony field, clay’ < EPA **litšimā* related to *liq* ‘woof, weft’, singularized plural of **lik* < IE **leik-* ‘to leave, to remain’: Skt *riṇákti* ‘to leave’, Lat *linquō* id., OHG *līhan*.

An important productive suffix of adjectives is *-shēm* ~ *-çēm* < EPA **(i)sama* corresponding to Italic and Celtic superlatives in **-is-ṛmmo-*. Cf. the following examples:

mençēm, mendshēm ‘clever, intelligent’ < *mend* ‘mind’
arsyeshēm ‘reasonable’ < *arsye* ‘reason’
fujishēm ‘natural’ < *fujī* ‘nature’

2.3.1.13. Another type of deverbative adjective (later expanded to other types of nouns) is represented by EPA **-na* continuing IE **-no-*, cf. Skt *dī-ná-* ‘bound’, Gk σπαρ-νό-ς ‘scattered’, Lat *plēnus* ‘full’.

gjaln ‘rope, lace’ < EPA **salpna*: Slav **solpiti* ‘to stick out’, Lith *iš-selpinėti* ‘to get divided’.

gjerë ~ *gjanë* 'broad, wide' < EPA **saina* < IE **sēi-* 'long, late', cf. OE *síd* 'long, wide', Goth *seipus* 'late', OIr *síth* 'long', Lat *serus* 'late'.

gjër 'soup' ~ Geg *gjanë* 'mudbed, alluvium' < EPA **jausna*: Skt neut. *yūṣ* 'soup', Lat *iūs* id., Lith *jūšė* 'fish soup'.

karmë 'rock' < EPA **karpnā* further related to *karpë* id. < EPA **karpā*, cf. Lith *kerpù*, *kiřpti* 'to cut', Latv *cirpt* 'to shear, to clip', ON *harfr* 'harrow'.

lum 'blessed, happy, lucky, fortunate' < EPA **lubna*, an adjective in *-*no-* derived from IE **leubh-* 'to love, to wish'.

tru ~ *trū* 'brain' < EPA **taruna*: Skt *tāruṇa-* 'young, tender', Av *tauruna-* 'young', cf. also Gk τέρην 'tender', τέρυ ἄσθενές, λεπτόν (Hes.).

tërë ~ *tanë* 'whole, all' < EPA **twana* < **tuono-* < IE **teuə-* 'to swell' (cf. in particular Lith *tvinti* 'to rise, to swell (of water)', *tvānas* 'flood').

EPA *-*na* was the basis on which the secondary suffix *-*ena* was formed. It is connected with Slavic participles in *-*enъ*.

breshër ~ *breshën* 'hail' < EPA **braus-ena* < IE **bhreus-* 'to break': OIr *brúu* id., MW *breu* 'fragile', OHG *brosma* 'crumb'.

kulpër ~ *kulpën* 'ivy, clematis' < EPA **kulp-ena*: Lith *kilpa* 'loop', Latv *cilpa* id.

prehër ~ *prehën* 'bosom, lap; apron' < EPA **prōjena* *'front', originally, an adjective built on the basis of the locative Gk πρώί 'early, in the morning' = OHG *fruoī* id.

Another secondary suffix, *-*ina* > -*i*, is found in masculine nouns. Cf. Slav *-*ьнъ*, Lith *-ina-* (Lith *kūpinas* 'heaped up', Slav **дъльънъ* 'must').

ari 'bear' < EPA **arina* derived from *ar* id.: Skt *ṛkṣa-* id., Gk ἄρκτος id.

bari 'shepherd' < EPA **bar-ina*: OHG *baro* '(free) man'.

kalli 'ear of grain' < EPA **kals-ina*: Slav **kolsъ* 'ear of grain'.

2.3.1.14. EPA *-*ñjā* is quite productive.

drënjë 'cornel-cherry; healthy, sound' < EPA **draunjā* < IE **dreu-* 'tree'.

drinjë ‘brushwood’ < EPA **drūnjā* < IE **dreu-* ‘tree’.

enjë ‘juniper, yew’ < EPA **aignjā* related to the Germanic word for ‘oak’: ON *eik*, OHG *eih*.

rrënjë ~ *rranjë* ‘root; oak’ < EPA **wradnjā*: Gk ῥάδιξ ‘branch’, Lat *rādix* ‘root’, W *gwraidd*.

EPA **-ānjā* is used in denominatives derived from nouns of Indo-European origin, as well as from loanwords.

beronjë ‘barren woman; holly; kind of serpent’ < EPA **barānjā* based on **bara* ‘naked, barren’, borrowed from Gmc **bazaz*: OHG *bar* ‘bare’, ON *berr* id.

bilonjë ‘twig, branch; pretty girl or young woman’ < EPA **būlānjā*, a derivative of **būla*: Gk φύλον ‘leaf’.

gabonjë ‘eagle’ < EPA **gabānjā* related to *shkabë* id.

mishkonjë, *mushkonjë* ‘midge, gnat’ derived from **mushkë*, which is borrowed from Lat *musca* ‘fly’.

In one word we also find **-anjā*:

dëllinjë, *dëllënjë* ‘juniper’ < EPA **daislanjā* related to *dell* ‘sinew’ < **daislā*.

2.3.1.15. The old Indo-European present active participle suffix **-nti* can be detected in several Albanian nouns:

banë ‘dwelling’ < EPA **banti*, derived from *běj* ‘to make, to do’.

rëndë ~ *randë* ‘heavy’ < EPA **raunti* derived from the verbal stem of aor. *rashë* < **rau-sa* ‘to fall’.

thind ‘beak, nipple’ < EPA **kinti* < IE **kēi-* ‘to sharpen’: Skt *sísāti* ‘to whet, to sharpen’, Arm *sowr* ‘sharp; knife’.

Several nouns are formed with EPA **-unkā*.

ballungë ‘bump, swelling’ < EPA **bal-unkā* derived from *ballë* ‘forehead’ < EPA **balā*: Skt *bhāla-* id., OPrus *ballo* id.

shtëllungë ‘flock of wool’ < EPA **stel-unkā* derived from *shtjell* ‘to throw’ < EPA **stelā*: Gk στέλλω ‘to put, to set’, OHG *stellen* ‘to put’, OPrus *stallit* ‘to stand’.

shtrungë ‘milking enclosure’ < EPA **st(e)r-unkā* derived from *shtrij* ‘to spread, to stretch’ < EPA **strinja*: Skt *stṛṇāti* ‘to spread, to scatter’, Gk στόρνυμι ‘to spread, to stretch’, Lat *sternō* id.

Suffixes in **j*

2.3.1.16. The productive Proto-Albanian suffix **-ja ~ *-jā* goes back to IE **-jo-*, cf. Skt *gāvya-* ‘bovine’, Gk δῖος ‘heavenly, glorious’, Slav **ovъčъ* ‘belonging to the sheep’.

enjë ~ êjë ‘dairy goat’ < EPA **agnjā*: Gk ἀμνός ‘lamb’, Lat *agnus* id.

gjazë ‘riverside forest’ < EPA **sedja*, a derivative of IE **sed-* ‘to sit, to be settled’, cf. Slav **sadъ* ‘garden, grove’.

keq ‘bad, evil’ < EPA **kakja*: Gk κακός ‘bad’.

mesë ‘skin (of onion), milk-skin, film’ < EPA **matšjā* derived from *makë* ‘glue, scum, skin (on the milk or other liquids)’ < EPA **makā*: Lith *makénti* ‘to walk through a swamp’, Slav **mokrъ* ‘wet’, **moknŭti* ‘to become wet’.

teshë ‘speck of dust, little splinter’ < EPA **taksjā* < IE **teks-* (Skt *takṣati* ‘to carpenter, to cut’, Lat *texō* ‘to weave’, Lith *tašýti* ‘to hew’).

verzë ‘gill, branchia’ < EPA **wardjā*: Lith *varlë* ‘frog’ < **vardë*, Latv *vārde* id.

vise ‘place’ < EPA **wītsjā* < IE **ueikjā*: Gk οἰκία ‘dwelling, house’.

2.3.2. Prefixation

2.3.2.0. Prefixes are widely used in Albanian word-formation, especially in the derivation of verbs. Historically, in Proto-Albanian prefixes were still separate clitics, which syntactically preceded nouns. They grammaticalized at a later stage as a result of univerbation and of changes in the nature of Albanian stress.

Literature: XHUVANI-ÇABEJ *Parasht.* passim; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 103-112; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV/1 427 (prefix **ka-* ~ **ga-*), 437 (prefix **awa-*); HAMP *Festschr. Knobloch* 145-146 (prefix *z-*).

2.3.2.1. Verbal prefix **ambi* continues IE **ambhi* ‘around, on both sides’ (Gk ἀμφί, Gaul *ambi-* and the like).

mbath ‘to put on (shoes)’ < EPA **amb(i)-autsa* < IE **au-* ~ **ou-* id. (Arm *aganim* ‘to put on (clothes)’, Lith *aunù, aūti*, Slav **uti*).

mbes ‘to remain, to stay’ < EPA **amb(i)-etja* derived from *jes* ‘to remain’ < EPA **etja*, a denominative of *jetë* ‘life’ < EPA **eta*: the isolated group of Gk ἐτέος ‘true, real’, ἐτά ἀληθῆ, ἀγαθά (Hes.), ἐτάζω ‘to test’.

mbështet ‘to stand, to prop’ < EPA **ambhi-stata* based on **stata* < IE **statos* ‘standing’, cf. Skt *sthitá-*, Gk στατός id., Lat *status* id.

mbledh ‘to gather, to collect’ < EPA **ambi-ledza*: Gk λέγω id., Lat *legō* ‘to read’ < IE **leg-* ‘to gather’.

mbyll ‘to shut, to fasten’ < EPA **ambi-wela*, originally, **to encircle*: Skt *valati* ‘to turn’, Gk εἰλέω ‘to roll tight up, to close’, OIr *fillid* ‘to bend’.

mbys ‘to strangle, to drown, to kill’ < EPA **ambi-wītja*: Skt *vyáthate* ‘to sway, to rock’, Goth *wiþon* ‘to pour’

2.3.2.2. The verbal prefix **en* continues IE **en(i)* ‘in’ (Gk ἐν, Lat *in*, Goth *in*).

mbaj ‘to hold, to carry’ < EPA causative **en-barnja* < IE **bher-* ‘to bear’.

ndaj ~ *ndáj* ‘to divide, to separate’ < EPA **en-danja*: Skt *dáyate* id., *dāti* ‘to cut, to divide’, Gk δαίωμα ‘to divide’.

ndez ‘to set alight, to ignite’ < EPA **en-dadžja*, causative IE **dhog^hhejō* < IE **dheg^h-* ‘to burn’.

ngaj ‘to run’ < EPA **en-ganja*: reduplicated Skt *jáhāti* ‘to leave, to abandon’, OHG *gān, gēn* ‘to go’.

ngre ‘to lift, to raise’ < EPA **en-gradā*: Lat *gradior* ‘to step, to walk’, Goth acc. *grid* ‘step’, OIr *in-grenn-* ‘to pursue’, Slav **grędǫ, *gręsti* ‘to walk’.

ngus ‘to urge, to force’ < EPA **en-kutja*: Lith *káuti* ‘to strike’, Slav **kovati* ‘to forge’, Lat *cūdō* ‘to strike’, OHG *houwan* id.

ngjis ‘to stick to’ < EPA **en-gleitja*: Lith *gliejù, gliėti* ‘to smear’, *glitùs* ‘sticky’, Gk γλοιός ‘sticky stuff’.

2.3.2.3. The nominal prefix **ka* continues IE **kom* ‘near, by, with’ (Lat *cum*, Slav **kъ*). In Proto-Albanian it developed two main phonetic variants: Alb *k(ë)*- ~ *ka*-. Cf. the following examples:

kaçel ‘lame’ < EPA **ka-štšala* derived from *çalë* ‘lame’ < EPA **štšala*: Gk σκολιός ‘crooked’, Lat *scelus*.

kalesh ‘hairy’ < EPA **ka-laisa* derived from *lesh* ‘wool, fleece, hair’ < EPA **laisa* connected with the Balto-Slavic word for ‘foliage’: Lith *laiškas* ‘leaf’, Latv *laiška* ‘leaf on a linen stalk; stalk’, Slav **listъ* ‘leaf’.

këndë ~ *kandë* ‘pleasure, appetite’ < EPA **ka-antā* derived from *ëndë* ~ *andë* ‘appetite, desire, wish’ < EPA **antā*, cf. Gk ἄντα· ἄνεμοι, ἄντα· πνοός, Hes.

lllapë ‘puddle’ < EPA **ka-lapā* further related to *llap* ‘to lap up’ (of animals) < EPA **lapa*: Gk λάπτω ‘to gulp, to drink greedily’, Lith *lapėnti* ‘to swallow food’ (of pigs), Slav **lopati* ‘to eat up’.

krënd ~ *krande* ‘foliage; brushwood; leaves used as fodder; chips; branch without leaves’ < EPA **ka-randa*, a prefix formation connected with IE **rendh-* ‘to tear (asunder)’ and, in particular, with OHG *rinda*, *rinta* ‘rind’, OE *rinde* id.

On the other hand, in many words **ka-* yielded *g(ë)*- and *ga-* with an unexplained voicing of the initial *k-*. Sometimes both variants of the prefix coexist in one word. Cf. the following words:

galamsh ‘lame person’ < EPA **ga-lemesja* derived from *lëmsh* ~ *lamsh* ‘ball (of wool, thread), globe (of earth), pool, spellet’: Latv *lemesis* ‘sharp edge of the plough’, Slav **lemešb* ‘ploughshare’.

gdhe ~ *gdhë* ‘gnarl, knot’ < EPA **ga-daina*: Skt *dáyate* ‘to divide’, Gk δαίωμα id.

gështallë, *kështallë* ‘splint, piece of wood’ < EPA **ga-stalnā* < IE **stel-*.

gëthep ‘garden scissors; claw, nipper (of a scorpion)’ < EPA **ga-tsaipa*: *thep* ‘peak, point, cog, tooth’ < EPA **tsaipa*: Skt *śépa* ‘tail, penis’, Lat *cippus* ‘pole’.

glepë ‘matter from the eyes, rheum’ < EPA **ka-laipā*, derived from IE **leip-* ‘to smear with fat’.

grep, *gërjepë* ‘hook, fish-hook’ < EPA **ga-repa* related to *rjep* ‘to strip off (skin or bark), to tear off’ < EPA **repa* < IE **rep-*: Gk

ἐρέπτομαι ‘to eat’, Lat *rapiō* ‘to seize, to grasp’, Lith *rėpti* ‘to grasp’.

gloq ‘matter from the eyes, rheum, testis’ < EPA **ka-lāukja*, to IE **leuk-* ‘to shine; shining, white’.

The same **ka-* ~ **ga-* is also used in (mostly denominative) verbs:

gdhend ‘to plane’ < EPA **ga-dain-ta* derived from *gdhe* ~ *gdhē* ‘gnarl, knot’ < EPA **ga-daina*: Skt *dāyate* ‘to divide’, Gk δαίωμα id.

gdhij ~ *gdhīj* ‘to stay awake at night’ < EPA **ga-deinja* < IE **dino-* ~ **deino-* ‘day’.

gjaj ‘to resemble, to be like; to suit, to become; to seem; to happen’ < EPA **ga-lab-nja*, based on **lab-*: Lith *lābas* ‘good’, Latv *labs* id.

kēqyr ‘to look, to observe’ < **ka-kewira* derived from *qyr* ‘to look’ < EPA **kewira*: Gk κοίω ‘to note’, Lat *caveō* ‘to be aware’, Goth *hausjan* ‘to hear’.

In some cases (where original expressivity can be suspected), the prefix **ka-* developed a non-etymological epenthetic *-r-*:

kērbisht ‘sacrum, sacral bone’ < EPA **kar-būsta* derived from *bisht* ‘tail’ < EPA **bū-sta* < IE **bhū-* ‘to grow’.

kērlēsh ‘to stand on end (of hair)’ < **kar-laisa* derived from *lēsh* ‘hair’.

kērtyl ‘to fill up, to satiate’ < EPA **kar-tūla*: Lith *tūlas* ‘many’, Gk τύλος ‘corn’.

kērvēshem ‘to grin, to pull faces’ < EPA **kar-wesja* derived from *vēsh* ‘to put on’.

2.3.2.4. The prefix **awa-* continues IE **o_uo-* ~ **a_uo-* (cf. Skt *áva-* ‘out’, Slav **u*). In Proto-Albanian it normally appears in verbs. It developed into Alb *v-*, except before *l*, where it yields *f-*.

fle ~ *flê* ‘to sleep’ < EPA **awa-leja*: Slav **lějō*, **lějati* ‘to doze, to slumber’.

vdes ‘to die’ < EPA **awa-takja*, to **tek^u* ‘to run, to flow’ (OIr *techim* ‘to flee’, Lith *tekù*, *tekėti* ‘to run’, Slav **tekō*, **tekti* ‘to flow, to run’).

vëshjtjell ‘to wrap’ < EPA **awa-stela* derived from *shtjell* ‘to throw’ < EPA **stela*: Gk στέλλω ‘to put, to set’, OHG *stellen* ‘to put’, OPrus *stallīt* ‘to stand’.

vrap ‘to run, to haste’ < EPA **awa-rapa*, derived from *rjep* ‘to strip off (skin or bark), to tear off’.

vras ‘to kill’ < EPA **awa-rautja* < IE **reu-* ‘to tear, to destroy’: Skt *rutá-* ‘broken’, Lat *ruō* ‘to fall down, to rush down’.

The same prefix is attested in several deverbative nouns:

flegë ‘splinter’ < EPA **awa-lagā* < IE **legh-* ‘to lie’, cf. Gk λόχος ‘ambush’.

fletë ‘wing, leaf’ < EPA **awa-lekta*, derived from IE **lek-* ‘to fly’: Lith *lekiù*, *lëkti*, Latv *lëkt*, OHG *lecken* ‘to jump, to kick’.

flugë ‘shingle’ < EPA **awa-luga* < IE **leug-*, cf. Skt *rujāti* ‘to break’, Lat *lūgeō* ‘to mourn, to deplore’.

vështirë ‘hard, difficult, bad, evil’ < EPA **awa-stira* related to *shtie* ‘to pour in, to put in, to throw’ < EPA **stera*, cf. Skt *stṛṇāti* ‘to spread, to scatter’, Gk στόρνυμι ‘to stretch, to spread’, Lat *sternō* ‘to spread’, Slav **stьrg*, **sterti* id.

vrëndë ‘drizzle’ < EPA **awa-renta* derived from *rend* ‘to run, to hurry’ < EPA **renta*: Goth *rinnan* ‘to run’, ON *rinna* id.

vrërët ~ *vranët* ‘cloudy’ < EPA **awa-rena* based on *re* ‘cloud’.

vrug ‘rust, mildew, blight’ < EPA **awa-ruga*: Av *raogna-* ‘butter’, ON *rjúmi* ‘cream’.

2.3.2.5. The Indo-European adverbs **peri* (Skt *pári*, Gk πέρι) and **pro* (Skt *prá-* ‘forward’, OIr *ro-*, Goth *fra-*) developed into EPA **per* and **pra*, later merging into Alb *për-*. In some cases, we cannot exclude the fact that Lat *per-* and *prō-* that may also have taken part in the formation of Alb *për-*. The latter is quite productive and normally appears in verbs.

përgjoj ‘to pry, to peep, to spy’ < EPA **per-jāgnja* derived from *gjuaj* ~ *gjuēj* ‘to hunt’ < EPA **jāgnja*, cf. OHG *jagōn* ‘to hunt’.

përkul ‘to bend’ < EPA **per-kula* < IE **k^hel-* ‘to turn’.

përmjerr ‘to urinate’ < EPA **per-medzra* < IE **meiǵh-* id.: Skt *méhati*, Gk ομίχω, Lat *meiō*, ON *míga*.

përpush ‘to poke, to stir up’ < EPA **per-p(r)usa* derived from *prush* ‘hot ashes’.

përqell ‘to deride, to mock’ < EPA **per-kela* derived from *qell* ‘to halt, to hold up, to carry’ < EPA **kela*: Skt *kaláyati* ‘to impel’, Gk κέλωμαι ‘to drive on’.

përvjel ‘to fling out, to let fly, to turn over, to roll up, to cut the fleece on a sheep’s belly’ < EPA **per-wela* derived from *vjel* ‘to pluck (fruit), to vintage’ < EPA **wela*: Gk ἐΐλω ‘to shut in, to press’, Lith *su-valýti* ‘to harvest, to reap’.

The prefix *për-* is occasionally used to form adverbs:

përmbi ‘over’ < EPA **per-ambi*, with the first element identical with *për* and the second representing EPA **ambi*.

përpjetë ‘rising, uphill, rise, slope’ < EPA **pra-peta*: Gk προπετής ‘prominent’, προπέτομαι ‘to fly forwards’ and further to Skt *pátati* ‘to fly, to soar’, Gk πέτομαι ‘to fly’.

In a number of cases *për-* was phonetically transformed into *r(r)ë-*:

rëpjetë ‘steep’ ~ *përpjetë* ‘rising, uphill’
rëposh ‘below, underneath’ ~ *përposh* id.

2.3.2.6. In a limited number of nouns EPA **tsa-* > *th(ë)-* is attested. Its source is IE **k̑om* (Slav **sьm*).

thëngjill ‘hot ashes’ < EPA **ts(a)-angila*: Lith *anglis* id., OPrus *anglis* id., Slav **oglb* id., Skt *áṅgāra*- id.

thjeshtë ‘simple, easy’ < EPA **ts(a)-eksta*, based on **eksta* > *jashtë* ‘outside’.

thnegël ‘ant’ < EPA **ts(a)-angulā*: Lat *anguis* ‘snake’, Lith *angis* id., OHG *angar* ‘kind of maggot’, *engirine* ‘larva’, Lith *ankštūr* ‘maggot’.

thupër ‘twig, rod’ < EPA **ts(a)-upera* ‘upper’: OHG *obaro* id., Lat *super* id.

2.3.2.7. IE **dis-* preserved in Lat *dis-*, Goth *dis-* yielded EPA **dis-* > **diš-*. Having lost its unstressed vowel, **dš* > **tš* > Alb *s-* (before unvoiced phonemes) ~ *z-* (before the voiced). EPA **dis-* is mainly connected with the formation of verbs.

- sqaq* ‘to make weak’ < EPA **dis-kekja*: Lith *kėkos* ‘swing’, Latv *ķekut* ‘to swing’.
- stepem* ‘to be slow, to stop’ < EPA **dis-tapa*: ON *þefja* ‘to stamp, to ram’.
- zbej* ‘to make pale’ < EPA **dis-banja*: Skt *bhāti* ‘to shine’, OIr *bán* ‘white’.
- zdraj* ‘to swell, to make swell’ < EPA **dis-d(e)ranja*: Skt *द्र्णाति* ‘to burst’, Gk *δέρω* ‘to skin, to flay’.
- zvjerdh* ‘to wean’ < EPA **dis-verdza*: Lith *veržiù*, *veržti* ‘to lace, to tie’, Latv *vērzt* ‘to turn’, Slav **verzti* ‘to bind’.

However, the prefix **dis-* is also used in nominal formation:

- zgarbë* ‘hollow (in a tree)’ < EPA **dis-garbā* derived from *garbë* ‘notch, nick’ < EPA **garbā*: OIr *gerbach* ‘wrinkled’, ON *korpna* ‘to get wrinkled’, OPrus **garbis* ‘mountain’, Slav **gъrbъ* ‘hump’.
- zgavër* ‘hole’ < EPA **dis-gawirā* < IE **geu-r-*, **gou-r-* ‘bent, crooked’.
- zgrip* ‘side, edge, rim’ < EPA **dis-gripa*: OHG *krapfo* ‘hook’, ON *krappr* ‘narrow’.
- zgjedhë* ‘ox-yoke’ < EPA **dis-gadā* related to *gjedh* ‘cattle’.
- zverk* ‘occiput’ < **dis-warka* based on *vjerr* ‘to hang’ < EPA **wera*: Gk *ἀείρω* ‘to raise up’, Lith *veriù*, *vérti* ‘to weigh’, *sveriù*, *sveřti* ‘to open, to thread’.

2.3.2.8. IE **eǵhs* as an adverb became EPA **its* > *ith* ‘behind’. However, as a preverb **its* lost the first element of its affricate and became **is* > **iš* > *sh-*. This prefix is one of the most productive in Albanian. Cf. examples of *sh-* in verbs:

- shkep*, *shkrep* ‘to resemble’ < EPA **is-krepa* ‘body’: Skt *kṛp-* ‘shape, beautiful appearance’, Lat *corpus* ‘body’, OHG *hrēf* ‘body, lap’.
- shkmes* ‘to clip, to prune (bushes, trees)’ < EPA **is-kametjā* derived from *kmesë* ‘billhook, sickle’.
- shpie* ‘to bring away’ < **is-bera* derived from *bie* ‘to bring, to carry’.
- shpìh* ~ *shpif* ‘to slander, to calumniate’ < EPA **is-peikska*: OHG *fehan* ‘to hate’, Lith *peikiù*, *peikti* ‘to blame’.

- shporr* ‘to move away, to drive away’ < EPA **pāra*: Skt *pīpartī* ‘to bring over, to save’, Gk *περάω, πείρω* ‘to penetrate’.
- shquaj* ~ *shquej* ‘to discern, to stress, to learn’ < EPA **is-klāusnja* derived from *quaj* ~ *quej* ‘to call, to give a name’ < EPA **klāusnja*, a denominative based on IE **kleuōs* ‘glory, word’: Skt *śrávas-*, Gk *κλέος*, Slav **slovo*.

The same prefix is attested in numerous nouns:

- shkardhë* ‘dog chain; long stick attached to a dog’s neck to prevent it from biting its master’ < EPA **is-gardā*, connected with *gardhë* ‘fence’.
- shklepë* ‘matter from the eyes, rheum’ < EPA **is-ga-laipā* derived from *glepë* id. < EPA **ga-laipā* < IE **leip-* ‘to smear with fat’.
- shkrumb* ‘black ashes, anything burned to ashes’ < EPA **is-kruma* < IE **krem-* attested in Lat *cremō* ‘to burn’.
- shpardh* ‘oak’ < EPA **is-pardza*: ON *forkr* ‘stick, pole’ continuing IE **perǵ-*.
- shpat* ‘precipice, mountain forest’ < EPA **is-pata*: Skt *pátati* ‘to fly, to soar’, Gk *πίπτω* ‘to fall’.

2.3.2.9. A few Albanian words preserve the privative prefix **a-* < IE **ǵ-* (Skt *a-*, Gk *α-*, Lat *in-*):

- amull* ‘stagnant (of water)’ < EPA **a-mulwa*: Lith *muľvé* ‘silt, marsh’, *mùlti* ‘to get dirty’.
- egjëll* ‘on an empty stomach’ < EPA **a-salwa*: *gjell* ‘food’, *gjallë* ‘alive’.
- esëll* ‘on an empty stomach’ < EPA **a-tšilna* connected with *sillë* ‘breakfast’.

2.3.2.10. Numerous prefixes in Albanian are of expressive origin. Their etymologies are uncertain. Here, only some of those prefixes are adduced.

kaca-

- dre* ‘deer’ > *kacadre* ~ *kacadrë* ‘stagbeetle, grasshopper’
- gjel* ‘rooster’ > *rri kacagjel* ‘to brag’
- mitë(z)* ‘roe’ > *kacamit* ‘stag’

rroj 'to live, to stay' > *kacarroj* 'to climb, to clamber'
rrum 'maize-cob stripped of corns' > *kacarrum* 'corn-cob'

kala- ~ kali-

humb 'to leave, to loose, to spoil' > *kalihum* 'downwards'
maj 'to feed' > *kalaman* 'child (till the age of 9)'
mend 'mind' > *kalamend* 'to confuse'
qafë 'neck' > *kalaqafë* 'piggyback'
var 'to hang' > *kalivare* 'trickling down'
vesh 'grape' > *kalavesh* id.

karra-

bisht 'tail' > *karrabisht* 'earwig'
vesh 'grape' > *karravesh* 'stick'

*la- ~ lë-**

kuq 'red' > *lakuq* 'red (of earth)'
tredh 'to castrate' > *latredh* 'uncastrated ram'
bardhë 'white' > *lbardh* 'to make white'
bark 'belly' > *lëbarke* 'dysentery'
fyt 'throat, gullet' > *lëfyt* 'pipe, tube'
mazë 'milk-skin' > *lëmazë* 'thin skin, shell'

më-

këmbë ~ *kambë* 'leg, foot' > *mëkëmb* ~ *mëkamb* 'to set up'
krye 'head' > *mëkresë* 'tombstone'
shqerrë 'heifer' > *mëshqerrë* id.
keq 'bad' > *mkeqem* 'to get worse'

pili-

korë 'crust, bark' > *pilikuri* 'bare, naked'
pizgë 'wind instrument' > *pilipizgë* 'kind of pipe'
ve, voe 'egg' > *pilivesë, pilivoesë* 'dragonfly'

* Cf. the expressive prefix **la-* in Slavic.

shara-

nduk ‘to pluck out’ ➤ *sharanduk* ‘to pinch’

shën-

dritë ‘light’ ➤ *shëndrit* ‘to shine’

gjah ‘hunt, chase’ ➤ *shëngjetë* ‘best part of hunting trophies’

të-

amë ‘source, river-bed’ ➤ *tamë* ‘water-source’

banë ‘dwelling’ ➤ *tëbanë* ‘shepherd’s hut’

ëmbël ~ *ambël* ‘sweet’ ➤ *tëmbël* ~ *tambël* ‘sweetness’

lëndë ~ *landë* ‘wood, timber, material’ ➤ *tlandër* ‘bundle’

tër- ~ ter-

furkë ‘fork’ ➤ *tërfurk* ‘pitchfork’

heq ‘to pull, to draw’ ➤ *tërheq* id.

plotë ‘full’ ➤ *terplotë* ‘winnowing shovel’

poshtë ‘down, below’ ➤ *tërposhtë* ‘slope’

For some of the above prefixes, etymological correspondences can be tentatively suggested. Alb *lë-* may find a parallel in Slav **la-*. Alb *të-* may be compared with Skt *tat-*.

2.3.3. Compounds

2.3.3.0. Ancient Indo-European compounds are, in some cases, preserved in Albanian, even though they are no longer perceived as such. Proto-Albanian compounds have also added to the vocabulary that also became less transparent.

Literature: CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 89-94; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 67, 72-73.

2.3.3.1. The following compounds are inherited from Indo-European and/or Proto-Albanian:

bërryl ‘elbow, forearm’ < EPA **bōrei al(e)nā* (the second component is attested in *llërë* ~ *llanë* ‘arm’).

thë nukël ‘dogberry’ < **thë nubël* < EPA **tsunu-abōla-* ‘dog’s apple’: Dac κινούβοιλα ‘plant *Brionia alba*’ (Diosc. 4. 182) and Lith *šūn obuolas* ‘dog’s pumpkin’.

vëlla ‘brother’ < EPA **swe-laudā*, composite of pronominal IE **sue* and **laudā* < IE **leudh-* (OHG *liut* ‘people’, Slav **ljudъ* id.).

ylber ‘rainbow’ < EPA **al(e)nā bhōra* ‘rainbow’ < **‘curve’*, a mirror reflection of EPA **bhōrei ul(e)nā* > *bërryl*.

zot ‘lord, master, god’ < EPA **w(i)ts-pati-*: Skt *vis-pati-* ‘lord of the house’.

2.3.3.2. Various structural and semantic types of compounds are attested in modern Albanian. All of them are recent innovations:

ditëzi ‘unlucky’ < *ditë* ‘day’ + *zi* ‘black’

dorëzanë ‘pledge’ < *dorë* ‘hand’ + *zanë* ‘taken’

dredhalesh ‘spindle’ < *dredh* ‘to turn’ + *lesh* ‘wool’

gojëlidhni ‘wolf’ < *gojë* ‘mouth’ + *lidhun* ‘bound’

gunëdhirë ‘cloak made of goat wool’ < *gunë* ‘cloak’ + *dhirë* ‘of goat’

gjysami ‘bat’ < *gjysë* ‘half’ + *mi* ‘mouse’

manaferrë ‘kind of cherry’ < *man* ‘berry’ + *ferrë* ‘thorn’

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1. Verb

Verb stems

3.1.0. The Albanian verb system is founded upon the opposition of two main stems: present and aorist. There is also a third stem, that of the imperfect and 2 pl. present. Historically this stem is connected with that of the present, though displaying *e*: *i* umlaut.

3.1.1. Present stems

3.1.1.0. The Proto-Albanian present stems directly reflect the Indo-European present system as well as display Proto-Albanian developments. Numerous loanwords from Latin and Slavic have also influenced the present stems of the Albanian verbal system, too. According to the type of present, Albanian verbs can be divided into the following eleven classes:

Class I. Athematic root stems

Class II. Thematic stems

Class III. Nasal presents

*Class IV. Stems in *-sk-*

*Class V. Stems in *-j-*

*Class VI. Stems in *-n-*

*Class VII. Stems in *-nj-*

*Class VIIa. Stems in *-anj-, *-enj-, *-inj-*

*Class VIIb. Stems in *-ānj-*

*Class VIII. Stems in *-t-*

*Class IX. Stems in *-tj-*

*Class IXa. Stems in *-etj-, *-itj-, *-atj-*

*Class X. Stems in *-r-*

*Class XI. Stems in *-sj-*

Literature: MEYER *Alb. Gr.* 30 (analysis of *vete*); JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* 249 (presents in **-sk-*); Meillet *MSL* XXIX/2 119-122 (comparison of present stems in **-j-* with Germanic); BELIĆ *GSKA* CXLVIII/76 1-38 (derives 1 sg. pres. **-o* in Slavic from injunctive **-o-m*); SCHMID *Balt.* 98-99 (disagrees with MEILLET); MEID *Flexion*

passim (secondary endings in Celtic conjunct present); ÇABEJ *Hyrje* 108; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 43-48 (stems in **-nj-*); HAMP *Anc. IE* 116 (supports MEILLET); WATKINS *Geschichte* 45-46 (Celtic present); BADER *BSL LXXI/1* 47-49 (on Toch A 1 sg. pres. *-am* < **-o-m*); KORTLANDT *Lingua XLIX/1* 56-57 (Slav **-ǫ* from perfective **-a* followed by **-m*); MANN *Hist. Gr.* 125-136; OREL *Lingv. issl.* II 35-39, *ZfBalk XXII/1* 76-85.

3.1.1.1. Class I: athematic root stems (*mi*-conjugation). This class is very small and archaic. It includes the following verbs: *jam* ‘to be’, *kam* ‘to have’, *thom* ‘to say’ and *vete* ~ *vetem* ‘to go’.

The verb *jam* < IE **es-mi* (cf. Skt *ásmi*, Gk εἶμί) continues the Indo-European paradigm of the root present in most of its forms:

	sg.	pl.
1	<i>jam</i> < <i>*es-mi</i>	<i>jemi</i> < <i>*es-méi</i>
2	<i>je</i> < <i>*es-si</i>	[<i>jenj</i>]
3	<i>ēshtë</i> ~ <i>āšt</i> < <i>*en-sti</i>	<i>janē</i> < <i>*es-nti</i>

3 sg. contains an epenthetic *-n-*, probably the result of the analogical pressure from the 3 pl. 1 pl. corresponds exactly to the Baltic 1 pl. ending: OLith *esmi* < **esmie* < **esmei*. 3 pl. **es-nti* reflects an analogical back formation on the basis of the singular opposed to other Indo-European continuants of **es-* reflecting a thematized **s-onti*: Skt *sánti*, Lat *sunt*.

The athematic present of *kam* < **kap-mi* related to thematic Lat *capio* ‘to seize, to grasp’, Goth *haban* ‘to have’ may be a Proto-Albanian innovation. There exists thematic *kap* ‘to seize, to grasp’ < EPA **kapa*. It seems probable that **kapa* was drawn into the sphere of the athematic conjugation because it replaced another lost present stem or was connected with other athematic verbs of the same semantic field. The third athematic verb is *thom* ‘to say’ < **tsāns-mi* connected with Lat *cēnseō* ‘to assess, to value’. In Iranian (OPers *θātīy*) this stem is athematic.

The last athematic verb is *vete* ~ *vetem* ‘to go’. Though the etymological connections of this verb are more or less clear (cf. Lat *vādō* ‘to go, to

walk', ON *vaða* id. and probably Arm *gam* '(I) come'), the structure of the paradigm in singular is perplexing. The original form is retained in 1 pl. *vemi* < **wad-mei*. In the singular, however, we have to suppose an additional morpheme *-te* historically identical with *te* 'to, where, there' < EPA **tai*, reflecting IE **toi*. Thus, the original paradigm (only partly athematic, as the 2-3 sg. cannot be phonetically derived from **wad-si* and **wad-ti*) in the singular was as follows:

1	<i>*vem</i> < <i>*wad-mi</i>
2	<i>*ve</i> < <i>*wad-esi</i>
3	<i>*vet</i> < <i>*wad-eti</i>

Then a new morphological element was added:

1	<i>*vem te</i>
2	<i>*ve te</i>
3	<i>*vet te</i>

In the 2-3 pl. the above forms developed into the attested *вете*. In Geg, the 1 sg. evolved from **vem te* to *вете*. However, in Tosk **vem te* was transformed into *ve-te-m*.

It is probable that the verb *ik* 'to go away, to run away' < **eika* (with its variant *ikëj* now belonging to the VII/a class) was athematic in Albanian and its original present was **ei-mi* identical with Gk $\epsilon\hat{\iota}\mu\iota$. Its current present form was derived from the athematic imperative 2 sg. *ik* < **eika* connected with Lithuanian imperative *eĩk, eĩki* 'go!'. This substitution is remarkably similar to that of the athematic **ei-mi* in Slavic. Here, **ei-mi* was replaced by the innovative present **jьdǫ* '(I) go' based on **i-dhi*, an old imperative of **ei-*, cf. Skt *ihi*, Gk $\iota\theta\iota$.

3.1.1.2. Class II: thematic root stems. This class includes dozens of verbs with *e*-grade in present. Cf. a few typical examples:

- bredh* 'to jump, to spring' < EPA **breda*: Slav **bredǫ, *bresti* 'to wade, to ford', Lith *brendù, bristi* id.
djeg 'to burn' < EPA **dega* < IE **dhegʰ-* 'to burn' (Skt *dáhati*, Toch AB *tsak-, tsäk-*, Lit *degù, dègti*).
gjesh 'to knead' < EPA **jesja*: Skt *yásyati* 'to boil', Gk $\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ 'to boil, to cook'.

- pjek* 'to bake, to cook' < EPA **peka* < IE **pek^u* id. (Skt *pácati*, Gk πέσσω, Lat *coquō*, Slav **pekŕ*, **pekti*).
- pjell* 'to beget, to produce, to bear' < EPA **pela*: Lat *pellō* 'to drive, to push', Gk πάλλω 'to poise, to swell, to swing'.
- rjep* 'to strip off (skin or bark), to tear off' < EPA **repa* < IE **rep-* (Gk ἐρέπτομαι 'to eat', Lat *rapiō* 'to seize, to grasp', Lith *rėpti* 'to grasp').
- tjerr* 'to spin' < EPA **terka*: Toch B *tärk-* 'to turn' (only as part. pret.), Lat *torqueō* id.
- vdjerr* 'to leave' < EPA **awa-dera* 'to leave' < IE **der-* 'to run': Skt *drāti* 'to run, to hasten', Gk aor. ἔδρῶν 'to run away'.
- vjedh* 'to steal' < EPA **wedza* < IE **ueǵh-* (Skt *váhati* 'to drive', Lat *vehō* 'to bear, to carry', Goth *gawigan* 'to steal').
- zvjerdh* 'to wean' < EPA **verdza*: Lith *veržiù*, *veržti* 'to lace, to tie', Latv *vērzt* 'to turn', Slav **verzti* 'to bind'.

Other ablaut grades in the thematic stems are much rarer. In one unique case, lengthened grade is attested:

- shporr* 'to move away, to drive away' < EPA **pāra*: Skt *píparti* 'to bring over, to save', Gk περάω, πείρω 'to penetrate'.

The zero-grade *tudāti* type is rather frequent, though it seems to consist mainly of Proto-Albanian innovations:

- dal* 'to go out' < EPA **dala*: Gk θάλλω 'to bloom'.
- flak* 'to throw, to fling' < EPA **awa-laka*, derived from IE **lēk-* ~ **læk-* 'to bend, to jump' (MHG *lecken* 'to throw back, to spring', Lith *lekiù*, *lėkti* 'to fly', Latv *lèkt* 'to spring, to jump').
- grish* 'to invite' < EPA **grisa*, a zero grade of IE **g^herə-s-*, cf. Skt *gṛṇāti* 'to call, to invoke', Lith *giriù*, *girti* 'to praise'.
- leh* ~ *lef* 'to bark' < EPA **laja*: Skt *rāyati* id., Lith *lŏju*, *lŏti* id., Slav **lajati*.
- nduk* 'to pluck out, to pull out, to tear' < EPA **en-duka*: Goth *tiuhan* 'to pull', Lat *dūcō* id.
- ndulkem* 'to ripen' < EPA **en-tulka*: Lith *telkiù*, *telkti* 'to gather, to bring together', Slav **telkti* 'to beat, to pound', **tĭlkati* 'to push'.

thek ‘to roast, to toast (bread)’ < EPA **tsaka* < IE **k̑rk-* cf. Gk κέγκει· πεινᾶ, καγκομένης· ξηρᾶς τῶ φόβῳ (Hes.), πολυκαγκής ‘burning strongly’ (Hom.).

Numerous verbs have thematic presents in *o*-grade, but only some of them can be described as denominative formations:

kalb ‘to let rot’ < EPA **kalba* derived from *qelb* ‘pus’ < **kalba* (singularized plural).

mbar ‘to bring (back)’ < EPA **en-bara*, based on the noun **bara* related to *bie* ‘to carry’.

In many other verbs the *o*-grade is unmotivated:

derdh ‘to pour out’ < EPA **darda* close to Lith *dardėti* ‘to rattle’, Latv *dārdēt* ‘to creak’, W *go-dyrddu* ‘to mumble, to grumble’.

hap ‘to open’ < EPA **skapa*: IE **skep-* ‘to cut, to split, to dig’.

lag ‘to wet, to soak, to bathe, to wash’ < EPA **lauga*: Illyr ἔλος Λούγειον καλούμενον (Strabo 7.43), Lith *liūgas* ‘marsh’, Slav **luža* ‘pool’.

shkel ‘to make a step, to walk’ < EPA **skala*: Skt *skhālate* ‘to stumble, to trip’.

ul ‘to lower’ < EPA **wala*: Gk εἴλω ‘to shut in, to press’, Lith *valyti* ‘to clean’, *iš-valyti* ‘to carry away’.

vrap ‘to run, to haste’ < EPA **awa-rapa*, derived from *rjep* ‘to strip off (skin or bark), to tear off’.

3.1.1.3. Class III: nasal presents. This type has become relatively limited in Proto-Albanian. In one case we find a zero grade of a nasal present attested (as a full grade) in Baltic:

qek ‘to mention, to quote’ < EPA **kaka* < IE **k̑k̑om* (Lith *kankù*, *kàkti* ‘to seize, to reach’, Latv *kacēt* ‘to grasp’, Slav **čekati* ‘to expect, to wait’).

There also seems to be an innovative nasal infix in one denominative formation:

mënd ‘to suckle, to feed’ < EPA **manzda*, based on *maj* ~ *mâj* ‘to feed, to fatten’ < EPA **mazdnja*, cf. IE **mazd-* ‘feeding’: OHG *mast*, Skt *médas-* ‘fat, marrow’.

The majority of Proto-Albanian nasal presents go back to verbal roots with a diphthong. Corresponding nasal presents, in fact, seem to be innovations replacing old thematic stems containing diphthongs:

bind ‘to convince, to persuade’ < EPA **binda* < IE **bheidh-* ‘to persuade, to force’.

humb ‘to leave, to lose, to spoil, to miss, to drown’ < EPA **skumba*, nasal present of IE **skeubh-* (Goth *af-skiuban* ‘to push away, to reject’, Lith *skumbù*, *skùbti* ‘to hurry, to hasten’).

lind ‘to bear, to beget; to be born’ < **linda* related to *lej* ‘to give birth’ < **laidnja*: Lith *léisti* ‘to let’, Latv *lâist* id.

mund ‘to be able’ < EPA nasal present **munda*: Lith *mudà* ‘possibility’, *mudúoti* ‘to try, to attempt’, Skt *módate* ‘to rejoice, to be merry’.

shkund ‘to shake, to swing’ < EPA **skunta* < IE **skeut-*: Mlir *scothaid* ‘to cut off’, Lith *skutù*, *skùsti* ‘to scrape’.

tund ‘to move, to stir, to swing’ < EPA **tunda*: Skt *tundate* ‘to push, to strike’, Lat *tundō* ‘to push’.

3.1.1.4. Class IV: stems in **-sk-*. Old present stems in **-sĕ/o-*, originally-iteratives and duratives, were widespread in Proto-Albanian, where the suffix became EPA **-sk-* > **-x-* > *-h-* ~ *-f-*. In Albanian, stems in **-sĕ/o-* are formed from roots ending in occlusives or vowels, though not sonorants, with the only exception of *njeh*.

Most of these presents have *e*-grade vocalism:

deh ‘to inebriate’ < EPA **degska* related to *djeg* ‘to burn’ < EPA **dega*: IE **dheg^h-* ‘to burn’: Skt *dāhati*, Toch AB *tsak-*, *tsāk-*, Lit *degù*, *dègti*.

fsheh ~ *mshef*, *mçef* ‘to hide’ < EPA **skepska*: Gk σκέπω ‘to cover, to shield, to screen’.

grih ‘to sharpen’ < EPA **greiska*: Gk χρίω ‘to rub, to anoint, to prick’, Lith *griėjù*, *griëti* ‘to scoop cream from milk, to take hold of’.

kreh ~ *kref* 'to comb' < EPA **grebska*: Lith *grėbti* 'to rake', Slav **grebo*, **grebti* 'to row, to rake'.

meh ~ *mef* 'to soak' < EPA **meu-ska*: Latv *maût* 'to dive', Slav **myti* 'to wash'.

ndih ~ *ndif* 'to help' < EPA **en-deiska*: Gk δίεμαι 'to hurry, to drive', Skt *dīyati* 'to fly, to soar'.

njuh ~ *njef* 'to count, to consider' < EPA **nemska*: Gk νέμω 'to divide', Goth *niman* 'to take', Lat *numerus* 'member, element, number' and *nummus* 'coin, money'.

shpjh ~ *shpif* 'to slander, to calumniate' < EPA **is-peikska*: OHG *fehan* 'to hate', Lith *peikiù*, *peikti* 'to blame'.

In one archaic case, lengthened *e*-grade **ē* > **ā* is attested in contrast with other Indo-European languages:

shoh ~ *shof* 'to see' < EPA **sākska* < IE **sek^u* 'to follow, to see': Skt *sācate* 'to accompany, to follow', Gk ἕπομαι, Lat *sequor*, cf. in particular Goth *saihan* 'to see'.

There are two cases with the zero-grade vocalism:

grah ~ *graf* 'to spur on, to call, to roar' < EPA **graska*: Skt *grṇāti* 'to call, to invoke', Lith *giriù*, *girti* 'to praise'.

rrah 'to beat, to strike' < EPA **wragaska*: Gk ῥόσσω id.

An unusual vocalism is found in *njuh* ~ *njof* which can be explained as an extreme archaism corresponding to Anatolian data:

njuh ~ *njof* 'to know' < EPA **gnāska* < IE **ĝenə-* ~ **ĝnō-* id., cf. Gk γιγνώσκω, Epidaur γνώσκω, Lat (*g*)*nōscō* but OHitt *ga-ne-es-zi* 'to find, to recognize, to know' < **ĝneH-s-ti*.

Among the verbs in **-ske/o-* we find several *o*-grade denominatives and deverbatives:

eh 'to sharpen' < EPA **akska* derived from IE **akos* 'sharp'.

plah ~ *plaf* 'to cover' < EPA **p(e)laska*, to Gk πέλας 'skin', Lith *palà* 'linen kerchief', *plenē* 'thin skin, membrane', ON *fjall* 'skin'.

preh 'to sharpen' < **per-akska*, cf. *eh*.

shkreh ‘to release (safety device, trigger)’ < **is-krapška* derived from *shkrep* ‘to strike (fire); to release (trigger)’, *krep* ‘rock’ < EPA **krapa*.

shpreh ‘to express, to speak’ < EPA **is-per-akška*, further connected with *eh*.

3.1.1.5. Class V: stems in *-j-. Several different Indo-European types yielded Proto-Albanian present stems in **-j-*. The first source are the Indo-European iteratives/causatives in **-eje/o-*, usually with *o*-grade (other causatives were replaced by innovative stems in **-nj-*, see below) vocalism:

dhez ‘to set on fire, to burn’ < EPA **dadžja* connected with *djeg* ‘to burn’ < IE **dhegʰh-*.

fāj ‘to fill, to cram, to surfeit’ < EPA **spanja*: Gmc **spannjan* ‘to tighten’ (ON *spenna* and the like).

ndez ‘to set alight, to ignite’ < EPA **en-dadžja*, cf. *dhez*.

shperr ‘to win (money), to gain’ < EPA **sparja*: Gmc **sparōjan* ‘to leave unharmed, to keep’: ON *spara*, OHG *sparōn*, OE *sparian*.

ter ‘to make dry’ < EPA **tarsja*: Skt *tarśáyati* id., Lat *torreō* id., ON *þerra* id.

vesh ‘to put on (clothes), to cover’ < EPA **wesja*: Skt *vāsáyati* and Goth *wasjan* id.

Another group is represented by Indo-European verbs in **-je/o-*. Some of them are inherited from Indo-European. Others seem to be innovations. In this group *e*-grade vocalism is extremely common:

bie ‘to bring’ < EPA **berja* < IE **bher-* ‘to bring, to carry’ (Skt *bhárati*, Gk φέρω, Lat *ferō*).

dhjes ‘to defecate’ < EPA **dzedtja*: Skt *hadati* id., Gk χέζω id.

ěj ~ aj ‘to blow, to swell’ < EPA **anja*: Skt *ániti* ‘to breathe’, Goth *us-anan* ‘to blow out’.

fioh ~ fiof ‘to cool, to make cold’ < EPA **awa-tāja* < IE **tā-* ‘to melt’ (Slav **tajō*, **tajati*, Osset *tajyn* id.).

ndej ~ nděj ‘to stretch out, to spread’ < EPA **en-tenja*: Gk τείνω ‘to stretch’, ἐν-τείνω ‘to stretch out’ and, further, to Skt *tanóti* ‘to expand’, OHG *denen* ‘to stretch’.

qas ‘to approach’ < EPA **ketja* connected with the isolated Lith *kečiù*, *kėsti* ‘to stretch’.

Some of them show zero-grade or *o*-grade vocalism:

- běj* ~ *bâj* ‘to do, to make’ < EPA **banja*: Gk φαίνω ‘to appear’.
fus ‘to put in, to thrust in, to insert; to plant’ < EPA **sputja*: Lat *putō* ‘to trim, to prune’, Toch A, B *putk-* ‘to divide’.
kep ‘to hew’ < EPA **kapja*: Gk κόπτω ‘to hit, to hew’, Lith *kapiù*, *kàpti* ‘to hew’.
rris ‘to pull up, to move up, to increase, to grow’ < EPA **writja* < IE **uert-* ‘to turn’: Skt *vartate*, Lat *vertō*, Goth *wairþan* ‘to become’.

Albanian also has numerous denominative verbs in **-j-*, similar to Baltic and Slavic denominatives in Lith *-yti* ~ Slav **-jǫ, *-itǐ*:

- gdhij* ~ *gdhîj* ‘to stay awake at night’ < EPA **ga-dinja* based on IE **dino-* ~ **deino-* ‘day’: Skt *dîna-* ‘day’, Slav **dьnъ* id., Lith *dienà* id., Latv *diena* id.
jes ‘to remain’ < EPA **etja*, a denominative of *jetë* ‘life’ < EPA **eta*: the isolated group of Gk ἐτέος ‘true, real’, ἐτά: ἀληθῆ, ἀγαθά (Hes.), ἐτάζω ‘to test’.
loz ‘to move, to shake, to play’ < EPA **lādja*: Slav **laditi* ‘to make order, to make peace’ based on **ladъ* ‘order, peace’.
ndes ‘to have troubles’ < EPA **en-datšja* reflecting IE **dek^u* and related to the denominative Lith *dàkyti* ‘to mix up, to put in disorder’.
pelq ‘to stir up (water)’ < EPA **pelkja*: *pélké* ‘marsh, swamp’, Latv *peļce* ‘puddle’.
plas ‘to burst, to split’ < EPA **platja*, a denominative verb: Skt *prthú-* ‘broad, wide’, Gk πλατύς id., Lith *platùs* id.
tres ‘to melt, to loosen, to dissolve’ < EPA **trōtja*: Slav **tratjo*, **tratiti* ‘to spend, to waste’
zěj ~ *zâj* ‘to call’ < EPA **džanja*: Slav **zvonjo*, **zvoniti* ‘to ring’, cf. *zě* ~ *zâ* ‘voice’ < EPA **džana*: Arm *jain* ‘voice’, Slav **zvонъ* ‘ringing, sound’ < IE **ǵh₂en-*.

3.1.1.6. Class VI: stems in **-n-*. These stems continue Indo-European presents in **-ne/o-*. Only two of them have *e*-grade vocalism:

çem ‘to bring to light, to disclose, to reveal, to broach’ < EPA **štšepna* < IE **skep-* ‘to cut, to split’.

zë ~ *zâ* ‘to seize, to grasp, to touch’ < EPA **džeina* based on IE **gʷejō-* ‘to overpower’: Skt *jyā* ‘force, power’, *jāyati* ‘to win, to conquer’, Gk βίη ‘power’.

Several verbs in *-*n-* have *o*-vocalism. Some of them could be interpreted as replacing older causatives or denominatives in *-*je/o-* or original verbs of II class:

harr ‘to weed, to cut down’ < EPA **skarna*, a denominative of IE **sker-* ‘to cut’, cf. Goth *us-skarjan* ‘to tear out’, Lith *skiriù*, *skirti*.

kall ‘to insert, to thrust, to place, to incite, to set on fire’ < EPA **kalna*, cf. *sjell* < **kʷel-*.

lë ~ *lâ* ‘to let’ < EPA **laidna*. Lith *lëisti* id., Latv *lāist* id., Goth *letan* id.

tall ‘to ridicule, to deride’ < EPA causative **talna*. OIr *tuilid* ‘to sleep’, Lith *tylù*, *tilti* ‘to become silent’, Slav **toliti* ‘to persuade, to make quiet’.

The following Albanian innovation is an obvious denominative:

marr ‘to take, to grasp’ < EPA **marna*, based on the heteroclitic word for ‘hand’ preserved in Gk μόρη, Lat *manus*.

Another innovation is based on an Indo-European adverb:

vë ~ *vê* ‘to put’ < EPA **awena* based on IE **awe* ‘down, off’ (Skt *áva* id.).

There appears to be one lengthened grade *n*-stem:

dua ~ *due* ‘to love’ < EPA **dāusna* < IE **gʷeus-* ‘to taste’, cf. Skt *jōṣati* ‘to be fond of’, Gk γεύομαι.

3.1.1.7. Class VII: stems in *-*nj-*. This new class of presents was very productive in Proto-Albanian. It replaced several old types of present. In a few cases verbs in *-*nj-* continue Indo-European causatives in *-*eje/o-*:

mbaj ‘to hold, to carry’ < EPA **en-barnja*, a causative derived from **bera* > *bie*.

ziej ‘to boil, to cook’ < EPA **džernja* derived from IE **g^hher-* ‘hot’.

Some presents in **-nj-* go back to Indo-European stems in **-ne/o-* and presents with a nasal infix:

brej ~ *brêj* ‘to gnaw’ < EPA **brainja* < IE **bhrei-* ‘to cut’ (Skt *bhrīṇāti* ‘(he) injures’, Lat *friō* ‘to rub’, Slav **briti* ‘to shave’).

buj ~ *bûj* ‘to accomodate (a guest); to stay overnight’ < EPA **budnja*: Lith *bundù* ‘to wake up’, Slav **bъdnŏ* ‘to be awake’.

gjej ~ *gĵej* ‘to find’ < EPA **gadnja* < **gh^hpd-*: Gk *χάυνδανω*, aor. *ἔχασσον* ‘to seize, to grasp’, Lat *pre-hendō* id., ON *geta* id.

shrij ‘to spread, to stretch’ < EPA **strinja*: Skt *strñāti* ‘to spread, to scatter’, Gk *στόρνωμι* ‘to spread, to stretch’, Lat *sternō* id.

vej ‘to weave’ < EPA **webnja* < Skt *ubhnāti* ‘to lace up’, OHG *weban* ‘to weave’, Toch B *wāp-* id.

Certain verbs in **-nj-*, in fact, go back to verbs in **-je/o-* (including denominatives):

daj ‘to divide’ < EPA **danja*: Gk *δαίωμα* ‘to divide’, Skt *dáyate* id.

druaj ~ *druej* ‘to be afraid’ < EPA **drānja* derived from *dre*, *droe* ‘fear’ < PALb **drāwā*.

gjaj ‘to resemble, to be like; to suit, to become; to seem; to happen’ < EPA **ga-lab-nja*, based on **lab-*: Lith *lābas* ‘good’, Latv *labs* id.

luaj ~ *luej* ‘to move, to shake, to play’ < **lādnja* connected with *loz* id. < EPA **lādja*: Slav **laditi* ‘to make order, to make peace’ based on **ladъ* ‘order, peace’.

qaj ~ *qanj* ‘to cry, to weep’ < EPA **klaunja*: Gk *κλαίω* < **κλάφιω* id.

shtoj ‘to increase’ < EPA **stānja*: Lith *stóju*, *stóti* id., Slav **stojo*, **stojati* id.

thaj ‘to dry’ < EPA **sausnja*, a derivative of IE **sauso-* ‘dry’: Gk *αῦος*, MHG *sôr*, Lith *saūsas*, Slav **suxъ*.

In other cases, verbs in **-nj-* go back to thematic presents:

boj, *bohēt* ‘to mate’ < EPA **bāgnja*: Lith *bēgti* ‘to run’, Latv *bēgt* id., OPrus *begeyte* id., Slav **bēgti* id., Gk φέβομαι id.

čaj ‘to split, to cleave, to smash, to batter, to chop up’ < EPA **štšednja* < IE **sked-* ‘to split’: Skt *skhadate* id., Gk σκεδάω id.

krej ‘to pull out’ < EPA **krebња* < IE **ghrebh-*, cf. *kreh*.

laj ~ *lāj* ‘to wash’ < EPA **launja*: Gk λούω id., Lat *lavō* id.

ngaj ‘to run’ < EPA **en-ganja*: reduplicated Skt *jāhāti* ‘to leave, to abandon’, OHG *gān*, *gēn* ‘to go’.

ngij ~ *ngīj* ‘to sate, to suckle’ < EPA **gleinja*: Lith *gliejù*, *glieti* ‘to smear’, OHG *klēnan* id.

3.1.1.8. Class VIIa: stems in **-anj-*, **-enj-*, **-inj-*. Historically, a class of secondary formations (many of them denominatives) based on the suffix **-nj-* of Class VII:

fshāj ‘to sigh’ < EPA **pušanja*: Lith *pùškinti* ‘to puff’, *puškėnti* ‘to splash’, Slav **pyxati* ‘to blow, to puff’.

gērdhij ‘to scratch’ < EPA **grad-īnja* < IE **ghr̥dh-* cf. OE *grindan* ‘to grind’, Lith *grėndžiu*, *grėsti* ‘to scrape, to scratch’.

hyj ~ *hyej* ‘to enter’ < EPA **eiwinja*: Skt *éva-* ‘speedy’, Lith *at-eīvis*, *at-éiva* ‘newcomer, stranger’, *per-eivis*, *pér-eiva* ‘tramp, vagrant’.

kēsen ‘to ache (of the stomach), to have griping pains’ < EPA **kantšenja*: Lith *kenkiù*, *keñkti* ‘to damage, to harm’, ON *há* ‘to torment’ < Gmc **xanxōn*.

kij ‘to prune, to trim’ < **kēinj* < EPA **kadinja*, a denominative verb derived from *kadhē* ‘pruning-knife, billhook with long handle’ < EPA **kadā*.

lyej ‘to smear, to oil’ < EPA **elaiwanja*, based on **elaiwā* borrowed from Gk ἔλαιον ‘oil’.

mpij ~ *mpīj* ‘to numb, to make stiff’ < EPA **en-pāginja*: Gk πήγνυμι ‘to make firm, to make stiff’, Lat *pangō* id., Goth *fāhan* ‘to catch’.

ryej ‘to suffer’ < EPA **raudinja*: Skt *róditi* ‘to weep, to roar’, Lat *rūdō* ‘to shout, to cry’, Lith *raudà* ‘weeping’, Slav **rydati* ‘to weep’.

rrej ~ *rrēj* ‘to deceive’ < EPA **arn-enja*: Gk ἀρνέομαι ‘to lie’.

*Class VIIb: stems in *-ānj-.* This suffix is a modification of Indo-European **-ā-/*-ē-* stems, cf. Gk τῆμόω ‘to bring to shame’, Lat *plantāre* ‘to plant’ correspond to Sanskrit forms in *-ya-*. In Albanian **-ānj-* was widely used to adapt loanwords (see below). Inherited Indo-European vocabulary forms denominatives with stems in **-ānj-*.

harm(i) ‘broken wind, pursiness’ ➤ *harmoj* ‘to exhaust’
kalla ‘slander, calumny’ ➤ *kalloj* ‘to slander, to tell stories’
larë ‘white spot’ ➤ *laroj* ‘to speckle, to variegate; to flatter’
lëvorzë ‘peel, skin’ ➤ *lëvorzj* ‘to peel’
lodër ‘game, play’ ➤ *lodroj* ‘to spring, to dance, to play’
parë ‘first’ ➤ *mbaroj* ‘to end, to complete’
shteg ‘path, way’ ➤ *shkoj, shtekoj* ‘to go’

3.1.1.9. Class VIII: stems in *-t-. A few present stems **-t-*, probably originally coming from participles in **-to-* and later used in denominatives:

gdhend ‘to plane’ < EPA **ga-dain-ta* derived from *gdhe* ~ *gdhë* ‘gnarl, knot’ < EPA **ga-daina*: Skt *dáyate* ‘to divide’, Gk δαίωμα id.
mbart ‘to bear, to carry (back)’ < EPA **en-barta* derived from *mbar* ‘to bring (back)’ < EPA **en-bara*.
rend ‘to run, to hurry’ < EPA **renta*: Goth *rinnan* ‘to run’, ON *rinna* id.

3.1.1.10. Class IX: stems in *-tj-. In contrast to stems in **-t-*, this is a productive class. Some verbs retain the original *e*-grade vocalism of the thematic stems:

çars ‘to destroy, to spoil’ < EPA **štšertja* < IE **sker-*: ON *skera* ‘to cut’, Lith *skirti* id.
ngrys ‘to darken’ < EPA **en-krūtja*: Slav **kryti* ‘to cover’, Lith *kráuju, kráuti* ‘to pile’.
ngjis ‘to stick to’ < EPA **en-gleitja*: Lith *gliejù, gliëti* ‘to smear’, *glitùs* ‘sticky’, Gk γλοιός ‘sticky stuff’.

In several verbs (continuing the *tudáti* type?), zero grade vocalism is attested:

- lus* ‘to pray, to invoke, to beg’ < EPA **lugtja*: Lith *lūgóti* ‘to ask, to pray’, Latv *lūdzu, lūgt* ‘to ask, to invite’, OHG *lockōn* ‘to lure, to entice’, further connected with IE **leugh-* ‘to lie, to cheat’.
- mas* ‘to measure’ < EPA **matja* < IE **mē-* id. (Skt *mímāti*, Toch A *me-*).
- ngus* ‘to urge, to force’ < EPA **en-kutja*: Lith *káuti* ‘to strike’, Slav **kovati* ‘to forge’, Lat *cūdō* ‘to strike’, OHG *houwan* id.
- rras* ‘to squeeze, to press together’ < EPA **wragtja*: Gk ῥάσσω id. reflecting IE **urāgh-*.

Quite often, stems in **-tj-* function as causatives:

- ngas* ‘to urge, to incite, to annoy’ < EPA **en-gatja*: *ngaj* ‘to run’, cf. Skt *jāhāti* ‘to leave, to abandon’, OHG *gān, gēn* ‘to go’.
- nis* ‘to start, to begin, to prepare for journey’ < EPA **neiktja*: Lith *su-nikti* ‘to set upon, to attack’, Slav **nikŋti* ‘to rise, to grow’, Gk *νεῖκος* ‘quarrel, struggle’
- nixit* ‘to urge, to stimulate, to hurry’ < EPA **džita*: IE **gʰ-* ‘to live’: Skt *jívatī*, Lat *vīvō*.
- qis* ‘to pull out’ < EPA **kitja*: Gk *κίω* ‘to go, to move’, Lat *cieō* ‘to move’.

3.1.1.11. Class IXa: stems in **-etj-*, **-itj-*, **-atj-*. There are three known verbs whose derivation is based on the suffixes **-etj-* and **-itj-*:

- laps* ‘to exhaust, to wary’ < EPA **lapitja*: Gk *λαπαρός* ‘weak’, *λαπάζω* ‘to weaken’.
- laps* ‘to wish, to want’ < EPA **laubitja*: Skt *lúbhyati* ‘to wish’, Slav **l’ubiti* ‘to love’.
- pres* ‘to cut’ < EPA **p(e)retja*: Lith *periù, peřti* ‘to beat, to thump’, Gk *πίρω* ‘to saw’.

Stems in **-atj-*, on the contrary, represent a productive type, eventually connected with verbs in **-t-*. This type includes deverbatives, which have replaced some original thematic present stems. This is particularly clear as many of these verbs retain aorists formed from primary stems which are unattested in the present, e.g. *flas* which should normally correspond to pres. **fjel* or **fal*.

ec(i), *ecěj* ‘to go, to run’ < **etēs* < EPA **aitatja* based on a derivative in **-to-* of IE **ei-* ‘to go’.

flas ‘to speak’ < EPA **spala*, cf. *fjalë* ‘word’ < **spelā*.

gërshas ‘to invite’ < **grisatja*: *grish* id. < EPA **grisa*, a zero grade of IE **gʰerə-*: Skt *gr̥ṣāti* ‘to call, to invoke’, Lith *giriù*, *girti* ‘to praise’.

këllas ‘to put into, to insert, to dig, to instigate’ < EPA **kalnatja* derived from *kall* ‘to insert, to thrust, to place, to incite, to set on fire’ < EPA **kalna*.

tras ‘to pull (a boat to the coast)’ < EPA **t(e)ratja*: Skt *táratī* ‘to cross over’.

umas ‘to bark’ < EPA **wamatja*: Skt *vámīti* ‘to vomit’, Av *vam-* ‘to spit’, Gk ἐμέω ‘to spit out’, Lat *vomeō* ‘to vomit’.

vërras ‘to shout; to bleat’ < EPA **weratja*: Gk εἶρω ‘to say’, Hitt *uṛija-* ‘to sound’.

vilas ‘to cut down (trees)’ < EPA **wilatja* derived from *vjel* ‘to pluck (fruit), to vintage’ < EPA **welā*: Gk εἴλω ‘to shut in, to press’, Lith *su-valýti* ‘to harvest, to reap’.

3.1.1.12. Class X: stems in *-r-. Albanian has a few present stems in *-r- which have no clear etymological connections elsewhere. Theoretically, their derivation could be from *-ro-stem nouns, although the long vocalism of some of them makes this scenario unlikely.

korr ‘to reap, to harvest’ < EPA **kāsra*: Lith *kasù*, *kàsti* ‘to dig’, Slav **kosa* ‘scythe’.

përmjerr ‘to urinate’ < EPA **per-megra*: IE **meiǵh-* id. (Skt *méhati*, Gk ὀμείχω, Lat *meiō*, ON *míga*).

qyr ‘to look’ < EPA **kewira*: Gk κοέω ‘to note’, Lat *caveō* ‘to be aware’, Goth *hausjan* ‘to hear’.

shorr ‘to press together, to squeeze’ < EPA **sjāra*: Hitt *išhija-* ‘to bind’, Skt *syāti* ‘to bind’, Lith *sejù*, *siėti* id.

XI class. Stems in *-sj-. This is another small class of verbs whose present seems to be derived from original aoristic or future stems in *-sǵ-:

josh ‘to curl, to fondle, to caress’ < EPA **jāudsja* < IE **ǵeudh-* (Skt *yúdhya-* ‘to fight, to struggle’, Toch A *yutk-* ‘to take care of, to trouble about’, Lith *jáudinti* ‘to excite, to arouse’).

ndesh ‘to meet’ < EPA **en-da-sja*: Gk δῆω ‘to find’.

qesh ‘to laugh’ < EPA **kaksja*: Skt *kākhati* id., Gk κοχάζω id.

3.1.2. Aorist stems

3.1.2.0. Albanian aorists developed from various Indo-European aoristic and preterital forms. They can be divided into the following classes:

Class I. Sigmatic aorists

Class II. Asigmatic aorists

Class III. Asigmatic aorists with lengthening

*Class IV. Aorists in *-w-*

*Class V. Aorists in *-t-*

Literature: BOPP 475; MEYER *IFV* 180-182 (aorists with lengthening); JOKL *IFXLIII* 46-49; PEDERSEN *BUSHT XIV/3* 231 (suffix *-v-* treated as a hiatus filler); LAMBERTZ *IFLX/3* 304 (follows PEDERSEN; source of suffix *-t-*); COWGILL *passim*; KURYŁOWICZ *Infl. Cat.* 71 (Albanian aorist with lengthening as a reflection of historical perfect); VAILLANT *Gr. comp.* III 80 (sources of the aorist with lengthening); MATHIASSEN 99-101; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 150-154 (sigmatic suffix explained from **-sj-*); IVANOV *Slav.* 203 (paradigm of *dhashë*); LINDEMAN *Festschr. Knobloch* 237-242 (Germanic pl. preterit with lengthening); HULD *Proc. IX UCLA* 192-203.

3.1.2.1. Class I: sigmatic aorists. The sigmatic suffix appears in Albanian as *-sh-* < EPA **-s-* due to the generalization of **-s-* > **-š-* derived under the influence of the “ruki” rule in such aorists as **rausa* > **rauša* > *rashë*. In secondary sigmatic aorists derived from present stems which end in occlusives, *-sh-* became *-ç-*.

As in other Indo-European languages, the sigmatic aorist was athematic in Proto-Albanian. This is clear from the reconstruction of the paradigm’s singular forms. In the plural, the form of the 2nd person is asigmatic and athematic. It is not clear whether the 1st and 3d persons ever had the sigmatic suffix. Cf. the reconstruction of the aorist paradigm of *dhashë* ‘gave’.

sg.	pl.
1 <i>dhashë</i> < * <i>edasa</i> < * <i>edə-s-ŋ</i>	<i>dhamë</i> < * <i>edame</i> < * <i>edə(s)me</i>
2 <i>dhe</i> < * <i>edō(s)</i> < * <i>edō-s-s</i>	<i>dhatë</i> < * <i>edate</i> < * <i>edəte</i>
3 <i>dha</i> < * <i>edast</i> < * <i>edə-s-t</i>	<i>dhanë</i> < * <i>edanti</i> < * <i>edə(s)nti</i>

The above paradigm is strikingly close to the Slavic sigmatic aorist of **dati* ‘to give’ in the singular: 1 sg. **daxъ* < **dōsm*, 2 sg. **da* < **dō-s-s*, 3 sg. **da* < **dō-s-t*. Zero-grade, which appears in the majority of Albanian forms, is likely to be an innovation.

While in some dialects secondary sigmatic aorists became very productive, only a few such forms are old and continue Proto-Albanian sigmatic forms. Remarkably, many of them are suppletive as related to the present stems.

dhashë ‘gave’ (aor. of *jap*) < EPA **edasa* < IE **dō-* ‘to give’.

lashë ‘left, let go’ (aor. of *lë ~ lā*) < EPA **lasa*. Connections for this word are uncertain.

pashë ‘saw’ (aor. of *shoh ~ shof*) < EPA **pasa* < IE **pā-* ‘to pasture, to guard’.

rashë ‘fell’ (aor. of *bie*) < EPA **rausa* < IE **reu-* ‘to tear’: Skt *rāvate* ‘to smash’, Lat *ruō* ‘to tear, to dig out’.

thashë ‘said’ (aor. of *thom*) < **tsansa*. Lat *cēnseō* ‘to assess, to value’.

In one case where the sigmatic aorist is well attested, we must, however, interpret it as an innovation replacing an older *w*-aorist, as attested by Italo-Albanian comparative evidence. The irregular vocalism and the unusual thematization of the sigmatic aorist make this scenario more likely.

qeshë ‘was’ (aor. of *jam*) < **kl-esa* < IE **k^hel-* ‘to turn’. Cf. Italo-Alb *kleva* ‘was’ < **kl-ewa*.

3.1.2.2. Class II: asigmatic aorists. Asigmatic aorists in Albanian are thematic. This formation is highly productive, often replacing older aorist formations. Only in a few cases can we be certain that asigmatic aorists are of Proto-Albanian origin:

present	aorist	
<i>dua ~ due</i>	<i>desha</i>	‘to love’
<i>kam</i>	<i>pata</i>	‘to have’
<i>vij ~ vinj</i>	<i>erdha</i>	‘to come’

This is also true of asigmatic aorists corresponding to various presents in **-j-*. Cf. the presents in **-tj-*:

present	aorist	
<i>çars</i>	<i>çarta</i>	‘to destroy, to spoil’
<i>këpus</i>	<i>këputa</i>	‘to tear off, to pluck’
<i>mas</i>	<i>mata</i>	‘to measure’
<i>mbes</i>	<i>mbeta</i>	‘to remain, to stay’
<i>pres</i>	<i>prita</i>	‘to wait, to expect’
<i>qis</i>	<i>qita</i>	‘to pull out’
<i>shes</i>	<i>shita</i>	‘to sell’
<i>umas</i>	<i>umata</i>	‘to bark’

The same is true of verbs in **-nj-* (with or without the preceding vowel in the suffix) with old asigmatic aorists:

present	aorist	
(Geg) <i>fshâj</i>	<i>fshana</i>	‘to sigh’
(Geg) <i>gdhîj</i>	<i>gdhina</i>	‘to stay awake at night’
<i>hyj ~ hÿj</i>	<i>hyra ~ hyna</i>	‘to enter’
<i>ikëj</i>	<i>ikëna</i>	‘to go away, to run away’
<i>prij ~ prÿj</i>	<i>prina</i>	‘to lead’

Verbs in **-atj-* retain their innovative presents and the old form of aorist too:

present	aorist	
<i>gërshas</i>	<i>grisha</i>	‘to invite’
<i>këlthas</i>	<i>klitha</i>	‘to cry’
<i>këllas</i>	<i>kalla</i>	‘to put into’
<i>pëlcas</i>	<i>plasa</i>	‘to burst, to explode’

<i>pëllas</i>	<i>palla</i>	‘to bray’
<i>përkas</i>	<i>preka</i>	‘to touch’
<i>vërras</i>	<i>virra</i>	‘to shout; to bleat’

3.1.2.3. Secondary asigmatic aorists are fairly productive and correspond to several present classes. Numerous asigmatic aorists are formed from thematic presents with *e*-grade vocalism.

present	aorist	
<i>cerk</i>	<i>cerka</i>	‘to hit’
<i>çel</i>	<i>çela</i>	‘to open’
<i>dhemb</i>	<i>dhemba</i>	‘to ache’
<i>gjerb</i>	<i>gjerba</i>	‘to gulp, to drink’
<i>gjesh</i>	<i>gjesha</i>	‘to knead’
<i>jes</i>	<i>jeta</i>	‘to remain’
<i>vesh</i>	<i>vesha</i>	‘to put on (clothes)’

Asigmatic aorists are particularly frequent in verbs having thematic presents with other ablaut grades, mainly with zero grade.

present	aorist	
<i>curr</i>	<i>curra</i>	‘to prick up (ears)’.
<i>fik</i>	<i>fika</i>	‘to extinguish (of fire)’
<i>krup</i>	<i>krupa</i>	‘to loathe’
<i>nduk</i>	<i>nduka</i>	‘to pluck out’
<i>pik</i>	<i>pika</i>	‘to fill holes, to pierce’
<i>puth</i>	<i>putha</i>	‘to kiss’
<i>ul</i>	<i>ula</i>	‘to lower’

All nasal presents have secondary asigmatic aorists.

present	aorist	
<i>bind</i>	<i>binda</i>	‘to convince, to persuade’
<i>dynd</i>	<i>dynda</i>	‘to shake’
<i>fend</i>	<i>fenda</i>	‘to fart’
<i>humb</i>	<i>humba</i>	‘to leave’
<i>lind</i>	<i>linda</i>	‘to bear, to beget’

<i>mund</i>	<i>munda</i>	‘to be able’
<i>tund</i>	<i>tunda</i>	‘to move, to stir’

All presents in **-sk-* developed asigmatic aorists which incorporated the suffix.

present	aorist	
<i>fsheh ~ mshef</i>	<i>fsheha ~ mshefa</i>	‘to hide’.
<i>grah ~ graf</i>	<i>graha ~ grafa</i>	‘to spur on’
<i>kreh ~ kref</i>	<i>kreha ~ krefa</i>	‘to comb’
<i>mih ~ mif</i>	<i>miha ~ mifa</i>	‘to dig, to hoe’
<i>ndih ~ ndif</i>	<i>ndiha ~ ndifa</i>	‘to help’
<i>njuh ~ njef</i>	<i>njeha ~ njefa</i>	‘to count’
<i>njuh ~ njof</i>	<i>njoha ~ njofa</i>	‘to know’
<i>plah ~ plaf</i>	<i>plaha ~ plafa</i>	‘to cover’
<i>preh ~ pref</i>	<i>preha ~ prefa</i>	‘to sharpen’

Innovative aorists formed from presents in **-tj-* retain the present suffix, too:

present	aorist	
<i>laps</i>	<i>lapsa</i>	‘to exhaust, to wary’
<i>ndes</i>	<i>ndesa</i>	‘to have troubles’
<i>përmbys</i>	<i>përmbysa</i>	‘to overturn’
<i>plas</i>	<i>plasa</i>	‘to burst, to split’
<i>qas</i>	<i>qasa</i>	‘to approach’
<i>qos</i>	<i>qosa</i>	‘to end, to finish’
<i>rras</i>	<i>rrasa</i>	‘to squeeze’

3.1.2.4. Class III: asigmatic aorists with lengthening. Another variety of the Proto-Albanian asigmatic aorist is characterized by the long grade of the root vowel: **ā* < IE **ē*. Historically, it is comparable to some of the Italic perfects reflecting the same ablaut grade, cf. Lat *edō* ‘to eat’ ~ *ēdī*, as well as Germanic and Celtic preterits (the Germanic forms, however, might be the result of old reduplicated forms). In certain cases, this similarity can be corroborated by an etymological equation, cf. for example *mbledh*, aor. *mblodha* ‘to gather, to collect’ < **amb(i)-ledza*, aor. *ambi-lādza* : Lat *legō*, aor. *lēgī* id.; *ndjek*, aor. *ndoqa*

(with secondary *-q-*) ‘to follow’ < **en-teka*, aor. **en-tēka* : OIr *techid* ‘to run’, pret. *-táich*.

Verbs ending in velars have developed a secondary palatalization of the velar in these lengthened aorists. One verb has generalized it to the present stem: *dergj* : aor. *dorgja* ‘to lie down, to lay sick, to be ill’. In one case a present stem with *e* < **ō* was later reanalyzed as a lengthened grade aorist: *kredh* < **krōda* ~ aor. *krodha* ‘to plunge, to immerse, to steep, to smother, to bespatter’.

Aorists with lengthening are formed from thematic presents with *e*-grade (in one case with zero-grade, cf. *dal*):

present	aorist
<i>bjerr</i>	<i>borra</i> ‘to lose’
<i>bredh</i>	<i>brodha</i> ‘to jump, to spring’
<i>dal</i>	<i>dola</i> ‘to go out’
<i>djeg</i>	<i>dogja</i> ‘to burn’
<i>djerr</i>	<i>dora</i> ‘to destroy’
<i>dredh</i>	<i>drodha</i> ‘to turn, to rotate’
<i>hedh</i>	<i>hodha</i> ‘to throw, to shoot’
<i>heq ~ hek</i>	<i>hoqa ~ hoka</i> ‘to draw, to pull’
<i>mbjell</i>	<i>mbolla</i> ‘to sow’
<i>mbledh</i>	<i>mblodha</i> ‘to gather, to collect’
<i>mjel</i>	<i>mola</i> ‘to milk’
<i>pjek</i>	<i>poqa</i> ‘to bake, to cook’
<i>pjek</i>	<i>poqa</i> ‘to touch, to meet’
<i>pjell</i>	<i>polla</i> ‘to beget, to produce, to bear’
<i>pjerdh</i>	<i>pordha</i> ‘to fart’
<i>pjerr</i>	<i>pora, porra</i> ‘to bend, to incline’
<i>rjep</i>	<i>ropa</i> ‘to strip off (skin or bark), to tear off’
<i>rrjedh</i>	<i>rrodha</i> ‘to flow’
<i>sjell</i>	<i>solla</i> ‘to bring’
<i>shqerr</i>	<i>shqorra</i> ‘to tear (cloth)’
<i>shtjell</i>	<i>shtolla</i> ‘to throw’
<i>tjerr</i>	<i>torra</i> ‘to spin’
<i>tredh</i>	<i>trodha</i> ‘to castrate’
<i>vdjerr</i>	<i>vdorra</i> ‘to leave’
<i>vjedh</i>	<i>vodha</i> ‘to steal’

<i>vjel</i>	<i>vola</i> ‘to pluck (fruit), to vintage’
<i>vjell</i>	<i>volla</i> ‘to vomit’
<i>vjerr</i>	<i>vorra</i> ‘to hang’
<i>zvjerdh</i>	<i>zvordha</i> ‘to wean’

One archaic denominative verb from an *n*-stem forms its aorist by lengthening the root vowel:

present	aorist	
<i>marr</i>	<i>mora</i>	‘to take, to grasp’

Note that while present has *-rr-* < **-r-n-*, the aorist only has *-r-*. In other words, the aorist does not retain the suffix of the present stem.

3.1.2.5. Class IV: aorists in **-w-*. These forms are genetically identical with Latin perfects in *-uī/-vī*. Further connections are not as clear, but may include the 1 sg. of some Tocharian preterits, like A *śwā*, B *śwa*, the 1 sg. of Sanskrit reduplicated perfects, like *papau* ‘to drink’, as well as various preterit stems in Balto-Slavic and Germanic (Slav **davati* ‘to give’, OE *bráwan* ‘to draw’). In a few cases, these parallels can be corroborated by etymological correspondences, cf., for example, aor. *njova* ‘to know’ < **gnāwa* : Lat (*g*)*nōvī*, OE *cnéow*.

Aorists in **-w-* are formed from presents in **-nj-*, as well as secondary presents in **-enj-*, **-inj-*, **-ānj-* and the like.

present	aorist	
<i>boj</i>	<i>bova</i>	‘to mate’
<i>daj</i>	<i>dava</i>	‘to divide’
<i>gěloj</i>	<i>gělova</i>	‘to burst out’
<i>kërcej</i>	<i>kërceva</i>	‘to dance, to jump’
<i>kij</i>	<i>kiva</i>	‘to prune, to trim’
<i>krej</i>	<i>kreva</i>	‘to pull out’
<i>laj ~ lâj</i>	<i>lava</i>	‘to wash’
<i>mbij ~ mbîj</i>	<i>mbiva</i>	‘to thrive, to grow’
<i>ruaj ~ ruej</i>	<i>rova</i>	‘to guard, to keep’
<i>ryej</i>	<i>reva</i>	‘to suffer’
<i>thaj</i>	<i>thava</i>	‘to dry’
<i>theyej</i>	<i>theva</i>	‘to break’

In a few (presumably, archaic) cases, aorists in **-w-* correspond to present in **-tj-*:

present	aorist	
<i>dhjes</i>	<i>dhjeva</i>	‘to defecate’
<i>pres</i>	<i>preva</i>	‘to cut’
<i>vras</i>	<i>vrava</i>	‘to kill’

Two verbs have developed secondary aorists in **-w-*, as their presents were erroneously analyzed as forms in **-nj-*:

present	aorist	
<i>gdhij ~ gdhîj</i>	<i>gdhiva ~ gdhina</i>	‘to stay awake at night’
<i>pi, pij</i>	<i>piva</i>	‘to drink, to suck’

The verb *njoh ~ njof* has an old aorist in **-w-* *njova*, which finds parallels in other Indo-European languages (see above). It is probable that at one time all presents in **-sk-* had aorists in **-w-* but lost them when the present stem in **-sk-* was generalized and transferred to the aorist system.

3.1.2.6. Class V: aorists in **-t-*. This suffix is historically identical with the marker of the Germanic dental preterit of weak verbs and the Celtic dental preterit. Despite the pre-Albanian origins of aorists in **-t-*, old forms of this class are very rare. Old aorists in **-t-* were derived from thematic presents with suffix **-j-* based on roots ending in vowels. The archaism of these forms is stressed by the fact that one of the aorists (*fletë* < **awa-le(i)-t-a* < **ouo-le(i)-t-ṃ*) is athematic.

present	aorist	
<i>dî</i>	<i>dita</i>	‘to know’
<i>fle ~ flê</i>	<i>fletë, fjeta</i>	‘to sleep’
<i>ngre</i>	<i>ngrita</i>	‘to lift, to raise’

The suffix **-t-* became extremely productive in aorists formed from presents in **-nj-*. It was added directly to the suffix of the present and, as a result, a new suffix of aorist, *-jt-*, in which suffixes of present and aorist merged, was created:

present	aorist	
<i>buj</i> ~ <i>bûj</i>	<i>bujta</i> ~ <i>bûjta</i>	'to accomodate (a guest)'
<i>cërij</i>	<i>cërita</i>	'to melt butter'
<i>druaj</i> ~ <i>druej</i>	<i>druajta</i> , <i>drojta</i>	'to be afraid'
<i>gjaj</i>	<i>gjava</i> , <i>gjajta</i>	'to resemble'
<i>luaj</i> ~ <i>luej</i>	<i>lojta</i> ~ <i>luejta</i>	'to move, to shake'
<i>quaj</i> ~ <i>quej</i>	<i>quajta</i> ~ <i>quejta</i>	'to call, to give a name'
<i>ryj</i>	<i>ryjta</i>	'to enter'
<i>rrej</i> ~ <i>rrêj</i>	<i>rrejta</i>	'to deceive'

3.1.3. Verb stems of loanwords

3.1.3.0. Verbs borrowed to Late Proto-Albanian from other languages were morphologically adapted to existing patterns of Albanian morphology.

3.1.3.1. The majority of Latin verbs in *-āre* were transformed to stems in **-ā-nj-*, cf. for example:

dëftoj 'to show, to point' ⇐ Rom **indictāre* id.

fërkoj 'to rub' ⇐ Lat *fricāre* id.

gultoj 'to get rid off' ⇐ Lat *collectāri* 'to struggle, to contend'.

këndoj 'to sing' ⇐ Lat *cantāre* id.

lëshoj 'to let, to leave, to free' ⇐ Lat *lassāre* 'to render faint, to tire, *to let'.

mëngoj 'to rise early' ⇐ Lat *mānicāre* 'to come in the morning'.

ndikoj 'to influence' ⇐ Lat *indīcāre* 'to impose, to inflict'.

pendoj 'to repent' ⇐ Lat *poenitere* id.

shkarkoj 'to unload' ⇐ **discarricāre* id.

uroj 'to wish luck, to congratulate, to adore (deity)'.

A much smaller group of verbs in *-āre* (usually, with the stem ending in liquids or in Lat *i/j*) appears in Albanian with the suffix **-e-nj-*:

shëfrej, *shufrej* 'to suffer' ⇐ Lat *sufferāre* id.

mërzej 'to rest at noon (of animals)' ⇐ Lat *meridiāre* 'to take a mid-day nap'.

shembëllej 'to resemble' ⇐ Lat *similāre* id.

shkëmbej ‘to change, to exchange’ ⇐ Rom **excambiāre* id.
shpërej ‘to hope’ ⇐ Lat *sperāre* id.
turshej ‘to break, to destroy’ ⇐ Rom **trūsiāre* ‘to push, to stir’.

In one case, a verb in *-āre* was adapted as a thematic present, despite the fact that it also has a variant in *-oj*:

dëllir, dëlliroj ‘to clean, to cleanse, to deliver’ ⇐ Rom **deliberāre*.

In another (presumably late) case, Lat *-āre* was substituted by *-as*:

shtërراس, shtërroj ‘to diminish, to shrink’ ⇐ Lat *extenuāre* ‘to make smaller’.

3.1.3.2. Older loanwords continuing Latin verbs in *-ēre* replace the suffix with *-oj*:

çoj ‘to bring, to rise, to send’ ⇐ Lat *excīre, exciēre* ‘to call out, to cause, to wake’.
mbloj ‘to fill’ ⇐ Lat *implēre* id.
qoj ‘to wake up’ ⇐ Lat *ciēre* ‘to move, to agitate’.

Later, verbs in *-ēre* were adapted as stems in **-e-nj-*:

ndjej, ndëlej ‘to pardon, to forgive’ ⇐ Lat *indulgēre* ‘to be indulgent, to concede’.
pëlqej ‘to please’ ⇐ Lat *placēre* id.
rrëngjej ‘to shine’ ⇐ Lat *renidēre* ‘to shine’.
urrej ‘to hate’ ⇐ Lat *horrēre* ‘to be afraid, to be astonished’.
vjej~vij ‘to need’ ⇐ Lat *valēre* ‘to be able, to be healthy’.

3.1.3.3. The majority of Latin verbs of the III conjugation assumed the suffix **-ā-nj-* in Albanian:

bekoj ‘to benedict’ ⇐ Lat *benedicere* id.
fërgoj ‘to roast, to fry’ ⇐ Lat *frīgere* id.
kafshoj ‘to bite’ ⇐ Lat *capessere ~ capissere* ‘to seize, to snatch at’.
mallkoj ‘to curse, to excommunicate’ ⇐ Lat *maledicere* id.
mërgoj ‘to exile, to drive away’ ⇐ Lat *mergere* ‘to thrust, to push’.

ngurroj ‘to hesitate, to falter, to stop’ ⇔ Lat *incurrere* ‘to commit (a fault)’

premtoj ‘to promise’ ⇔ Lat *prōmittere* ‘to forbode, to promise’.

shtrëngoj ‘to press, to squeeze’ ⇔ Lat *stringere* ‘to stretch, to press, to squeeze’.

trashëgoj ‘to inherit’ ⇔ Lat *trānsigere* ‘to reach an accord, to carry out transaction’.

In a few (old) cases, *-ere* is rendered as *-ej*:

mallëngjej ‘to touch, to move, to stir’ ⇔ Lat *malum angere* ‘to cause pain’.

rrëmbej ‘to rob, to seize’ ⇔ Lat *rumpere* ‘to tear, to tear away’.

3.1.3.4. Latin verbs in *-īre* are usually represented by Albanian stems in **-i-nj-*:

prij ~ *prīj* ‘to lead’ ⇔ Lat *praeīre* ‘to lead, to precede’.

qij ‘to copulate, to have sexual intercourse’ ⇔ Lat *coīre* id.

shëllij ~ *shëllī* ‘to salt’ ⇔ Lat *salīre* id.

vij ~ *vinj* ‘to come’ ⇔ Lat *venīre* id.

Once, *-īre* is substituted by *-ej*:

shërbej ‘to serve’ ⇔ Lat *servīre* id.

3.1.3.5. Nearly all Slavic verbs were transformed into present stems in **-tj-*. Numerous Slavic verbs in **-iti* appear in Albanian as verbs in *-īs*:

grabīs ‘to steal, to rob’ ⇔ Slav **grabiti* id.,

molīs ‘to make tired, to weaken’ ⇔ Slav **mъdъliti* id.,

neverīs ‘to desert, to neglect’ ⇔ Slav **ne věriti* ‘not to believe’

ponīs ‘to honor, to respect’ ⇔ Slav **pomъniti* ‘to remember’.

radīs ‘to prepare, to make ready (of food)’ ⇔ Slav **raditi* ‘to settle, to arrange, to make ready’.

stërvis ‘to train’ ⇔ Slav **stъrviti* ‘to bait, to lure, to train’.

turis ‘to frighten off (animals)’ ⇔ Slav **turiti* ‘to drive away, to chase’.

vadis ‘to water, to irrigate’ ⇔ Slav **vaditi* id.

One verb in *-iti* was moved to the present class in *-as*:

godas ‘to strike, to beat’ ⇔ Slav **goditi* id.

3.1.3.6. The majority of Slavic verbs in **-ati* became stems in *-as* in Albanian:

buças ‘to roar, to thunder’ ⇔ Slav **bučati* id.

dihās ‘to pant’ ⇔ Slav **dyxati* ‘to breathe’.

hitas ‘to hurry’ ⇔ Slav **xytati* id.

karkas ‘to quack’ ⇔ Slav **kьrkati* ‘to caw, to croak, to quack’.

luhas ‘to rock, to sway, to swing’ ⇔ Slav **l'uxati* ‘to strike’.

nuhas ‘to smell, to sniff’ ⇔ Slav **n'uxati* id.

piskas ‘to shout, to cry’ ⇔ Slav **piskati* ‘to peep’.

A few verbs in *-ati* were transferred to the more productive type of stems in *-is/-it*

lebetis ‘to tremble, to shudder, to be frightened’ ⇔ Slav **lebetati* ‘to tremble’.

mërmëris ‘to murmur, to mutter’ ⇔ Slav **mьrmьrati* id.

shëtit ‘to go for a walk’ ⇔ Slav **šętati* ‘to walk’.

3.1.3.7. Several smaller groups of Slavic verbs also appear in Albanian as stems in *-is/-it*

venitem ‘to pale, to wane’ ⇔ Slav **vęnęti* id.

vërtit ‘to turn’ ⇔ Slav **vьrtęti* id.

vërvit ‘to hurl, to fling’ ⇔ Slav **vьrvęti* id.

The oldest layer of Slavic loanwords includes two verbs with the suffix **-ęj-*:

gatuaj ~ *gatuej* ‘make ready, prepare’ ⇔ Slav **gotovati*, **gotoviti* ‘make ready, prepare’.

pëgëj ~ *pugâj* ‘to make dirty, to soil’ ⇔ Slav **poganiti* id.

Conjugation

The Albanian conjugation is of great importance for the historical grammar of Indo-European. Together with multiple innovations, it contains archaisms that are scarcely attested elsewhere.

3.1.4. Present

3.1.4.0. Two types of present conjugation are known in Albanian and Proto-Albanian: thematic and (rarely attested) athematic.

Literature: BELIĆ *GSKA* CXLVIII/76 1-38 (injunctive as a source of 1 sg. present); WATKINS *Geschichte* 45-46 (1 sg. in Celtic and Germanic); HAMP *Anc. IE* 117 (athematic present); SYTOV *Gr. str.* 196 (thematic vowel in 1 and 3 pl.); MANN *Hist. Gr.* 140-149 (2 pl. *-ni* compared with Hitt 1 pl. *-weni*, 2 pl. *-teni*); BADER *BSL* LXXI/1 27-111 (present of the *verbum substantivum*); IVANOV *Slav.* 43-45 (sources of the ending of 1 sg.); KORTLANDT *Lingua* XLIX/1 50-70 (Balto-Slavic present); OREL *Lingv. issl.* II 31-39, *Ètimologija* 1982 151-156, *Baltistica* XXI/2 156-158, *ZfBalk* XXII/1 76-85.

3.1.4.1. The thematic present in Albanian cannot continue the Indo-European thematic present with its primary endings. IE **-ō* of the 1 sg. would have given Alb *-e* (if stressed) or *-ë* (if unstressed). IE **-eti* of the 3 sg. would have given Alb *-et*. The majority of forms in the present paradigm in Albanian go back to a different source. In particular, in the forms of the singular one can only reconstruct Proto-Albanian short vowels followed or not followed by a consonant.

The most plausible reconstruction for 1 sg. *kap* 'to seize' is EPA **kap-a*. The ending **-a* is derived from IE **-o-m*, a desinence close to Toch A *-am* < dialectal IE **-o-m*, cf. also, quite probably, Slav 1 sg. pres. **-ǫ*. Weaker alternative explanations include EPA **-a* < IE **-ō* or perfective **-ā* with a secondary **-m-* added via analogy. As to the 2 sg. *kap*, it might be derived from EPA **kap-e-s* (though not **kap-e-s!*). The 3 sg. *kap* likewise continues **kap-e-t*. In other words, all the forms of the singular in the Albanian thematic present have the Indo-European secondary endings. They do not continue the Indo-European present, at least as it is reconstructed in the classical version of Indo-European.

In the plural, the situation is somewhat more complicated. The ending of the 1 pl. *-m(ë)* can continue either **-me* or **-mes*. The 3 pl. ending *-n(ë)*

can only reflect the primary ending **-nti* (variants *-m ~ -më* and *-n ~ -në* are conditioned by the auslaut sound of the verbal stem). In both forms, the original thematic vowel **-o-* was replaced by *i*, though the reason is unclear. A structural factor cannot be excluded here: an old opposition between thematic vowels **e* and **o* could have been replaced by a new alternation *e : i*. Another possible explanation is connected with the innovative forms of presents in **-nj-*, cf. *kërkoj* ‘to look for’ - 1 pl. *kërkojmë*, 3 pl. *kërkojnë* with *-oj* of the 1sg. transferred to the plural as a new thematic element. Thematic *i* might then be derived from the plurals of verbs in *-i*, cf. *pi* ‘to drink’ - 1 pl. *pimë*, 3 pl. *pinë*.

The most difficult problem of the thematic present paradigm is the origin of the 2 pl. desinence *-ni*. With its intervocalic *-n-* preserved in both major dialects, *-ni* cannot continue any Proto-Albanian morpheme. A different explanation must be found. Further, there are phonological reasons excluding the reconstruction of EPA **-ni-te(s)*. Such a form would have yielded Alb **-nit* rather than *-ni*.

In the imperative (where the 2 pl. coincides with the corresponding form of the present), *-ni* can be separated from the stem by the reflexive particle *u*, which appears either immediately after the stem or after the ending: 2 pl. *lidh-ni-u* and *lidh-u-ni* ‘get tied!’ are equally possible. It seems that *ni* must originally have been a syntactically autonomous element (a clitic) which was, at a certain stage, incorporated into the verb. The verb form itself must have been **lidh*. In other words, the 2 sg. and 2 pl. of the thematic present were identical. This could be interpreted as a Proto-Albanian innovation that merged the 2 sg. and 2 pl. by replacing the latter with the singular form.

The origin of *ni* is not clear. One could derive it from the Proto-Albanian adverb **nū* ‘now’ identical with IE **nū* (Skt *nū*, Gk *vú* and the like). On the other hand, we cannot ignore a certain asymmetry in the structure of 2 p. present of thematic stems and **-nj-* stems:

2 sg.

lidh
kërkon

2 pl.

lidh-ni
kërkon-i

If the form *kërkoni* does not continue earlier **kërkon-ni*, one could assume that its original structure with final *-i* was reinterpreted and the newly created morpheme *-ni* was transferred to other types of present. The element *-i* could then go back to an allegro variety of EPA **ju(s)* ‘you’ normally attested as *ju* id. corresponding to Lith *jūs* id., Goth *jus* id., Gk ὑμεῖς id., Skt acc. *yuṣmān* id.

The paradigm of the thematic present of the verb *kap* ‘to seize, to grasp’ can be reconstructed as follows:

	sg.	pl.
1	<i>*kap-a < *kap-o-m</i>	<i>*kap-a-me(s) < *kap-o-me(s)</i>
2	<i>*kap-e(s) < *kap-e-s</i>	<i>*kap-e(s) nū/*kap-e(s) ju</i>
3	<i>*kap-e-t < *kap-e-t</i>	<i>*kap-a-nti < *kap-o-nti</i>

3.1.4.2. The athematic present has been described in 3.1.1.1. Most of its forms (1-3 sg. and 1, 3 pl.) stem from the primary endings (with the ending of the 1 pl. finding an interesting parallel in Baltic) and correspond to the athematic conjugation of other Indo-European languages. Cf. the Proto-Albanian paradigm reconstructed for the verb *jam* ‘to be’.

	sg.	pl.
1	<i>*es-mi</i>	<i>*es-mei</i>
2	<i>*es-si</i>	<i>*es-si nū/*es-si ju</i>
3	<i>*ens-ti < *es-ti</i>	<i>*es-nti</i>

Other athematic presents follow the same pattern. The only interesting exception is *thom* ‘to say’ whose 3 pl. *thotë* cannot be derived from **tsānsti*, but rather continues **tsā(n)ti*, which is historically identical with OPers *θātiy* id.

In contrast to the Albanian thematic present, which originates from an Indo-European paradigm that has nothing to do with the present, the athematic present in Albanian does continue the old Indo-European present conjugation.

3.1.5. Aorist and imperfect

3.1.5.0. From the point of view of conjugation, there are two types of aorists in Albanian: sigmatic and asigmatic. These two types go back to two different paradigms in Proto-Indo-European. The sigmatic aorist is athematic while the asigmatic aorist uses a set of thematic endings. Other tenses (such as the perfect) are built analytically and cannot be traced back to Proto-Albanian.

Literature: TORP *IF* IV 199 (origin of *-i* in 3 sg. aor., Baltic preterit compared with the asigmatic aorist, Albano-Slavic parallels in sigmatic aorist); MEYER *Alb. Gr.* 39 (imperfect in *-sh-* from analytical forms with the imperfect of *verbum substantivum*); JOKL *IF* XLIII/1 49-51 (vocalism of the paradigm of *dhashë*); LAMBERTZ *IF* LX 303-304 (sources of 1 sg. aor. *-a*; follows MEYER in the interpretation of the imperfect); DOMI *RESI* XLV 29 (1 sg. aor. *-a* as an innovation replacing *-ë*); SYTOV *Gr. str.* 197 (imperfect of *jam*); MANN *Hist. Gr.* 150 (imperfect), 151-152, 153 (compares asigmatic aorist with the Italic perfect), 159 (3 sg. impf. *-te* explained as a pronominal element); DEMIRAJ *Festschr. Knobloch* 81-85 (on the origins of perfect of the *habeo scriptum* type).

3.1.5.1. The initial *dh-* of *dhashë*, aorist of *jap* ‘to give’, can only be explained as the result of intervocalic spirantization. Its Proto-Albanian ancestor must have been preceded by a vowel. This vowel was likely EPA **e-* < IE **e-*, the augment attested in Indo-Iranian, Greek, Phrygian and Armenian. In other aoristic forms it was lost and its phonetic effects were obliterated.

Singular forms of the asigmatic aorist are not very opaque. In modern standard Albanian, the asigmatic aorist has the following endings in the singular: 1 *-a*, 2 *-e*, 3 *-i*, e.g. the verb ‘to grasp, to seize’ will appear in the aorist as 1 *kapa*, 2 *kape*, 3 *kapi*.

1 sg. *-a* can hardly be projected to the Proto-Albanian paradigm. Indeed, even though the paradigm of the imperfect repeats the endings of the asigmatic aorist, it has a different ending in 1 sg., namely, *-ë*. That may be the older form of the 1 sg. aorist too.

Only the 2 sg. is likely to be inherited directly from Proto-Albanian. As far as the 3 sg. is concerned, there are forms without *-i* among dialects (i.e. *kap* instead of *kapi*) and some variants of the literary standard

(*mori* and *muarr*, 3 sg. aorist of *marr* ‘to take’, *doli* and *dual*, 3 sg. aorist of *dal* ‘to go out’). Moreover, there is no *-i* in the *w*-aorist and the corresponding mediopassive. In short, there are serious reasons to believe that the *-i* is secondary in the 3 sg. and that its basic form had a zero ending, i.e. *kap*, rather than *kapi*. As to the origin of the morpheme *-i*, it has been suggested that it be derived from EPA **is* (indirectly?) from IE **is*.

In the 1 and 3 pl., the asigmatic aorist has endings, which coincide with those of the present. The 1 pl. *-m(ë)* continues thematic EPA **-a-me* < IE **-o-me*. 3 pl. *-n(ë)* goes back to primary EPA **-a-nti* < IE **-o-nti* (remarkably enough, Albanian has no traces of a secondary ending in the 3 pl. anywhere). Unlike the corresponding present form, the 2 pl. of the asigmatic aorist has *-të* derived directly from EPA **-e-te* < IE **e-te*.

The paradigm of the asigmatic aorist is opposed to thematic present in two ways: accentually, as it reflects a mobile accentual paradigm (its mobility caused by the augment?), and structurally, in view of the augment and a distinct aorist stem, at least in the more archaic stems, paradigm can be reconstructed as follows:

	sg.	pl.
1	<i>*e-kap-á</i> < <i>*e-kap-(o)m</i>	<i>*e-kap-a-me</i> < <i>*e-kap-o-me</i>
2	<i>*e-kap-é(s)</i> < <i>*e-kap-e-s</i>	<i>*e-kap-e-te</i> < <i>*e-kap-e-te</i>
3	<i>*e-káp-e-t</i> < <i>*e-kap-e-t</i>	<i>*e-kap-a-nti</i> < <i>*e-kap-o-nti</i>

3.1.5.2. The paradigm of the sigmatic aorist is athematic. As already mentioned above, its singular is remarkably close to that of the Slavic sigmatic aorist, with one important exception - a different ablaut grade. Zero grade in the majority of Albanian forms can be explained as the influence of corresponding participles, cf. the participle of *jap* ‘to give’ - *dhënë* ~ *dhanë* < EPA **danti* < IE **dǝ-nti-*.

At least, one form in the paradigm is asigmatic, the 2 pl. Other plural forms could be sigmatic or asigmatic, as we cannot make a determination about it by phonetic means.

A typical paradigm is represented by the aorist of *jap*:

sg.	pl.
1 <i>dhashë</i> < * <i>e-dasa</i> < * <i>e-də-s-ṃ</i>	<i>dhamë</i> < * <i>e-da(s)me</i> < * <i>e-də(s)me</i>
2 <i>dhe</i> < * <i>e-dō(s)</i> < * <i>e-dō-s-s</i>	<i>dhatë</i> < * <i>e-da-te</i> < * <i>e-də-te</i>
3 <i>dha</i> < * <i>e-da-s-t</i> < * <i>e-də-s-t</i>	<i>dhanë</i> < * <i>e-da(s)nti</i> < * <i>e-də(s)nti</i>

The paradigm of the sigmatic aorist in Albanian combines features specific to Balto-Slavic, with attributes of Southeastern Indo-European, such as augment.

3.1.5.3. The endings of the imperfect are identical with those of asigmatic aorist. At the same time, the imperfect stem was originally identical with that of the present. However, at a late stage this stem was modified due to the expansion of the new umlaut alternation *e* : *i*. The majority of imperfect stems assumed a new vowel *i* replacing the original vowel, EPA **e*. The archaic vowel has been preserved in dialects. Thus, in the imperfect of *jam* we find standard Albanian *isha* with innovative *i* opposed to Chamian *jeshë* with original **e* > *je*.

The imperfect of *jam* continues the Indo-European imperfect of **es-*. Its 1 sg. *isha* is athematic and can be directly compared with Skt *āsam*, Gk ἦα but the rest of the paradigm is thematic. Hence, the 2 sg. *ishë* represents a thematization of **e-es-s* > Skt *ās*. The conjugation of the imperfect can be reconstructed as follows (the second forms are Chamian):

1 <i>isha, jeshë</i> < * <i>esa</i> < * <i>es-ṃ</i>	<i>ishim, jeshëm</i> < * <i>es-a-me</i> < * <i>es-o-me</i>
2 <i>ishë, jeshë</i> < * <i>es-e(s)</i> < * <i>es-e-s</i>	<i>ishit, jeshëtë</i> < * <i>es-e-te</i> < * <i>es-e-te</i>
3 <i>ish(te)</i> < * <i>es-e-t</i> < * <i>es-e-t</i>	<i>ishin, ishnë</i> < * <i>es-a-nti</i> < * <i>es-o-nti</i>

In the 3 sg. two variants of the imperfect coexist: *ish* and *ishte*. The latter is obviously secondary and results from the univerbation of the original imperfect form with a pronominal element *te*. The latter can be derived from EPA **tōd* < IE **tōd*, which appears in a similar function in the future imperative, cf. Skt *ájatād* '(you/he) must lead', Lat *agitō*.

The development of *-s-* to *-sh-* in the imperfect of *jam* is phonetically irregular. However, there are no reasons to reconstruct **-sĭ-* here. Apparently, **-s-* changed to *-sh-* in those imperfects (later replaced by new imperfect forms) where it followed **i* and **u*. A similar process

can be observed in Slavic where the *-x- < *-s- of aorists and imperfects was generalized far beyond the original limits of the “ruki” rule.

In several verb classes the original imperfect, e.g. **piqa* of *pjek* ‘to cook’, **ndiqā* of *ndjek* ‘to follow’, was replaced by new forms with suffix *-j-*: *piqja*, *ndiqja*. This suffix is the result of a new morphological segmentation of imperfects of *nj*-verbs in which *j* was reinterpreted as an auxiliary morpheme of the imperfect:

1 sg. pres.	1 sg. impf.
<i>kërk-oj</i>	<i>kërk-oj-a</i>
<i>kërko-j</i>	<i>kërko-j-a</i>

In Geg, there exists another paradigm of an imperfect in *-sh-*. This suffix is attested in all forms except for 3 sg. where it only appears in some of the dialects. The suffix *-sh-* comes from the paradigm of the sigmatic aorist, as the **-axъ* of the Slavic imperfect.

3.1.6. Moods: Imperative, subjunctive, optative

3.1.6.0. Albanian non-indicative moods are mostly innovations. Only a small part of their structure reflects inherited Indo-European forms.

Literature: MEYER *Alb. Gr.* 41 (explains optative from Latin plusquamperfectum); GONDA *Moods* 110-112 (Old Indian subjunctive); KURYŁOWICZ *Infl. Cat.* 139; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 163-164 (subjunctive explained from the old optative), 164-165 (optative), 166 (imperative); IVANOV *Slav.* 102 (imperative *eja* to Luw *ija* ‘come!’); JASANOFF *Gedenkschr. Cowgill* 92-112 (on IE and Tocharian imperatives).

3.1.6.1. The imperative is formed from the stem of the imperfect and the 2 pl. present, in other words, it reflects the alternation *e : i* that has to be eliminated in the Proto-Albanian reconstruction (2.2.3.3-4). The old plural forms of the imperative have completely disappeared and have been replaced by a 2 pl. present in *-ni*. However, singular forms may eventually be derived from Proto-Indo-European if our Proto-Albanian reconstructions do not include the above mentioned alternation (as well as the closely connected alternation of velars and

palatalized velars). If we derive *bjer(ë)* and *piq*, imperatives of *bie* ‘to bring’ and *pjek* ‘to cook’, from EPA **bere* and **peke* (which comes from the phonetically expected **petšë*), they can be compared with such forms as Lat *fēr* and Skt *paca*.

The suppletive imperatives of *vij* ‘to come’ are of great interest. *Eja* goes back to EPA **ja* with a secondary *e-* (under the influence of *ec*, *ecëj* ‘to walk’?). This Proto-Albanian form is without a doubt connected with IE **jā-*. Another imperative of *vij* is Tosk *jak*, which goes back to the same Indo-European root, though uses the imperative particle *-k* (also attested in *ik*, *ikëj*, see above).

3.1.6.2. The present of subjunctive has a formal expression in a clitic *të* of pronominal origin (from EPA dat. sg. **ta!*?). A considerable part of the old paradigm was lost and replaced by forms of the present indicative, with the exception of 2-3 sg. where the old endings *-ësh* and *-ë* were retained. These morphemes reflect a remarkable confusion of primary and secondary endings, as the 2 sg. *lidhësh* continues EPA **lidz-ē-si* (identical with Lat 2 sg. fut. *ligēs*) while 3 sg. *lidhë* can only reflect **lidz-e-t*. If we follow the widely accepted view of the archaic nature of secondary endings in the Old Indian subjunctive, we have to interpret the 3 sg. subjunctive in Albanian as an ancient Indo-European form while the 2 sg. should be seen as an innovation.

In *verbum substantivum* we discover a somewhat different picture. In view of EPA **e* reflecting as *je* (rather than **ja*) in the 1 sg. and 3 pl., we can reconstruct a thematic EPA **-a-* < IE **-o-* for these forms. Correspondingly, a thematic vowel **-e-* can be reconstructed for the 2 and 3 sg. These forms directly correspond to those of the Sanskrit subjunctive *as-a-si* and *as-a-ti*. The fragments of the paradigm can be presented as follows:

	sg.	pl.
1	<i>jem</i> < <i>*es-a-mi</i>	
2	<i>jesh</i> < <i>*es-e-si</i>	
3	<i>jetë</i> < <i>*es-e-ti</i>	<i>jenë</i> < <i>*es-o-nti</i>

3.1.6.3. The present of optative is an Albanian innovation. In fact, it is in origin an imperfect in *-sh-* based on an aorist stem (or, in case of thematic presents, on the present stem): *këndov-sh-a* > *këndofsha*.

The only important feature of the optative which is different from the basic imperfect paradigm is the way in which the 2 pl. is formed. Its ending *-sh-i* is derived from the 2 sg. in *-sh* using a secondary pronominal element *-i*, as in the 2 sg. present *-(n)i*.

3.1.7. Voices: Mediopassive

3.1.7.0. Only the present and imperfect of the mediopassive are synthetic forms. The rest of the mediopassive paradigm is formed analytically and uses a clitic *u*, a regular reflex of EPA **swa(m)* < IE acc. **sʷom*.

Literature: BOPP 480-481 (on the origin of *u*); MEYER *Alb. Gr.* 45 (derives present mediopassive from analytical forms consisting of the verb stem and present of *jam*); DOMI *RESI* XLV 31 (endings of the mediopassive); SYTOV *Gr. str.* 197 (follows MEYER); MANN *Hist. Gr.* 137-139, 167-168.

3.1.7.1. In the present of the mediopassive, the 1-3 sg. and 3 pl. directly or indirectly continue the Indo-European middle. The Albanian phonology does not allow us to find out whether the Proto-Albanian paradigm used primary or secondary endings of middle. The origin of the thematic vowel in all optative forms remains unknown. The original structure looked as follows:

	sg.	pl.
1	<i>lidhem</i> < <i>*lidz-e-ma(i)</i>	
2	<i>lidhesh</i> < <i>*lidz-e-so(i)</i>	
3	<i>lidhet</i> < <i>*lidz-e-to(i)</i>	<i>lidhen</i> < <i>*lidz-e-nto(i)</i>

The form of the 1 pl. in *-mi* seems to have been influenced by the corresponding form of the athematic present of active. The 2 pl. in *-ni*, while *-i* has been influenced by the corresponding forms of active. Besides the form in *-esh*, the 2 sg. also has a parallel form in *-e* correlated with the 2 pl. in *-e-ni*. We might also expect a zero ending in

the 2 sg., taking into account the existence of the the 2 pl. in *-i* (*lidh-i*, *kap-i*). All these variants remain quite unclear.

The imperfect of the mediopassive is a newly formed paradigm following the pattern of *sh*-imperfect of active.

Analytical forms of mediopassive are built using the reflexive pronoun *u* ‘self’ < EPA **wa* < IE **sʷom*.

3.1.8. Participles

3.1.8.0. In Albanian participles, the opposition of voice has been neutralized. The choice between active and passive meaning in a participle is regulated by the transitivity/intransitivity of the verb which produces it. In this respect, Albanian is (typologically?) similar to Anatolian. Historically, many different forms (participles, active and passive, as well as deverbative adjectives) merged in the Albanian participle. The participles are widely used in Albanian to create analytical verb forms. As a general rule, Albanian participles are based on the aorist stem, with the exception of aorists with lengthening (in this case, participles have the vocalism of the present stem).

Literature: MEYER *Alb. Gr.* 51 (derives the participial suffix *-në* from IE **-no-*); JOKL *IF* XXXVII 121 (*-ur* ~ *-un* < IE **-o-no-*); CIMOCHOWSKI *Dushmani* 119 (on participles in *-uar* ~ *-uem*); SCHMIDT *IF* LXIX/1 6 (Anatolian participles); KURYŁOWICZ *Infl. cat.* 167; MAMP *Baltistica* IX/1 46 (follows MEYER), *passim* (external connections of Albanian participles in *-m-*); OREL *ZfBalk* XXII/1 86-87.

3.1.8.1. Participles in *-në* go back to Indo-European active participles in **-nt-* (Skt *bhārant-*, Goth *bairands*). They are formed from sigmatic aorists (except for *pashë*):

	1 sg. aor.	participle
‘to give’	<i>dhashë</i>	<i>dhëne</i> ~ <i>dhanë</i> < <i>*da-nti</i>
‘to leave’	<i>lashë</i>	<i>lënë</i> ~ <i>lanë</i> < <i>*la-nti</i>
‘to be’	<i>qeshë</i>	<i>qënë</i> ~ < <i>*kle-nti</i>
‘to fall’	<i>rashë</i>	<i>rënë</i> ~ < <i>*rau-nti</i>
‘to say’	<i>thashë</i>	<i>thënë</i> ~ < <i>*tsan(s)-nti</i>

Participle in *-në* is formed from *hangra* (to *ha* ‘eat’): *ngrënë* ~ *ngranë* < **en-gra-nti*. It is also quite probable that once there existed a similar (athematic) participle of *bie* ‘to bring’, **bënë* < **ber-nti*. This is suggested by the derivative of *bie* - *shpie* ‘to bring away’, which has a participle *shpënë* < **is-ber-nti*.

The only reliable case that can be interpreted as a participle derived from an old verbal adjective in **-ta* < **-to-* is *ratë* < **rau-ta*, corresponding to aor. *rashë* ‘to fall’. Remarkably, this aorist has another participle in Albanian: *rënë* ~ *ranë*. This pair of participles may well reflect the original situation in Proto-Albanian where active participles in **-nt-* were opposed to passive participles in **-to-*.

3.1.8.2. In a few cases Tosk preserves participles in *-rë* < **-na* < IE **-no-* (Gk στῦγνός ‘hated’, σπαρνός ‘scattered’), cf. *vras* ‘to kill’ - *vrasë*, *blej* ‘to sell’ - *blerë*. It is believed by some that a productive type of participles in *-ur* ~ *-un* is related to participle in **-no-* going back to **-o-no-*. However, this would be phonetically impossible.

Various asigmatic aorists, dental aorists, as well as aorists in **-w-* produce participles in *-ur* ~ *-un*. The morpheme appears to continue the zero grade of the nominal suffix **-yen-* as preserved in Skt *āyun-* ‘life’ vs. full-grade *pīvan-* ‘fat’.

Verbs in **-nj-* as well as verbs with a vocalic auslaut, have different types of participles in Tosk and Geg. In Tosk, *-r* < **-no-* is added to the aorist stem: **puno-v-r* > *punuar*. In Geg the same stem is followed by *-m* continuing deverbative adjectives in **-mo-*: **puno-v-m* > *punuem*. It seems probable that while Geg retains an archaic participle in this case, Tosk has substituted its forms in **-mo-* with newer forms in **-no-*. In Geg, however, there existed a similar tendency that led to the contamination of participles in **-mo-* and participles in *-ur* ~ *-un*, cf. for example the participle of *pi* ‘to drink’ - *pi-m-un* based on *pi-m(ë)*. Albanian participles in **-mo-* are close to the passive participles of Balto-Slavic (cf. Lith *nėšamas*, Slav **nesomъ* ‘brought’) as well as to the Luwian participles in *-(a)ma* (cf. Luw *kešama* ‘combed’).

3.1.8.3. In Albanian, there exist so-called “short” participles. They end in *-ë* and have the vocalism of the present: *djeg* ‘to burn’ - *djegë*, *bëj* ‘to do, to make’ - *bërë*. Such forms seem to continue oxytonic Proto-

Albanian nouns with *e*-grade vocalism: *djegë* < EPA **degá*. It is possible, however, that the root vowel in such nouns is secondary and must be explained as a result of the influence of the finite forms. If EPA **degá* is derived from IE **dhoghós*, the “short” participles could reflect Indo-European oxytonic *nomina agentis* similar to Gk τῶμός.

3.2. Noun

3.2.0. The Albanian nominal system has radically reduced the original Indo-European declension types and lost several important grammemes typical of Indo-European paradigms. On the other hand, new grammatical meanings were developed in Proto-Albanian (such as the opposition of definite and indefinite) and new productive types of nouns came to dominate the formation of substantives and adjectives.

3.2.1. Nominal stems

3.2.1.0. Several Indo-European stem types were altogether lost in Proto-Albanian. Other types—even though productive—were subjected to reshuffling and merged with less productive types at the very beginning of the development of Proto-Albanian.

In Proto-Albanian, there remained three types of nominal stems: *o*-stems, *ā*-stems and *i*-stems. The latter, whose reconstruction can only be occasionally corroborated by such features as umlaut or the reflection of the root vowel **e*, merged with *o*- and *ā*-stems at a very early stage. Other types of stems were not preserved in Proto-Albanian, at least not in their immediate form.

Literature: PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIV 283-291 (Indo-European origin of Albanian neuter); JOKL *Studien* 102-103 (stems in *-jā* reflected as Alb *-j*), *LKUBA* 65 (*i*-stem in *natë*); SANDFELD *LBalk* 139 (neuter nouns in Balkan languages); TOGEBY *Cahiers Pușcariu* II 121-131 (neuter in Albanian and Rumanian); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 161 (*i*-stems changing to *ā*-stems in Albanian), IV 189-207 (follows JOKL *Studien*); PISANI *Saggi* 99 (reconstructs **-ō-* in Albanian *r*- and *n*-stems); ÇABEJ *LP* VII 145-200, VIII 71-132 (singularization in Albanian); MANN *Hist. Gr.* 48-90; HAMP *KZ* LXVII 254 (*i*-stem in *natë*); DEMIRAJ *Probl. hist.* 355-374 (Romance influence on the formation of Albanian neuter); DESNICKAJA *Gr. str.* 33 (on *natë*), 42-43 (nouns in *-i* < **-iə*), passim (singularization); GEORGIEV *Trakite* 233 (follows PISANI); ŠARAPOVA *RB* 145-170 (neuter in Balkan Romance and Albanian).

3.2.1.1. In very rare cases a consonant stem remained morphologically intact in Proto-Albanian:

dhe ‘earth, land’ < EPA **dzō* reflecting IE **dhǵhōm* ‘earth’: Hitt *tekan*, Toch A *tkam*, B *kem*, Skt *kṣam-*, Gk χθών.

The majority of older consonant stems were redistributed between *o-* and *jo-*stems, on the one hand, and *ā-*stems, on the other. The following cases are examples of new *o-* and *jo-*stems replacing consonant stems:

dru ‘tree; wood’ < EPA **druwa* < IE **dru-* id. (Slav **drъvo* ‘wood’, Skt *dru-* id., Av *dru-* id., Gk δρῦς ‘tree, oak’).

gjë ~ *gjâ* ‘thing’ < EPA **sana* < **san(s)*: Gmc **sánþ* ‘true’ (ON *sannr*, *saðr*, OE *sóð*).

madh ‘big, large’ < EPA **madza*: Skt *māhi-* ‘great, large’, Gk μέγας id., neut. μέγα.

muaj ~ *muej* ‘month’ < EPA **mōsnja*, from the metathesis of IE **mēns-* ‘moon, month’ (Skt *mās-*, Gk μήν, Lat *mēnsis*, OIr *mí*).

njeri, OAlb *njer* ‘man, person, human being’ < EPA **nera*: Skt *nár-* ‘man’, Gk ἀνήρ id.

In other cases we find *ā-*stems substituting root stems in Albanian:

derë ‘door’ < EPA **dwōrā* < IE **dh̥uer-* id. (Skt *dvār-*, Gk θύρα, Toch B *twere*).

dorë ‘hand’ < EPA **dā(s)rā* < IE **ǵhesr-* id. (Gk χεῖρ, Hitt *keššar*, Arm *jern*).

dhallë ‘buttermilk’ < EPA **dzalā* < **dzalakt*: Gk γάλα id.

krye ‘head’ < EPA **krā(s)nā*: Gk κράνα· κεφαλή.

thëri ~ *thëni* ‘louse’ < EPA **tsanida* < **tsanid-*, cf. Gk κούις ‘nit’.

Heteroclitlic stems changed to *i-*stems:

elb ‘barley’ < EPA **albī*: Gk ἄλφι ‘kind of grain’.

eshhtë ‘fibre, muscle fibre’ < EPA **astī*: Skt *ásthi* id.

The case of the word for ‘night’ which became an *i-*stem is discussed below, together with the other *i-*stems. The change of the morphological type took place on the areal Indo-European scale rather than in Proto-Albanian itself.

3.2.1.2. Stems in sonorants became *o*-stems. In all such cases, the suffix is attested in the *e*-grade, i.e. with the vocalization of oblique cases.

dimër ~ *dimën* ‘winter’ < EPA **deimena*: Skt *hémān* loc. ‘in winter’, Gk χεῖμα ‘winter’.

dhëndër ~ *dhandër* ‘bridegroom, son-in-law’ < EPA **dzanra* < IE **ĝenēr-* ‘son-in-law’ (Lat *gener*).

emër ~ *emën* ‘name’ < EPA **enmena* close to Slav **jъmę* id.

gjarpër ~ *gjarpën* ‘snake’ < EPA **serpena* < IE **serp-* ‘to crawl’ (Lat *serpēns* ‘snake, serpent’, *serpō* ‘to crawl’).

ketër ‘squirrel, dormouse’ < EPA **kōk-ter*: Lith **kuokas* ‘dance’ (reconstructed from *kuokìnė* ‘dancing party’) and Slav **skakati* ‘to jump, to spring’.

Only feminine animate substantives retained their original (semantically motivated) gender and appear as Albanian *ā*-stems:

motër ‘sister’ < EPA **māter* < IE **māter-* ‘mother’ (Skt *mātār-*, Gk μήτηρ, Lat *māter*).

In one case, the form of the nominative of a stem in a sonorant was generalized and the word merged with the *ā*-stems:

rrymë ‘flow (of water)’ < EPA **srūmā* replacing **srūma* < IE **srūmǵ*: Gk ῥέυμα ‘stream’, ON *straumr* id., Lith *sraumuō* ‘fast stream’.

3.2.1.3. Stems in *-es-* were lost. In the nominative, they looked like *o*-stems, which led to their complete merger with the latter. Cf. the following examples:

ang ‘fear, nightmare’ < EPA **anga(s)* corresponding to Skt *ámhas-* ‘fear’, Lat *angor* ‘unrest, fear’ < **anĝhos*.

end ‘pollen’ < EPA **anda(s)*: Skt *ándhas-* ‘herb’, Gk ἄνθος ‘flower’.

ethe ‘fever’ < EPA **aida(s)*: Skt *édhas-* ‘firewood, fuel’, Gk αἶθος ‘fire’.

hi ~ *hî* ‘ash’ < EPA **skina(s)*: Lat *cinis* ‘dust, ash’ < **cenes-*.

vít, vjet ‘year’ < EPA **weta(s)*: Gk ἔτος id.

zjarr ‘fire’ < EPA **džera* < IE **g^hheres-* (Skt *hāras-* ‘flame, heat’, Gk θέρος ‘summer’, Arm *jer* id.).

3.2.1.4. Stems in *-u-* and in *-ū-* were not preserved either. They were substituted by *o-* and *ā-*stems:

acar ‘steel’ < EPA **atsara* ‘sharp’ < **atsaru-*: Lith *ašrūs* ‘sharp’, Slav **ostrъ* id.

mjekër ‘chin, beard’ < EPA **smekrā* < **smekru-*: Skt *śmāsru-* id.

The word for ‘mother-in-law’ was morphonologically changed under the influence of the masculine form **swetsura* > *vjehërr* ‘father-in-law’:

vjehërr ‘mother-in-law’ < EPA **swexurā* (with assimilation from expected **swetsurā*) < IE **s^wekrū-* (Skt *śvaśrū-* ‘mother-in-law’, Lat *socrus* id.).

3.2.1.5. As we have mentioned above, *i-*stems presumably existed in Proto-Albanian even though we can only identify some of them by traces of umlaut and other phonetic features. In Late Proto-Albanian, *i-*stems were redistributed between *o-* and (less frequently) *ā-*stems. Cf. several examples of *i-*stems changed to *o-*stems:

gur ‘stone, rock’ < EPA **gura* < **guri* < IE **g^herə-* ‘mountain’ (Skt *giri-*, Av *gairi-*, Lith *girià* ‘wood’, Latv *dziria* id., Slav **gora* ‘mountain, wood’).

kri ~ *krî* ‘woodworm, moth’ < EPA **kriwa* < **kriwi*, to IE **k^hri-* (Slav **črvъ* ‘worm’).

krimb ~ *krym* ‘worm’ < EPA **krima* < **krimi* (with unexplained Geg *y*) < IE **k^hrimi-* id. (Skt *kṛmi-*, Lith *kirmis*).

ledh ‘mud, alluvium, clay; wall, earth mound; river-mouth, balk’ < EPA **laida*: OPrus *laydis* ‘clay’.

mot ‘time, weather, storm, thunderbolt’ < EPA **māti-*: Skt *māti-* ‘measure’, Gk μέτρος id.,

vesh ‘ear’ < EPA **wausa* < **wausi-*: Lat *auris*, Lith *ausis*, Latv *auss*.

zot ‘lord, master, god’ < EPA **w(i)ts-pata* < **w(i)ts-pati-*: Skt *viś-pati-* ‘lord of the house’.

Some other *i-*stems changed to *ā-*stems:

besë ‘pledge, truce, trust’ < EPA **baitšā* < **baitšr̥*. Gk πίσις ‘faithful, trustworthy’.

botë ‘world’ < EPA **bwātā* < **bwāt̥r̥*. Skt *bhūt̥r̥* ‘existence’, Lith *būtis* id., Ir *buith* id.

gjollë ‘clearing or pasture where salt is strewn for sheep; patch of ground for sowing’ < EPA **sālā* < **sāl̥i*. Slav **solb* ‘salt’.

ditë ‘day’ < EPA **dītā* < **dīt̥r̥*. Gmc **tīdiz* ‘time’ (OHG *zīt*, OE *tīd*) and Skt *dīti* ‘brightness, splendor’.

natë ‘night’ < EPA **naktā* < **nakti-* corresponding to Lith *naktis*, Lett *nakts*, OPrus *naktin*, Slav **nokt’b*.

botë < EPA **bwāt̥i*, cf. Skt *bhūt̥r̥* ‘existence’, Lith *būtis* id., Ir *buith* id.

gjollë, pl. *gjollë* ‘clearing or pasture where salt is strewn for sheep; patch of ground for sowing’ < EPA **sāl̥i*, cf. Slav **solb* ‘salt’.

Proto-Albanian *i*-stems included a group of numerals in *-të* < **-tī*, which correspond to Sanskrit decads in *-tī-* (*ṣaṣṭī-* ‘six tens’ and the like), as well as the word for ‘twenty’:

gjashtë ‘six’ < EPA **seksti-*, close to Skt *ṣaṣ-*, Gk ἕξ, Lat *sex*.

tetë ‘eight’ < EPA **aktōtī*: Skt *aṣṭā*, Arm *owt’*, Gk ὀκτώ.

nëntë ~ *nand* ‘nine’ < EPA **neunti-* (with analogical restructuring in Tosk), to Skt *nāva*, Lat *novem*, Goth *niun*.

dhjetë ‘ten’ < EPA **dets(a)tī*: Skt *dāśa*, Gk δέκα, Lat *decem*.

shtatë ‘seven’ < EPA **septati-* corresponding to Skt *saptā-*, Gk ἑπτὰ, Lat *septem*.

zet ‘twenty’ < EPA **w(i)tsati* < IE **uik̑mti* id. (Skt *viṃśatī-*, Gk εἴκοσι, Lat *vīginti*).

Indo-European stems in **-jē* are represented in Early Proto-Albanian as stems in **-jā̄*:

buzë ‘lip, end, edge, bank, stitch, rock’ < EPA **budjā̄*: Lith *budė* ‘tree-fungus, tinder, whet-stone’.

3.2.1.6. One of the most productive morphological types in Albanian is represented by the masculine *o*-stems. Many *o*-stems have been inherited from Indo-European. Cf. several typical examples:

- dash* ‘ram’ < EPA **dauša* < IE **dhouso-* ~ **dheuso-* (Goth *dius* ‘wild animal’, Lith pl. *daūsos* ‘paradise’, Slav **duxъ* ‘breath, spirit’).
- dem* ‘young bull’ < EPA **dama*: OIr *dam* ‘ox’ and Gk δάμαλος ‘calf’.
- dhëmb* ~ *dhamb* ‘tooth’ < EPA **dzamba* < IE **ǵombho-* ‘peg, tooth’ (Skt *jámbha-* ‘bit, peg’, Gk γόμφος ‘peg’, Toch A *kam* ‘tooth’, B *keme* id., Latv *zùobs* id., Slav **zqbъ* id.).
- gardh* ‘fence’ < EPA **garda*: Goth *gards* ‘house’, Lith *gařdas* ‘fence’, Slav **gordъ* ‘town, fence’.
- ġjak* ‘blood’ < EPA **saka*: Gk ὀπός ‘juice’, Lith *sakaĩ* ‘resin’, Slav **sokъ* ‘juice’.
- jerm* ‘delirium, absent-mindedness’ < EPA **erma*: Lith *eřmas* ‘monster’, Latv *erms* ‘wonderful apparition’.
- kërr* ‘donkey, ass, foal, gray’ < EPA **kara*: Skt *khára-* ‘donkey’, Av *xarō* id., Scyth **xara*, Osset *xæræg* id.
- shteg* ‘path, road’ < EPA **staiga* < IE **stoigho-* ‘way’ (Gk στῶχος ‘row, line’, Goth *staiga* ‘way’, Latv *staĩga* ‘walking’, *sřga* ‘path’, Slav **stъza* id.).
- ujk* ‘wolf’ < EPA *(w)*ulka* < IE **ul̥kʷos* id. (Skt *vřka-*, Gk λύκος, Lat *lupus*, Goth *wulfs*).

Stems in *-*jo-* are a productive subgroup of *o*-stems. The following examples illustrate this type:

- derr* ‘pig’ < EPA **darja*: Gk χοῖρος id. < IE **ǵhorjos*.
- duaj* ~ *duej* ‘sheaf’ < EPA **dōnja*: Skt *dhānā* ‘grain, cereals’, *dhānyā-* ‘grain’, Lith *dúona* ‘bread’.
- huaj* ~ *hvej* ‘foreign, strange’ < EPA **ksōn(w)ja*: Gk ξένος, Dor ξένφος ‘stranger, guest’.
- hu* ~ *hû* ‘picket, stake, pole, penis’ < EPA **skuja*: Slav **xujъ* ‘penis’.
- keq* ‘bad, evil’ < EPA **kakja*: Gk κακός ‘bad’.
- mëz* ~ *mâz* ‘foal’ < EPA **mandja*, derived from *mënd* ‘to feed, to suckle’ < IE **mazd-*.
- nus* ‘thread, string’ < EPA **snutja*: Skt *snāvan-* ‘band, sinew’.

3.2.1.7. Many Albanian *ā*-stems continue similar Indo-European forms.

- halë* ‘fish bone, splinter; pine’ < EPA **skalā*: Lith *skalà* ‘stick of firewood’, Latv *skala* ‘splinter (used to furnish light)’.
- krodhë* ‘beehive’ < EPA **krādā*: Slav **krada* ‘heap, pile’.
- lëndë* ~ *landë* ‘wood, timber, material’ < EPA **lentā*: Gmc **lendō* ‘linden’ (OHG *linta*, OE *lind*), Lith *lentà* ‘board’, Slav
- llërë* ~ *llanë* ‘forearm, ell’ < EPA **alenā*: Gk ὠλένη ‘elbow’, Lat *ulna*, OHG *elina*.
- mjegull* ‘cloud’ < EPA **meglā*: Gk ὀμίχλη ‘fog, mist’, Lith *miglā* id., Slav **mьgla* ‘darkness, mist’.
- rrudhë* ‘wrinkle’ < EPA **rudzā*: Lat *rūga* id.
- tollë* ‘bald spot; drum membrane’ < EPA **tāslā* < **tēkslā*: Lat *tēla* ‘cloth’, OHG *dehsala* ‘axe’, Slav **tesla* id.
- thekë* ‘fringe’ < EPA **tsakā*: Skt *śākā* ‘branch’, Lith *šakà* id.
- ve* ‘widow’ < EPA **widewā*: Skt *vidhāvā* id., Lat *vidua* id., Goth *widuwo* id.

Stems in **-jā* are also well attested in Albanian. Cf. the following examples:

- dosë* ‘pig, sow’ < EPA **dā(i)tjā* < IE **dhē(i)-* ‘to suckle’.
- enjë* ‘juniper, yew’ < EPA **aignjā* related to the Germanic word for ‘oak’: ON *eik*, OHG *eih*.
- enjë* ~ *êjë* ‘dairy goat’ < EPA **agnjā*: Gk ἀμνός ‘lamb’, Lat *agnus* id.
- mjalcë* ‘bee’ < EPA **melitjā*: Gk μέλισσα < **μέλιτjα* id.
- vise* ‘place’ < EPA **wītsjā* < IE **ueikjā* similar to Gk οἰκία ‘dwelling, house’.

A few old masculine *o*-stems changed to *ā*-stems in Albanian. This process may be somehow connected with the fate of old neuter *o*-stems in Albanian (see below). Cf. the following examples:

- kohë* ‘time’ < EPA **kāxā*: Slav **časъ* id.
- lapë* ‘hard piece of meat or skin; peritoneum; leaf’ < EPA **lapā*: Lith *lāpas* ‘leaf’, Gk λοπός ‘shell, husk, bark’.

There are also examples of the reverse development, an *ā*-stem yielding an *o*-stem in Albanian:

- ag* ‘twilight, dusk’ < EPA **auga* < IE **aug-* (Gk αὐγή ‘ray of light’).

kulp, *kulpër* ~ *kulpën* ‘ivy, clematis’ < EPA **kulpā*: Lith *kìlpa* ‘loop’, Latv *ciļpa* id.
pidh ‘female pudenda’ < EPA **p(e)izda*: Slav **pizda* id. and OPrus *peisda* ‘bottom’.

3.2.1.8. Indo-European neuter plural *o*-stems were reinterpreted as feminine *ā*-stems in Proto-Albanian:

baltë ‘swamp, marsh, dirt, earth’ < EPA **baltā* < IE **bholətom* id. (Slav **bolto*, cf. Lith *báltas* ‘white’).
bimë ‘plant’ < EPA **būmā* < IE **bhūmom* (Gk φῦμα id.).
darkë ‘supper’ < EPA **darkā* < IE **dork^uom* reflected in Gk δόρπον id.
ëndërr ~ *andërr* ‘dream, sleep’ < EPA **anrjā* < IE **onerjom* (Gk ὄνειρον, ὄνειρος, Arm *anowrj*).
fjalë ‘word, speech, tale’ < EPA **spelā*: Gmc **spellan* (Goth *spill* ‘story, fable’, ON *spjall* ‘story, speech’, OE *spell* id., OHG *spel*, *spell* id.) and Arm *ařaspel* ‘fable’.
hirrë ‘whey’ < EPA **ksirā*: Skt *křirā-* ‘milk’, Osset *æxřir* id.
hudhër ‘garlic’ < EPA **skurdā*: Gk σκόροδον id.

Under the influence of East Balkan Romance, Late Proto-Albanian developed a new grammatical (syntactic) category—neuter of substantives. These nouns, whose singulars were masculine but plurals feminine, absorbed some of the old Indo-European neuters. However, there was no direct connection between the Indo-European neuter and the new Proto-Albanian neuter insofar as many masculines and feminines were involved in the formation of the new neuter (corresponding to the semantic category of “definite mass”) from the very beginning. Cf. a few examples of old neuters functioning as neuters in Albanian:

ballë ‘forehead’ < EPA **balā*, to Skt *bhāla-* id., OPrus *ballo* id.
drithë ‘grain’ < EPA **dritsā* < IE **gh̥rzd-* (Lat *hordeum* ‘barley’, OHG *gersta* id.).
grurë ~ *grunë* ‘wheat’ < EPA **grunā* < IE **g̥r̥nom* ‘grain’ (Lat *grānum*, OIr *grán*, Goth *kaur̥n*, Lith *žirnis*, Slav **zbrno*).

3.2.1.9. Numerous plural stems were singularized in Proto-Albanian as a result of Late Proto-Albanian umlaut. Umlaut created paradigms in

which the stem of the plural was differentiated from that of the singular. Such irregularity was often neutralized by means of generalization; plural stems often ousted their singular counterparts. This process can be illustrated by the history of the word *ter* ‘bull’.

	sg.	pl.
Stage I	<i>*taura</i>	<i>*taurai</i>
	<i>*tara</i>	<i>*tarai</i>
Stage II	<i>*tara</i>	<i>*terai</i>
Stage III	<i>ter</i>	<i>terë</i>

Likewise, singular stems ousted plural stems in the same fashion, though this process was less frequent. Cf. the history of the word *drang* ‘pole’:

	sg.	pl.
Stage I	<i>*dranga</i>	<i>*drangai</i>
Stage III	<i>*dranga</i>	<i>*drengai</i>
Stage IV	<i>drang</i>	<i>drangj</i>

However, both tendencies did not cover all Albanian nouns with umlaut. Some of them retained the paradigm with vocalic alternation, cf. *gardh* ‘fence’:

	sg.	pl.
Stage I	<i>*garda</i>	<i>*gardai</i>
Stage III	<i>*garda</i>	<i>*gerdai</i>
Stage IV	<i>gardh</i>	<i>gjerdhe</i>

3.2.1.10. The majority of Latin loanwords were morphologically adapted in Proto-Albanian according to their declension types. Nouns of the 1st declension appear as *ā*-stems in Albanian:

armë ‘weapon’ ⇔ Lat *arma* id.

bishë ‘beast, wild animal’ ⇔ Lat *bēstia* id.

bukë ‘bread; meal, meal-time’ ⇔ Lat *bucca* ‘mouth’ (in Balkan Romance, ‘food’).

- bulë* ‘bud’ ⇐ Lat *bulla* ‘bubble, boss, knob’.
detyrë ‘duty, debt’ ⇐ Rom **debitūra* id.
fëmijë ‘child, family, spouse’ ⇐ Lat *famīlia* ‘family’.
furkë ‘distaff, fork’ ⇐ Lat *furca* ‘fork’.
fishë ‘plain, open field, meadow’ ⇐ Lat *fossa* ‘ditch, trench, gutter’.
luftë ‘fight, war’ ⇐ Lat *lucta* ‘wrestling’, cf. Rum *luptă* ‘fight’.
pjergull ‘vine-arbor, pergola’ ⇐ Lat *pergula* ‘shed, booth, vine-arbor’.

Masculine nouns of the 2nd declension became *o*-stems in Albanian:

- ark* ‘bow’ ⇐ Lat *arcus* id.
flok ‘hair’ ⇐ Lat *floccus* ‘lock, flock’.
fund ‘bottom, end’ ⇐ Lat *fundus* ‘bottom’.
gusht ‘August’ ⇐ Lat *augustus* id.
mars ‘March’ ⇐ Lat *Martius* id.
modh ‘bushel’ ⇐ Lat *modus* ‘measure’.
murg ~ *mung* ‘monk’ ⇐ Lat *monachus* id.
pus ‘well, fountain’ ⇐ Lat *puteus* ‘well’.
shesh ‘plain, plane, flatness, square’ ⇐ Lat *sessus* ‘seat’.
ves ‘bad habit’ ⇐ Lat *vitium* ‘fault, defect, vice’.

Most neuter nouns of the 2nd declension became *o*-stems too:

- dëm* ~ *dam* ‘damage’ ⇐ Lat *damnum* ‘hurt, harm, damage’.
fat ‘fate; bridegroom, husband, friend’ ⇐ Lat *fātum* id.
fshat ‘village’ ⇐ Lat *fossātum* ‘ditch’, *‘surrounded by a ditch’.
gaz ‘joy, laughter’. ⇐ Lat *gaudium* ‘joy’.
kangjel ‘song’ ⇐ Rom **canticellum* id.
lardh ‘fat-laden bacon’ ⇐ Lat *lāridum*, *lārdum* id.
qiell ‘sky, heaven’ ⇐ Lat *caelum* id.
shqyt ‘shield’ ⇐ Lat *scūtum* id.

Exceptions are rare:

- grëmëratë* ‘beestings, clots of curdled milk’ ⇐ Lat *glomerātum*,
 participle of *glomerāre* ‘to wind into a ball, to gather into a
 round heap’.
këngë ~ *kangë* ‘song’ ⇐ Lat *canticum* id.
peshë ‘weight; stone, boulder’ ⇐ Lat *pensum* id.

Latin neuter inanimate substantives often turned into new Albanian neuter forms. Cf. a typical example:

vaj ~ *voj* 'oil' ⇔ Lat *oleum* id.

Nearly all nouns of the 3d declension became *o*-stems in Albanian:

bulbër 'street-dust' ⇔ Lat *pulverem* 'dust'.

dragua ~ *dra(n)gue* 'dragon' ⇔ Rom **drancōnem*, cf. Lat *dracōnem* id.

grigj 'flock, herd' ⇔ Lat *gregem* id.

ligj 'law' ⇔ Lat *lēge(m)* id.

mend 'mind' ⇔ Lat *mentem* id.

paq 'peace' ⇔ Lat *pacem* id.

prind 'father, parent' ⇔ Lat *parentem* id.

qytet 'city' ⇔ Lat *cīvitāte(m)* id.

tmerr 'horror, fright' ⇔ Lat *tīmōrem* id.

turp 'shame' ⇔ Lat *turpe* id.

Cf. an exceptional case of a noun of the 3d declension adapted as an *ā*-stem:

shtijë 'spear, ray' ⇔ Lat *hastīle* 'spear'.

3.2.1.11. In some cases, the morphological type of the loanword was determined not by the stem of the source-word but by its reinterpreted nominative. In other cases, nominatives ending in *-r* and *-n* were erroneously treated as Albanian plurals. New nominative singulars were then back formed. Cf. the following examples:

javë 'week' ⇔ Lat *hebdomas* id.

kulm 'ridge, peak; wave' ⇔ Lat *culmen* id.

mbret 'king' ⇔ Lat *imperātor* 'emperor'.

shat 'hoe' ⇔ Lat *sector* 'cutter'.

shemë 'swarm (of bees)' ⇔ Lat *exāmen* 'swarm'.

3.2.1.12. Slavic loanwords were morphologically adapted in a way quite similar to that of Latin. Slavic *feminina* appear in Albanian as *ā*-stems:

- nevojë* ‘need’ ⇐ Slav **nevol’ a* ‘lack of freedom, necessity’.
pelenë ‘diaper’ ⇐ Slav **pelena* ‘cover, napkin’.
pjavicë ‘leech’ ⇐ Slav **pijavica* id.
raqitë ‘broom (bush)’ ⇐ Slav **orkyta* id.
rekë ‘brook, rivulet’ ⇐ Slav **rëka* ‘river’.
repë ‘turnip’ ⇐ Slav **rëpa* id.
serë ‘tar’ ⇐ Slav **sëra* ‘sulphur’.
verigë ‘chain ring’ ⇐ Slav **veriga* ‘chain’.
vërsë ~ *vërcë* ‘age’ ⇐ Slav **vьrsta* ‘age, kind, kin’.

Slavic masculine *o*-stems remained *o*-stems in Albanian:

- kaç* ‘weaver’ ⇐ Slav **тъкачъ* id.
lik ‘level’ ⇐ Slav **ликъ* ‘face, surface’.
nemec ‘dumb, stuttering person’ ⇐ Slav **нѣтъць* id.
oborr ‘yard, court’ ⇐ Slav **obvorъ* id.
pelin ‘wormwood’ ⇐ Slav **pelynъ* id.
red ‘row’ ⇐ Slav **редъ* id.
rrasoll ‘pickles’ ⇐ Slav **orzsolъ* ‘pickles; brine’.
shap ‘disease of the cattle, Apta epizootica’ ⇐ Slav **sapъ*
‘glanders’.
ugar ‘land unused for two years’ ⇐ Slav **ugarъ* ‘fallow ground’.
zabel ‘little wood’ ⇐ Slav **zabělъ* id.
zhëg ‘heat’ ⇐ Slav **žegъ* id.

Neuter substantives borrowed from Slavic became Albanian *ā*-stems:

- lijë* ‘smallpox’ ⇐ Slav **lixo* ‘evil’
metale ‘snow-drift’ ⇐ Slav **metadlo* ‘heap’.
mitë ‘bribe, tip’ ⇐ Slav **myto* ‘payment’.
sanë ‘hay’ ⇐ Slav **sěno* id.
sitë ‘sieve’ ⇐ Slav **sito* id.
ulishtë ‘small tub’ ⇐ Slav **ulışče*, derivative of **ulъjъ* ‘hive;
trough’.
vedër ‘pail (for milk)’ ⇐ Slav **vědro* ‘pail’.

In a few cases, especially in early loanwords, the gender of Slavic words was changed:

- llohë* ‘rain with snow, snow broth, dampness’ ⇔ Slav **lojъ*
 *‘anything liquid’ > ‘fat, lard’.
pleng ‘bandage’ ⇔ Slav **pel(e)nъka* id.
ravë ‘path (in mountains or snow)’ ⇔ Slav **rovъ* ‘ditch’.
ravgë ‘path (in mountains)’ ⇔ Slav **rovъkъ* ‘ditch’.

Occasionally, the plural forms of Slavic loanwords were reanalyzed as singulars as in the following example:

- virua* ~ *virue* ‘brook, rivulet’ ⇔ Slav pl. **virove* of **virъ* ‘whirlpool, water-pit’.

3.2.2. Formation of the plural

3.2.2.0. In Proto-Albanian (as well as in modern Albanian) the plural stems of most substantives are identical with the singular stems and belong to the same paradigm (see 3.2.3). In Proto-Albanian, nouns often developed new plural stems by the reanalysis of old derivational suffixes. Such new plurals were derived from the original singulars by means of special suffixes.

Literature: MEYER *Alb. St. I passim*; JOKL *LKUBA* 45 (plurals in *-z-*), 191-192 (on plurals in *-inj*), *Mélanges Pedersen* 135-136 (plural in *-m-*); CIMOCHOWSKI *BUSHT* XIII 47 (Illyrian parallels to plurals in *-inj*); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 124-129 (plural in *-z-*); ÇABEJ *St. III* 309-402; DESNICKAJA *Gr. str.* 26-27 (*-ra* ~ *-na* created on the basis of pl. *emër-a* ~ *emën-a* restructured as *emë-ra* ~ *emë-na*; plural in *-ër* ~ *-ën* of Latin loanwords); MANN *Hist. Gr.* 90-99; LAZZERONI *SSL* VI 96-115 (on IE **-idjō-*).

3.2.2.1. One of the most productive plural suffixes is *-ra* ~ *-na*. It forms plurals which consist of two semantic groups: body parts and material substantives.

The first group is relatively small:

- asht* > *eshtra* ~ *eshtëna* ‘bone’
gisht > *gishtëra* ~ *gishtna* ‘finger, thumb’
pidh > *pidhëra* ~ *pidhna* ‘female pudenda’

The second group includes a considerable number of substantives denoting various materials and other uncountables:

- bar* > *barëra* ~ *barëna* 'grass'
borë > *borëra* ~ *borna* 'snow'
djathë > *djathëra* ~ *djathna* 'cheese'
drithë > *drithëra* ~ *drithna* 'grain'
dhe > *dhera* ~ *dhena* 'earth, land'
dhjamë > *dhjamëra* ~ *dhjamna* '(animal) fat, lard, suet, tallow'
elb > *elbëra* ~ *elbëna* 'barley'
erë > *erëra* ~ *erëna* 'wind'
flakë > *flakëra* ~ *flakëna* 'flame'
frac > *fracra* ~ *fracna* 'biting cold, frost'
fshat > *fshatra* ~ *fshatna* 'village'
gram > *gramra* ~ *gramna* 'couch-grass, knot-grass'
gjak > *gjakra* ~ *gjakna* 'blood'
kripë ~ *krypë* > *kripëra* ~ *krypna* 'salt'
lesh > *leshra* ~ *leshna* 'wool, fleece, hair'
mëndafsh > *mëndafshra* ~ *mëndafshna* 'silk'
miell > *miellra* ~ *miellna* 'flour'
mish > *mishra* ~ *mishna* 'flesh, meat'
mut > *mutra* ~ *mutna* 'excrement'
pleh ~ *plêh* > *plehra* ~ *plêhna* 'sweepings, dung, rubbish'
qelb > *qelbra* ~ *qelbna* 'pus'
shi > *shira* ~ *shina* 'rain'
shpirt > *shpirtëra* ~ *shpirtna* 'soul, spirit'
shtat > *shtatra* ~ *shtatna* 'figure, image'
ujë > *ujëra* ~ *ujna* 'water'
vaj ~ *voj* > *vajra* ~ *vojna* 'oil'

This morpheme might be derived from an old collective suffix **-īn-ā*, which is attested in Gk (Ion-Att) *-ινη*, Lat *-īna*, Lith *-yna*, Slav *-ina*. Thus, the plural of *bar* 'grass', *barëra* ~ *barëna*, could be historically identical with Lat *farīna* 'flour', derived from *far* 'sort of grain, spelt'.

3.2.2.2. Another important type of plural is characterized by the suffix *-ër* ~ *-ën*. This type includes numerous masculine Latin and Slavic loanwords denoting human beings:

- dreq* > *dreqër* ~ *dreqën* 'devil'

- kaç* > *keçër* ~ *keçën* ‘weaver’
kunat > *kunetër* ~ *kunetën* ‘brother-in-law’
lab > *lebër* ~ *lebën* ‘Lab, inhabitant of Laberia’
mbret > *mbretër* ~ *mbretën* ‘king’
nip > *nipër* ~ *nipën* ‘nephew, grandson’
prind > *prindër* ~ *prindën* ‘father, parent’

Somewhat rarer are those nouns of the same semantic category (most of them—kinship terms), which belonged to the original Indo-European lexicon:

- atë* > *etër* ~ *atën, etën* ‘father’
gjysh > *gjyshër* ~ *gjyshën* ‘grandfather’
vëlla > *vëllezër* ~ *vëllazën* ‘brother’

Words of different semantic categories are few:

- ris* > *risër* ~ *risën* ‘lynx’
shtrat > *shtretër* ~ *shtretën* ‘bed; layer’
ujk > *ujqër* ~ *ujqën* ‘wolf’

It seems that the oldest forms of this kind are represented by the old kinship terms inherited from Indo-European (even though in *vëlla* this type of plural is clearly secondary, cf. below). In these words, the ending *-ër* ~ *-ën* seems to stem from EPA **-in-a* < IE **-ino-* (Gk βύβλινοϛ ‘made of papyrus’, χύτρινοϛ ‘of clay’, Lith *áuksinas* ‘golden’, Slav **věčьnъ* ‘eternal’). Phonetically, the ending *-ër* ~ *-ën* causes umlaut. A close parallel of this type of plural can be found between *etër* ~ *atën, etën* ‘fathers’ < EPA **atina* and the Slavic relative adjective **отьнъ* ‘father’s, paternal’ corresponding to **отьць* ‘father’.

3.2.2.3. In several nouns, we find plurals in *-inj*:

- bosht* > *boshtinj* ‘spindle, axis, axle’
drapër ~ *drapën* > *drapinj, dërpënj* ‘sickle’
koc > *kocinj* ‘bone, skull’
krimb ~ *krym* > *kërminj* ‘worm’
prift > *priftinj* ‘priest’
stap > *stapinj* ‘stick, staff’

A rare form of this plural suffix is *-ënj*, *-enj*:

lëmë ~ lamë ➤ *lëmënj ~ lamënj*, *lëmenj ~ lamenj* ‘threshing-floor’

lumë ➤ *lumenj* ‘river’

plaf ➤ *plëfënj* ‘wool blanket, rug’

This suffix can be compared with Latin collective nouns in *-inium*, as well as with Illyrian *-inium* attested in place-names, cf. *Delminium*.

The regular plural of nouns with stems ending in *-n* has *-nj* in modern Albanian, due to the Late Proto-Albanian palatalization of **-n-ai > *-n-i > -nj* (see 1.4.4.7). As a result, *-nj* has become a plural suffix. It clearly has no historical connection with *-inj*:

bli ~ blî ➤ *blinj* ‘linden’

dragua ~ dra(n)gue ➤ *dragonj ~ drangoj* ‘dragon’

katua ~ katue ➤ *katonj* ‘stable, basement, cellar’

mi ~ mî ➤ *minj* ‘mouse’

përrua ~ përrue ➤ *përrenj, përronj* ‘brook; river-bed’

rëmër ~ rëmen ➤ *rëmënj* ‘Valachian; shepherd’

thua ~ thue ➤ *thoj ~ thonj* ‘(finger) nail’

3.2.2.4. Several plural suffixes are very rare. In two words, plurals are formed by means of *-ëz ~ -ez ~ -az*:

njeri ➤ *njerëz* ‘man, person, human being’

vëlla ➤ *vëllezër ~ vëllazën* ‘brother’

This suffix can be compared with the suffix of *abstracta -zë*.

In one case, plurality is expressed by the suffix *-m* < EPA **-ma* < IE **-mo-*:

djalë ➤ *djem, djelm* ‘boy, youth’

The adjectival derivative in **-j-* has been reanalyzed as the plural marker in the following case:

shpend ➤ *shpezë* ‘fowl’

3.2.3. Declension

3.2.3.0. The Proto-Albanian declensional system is reflected in the modern Albanian “indefinite” declension, though not the “definite” declension, which has a different origin. Adjectives lost the entire declensional system, retaining only the opposition of singular and plural forms; in Old Albanian the declension of adjectives corresponded to that of nouns.

The “indefinite” declension in Albanian, as well as its Proto-Albanian source, represent a fragmentary continuation of the Indo-European nominal system. Only *o*-stems have preserved a considerable part of their original endings. The \bar{a} -stems paradigm has been heavily influenced by that of the *o*-stems. Only traces of other declensional types have been retained. The adjectival declension has been reduced to the opposition of singular and plural in modern Albanian, while cases other than the nominative have been lost.

Literature: BOPP 52 (loc. pl. *-esh* < **-oi-su*); TORP apud DEMIRAJ *Morf. hist.* 68 (obl. *-i* from IE loc. **-ei*); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 96 (endings of nom. pl. of *o*-stems), 97 (nom. pl. \bar{a} -stems from **-ās*); *Alb. St.* III 37 (*-ve* < dat.-abl. **-bh(i)os*), 83 (nom. sg. \bar{a} -stems); PEKMEZI 87 (zero ending of plural); MEYER-LÜBKE apud JOKL *IF XXXVII* 114 (oxytonesis in nom.sg. of *o*-stems in *-ë*); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 278 (gen.-abl. **-ās* > gen.-dat. sg. \bar{a} -stems *-e*), 280 (obl. *-u* influenced by nom. sg. of the “definite” declension; obl. *-i* < IE dat. **-ōi*), 315 (agrees with MEYER *Alb. St.* III); JOKL *IF XXXVII* 114 (nom.sg. of *o*-stems in *-ë* as a generalization of the old accusative in **-om* > *-ë*), *Festschr. Kretschmer* 92 (zero ending of plural); SKOK *A ArbSt* III 163-175 (agrees with PEDERSEN; derives *-ve* from **-ū-ōm* of *u*-stems); CAPIDAN *Arom.* 394-395 (vocative in Balkan Romance); BUBEN *ČMF XXIX* 148-152 (Slavic origins of the Albanian vocative); BARIÇ *Hymje* 26 (gen.-dat. sg. \bar{a} -stems from abl. of \bar{i} -stems in **-jās*), 42 (loc. pl. *-esh* < **-sōm*); *Ist.* 26 (gen.-dat. sg. *-e* < **-ōm*, *-ve* < **-ōm* after a vowel); PISANI *Saggi* 104 (follows BARIÇ *Hymje*), 105 (follows MEYER *Alb. St.* III); HAMP *KZ LXXV* 150 (nom. pl. *-e* < collective IE **-jā*); RIZA *BUSH T XIII/4* 13 (explains obl. *-u* phonetically: *kau* ‘bull’ < **kavi* < **kai*); POLÁK *Orbis XII/2* 391 (follows BUBEN); DOMI *RESI XLV* 25 (follows BARIÇ); SCHMITT-BRANDT *Kratylos XII/1* 16 (reconstructs athematic **-ŋ* as a source of acc. sg. in *o*-stems); DESNICKAJA *PSFil.* 174 (endings of plural), *Gr. str.* 33-38 (nom. pl. \emptyset < IE **-oi*, nom. pl. *-ë* from old collectives), 39 (nom. sg. \bar{a} -stems), *Zv. stroj* 83-97 (morphology of obl. *-i*: *-u*); DEMIRAJ *Çështje* 113 (zero ending of plural), *Morf. hist.* 53 (nom. pl. in *-e* < IE **-ās*), 68 (gen.-

dat. sg. *ā*-stems from **-āi*), 71 (-e, -ve < **-ois*); VORONINA *Gr. str.* 141-143 (Old Albanian declension of adjectives); MANN *Hist. Gr.* 100-102 OREL *Sov. slav.* 1982/3 92-96, *ZfBalk* XIX/2 121-130 (reconstruction of the Albanian nominal inflexion).

***o*-stems**

3.2.3.1. In the singular, the Proto-Albanian *o*-stem nominative ended in **-a* < IE **-o-s*. In the majority of nouns, this ending was unstressed and, therefore, it was altogether lost in Albanian:

nom. sg. *dem* 'young bull' < EPA **dáma* < IE **damos*
 nom. sg. *gjak* 'blood' < EPA **sáka* < IE **sok^uos*
 nom. sg. *plak* 'old man' < EPA **p(e)láka* < IE **p(e)lækos*
 nom. sg. *prush* 'ember, glowing coal' < EPA **prúša* < IE **prusos*
 nom. sg. *shi* 'rain' < EPA **sújja* < IE **sūjos*
 nom. sg. *trap* 'ferry' < EPA **trápa* < IE **tropos*

In a few cases, however, Albanian reflects a Proto-Albanian oxytonic stress, which preserved the ending as *-ë* (not to be confused with the passage of some of old *o*-stems to *ā*-stems):

nom. sg. *brumë* 'dough' < EPA **brumá* < IE **bhṛmos*
 nom. sg. *burrë* 'man, husband' < LPA **burá* (Germanic loanword)
 nom. sg. *djalë* 'boy, youth' < EPA **delá* < IE **dhē(i)los*
 nom. sg. *gjumë* 'sleep' < EPA **supná* < IE **supnos*
 nom. sg. *lumë* 'river' < EPA **lumá* < IE **lumos*

Albanian has a vocative form in *-o* used both by *o*- and *ā*-stems: *nenó* 'oh mother', *burro* 'oh husband'. A similar form exists in Balkan Romance, cf. Rum *fátó* 'oh girl'. This vocative has been borrowed from South Slavic where *-o* characterizes the vocative of *ā*-stems: **děvo* 'oh maiden', **ženo* 'oh woman'.

3.2.3.2. Forms of the accusative of *o*-stems coincide with the nominative. They had already become identical in Proto-Albanian, where the Indo-European ending **-o-m* merged with the nominative **-o-s* into EPA **-a*. Accentually, the accusative did not differ from the nominative;

hence, the same distribution of the more frequent zero ending and less frequent *-ě*:

- acc. *dem* ‘young bull’ < EPA **dáma* < IE **damom*
 acc. *gjak* ‘blood’ < EPA **sáka* < IE **sok^hom*
 acc. *plak* ‘old man’ < EPA **p(e)láka* < IE **p(e)lākom*
 acc. *prush* ‘ember, glowing coal’ < EPA **prúša* < IE **prusom*
 acc. *shi* ‘rain’ < EPA **sūja* < IE **sūjom*
 acc. *trap* ‘ferry’ < EPA **trápa* < IE **tropom*

Oxytonic forms:

- acc. *brumě* ‘dough’ < EPA **brumá* < IE **bh^hromom*
 acc. *djalě* ‘boy, youth’ < EPA **delá* < IE **dhē(i)lom*
 acc. *gjumě* ‘sleep’ < EPA **supná* < IE **supnom*
 acc. *lumě* ‘river’ < EPA **lumá* < IE **lumom*

3.2.3.3. All the oblique cases of the singular *o*-stem paradigm merged into one formant *-i* : *-u*. The choice of the palatal or labial variant is determined by a simple complementary distribution (whose conditions can vary in different dialects): *-u* follows vowels and velars, *-i* appears after any other phoneme. The labial ending seems to have developed as a secondary variant of *-i*. Even though the exact conditions and time of this process are unknown, historically, we have only to deal with the morpheme *-i*.

The genitive, dative and ablative ending *-i* continues EPA **-ei*, reflecting the Indo-European locative **-ei* (cf. the traces of the old locative in the plural). In many other Indo-European languages, this form of the locative ceded to the more “regular” thematic **-oi*:

- gen.-dat.-abl. *demi* ‘young bull’ < EPA **damei* < IE **damei*
 gen.-dat.-abl. *gjaku* ‘blood’ < EPA **sakei* < IE **sok^hei*
 gen.-dat.-abl. *plaku* ‘old man’ < EPA **p(e)lakei* < IE **p(e)lākei*
 gen.-dat.-abl. *prushi* ‘ember, glowing coal’ < EPA **pruše* < IE **prusei*
 **prusei*
 gen.-dat.-abl. *shiu* ‘rain’ < EPA **sūjei* < IE **sūjei*
 gen.-dat.-abl. *trapi* ‘ferry’ < EPA **trapei* < IE **tropei*

In North Geg there exists a special form of the ablative in *-t* (abl. *motit* ‘year’). It has been transferred from the “definite” declension.

3.2.3.4. In plural, the *o*-stem nominative has several endings: *-e*, *-ë*, zero and *-a*. These endings reflect an interaction of two distinct Proto-Albanian endings in different accentual conditions: EPA **-ō* continuing IE **-ōs* and the innovative EPA **-ai* continuing IE **-oi*, originally characteristic of the pronominal declension. The first ending *-e* can reflect both stressed EPA **-ō* and **-ai*:

- nom. pl. *drangje* ‘barge-pole’ < EPA **drangō*/**drangai* < IE **dhronghōs*/**dhronghoi*
 nom. pl. *gardhe* ‘fence’ < EPA **gardō*/**gardai* < IE **ġhordhōs*/**ġhordhoi*
 nom. pl. *gjaqe* ‘blood’ < EPA **sakō*/**sakai* < IE **sok^uōs*/**sok^uoi*
 nom. pl. *helle* ‘spear, spit’ < EPA **skōlō*/**skōlai* < IE **skōlōs*/**skōloi*
 nom. pl. *rrime* ‘rain-worm’ < EPA **wrimō*/**wrimai* < IE **ur^umōs*/**ur^umoi*
 nom. pl. *trepe* ‘ferry’ < EPA **trapō*/**trapai* < IE **tropōs*/**tropoi*

Unstressed **-ō* yielded *-ë*:

- nom. pl. *brirë* ~ *brinë* ‘horn’ < EPA **brinō* < IE **bh^hrⁿōs*
 nom. pl. *dhëmbë* ~ *dhambë* ‘tooth’ < EPA **dzambō* < IE **ġhombōs*
 nom. pl. *dhëndurë* ~ *dhandurë* ‘bridegroom, son-in-law’ < EPA **dzenrō* < IE **ġenərōs*
 nom. pl. *eshë* ‘hedghog’ < EPA **edzjō* < IE **eġhⁱōs*
 nom. pl. *gjyshë* ‘grandfather’ < EPA **sūsō* < IE **sūsōs*
 nom. pl. *terë* ‘bull’ < EPA **taurō* < IE **taurōs*

Unstressed **-ai* appears as a zero ending:

- nom. pl. *gji* ~ *gji* ‘breast, chest’ < EPA **sinai* < IE **sinoi*
 nom. pl. *lugj* ‘trough’ < EPA **lugai* < IE **lughoi*
 nom. pl. *pleq* ‘old man’ < EPA **p(e)lakai* < IE **p(e)l^akoi*
 nom. pl. *ujq* ‘wolf’ < EPA **(w)ulkai* < IE **ul^koi*
 nom. pl. *vjehërr* ‘father-in-law’ < EPA **swesurai* < IE **suekuroi*

nom. pl. dial. *zjerm* ‘fire’ < EPA **džermai* < IE **g^hhermoi*

As to the ending *-a*, it replaced the original ending *-e* in many *o*-stems under the influence of the *ā*-stems:

nom. pl. *ara* ‘bear’ < EPA **arā* < IE **rktās*

nom. pl. *dema* ‘young bull’ < EPA **damā* < IE **damās*

nom. pl. *derra* ‘pig’ < EPA **darjā* < IE **g^hhorjās*

nom. pl. *kërba* ‘tub, barrel’ < EPA **karbā* < IE **korbhās*

nom. pl. *krepa* ‘rock’ < EPA **krepā* < **krepās*

nom. pl. *thepa* ‘peak, point’ < EPA **tsaipā* < IE **koipās*

The above distribution of endings is corroborated by the fact that both umlaut and the palatalization of velars are much more typical of substantives with a zero plural (from LPA **-i* < EPA **-ai*) than of forms with other endings.

3.2.3.5. The form of the accusative in plural is identical with that of the nominative plural. Accusatives in *-ë* and in zero coincide with the corresponding nominatives. The ending of the *o*-stem accusative plural **-ons* lost its final cluster and yielded EPA **-a* (stressed or unstressed) > Alb *-ë* or zero:

acc. pl. *brirë* ~ *brinë* ‘horn’ < EPA **brina* < IE **bh₁rons*

acc. pl. *dhëmbë* ~ *dhambë* ‘tooth’ < EPA **dzamba* < IE **g^hhombons*

acc. pl. *eshë* ‘hedgehog’ < EPA **edzja* < IE **e^gh₁ions*

acc. pl. *terë* ‘bull’ < EPA **taura* < IE **taurons*

acc. pl. *vjehërr* ‘father-in-law’ < EPA **swesura* < IE **s^gekurons*

acc. pl. dial. *zjerm* ‘fire’ < EPA **džerma* < **g^hhermons*

The above process led to the analogical extension of nominative plural formations into all accusative plurals. Accusatives coincided with nominatives reproducing the phenomena phonetically justified only in the nominative (palatalization of final velars, umlaut) and repeating such endings of the nominative as *-e* and *-a*:

acc. pl. *drangje* ‘barge-pole’ from nom. pl. *drangje*

acc. pl. *gardhe* ‘fence’ from nom. pl. *gardhe*

- acc. pl. *kërba* ‘tub, barrel’ from nom. pl. *kërba*
 acc. pl. *krepa* ‘rock’ from nom. pl. *krepa*
 acc. pl. *trepe* ‘ferry’ from nom. pl. *trepe*
 acc. pl. *thepa* ‘peak, point’ from nom. pl. *thepa*

3.2.3.6. The genitive-dative has two formants in the plural. One of them is *-e*, which is a direct continuation of the stressed IE gen. pl. **-ōm* (Skt *vṛkām*, Lat *deum*) > EPA **-ō*.

- gen.-dat. pl. *deme* ‘young bull’ < EPA **damō* < IE **damōm*
 gen.-dat. pl. *djale* ‘boy, youth’ < EPA **delō* < IE **dhē(i)lōm*
 gen.-dat. pl. *dhëmbe* ~ *dhambe* ‘tooth’ < EPA **dzambō* < IE **ĝhombōm*
 gen.-dat. pl. *gardhe* ‘fence’ < EPA **gardō* < IE **ĝhordhōm*
 gen.-dat. pl. *prushe* ‘ember, glowing coal’ < EPA **prusō* < IE **prusōm*
 gen.-dat. pl. *thepa* ‘peak, point’ < EPA **tsaipō* < IE **kōipōm*

The other genitive-dative ending is *-ve*. It is probable that this morpheme is from the old *u*-stem declension, where the Indo-European ending **-ōm* followed the ablauting stem formant **(e)u-*: IE **-u-ōm* > EPA **-wō* > Alb *-ve*. Later, *-ve* was extended to the *o*-stems, where it was amalgamated with original *-e* > *-eve*:

- gen.-dat. pl. *gardheve* ‘fence’ replacing *gardhe*
 gen.-dat. pl. *helleve* ‘spear, spit’ replacing *helle*
 gen.-dat. pl. *rendeve* ‘row’ replacing *rende*
 gen.-dat. pl. *rrimeve* ‘rain-worm’ replacing *rrime*
 gen.-dat. pl. *trepeve* ‘ferry’ replacing *trepe*
 gen.-dat. pl. *zajeve* ‘river sand, river bank’ replacing *zaje*

3.2.3.7. The *o*-stem ablative plural marker is *-esh* < EPA **-ai-su* < IE **-oi-su*. Skt *-eṣu*, Gk *-οισι*, Lat *-is*, Slav **-ěxъ*. Cf. the following examples:

- abl. pl. *demesh* ‘young bull’ < EPA **damaisu* < IE **damoisu*
 abl. pl. *dhëmbesh* ~ *dhambesh* ‘tooth’ < EPA **dzambaisu* < IE **ĝhomboisu*
 abl. pl. *gardhesh* ‘fence’ < EPA **gardaisu* < IE **ĝhordhoisu*
 abl. pl. *hellsh* ‘spear, spit’ < EPA **skōlaisu* < IE **skōloisu*

abl. pl. *prushesh* ‘ember, glowing coal’ < EPA **prušaisu* < IE **prusoisu*

abl. pl. *trapesh* ‘ferry’ < EPA **trapaisu* < IE **tropoisu*

ā-stems

3.2.3.8. The *ā*-stem nominative singular ends in *-ĕ* < EPA **-ā* < IE **-ā*, cf. Skt *ásvā*, Gk Att *χῶπᾱ*. Cf. the following examples:

nom. sg. *barrĕ* ‘load, burden’ < EPA **barā* < IE **bhorā*

nom. sg. *grimĕ* ‘crumb, bit’ < EPA **grimā* < IE **g^hrmā*

nom. sg. *hurbĕ* ‘swallow, mouthful’ < EPA **skurb* < IE **sk^rbhā*

nom. sg. *karpĕ* ‘rock’ < EPA **karpā* < IE **korpā*

nom. sg. *palĕ* ‘pair; fold’ < EPA **palā* < IE **polā*

nom. sg. *zorrĕ* ‘gut’ < EPA **džarnā* < IE **g^hernā*

3.2.3.9. The accusative singular of the *ā*-stem declension is identical with its corresponding nominative. The form goes back to EPA **-ā* < IE **-ā-m* (Skt *priyām*, Gk Att *χῶπᾱν*, SLav **ženŏ*). The following examples illustrate this development:

acc. sg. *krodhĕ* ‘beehive’ < EPA **krādā* < IE **krēdām*

acc. sg. *lëndĕ* ~ *landĕ* ‘wood, timber, material’ < EPA **lentā* < IE **lentām*

acc. sg. *llĕrĕ* ~ *llanĕ* ‘forearm, ell’ < EPA **alenā* < IE **olenām*

acc. sg. *rrudhĕ* ‘wrinkle’ < EPA **rudzā* < IE **ruĝām*

acc. sg. *tollĕ* ‘bald spot; drum membrane’ < EPA **tāslā* < IE **tēkslām*

acc. sg. *thekĕ* ‘fringe’ < EPA **tsakā* < IE **kokām*

3.2.3.10. The genitive-dative and ablative singular share the ending *-e*, which continues the Indo-European dative-locative ending **-āi*:

gen.-dat.-abl. sg. *are* ‘field’ < EPA **arāi* < IE **arāi*

gen.-dat.-abl. sg. *hale* ‘fish bone, splinter’ < EPA **skalāi* < IE **skolāi*

gen.-dat.-abl. sg. *mjalce* ‘bee’ < EPA **melitjāi* < IE **melitjāi*

gen.-dat.-abl. sg. *rryme* ‘flow (of water)’ < EPA **srūmāi* < IE **srūmāi*

gen.-dat.-abl. sg. *vere* ~ *vene* 'wine' < EPA **waināi* < IE **uoināi*

gen.-dat.-abl. sg. *zonje* 'wife' < EPA **w(i)tš-patnjāi* < IE **uik-potnjāi*

3.2.3.11. Depending on the place of stress in Proto-Albanian, IE **-ā-s* > EPA **-ā* of the nominative plural could give *-ë* or *-a*. In nouns of the accentual type *A* the ending is *-ë*:

nom. pl. *barrë* 'load, burden' < EPA **barā* < IE **bhorās*

nom. pl. *bathë* 'broad bean' < EPA **batsā* < IE **bhakās*

nom. pl. *farë* 'seed, semen, kin' < EPA **sparā* < IE **sporās*

nom. pl. *grykë* 'throat' < EPA **grīwīkā* < IE **gʷrīuikās*

nom. pl. *lëndë* ~ *landë* 'wood, timber, material' < EPA **lentā* < IE **lentās*

nom. pl. *nëmë* ~ *namë* 'curse' < EPA **namā* < IE **nomās*

Nouns of the accentual type *B* have *-a*:

nom. pl. *grima* 'crumb, bit' < EPA **grimā* < IE **gʷmās*

nom. pl. *hurba* 'swallow, mouthful' < EPA **skurb* < IE **skʷrbhās*

nom. pl. *karpa* 'rock' < EPA **karpā* < IE **korpās*

nom. pl. *krodha* 'beehive' < EPA **krādā* < IE **krēdās*

nom. pl. *lera* 'heap of stones, pebble bank' < EPA **laurās*

nom. pl. *llëra* ~ *llana* 'forearm, ell' < EPA **alenā* < IE **olenās*

In the accusative plural, Albanian forms coincide with those of the nominative plural: EPA **-ā* < IE **-ās*, cf. Lat *equās*, Goth *gibos*. The accentual pattern of the accusative plural was the same.

The oblique plural cases of the *ā*-stem declension are of analogical origin. They have been built according to the patterns of the *o*-stem paradigm. Thus, in the genitive-dative plural, *ā*-stems end in *-ave*, while the ablative plural shows the ending *-ash*.

3.2.3.12. Traces of other declensions are rare in Albanian. In all cases, they are intertwined with *o*- and *ā*-stem formants. The nominative plural of the word *natë* is *net*, clearly going back to EPA **nakteje* < IE **nokʷt-*

ej-es, an old *i*-stem. At the same time, the rest of this noun's nominal paradigm shows only \bar{a} -stem terminations.

The Proto-Albanian *o*- and \bar{a} -stem paradigms can be summarized as follows.

Examples: *zjarm* 'river' < **džarma*, *esh* 'hedgehog' < **edzja*, *karpë* 'rock' < **karpā*

o-stems

	sg.		pl.	
nom.	* <i>džarma</i>	* <i>edzja</i>	* <i>džarmai</i>	* <i>edzjō</i>
acc.	* <i>džarma</i>	* <i>edzja</i>	* <i>džarma</i>	* <i>edzja</i>
gen.-dat.	* <i>džarmeī</i>	* <i>edzjeī</i>	* <i>džarmō</i>	* <i>edzjō</i>
abl.	* <i>džarmeī</i>	* <i>edzjeī</i>	* <i>džarmaisu</i>	* <i>edzjaisu</i>

\bar{a} -stems

	sg.		pl.
nom.	* <i>karpā</i>		* <i>karpā</i>
acc.	* <i>karpā</i>		* <i>karpā</i>
gen.-dat.	* <i>karpāī</i>		-
abl.	* <i>karpāī</i>		-

3.2.4. Pronouns

3.2.4.0. Proto-Albanian inherited the basic personal and demonstrative pronouns of Indo-European. At the same time, new syntactic Proto-Albanian structures developed, which replaced the inherited possessive pronominal system and created a new grammatical category of definite/indefinite pronouns. In similar conditions, a new part of speech, *article*, was developed.

Literature: BOPP 480-481 (refl. *u* < **syom*), 504-505 (*u* 'I' < **eĝhom*), 519 (origins of *ai*, *ajō*); DOZON 276 (Italo-Alb *uthi*); MEYER *ZfromPh* XI 268—269 (*a-* from Lat *atque*), *Alb. St.* III 2, 88 (acc. of *kush*), *Wb.*

217-218 (*kush* borrowed from Lat *quis*), 430 (-e in *meje*, *teje* from abl. of \bar{a} -stems), 454 (*u* borrowed from Rom **eo* < Lat *ego* 'I'); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 186-187 (oblique cases of *kush*), *Festskr. Thomsen* 249, *KZ XXXVI* 282 (2 sg. acc. *ty* < **tje*), 309 (-jo from IE **sā*), 310 ("definite" declension), 312 (possessive pronouns), 317 (interrogative pronouns), 341 (origin of *im* ~ *em*), *Pron.* 315 (*a*- from IE **au-*); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 69 (*u* < IE **sue*); JOKL *IF XXXVII* 98 ("definite" declension), XLIX 274 (origin of *mua* ~ *mue*), *Sprache IX/2* 142 (dat. *nae* < IE **nosōm*), *Studien* 4 (*a*- from Lat *ad*), *LKUBA* 271 (*a*- from IE **ad*); MEILLET *Idg. Jb.* I 13 (on *kush*); XHUVANI, ÇABEJ *BUSH T XI/4* 68-69 (particle *a*- in 3 sg. < IE **e/*o*); PISANI *Saggi* 107 (enclitic *ně*), 130 (archaic dat. *nae*); SCHMITT-BRANDT *Kratylos XII* 16 (def. acc. sg. *gurin* < **gurŋ-tom*); MANN *Hist. gr.* 103-105, 114 (identifies *ně* with Gk $\epsilon\gamma\omega\acute{\nu}\eta$), 115-124; ÇABEJ *BUSH T XVIII/3* 77 (possessive pronouns), *St.* I 31 (lack of apheresis in 3 sg. pronouns); VORONINA *Meshari* ("definite" declension); OREL *Sov. slav.* 1980/5 87-91, *Prit.* 76-78 (possessive pronouns), *LB XXX/1* 57-58 (Tocharian parallel to *kush*); HAMP *RRL XXI* 50 (similarity in vocalism between *u* and Hitt *ugga* 'I'); KORTLANDT *SSGL X* 224-225 (-jo < IE **ijā* or **ejā*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 218, 228 (*kush* from **k'u-sŋ*).

Personal pronouns

3.2.4.1. Albanian lost the original Indo-European nominative form of the 1 sg. personal pronoun, whatever its exact phonetic shape actually was (cf. Lat *egō*, Gk $\epsilon\gamma\omega\acute{\nu}$, SKt *aham*, Hitt *ugga*). It was replaced by *u* < EPA **swa* < IE **suom*, a reflexive pronoun (see below). While this *u* has been preserved in some dialects, the clitic *ně* (identical with Gk $\nu\acute{\alpha}\iota$, $\nu\acute{\eta}$) reinforces it in the literary language and most dialects (*uně*). Italo-Albanian has substituted the diminutive *uth* for it.

Other forms of the 1 sg. personal pronoun are derived from IE **me*. The accusative and dative have merged as *mua* ~ *mue* < EPA **mām*, which is identical with the Indo-European accusative **mēm*: Skt *mām*, Av *mām*, OPrus *mīen*, Slav *mę*. The corresponding atonic form *mě* continues unstressed EPA **mām* or the IE enclitic **me*.

The 1 sg. ablative is *meje*. It is clear that this form is related to the Indo-European locative **mei*, which is attested in Skt *me*, *mayi*. However,

the development of EPA **j* seems to be phonetically irregular. Final *-e* must be analogical to the ablative desinence *-e* of the *o*-stems.

3.2.4.2. In the 2 sg., the nominative is *tí* continuing EPA **tū* < IE **tū*, cf. Skt *tū́*, Av *tū*, Gk *ού*, Lat *tū*, OIr *tú*, OHG *dū*, Slav **ty* and other similar forms. Geg attests an alternate form *tině*, which has been analogically formed induced from the 1 sg. *uně*.

The form of the dative-accusative is **ty* < EPA **t(u)wā* < IE acc. **tṷēm*: Skt *tvām*, Av *θwām*. OPrus *tien* and Slav **tę* attest an alternate **tēm*. The ablative *teje* is to be explained as a result of influence of *meje*. The original form must have been **tei* or **tpei*.

3.2.4.3. The archaic form of the nominative 1 pl. is *na* < EPA **na* < IE **nos*, cf. Skt *nas-*. It was, however, replaced by *ne*, which reflects EPA **nō* < IE **nōs*, where the lengthened *o*-grade is the result of analogical pressure from the accusative. The accusative *ne* reflects EPA **nōs* < IE **nōs*, cf. Av *nō*, Slav **ny*. The atonic accusative form *na* continues EPA **na* < IE **nos*, cf. enclitic Skt *nas*. The atonic accusative may be compared with OPrus acc. *mans* < **nons*.

The dative and ablative forms *neve* and *nesh* are recent formations built upon the substantive's paradigms. In Old Albanian we find an archaic dative *nae* < **nosōm*, cf. OPrus *nouson*, Slav **nasъ*.

3.2.4.4. The 2 pl. nominative *ju* has borrowed the short vocalism of the accusative. The latter—both tonic and atonic—is *ju* < EPA **ju*, which is identical with Lith acc. *jūs*.

The substantive paradigm has influenced the dative *juve*. A more archaic form is *u* < EPA **was* < IE **yos*. The ablaut grade is from the pronominal stem **yes*. This form has been ousted on account of homophony with the 1 sg. and reflexive pronouns. The ablative *jush*, however, can go back directly to EPA **ju-su*, a form nearly superimposable upon the Lith loc. *jūsū*. The Albanian form, though, has undergone analogical shortening of the original **ū*.

3.2.4.5. The reflexive pronoun *u* (used, in particular, in analytical forms of the mediopassive) goes back to EPA **wa* < IE **syom*, acc. 'self'.

The 3 sg. personal pronouns *ay* ~ *ai*, *atë* consist of two parts: proclitic *a-* < EPA **a* and pronouns proper. The fact that *a-* was not lost due to apheresis proves that in Proto-Albanian this morpheme functioned as a separate word. Historically, it is connected with the Indo-European particle **e/*o*: Skt *a-sáu* 'that', Slav **o-nъ* id. The accusative and ablative 3 sg. pronouns appear without *a-* when following certain prepositions. The pronominal masculine forms continue IE **ei-*: Skt *ayám* 'he', Lat *is*, OLat *eis*. The feminine stem continues IE **iā*, the fem. sg. of the demonstrative **iō-*. The oblique cases continue IE **to-* and **kīō-*.

The paradigm of the 3 person can be reconstructed as follows:

	masc./neut.	fem.
nom.	<i>a-y</i> ~ <i>a-i</i> < EPA <i>*ei/*i</i> , <i>*id</i>	<i>a-jo</i> < EPA <i>*jā</i>
acc.	<i>a-të</i> ~ <i>a-tê</i> , <i>a-tâ</i> < EPA <i>*ta</i>	<i>a-të</i> ~ <i>a-tê</i> , <i>a-tâ</i> < EPA <i>*tām</i>
gen.-dat.	<i>ati</i> , <i>atij</i> < EPA <i>*tei</i>	<i>a-saj</i> , <i>a-saje</i> < EPA <i>*tsjai</i>
abl.	<i>ati</i> , <i>atij</i> < EPA <i>*tei</i>	<i>a-so</i> , <i>a-co</i> < EPA <i>*tsjās</i>

3.2.4.6. The 3d pl. paradigm is derived from the pronominal stems **to-* and **kīō-*. The original form of the masculine nominative has been influenced by accusative. The paradigm is to be reconstructed as follows:

	masc.	fem./neut.
nom.	<i>a-ta</i> [from acc.]	<i>a-to</i> < EPA <i>*tā</i> < <i>*tās</i> , <i>*tā</i>
acc.	<i>a-ta</i> < EPA <i>*ta</i> < <i>*tons</i>	<i>a-to</i> < EPA <i>*tā</i> < <i>*tās</i> , <i>*tā</i>
gen.-dat.	<i>a-tyre</i> ~ <i>a-tyne</i> [of unknown origin]	
abl.	<i>a-sish</i> , <i>a-cish</i> < EPA <i>*tsj(a)isu</i>	<i>a-sosh</i> , <i>a-cosh</i> < EPA <i>*tsjās</i>

Possessive pronouns

3.2.4.7. Every possessive pronoun is composed of a demonstrative pronoun and a personal/possessive element. The 3d person possessor forms are opaquely analytical. They consist of an article (demonstrative pronoun) coupled with the genitive of the personal pronoun. The 1-2 possessor formations are also the result of grammaticalization, though of

older morphological structures. In two cases, old possessive pronouns have been preserved in form and function.

In order to express the 1 sg. possessive, Albanian employs the following forms 1 sg. forms: masc. *im* ~ *em*, fem. *ime* ~ *eme*. Their Proto-Albanian source can be tentatively reconstructed as EPA **i eme* or **ei eme*, where **eme* reflects the old accusative form **eme*, cf. Gk ἐμέ. The feminine form appears to be secondary. The masculine cases which coincid in *tim* continue gen.-dat. **tei eme*. In the accusative, *tim* results from an analogical transformation of the original **ta eme* < **tom eme*. In the feminine, the acc. *time* has been influenced by the masculine paradigm. The same applies to gen.-dat.-abl. *sime* which, however, reflects the pronominal stem **k̑io-*. This stem characterizes feminine forms only. The plural possessive formations masc. *mi*, fem. *mia* (used with a preceding article) go back to EPA **mei* < dialectal IE **mejōs*, a thematized adjective based on the enclitic dative **mei* ~ **moi*, which is attested in Lat *meus*, OPrus *mais*, Slav **mojъ*.

3.2.4.8. The 2 sg. possessive shows two forms: masc. *yt* and fem. *jote* (secondary analogies account for masc. *jot* and fem. *yte*). These continue EPA **ei/i te* < **eis/is te* and **jā te* < **jās te* where **te* is the atonic accusative of the 2 sg personal pronoun. The initial element of these two forms are old demonstrative pronoun genitives. The remaining masculine case forms coincided in *tënd* ~ *tand*, which reflects the acc. **tam te* < **tom te*. The feminine accusative *tënde* ~ *tande*, with its secondary *-e*, reflects **tām te* (in both cases the auslaut nasal is preserved because of the univertation). The feminine genitive-dative-ablative *sate* < **tsjā te*, which originally was the genitival formation **k̑jās te*.

In case if the possessive should be in the plural, the corresponding forms are masc. *tu* and fem. *tua*. They function similarly to *mi*, *mia* and go back to EPA **tuwa*, a variant of IE **t(e)uōs*, cf. Gk τέός, Lat *tuus*, Lith *tāvas*.

3.2.4.9. The 1 pl. possessive pronouns are masc. *ynë*, fem. *jonë* continuing **ei/i na* < **ei/is nos* and **jā na* < **jās nos*, with **nos* representing the atonic form of the accusative of the corresponding personal pronoun. In the masculine, other cases merged in *tonë* < EPA **ta na* < **tons nos* with *-o-* induced by the paradigm of feminine. In the feminine, acc. *tonë* is a regular reflex of EPA **tā na* < **tām nos*. Other cases

(genitive-dative and ablative) have *sonë* continuing EPA **tsjā na* < **k̑iāi nos*.

When the possessed is plural, the forms are masc. *tenë* ~ *tanë* and fem. *tona*. As to *tona*, with its *-a* borrowed from the adjectival paradigm, its original form must have been *tonë* < EPA **tā na* < **tās nos*. The masculine form continues **ta na* < **tos nos*. Corresponding masculine and feminine accusatives are *tanë* < EPA **ta na* < **tons nos* and *tonë* < EPA **tā na* < **tās nos*. These forms were then extended to other cases.

3.2.4.10. The 2 pl. promoum attests the following forms: masc. *juaj* ~ *juej*, *juji*, fem. *juaj* ~ *juej*, *juja*. Geg *juji* and *juja* are obviously secondary and are nothing but “definite” forms of *juej* treated as adjectives. The original forms *juaj* ~ *juej* go back to EPA **i wa* < **ei/i uos* and **jā wa* < **iās uos*. The final *-j* that remains unexplained.

When the possessed is plural, we have masc. *tuaj* ~ *tuej* and fem. *tuaja* ~ *tueja*. The feminine form has been modified as an adjective. In masculine, the nominative goes back to **ta wa* and **tā wa* from **tos uos* and **tās uos*.

Demonstrative and relative pronouns. Definite forms

3.2.4.11. As indicated before, demonstratives with proclitic *a-* are used in Albanian as personal pronouns of the 3d person. These same forms can be used as demonstratives of distant deixis. For proximal deixis, the same stems are used but preceded by the enclitic *kë-*: masc. *ky(j)*, fem. *kjo*, *këjo*. The morpheme *kë-* continues EPA **ka* < IE **k^uo-*, cf. Skt *kā-* ‘who?’, Goth *hwas* id.

Interrogative *kush* ‘who?’ is a compound of EPA **ku sa* consisting of IE **k^u-*, a morphonological variant of **k^uo-*, and the Indo-European demonstrative **so-*. The Albanian form is, thus, very close to that of Toch A *kus* id., B *kuse* id. < **k^u-so-*. Accusative variants show quite clearly that Proto-Albanian possessed two parallel forms: an interrogative pronoun proper and a syntactic compound including a demonstrative. On the one hand, we find acc. *kë* ~ *kâ*, reflecting independent EPA **kam* < IE **k^uom*. On the other hand, the same morphological role is expressed by the acc. *kënd* ~ *kand* < EPA **kan tan* < IE **k^uom tom*. The same *kënd* ~ *kand* functions as an indefinite pronoun ‘somebody’.

All oblique cases have merged into one form having the following variants: *kuj*, *kujt*, *kujnaj*. Of these forms, *kujt* and *kujnaj* are secondary innovations influenced by the “definite” declension. As to *kuj*, its auslaut *-j* appears to go back to *-i* so that *kuj* can be explained from **kui* < **kudi* continuing IE **k^u-dhi* or from **kui* < **ku-ei* < IE **k^u-ei* similar to OPrus *quei* ‘where’.

The pronoun *ç(ë)* ‘what?’ is not declined. It continues EPA **tši* < IE **k^uid*, cf. Hitt *kuit*, Gk τί, Lat *quid*. The relative-interrogative *se*, which is used as a conjunction and as an interrogative pronoun after certain prepositions, reflects EPA **tš(j)ō* < abl. **k^uōd*. The same stem is found in *sa* ‘how many’ < EPA **tš(e)ja* < acc. **k^uejom* and *si* ‘how’ < EPA **tšei* < instr. **k^uei*.

Besides *kush*, the same stem **ku-* < **k^u-* is reflected in two more pronominal forms: *ku* ‘where?’ < **k^u*, which is close to Skt *kū* id., Av *kū* id., MW *cw* id. and *kur* ‘when?’, which can be compared with Lith *kuř* ‘where?’ and Arm *owr* id. This form is, in fact, a compound of **k^u-* and a locative particle **r/*r*.

3.2.4.12. The “definite” declension already existed in its fully developed form in Old Albanian. It evolved out of Proto-Albanian syntactic constructions consisting of nouns followed by postpositioned demonstrative pronouns. Similar structures exist in several neighbouring languages: Rumanian, Modern Greek and Bulgarian. It is clear that “definite” declension is an areal feature but it has not been established what language was the centre of its irradiation. It cannot be excluded that Rumanian, Greek and Bulgarian developed “definite” declension under the Albanian influence. If indeed the phenomenon of postpositional demonstratives was originally characteristic of Albanian, it is remarkable that similar (but not identical) processes of univerbation of adjectives and demonstratives are attested in Baltic and Slavic.

In the *o*-stems, the “definite” declension can be explained in the following way. Nom. sg. *mali* ‘the mountain’ continues EPA **mala i* < **molom is*. Acc. sg. *malin* is an analogical transformation of **malën* explained from EPA **malam ta(m)* < **molom tom*. In other cases we have *malit* < EPA **malei tei* < **molei tei*. Stems ending in vowels or velars have *-i* replaced by *-u*, a secondary morphologically conditioned variant. In plural, the vowel of the ending of the nominative

was generalized and is now repeated through the whole paradigm. Hence, nom. pl. *malet* and *deshtë* ‘rams’ go back to EPA **malō tai* < **malōs toi* and EPA **dausai tai* < **dhousoi toi*. The Albanian accusatives continue EPA **mala ta* and **dausa ta* < **molons tons* and **dhousons tons*. Oblique cases have an obviously innovated *malevet*.

In the *ā*-stems, the nom. sg. *hala* represents a contracted form from EPA **skalā jā* < **skolā jā*. As to the acc. sg. *halën*, it reflects EPA **skalām tā(m)* < **skolām tā(m)*. The form of oblique cases is *halës* < EPA **skalāi tsjāi* < **skolāi k̄jāi*. In the plural, nominative and accusative *halat* keeps the old form EPA **skalā tā* < **skolās tās*. Oblique cases are presented by an innovation—*halave(t)*.

The Indo-European demonstratives were also used in the development of Albanian isolated and linking articles, which function, correspondingly, as determiners and syntactic elements coordinating the noun with its attribute. The linking article must have been formed not long before the first written texts in Albanian, as in Old Albanian it either missing or still functions as an optional element.

3.2.5. Numerals

3.2.5.0. Albanian numerals have changed considerably from their Indo-European predecessors. Important innovations and structural principles have been borrowed from other languages.

Literature: BOPP 503 (identifies *parë* ‘first’ with *parë* ‘before’); MEYER *Alb. St.* II 259-338, *Wb.* 181 (*katër* from Lat *quattuor*), 313-314 (*një* compared with Skt *anyā-* ‘other’, Gk *ἔνιοι* ‘some’), 321-322 (*parë* compared with the Indo-European word for ‘first’), 329 (*pesë* < **penk^htjā*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Idg. Anz.* II 184 (on sandhi in *dhjetë*); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 282 (*dy* < IE **d^huōjē*); JOKL *IF XXXVII* 108 (*parë* to Skt *pūrva-* id.); SKOK *A ArbSt* II 307 (*dy* < **dui*); BARIÇ *ARSt* 64-65 (*një* < **ṇ-sem-*); ÇABEJ *Zifonetik* IX 207-209 (*zet* from **jēugt-* related to **jūgom* ‘yoke’), *St.* III 43 (non-Indo-European source of the vigesimal system); JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 440 (numerals ‘6’-‘9’ compared with Sanskrit collectives in *-ti*); SZEMERÉNYI *Numerals* 105, 165; HULD 101 (*një* as a back-formation from fem. **smjēH*); HAMP *Anc. IE* 113 (follows MEYER and connects *një* with Messap *ennan*), *Numerals* 903-919.

3.2.5.1. The first ten cardinal numbers can be divided into three groups according to their origin and structure. The first group includes the numeral *njē* ‘one’. It represents the adjective EPA **ainja* derived from the Indo-European word for ‘one’: IE **oi-no-* id., cf. Lat *ūnus*, Goth *ains*, OPrus *ains*.

The second group includes the numbers from ‘two’ to ‘five’. They are direct continuants of the corresponding Indo-European numerals:

dy ‘two’ < EPA **duwō*, to IE **d̥uō(u)* id. (Skt *dvāu*, Av *dva*, Gk *δύω*, Lat *duo*).

tre ‘three’ < EPA **treje* < IE **trejēs* id. (Skt *trayaḥ*, Gk *τρῆις*, Lat *trēs*).

katēr ‘four’ < EPA **katur* < IE **k^uetur- ~ *k^uet̥er-* id. (Skt *catvāra-*, Gk *τέσσαρες*, Lat *quattuor*).

pesē ~ pēsē ‘five’ < EPA **pentše* < IE **penk^ue* ‘five’ (Skt *pāñca*, Gk *πέντε*, Lat *quīnque*).

In the third group, numbers from ‘six’ to ‘ten’ are derived from Indo-European numerals with a suffix *-tē/-dē* < **-ti* (in Tosk *nëntē -tē* is restored by analogy with other forms). This suffix is sometimes compared with Skt *-ti* found in various decad formations.

gjashtë ‘six’ < EPA **seksti-*, derived from IE **(s)(u)ek̥s-* ‘six’ (Skt *ṣaṣ-*, Gk *ἕξ*, Lat *sex*).

shtatē ‘seven’ < EPA **septati-* derived from IE **sept̥m̥* id. (Skt *saptā-*, Gk *ἑπτὰ*, Lat *septem*).

tetē ‘eight’ < EPA **aktō(ti)*, to IE **oktō* ‘eight’ (Skt *aṣṭā*, Arm *owt*, Gk *ὀκτώ*).

nëntē ~ nand ‘nine’ < EPA **neunti-* to IE **neum̥* id. (Skt *nāva*, Lat *novem*, Goth *niun*).

dhjetē ‘ten’ < EPA **dets(t)i* < IE **dek̥m̥* ‘ten’ (Skt *dāśa*, Gk *δέκα*, Lat *decem*).

3.2.5.2. The numbers from ‘eleven’ to ‘nineteen’, have the following structure: *njëmbëdhjetë* ‘one-on-ten’, *dymbëdhjetë* ‘two-on-ten’ and so on. This pattern is an innovation that can be plausibly explained as a calque of the corresponding Slavic expressions, cf. **edīnъ na desęte*

‘eleven’ = ‘one-on-ten’, **dъva na desęte* ‘twelve’ = ‘two-on-ten’ and so on.

Decads are partly composed according to the pattern of *tridhjetë* ‘thirty’ = ‘three tens’, partly according to the pattern of (*një*)*zet* ‘twenty’ = ‘one time twenty’ (the same structure is shared by *dyzet* ‘forty’), with *zet* continuing EPA **wīdzatī* and representing an old Indo-European word for ‘twenty’ IE **uīkmtī*: Skt *viṃśatī*-, Gk εἴκοσι, Lat *vīginti*.

Words for ‘hundred’ and ‘thousand’ were borrowed from Latin: *qind* ‘hundred’ ⇔ Lat *centum* id., *mijë* ‘thousand’ ⇔ Lat *mīlia* id.

3.2.5.3. The ordinal numbers—with the exception of the numeral *parë* ‘first’—are formed by the adjectival suffix *-të* < EPA **-ta* < **-to-*, cf. *dytë* ‘second’, *shtatë* ‘seventh’ and so on. The same pattern is well attested in Germanic and Balto-Slavic.

Ordinal number *parë* ‘first’ is historically identical with adverb/preposition *parë*, *para* ‘before’. It continues EPA **para* < IE **per-* ‘before, forward’: OHG *furi*, Lat *prae*.

4. VOCABULARY

4.1. Selected lexical isoglosses of Albanian

4.1.0. The position of Albanian among the other Indo-European dialects is not explicitly discussed in this book. Studying Albanian phonology and morphology, the reader will certainly draw his own conclusions about the areal position of Albanian. These conclusions, however, will greatly depend on the Albanian lexis viewed under the angle of its areal features. Below some of the isogloss bundles connecting Albanian with other selected Indo-European languages (Northeastern: Germanic, Baltic, Slavic; Western: Italo-Celtic; Southeastern: Indo-Iranian, Armenian, Greek; Tocharian) are briefly surveyed. The list of isoglosses is tentative and includes exclusive parallels as well as cases of remarkable semantic and/or derivational similarity. For more detailed notes on the etymologies adduced below see OREL *AED*.

Literature: PORZIG *Gliederung* passim; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 362-396 (Albano-Slavic and Albano-Celtic isoglosses); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 349-364, *AED* passim.

4.1.1.0. Isoglosses with North-Eastern Indo-European languages.

This group of isoglosses is of extreme importance for the position of Albanian. They are numerous (much more numerous than any other group, with the exception of Greek, see below) and they seem to reflect two basic features of the Albanian lexicon: its outstanding degree of proximity to Baltic and a long period of common existence together with Balto-Slavic somewhere in (Central or Southeastern?) Europe.

4.1.1.1. Common Germanic-Balto-Slavic (including Germanic-Baltic and Germanic-Slavic) isoglosses with Albanian are fairly numerous. Quite a few of them are connected with wood or objects made of wood.

berr 'sheep, goat' ~ ON *borgr* 'hog', OHG *barug*, *baruh* id. ~ Slav **borvъ* 'boar'.

blehurë 'pale' ~ OE *blāt* id. ~ Slav **blědъ* id.

brushtull 'heather' ~ OS *brustian* 'to shoot, to sprout' ~ Slav **brъstъ* 'sprout, bud'.

- dash* ‘ram’ ~ Gmc **deuzan* ‘wild animal’ ~ Lith pl. *daũsos* ‘paradise’ ~ Slav **duxъ* ‘breath, spirit’.
- dergj* ‘to lie down, to lay sick, to be ill’ ~ Gmc **targjan* ‘to tear’ ~ Lith *dirginti* ‘to move’, *dirgti* ‘to lose energy, to become weak’ ~ Slav **dъrgati* ‘to pluck, to pull’.
- dra* ~ *drâ* ‘oil-cake, melted butter’ ~ ON pl. *dreggiar* ‘yeast’ ~ OPrus *dragios* ‘yeast’, OLith *dragès* id., Lett dial. *dradzi* ‘sediment in melted butter’ ~ Slav **droždži* ‘yeast’.
- drang* ‘barge-pole, punting-pole; young creature, cub’ ~ ON *drangr* ‘stone pillar’ ~ Lith *drânga* ‘perch, pole’ ~ Slav **drogъ* ~ **droga*.
- et* ‘thirst’ ~ OHG *ilgi* ‘hunger’ ~ Lith *âlkti* ‘to be hungry’ ~ Slav **olkati* id.
- fletë* ‘wing, leaf’ ~ OHG *lecken* ‘to jump, to kick’ ~ Lith *lekiù, lêkti*, Latv *lèkt*.
- gërdhij* ‘to scratch’ ~ OE *grindan* ‘to grind’ ~ Lith *grëndžiu, grësti* ‘to scrape, to scratch’.
- gjeth* ‘foliage, green leaves’ ~ OHG *questa* ‘tuft’, ON *kvistr* ‘branch’ ~ Slav **gvozďь* ‘wood, forest’.
- gjuhë* ‘tongue, language’ ~ ON *kall* ‘shout’ ~ Lith *gâlsas* ‘echo’ ~ Slav **golsъ* ‘voice’.
- hir* ‘grace, favor, mercy’ ~ Goth *skeirs* ‘clear’ ~ Slav **ščirъ* ‘clean’.
- humb* ‘to leave, to lose, to spoil, to miss, to drown’ ~ Goth *af-skiuban* ‘to push away, to reject’ ~ Lith *skumbù, skùbti* ‘to hurry, to hasten’.
- kësen* ‘to ache (of the stomach), to have griping pains’ ~ ON *há* ‘to torment’ ~ Lith *kenkiù, keñkti* ‘to damage, to harm’.
- kripë* ~ *krypë* ‘salt’ ~ Lith *kraupùs* ‘rough’, *kraupis* ‘scab’, Latv *kraūpis* ‘frail, brittle’ ~ Slav **krupa* ‘groats’.
- krodhë* ‘beehive’ ~ Goth *hrot* ‘roof’ ~ Slav **krada* ‘heap, pile’.
- lëndë* ~ *landë* ‘wood, timber, material’ ~ Gmc **lendō* ‘linden’ ~ Lith *lentà* ‘board’ ~ Slav **lqtъ* ‘bast’.
- lëmë* ~ *lamë* ‘threshing-floor, wine-press’ ~ OHG *lam* ‘lame’ ~ Slav **lomъ* ‘breaking; crow-bar; broken branches’.
- lus* ‘to pray, to invoke, to beg’ ~ OHG *lockōn* ‘to lure, to entice’ ~ Lith *lūgóti* ‘to ask, to pray’, Latv *lūdzu, lūgt* ‘to ask, to invite’.
- miell* ‘flour’ ~ OHG *mëlo* id., ON *mjöl* id. ~ Slav **melvo* ‘grain for grinding’.
- shpìh* ~ *shpif* ‘to slander, to calumniate’ ~ OHG *fehan* ‘to hate’ ~ Lith *peikiù, peikti* ‘to blame’.

- shqymb* ‘to extinguish, to destroy’ ~ Goth *af-skiuban* ‘to push back, to reject’ ~ Lith *skumbù, skùbti* ‘to hurry up’ ~ Slav **skubø, *skubati* ‘to pull, to tear’.
- shtalbër* ‘wooden snare’ ~ ON *stolpi* ‘beam, girder’, Lith *stułbas* ‘post, pole’, Slav **stьlbъ* id.
- shtang* ‘hard’ ~ ON *stinga* ‘to put, to stick’ ~ Lith *stėngiu, stėngti* ‘to be able’, *stiņgti* ‘to become hard’, Latv *stiņgt* id.
- shtrap* ‘stagnant green on ponds’ ~ MHG *straf* ‘tight’ ~ Lith *par-strapinti* ‘to drag oneself back’.
- zi* ‘black’ ~ MHG *quāt* ‘dirt’, OE *cwéad* ‘bad’ ~ Lith *gėda* ‘shame’ ~ Slav **gadъкъ* ‘disgusting’, **gadъ* ‘reptile, worm’.

4.1.1.2. The most important and significant group of isoglosses represents the connection of Albanian to Baltic and Slavic. The following are isoglosses attested both in Baltic and Slavic.

- baltë* ‘swamp, marsh, dirt, earth’ ~ Lith *báltas* ‘white’ ~ Slav **bolto* ‘swamp, marsh’.
- bređh* ‘to jump, to spring’ ~ Lith *brendù, brìsti* ‘to wade, to ford’ Slav **bredø, *bresti* id.
- dangë* ‘belly’ ~ Lith *dangà* ‘table-cloth, cover’, Latv *daņga* ‘puddle, marshland’ ~ Slav **doga* ‘arc’
- dikë* ‘desire, lust’ ~ Lith *dýkas* ‘idle, empty’ ~ Slav **dikъ* ‘wild’.
- end* ‘to weave’ ~ Lith *iĩdas* ‘vessel’, Latv *endas* ‘part of sledge’ ~ Slav **øda* ‘fishing rod’.
- flashkët* ‘sluggish, lame’ ~ Lith *plóksčias* ‘flat’ ~ Slav **ploskъ* id., Slav **ploхъ* ‘flat, bad, evil, poor’.
- gamule* ‘heap’ ~ Lith *gāmulas* ‘bale, lump’ ~ Slav **gomola* id.
- grellë* ‘deep place’ ~ Lith *gurklýs* ‘crop’, OPrus *gurcle* ‘throat’ ~ Slav **gъrdlo* id., cf. also **žerdlo* ‘river-bed; opening’.
- ketër* ‘squirrel, dormouse’ ~ Lith **kuokas* ‘dance’ (reconstructed from *kuokinë* ‘dancing party’) ~ Slav **skakati* ‘to jump, to spring’.
- kollë* ‘cough’ ~ Lith *kosulýs* id. ~ Slav **kašľ* id.
- kreh* ~ *kref* ‘to comb’ ~ Lith *grėbti* ‘to rake’ ~ Slav **grebø, *grebti* ‘to row, to rake’.
- latë* ‘small axe’ ~ Lith *łópetà* id., OPrus *lopto* ~ Slav **lopata* id.
- lesh* ~ *leshna* ‘wool, fleece, hair’ ~ Lith *laiškas* ‘leaf’, Latv *laiška* ‘leaf on a linen stalk; stalk’ ~ Slav **listъ* ‘leaf’.
- lëgatë* ‘marsh’ ~ Lith *liūgas* id. ~ Slav **luža* ‘pool’.

- lēmsh* ~ *lamsh* ‘ball (of wool, thread), globe (of earth), pool, spellet’
 ~ Latv *lemesis* ‘sharp edge of the plough’, Slav **lemešb*
 ‘ploughshare’.
- lļēnjēz* ‘mud, silt’ ~ Lith *sliēnas* ‘saliva, mucus, slime’ ~ Slav **slina*
 ‘saliva’.
- makē* ‘glue, scum, skin (on the milk or other liquids)’ ~ Lith
makėnti ‘to walk through a swamp’ ~ Slav **mokrъ* ‘wet’,
**moknŭti* ‘to become wet’
- ndulkem* ‘to ripen’ ~ Lith *telkiù, telkti* ‘to gather, to bring together’
 ~ Slav **telkti* ‘to beat, to pound’.
- pidh* ‘female pudenda’ ~ OPrus *peisda* ‘bottom’ ~ Slav **pizda*
 ‘female pudenda’.
- pjerr* ‘to bend, to incline’ ~ Lith *periù, peĩti* ‘to strike’ ~ Slav **pьrŭ,*
**perti* ‘to press’.
- rangē* ‘home work’ ~ Lith *rankà* ‘hand’, *parankà* ‘gathering’, *renkù,*
riĩkti ‘to gather’ ~ Slav **rŭka* ‘hand’.
- shqarr* ‘marten’ ~ Latv *skara* ‘curly fur’ ~ Slav **skora* ‘hide’.
- shtrohē* ~ *shtrofē* ‘kennel’ ~ Latv *straja* ‘stall covered with straw’,
 Slav **strojъ* ‘construction’.
- zvjerdh* ‘to wean’ ~ Lith *veržiù, veĩžti* ‘to lace, to tie’, Latv *vērtz*
 ‘to turn’ ~ Slav **verzti* ‘to bind’.

4.1.1.3. Separate Albanian-Germanic isoglosses are rather rare:

- barrē* ‘fetus’ ~ Gmc **barnan* ‘child’.
- bir* ‘son’ ~ Goth *baur* ‘son’.
- det* ‘sea’ ~ Gmc **deupiþō* ‘depth’ (MDu *diepde*, MLG *dēpede*, E
depth).
- (G) *fāj* ‘to fill, to cram, to surfeit’ ~ Gmc **spannjan* ‘to tighten’
 (ON *spenna*).
- hall* ‘trouble, misery, plight, sorrow’ ~ Gmc **skallaz* ‘thin, dry,
 shallow’ (E *shallow*) and **xallaz* ‘weak, tired’ (MHG *hel,*
hellec).
- hedh* ‘to throw, to shoot’ ~ ON *skjóta*, OHG *sciozan* id.
- kēnaq* ‘to please, to satisfy’ ~ Goth *ga-nah* ‘to be enough’, OHG *gi-*
nah id.
- lashtë, lashē* ‘old; early, premature (of fruit)’ ~ Goth *laus* ‘empty,
 loose’.
- qengjë* ‘beehive’ ~ Gmc **xunagan* ‘honey’: ON *hunang*, OE *hunig*,
 OHG *honag*.

qye ‘summit, peak’ ~ Goth gen. pl. *hlaine* ‘hill’.
rend ‘to run, to hurry’ ~ Goth *rinnan* ‘to run’, ON *rinna* id.
shperr ‘to win (money), to gain’ ~ Gmc **sparōjan* ‘to leave unharmed, to keep’: ON *spara*, OHG *sparōn*, OE *sparian*.
tym ‘smoke’ ~ Gmc **ēđumaz* ‘breath’.

4.1.1.4. Lexically, Albanian proves to be particularly close to Baltic. The following isoglosses demonstrate the specifically close Albanian-Baltic relations.

amull ‘stagnant (of water)’ ~ Lith *muļvė* ‘silt, marsh’, *mùlti* ‘to get dirty’.
bli ~ *blī* ‘linden’ ~ Lith *blindis*, *blendis* ‘*Salix caprea*’.
brez ‘belt’ ~ Lith *briaunà* ‘edge’.
buzë ‘lip, end, edge, bank, stitch, rock’ ~ Lith *budė* ‘tree-fungus, tinder, whet-stone’.
dak ‘big ram’ ~ Lith *dvėkti* ‘to breathe’, *dvākas* ‘breath’.
druaj ~ *druej* ‘to be afraid’ ~ Latv *druvas* ‘fear’, Lith *draudžiù*, *draūsti* ‘to forbid, to deter, to scare off’.
drudhe ‘crumb’ ~ Lith *drūzgas* ‘splinter, fragment’, *drūžti* ‘to become weak’.
fik ‘to extinguish (of fire); to bring misfortune, to ruin’ ~ Lith *peikti* ‘to despise, to scold’, *pỹkti* ‘to be angry’, Latv *peikt* ‘to be spoil’.
gand ‘accident, vice, defect’ ~ Lith *gañdas* ‘rumor’, *gañdinti* ‘to frighten’, Latv *gañdēt* ‘to spoil’.
gargull ‘full’ ~ Lith *gařgalas*, *gargōlas* ‘thickening, knotted thread, thread’.
gravë ‘cave, den, lair’ ~ Lith *griovà*, Latv *grava*, *gřčava* ‘ravine, precipitous valley’, OPrus *grauwus* ‘side’
gjiĵe ‘stable, house’ ~ Lith *sĳena* ‘wall’, Latv *sĳēna* id.
halë ‘fish bone, splinter; pine’ ~ Lith *skalà* ‘stick of firewood’, Latv *skala* ‘splinter (used to furnish light)’.
ikëj ‘to go away, to run away’ ~ Lith *eĳk*, *eĳki* imper. ‘go!’
jerm ‘delirium, absent-mindedness’ ~ Lith *eřmas* ‘monster’, Latv *ęrms* ‘wonderful apparition’, *ęrimi* ‘wonders, miracles’.
kaph ‘path, mountain path’ ~ Lith *kāpas* ‘grave’, *kopà* ‘dune’, Latv *kāpa* ‘dune’.
këpurdhë ‘fungus, mushroom’ ~ Lith *këpurė* ‘cap’, Latv *çepure* id.
kot ‘useless, vain’ ~ Lith *koktùs* ‘disgusting’.

- krup* ‘to loathe’ ~ Lith *kraupùs* ‘easily scared’, *krupùs* id., *krūpti* ‘to scare’.
- kulpēr* ~ *kulpēn* ‘ivy, clematis’ ~ Lith *kilpa* ‘loop’, Latv *cīļpa* id.
- kungull* ‘marrow, pumpkin, bottle’ ~ Lith *kuņkulas* ‘bubble’.
- le* (particle of jussive) ~ Lith *laĩ* (particle of optative and permissive), Latv *lài, lèi*, OPrus *-lai*.
- lerē* ‘dirt, mud’ ~ Lith *laūrē* ‘dirty person’.
- lilē* ‘small iron ring, loop-ring, link’ ~ Lith *leĩlas* ‘thin, supple, flexible’.
- loqe* ‘penis; testicles’ ~ Lith *liaukà* ‘gland’.
- mal* ‘mountain’ ~ Lith *malà* ‘land’, Latv *mala* ‘bank, shore’.
- mis* ‘limb, member’ ~ Lith *miklas* ‘supple’, *mitrùs* id
- modhull* ‘vetch, chickling, chick-pea’ ~ Lith *mažùlis* ‘small’.
- mugull* ‘shoot, bud, sprout’ ~ Lith **mugulas* on which *muguliúoti* ‘to move’.
- murg* ‘dark, grey’ ~ Lith *márgas* ‘multicolored’, *mirgúoti* ‘to sparkle, to shine’, Latv *mirga* ‘gleam’, *mürgs* ‘fantastic image’.
- ndes* ‘to have troubles’ ~ Lith *dàkyti* ‘to mix up, to put in disorder’, *dàknyti* id., *dàkanoti* id.
- ngrydh* ~ *ngriðh* ‘to work up, to foment, to ferment’, refl. ‘to be in heat (of horses)’ ~ Lith *grūžiu, grūsti* ‘to stamp, to punch’, Latv *grūst* id.
- ngul* ‘to thrust in, to stick in’ ~ Lith *kùlti* ‘to thresh’, Latv *kuĩt* ‘to strike’.
- pelq* ‘to stir up (water)’ ~ Lith *pelkēti* ‘to become marshy’, *pélkè* ‘marsh, swamp’, Latv *peĩce* ‘puddle’, *pelcēt* ‘to urinate’.
- plish* ‘kind of reed, Phragmites communis’ ~ Lith *pl(i)ūšis* ‘reed’.
- qas* ‘to approach’ ~ Lith *kečìu, kēsti* ‘to stretch’.
- qikēl* ‘point, spike, peak’ ~ Lith *kēkulas* ‘lump, cluster’, Latv *çekuls* ‘forelock, cluster’.
- qurra* ‘snot, snivel’ ~ Lith *šliùrti* ‘to become dirty’.
- rrag* ‘apron’ ~ Lith *srúoga* ‘skein, hank; tuft, hairlock’, *srauga* id.
- rrek* ‘to strain, to bother’ ~ Lith *reikà* ‘need, necessity’, *reĩkti* ‘to be necessary’.
- rroj* ‘to live, to stay’ ~ Lith *róju, róti* ‘to cope, to be ready’.
- surmē* ‘dark grey’ ~ Lith *šĩrmas* ‘grey’.
- tesha* ‘belongings, utensils, things’ ~ Lith *tiesiù, tiēsti* ‘to make right, to build, to set’, *teisùs* ‘right’.
- tērē* ~ *tanē* ‘whole, all’ ~ Lith *tvinti* ‘to rise, to swell (of water)’, *tvānas* ‘flood’.

trashë ‘thick, fat’ ~ Lith *trašūs* ‘fat, fertile (of soil)’,
thirr ‘soot’ ~ Lith *širvas* ‘gray’.
verzë ‘gill, branchia’ ~ Lith *varlë* ‘frog’ < **vardë*, Latv *vārde*.
zorrë ‘gut’ ~ Lith *žarnà* id.

4.1.1.5. Separate Albanian-Slavic isoglosses are not as frequent as Baltic ones:

bac ‘elder brother, uncle’ ~ Slav **bat’a/*batja* ‘elder brother, father’.
bahe ‘sling’ ~ Slav **bojъ* ‘fight’.
breth ‘fir-tree’ ~ Slav **bredъ* ‘willow’.
bruz ‘blue, indigo’ ~ Slav **brudъ* ‘dirt’, **brudьпъ* ‘dirty’.
drydhët ‘easy to plane (of wood)’ ~ Slav **dryzgati, *druzgati* ‘to squeeze, to crush’.
fle ~ *flë* ‘to sleep’ ~ Slav **lějъ, *lějati* ‘to doze, to slumber’.
hu ~ *hû* ‘picket, stake, pole, penis’ ~ Slav **xujъ* ‘penis’.
kalli ‘ear of grain’ ~ Slav **kolsъ* ‘ear of grain’.
kedh ‘kid’ ~ Slav **koza* ‘she-goat’.
kohë ‘time’ ~ Slav **časъ* id.
loz ‘to move, to shake, to play’ ~ Slav **ladъ* ‘order, peace’, **laditi* ‘to make order, to make peace’.
lug ‘trough, water-trough, long gutter, pipe’, *lugë* ‘spoon’ ~ Slav **lъga* ‘spoon, blade’, **lъžica* id.
mardhë ‘chill, frost, ice’ ~ Slav **morъъ* ‘frost’.
marrtë ‘murky, cloudy, dim, dull’ ~ Slav **morъъ* ‘dusk, fog’.
mirë ‘good’ ~ Slav **mirъ* ‘peace’.
nge ‘time, leisure, chance, opportunity’ ~ Slav **godъ* ‘time, year’.
ngroh ~ *ngrof* ‘to warm’ ~ Slav **grějъ, *grěti* id.
shkardhë ‘dog chain; a long stick attached to a dog’s neck to prevent it from biting its master’ ~ Slav **jъz-gorda* ‘fence’.
shtrep ‘maggot, larva’ ~ Slav **strupъ* ‘wound, scab, poison’.
tjetër ‘other’ ~ Slav **eterъ* ‘some, somebody’.
trap ‘ferry’ ~ Slav **ropa* ‘path’.
tres ‘to melt, to loosen, to dissolve’ ~ Slav **tratjъ, *tratiti* ‘to spend, to waste’.

4.1.2.0. Isoglosses with Western Indo-European Languages. These are rather rare. Separate Germanic-Albanian isoglosses are, in

fact, unknown. There is only one Italo-Celtic-Albanian isogloss. Celtic-Albanian isoglosses are nearly as rare.

4.1.2.1. The only isogloss where both Italic and Celtic are engaged is the following:

blertë ‘green’ ~ Lat *flōrus* ‘shining, bright’, OIr *blár* ‘gray’, W *blawr* id.

4.1.2.2. The following are the known Celtic-Albanian parallels:

(G) *bërshë* ‘juniper’ < **eburusa* ~ OIr *ibar* id., Gaulish *eburo-*
dem ‘young bull’ ~ OIr *dam* ‘ox’ (probably also Gk δάμαλος
‘calf’).

rra ‘belly-worm’ ~ OIr *frige* ‘vermin, flesh-worm’.

hënë ~ *hanë* ‘moon’ ~ Celt **kando-*: W *cann* ‘white’, MBret *cann*
‘full moon’.

shotë ‘big duck’ ~ W *hwyad* id., OCorn *hoet* id., Bret *houat* id.

verr ‘alder’ Bret *gwern* id., W *gwernen* id., MÍr *fern* id. (cf. also
Arm *geran* ‘beam, timber’).

4.1.3.0. Isoglosses with Southeastern Indo-European languages.

These isoglosses illustrate the intermediary position of Albanian between Balto-Slavic and the languages of the Southeastern area. Many of them leave an impression of being secondary, better explained by later linguistic contacts between Proto-Albanian and (in particular) Proto-Greek, probably somewhere in the northern part of the Balkans.

4.1.3.1. Isoglosses connecting Albanian with the whole South-Eastern group are very few:

njeri ‘man, person, human being’ ~ Skt *nár-* ‘man’ ~ Gk ἀνήρ id. ~
Arm *ayr* id. (but cf. Lat *Nerō*).

shqerra, shqjerra pl. ‘lambs’ ~ Skt *starīḥ* ‘barren cow’ ~ Arm *sterj*
‘sterile, barren’ ~ Gk στειρά id.

4.1.3.2. Indo-Greek parallels to Albanian are also not very numerous:

end ‘pollen’ ~ Skt *ándhas-* ‘herb’ ~ Gk ἄνθος ‘flower’.

fend ‘to fart’ ~ Skt *spandate* ‘to shiver’ ~ Gk σφαδάζω ‘to shiver, to tremble’.

gjer ‘till’ ~ Av *ayar* ‘day’ ~ Gk ἤρι < * ἤρι ‘early’ (cf. also Gmc **airiz* ‘before, ere’).

gjesh ‘to knead’ *gjesh* ‘to knead’ ~ Skt *yāsyati* ‘to boil’ ~ Gk ζέω ‘to boil, to cook’.

kolmë ‘pretty, winsome’ ~ Skt *kalyā-* ‘healthy’ ~ Gk Hom κᾶλός ‘beautiful’.

ndaj ~ *ndāj* ‘to divide, to separate’ ~ Skt *dāyate* id., *dāti* ‘to cut, to divide’ ~ Gk δαίομαι ‘to divide’.

verrë ‘hole’ ~ Skt *urú-* ‘wide’, *vāras-* ‘space, width’ ~ Gk εὐρύς ‘wide’.

zë ~ *zâ* ‘to seize, to grasp, to touch’ ~ Skt *jyā* ‘force, power’, *jāyati* ‘to win, to conquer’ ~ Gk βίη ‘power’.

4.1.3.3. Greco-Armenian isoglosses with Albanian are as follows:

dhi ‘she-goat’ ~ Arm *ayc* id. ~ Gk αἴξ id.

dhunë ‘labor pains, shame, disgrace’ ~ Arm *erkn* ‘labor pains’ ~ Gk ὀδύνη id.

ëndërr ~ *andërr* ‘dream, sleep’ ~ Arm *anowrj* id. ~ Gk ὄνειρον, ὄνειρος id.

me ‘insufficiency, lack; insufficient, scanty, not full’ ~ Arm *manr* ‘small, thin’ ~ Gk μάνυ· μικρόν. Ἰθαμᾶνες (Hes.), μανός ‘thin’.

mykë ‘back edge (of knife)’ ~ Arm *mxem* ‘to put into, to insert’ ~ Gk μυχός ‘innermost part’.

4.1.3.4. The amount of Greek-Albanian separate isoglosses is surprisingly high, especially if compared with similar Indo-Albanian and Armeno-Albanian lists. This particular proximity can be probably explained by intense secondary contacts of two proto-dialects.

ag ‘twilight, dusk’ ~ Gk αὐγή ‘ray of light’.

arrë ‘walnut-tree, walnut’ ~ Gk ἄρρα· τᾶ Ἡρακλεωτικὰ κάρρα, Hes.

bajgë ‘dung’ ~ Gk βόλβιτον ‘cow dung’.

bathë ‘broad bean’ ~ Gk φακῆ ‘dish of lentils’, φακός ‘lentil’.

běj ~ *bâj* ‘to do, to make’ ~ Gk φαίνω ‘to appear’.

- bimë* 'plant' ~ Gk φῦμα 'plant'.
bli ~ *bli* 'sturgeon' ~ Gk βλέννος id.
çandër 'prop, support' ~ Gk κέντρον 'goad, spur'.
dal 'to go out' ~ Gk θάλλω 'to bloom' < *'to appear, to come out'.
darkë 'supper' ~ Gk δόρπον id.
deri 'to, up to, till' ~ Gk δεῦρο, δεῦρε, δευρί 'here'.
derr 'pig' ~ Gk χοῖρος id.
dyllë 'wax' ~ Gk χυλός 'juice'.
dhallë ~ *dhalltë* 'buttermilk' ~ Gk γάλα 'milk'.
elb 'barley' ~ Gk ἄλφι 'kind of grain'.
erdha aor. 'came' ~ Gk ἔρχομαι 'to come'.
ëndë ~ *andë* 'appetite, desire, wish' ~ Gk ἄνται· ἄνεμοι, ἀντάς·
 πνοάς, Hes.
farë 'seed, semen, kin' ~ Gk σπορά 'seed'.
grua ~ *grue* 'woman, wife' Gk γραῦς 'old woman'.
heq ~ *hek* 'to draw, to pull' ~ Gk ὀλέω, causative of ἔλκω 'to
 draw'.
hudhër 'garlic' ~ Gk σκόροδον id.
jetë 'life' ~ Gk ἔτεος 'true, real', ἔτα· ἀληθῆ, ἀγαθά (Hes.),
 ἐτάζω 'to test'.
kem 'incense' ~ Gk καπνός 'smoke'.
keq 'bad, evil' ~ Gk κακός 'bad' (and Phryg *kakos* id.).
krye 'head' ~ Gk κρᾶνίον 'skull, head'.
lerë 'heap of stones, pebble bank' ~ Gk λαύρα 'alley, pass between
 rocks'.
lumë 'river' ~ Gk λῦμα 'dirt'.
mjalçë 'bee' ~ Gk μέλισσα id.
mos 'not' ~ Gk μήτε 'and not'.
ndesh 'to meet' ~ Gk δῆω 'to find'.
ndyj ~ *ndyej* 'to make dirty, to soil, to dip, to immerse' ~ Gk δύω
 'to sink, to cause to sink, to plunge in'.
përprjetë 'rising, uphill; rise, slope; up' ~ Gk προπετής 'promi-
 nent', προπέτομαι 'to fly forwards'.
prish 'to destroy, to spoil, to waste' ~ Gk πρίω 'to saw'.
puq 'to fit together'. ~ Gk πύκα 'thickly, strongly', πυκνός 'thick,
 strong'.
rrej ~ *rrëj* 'to deceive' ~ Gk ἀρνέομαι 'to lie'.
rrum 'clapper; maize-cob stripped of corns' ~ Gk ῥάμνος 'thorny
 bush'.
rrush 'grape' ~ Gk ῥάξ id.

thek ‘to roast, to toast (bread)’ ~ Gk κέγει· πεινᾶ, καγκομένης·
ξηρᾶς τῶ φόβῳ (Hes.), πολυκαγκής ‘burning strongly’
(Hom.).

thellë ‘deep; dark (of color)’ ~ Gk κῶιλος ‘hollow’.

ujë ‘water’ < **udrjā* ~ Gk ὑδρία ‘water-bucket’.

4.1.3.5. The number of Armeno-Albanian separate parallels is insignificant.

ergjëz ‘young louse’ ~ Arm *orjil* ‘louse’.

gjithë ‘all’ ~ Arm *ez* id. (both from **sem-ĝho-*).

pah ‘scab, dust’ ~ Arm *hogi* ‘breath’ (both from **pojio-*).

trim ‘hero’, ‘brave, courageous’ ~ Arm *tarm* ‘young, fresh, green’.

4.1.3.6. Indo-Iranian parallels to Albanian are more numerous. Remarkably, some of them are connected with horse-keeping, horse-breeding and milk products:

badër ‘narcissus, daffodil’ ~ Skt *bhāstrā* ‘bellows’.

ëmbël ~ *ambël* ‘sweet’ ~ Skt *amlā-* ‘sour’.

gjem ‘bridle’ ~ Skt *yāma-* id.

gjysh ‘grandfather’ ~ Skt *sūṣā* ‘progenitor’.

hirrë ‘whey’ ~ Skt *kṣīrā-* ‘milk’, Osset *æxšir* id.

kërr ‘donkey, ass, foal; gray’ ~ Skt *khāra-* ‘donkey’, Av *xarō* id.,
Scyth **xara*, Osset *xæræg* id.

mut ‘excrement’ ~ Skt *muktā-* ‘released’.

tru ~ *trû* ‘brain’ ~ Skt *tāruṇa-* ‘young, tender’, Av *tauruna-* ‘young’
(cf. also Gk τέρην ‘tender’, τέρυ· ἄσθενές, λεπτόν, Hes.).

thadër ‘a kind of double-sided axe’ ~ Skt *śāstrā-* ‘knife, sword’.

zot ‘lord, master, god’ ~ Skt *viś-pati-* ‘lord of the house’.

4.1.4.0. Isogloss with Tocharian. There is only one lexical isogloss linking Albanian to Tocharian but it is very important.

kush ‘who’ ~ Toch A *kus* id., B *kuse* id. (both from **k^hu-so-*).

4.2. Selected semantic fields in Albanian

4.2.0. Some of the lexical fields can be of importance for the analysis of the Proto-Albanian culture, its original homeland and earliest contacts. Below, several such lexical groups are described.

Literature: PISANI *Saggi* passim; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* passim.

4.2.1.0. Kinship terms. The entire system of Indo-European kinship terms was completely reshaped in Proto-Albanian (apparently reflecting a radical social change). The only remaining terms keeping their original function are those of the parents-in-law and son-in-law:

vjehërr ‘mother-in-law’ < EPA **swexurā* (with assimilation from expected **swetsurā*) < IE **suekrū-* (Skt *śvaśrū-* ‘mother-in-law’, Lat *socrus* id.). Probably morphologically influenced by the masculine form.

vjehërr ‘father-in-law’ < EPA **swexura* (with assimilation) < IE **suekuros* id. (Skt *śvāsura-* ‘father-in-law’, Gk *ἐκύρος* id.).

dhëndër ~ *dhandër* ‘bridegroom, son-in-law’ < EPA **dzanra* < IE **genēr-* ‘son-in-law’ (Lat *gener*).

A daughter-in-law is simply described as ‘new’ (*e reja*), cf. from this point of view Slav **nevěsta* (if related to **neŭ-* ‘new’).

Old terms for parents were replaced with new *Lallwörter*, of which the word for father can be, however, treated as an Indo-European dialectal term:

nënë ~ *nanë* ‘mother’, a *Lallwort* of Balkanic origin, cf. SCr *nana* id., Rum *nană* id.

ëmë ~ *amë* ‘mother’.

atë ‘father’ < EPA **atā*: Hitt *atta-* id., Lat *atta* id., Slav **отць* id.

The old term for ‘mother’ was retained but changed semantically:

motër ‘sister’ < EPA **māter* < IE **māter-* ‘mother’ (Skt *mātār-*, Gk *μήτηρ*, Lat *māter*).

This change was, obviously, a part of a structural shift in the kinship system affecting female relatives insofar as the original Indo-European term for ‘sister’ became a general term for ‘girl’ in general:

vajžë ‘girl’, based on **varë* < EPA **swesarā*: Skt *svásar-*, Arm *kóyr*, Lat *soror*.

The word for ‘brother’, which replaced IE **bhrāter* might, in fact, be a very old archaism using two ancient social terms **sye* and **leudh-*:

vëlla ‘brother’ < EPA **swe-laudā*, composite of pronominal IE **sye* and **laudā* < IE **leudh-* (OHG *liut* ‘people’, Slav **ljudъ* id.).

Additional words for ‘elder brother’/‘uncle’/‘father’ seems to be innovative *Lallwörter*:

apë ‘elder brother; dad’ < EPA **apā*.

bac ‘elder brother, uncle’ < EPA **batja*, close to Slav **bat’a* ~ **batja* ‘elder brother, father’.

Terms for ‘son’ and ‘daughter’ represent an Indo-European localism:

bir ‘son’ < EPA **bira*: Goth *baur* ‘son’ < IE **bh₂ro-*.

bilë, *bijë* ‘daughter’ < EPA **bir(i)lā* derived from *bir* ‘son’.

Cf. also a closely related ancient word for ‘child’ as ‘suckling’:

djalë ‘boy, youth’ < EPA **dela* < IE **dhēi-* ‘to suck’ (Latv *dēls* ‘son’, Lat *filius* id.).

Second degree blood kinship was apparently irrelevant in the Proto-Albanian social structure. All corresponding terms have been borrowed from Latin:

ungj ‘uncle’ ⇔ Lat *avunculus* ‘maternal uncle’.

emtë ‘aunt’ ⇔ Lat *amita* ‘paternal aunt’.

nip ‘nephew, grandson’ ⇔ Lat nom. *nepōs* ‘grandson’.

mbesë ‘niece, granddaughter’ ⇔ Lat *nepōtia* id.

4.2.1.1. Social organization. In Proto-Albanian some basic terms were preserved (though with radical changes in function), which reflect a social structure in which the notion of ‘house’ as ‘kin-unifier’ is of particular importance:

vise ‘place’ < EPA **wītsjā* < IE **ueikjā* similar to Gk οἰκίᾱ
‘dwelling, house’.

zot ‘lord, master, god’ < EPA **w(i)ts-pati-*: Skt *vis-pati-* ‘lord of the house’.

zonjë ‘lady’ < EPA **w(i)tš-patnjā*, feminine formation related to *zot*.

Nothing can be said about the political organization of the Proto-Albanians. All Albanian political terminology is borrowed (mainly, from Latin). However, important elements of Albanian vendetta and related common law may well reflect certain archaic Indo-European patterns.

The lexicon of economic exchange in Proto-Albanian is entirely secondary. Basic words, such as ‘to buy’ and ‘to sell’ are loanwords or newly built metaphors:

blej ‘to buy’ ⇔ Rom **ablevāre* ‘to lift up, to relieve (from)’.

shes ‘to sell’ < EPA **iš-agtja* < IE **ag-* ‘to drive’.

Albanian religious notions are hardly open to reconstruction. Yet, the word *perëndi* ‘God’ could cast some light on this problem. It appears to be a deverbative of *perëndoj* ‘to set (of the sun)’ which, in its turn, has been borrowed from Lat *parentāre* ‘to bring a sacrifice (to the dead), to satisfy’ or, rather, from its passive correlate *parentāri*. Thus, Albanian may have had a solar cult which, however, was fully formed after their arrival along the Adriatic coast.

4.2.1.2. Geographic terminology: Rivers and water basins. This semantic group is of obvious relevance for all considerations related to the original Proto-Albanian homeland. The most striking feature of the geographic vocabulary is the limited number of words of Indo-European origin in Albanian related to sea (and sea-faring). This sector of the lexis abounds in Romance and Greek loans. The name of the sea

itself seems to be Indo-European, but rather it appears to be a common Albano-Germanic innovation for any depth:

det ‘sea’ < EPA **deubeta* ‘depth’ < IE **dheub-* ‘deep’, cf. Gmc **deupibō* ‘depth’ > MDu *diepde*, MLG *dēpede*, E *depth*.

So far were the Proto-Albanians from maritime interests that even an old Greek loanword for ‘sea’ has completely changed its meaning in Albanian:

pellg ‘pond, pool, depth’ ⇔ Gk πέλαγος ‘high sea’.

Other hydronyms reflect a more complicated picture. Besides two basic words for ‘river’ and ‘stream’

lumë ‘river’ < EPA **luma*. Gk λῦμα ‘dirt’: IE **leu(ə)-* ‘dirt’.
rrymë ‘flow (of water)’ < EPA **srūmā*: Gk ῥέυμα ‘stream’, ON *straumr* id., Lith *sraumuō* ‘fast stream’.

Albanian seems to use relatively recent loanwords to describe mountainous brooks rushing through ravines or larger rivers falling into a sea. Hence the following borrowings:

lakë ‘defilé, valley’ ⇔ Gmc **lakaz* ‘brook, river, swamp’, cf. OHG *lahha*, OE *lacu*.
përrua ~ *përrue* ‘brook; river-bed’ ⇔ Slav **porovъ* ~ **parovъ*, cf. Pol *parów* ‘ravine’, name of a source in Greece Πορόβος.
zall ‘river sand, river bank’ < EPA **aigjala* ⇔ Gk αἰγιαλός ‘river bank’.
rrëke ‘stream (of rain), mountain brook’ ⇔ Slav **rěka* ‘river’.

On the other hand, words for quieter currents and, sometimes, stagnant pools are of Indo-European origin:

bërrakë ‘muddy pool, pond, swamp’ < *birë* ‘hole’.
hurdhë ‘pond, pool’ < EPA **wurdā*: Slav **virъ* ‘whirlpool’, **variti* ‘to cook’, Lith *vėrdu*, *virti* id.
ledh ‘mud, alluvium, clay; wall, earth mound; river-mouth, balk’ < EPA **laida*: OPrus *laydis* ‘clay’.
makërr ‘stagnant green on ponds’ < *makë* ‘glue, scum, skin’.

amull ‘stagnant (of water)’ < EPA **a-mulwa*: Lith *muīvé* ‘silt, marsh’, *mùlti* ‘to get dirty’.

shtrap ‘stagnant green on ponds’ < EPA **strapa*: MHG *straf* ‘tight’, Lith *par-strapinti* ‘to drag oneself back’.

Marshes were a usual part of the landscape, too:

baltë ‘swamp, marsh, dirt, earth’ < EPA **baltā* < IE **bhólatom* id. (Slav **bolto*, cf. Lith *báltas* ‘white’).

lēgatë ‘marsh’ < EPA **leugatā*: Illyr ἔλον Λούγεος καλούμενον, Lith *liūgas* id., Slav **luža* ‘pool’.

vurg ‘marsh, swamp’ < EPA **wurga*: Gk ὀργάω ‘to be soaked’, ὀργάς ‘marsh, meadow’.

Rivers, as described above, were easy to cross by foot, at least at fords:

breth ‘to jump, to spring’ < EPA **breda*: Slav **bredō*, **bresti* ‘to wade, to ford’, Lith *brendù*, *bristi* id.

shtyr ~ *shtir* ‘to push; to cross (a river)’ < *shtyj* ‘to push’.

but cf. the word for ‘ford’ of Romance origin:

va ‘ford’ ⇐ Lat *vadum* id.

Rivers of the Proto-Albanian homeland abounded in dangerous deep places and whirlpools:

urelē ‘water-pit’ < EPA **urelā*: ON *ūr* ‘drizzle’, OPrus *wurs* ‘pool’.

ngjire ‘whirlpool’ < *gjerë* ‘broad, wide’.

grellë ‘deep place’ < EPA **gritlā*: Lith *gurklỹs* ‘crop’, OPrus *gurcle* ‘throat’, Slav **gьrdlo* id., cf. also **žerdlo* ‘river-bed; opening’.

The banks of rivers were covered with forests:

gjazë ‘riverside forest’ < EPA **sedja* < IE **sed-* ‘to sit, to be settled’, cf. in particular Slav **sadъ* ‘garden, grove’.

4.2.1.3. Geographic terminology: Forests and bush. It is clear that the Proto-Albanians were not acquainted with forests. The word for

‘forest’ was borrowed from a Romance term for ‘swamp’, presumably, when the Proto-Albanians reached the lowlands of the Adriatic shore:

pyll ‘forest’ ⇐ Balk Rom **padūlem* < Lat *palūdem* ‘swamp’.

On the contrary, the original word for ‘bush’ was not borrowed:

shkorret, *shkurre* ‘bush’ < EPA **skārā* derived from *shqerr* ‘to tear’ < EPA **skera*.

Some old Indo-European names of trees (including basic conifers!) survived in Albanian:

ah ‘beech-tree’ < EPA **aksa*: IE **osk-* (Gk ὀξύς ‘beech’, Arm *hac’i* ‘ash-tree’, ON *askr* id., Maced ἄξος· ὕλη).

bli ~ *bfi* ‘linden’ < EPA **blina*: Lith *blindis*, *blendis* ‘*Salix caprea*’.

breth ‘fir-tree’ < EPA **bradā*: Slav **bredъ* ‘willow’.

dushk, *drushk* ‘oak’ < EPA **druška*, derivative of *dru* ‘tree’ < IE **dreu-* ‘tree, oak’. Cf. also *lend* ‘acorn’ < EPA **lenta* < IE **lent-* ‘linse’ (Lat *lēns*, *lēntis*, OHG *linsi*, Slav **letja*).

pishë ‘pine’ < EPA **pī-s-a*: Gk πίτυς, Lat *pīnus* (but cf. also *vgjë* ~ *vgjê* ‘pine’ ⇐ Lat *abiegnum* ‘related to fir’, derivative of *abietem* ‘fir’).

verr ‘alder’ < EPA **werna*: Bret *gwern* id., W *gwernen* id., Mīr *fern* id.

vidh ‘elm’ < EPA **wīdza*: Kurd *viz* id., OE *wīc* id., and, with nasalization, Lith *vīnkšna* id., Slav **vezъ* id.

The above list is opposed to the following Latin loans, which include a new word for ‘birch’:

frashër ~ *frashën* ‘ash-tree’ ⇐ Lat *fraxinus* id.

gështenjë ‘chestnut’ ⇐ Lat *castanea* id.

mështekër ~ *mështekën* ‘birch’ ⇐ Lat *masticinus* ‘related to the mastic-tree’.

palnjë ‘maple’ ⇐ Rom **plátania* derived from Lat *platanus* ‘plane-tree’.

plep ‘poplar’ ⇐ Rom **plōpus*, metathesis of Lat *pōpulus* id.

rrobull ‘mountain pine’ ⇐ Lat *rōbur* ‘oak’ with a dissimilation of sonorants.

shelg ‘willow’ ⇐ Lat *salix* id.

The general impression of this semantic group is that newly acquired tree names mostly refer to plants historically located in more southern and southeastern geographic zones.

4.2.1.4. Geographic terminology: Mountains. In this group, basic notions are of distinctly Proto-Albanian origin:

gur ‘stone, rock’ < EPA **gura* < IE **g^herə-* ‘mountain’ (Skt *gīrī-*, Av *gairi-*, Lith *girià* ‘wood’, Latv *dziria* id., Slav **gora* ‘mountain, wood’).

mal ‘mountain’ < EPA **mala*: Lith *malà* ‘land’, Latv *mala* ‘bank, shore’.

However, all specific terms related to the mountainous relief or to life in the mountains are borrowed. Cf. the following examples:

bjeshkë ‘mountain pasture’ ⇐ Rom **pastica* based on Lat *pastus* ‘pasture’.

këshyre ‘mountain path, path in the ravine’ ⇐ Lat *clausūra*, *clūsūra* ‘lock, bar, bolt; castle, fort’.

kolibe ‘hut (in the mountains)’ ⇐ Slav **kolyba* id.

ravgë ‘path (in mountains)’ ⇐ Slav **ровѣкъ* ‘ditch’.

Summing up the data of 4.2.1.2-4, we may say that the Proto-Albanians lived in a swampy area of sparsely growing trees and relatively small rivers, but definitely not in the high mountains of the Balkans, with their ravines and valleys.

4.2.1.5. Domestic animals. Proto-Albanians were cattle-breeders. The corresponding terms are well preserved:

dem ‘young bull’ < EPA **dama*: OIr *dam* ‘ox’ and Gk δάμαλος ‘calf’.

dhi ‘she-goat’ < EPA **aidzijā*: Gk αἴξ id.

edh ‘he-goat’ < EPA **aidza*: Gk αἴξ ‘goat’, Arm *ayc* id.

kedh ‘kid’ < EPA **kadza*: Slav **koza* ‘she-goat’.

lopë ‘cow’ < EPA **lāpā*: Latv *luõps* ‘cattle’.

- mjel* ‘to milk’ < EPA **melga*: Gk ἀμέλω id., Lat *mulgeō* id., Lith *mélžiu, mėlžti* id.
ter ‘bull’ < EPA **taura*: Gk τῶρος id., Lat *taurus* id., Lith *taūras* id., Slav **turъ* id.
viç ‘calf’ < EPA **wetusa* further related to **weta* > *vit* ‘year’, cf. Skt *vatsá-* ‘calf’.

The borrowed nature of the words for ‘dog’ (*qen* from Latin, *shakë* from Iranian) may indicate that Proto-Albanians were better acquainted with large cattle breeding than with the cultivating of goats and sheep.

At the same time, Albanian seems to preserve a few very important terms connected with the domestication of the horse, even though such basic words as ‘horse’ were borrowed (*kalë* ⇐ Lat *caballus* id.):

- gjem* ‘bridle’ < EPA **jama*: Skt *yáma-* id.
pelë ‘mare’ < EPA **pōulā*: Gk πῶλος ‘foal’, Goth *fula* id.
rreth ‘hoop, rim (of wheel); circle’, deminutive in *-th* of **rat* ‘wheel’, cf. Skt *rátha-* ‘wagon’, Lat *rota* ‘wheel’, OIr *roth*, OHG *rad*.

PHONETIC TABLES*

Vowels

From Indo-European to Proto-Albanian

Indo-European

Early Proto-Albanian

<i>*a</i>	<i>*a</i>
<i>*o</i>	<i>*a</i>
<i>*ə</i>	{ <i>*a</i> <i>*e</i> (rare) ∅ (after a stressed vowel)
<i>*e</i>	<i>*e</i>
<i>*i</i>	<i>*i</i>
<i>*u</i>	<i>*u</i>
<i>*ā</i>	<i>*ā</i>
<i>*ē</i>	<i>*ē</i> > <i>*ā</i>
<i>*ō</i>	<i>*ō</i>
<i>*ī</i>	<i>*ī</i>
<i>*ū</i>	<i>*ū</i>
<i>*ai</i>	<i>*ai</i>
<i>*oi</i>	<i>*ai</i>
<i>*ei</i>	<i>*ei</i>
<i>*au</i>	<i>*au</i>
<i>*ou</i>	<i>*au</i>
<i>*eu</i>	<i>*eu</i>

* Not all combinatorial changes are included. For the development of clusters see the main text. Modern Albanian is represented by the Tosk dialect.

From Proto-Albanian to modern Albanian (Tosk)

Early Proto-Albanian

Albanian (Tosk)

<i>*a</i>	{ <i>a</i> <i>e</i> (by umlaut) <i>ë, Ø</i> (unstressed) <i>ë</i> (before nasals)
<i>*e</i>	{ <i>je, ie</i> <i>e</i> (before <i>*dz, *ts, *nd, *nt, *mb</i>) <i>e</i> (after <i>c, ç, gj, q, l, r</i>) <i>ja</i> (before <i>*i</i> of the next syllable) <i>a < ja</i> (after <i>g</i>) <i>i</i> (before <i>m</i> + sibilant or affricate) <i>i</i> (due to morphonological factors) <i>ë</i> (irregularly, before nasals)
<i>*i</i>	{ <i>i</i> <i>y</i> (before a labial)
<i>*u</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>*ā</i>	{ <i>o</i> <i>ua</i> (before <i>r</i> and nasals) <i>ye</i> (before <i>n, l</i> and a front vowel)
<i>*ō</i>	{ <i>e</i> <i>ve</i> (in anlaut) <i>ua</i> (before <i>r</i> and nasals)
<i>*ī</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>*ū</i>	{ <i>y</i> <i>i</i> (in auslaut) <i>i</i> (before and after labials) <i>i</i> (before <i>*j</i> and <i>*i</i> of the next syllable)
<i>*ai</i>	<i>e</i>
<i>*ei</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>*au</i>	{ <i>a</i> <i>e</i> (by umlaut) <i>ë, Ø</i> (unstressed)
<i>*eu</i>	<i>e</i>

Sonorants

From Indo-European to Proto-Albanian

Indo-European

Early Proto-Albanian

<i>*m</i>	<i>*a</i>
<i>*n</i>	<i>*a</i>
<i>*l</i>	{ <i>*il</i> (before consonantal clusters, <i>*i</i> , <i>*j</i>) <i>*ul</i>
<i>*r</i>	{ <i>*ir</i> (before consonantal clusters, <i>*i</i> , <i>*j</i>) <i>*ur</i>
<i>*j</i>	<i>*j</i>
<i>*w</i>	<i>*w</i>
<i>*m</i>	<i>*m</i>
<i>*n</i>	<i>*n</i>
<i>*l</i>	<i>*l</i>
<i>*r</i>	<i>*r</i>

From Proto-Albanian to modern Albanian (Tosk)

Early Proto-Albanian

Albanian (Tosk)

<i>*il</i>	<i>il, li</i>
<i>*ul</i>	<i>ul, lu</i>
<i>*ir</i>	<i>ir, ri</i>
<i>*ur</i>	<i>ur, ru</i>
<i>*j</i>	{ <i>gj</i> (anlaut, before <i>*a</i> , <i>*e</i> , <i>*o</i>) <i>j</i> (anlaut, before <i>*ā</i> , <i>*u</i>) \emptyset (inlaut, after front vowels) <i>x</i> (inlaut, after non-front vowels)
<i>*w</i>	{ <i>v</i> (anlaut) \emptyset (inlaut, absorbed by long vowels)
<i>*m</i>	{ <i>m</i> <i>mb</i> (auslaut, irregularly)
<i>*n</i>	{ <i>n</i> (anlaut) <i>r</i> (inlaut, after unstressed vowels) \emptyset (inlaut, after stressed vowels)

<i>*l</i>	{	<i>l</i> (anlaut and clusters)
	{	<i>ll</i> (inlaut)
<i>*r</i>	{	<i>r, rr</i>
	{	<i>r</i> (in clusters)
	{	∅ (auslaut, after <i>*e</i>)

Consonants

From Indo-European to Proto-Albanian

Indo-European	Early Proto-Albanian
<i>*s</i>	{ <i>*s</i> (anlaut and clusters) <i>*x</i> (between vowels) <i>*š</i> (after <i>*i, *u</i>)
<i>*p</i>	<i>*p</i>
<i>*b</i>	<i>*b</i>
<i>*bh</i>	<i>*b</i>
<i>*t</i>	<i>*t</i>
<i>*d</i>	<i>*d</i>
<i>*dh</i>	<i>*d</i>
<i>*k</i>	<i>*k</i>
<i>*g</i>	<i>*g</i>
<i>*gh</i>	<i>*g</i>
<i>*k̂</i>	{ <i>*ts</i> <i>*tš</i> (before <i>*u</i>)
<i>*ĝ</i>	{ <i>*dz</i> <i>*dž</i> (before <i>*u</i>)
<i>*ĝh</i>	{ <i>*dz</i> <i>*dž</i> (before <i>*u</i>)
<i>*kʰ</i>	{ <i>*k</i> <i>*tš</i> (before front vowels and <i>*j</i>)
<i>*gʰ</i>	{ <i>*g</i> <i>*dž</i> (before front vowels and <i>*j</i>)
<i>*gʰh</i>	{ <i>*g</i> <i>*dž</i> (before front vowels and <i>*j</i>)

From Proto-Albanian to modern Albanian (Tosk)

Early Proto-Albanian	Albanian (Tosk)
<i>*s</i>	<i>gj</i>
<i>*x</i>	<i>h, Ø</i>
<i>*š</i>	<i>sh</i>
<i>*p</i>	<i>p</i>

<i>*b</i>	<i>b</i>
<i>*t</i>	<i>t</i>
<i>*d</i>	{ <i>d</i>
	{ <i>dh</i> (between vowels and after <i>r</i>)
<i>*k</i>	<i>k</i>
<i>*g</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>*ts</i>	<i>th</i>
<i>*dz</i>	{ <i>dh</i>
	{ <i>d</i> anlaut, if followed by sibilants)
<i>*tš</i>	<i>s</i>
<i>*dž</i>	<i>z</i>

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pi	rË
kapi	brË
trapi	kushërË
qipi	krË
hypi	vërrË
vdiqi	shË
fuqi	lëf
ri	
ari	mbaj
bari	çaj
bri	daj
deri	ndaj
njeri	faj
kushëri	ngaj
thëri	gËaj
kri	laj
mori	maj
uri	qaj
pilikuri	maraj
vërr	zdraj
shi	asaj

thaj	ndëlej
buaj	shembëllej
duaj	pëlqej
guaj	brej
gjuaj	shpërej
huaj	shëfrej
juaj	shufrej
luaj	krej
bluaj	rrej
muaj	urrej
quaj	turshej
shquaj	buej
ruaj	duej
druaj	gjuej
kruaj	huej
shkruaj	juej
tuaj	luej
gatuaj	bluej
vuaj	muej
vaj	quej
âj	shquej
bâj	ruej
ndâj	druej
fâj	kruej
pugâj	shkruej
lâj	tuej
mâj	gatuaj
fshâj	vuej
zâj	vej
shkëmbej	ndyej
rrëmbej	hyej
shërbej	lyej
zbej	nyej
kërcej	shqyej
dej	ryej
ndej	fryej
gjej	shkryej
mallëngjej	gërryej
rrëngjej	thyej
diej	ndërzej
ziej	mërzej
ndjej	ndëj
fëjej	gjêj
vjej	brêj
zjej	rrêj
lej	ëj
blej	bëj

ecëj	lëngo
pëgëj	mëngo
ikëj	shtrëngo
hip(ëj)	kungoj
zëj	mungoj
bij	rungoj
mbij	fërgoj
skundij	mërgoj
gdhij	përgoj
gërdhij	ngujoj
mërdhij	bekoj
ngij	shtekoj
kij	dëkoj
shëllij	ndikoj
pij	mallkoj
lëpij	shkarkoj
mpij	fërkoj
qij	kërkoj
rij	shkoj
cërij	shurukoj
grij	gjykoj
prij	mbloj
shtrij	gëloj
arrij	kalloj
shij	kulloj
atij	mbuloj
vij	çmoj
mbîj	gjëmoj
gdhîj	harmoj
ngîj	hermoj
mpîj	dëshmoj
grîj	proshmoj
prîj	prozhmoj
boj	agjënoj
shëlboj	arnoj
malcoj	kunjoj
çoj	shqepoj
gulçoj	shqipoj
pendoj	qoj
këndoj	mbaroj
perëndoj	laroj
kundoj	lodroj
sundoj	agjëroj
prodhoj	ngjëroj
shkagoj	nëmëroj
trashëgoj	nytëroj
drangoj	dëliroj

dëshiroj	ushûj
kaproj	ndyj
uroj	hyj
duroj	ky(j)
dhuroj	ryj
adhuroj	fryj
fluturoj	
rroj	gërçak
kacarroj	dak
harroj	gak
ndërroj	gjak
shtërroj	jak
ngurroj	shkak
mësoj	lak
pësoj	flak
lëshoj	vurkollak
mëshoj	plak
kafshoj	lumak
hetoj	pak
dëftoj	pashtrak
lëftoj	hek
pajtoj	ndjek
trajtoj	mjek
kujtoj	pjek
gultoj	mek
premtoj	qek
notoj	grek
shartoj	shtrek
shtoj	rrek
ushtoj	ortek
thoj	thek
voj	ik
rënjoj	fik
pagëztoj	lik
mizoj	mik
lëvorztoj	anëmik
buj	armik
rrobuj	pik
qefuj	furrik
ehuj	ujk
kuj	bujk
sukuj	bulk
lepuj	flok
popuj	tarok
tituj	harrok
avuj	shok
bûj	ark

bark	mel
hark	qel
qark	krel
shark	fëndyël
thark	ambël
berk	tambël
cerk	ëmbël
derk	tëmbël
zverk	thnegël
shemërk	hingël
tërfurk	vogël
bisk	qikël
brisk	bukël
rrëfeshk	thënuکہ
peshk	lil
upeshk	cëril
dushk	
mushk	hall
drushk	djall
krushk	kall
myshk	mall
dryshk	pall
petk	shpall
bretk	përrall
nduk	tall
sharanduk	buall
nuk	guall
quk	huall
	kapruall
dal	zall
ragal	dell
shkal	hell
mal	diell
dual	miell
harabel	qiell
zabel	mbjell
çel	pjell
kaçel	sjell
del	shtjell
gjel	vështjell
kacagjel	vjell
kangjel	qell
djel	përqell
mjel	buell
vjel	huell
përvjel	kapruell
shkel	fëndyell

fyell	hamull
nyell	krepull
egjëll	popull
engjëll	qull
esëll	ishull
hisëll	kushull
hîsëll	shpatull
skundjill	titull
thëngjill	brushtull
ungjill	uthull
mill	avull
kërmill	yll
mënjill	mbyll
grill	fyll
prill	hyll
këshill	myll
rrasoll	pyll
rrumbull	orrl
sumbull	ul
thumbull	ngul
rrobull	përkul
korbull	shkul
pendull	tul
modhull	qyl
qefull	bërryl
nofull	kërtyl
mjegull	
tjegull	dam
rregull	jam
vrigull	kam
kungull	bram
gargull	gram
pjergull	em
mugull	çem
pizgull	dem
ehull	hidhem
grehull	lidhem
mrekull	gjem
shekull	mehem
ndrikull	jem
krrokull	djem
mashkull	kem
rrushkull	ndulkem
ndryshkull	fishkem
sukull	fyshkem
amull	stepem
famull	qem

mkeqem	arbën
rrem	keçën
kërveshem	prindën
vetem	urdhën
venitem	vorfën
punuem	prehën
balçëm	lakën
mençëm	mështekën
dëm	mokën
bagëm	halën
mendshëm	emën
jeshëm	femën
arsyeshëm	dimën
fuqishëm	timën
balshëm	drapën
im	pjepën
trim	nipën
ishim	kulpën
gjalm	gjarpën
pjalm	dreqën
helm	rriqën
djelm	ujqën
kulm	risën
thom	frashën
zjarm	breshën
jerm	gjyshën
zjerm	atën
term	etën
kalihum	kunetën
lum	mbretën
rrum	shtretën
kacarrum	kështën
krym	vëllazën
tym	virgjin
	malin
ndan	pelin
lan	ishin
man	bon
kalaman	kërkon
lidhen	lidhun
gjen	pimun
rëmen	pasun
qen	
bren	qanj
kësen	mëdhenj
lebën	lamenj
gjelbën	lëmenj

lumenj	stap
trenj	rjep
përrenj	kep
plëfënj	shkep
lamënj	plep
dërpënj	qep
kocinj	sqep
blinj	grep
minj	krep
kërminj	shkrep
drapinj	shtrep
stapinj	thep
brinj	gëthep
zotërinj	nip
urinj	rrip
priftinj	shtalp
boshtinj	kulp
vinj	kanp
dragonj	shkop
fajkonj	peshkop
gjinonj	kërp
kaponj	turp
kronj	cup
përronj	llup
katonj	krup
thonj	karrup
hunj	sup
kunj	lyp
	rryp
aco	
kjo	kënaq
nenj	paq
asoj	sqaq
ato	frac
fato	heq
	tërheq
ap	keq
hap	leq
jap	pleq
kap	dreq
lap	vdiq
llap	liq
sqap	pliq
trap	piq
shtrap	iriq
vrap	porriq
shap	furriq

ujq	gjelbër
helq	bulbër
pelq	sembër
qelq	thembër
gloq	arbër
shoq	verbër
tharq	keçër
kumerq	badër
birq	thadër
dirq	vedër
peshq	çandër
pishq	dhandër
kuq	gjandër
lakuq	tlandër
puq	dhëndër
kryq	gjëndër
	prindër
ar	kundër
bar	lodër
mbar	badhër
acar	mjedhër
pendar	urdhër
ugar	shurdhër
lar	hudhër
kular	afër
lifqar	varfër
taftar	gjër
duar	egjër
punuar	virgjër
var	prehër
ylber	lakër
ger	mjekër
gjer	mështekër
vëner	mokër
njer	emër
lifqer	femër
vrer	shemër
ter	rëmër
lter	dimër
ther	timër
duer	për
fruer	drapër
dyer	pjepër
mushkëllyer	lepër
pulqyer	vepër
lebër	nipër
shtalbër	kulpër

gjarpër	lakur
thupër	bukur
dreqër	lepur
rriqër	pasur
ujqër	shur
nesër	thur
risër	zhur
frashër	qyr
breshër	këqyr
gjyshër	shtyr
katër	
vatër	harr
etër	zjarr
jetër	marr
tjetër	shparr
vjetër	qarr
ketër	shqarr
kunetër	muarr
mbretër	varr
shtretër	err
pitër	berr
kaltër	derr
kultër	ferr
kumtër	bjerr
motër	çjerr
votër	djerr
zotër	vdjerr
mëgashtër	përmjerr
gjeshtër	pjerr
mjeshtër	tjerr
kështër	vjerr
kullostër	tmerr
noshtër	shperr
voshtër	qerr
bushtër	shqerr
zgavër	verr
vavër	andërr
vëllezër	kandërr
bir	ëndërr
hir	angërr
dëllir	vjehërr
shtir	kërr
harmëshor	makërr
ur	hikërr
squfur	thirr
shqufur	oborr
gur	horr

korr	shkmes
morr	pres
shporr	tres
shorr	shes
curr	ves
furr	pyes
s'	grabis
	radis
mbas	vadis
pēlcas	gjezdīs
kērcas	ngjis
buças	krahis
godas	molis
mbufas	plis
ngas	mis
dihas	nis
gērhas	ponis
luhas	qis
nuhas	ris
trokas	neveris
karkas	mērmēris
pērkas	turis
piskas	rris
shkas	garris
flas	lebetis
vilas	stērvīs
kēllas	kos
pēllas	mos
plas	qos
mas	laps
umas	çars
pas	mars
qas	fus
tras	gus
vras	ngus
rras	lus
shtërras	nus
vērras	pus
gērshas	kēpus
hitas	tus
bērtas	mbys
kēlthas	pērmbyś
mbes	rys
ndes	ngrys
vdes	trys
jes	zhys
dhjes	

dash	përposh
pash	asosh
esh	shosh
dhambesh	bush
dhëmbesh	jush
desh	kush
ndesh	push
lidhesh	përpush
gardhesh	prush
gjesh	rrush
ngjesh	gjysh
jesh	këlysh
lesh	mlysh
dredhalesh	
kalesh	at
hellesh	fat
kërlesh	mëkat
demesh	mat
nesh	kunat
trapesh	shpat
lupesh	shtrat
qesh	shat
presh	fshat
shesh	shtat
prushesh	et
vesh	det
kalavesh	lidhet
karravesh	mbufet
lidhësh	nget
argësh	bohet
mëndafsh	luhet
ish	vjet
acish	sivjet
plish	troket
mish	spërket
grish	malet
prish	flet
asish	tërmet
meksh	net
lamsh	vullnet
galamsh	kashnjet
lëmsh	mbret
acosh	shkorret
shëndosh	bërtet
josh	mbështet
mërkosh	pushtet
rëposh	qytet

halave(t)	kabisht
zet	karrabisht
dyzet	kërbisht
tharbët	gisht
hidhët	bosht
drydhët	kopsht
mekët	gusht
flashkët	musht
vrانët	grusht
vrërët	ut
murrët	but
athët	ngut
uthët	hut
taft	makut
qift	lut
prift	mut
dit	tut
sodit	yt
malit	fyt
kacamit	lëfyt
shëndrit	shqyt
rrit	ryt
porosit	fryt
ishit	
shëtit	mbath
motit	grath
vërtit	trath
vit	gjeth
vërvit	qeth
nxit	rreth
kujt	veth
kot	vëth
lot	ith
mot	urith
sot	mzith
zot	lakth
mbart	shtekth
shpirt	zokth
kurt	halth
asht	thimth
rrasht	kranth
âsht	kaphth
vësht	birth
klumësht	brirth
qumësht	gurth
vësht	kurth
bisht	purth

uth
 puth
 lyth
 syth

u
 gju
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 plaku
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 dru
 tru

gjû
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 drû
 trû

ay
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 greraz

varraz
 vashaz
 mâz
 ndez
 dhez
 lez
 brez
 vez
 veëz
 ergjëz
 ijëz
 bijëz
 gjellëz
 mëz
 amëz
 djelmëz
 llënjëz
 thonjëz
 njerëz
 grerëz
 vashëz
 veshëz
 mitëz
 parriz
 kurriz
 murriz
 loz
 bruz