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

VLADIMIR OREL

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Reconstruction of Proto-Albanian

BY

VLADIMIR OREL

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“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 the 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 and 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, ÇABEI, 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», «Morphonology 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 tilda, with the Tosk form coming first, e.g. Ilërë ~ Ilanë. 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, *e* > o means the development of *ē* in time. Arrows ⇔ are used to describe the act of borrowing. The formula *terrae mortum* ⇒ *tērnet* deals with loanwords. Finally, arrows > < appear in my description of word-formation. They indicate «derived from», e.g. *bir* > *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 Kalužskaja (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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REFERENCES

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Ballistica – Ballistica. Vilnius.


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BUShT – Bulletin i Universitetit Shtetëror të Tirane. Seria shkencat shoqerore. Tirana. [from 1964 continued as Studime filologjike].


ČMF – Časopis pro moderni filologii. Praha.


LB – Linguistique balkanique. Sofia.
Linguistica – Linguistica. Ljubljana.
LP – Lingua Posnaniensis. Poznań.
Orbis – Orbis . Louvain.
Prit. – Kategorija pritjažatel’ nosti v slavjanskih i baltijskih jazykakh. Moscow, 1983.
Sov. slav. – Sovetskoe slavjanovedenie. Moskva [from 1992–Slavjanovedenie].
SSL – Studi e saggi linguistici. Pisa.
St. alb. – Studi albanesi. Napoli.
StIF – Studine Filologjike. Tirana.
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XHUVANI - ÇABEI Prapasht. – XHUVANI, A., ÇABEI, E. Prapashtësat e gjuhës shqipe = ÇABEI St. III 189-300.
ZiPhonetik – Zeitschrift für Phonetik und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft. Berlin [= Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sparchwissenschaft und Kommunika-
tionsforschung].
### ABBREVIATIONS FOR LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

<table>
<thead>
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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) *e at the Early Proto-Albanian level and, later, complex phonological changes of *o.

Literature: Meyer Alb. St. III 83-87; Mann Language XXVI 379-388; XXVIII 35, Hist. Gr. 27; Barić Ist. 25 (*e > i in mish); Pisanj Saggi 100; HAMP KZ LXXXIV 140-141 (conditions of the diphthongization of *e); Georgiev Trakite 204-205 (Albanian-Dacian parallel in the development of *o); 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.

acr ‘sharp’ < EPA *atsara < IE *ač- id. (OIr aiche ‘sharp’, Gk άκρον ‘point, top’, Lith ašrūs ‘sharp’, Slav *ostr, id.).
ashkē ‘wood splinter’ < EPA a(k)škā < IE *aks- ‘axis’ (Skt aksa-, Gk ἀξόν, Lat axis).
bathē ‘broad bean’ < EPA *batsi: Gk φακίν ‘dish of lentils’, φακός ‘lentil’.
dhallē ‘buttermilk’ < EPA *dzala: Gk γαλάξ id.
elb ‘barley’ < EPA *albē: Gk ἀλβή.
kap ‘to seize, to grasp’ < EPA *kapa < IE *kap- ‘to seize’ (Gk κατά το ‘to snap’, Lat capiō ‘to seize, to take’, Goth haban ‘to hold, to have’).
keq ‘bad, evil’ < EPA *kakja: Gk κακός id.
maj ~ mây ‘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 ĕ ~ ā before nasal consonants.

derr ‘pig’ < EPA *darja < IE *g̣ḥorjós id. (Gk χορός).
gjë ~ gjë ‘thing’ < EPA *san(s) < IE *sont-s ‘being’ (Skt sant-, Gk σῶ-).
mardē ‘chill, frost, ice’ < EPA *mardzā. Slav *morzê ‘frost’.
nätē ‘night’ < EPA *nakti- corresponding to IE *nokʷt- id. (Skt nák-, Gk νόκ, Lat nox).
nesēr ‘tomorrow’ < EPA *natšor < IE* nokʷtōr (W neithiwr, neithwyr ‘last night’, Bret neizér, neizūr id.).
pa ‘without, before, then’ < EPA *apa reflecting IE *apo (Skt āpa ‘away, off’, Gk ἀπό ‘from’, Goth af ‘from, without, before, then’).

1.1.1.3. IE *o 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 ē.

flak ‘to throw, to fling’ < EPA *awa-laka, zero-grade of IE *leč- ~ *lek- to bend, to jump’ (MHG lecken ‘to throw back, to spring’, Lith lekū, lėkt ‘to fly’, Latv lēkt ‘to spring, to jump’).

ekem ‘incense’ < EPA *kapna, zero-grade of IE *kį̂p- (Gk καπόν ‘smoke’).

leh ~ le’ ‘to bark’ < EPA *lajā. Skt ráyati’id., Lith lėjū, lėiti’id., Slav *lajāti.

mas ‘to measure’ < EPA *matja < IE *mē-ō, denominative of *mē- id. (Skt mūnāti, Toch A me-).

rrah ‘to beat, to strike’ < EPA *wragksa, zero-grade of IE *yrāgh- id. (Gk ῥόσσω). shtazē ~ shtazē ‘animal’ based on EPA *stana, from IE *stano- < IE *st(h)ā- ‘to stand’.
tallē ‘peeled corn-cob; corn-straw’ < EPA *talā, zero-grade related to Gk τάλας ‘fenugreek’, Lith atōlās ‘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)- < *dhēHi-

djelë ‘boy, youth’ < EPA *deja < IE *dhē- ‘to suck’ (Latv deis ‘son’, Lat filius 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 *baltă < IE *bhōlotom id.  
(Slav *bolto, cf. Lith baltas ‘white’).  
bardhë ‘white’ < EPA *bardza < *bhōra-go- ‘shining’ (Skt bhārga).

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 bhárat, Gk féρo, Lat ferō).  
djie ‘yesterday’ < EPA *de. Skt hyás id., Gk χέρες id., Lat. heri id.  
dhjes ‘to defecate’ < EPA *dzetə < IE *gheid- id. (Skt hadati, Gk χέςεω).  
 mjekër ‘chin, beard’ < EPA *smekrā < IE *smékru- id. (Hitt zamankur- ‘beard’, Skt śmāśru- id., Arm mawrowk id., Lith smākras ‘chin’).  
sjell ‘to bring’ < EPA *tšela < IE *kēel- (Skt cārati ‘to move, to walk’, Gk πέλας ‘to come into existence, to become’, Lat colō ‘to cultivate, to till’).
vjerr ‘to hang’ < EPA *wera < IE *(s)ye- (Gk δείρεω ‘to raise up’, Lith veriù, vèrti ‘to weigh’, sveriu, svėrėti ‘to open, to thread’).
vjet ‘year’ < EPA *weta < IE *yet- id. (Hitt ḫitt-, 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 hjerr ‘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 dādhī ‘sour milk’ (but cf. OPrus dadan ‘milk’).
_ jam ‘I am’ < EPA *esmi < IE *esmi id. (Skt āsmi, Gk ἔσμι).
_ mjaltë ‘honey’ < EPA *melita < IE *melit- id. (Hitt mili, Gk μέλι, Goth milīp id.).

Albanian ja is simplified to a after gi:

_ gialpë ‘butter’ < EPA *selpi-: Skt sarpi- ‘clarified butter’ (but cf. Gk ἐλπίς: ἐλαίου, στέρα, εὐθνία (Hes.), OHG salba ‘ointment’).
_ gjashtë ‘six’ < EPA *sekst-, 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 *breda, *bresti ‘to wade, to ford’, Lith brendu, bristi id.
_ brenda ‘inside’ < EPA *(en) per en ta < Indo-European sequence of enclitics *(en per en tod.
_ čandër ‘prop, support’ < EPA *štëntra < IE *kentrom (Gk κέντρον ‘goad, spur’).
_ dend ‘to stuff’ < EPA *(en)enda < IE *tend- (Skt tanda ‘to weaken’, Lat tendō ‘to stretch’).
*dredh* 'to turn, to rotate' < EPA *dredza* < IE *dregh* - (Arm *darun* 'to turn').

*dhemb* 'to ache' < EPA *dzemba* < IE *gembh* - (Skt *jambhate* 'to snap at', Lith *žembiu*, *žembi* 'to cut', Slav *žebu*, *žebi* 'to freeze, to feel cold').

*lend* 'acorn' < EPA *lenta* < IE *lent- 'linse' (Lat *lēns*, *lēntis*, OHG *linis*, Slav *letja*).

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

*tremb* 'to frighten' < LPA *tremba* < EPA *trema* < IE *trem-* (Toch A *tārm* - '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* ~ *ix*.

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

*germ* 'delirium, absent-mindedness' < EPA *ermna* - Lith *erma* '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 *pārdate*, Gk πέρδομαι, OHG *ferzan*, Lith *pėrdžiu*, pėrsti).

*tferr* 'to spin' < EPA *terka* < IE *terk*- 'to turn' (Toch B *tārk*-, Lat *torquē*).

*zvjerdh* 'to wean' < EPA *verdza* - Lith *veržiu*, vežti 'to lace, to tie', Latv *verzti* 'to bind'.

*jargā* 'spit, phlegm' < EPA *ergā* - Av *aṙažant* - 'bad', OHG *arg* 'bad, evil', Lith *aržus* 'lusty'.

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

*djatštē* 'right' < EPA *detsa* < IE *deks*- id. (Skt *dāśma*, Gk δέκτο, Lat *dexter*).

*jashtē* 'outside' < EPA *e(k)šti, to IE *eğh-*s 'out' (Gk ἔξ, Lat ex).
**mjekér** ‘chin, beard’ < EPA *smekrā* < IE *smekr-* id. (Hitt *zamankur* ‘beard’, Skt *śmāśru*- id., Arm *mawrowk’* id., Lith *smākra*- ‘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):

*cermē* ‘cold, cool’.
*ça*j ‘to split, to cleave’, *çalē* ‘lame’, *çandēr* ‘prop, support’, *çap* ‘to chew’, *çars* ‘to destroy, to spoil’, *çel* ‘to open’, *çem* ‘to bring to light, to disclose’.
* gjalpē* ‘butter’, *gjarpēr* ‘snake’, *giashtē* ‘six’, *gjēth* ‘foliage, green leaves’.
*qas* ‘to approach’, *qell* ‘to halt, to hold up, to carry’, *qep* ‘to sew (together), to seize’, *shqurr* ‘marten’, *shqerr* ‘to tear (cloth)’.
*fe*l ‘to sleep’, *fletē* ‘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’, *trembha* ‘to frighten’.

There is one exception to this distribution: *çjer* ‘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 *kyorkos*). The form *esb* ‘hedgehog’ is even more difficult in view of widely attested initial *e*- in Indo-European, cf. Gk *eχιον* id., OHG *igil* id., Lith *ežys* id., Slav *ežb* id. The same is true of *me* ‘with’ < EPA *me(t)* etymologically connected with Goth *mip* id., Gk μετά *‘in the middle, between’. Even more complicated is the case of *ferrē* ‘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, ĭ seems to reflect original *e > *je. In viť ‘year’, ĭ belonged originally to the form of plural. The paradigm of this noun displayed an alternation of sg. *je ~ pl. *i and was later restructured under the influence of paradigmatic analogies. Thus, sg. viť is a secondary formation replacing older vjet. Etymologically related vič has its i of the same origin. In zi ‘black’, the vowel results from the contraction of earlier *zēi < EPA *džēdija < *g'edijos. As to the ĭ in ith ‘behind’, its vowel makes it fairly close to Slavic (*jaž) and Baltic (OPrus ĭš, Lith ĭš, ELatv ĭž).

At the same time, a rather infrequent change of *e to ĭ 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 ĭ was subject to the “ruki” rule. The following examples can illustrate this phonetic development:

\[ gţiţe, gjijdţe ‘all’ < EPA *sendza < IE *sem-ţho- ‘one’ (Arm cz < *sem-ţho-). \]

\[ miş ‘flesh, meat’ < EPA *mensa < IE *memso- id. (Skt māṁsa ‘flesh, meat’, Arm mis, Goth mimz, Slav *męso). \]

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):

\[ peshţi ‘weight; stone, boulder’ ⇒ Lat pensum id. \]

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

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

\[ dhi ‘she-goat’ < EPA *aidzijā: Gk αίξ id., Arm ayc id. \]

\[ gii ‘breast, chest’ < EPA *sina: Lat sinus ‘curve, fold’. \]

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

\[ zi ‘black’ (see 1.1.1.11). \]

\[ mbi ‘on, upon’ < EPA *ambîr < IE *ambhi (Gk ṭµφί ‘about, around’, Goth bi, OIr imm- < Celt *mtime). \]
1.1.1.13. Short IE *u remained unchanged in EPA *u > Alb u as corroborated by the following examples:

- **bute** ‘soft, smooth’ < EPA *bugta < IE *bhugh- (NIr bog ‘soft’, Arm *bowl ‘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 *drjvo ‘wood’, Skt dru- id., Av dru- id., Gk δρῦς ‘tree, oak’).
- **gjumë** ‘sleep’ < EPA *supnā < IE *sup-no- (Gk ὑπνος ‘sleep’, Slav *снаб id.).
- **hu ~ hû** ‘picket, stake, pole, penis’ < EPA *skuna: Slav *xujā ‘penis’ < *skoujós.
- **sutë** ‘female deer, doe’ < EPA *tišukta ‘horned animal’ < IE *šuk- (Lith šūkos ‘comb’, šūkė ‘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 *ę, 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 (ternary 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 > *ō, StF VII/2 77-79 (Geg lengths as continuants of Indo-European long vowels), Probl. hist. 136-140, St. III 113-114, Dom CIEB 265-275 (Geg lengths).

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

- **floh ~ ftof** ‘to cool, to make cold’ < EPA *awa-tája < IE *tā- ‘to melt’ (Slav *tajja, *tajati, Osset tajyn id.).
- **kollë** ‘cough’ < EPA *káslā < IE *k′ēs-l- id. (Slav *kašla, Lith kosulys).
- **motēr** ‘sister’ < EPA *māter < IE *māter- ‘mother’ (Skt mātār-, Gk μητήρ, Lat māter).
- **ploje** ‘slaughter, carnage’ < *ploe < EPA *plagā: Gk πλήγη ‘blow’, Lat plāga ‘blow, slaughter’.
shkop ‘stick, cane’ < EPA *skāpa; Gk σκόπος ‘κλάδος, Lat scāpus ‘shaft, stem’, OHG skaft ‘shaft, spear’.

shtoj ‘to increase’ < EPA *stāṇja < IE *stā- (Skt tīṣṭha ‘to stand’, Gk ἵστημι ‘to put’, Lat stō ‘to stand’, OHG stōju, stōti id., Slav *stojoj, *stojati id.).

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

boj ‘to drive, to mate’ < EPA *bāgnja < IE *bhegē with a lengthening similar to Lith bėgti ‘to run’, Latv bēgti id.

lodh ‘to tire, to weary’ < EPA *lāda < IE *lēdą (Goth letan ‘to let’, Gk λήδειν κοπιάν, κεκυκληνεο). mos ‘not’ (prohibitive) < EPA *mātē < IE *mē kē ‘and not’ (Gk μήτη).

ngroh ‘to warm’ < EPA *en-grāja. Slav *grējo. *grēti id.

plotē ‘full’ < EPA *plāta < IE *plē-to- ‘full’ (Skpt prātā-, Lat complētus).

thom ‘to say’ < EPA *tsānsmi < IE *kēns- (OPers bātīy ‘to say, to speak’, Lat cēnscē ‘to assess, to value’).

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

blertē ‘green’ < EPA *blōra < IE *bhlōros (Lat flōrus ‘shining, bright’, OIr blá ‘gray’, W blawr id.).

ehl ‘spear, spit’ < EPA *skōla. Gk σκόλας ‘pointed stake, thorn’.

kredh ‘to plunge, to immerse, to steep, to smother, to bespatter’ < EPA *krōda. Slav *krado, *krasti ‘to steal’, refl. *krado sę, *krasti sę ‘to sneak, to steal up, to approach unnoticed’.
ngjesh ‘to gird’ < EPA *en-jæša < IE *jōś- (Av yāghaiciti id., Gk ξωνυμί id., Lith jūostį id., Slav *jasati ‘to tear clothes’).
mehem ‘to fail’ < EPA *mōjja: OHG muoan ‘to work diligently’, Slav *majati ‘to work slowly’.
tetē ‘eight’ < EPA *aktō(t)i < IE *oktō(u) ‘eight’ (Skt aṣṭā, Arm ovč, Gk ὀκτὼ).
tres ‘to melt, to loosen, to dissolve’ < EPA *trōtja: Slav *tratje, *tratiti ‘to spend, to waste’.

In the beginning of the word, LPA *ye 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):

veshē < LPA *yesa < EPA *ōusa, close to Gk ος id.

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

di ‘to know’ < EPA *dīja, zero-grade of IE *dheio- ‘to see’ (Skt dhyāti, dhyāyatī ‘to observe, to feel, to think’, Av dā(y)- ‘to see’).
dikē ‘desire, lust’ < EPA *díkā, substantivized adjective related to Lith dýkas ‘idle, empty’, Slav *dikō ‘wild’.
ditē ‘day’ < EPA *dítā: Gmc *tidiz ‘time’ (OHG zīt, OE tið) and Skt dītū ‘brightness, splendor’.
hie, he ‘shadow’ < EPA *ksijā < IE *skāī- ~ *sκī- id. (Skt chāyā, Gk σκιά).
hirrē ‘whey’ < EPA *ksirā: Skt ksirā- ‘milk’, Osset aksir id.
pī ‘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 *ye < *ā. 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 *prygti ‘to jump, to spring’.
giśh ‘grandfather’ < EPA *sūsar: 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 *reuj- : *rū- (Lat ruō 'to rush down, to fall down', Slav *ryti 'to dig', Lith rāuti 'to tear, to pull').

trys 'to press, to compress, to squeeze' < EPA *trūtja < IE *treu- ~ *trū- (Gk τρύω 'to wear out, to exhaust', Lith trūniū, 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 *ui yielded Alb i:

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

ti 'thou' < EPA *tū continuing IE *tū id. (Av tū, Gk σύ, Lat tū, OIr tū).

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

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

bimē 'plant' < EPA *būmā < IE *bhūmo- (Gk φύμα id.).

bīsht 'tail' < EPA *būšta, derivative of IE *bhū- 'to grow'.

mbi 'to thrive, to grow, to shoot' < EPA *en-būnja < IE *bhū- 'to grow'.

mizē 'fly' based on EPA *mūjā. ON my id., Gk μῦα id., Lat musca id.

or before it:

kripē 'salt' < EPA *krūpā < IE*kreup- (ON hrūfa 'scab', Lith kraupūs 'rough', kraupis 'scab', Latv kraūpis 'frail, brittle', Slav *kruopa 'groats').

qīpi 'stack', derived from EPA *kūpa. OPers kaufa- 'mountain', OHG hūfo 'heap', OE hēap id.

The case of mizē, however, can also illustrate another phonetic context in which LPA *ui changed to i. This development took place before *j and *t as in the following words:
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 *-i changed to front monophthongs while all diphthongs *-u lost their glide.

**Literature**: MEYER Alb. St. III 89-90; PEKMEZI 23 (EPA *au > o); MEYER, BRUGMANN IFl 42 (IE *eu > o); MANN Language XXVI 387-388. *Hist. Gr.* 28-29; ANTOKOWSKI 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 *aidz; Gk αὐξ ‘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 *baidh; Slav *běda ‘disaster’, Lat foecus ‘league, treaty’.
- ledh ‘mud, alluvium, clay; wall, earth mound; river-mouth, balk’ < EPA *laidh; OPrus laydis ‘clay’.
phonology

qetë ‘(jagged) rock’ < EPA *klātā < IE *klatōs (W clud ‘heap’, Lith slaītas ‘slope’).
sh teg ‘path, road’ < EPA *staiγa < IE *staiγho- ‘way’ (Gk σταίγη ‘row, line’, Goth staiga ‘way’, Latv staiga ‘walking’).

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

citē ‘full, brim-full’ < EPA *tseita < IE *kējōtos (Slav *čitě ‘whole’, Lit kietas ‘hard’).
dimēr ‘winter’ < EPA *deimena < IE *δειμεν- id. (Skt héman endless loc. ‘in winter’, Gk χθίμα ‘winter’).
hime ‘bran’ < EPA *skedēma < IE *sked-men- (Lith skiemuō ‘opening used to insert the shuttle’).
ıkēj ‘to go away, to run away’ < EPA *eika close to Lith eik, eikë ‘go!’ (with the imperative suffix of Balto-Slavic rather than Finno-Ugric origin).
lilē ‘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 *ei* 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’, rěti ‘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 *augā < IE *aug- (Gk συγά ‘ray of light’).
thaj ‘to dry’ < EPA *sausnja < IE *saus-o- ‘dry’ (Gk οὐος, MHG sōr, Lith sausas, Slav *suxs*).
err ‘darkness’ < EPA *ausra: Lith aušrā ‘dawn’, Gk ἐος id.
lerē ‘dirt, mud’ < EPA *laurā: Lith laurē ‘dirty person’.
mbath ‘to put on (shoes)’ < EPA *amb(i)-autsa < IE *au- < *HeuH-id. (Arm aganim ‘to put on (clothes)’, Lith aunù, aūti, 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:

- *dauša < IE *dhouseo- ~ *dheuso- (Goth *dius ‘wild animal’, Lith pl. daūša ‘paradise’, Slav *duxъ ‘breath, spirit’).
- *gaurara < EPA *gaura. Lith gaūras ‘hair, down, tuft of hair’, Latv gauri ‘pubic hair’, Mr guāire ‘hair’.
- *lauša. Goth laus ‘empty, loose’.
- *paunja < IE *poujo- (Arm hogi ‘breath’).
- *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:

- *breuna (with a late suffix): Lith briaunà ‘edge’.
- *deuna. OS tione ‘evil’, OE teona ‘wrong’.
- *deur(e)i: Gk δεύρο, δεύρε, δευτ ‘here’ (from IE *de-uro).
- *skeuda < IE *skeud- ‘to throw, to shoot’ (ON skjóta, OHG sciozan).
- *treuda < IE *treud- (Lat trūdō ‘to push’, Goth us-triutan ‘to burden’, Slav *trudъ ‘labor, work’).

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

- *lauka: Lith liaukà ‘gland’.
- *poulăr: Gk πολαρ: ‘foal’, Goth tula 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; Manni Hist. Gr. 31-32 (*je ~ *e* explained by the loss of the following syllable), 40-41 (origin of *ė ~ *a*); ÇABEŞI St. III 119-120; OREL LB XXVII/4 49-55 (*j ~ -WV*), XXIX/4 70-71 (*ua ~ *ue* Slav *ova*), Linguistica XXVII/1-4 438 (*j ~ -WV*).

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

*dorë* ‘hand’ < EPA *dörä* < IE *gōhsr* - *id*. (Gk χέιρ, Hitt keššar, Arm jern).

*krua ~ krue* ‘spring, fountain’ < EPA *kroha*: Gk κρήνη *id*, OE hrēn ‘wave’ < Gmc *hrasno*.

*krye* ‘head’ < EPA *krānjä* < *kresnjä*: Gk κρόνιον ‘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 *ā*, *ē*, *i*, *ū* correspondingly. These new nasal vowels were completely preserved in Geg (in the orthography I am using, they are marked as ā (derived from both *a* and *ē*), ī, Ļ only when not followed by a nasal consonant) but lost their nasalization in Tosk where they were replaced by ē, ĭ and ū. EPA *ė* in this position could also occasionally yield Tosk ī, *u* ~ Geg ē. At the same time, the original nasal consonant was lost in certain morphological contexts.

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

*giī ~ gjī* ‘breast, chest’ < EPA *sinā*: Lat sinister ‘curve, fold’.

*giū ~ gjū* ‘knee’ < EPA *gluna* dissimilated from *g(ā)nuna < IE *gēnu* - *id*. (Hitt gēnu, Skt jānu-, Gk γόνυ, Lat genu).
hu – hù ‘picket, stake, pole, penis’ < EPA *skuna based on *skuja. Slav *xujà ‘penis’.

hëné – hanë ‘moon’ < EPA *ksandā. Skt cándati ‘(he) shines, is bright’, candra- ‘shining; moon’.

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


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

drënjë ‘cornel-chersey; healthy, sound’ < EPA *draunjå, derived from IE *dru- ‘tree’.


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

lë ~ lë ‘to let’ < EPA *liaînu. Lith leïsti id., Latv lâst id., Goth letan id.

nëntë ~ nand ‘nine’ < EPA *neunti- (with analogical restructuring of the cluster in Tosk) < IE *neusip 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 *ye. The latter developed into *yā and eventually yielded Tosk ua ~ OGeG vo, 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 y 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’, dhānāyā ‘grain’, Lith dúona ‘bread’.
pl. duar ~ duer ‘hands’ < EPA *dōrāi < IE *ǵhēsṛ- id. (Gk χέρ, Hitt keššar, Arm je'n).

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

krua ~ kruc ‘spring, fountain’ < EPA *krōna. Gk κρόνη id., OE hrēn ‘wave’ < Gmc *xraznō.

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

quaj ~ quej ‘to call, to give a name’ < EPA *klōsnja, a denominative based on IE *klēyos ‘glory, word’ (Skt śrāvas-, 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 derē, sg. vs. dier, 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 *spālī: Gk σπῆλαιον ‘cave, cavern’ < *‘hollow’.

krye ‘head’ < EPA *krānja < *krasnjā. Gk κράνιον ‘skull, head’.

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

thyej ‘to break’ < EPA *tsā(i)ŋja < IE *kēi- ‘to sharpen’ (Skt sīṣāti ‘to sharpen’, Arm sōwr ‘sharp; knife’).

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

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

1.1.4.6. Certain groups VqV and VjV (where V is a long monophthong or a diphthong) changed to single vowels. We have only one such example of VjV which, in fact, might have a completely different
explanation insofar as \( j \) is expected to fall between two front vowels. However, we adduce it here:

\[ tre \text{ ‘three’} < \text{EPA *treje} < \text{IE *trejes} \text{ id. (Skt trayah, Gk τρεῖς, Lat trēs).} \]

Groups \( VγV \) yielded \( ua \sim ue \) 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:

\[ grua \text{ ‘woman, wife’} < \text{EPA *grāwā. Gk γραγός, ‘old woman’}. \]

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

\[ dy \text{ ‘two’} < \text{EPA *duwō} < \text{IE *d(u)wō(u) id.} \]

If the first vowel was a diphthong, the group developed into \( ye \).

\[ lyej \text{ ‘to smear, to oil’} < \text{EPA *elaiwanja, based on *elaiwā borrowed from Gk ἔλαιον, ‘oil’}. \]

\[ ryej \text{ ‘to suffer’} < \text{*rauñja} < \text{EPA *raudinja. Skt rōdi ti ‘to weep, to roar’, Lat rūdō ‘to shout, to cry’, Lith raudà ‘weeping’, Slav *rydati ‘to weep’}. \]

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

\[ grykē ‘throat’ < \text{EPA *grīwikā} < \text{IE *grīquā ‘neck’ (Skt grīvā, Av grīvā, Latv grīvā ‘river mouth’, Slav *grīva ‘mane’).} \]

\[ hyj ‘to enter’ < \text{EPA *eiwīnja, close to Skt éva- ‘speedy’, Lith at-eivis, at-eīva ‘newcomer, stranger’, per-eivis, pėr-eīva ‘tramp, vagrant’}. \]

\[ mbyll ‘to shut, to fasten’ < \text{EPA *ambi-wēlā. Skt valati ‘to turn’, Gk ἐλέω ‘to roll tight up, to close’, OIr fillid ‘to bend’}. \]

\[ mbys ‘to strangle, to drown, to kill’ < \text{EPA *ambi-wītja. Skt vyāhate ‘to sway, to rock’, Goth wipon ‘to pour’}. \]
phono

1.1.4.7. In more than one etymologically reliable case we find \( y \) resulting from LPA \( *\varphi i < *\varphi i \) 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:

\[ lyp \to \text{to beg, to ask, to seek, to need} \to \text{EPA} \ *\varphi l\varphi \ < \text{IE} \ *\varphi l\varphi - \text{(Gk} \ \lambda \iota \pi\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron \iota \ \text{‘to be eager for, to long for’, Lith} \ \text{lieiū, lieiēti ‘to order’).} \]

\[ krimb \sim krym \to \text{worm} \to \text{EPA} \ *\kappa r\kappa m- < \text{IE} \ *\kappa \kappa \iota m- \text{id. (Skt} \ \kappa \kappa \iota m-, \ \text{Lith} \ \kappa r\kappa m). \]

\[ rryp \sim r\varphi \varphi \to \text{belt} \to \text{EPA} \ *w\varphi \varphi \rho \rho - \text{Gk} \ \rho \varphi \varphi \tau \omega \to \text{to sew together, to stitch}, \ \text{Lith} \ \varphi \varphi \varphi \varphi \text{‘to spin’}. \]

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):

\[ ay \to \text{he} \to \text{EPA} \ *\alpha-e\iota < \text{IE} \ *\epsilon \iota - \text{(Skt} \ \alpha \varphi \alpha m \ ‘he’, \ Lat \ is). \]

\[ sy \to \text{eye} \to \text{EPA dual} \ *\alpha\varphi \iota \iota - \text{Skt} \ \alpha\varphi \iota \iota, \ \text{Av} \ \alpha\varphi \iota, \ \text{Lith} \ \alpha\varphi \iota, \ \text{Slav} \ *\varphi \iota \iota. \]

1.1.4.8. Initial IE \( *\epsilon \eta o- \) changed to EPA \( *\epsilon \omega a- \) and then to Alb \( \epsilon \omega t. \)

\[ uth\varphi \to \text{way} \to \text{EPA} \ *\epsilon \omega t\omega \delta- \ ‘to beat, to break’ \]

\[ umas \ ‘to bark’, from an unattested \( *um\varphi \ < \text{EPA} \ *\epsilon \omega m\varphi - \text{Skt} \ \epsilon \omega m\varphi - \ ‘to vomit’, \ \text{Av} \ \epsilon \omega m- \ ‘to spit’, \ \text{Gk} \ \epsilon \mu\epsilon \omega \ ‘to spit out’, \ \text{Lat} \ \epsilon \omega m\varphi - \ ‘to vomit’. \]

\[ un\omega\varphi \ ‘finger-ring, small iron ring’, based on \( *\omega n\varphi \ < \text{EPA} \ *\omega \varphi \omega \varphi - \text{Arm} \ \text{g}\iota\epsilon\omicron \ ‘ring’, \ \text{Goth} \ \text{bi-}\omega \varphi \omega \varphi \ ‘to unwrath’. \]

\[ un\varphi \ ‘piece of a broken pot’ < \text{EPA} \ *\epsilon \omega \epsilon \omega \iota \epsilon \iota - \text{Arm} \ \epsilon \omega \epsilon \omega \epsilon \iota \epsilon \iota \ ‘to destroy’, \ \text{OHG} \ \text{wund} \ ‘wound’, \ \text{MW} \ \text{geweint, præt.} \ ‘(I) pierced’ . \]

\[ ur\varphi \ ‘bridge’ < \text{EPA} \ *\epsilon \omega r\varphi - \text{Goth} \ \epsilon \omega r\varphi \iota \ ‘to prevent, to defend’, \ \text{ON} \ \epsilon \omega r ‘row of stones’, \ \epsilon \omega r ‘dam’, \ \text{Osc} \ \epsilon \omega r ‘door’. \]

\[ uri \sim \varphi \ ‘hunger’ < \text{EPA} \ *\epsilon \omega n\omega \ < \text{IE} \ *\epsilon \omega n- \ ‘to want, to desire’ (Skt \ \epsilon \omega n\omega \iota \iota, \ \epsilon \omega n\omega \iota \iota \iota, \ \text{Lat venus ‘love’}). \]
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 Mësharë), 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’ > *skalā(s)
EPA sg. *dēgā ‘branch’ > *dēga
EPA pl. *dēgāi ‘branches’ > *dēgai
EPA sg. *dāusās ‘ram’ > *dauš
EPA pl. *dāusi ‘rams’ > *dāuši

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 e, other unstressed vowels gave zero. Stressed vowels were altered as follows: a was preserved as a, ai changed to e, i was preserved as non-diphthongized e, i
appeared as ē or, in some cases, i. The forms adduced in 1.1.5.1. would now look as follows:

EPA sg. *skālā ‘fish bone’ > *skāla > halē
EPA pl. *skalās ‘fish bones’ > *skalā(s) > ĥala
EPA sg. *dwaigā ‘branch’ > *dēga > degē
EPA pl. *dwaigāi ‘branches’ > *dēgai > degē
EPA sg. *dauśas ‘ram’ > *dauś > dash
EPA pl. *dauśai ‘rams’ > *dauši > desh

1.1.5.3. Postonic inlaut vowels were all reduced to ē, 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:

kērp ~ kanp ‘hemp’ ⇐ Rom *cannāpis id.
kumtēr ‘godfather’ ⇐ Lat computēr id.
prift ‘priest’ ⇐ Lat presbyter id.
shpretkē ~ shpēnetkē ‘spleen’ ⇐ Lat splēneticum ‘related to the spleen’.
voshtēr (Geg) ‘Ligustrum vulgare’ ⇐ Lat olēaster id.

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

kērkōj ‘to look for, to seek’ ⇐ Rom *cercāre id.
kēshēr ~ kēshēn ‘Christian’ ⇐ Lat christiānus id.
kēshēlē ‘castle, fort’ ⇐ Lat castēlēm id.
kēshyre ‘mountain path, path in the ravine’ ⇐ Lat clausūra ‘lock, bar, bolt; castle, fort’.
mērkosh ‘man lying in wife’s bed after childbirth and receiving visitors; lover’ ⇐ Rom *māricōsus ‘husband-like’.
nēmērōj ‘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:

kurōrē ~ kurōrē ‘crown’ ⇐ Lat corōna id.
kumērq ‘toll, duty’ ⇐ Lat commercium ‘trade, commerce’.
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murtajë ‘plague’ ⇔ Rom *mortālia id.
pulayer ‘thumb; dwarf’ ⇔ Lat *pollicāris ‘belonging to a thumb’.
pushtet ‘power’ ⇔ Lat potestātem id.
vulnem ‘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 *ambhī (Gk ὁμφί ‘about, around’, Goth bi, OIr innm- < Celt *mabhì).
ngroh – ngrof ‘to warm’ ⇔ EPA *en-grāja. Slav *grēti id.
rose ‘duck’ ⇔ EPA *anātjā < IE *(a)naētjā (Skt āti- ‘water bird’, Gk νῆσσα ‘duck’).

The same process affected Latin loanwords:

blatē ‘wafer’ ⇔ Lat oblāta id.
kishē ‘church’ ⇔ Lat ecclesia id.
liter ‘altar’ ⇔ Lat altārium id.
prīl ‘April’ ⇔ Lat aprilīs id.
pupē ‘hoopoe’ ⇔ Lat upupa id.
shemē ‘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 ē. In Geg, where new long vowels exist, contracted vowels are long.

be ‘oath’ ⇔ EPA *baidā. Slav *bēda ‘disaster’, Lat foedus ‘league, treaty’.
ryef ‘to suffer’ < *raquinja < EPA *raudinja. Skt rōdīti ‘to weep, to roar’, Lat rūdā ‘to shout, to cry’, Lith raudū ‘weeping’, Slav *rydāti ‘to weep’.
sot ‘today’ ⇔ EPA *tsjā(i) ditāi < IE *kjā diti- ‘this day’.
ve ‘widow’ < EPA *widewā: Skt vidhāvā id., Lat vidua id., Goth widuō id.

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:

- bagēm ‘oil for anointment’ ⇔ Gk βάπτισμα ‘baptism’.
- lakēr ~ lakēn ‘cabbage, greens’ ⇔ Gk λάχανον ‘greens’.
- mokēr ~ mokēn ‘millstone’ ⇔ Gk μηχανή ‘device, instrument’.
- presh ‘leek’ ⇔ Gk πράσον 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.
1.2.3. Short vowels in Latin loanwords

1.2.3.1. Short Lat \( a \) is normally rendered as Alb \( x \):

- \( ałłë \) ‘capable, proper’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Lat \( aptus \) id.
- \( bårkë \) ‘boat’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Lat \( barca \) id.
- \( fråšëř \sim fråšèèjn ‘ash-tree’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Lat \( fraxinus \) id.
- \( hårmnëšòhr ‘stallion, stud-horse’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Rom \( *ærmessàrius \) id.
- \( kàłë \) ‘horse’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Lat \( caballus \) id.
- \( šåg ‘coarse linen fabric spread on the floor’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) 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’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Lat \( amita \) ‘paternal aunt’.
- \( gjèlbè̆r \sim gjèlbè̆jn ‘green’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Lat \( gålbinus \) ‘greenish-yellow’.
- \( qèłq ‘glass’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) 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:

- \( bëlłë̆ ‘stammering, dumb’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Lat \( bålbus \) ‘stammering, stuttering’.
- \( bråkë ‘pants’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Lat \( brācæ ‘trousers, breeches’.
- \( dreq ‘devil’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) (nom. sg.) Lat \( drāco ‘dragon’.
- \( engjë̆l ‘angel’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Lat \( angelus \) id.
- \( gjèl ‘rooster’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Lat \( gallus \) id.
- \( qèrr ‘wagon, cart’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Lat \( carrus ‘two-wheeled wagon’.

A difficulty is presented by the development of Lat \( a \) in \( bjëshkë ‘mountain pasture’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Rom \( *pastica \) based on Lat \( pastus ‘pasture’.

1.2.3.3. Before nasals, Lat \( a \) yielded LPA \( *u \) which developed, as in other cases, into Tosk \( e \sim \) Geg \( ëx \):

- \( dëm \sim dam ‘damage’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Lat \( damnun ‘hurt, harm, damage’.
- \( gjëndë̆r \sim gjëndë̆r ‘gland’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Lat \( glandula ‘gland of the throat’.

**Literature:** MIHĂESCU *SCL* XXXI/3 307-309 (Lat \( i \) in Albanian); BANFI *AIAK* 269-285.
këndellë ~ kandellë ‘lamp’ ⇔ Lat candêla ‘wax-light, tallow-candle’.
këngë ~ kangë ‘song’ ⇔ Lat canticum id.
mëngë ~ mangë ‘armful, sleeve’ ⇔ Lat manicae ‘sleeve’.
mëngoj (archaic), mungoj ‘to lack’ ⇔ Rom *mancâre id.

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

këshjellë ‘castle, fort’ ⇔ Lat castellum id.
pijëpër ~ pijëpën ‘sweet melon’ ⇔ Rom *pepinem id., cf. Lat pepônem ‘kind of large melon, pumpkin’.
pijergull ‘vine-arbor, pergola’ ⇔ Lat pergula ‘shed, booth, vine-arbor’.
pijesë ‘part’ ⇔ Rom *petia id.
pjeshkë ‘peach’ ⇔ Rom *pesca < Lat persica id.
vjershë ‘poem’ ⇔ Lat versus ‘verse’.

The diphthong then developed into *ija.

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 *meletum.
drejtë ‘straight, right’ ⇔ Lat directum id.
gjeshfër ‘broom’ ⇔ Rom *genistra based on Lat genista, genestà ‘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.
seshë ‘plain, plane, flatness, square’ ⇔ Lat sessus ‘seat’.

The same applies to the development of *ija.

qarr ‘Turkey oak, bitter oak’ ⇔ Lat ccerrus 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)sertäre 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.

kumeryq ‘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.
giinde ‘people’ ⇐ Lat gentem id.
mēshire ‘pity, mercy’. ⇐ Lat miseria ‘wretchedness’.
nip ‘nephew, grandson’ ⇐ Lat nom. nepōs ‘grandson’.
prīlē ‘priest’ ⇐ Lat presbyter id.
prind ‘father, parent’ ⇐ Lat parentem id.

1.2.3.8. Stressed Latin o yielded Alb α:

bollē ‘kind of harmless snake’ ⇐ Rom *bola, cf. Lat bolea ‘salamander’.
flōk ‘hair’ ⇐ Lat floccus ‘lock, flock’.
korbull ‘keg, cask, wooden pail’ ⇐ Lat corbula ‘little basket’.
kulloshtēr ‘biestlings’ ⇐ Lat colostrum id.
poshtē ‘down, below, under’ ⇐ Lat post, poste ‘behind, back’.
rrotē ‘wheel’ ⇐ Lat rota id.

Unstressed Latin o was reflected as Alb u:

guloj ‘to get rid off’ ⇐ Lat collectāri ‘to struggle, to contend’.
kulār ‘curved piece of wood, ox-collar’ ⇐ Lat collāre ‘collar’.
kunat ‘brother-in-law’ ⇐ Lat cognātus ‘kinsman, blood relation’.
lepur ‘hare’ ⇐ Lat leporemi id.
mullī – multē ‘mill’ ⇐ Lat molinum id.
pulayer ‘thumb; dwarf’ ⇐ Lat pollicāris ‘belonging to a thumb’.

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

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 ĕ:

kērrutē ‘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:

- *furrīk, furriq* ‘chicken-coop, fowl-pen, roost, nesting-box’ ⇔ Lat
  *fornicem* ‘arch, vault’.
- *fushē* ‘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’.
- *shpuzē* ‘hot ashes’ ⇔ Lat *spodium* ‘ash’.

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

- *bretk* ‘frog’ ⇔ Rom *brotacus* id.
- *breshkē* ‘tortoise’ ⇔ Balkan Rom *brotacus* 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 i:

- *bishtājē* ‘pod, hull, pea, green bean’ ⇔ Rom *pistālia* (> Rum
  *pāstaia* ‘pod, hull’).
- *dishtē, dishkē* ‘mill funnel’ ⇔ Lat *discus* ‘disk’.
- *iriq* ‘hedgehog’ ⇔ Lat *ēricius* id.
- *ishull* ‘island’ ⇔ Lat *insula* id.
- *kēshill* ‘council’ ⇔ Lat *consilium* id.
- *rriqēr, rrīqēn* ‘tick’ ⇔ Lat *ricinus* id.
- *virgjēr, 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:
fe ‘belief, religion’ ⇔ Lat fidem ‘faith’.

kreshpē ‘sheep with long and rough wool’ ⇔ Lat fem. adj. crispa ‘curled, crisp, uneven’.

meshē ‘mass’ ⇔ Lat missa id.

shenjē ‘sign’ ⇔ Lat signum id.

upeshk ‘bishop’ ⇔ Lat episcopus id.

ves ‘bad habit’ ⇔ Lat vitium ‘fault, defect, vice’.

Resulting e was occasionally changed to ê before sonants:

kērkōj ‘to look for, to seek’ ⇔ Rom *circāre id.

kēshēr – kēshēn ‘Christian’ < *kērsēn ⇔ Lat christiānus id.

shērēgoj ‘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 *je ~ ädchen.

mjerē ‘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:

bulē ‘bud’ ⇔ Lat bulla ‘bubble, boss, knob’

but ‘big barrel’ ⇔ Lat buttis id.

shumē ‘many, much’ ⇔ Lat summus ‘uppermost, highest’.

kunj ‘peg, wedge’ ⇔ Lat cuneus ‘wedge’

busht ‘must, new wine’ ⇔ Lat mustum id.

gjuvingē ‘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.

gomē ‘resin’ ⇔ Rom *gumma, a variant of Lat gummi id.

trofē ‘trout’ ⇔ Lat tructa id.
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zmojë ‘fallow (land)’ ⇔ Rom *exmulgia, a derivative of Lat ē(x)mulgēre ‘to milk out, to drain out’.

1.2.3.15. Before sonorants, unstressed ū would occasionally yield ĕ:

nēmēroj ‘to number, to count’ ⇔ Lat numerāre id.
rrēmbēj ‘to rob, to seize’ ⇔ Lat rumpere ‘to tear, to tear away’.

In two cases Lat ū was lengthened and yielded Alb ū:

kryq ‘cross’ ⇔ Lat crucem 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 ū as in the following examples:

blatē ‘wafer’ ⇔ Lat oblāta id.
fatme ‘good reputation, rumor’ ⇔ Lat fāma ‘rumor, fame’.
fat ‘fate; bridegroom, husband, friend’ ⇔ Lat fātum.
natyre ‘nature’ ⇔ Lat nātūra id.
shkallē ‘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 ĕ before front vowels of various origins:

kēlgere ‘lime’ ⇔ Lat fem. adj. calcāria ‘pertaining to lime’.
liter ‘altar’ ⇔ Lat altārium id.
martese ‘marriage’ ⇔ Rom *maritātiō’id.
pushet ‘power’ ⇔ Lat potestātem id.
shemē ‘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.):

- *pulgyer* ‘thumb; dwarf’ \(\LHOGHG$OE\) *pollicāris* ‘belonging to a thumb’.

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

- *pe \(\LHOGHG$OE\) pē* ‘thread’ \(\LHOGHG$OE\) *pānus* ‘thread wound upon the bobbin’.
- *shullē \(\LHOGHG$OE\) shullā* ‘sunny spot’ \(\LHOGHG$OE\) *solānus (locus)* id.

Pretonic Lat ā was reflected as ē:

- *mērkosh* ‘man lying in wife’s bed after childbirth and receiving visitors; lover’ \(\LHOGHG$OE\) *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 \(\LHOGHG$OE\) Alb ë:

- *mollē* ‘apple, apple tree’ \(\LHOGHG$OE\) *mālum* id.

1.2.4.5. The standard reflex of Lat ē is Alb è.

- *femēr \(\LHOGHG$OE\) femēn* ‘woman’ \(\LHOGHG$OE\) *fēmina* id.
- *kēndellē \(\LHOGHG$OE\) kandellē* ‘lamp’ \(\LHOGHG$OE\) *candēla* ‘wax-light, tallow-candle’.
- *prēndverē \(\LHOGHG$OE\) prandverē* ‘spring’ \(\LHOGHG$OE\) *prīma vēra (> Ital primavera, Rum primăvară)*.
- *qetē* ‘quiet’ \(\LHOGHG$OE\) *quiētus* id.
- *shpretkē \(\LHOGHG$OE\) shpēnetkē* ‘spleen’ \(\LHOGHG$OE\) *splēnēticum* ‘related to the spleen’.
- *vrer \(\LHOGHG$OE\) vēner m* ‘gall, bile’ \(\LHOGHG$OE\) *venēnum* ‘potion, poison’.

Under the influence of following i or è, Lat ē was reflected as ë.
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bishë ‘beast, wild animal’ ⇐ Lat bestia id.
irig ‘hedgehog’ ⇐ Lat ericius id.
kishë ‘church’ ⇐ Lat ecclesiia id.
ligj ‘law’ ⇐ Lat lege(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 *e:

logori ‘wailing, mourning, dirge’ ⇐ Lat allegoria ‘allegory’.
mbloj ‘to fill’ ⇐ Lat implere id.
qoj ‘to wake up’ ⇐ Lat ciere ‘to move, to agitate’.

Another group of words presumably was borrowed after the shift *e > EPA *a 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.

kashjet ‘chestnut grove’ ⇐ Lat castanetum id.
rjetë ‘net’ ⇐ Lat rete id.
tjegull ‘brick’ ⇐ Lat tegula id.

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

fër – fër ‘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’.
pepë ‘fruit-tree, fruit’ ⇐ Lat pōnum ‘fruit’, pōmus ‘fruit-tree’.
plep ‘poplar’ ⇐ Rom *plōpus, metathesis of Lat pōplus id.
premtoj ‘to promise’ ⇐ Lat prōmittere ‘to forbode, to promise’.
tērmët ‘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:
kanushē ‘stork’ ⇔ Rom *cānōsus, derivative of Lat cānus ‘white’.
urdhēr ~ urdhēn ‘order’ ⇔ Lat ārdinēm 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 ɨ.

zgýrē ‘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 ọ.

kurōrē ~ kunorē ‘crown’ ⇔ Lat corōna id.
mērkosh ‘man lying in wife’s bed after childbirth and receiving visitors; lover’ ⇔ Rom *māricōsus ‘husband-like’.
rrobulē ‘mountain pine’ ⇔ Lat rōbur ‘oak’ with a dissimilation of sonorants.
shēndosh ‘healthy’ ⇔ Rom *sanītōsus id.
shqopē ‘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 òscitāre ‘to shout, to open mouth, to yawn’.

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

dragua ~ dra(n)gue ‘dragon’ ⇔ Rom *dracōnem, a modification of Lat dracōnem id.
fajkua ~ fajkue ‘falcon’ ⇔ Lat falcōnem id.
flua ~ flue ‘quince’ ⇔ Rom *cotōnem 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 ī in Albanian is identical with that of short Lat i (see 1.2.3.9-10). In most cases, it gives Alb ī:

činkë ‘bug’ ⇔ Lat cīmicem id.
šhikë ‘blist, bubble, blader, 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 spirītus id.

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

gjer ‘dormouse’ ⇔ Lat glīrem id.
prevë ‘open way, track, ford’ ⇔ Lat prīvum (iter) ‘private (road, passage)’.
shoretkë ‘hole of a honeycomb’ < *shoretkë ⇔ 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’.
frēt ‘fruit’ ⇔ Lat frōctus id.
fytërë ‘face’ ⇔ Lat factūra ‘formation, creature’.
lätërë ‘rinse-water’ ⇔ Rom *lavātūra from Lat lavēre ‘to wash’.
myll ‘mule’ ⇔ Lat mūlus id.
natyërë ‘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.
kērtūtë ‘ewe with horns’ ⇔ Lat fem. adj. cornūta ‘horned’.
kukutē ‘fennel’ ⇔ Lat cicūta id.
nuse ‘bride, young woman, younger daughter-in-law’ ⇔ Rom *nūptia, a local variant of Lat nūpta ‘married woman, wife, bride’.
rrugē ‘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 oе) 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 gaedium ‘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 ē, which was, then, labialized to u under the influence of the preceding syllable:

kēshyre ‘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 > a, unstressed ēv > iv:

kafshē ‘animal, thing’ ⇔ Lat causa ‘cause’.

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

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

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 ʋ- in non-Latin words); Desnicaja *Vha* 1976/3 39 (prothetic ʋ-); Sytov *Probl. rek.* 45 (prothetic ʋ- in vete).

1.2.6.1. Latin vowels divided by ʋ, 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 renovare ‘to renew’.
- arriq ‘to come, to arrive’ ⇔ Rom *arrivare* id.
- blej ‘to buy’ ⇔ Rom *ablevare* ‘to lift up, to relieve (from)’.
- felë ‘honeycomb’ ⇔ Rom *favalia*, cf. Ital *fiale* id.

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

- gijkoj ‘to judge, to try’ ⇔ Lat judicare id.
- nytëroj ‘to murmur, to whisper’ ⇔ Lat reiterare ‘to repeat’.
- pylkë ‘wedge; end of an axe-handle’ ⇔ Lat pavicula ‘rammer’.
- qytoj ‘city’ ⇔ Lat civitate (m) id.

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

- 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 ~ vorfěn ‘poor’ ⇔ Lat orphans ‘orphan’.
voshtër (Geg) ‘Ligustrum vulgare’ ⇔ Lat óleaster id.
ve ~ vo ‘egg’ < *vaev ~ vae ⇔ Lat óvum ‘egg’.

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

vadhë ~ vodhē ‘sorb-apple’ ⇔ Gk oĩη id.
vatēr ~ votēr ‘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(ē)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 romphae ‘long sword’, adaptation of Gk ρομφαία id.

Later, this group was rendered as ē:

kēshill ‘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 ř and ū, 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 *slovêne ‘Slavs’ ⇒ Gk Σκλαβηνοι id.).

- bagêti ~ bakti ‘domestic animal, (head of) cattle’, based on *bagêt ⇐ Slav *bogatъ ‘rich’.
- kacubë ‘bush’ ⇐ Slav *kočubë/*kočuba ‘crest, tuft’.
- karrup ‘fish-trap’ ⇐ Slav *korporъ id. attested in Bulg korup.
- karrutë ‘fermenter’ ⇐ Slav *koryto ‘trough’.
- matukê ‘mattock, hoe’ ⇐ Slav *motyka id.
- ragal ‘kennel’ ⇐ Slav *rogalъ ‘corner’.

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

- pêgëj ~ 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 > â:

- kos ‘yogurt, clotted curds’ ⇐ Slav *kvasъ ‘sour substance’.
- vorbë ‘clay pot’ ⇐ Slav *varuba ‘cooking’.

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

- bushtër ‘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 *pyrъ id.
Slavic “jers” *ʮ and *ʪ (old short *ʮ and *ʪ) are reflected as i and u correspondingly, cf. the following examples:

- *mьzgъ ‘dusk’ ⇌ Slav *mьzga ‘rainy weather’.
- *trъsъ ‘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:

- *orъta ‘broom (plant), kind of willow’.
- *цъrда ‘row, herd, flock’.
- *долъ ‘id.
- *съrka ‘shirt’.
- *вълъ ‘fish trap’ ⇌ Slav pl. *volkove ‘objects that can be dragged or carried, nets’.

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

- *оръbъ ‘id.
- *каръvалъ ‘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-:

- *объ ‘serf, prisoner’ ⇌ Slav *obъ.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:

- *горъ ‘bean, lentil’ ⇌ Slav *gorъ, an adjective derived from *горъ ‘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’ ⇐ *bъllogъ < Slav *bъllogъ ‘den, dwelling’.
grusht ‘fist’ ⇐ Slav *гъrстъ ‘handful, hand’.
kulbê ‘kind of freshwater fish’ ⇐ Slav *кълба ~ *кълбъ id., cf. Pol kielb. Rus kolba.
vurkollak ‘vampire’ ⇐ Slav *вълкодланъ ‘werewolf, vampire’.

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

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

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

lëndine ‘untilled land, fallow field, grassland’ ⇐ Slav *ледина id.
orendi ‘equipment, utensils’ ⇐ Slav *оръдие id.
rendar ‘watchman’ ⇐ Slav *родаръ id.
porend ‘thorn-hedge’ ⇐ Slav *поръдъ ‘order, row’.
sembēr ‘two peasants using the same pair of oxen or having common cattle’ ⇐ Slav *себър ‘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 *un, cf. the following examples:

kênd ~ kand ‘corner, angle’ ⇐ Slav *котъ id.
sundof ‘to rule’ ⇐ Slav *сидитъ ‘to judge’.
tange ‘resentment, prejudice, damnation’ ⇐ Slav *тога ‘grief’.
zhumbinê ‘gum’ ⇐ Slav *зобина id.

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

porositi ‘to order, to demand’ ⇐ Slav *поръчитъ id.
soditi ‘to observe’ ⇐ Slav *сидитъ ‘to judge’ (cf. sundof 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-:

\[ \text{vobekti} 'poor' \Leftrightarrow \text{Slav} *\text{ubog}^\ast \text{id.} \]

All groups having a structure -\(VyV\)- yield \(ua\) ~ \(ue\).

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{buall} & \sim \text{buell} 'buffalo' \Leftrightarrow \text{Slav} *\text{byvol}^\ast \text{id.} \\
\text{gattuaj} & \sim \text{gatuej} 'make ready, prepare' \Leftrightarrow \text{Slav} *\text{gotovati}, *\text{gotoviti} 'make ready, prepare'. \\
\text{patkua} & \sim \text{patkue} 'horseshoe' \Leftrightarrow \text{Slav} *\text{podskov}^\ast \text{id.} \\
\text{pērrua} & \sim \text{pērrue} 'brook; river-bed' \Leftrightarrow \text{Slav} *\text{porov}^\ast, *\text{parov}^\ast \text{cf.} \\
\text{Pol} \text{parów} & 'ravine', \text{name of a source in Greece Πορόβος}. \\
\text{torua} & \sim \text{torue} 'trace; secret path' \Leftrightarrow \text{Slav pl.} *\text{torove} 'paths, traces'. \\
\text{vallkua} & \sim \text{vallkue} 'fish-trap' \Leftrightarrow \text{Slav pl.} *\text{volkove} 'objects that can be dragged or carried, nets'. \\
\text{virua} & \sim \text{virue} 'brook, rivulet' \Leftrightarrow \text{Slav pl.} *\text{virove of} *\text{vir}^\ast 'whirlpool, water-pit'.
\end{align*} \]

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

\[ \text{zabua} \sim \text{zabue} 'linch-pin' \Leftrightarrow \text{Slav} *\text{zabo}^\ast. \]

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 (*ŋ > ěn), 78 (iR. Ri < *R); PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 333 (*ŋ > i); FAY IF XXXII 331 (contra PEDERSEN); JOKL. Reallex. Vorgesch. I 91 (ur, Ru < *R), LKUBA 231 (ir, ur from *ar, ri from *r), 286 (*ŋ > ěn), Sprache IX/2 120-121 (iR, Ri < *R but ar < *γ); VASMER Alb. Wortforsch. 39-41 (*m and *ŋ > a); MANN Language XVII 13-14 (ur, Ru < *R), 21 (*ŋ > ěn), Hist. Gr. 36-37 (*R > iR, ur but Ri, Ry before labials; *N > ěN ~ aN); BARIĆ Ist. 23 (follows VASMER); ČABEI Hyrje 147 (*ŋ > un), St. III 145, IV 212 (against *γ > ri); KALUŽSKAJA, OREL Antić. balk. 328-30, SBJa Kontakty 17-19 (timbre i in short and timbre u in long syllable sonorants), 21-22 (follow VASMER).

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

\[ \text{avull} \] ‘steam, vapor’ < EPA *abula continuing *pbh(u)lo-, close to OHG nebul ‘fog’, OS nifol < Gmc *nebulaz.

\[ \text{gatē} \] ‘heron’ < EPA *gatā < IE *ǵhantā, a variant of IE *ǵhan-s- ‘goose’, cf. Gmc *ganta < IE *ǵhand-.

\[ \text{gjate} \] ‘long’ < EPA *dila < IE *dl̯ŋh-to-: IE *(d)l̯ŋg ho- id. (Lat longus, Goth laggs).

\[ \text{mat} \] ‘bank, shore’ < EPA *mata < *mpto-: Lat mōns ‘mountain’.

\[ \text{shtatē} \] ‘seven’ < EPA *septati- derived from IE *sepṭma id. (Sk slapt-, Gk ἑπτά, Lat septem).

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

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

\[ \text{e- privative prefix ‘non-, un-’ (in egjell ‘on an empty stomach’ and esell id.)} \] < EPA *a < IE *ŋ-

\[ \text{lehtē} \] ‘light (adj.)’ < PAlb *laga < IE *l̯ng̯h- (Skt rāghū- ‘fastening’, l̯ghū- ‘light’, Gk ἐλαχύς id., Lat levus id.).

\[ \text{thek} \] ‘to roast, to toast (bread)’ < EPA *tsaka < IE *t̯œk- cf. Gk κέφκειν ‘to burn’, καυκομένης ‘έτηράς τῷ φῶς (Hes.), πολυκαυκής ‘burning strongly’ (Hom.).

\[ \text{zet} \] ‘twenty’ < EPA *w(i)džatī < IE *viŋmtī id. (Skt viṁśatī, Gk ἕκοσι, Lat vigintī).
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 *ʃ/ > EPA *šl and *ul, and IE *ɾ > EPA *r 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:

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

drithē ‘grain’ < EPA *dritisā < IE *ghrzd- ‘barley’ (Lat hordeum, OHG gersta).

drie ‘light, lustre, pupil (of an eye)’ < EPA *drikā < IE *derē- ‘to look’.

drizē ‘blackthorn, sloe’ < EPA *dridzjā < IE *dergihu- ‘to hold, to be firm’ (Skt dhṛyati ‘to be firm’, Slav *dhržati to hold’ < *dhržjati and, in particular, *dorza > Russ dereza ‘kind of thorny plant’).

grīj ~ grīj ‘to cut into pieces, to gnaw, to eat away’ < EPA *grinjā < IE *gér- ‘to swallow’ (Skt gārī, Arm eker, Lat vorō, Lith geriū, gērti ‘to drink’, Slav *žerti).

pirē ‘pore’ < EPA *pirjā: Gk πείρῳ ‘to bore’, Slav *perjā id.

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

shtrij ‘to spread, to stretch’ < EPA *strinjā: Skt streṇāti ‘to spread, to scatter’, Gk στρέννωμι ‘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):

grelē ‘deep place’ < EPA *grilā: Lith gurklys ‘crop’, OPrus gurkle ‘throat’, Slav *gurdlo id., cf. also *žerdlo ‘river-bed; opening’.

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 *birī: Slav *běrkъ ‘moustache, hair, trunk’.
krīmb ~ krym ‘worm’ < EPA *krīm- (with unexplained Geg y) < IE *kṛmi- id. (Skt kṛmi-, Lith kūrmis).
ri ‘new, young, recent’ < EPA *rija, derivative of IE *er- ~ *or- ‘to rise, to make move’, cf. ON orr ‘quick’, OS aru id.
rīme ‘rain-worm’ < EPA *wrīmi < IE *wrīmi- *yurmo- ‘worm’ (Lat vermis id., Goth wairms ‘worm, snake’, Lith varmas ‘insect’).

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

rrībē ‘gale, wind, waterfall, torrent’ < EPA *wrīb(i) < IE *yrb(h)- ‘to turn, to bend’.
thīr ‘soot’ derived from EPA *tsīrw(i): Lith sūvas ‘gray’.

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

grūrē ~ grūnē ‘wheat’ < EPA *grūnā < IE *gūnum ‘grain’ (Lat grānum, OIr grán, Goth kaurn, Lith žūnas, Slav *zurno).
kulpēr ~ kulpēn ‘ivy, clematis’ < EPA *kulpr. Lith kilpa ‘loop’, Latv cilpa id.
hudhēr ‘garlic’ < EPA *skurdē: Gk σκόρδον id.
ndulkem ‘to ripen’ < EPA *en-tulka: Lith telkiiu, telkti ‘to gather, to bring together’, Slav *telkti ‘to beat, to pound’.
ujk ‘wolf’ < EPA *(w)ulka < IE *yulkōs id. (Skt vṛka-, Gk λύκος, Lat lupus, Goth wulfīs).
ulzē ‘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:

grellē ‘deep place’ < EPA *grīlē: Lith gurklȳs ‘crop’, OPrus gurcle ‘throat’, Slav *gūrdlo id., cf. also *žerdlo ‘river-bed; opening’.
glag. ~ gółę ‘spear, spearhead’ < EPA *glo-je. Lat crēbrō ‘hornet’,
    OHG hornrajd., Lith širšū ‘hornet’,
    Slav *širšen ‘id.

đrégé ‘scab’ < EPA *drigā. West Gmc *targian ‘to pull, to stir’,
    Slav *dsrgati ‘to pull, to tug’, Lith dirginti ‘to move, to irritate’.

dřeké ‘lunch, dinner, midday meal’ < EPA *drikā < IE *dřk’ā 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 *th). There is no definite phonetic factor which can
explain this phenomenon. The situation is illustrated by the following
contrastive pairs.

    ţr ~ ţr

   thirr ‘soot’ < EPA *tsirwē. Lith širvas ‘gray’.
   trim ‘hero, brave, courageous’ < EPA *trīma < IE *trmo-, cf. Arm
   tram ‘young, fresh, green’.

    ur ~ ru

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

    ul ~ lu

   kulbēr ~ kulbēn ‘ivy, clematis’ < EPA *kulpa. Lith kilpa ‘loop’,
   Latv cilpa id.
   guhē ‘tongue, language’ < EPA *gluxā. the Indo-European
dialectal word for ‘sound’ *golsa- (ON kall ‘shout’, Lith galsas
‘echo’, Slav *golsa ‘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.
1.3.2.1. IE *j̥* remained unchanged in Early Proto-Albanian, for which we reconstruct EPA *j̥*. However, its further history is quite complicated.

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

- gjem ‘bridle’ < EPA *jema*: Skt yāma- id.
- gjer ‘till’ < EPA *(a)jjeri*: Gk ḥ̣ëρι < ḥ̣ ripe ‘early’ further relater to Gmc *airriz* ‘before, ere’ (Goth ār, ON ār) and Av ayar ‘day’.
- gjesh ‘to knead’ < EPA *jesi̥*: Skt yāṣyati ‘to boil’, Gk ḥ̣e̞co ‘to boil, to cook’.
- gjēr ‘soup’ (Tosk) < EPA *jausna*: Skt neut. yūṣ ‘soup’, Lat iūs id., Lith įūsė ‘fish soup’.
- gjuaj ~ gjujej ‘to hunt’ < EPA *jőgnja*: OHG jagōn ‘to hunt’.
- ngjesh ‘to gird’ < EPA *en-jōsja*: Ah yā’hayeti id., Gk ζωννυμι id., Lith jūosti id., Slav *jasati* ‘to tear clothes’ <*to tear into bands*, *po-jaṣa* ‘belt’.

Before EPA *a̞* and *u*, EPA *j̥* was preserved as Alb *j*:

- a-jō ‘she; that’ < EPA *a-jā* < IE *iâ* id., fem. sg. of *io*.
- josh ‘to curl, to fondle, to caress’ < EPA *jåuđsjā* < IE *jeudh*- (Skt yāḍhyate ‘to fight, to struggle’, Toch A yutk- ‘to take care of, to trouble about’, Lith jau̞inti ‘to excite, to arouse’).
- ju ‘you’ < EPA *ju* (with secondary short *u*): Lith jūs id., Goth jús id., Gk οµεĩ id., Skt acc. yuṣmān id.

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

- dī ‘to know’ < EPA *dīja* < IE *deja*- (Skt dhyāti, dhyāyati ‘to observe, to feel, to think’, Av dā(ii)- ‘to see’).
- fīc - fēc ‘to sleep’ < EPA *awa-leja*: Slav *lēčo, *lējati* ‘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 ὁλο, Toch A swase, Toch B swese ‘rain’, sū- ‘to rain’, OPrus suge ‘rain’ = [sūjel]).

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

bahe ‘sling’ < EPA *bajā etymologically close to Slav *boja ‘fight’;
to IE *bheī- ‘to strike, to beat’.
flot ~ flot ‘to cool, to make cold’ < EPA *awa-tāja < IE *tā- ‘to melt’ (Slav *tajō, *tajati, Osset tajyn).
ngroh ‘to warm’ < EPA *en-grāja: Slav *grejō, *greţi id.
pah ‘scab, dust’ < EPA *pauja < IE *peu- ‘to blow up’, cf., in particular, Arm hōgi ‘breath’ < IE *pōjo-.
shtrohē ~ shtrofē ‘kennel’ < EPA *strājā: Latv strāja ‘stall covered with straw’, Slav *stroja ‘construction’.
vehte ‘self’ < EPA *swaja (with a secondary suffix -t) < IE *syojoš ‘own’ (Slav *svojā, 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 *dyoī-ous.

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

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

verē ~ venē f ‘wine’ < EPA *waunā cognate with Gk οἶνος ‘wine’,
oīνoς ‘wine’, Lat vinum ‘wine’, Arm giuni id.
vesh ‘to put on (clothes)’ < EPA *wesja < IE *yes- (Skt vāste ‘to wear, to be dressed in’, Gk ἔφυμι ‘to dress’).
vjedh ‘to steal’ < EPA *vedza < IE *yegh- (Skt vāhati ‘to drive’, Lat vehō ‘to bear, to carry’, Goth gawigan ‘to steal’).
vjel ‘to pluck (fruit), to vintage’ < EPA *wela: Gk τήλεω ‘to shut in, to press’, Lith su-vałyti ‘to harvest, to reap’.
vjell ‘to vomit’ < EPA *welwa. Lat volvō ‘to turn’.
vjerr ‘to hang’ < EPA *werar: Gk ῥέωρ ‘to raise up’, Lith veriū, vērti ‘to weigh’, sveriū, sveriti ‘to open, to thread’.
In anlaut, IE *yo- > EPA *wa- becomes u-:

udhē ‘way’ < EPA *wada < IE *yedh- ‘to beat, to break’ (cf. Slav *trepati ‘to beat’ – *tropa ‘path’), or IE *yegh- ‘way’.
ul ‘to lower’ < EPA *wala < IE *yel- (Gk ἔλλεω ‘to shut in, to press’, Lith valyti ‘to clean’, iš-valyti ‘to carry away’).
unazē ‘finger-ring, small iron ring’ derived from EPA *wandā: Arm gind ‘ring’, Goth bi-windan ‘to unwrathethe’.
urē ‘burning log’ < EPA *warā: Arm varəm ‘to kindle (fire)’, Hitt yar- ‘to burn’.
uri ~ ü ‘hunger’ < EPA *wana < IE *yen- ‘to want, to desire’ (Skt vānāti, vanāti’id., Lat venus ‘love’).

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

avēr ‘ice-floe’ < EPA *awera < IE *ayēr-, *ayēd- ‘to make wet’.
grāvē ‘cave, den, lair’ < EPA *gravi-: Lith grawā, Latv grava ‘ravine, precipitous valley’, OPrus grauwus ‘side’.
vras ‘to kill’ < EPA *awa-rautja, derived from IE *reu- ‘to tear, to destroy’ (Skt ruṭā- ‘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- *lak- ‘to bend, to jump’ (MHG lecken ‘to throw back, to spring’, Lith lekiū, lekti ‘to fly’, Latv lēkt ‘to spring, to jump’).

In other cases *w was lost:

krī ~ krī ‘woodworm, moth’ < EPA *krīwi- < IE *kryi- (Slav ĉrvь ‘worm’).
ve ‘widow’ < EPA *widewā. Skt vidhāvā id., Lat vidua id., Goth widuo 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 δάμος ‘calf’.
At the end of the word *m occasionally becomes mhr.

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

natē ‘night’ < EPA *nakti- corresponding to IE *nakt- id. (Skt nakt-, Gk νυξ, Lat nox).

ne ‘we’ < EPA *nō(s). Skt nas-, Av nō, Lat nōs id.

nesēr ‘tomorrow’ < EPA *nesēr < IE* nok’ēr (W neithwēr, neithwēr ‘last night’, Bret neiāer, neizār id.).

nēmē – namē ‘curse’ < EPA *namē < IE* nem- (Gk νέμω ‘to distribute’, cf. νέμεις ‘wrath’, Goth nīman ‘to take’).

nēntē – nand ‘nine’ < EPA *nenti- (with analogical change of *nt in Tosk) < IE* niemid. (Skt nāva, Lat novem, Goth niun).

nuk ‘not’ < EPA *nuka composed of *nu < IE *ne colored by the following labiovelar and *ka < *kalthough, a pronominal stem.

1.3.2.8. Between two vowels EPA *n was preserved in Gec 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:

dimēr ‘winter’ < EPA *deimena < IE*ghēimen- id. (Skt heman loc. ‘in winter’, Gk χειμα ‘winter’).

mardhē ‘chill, frost, ice’ < EPA *mardzē. Slav *morzh ‘frost’.

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

motēr ‘sister’ < EPA *māter < IE* māter- ‘mother’ (Skt mātā-, Gk μῆτηρ, Lat māter).

mut ‘excrement’ < EPA *mukta. Skt mukta- ‘released’, further cf.

Skt mukti ‘to loose, to free’, Lith mūkti ‘to get free, to flee’.

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Skt mukti ‘to loose, to free’, Lith mūkti ‘to get free, to flee’.
Ilërê ~ llnë ‘forearm, ell’ < EPA *alenä: Gk ωλέψη ‘elbow’, Lat ulna, OHG elina.

thëär ~ thënë ‘louse’ < EPA *tsanidä: Gk κοβίς ‘nit’, OHG haiz id.

verë ~ venë f ‘wine’ < EPA *wainä cognate with Gk οἶνος ‘wine’,
oiòc ‘wine’, Lat vinum ‘wine’, Arm qini id.

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

bli ~ bli ‘linden’ < EPA *blinä: Lith bländis, blendis ‘Salix caprea’.

dre ~ drë ‘deer’ < EPA *dránë: ῥαύς [for ῥὸ—] ἐλαφός.

gië ~ gië ‘breast, chest’ < EPA *sinä: Lat sinus ‘curve, fold’.

gju ~ gjë ‘knee’ < EPA *gluna dissimilated from *g(a)nuna <
IE *gēnu-id. (Hitt gēnu, Skt jānu-, Gk γόν, Lat genû).

hu ~ ħū ‘picket, stake, pole, penis’ < EPA *skuna replacing earlier
*skujë: Slav *xujë ‘penis’.

trë ~ trū ‘brain’ < EPA *turañä: Skt tāruna- ‘young, tender’, Av
tauruna- ‘young’, cf. also Gk τέρην ‘tender’, τέρπω ὁσθενίς, λέπτόν (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 *laidh: OPrus laydis ‘clay’.

lë ~ lā ‘to let’ < EPA *lādnu: Lith leisti id., Latv laisti id.

lodh ‘to tire, to weary’ < EPA *lada: Goth letan ‘to let’, Gk ληδεῖν
κοπίαν, κεκμήκειαι (Hes.) and the like.

lug ‘trough, water-trough, long gutter, pipe’ < EPA *luga: Slav
*luha ‘spoon, blade’, *lužica id.

lus ‘to pray, to invoke, to beg’ < EPA *lugtja: Lith lagoti ‘to ask, to
pray’, Latv lūdu, lūgā ‘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 *lukä < IE *leu(ə)- ‘dirt’.

llup ‘to gulp down, to swallow’ < EPA *lupa: Skt lumpāti ‘to break,
to injure’, Lith ląpti ‘to peel’, Latv lupt ‘to peel; to eat’, Slav
*lupiti ‘to peel’.

In one word, initial ll- remains unexplained:
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llërë ~ llanë ‘forearm, ell’ < EPA *alenā: Gk ωʎέψη ‘elbow’, Lat ulna, OHGolina.

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 οκτόλος ‘pointed stake, thorn’.
mēlēnā ‘blackbird’ < EPA *melanā < IE fem. adj. *mēlanā ‘black’ (Gk μέλανα id., cf. also Skt malinī, fem. malini ‘dirty, unclean, Latv melns ‘black’).
sjell ‘to bring’ < EPA *tēlā < IE *tel- (Skt cārati ‘to move, to walk’, Gk πέλαος ‘to come into existence, to become’, Lat colō ‘to cultivate, to till’).
vēlla ‘brother’ < EPA *swe-laudā, composite of pronominal IE *syc and *laudā < IE *leudh- (OHG liut ‘people’, Slav *judě 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 būlas ‘white’, Latv bāls ‘pale’, Gk φαλός- λευκός (Hes.).
plelē ‘mare’ < EPA *pōlā: Gk πόλος ‘foal’, Goth fula id.

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

avull: pl. avaj ‘steam, vapor’
buall ~ buell: pl. buaj ~ buej ‘buffalo’
dell: pl. dej ‘tendon’
diell: pl. diej ‘sun’
ehull: pl. ehuj ‘icicle’
nyell: pl. nejej ‘ankle, gnarl, knot’

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

hisell ~ hisèl: pl. hisèlla ~ hisèlla ‘burning nettle’
kèshill: pl. kèshilla ‘council’
ndryshkull: pl. ndryshkulla ‘boil, abscess’
In feminine nouns where the plural was formed by the EPA ending *-ās > LPA *-ā, final /l/ was preserved:

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

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

blertë ‘green’ < EPA *blōra < IE *bhloros (Lat flōrus ‘shining, bright’, OIr blár ‘gray’, W blawr id.).
elb ‘barley’ < EPA *albē. Gk ὀλφι ‘kind of grain’.
ēmbēl ~ ambēl ‘sweet’ < EPA *umla. Skt amal- ‘sour’.
gjalpē ‘butter’ < EPA *selpē-. Skt sarpē- ‘clarified butter’ (but cf. Gk ἕλπος- ἑλπιον, στέαρ, εὐθηνία (Hes.), OHG salba ‘ointment’).
mjaltē ‘honey’ < EPA *melitä < IE *melit- id. (Hitt mitili, Gk μέλι, Goth mīlī 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 *brūdzā. Lat frūx ‘fruit’, Goth brukjan ‘to use’.
candēr ‘prop, support’ < EPA *štšentra < IE *kentrom (Gk κέντρον ‘goad, spur’, cf. also Latv sīts ‘spear, lance’ < Balt *štintas).
dru ‘tree; wood’ < EPA *drūwa < IE *dru- id. (Slav *druvo ‘wood’, Skt dru- id., Av dru- id., Gk δρῦς ‘tree, oak’).
krēdh ‘to plunge, to immerse, to steep, to smother, to bespatter’ < EPA *krādā. Slav *kradʊ, *krastɪ ‘to steal’, refl. *kradʊ sę, *krastɪ sę ‘to sneak, to steal up, to approach unnoticed’.
pjerdh ‘to fart’ < EPA *perda < IE *perd- id. (Skt pārdate, Gk πέρδωμαι, OHG ferzan, Lith pėrdžiu, pėstį).

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

barrē ‘load, burden’ < EPA *barā. Gk φόρά ‘load’.
hīrrē ‘whey’ < EPA *ksīrā: Skt ksīrā- ‘milk’, Osset aksir id.
kērr ‘donkey, ass, foal; gray’ < EPA *kara: Skt khāra- ‘donkey’, Av xarō id., Scyth *xara, Osset xarəg id.
rrēk ‘to strain, to bother’ < EPA *raikā: Lith reikà ‘need, necessity’, reikū ‘to be necessary’ further explained in
rrjedhī ‘to flow’ < EPA *redza: Lat rigāre ‘to wet, to moisten’, ON raki ‘wetness’.
vjehērr ‘mother-in-law’ < EPA *swesurā (with assimilation from expected *swetṣurā) < IE *syeśrū- (Skt śvasṛū- mother-in-law’,
Lat socrus id.).

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

bar ‘grass’ < EPA *bara. Lat fur ‘sort of grain, spelt’, ON barr ‘spelt’.
farē ‘seed, semen, kin’ < EPA *sparā < IE *sper- (Gk fem. σπορό̄ ‘seed’, σπέρματι ‘to spill, to sow’, σπέρμα ‘semen, seed’).
mīrē ‘good’ < EPA *mīra forming a separate isogloss with Slav
*mīr (further to IE *mēi-: *mē- ‘mild, weak, nice’).
rfēp ‘to strip off (skin or bark), to tear off’ < EPA *repā < IE *rep-
(Gk ἐρεστώματι ‘to eat’, Lat rapīō ‘to seize, to grasp’, Lith rēpti ‘to grasp’).
t-jētēr ‘other’ < EPA *eterā. Slav *eterь ‘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 bhārati, Gk βῆρω).
shtie ‘to pour in, to put in, to throw’ < EPA *stere. Skt stṛṇāti ‘to
spread, to scatter’, Gk στρεϑμύ ‘to stretch, to spread’, Lat
sterno ‘to spread’, Slav *styrο, *sterti id.
zie ‘to boil, to cook’ id. < EPA *džera < IE *g̥er- (Gk θέρματι ‘to
become hot, to warm, to burn’, OSk fogen ‘(he) warms’).

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

çeṟ ‘to tear up’ < EPA *šišera: OSk scaraim ‘to separate’, ON
skera ‘to cut’, Lith skiriu, skirti ‘to separate’.
đeṟ ‘to destroy’ < EPA *dera: Skt ḍṛṇāti ‘to burst, to tear’, Gk
děrω ‘to skin’, Goth gatairān ‘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:

- \( gjuveng\) ‘harlot’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Lat adj. fem. \( juvena \) ‘young’.
- \( giykoj \) ‘to judge, to try’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Lat \( jüdicäre \) id.
- \( giymyrè \) ‘joint, limb’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Lat \( junctūra \) ‘juncture, joint’.
- \( ngjërōj \) – \( gninofj \) ‘to try, to sample, to taste’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Lat \( jējünäre \) ‘to fast’ (with a secondary prefix in Tosk).
- \( zgjua \) – \( zgjue \) ‘bee-hive’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Lat \( jānua \) ‘door, entrance’ (with a new prefix \( z \)).

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

- \( maj \) ‘May’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Lat \( Mājus \) id.
- \( taftar \) ‘funnel’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Rom *\( traïectūrium \) id. for Lat \( traïectūrium \) 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’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Lat \( vadum \) id.
- \( vjershë \) ‘poem’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Lat \( versus \) ‘verse’.
- \( vjetër \) ‘old’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Lat \( veterem \) id.
- \( vrër \) – \( vëner \) ‘gall, bile’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Lat \( venēnum \) ‘potion, poison’.
- \( vullner \) ‘will’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Lat \( voluntātem \) id.
- \( vrigull \) ‘flap, lobe’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) 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’ \( \Leftrightarrow \) Rom *\( prīma \) vēra (\( > \) Ital \( primavera \), Rum \( primăvară \)).
If Lat v is followed by a group vowel + nasal sonorant, it yields Alb mr.

mēnjull ‘vigil; fast’ ⇔ Rom *vingilia, cf. Lat vigilia ‘vigil’.
mēshikē ‘bubble, blister, bladder’ ⇔ Rom *vēnsīca for Lat vēsīca ‘bladder’.

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

gjuvengē ‘harlot’ ⇔ Lat adj. fem. juvenca ‘young’.

It was lost after other vowels:

latyre ‘rinse-water’ ⇔ Rom *lavāṭūra from Lat lavāre ‘to wash’.
noshtēr ‘sprout, young plant, sapling’ ⇔ Rom *novaster > Ital dial. novast’id.
shijē ‘taste’ ⇔ Rom *suāvīlia, based on Lat suāvis ‘sweet’.
shqa ‘Bulgarian’ (Geg) ⇔ Lat sclavus ‘Slav’.
ulli ~ ullī ‘olive (tree)’ ⇔ Lat olivus ‘olive tree’.

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’.
meshē ‘mass’ ⇔ Lat missa id.
mēnd ‘moment’ ⇔ Lat mōmentum id.
quēnsht ‘milk, whey’ ⇔ Rom *clomostium < Lat colostrum colostrum, beestings’.

1.3.3.5. Initial Lat n- was preserved in Albanian:

natyrē ‘nature’ ⇔ Lat nātūra id.
nēmērōj ‘to number, to count’ ⇔ Lat numerāre id.
nip ‘nephew, grandson’ ⇔ Lat nom. nepōs ‘grandson’.
notoj ‘to swim’ ⇔ Rom *notāre for Lat natāre’id.

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

arbër ~ arbēn ‘Albanian (particularly, of Italy and Greece)’ ⇔ Rom *albanus rendering Illyr Αλβανοί (Ptol.).
armik ~ anēmik ‘enemy’ ⇔ Lat inimicus id.
gjelbēr ~ gjelbēn ‘green’ ⇔ Lat galbinus ‘greenish-yellow’.
kērp ~ kānp ‘hemp’ ⇔ Rom *cannapis for Lat cannabis id.
mēštekēr ~ mēštekēn ‘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:

flē ~ flē ‘sacrifice’ ⇔ Rom *fīrigilīnum.
frē ~ frē ‘bridle; grape-stalk; comb’ ⇔ Lat frēnum id.
kushēri ~ kushēri ‘cousin’ ⇔ Lat consōbrinus id.
lētī ~ lētē ‘Italian, Latin, Catholic’ ⇔ Lat Latinus ‘Latin’.
lī ~ lī ‘flax, linen’ ⇔ Lat linum id.
pe ~ pē ‘thread’ ⇔ Lat pānus ‘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:

kēštēr ~ kēštēn ‘Christian’ ⇔ Lat christiānus id.
rērē ~ ranē ‘sand’ ⇔ Lat arēna id.
rrēshirē ~ rrēshinē ‘resin’ ⇔ Lat rēsīna id.
rriqēr ~ rriqēn ‘tick’ ⇔ Lat rīcinus id.
vrēr ~ vēner ‘gall, bile’ ⇔ Lat venēnum ‘potion, poison’.

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

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

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

lafshē ‘crest (of bird), comb’ ⇔ Lat laxa (cutis) ‘loose (skin)’.
lar ‘laurel’ ⇔ Lat laurus id.
lepēr ‘leprosy’ ⇔ Lat lepra id.
lepur ‘hare’ ⇔ Lat leporeni id.
līgj ‘law’ ⇔ Lat lēge(m) id.
lucē ‘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 – gjelbēn ‘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:

*pllajë ‘upland, gentle slope’ ⇔ *plagius id.

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

djall ‘devil’ ⇔ Lat diabolus id.
kērshēndella ‘Christmas’ ⇔ Lat Christī nātāle id.
mrekull ‘miracle’ ⇔ Lat miraculum id.
pllajë ‘upland, gentle slope’ ⇔ Rom *plagius id., cf. Rum plăi, Ital piaggia.
prill ‘April’ ⇔ Lat aprilis id.
shpatull ‘shoulder, shoulder blade’ ⇔ Rom *spatula id.

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

hingēl ‘girth’ ⇔ Rom *hinnicula, derivative of Lat hinnus ‘mule’.
k:lē ‘horse’ ⇔ Lat caballus id.
kular ‘curved piece of wood, ox-collar’ ⇔ Lat collāre ‘collar’.
mandil ‘kerchief’ ⇔ Lat mantile ‘towel, napkin’.
mbuloj ‘to cover, to bury’ ⇔ Rom *manipulāre ‘to dig in handfuls’,
  cf. Lat manipulus.
shtijë ‘spear, ray’ ⇔ Lat hastile ‘spear’.

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

dērgoj ‘to send’ ⇔ Lat dēlēgāre id.
grēmēratē ‘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
-rr-, which continues Lat /r/, has several exceptions.

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

rrēze ‘ray, spoke’ ⇔ Lat radius id.
rrēšhajē ‘Pentecost’ ⇔ Lat Rōsālia ‘Rosalies’.
rrēšhirē – rrēšhinē ‘resin’ ⇔ Lat rēsīna id.
rriēpē ‘precipice, stone wall’ ⇔ Lat rīpa ‘bank, coast’.
rriqēr – rriqēn ‘tick’ ⇔ Lat ricīnus id.
rrumbull ‘rolled into a ball’ ⇔ Rom *romulus based on Lat rhombus ‘magic whirligig or wheel’.

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

regi ‘king’ ⇔ Lat rēgēm id.
remēr – rēmen ‘Valachian; shepherd’ ⇔ Lat Romānus ‘Roman’.
rungof ‘to weed’ ⇔ Lat runcāre id.

1.3.3.10. In inlaut Lat r normally gives Alb r:

armē ‘weapon’ ⇔ Lat arma id.
brymē ‘frost’ ⇔ Lat brūma ‘cold, frost’.
fruer ‘February’ (Geg) ⇔ Lat februārius id.
fytirē ‘face’ ⇔ Lat factūra ‘formation, creature’.
gjer ‘dormouse’ ⇔ Lat gērem id.
irē ‘wrath, heroism’ ⇔ Lat ĭra ‘wrath’.
zhurow ‘gravel’ ⇔ Lat sabura ‘sand ballast’.

There exist several exceptions with Lat -rr– ⇔ Alb -rr–:

kandērr ‘insect’ ⇔ Lat cantharis ‘beetle, worm’.
krrokull ‘saffron’ ⇔ Rom *croculum diminutive of Lat crocum id.
ndērroj ‘to change, to alter’ ⇔ Lat alterēre id.
parriz ‘paradise’ ⇔ Lat paradīsus id.
pērrallē ‘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 ɬ:

bulē ‘bud’ ⇔ Lat bulla ‘bubble, boss, knob’.
gjel ‘rooster’ ⇔ Lat gallus id.
kerl ‘curl, lock’ ⇔ Rom *cerebellus ‘related to the head’ based on Lat cerebrum ‘brain, skull’.
pulē ‘hen’ ⇔ Rom *pulla ‘hen’.
qel ‘scab’ ⇔ Lat callum ‘corn, hard skin’.
tryelē ‘bore, drill’ ⇔ Rom *terebellum id.

In one case we find j replacing l< ll:

myjēf ‘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.
- *karre* ‘cart’ ⇔ Lat *carrum* ‘two-wheeled wagon’.
- *porrij* m ‘leek’ ⇔ Rom *porricium* derived from *porrum* id.
- *qarr* ‘Turkey-oak, bitter-oak’ ⇔ Lat *cerrus* id.
- *qerr* ‘wagon, cart’ ⇔ Lat *carrus* ‘two-wheeled wagon’.
- *sharrê* ‘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 *gj*.

- *giezdis* ‘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 *krajâ* ‘end, side, extremity’.
- *krahiné* ‘region, area’ ⇔ Slav *krajinâ* id.
- *krahis* ‘to sweep up (wheat); to cut (branches)’ ⇔ Slav *krajiti* ‘to cut, to winnow’.
- *llohê* ‘rain with snow, snow-broth, dampness’ ⇔ Slav *loju* *‘anything liquid’ > ‘fat’.
- *postahê* ‘blanket, quilt used for sitting’ ⇔ Slav *postaja* ‘bed cover’.

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

- *shkérdhec* ‘keg, barrel’ ⇔ Slav *skovordëc* ‘pan’.

In early Slavic loanwords *I* is usually reflected as *H*:

- *buall* = *buell* ‘buffalo’ ⇔ Slav *byvol’* id.
- *llohê* ‘rain with snow, snow-broth, dampness’ ⇔ Slav *loju* *‘anything liquid’ > ‘fat’.
- *lukê* ‘lime-tree’ ⇔ *lyko* ‘bast’.

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

- *karrup* ‘fish-trap’ ⇔ Slav *korups* id.
- *karrute* ‘fermenter’ ⇔ Slav *koryto* ‘trough’.
- *orrî* ‘eagle, buzzard’ ⇔ Slav *orîs* id.
përrua ~ përrue ‘brook; river-bed’ ⇔ Slav *porovъ – *parovъ.
purře ‘hot ashes’ ⇔ Slav *pyřъ id.

Despite JOKL IF XXXVII 106-107 and SELIŠČEV Slav. naselenie 323, there are no traces of Tosc rhotacism in Slavic loanwords in Albanian. Their claim has been based on erroneous etymologies such as VASMER’s (Alb. Worttörsch. 65) explanation of vrērēt ~ vranēt ‘dark, cloudy’ from South Slav *vranъ ‘black’. The Albanian adjective is a deverbal while the corresponding verb is based on re ‘cloud’ (OREL AED 516). Similarly, Tosc tērsirē ‘rope’ is not borrowed from Slav *tračina despite JOKL AArbSt I 46, but is derived from tērsē ‘wholeness, totality, unity’, the latter being related to tēre ~ tanē ‘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-* > b- before u), Alb. St. III 44 (dissimilation in thi); PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 278-280 (*s-* > b- 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* > *č* > th in thi and that); MANN Language XXVIII 38, Hist. Gr. 37-38; CIMOCHEWOSKI St. IE 15 (*s-* > b- before u); HAMP Etimologiya 1970 268-269 (rejects *-s- as a source of intervocalic Alb -h-); ČABEJ St. III 137-139; OREL Sov. slav. 1982/3 94 (“ruki” rule in Albanian), IlaK 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 *ž* in LPA *ž* > Alb gj.


gjarpēr ~ gjarpēn ‘snake’ < EPA *serpēna < IE *serp- ‘to crawl’ (Lat serpentēns ‘snake, serpent’, serpō ‘to crawl’).

gierb ‘to gulp, to drink’ < EPA *serba. Lat sorbeō ‘to sup up, to suck in’, Gk ὀρφεῶ id., Lith surbiū, surbiū id., Slav *sarbati ‘to gulp, to sup up’.

giē ~ giā ‘thing’ < EPA *san(s), participle of IE *sant- ‘to be’, *sont-s (Skt sant-, Gk σῶν).

giumē ‘sleep’ < EPA *supna < IE *sęp- ‘to sleep’, cf. *sup-no- (Gk ὑπνός ‘sleep’, Slav *снаб id.).

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

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

thaj ‘to dry’ < EPA *sauṇja < IE *sauco- ‘dry’ (Gk σῶος, MHG sōr, Lith saučas, Slav *suxts).

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

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

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

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

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

vajzē ‘girl’, based on *varē < EPA *swesarā: Skt svāsar-, Arm koyr, Lat soror.
vječër ‘mother-in-law’ < EPA *swexurā (with assimilation from expected *swetsurā) < IE *ṣyeṣkru- (Skt śvasrū- ‘mother-in-law’, Lat socrus id.).

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

- dash ‘ram’ < *dausā < EPA *dausa < IE *douso- ~ *dheuso- (Goth dius ‘wild animal’, Lith pl. daūšos ‘paradise’, Slav *dux ‘breath, spirit’).
- gijsh ‘grandfather’ < *sūša < EPA *sūsa. Skt sūśā ‘progenitor’.
- lesh ‘wool, fleece, hair’ < *laisā < EPA *laisha. Lith laiškas ‘leaf’, Lat laīška ‘leaf on a linen stalk; stalk’, Slav *listi ‘leaf’.
- pishē ‘pine’ < *plisā < EPA *plísā: Gk πῖτος, Lat pīnus (from *pitsnos or *pisinos).
- plish ‘kind of reed, Phragmites communis’ < *plūsi < EPA *plūsi-. Lith pl(i)ūsia ‘reed’.
- prush ‘ember, glowing coal’ < *pruša < EPA *prusā. 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; Čebl SB1a Kontakty 22-23 (conditions of *d > dh).

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

- glepē ‘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- ~ *ep- ‘to seize, to take’ (Hitt ēp- ~ ap- ‘to seize’, Skt āpnoti ‘(he) reaches, overtake’, Gk ἀπτω ‘to fasten, to bind’, Lat apisco ‘to grasp’).
**phonology**

*kripė* ~ *krypē* ‘salt’ < EPA *krūpē*; ON *bryfa* ‘scab’, Lith *kraupīs* ‘rough’, *kraupis* ‘scab’, Latv *kraūpis* ‘frail, brittle’, Slav *krupa* ‘groats’.

*plak* ‘old man’ < EPA *p(e)laka* < IE *p(e)laks* (Lith *pilkas* ‘gray’ < *pēlaks*, cf. Gk *πολύς* ‘gray, grizzled’).

*ploš* ‘full’ < EPA *plošta* < IE *plošto- ‘full’ (Skt *prāt-', Lat *compleτus*).

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

*rjep* ‘to strip off (skin or bark), to tear off’ < EPA *rēpa* < IE *rēp-* (Gk ἱππομαστ ‘to eat’, Lat *rapīō* ‘to seize, to grasp’, Lith *rēpti* ‘to grasp’).

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

*bāgiē* ‘dung’ < EPA *bālgē*; Gk ἱλόβιτον ‘cow dung’ < IE *boll-*.

*rrebbe* ‘rocky desert (with bushes)’ < EPA *rauba*; Goth *raupjan* ‘to rip’, OHG *routen* id.

*shkēlbozē* ‘bark’ < EPA *skalbē*; 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*.

*bardhē* ‘white’ < EPA *bardza* < IE *bheraģ- ‘to shine; white’ (Skt *bhrājate* ‘(he) shines, beams, glitters’, Goth *biarhts* ‘light, shining’).

*bēj ~ bāj* ‘to do, to make’ < EPA *banja*; Gk *φαίνω* ‘to appear’.

*brej ~ brēj* ‘to gnaw’ < EPA *brainja* < IE *bhreat- ‘to cut’ (Skt *bhṛṇāti* ‘(he) injures’, Lat *frīō* ‘to rub’, Slav *briti* ‘to shave’).

*elb* ‘barley’ < EPA *albē*; Gk ἀλῆ ‘kind of grain’.

*giμb* ‘to gulp, to drink’ < EPA *serba* < IE *srbh-* (Lat *sorbeō* ‘to sup up, to suck in’, Gk ἔφεσσω id., Lith *surbū*, surbū id., Slav *srbati* ‘to gulp, to sup up’).

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

If followed by *u*, EPA *b* changes to *v* after a vowel:
avull ‘steam, vapor’ < EPA *abula continuing *µbh(u)lo-, close to OHG nebul ‘fog’, OS nifoil < Gmc *nebulaz.

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

ditē ‘day’ < EPA *ditā < *ditē; Gmc *tūdiz ‘time’ (OHG zīt, OE tīd) and Skt diti ‘brightness, splendor’.
jetē ‘life’ < EPA *eta, related Gk ἔτεος ‘true, real’, ἑτά ‘ἀληθῆ, ἀγαθα’ (Hes.), ἑτάζω ‘to test’.
hatēr ‘sister’ < EPA *māter < IE *māter- ‘mother’ (Skt mātur-, Gk μήτηρ, Lat māter).
tetē ‘eight’ < EPA *aktīti < IE *oktō(u) id. (Skt aṣṭā, Arm ovτ; Gk ὀκτώ)
trap ‘ferry’ < EPA *trapa. Slav *tropa ‘path’.
tre ‘three’ < EPA *treje < IE *trejes id. (Skt trayāḥ, 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 *damr. OIr dam ‘ox’ and Gk δόμωλος ‘calf’.
djathē ‘right’ < EPA *detsa < IE *deks- id. (Skt dākṣina-, Gk δεξιός, Lat dexter).
djerr ‘to destroy’ < EPA *dera < IE *der- (Skt drṇāti ‘to burst, to tear’, Gk δέρω ‘to skin’, Goth gatairan ‘to tear’).
dredh ‘to turn, to rotate’ < EPA *dredza < IE *dreh- (Arm dairnum ‘to turn’, darf ‘curve, turn’).
dy ‘two’ < EPA *dvwō < IE *dvō(u) id. (Skt dvāu, Av dva, Gk δύο, Lat duo).
mund ‘to be able’ < EPA nasal present *munda. Lith mudą ‘possibility’, mudūoti ‘to try, to attempt’, Skt mōdate ‘to rejoice, to be merry’.

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

*dal* ‘to go out’ < EPA *dala*. Gk ὀάλλω ‘to bloom’, i.e. ‘to appear, to come out’.

*dash* ‘ram’ < EPA *dauša < IE*dhouso- ~ *dheuso- ‘breath, breathing, animal’ (Gmc *deuzan ‘wild animal’, Lith pl. daŭsos ‘paradise’, Slav *duxa ‘breath, spirit’).

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

*djeg ‘to burn’ < EPA *dega < IE *dheg’h- ‘to burn’ (Skt dāhati, Toch AB tsak-, tsāk-, Lit degū, dēgtī).

*duaj ‘sheaf’ < EPA *dōnja*. Skt dhānā ‘grain, cereals’, dhāṇyā- ‘grain’, Lith dūona ‘bread’.


**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*:


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

*herdhe ‘testicles’ < EPA *ardzai < IE *oṛghī- ~ *ṛghī- id. (Av dual. oṛṛzi, Gk ὀῤῥίς, Arm _vocab, MIR urrgbge id.).


*tredh ‘to castrate’ < EPA *treuda. Lat trūdō ‘to push’, Goth us- priutan ‘to burden’, Slav *trud‘ ‘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 *eduntii or *aduntë. Gk ὀδυνή ‘labor pains’, Arm erkn id.

Analogical forces are at work in the word for ‘ten’:
dhjetē ‘ten’ < EPA *dets-t i < IE *dekpi ‘ten’ (Skt dāśa, Gk ἔκκα, Lat decem).

The influence came from compounds, such as njěmbēdhjetē ‘eleven’, dymbēdhjetē ‘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 Luvian evidence that Proto-Indo-European possessed three distinct velar oppositions.

_Literature_: MEYER Albia, 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 Mehlanes 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 *k); ÖLBERG Gedenkschr. Brandenstein 109-118 (*k 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 *baruca: βόρυκα· αἰδοῖον παρὰ Ταραθνίοιοι .

dikē ‘desire, lust’ < EPA *dikē: Lith dýkas ‘idle, empty’, Slav *dik’h ‘wild’.

_kam_ ‘to have’ < EPA *kapmi < IE *kap- ‘to seize, to grasp’ (Lat capiō id., Goth haban ‘to have’).
korr ‘to reap, to harvest’ < EPA *kārṣa. Lith kasū, kāsti ‘to dig’, Slav *kosā ‘scythe’.
kredh ‘to plunge, to immerse, to steep, to smother, to bespatter’ < EPA *krādē. Slav *kradō, *krasti ‘to steal’, refl. *kradō se, *krasti se ‘to sneak, to steal up, to approach unnoticed’.

In the preverb *kom > EPA *ka-, IE *k > Alb g.

gēshtallē, kēshtallē ‘splint, piece of wood’ < EPA *ka-stalnā < IE *stel- (Gk στέλλω ‘to put, to set’, OHG stelen ‘to put’, OPrus stallit ‘to stand’).
glepē ‘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 σύγη ‘ray of light’).
plog ‘granary, barn, heap’ < EPA *plagā: Gk πλοῖγος ‘placed sideways, sloping, leaning’, Lat plagā ‘quarter, region’.
shtagē ‘pole, stick’ < EPA *stagā: ON stjaki id., Latv stęga ‘long pole’.
shtregē ‘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:

dregē ‘scab’ < EPA *dragā: West Gmc *targjan ‘to pull, to stir’ (Germ zergen), Slav *dargati ‘to pull, to tug’, Lith dirgingti ‘to move, to irritate’.
`grabë` ‘erosion, hollowing out’ < EPA *grabā < IE *ghrebh- to dig’
(OHG `grave’, Slav *grobs id.).
`grih` ‘to sharpen’ < EPA *greiska: Gk χρίω ‘to rub, to anoint, to
prick’, Lith griejū, grieti ‘to scoop cream from milk, to take
hold of’.
`guall` ‘shell, skull’ < EPA *gōl(w)xa: Arm glowx ‘head’ < *ghōlu,
Lith galvā id., Slav *golvž id.
`mjegull` ‘cloud’ < EPA *meglā: Gk ὀμίγλη ‘fog, mist’, Lith miglā
id., Slav *megla ‘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
*grebo, *grebti ‘to row, to rake’.

1.4.3.4. Palatal velars developed (with one important positional
exception) into sibilant affricates. Unvoiced IE *k gave EPA *ts, which
became Alb *h.

`athēt` ‘harsh, sour, rancid’ < EPA *ats-eta < IE *ak- ‘sharp’ (cf. Lat
acidus ‘sour’).
`qeθh` ‘to cut (hair)’ < EPA *kaitsa: Skt kéṣa- ‘hair (of the head)’,
Lith kaisyti ‘to scrape, to shave’.
`thekē` ‘fringe’ < EPA *tsakā: Skt sākha ‘branch’, Lith šakā id.
`tep` ‘peak, point, cog, tooth’ < EPA *tsaipā: Skt sēpa- ‘tail, penis’,
Lat cippus ‘pole’.
`thjermē` ‘gray’, EPA *tserma: Lith širmas ‘gray’.
`thjerē` ‘lentil’ < EPA *tserū < IE *ki-ker- (Lat cicer ‘pea’, Arm
siserēn id.).

In several cases, the original affricate is retained in modern Albanian as
*c:

`acar` ‘steel’ < EPA *atsara ‘sharp’: OIr aiche ‘sharp’, Gk ὀκρον
‘point, top’, Lith ašrūs ‘sharp’, Slav *ostroš id.
`cermē` ‘cold, cool’ < EPA *tsermā: Lith šarmā ‘frost’, Latv sarma
id.
cērij ‘to melt butter’ < EPA *tsīra: Skt śráyati ‘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 dl.

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

dhemb ‘to ache’ < EPA *dzemba. Skt jāmbhate ‘to snap at’, Lith žembū, žėmbti ‘to cut’ and Slav *zēbq, *zėbi ‘to freeze, to feel cold’.

dhēndēr ~ dhandēr ‘bridegroom, son-in-law’ < EPA *dzaura < IE *ǵener- ‘son-in-law’ (Lat gener).

kedh ‘kid’ < EPA *kadza: Slav *koza ‘she-goat’.

rrudhē ‘wrinkle’ < EPA *rudzā: Lat rūga id.

1.4.3.6. Voiced aspirate *ǵh merged with *ǵ in EPA *dz > Alb dl.

dredh ‘to turn, to rotate’ < EPA *dredza < IE *dregh- (Arm dañnam ‘to turn’, darf ‘curve, turn’).

dhēs ‘to defecate’ < EPA *dzetja: Skt hadati id., Gk χέξω id.

herdhe ‘testicles’ < EPA *ardzai < IE *orḡhi- ~ *frghi- id. (Av dual. arzati, Gk ὀρξάς, Arm orfik, MIr urgge id.).

mardhē ‘chill, frost, ice’ < EPA *mardza: Slav *morzъ ‘frost’.

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

zvjerdh ‘to wean’ < EPA *verdza. Lith veržiū, veržti ‘to lace, to tie’, Latv vērzt ‘to turn’, Slav *verzti ‘to bind’.

In one case EPA *dz is reflected as Alb d:

dimēr ~ dimēn ‘winter’ < EPA *deimena < IE *ǵheimen- id. (Skt heman loc. ‘in winter’, Gk χειμα ‘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.

*dorē ‘hand’ < EPA *dārā < IE *ǵhesr- id. (Gk χεῖρ, Hitt keššar, Toch A tsar-, B šar-, Arm jemn).

djerr ‘fallow land’ < EPA *dersa < IE *ǵhersos (Gk χέρος ‘dry land’).

drīthē ‘grain’ < EPA *dritsā < IE *ǵhrzd- (Lat hordeum ‘barley’, OHG gersta id.).

dua ~ due ‘to love’ < EPA *dāusna < *dāusnja < IE *ǵeus- ‘to taste’ (Skt jōṣati ‘to be fond of’, Gk γεύομαι).

dyllē ‘wax’ < EPA *dāla < *dusa: Gk χολός ‘juice’.

1.4.3.8. Before *u (including the newly developed glide of syllabic *r > *ur), EPA *ts and *dz became *tś and *dź (cf. a similar fate of clusters *tsw and *dzw).

sukē ‘low hill’ < EPA *tsukā: Skt śūka- ‘awn of grain; spike of insect’, Av sūkā- ‘needle’.

sumbull ‘round button; bud’ < EPA *tsumba continuing IE *kumb-, cf. Gk κυμβη ‘bowl’, Olr comm ‘vessel’.

sup ‘shoulder’ < EPA *supa: Skt sūpti- id., Av supti- id., MLG schuift ‘front shoulder-blase (of animals)’.

surētē ‘dark grey’ < EPA *tsurma < IE *ḿro- (Lith šūmas ‘grey’).

sute ‘female deer, doe; hornless’ < EPA *tsuktā < IE *kuk- (Lith šūkos ‘comb’, šūkė ‘crock’, šuketas ‘dented, chipped’, Latv suka ‘brush’).

zulē ‘shout, glory’ < EPA *dzulā < IE *ǵhaye- < *ǵheuH- ‘to call’ (Skt hāvate, Av zavaiti, Slav *zsvati).

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:

flugē ‘shingle’ < EPA *awa-luga < IE *leuḡ- (Skt rujāti ‘to break’, Lat lōgo ‘to mourn, to deplore’).

garē ‘competition, race’ < EPA *garā < IE *ǵher- ‘to wish, to feel inclination’ (Gk χαίρω ‘to rejoice’, χαίρη ‘joy of battle; battle, fight’).
grurē ~ grunē ‘wheat’ < EPA *grunā < IE *gʰrnom ‘grain’ (Lat grānum, OIr grán, Goth kaurn, Lith žirnis, Slav *zirno),
gju ~ gjū ‘knee’ < EPA *gluna dissimilated from *g(a)nuna < IE *gʰenu- id. (Hitt gēnu, Skt jānu-, Gk γόνον, Lat genu).
krye ‘head’ < EPA *krānja < *krasnjā: Gk κριφίον ‘skull, head’.
mjekēr ‘chin, beard’ < EPA *smekrā < IE *smekru- id. (Hitt zamankur- ‘beard’, Skt śmāśru- id., Arm mawrowk’-id., Lith smākra- ‘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 *kw, *gw. In all positions, other than before front vowels, *w was lost. The resulting consonants were identical with “pure” velars.

IE *k yielded EPA *k > Alb k:

darkē ‘supper’ < EPA *darkā < IE *dorkʰom reflected in Gk δόρπον id.

gjak ‘blood’ < EPA *saka: Gk ὀπός ‘juice’, Lith sakai ‘resin’, Slav *sokʰ ‘juice’.
kollē ‘cough’ < EPA *kāslā < IE *kʰās- (Slav *kašľ id., Lith kosulys id.).

krimb ~ krym ‘worm’ < EPA *krim- (with unexplained Geg y) < IE *kʰrmi- id. (Skt kṛmi-, Lith kūrmi).

ndjek ‘to follow, to chase, to pursue’ < EPA *en-teka < IE *tekʰ- ‘to run, to flow’ (OIr téichim ‘to flee’, Lith tekū, tekěti ‘to run’, Slav *teko, *tekti ‘to flow, to run’).

pjek ‘to bake, to cook’ < EPA *peka < IE *pekʰ- id. (Skt pācati, Gk πεκτό, Lat coquō, Slav *pektō, *pektu).

1.4.3.11. In the same position, IE *g gave EPA *g, preserved as Alb g:

bajgē ‘dung’ < EPA *balgā: Gk βόλψιτον ‘cow dung’ < *bolgʰ.
gosē ‘water-hole, pit’ < EPA *gatjā < IE *gāː: Slav *gata/*gatъ ‘dam, pool’ and Skt gāṭú- ‘passage, way’.

grah ~ graf ‘to spur on, to call, to roar’ < EPA *graska < IE *gʰerə- (Skt grñāṭi ‘to call, to invoke’, giras- ‘song’, Lith girū, girti ‘to praise’).
1.4.3.12. The same continuant, Alb \textit{g} < EPA \textit{g}, results from IE \textit{gʰ}:

\textit{djeq} ‘to burn’ < EPA \textit{deqa} < IE\textit{dhegʰ} ‘to burn’ (Skt \textit{dāhati}, Toch AB \textit{tsak}-, \textit{tsak}, Lit \textit{degę, dętę}.

\textit{garbe} ‘flower-pot’ < EPA \textit{gar-ibā} < IE\textit{gʰer}- ‘to burn’ (cf. Slav \textit{grěnъ} ‘oven, pot’).

\textit{ngroh} ~ \textit{ngrof} ‘to warm’ < EPA \textit{en-grāja} < IE\textit{gʰer}-: Slav \textit{grējo, grēti} ‘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 \textit{ts} and \textit{dz}. A second palatalization affected old labiovelars. A third palatalization led to the affricatization of dentals before LPA \textit{gj} 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 \textit{kw} and \textit{gw}. The palatalization was carried out under the influence of the following front vowels (a similar development took place in clusters with \textit{fj}). The resulting clusters were \textit{tsw} and \textit{dzw}, which yielded EPA \textit{tś} and \textit{dž}, as did the clusters continuing \textit{kʲ} and \textit{gʲ}.

\textbf{Literature:} MANN \textit{Hist. Gr.} 34-35; OREL \textit{ZtBalk} XXIII/2 140 (different reflexes of \textit{fj} depending on the place of stress).

1.4.4.1. Before front vowels, IE \textit{k} gave EPA \textit{tś}, which later developed into Alb \textit{s}:
mos 'not' (prohib.) < EPA *mātš < IE *mē k‘e, cf. Gk μητε ‘and not’.

pesē ~ pēsē ‘five’ < EPA *pentše < IE *penk‘e ‘five’ (Skt pāica, Gk πέντε, Lat quīnque).

sarkē ‘build, frame, figure (of human body)’ < EPA *tserkā < IE *k‘er- ‘to make, to build’ (Skt karōti, Lith kūrti).

sfell ‘to bring’ < EPA *tsela < IE *k‘el- (Skt cārati ‘to move, to walk’, Gk πέλεω ‘to come into existence, to become’, Lat colō ‘to cultivate, to till’).

sorrē ‘crow’ < EPA *tšārsnā corresponding to Skt kṛṣṇā ‘black, dark’, OPrus kīrśnan ‘black’, Slav *čkhrnъ id.

sy ‘eye’ < EPA *atšiwi. Skt aksi, Av aši, Lith akiš, Slav *očj.

In one case, the original Proto-Albanian affricate might be preserved:

çe ‘what’ < EPA *tši < IE *k‘id. Hitt kūt, Gk τί, Lat quid.

However, çe appears to continue a syntactic complex, probably - IE *k‘od so.

Nevertheless, the affricate appears to be preserved in at least one case:

citē ‘full, brim-full’ < EPA *tσeíta < IE *k‘ejatos (Slav *čits ‘whole’, Lith kėtasis ‘hard’).

The affricate *tš> s resulted from *k‘ before *t.

nis ‘to start, to begin, to prepare for journey’ < EPA *neiša < IE *neik‘iō (Lith su-nikti ‘to set upon, to attack’, Slav *niknoť ‘to rise, to grow’).

vedes ‘to die’ < EPA *awa-takjā < IE *tek’ ‘to run, to flow’ (OIr techúm ‘to flee’, Lith tekū, tekēti ‘to run’, Slav *tek̥, *tek’ti ‘to flow, to run’).

1.4.4.2. Before front vowels and *j, IE *g̣ became EPA *dž > Alb z, x:

mzīth ‘ankle’ based on EPA *džija < IE *g̣ījā ‘tendon, bow-string’ (Skt jyā, Av jyā, Gk ἴος).

nxit ‘to urge, to stimulate, to hurry’ < EPA *džīta, IE *g̣ī- ‘to live’ (Skt jīvati, Lat vīvō, OE cwicu ‘alive, living’ > E quick).
zè – zà ‘to seize, to grasp, to touch’ < EPA *dzėina < IE *g'ejə- ‘to overpower’ (Skt jyā ‘force, power’, jáyati ‘to win, to conquer’, Gk ἰήν ‘power’).
zi ‘black’ < EPA *džedi < IE *g'ed- (MHG quāt ‘dirt’, OE cwēad ‘bad’, Lith gėda ‘shame’, Slav *gadškъ ‘disgusting’, *gadъ ‘reptile, worm’).
zorré ‘gut’ < EPA *dzärnā < IE *g'era- ‘to swallow’ (Lith žarnà ‘gut’).

1.4.4.3. IE *gʰ merges with *g' in EPA *dž > Alb z before a front vowel or *j.

ndez ‘to set alight, to ignite’ < EPA *en-dadžja, causative IE *dhog'hejō < IE *dhegh- ‘to burn’.
zjei ‘to boil, to cook’ < EPA *džernja < IE *g'her- (Gk θέρμα ‘to become hot, to warm, to burn’, Olr fogoir ‘(he) warms’).

zjarr ‘fire’ < EPA *džera < IE *g'heres- (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 *ti > EPA *tiš > s.

djersē ‘perspiration’ < EPA *widertjā: Gk ἵπτως id. < *suidrōt-s.
nus ‘thread, string’ (Geg) < EPA *snutja < IE *sneu- ‘to turn, to spin’ (Skt sāvan- ‘band, sinew’).
pres ‘to wait, to expect’ < EPA *pratja. Goth frahjan ‘to think, to understand’, Lith prantū, präšt ‘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 scoctō ‘to stream, to flow out’, Lith skantū, skastī ‘to spring, to jump’.
tres ‘to melt, to loosen, to dissolve’ < EPA *trōtja: Slav *tratjø, *tratjī ‘to spend, to waste’.

Occasionally, a more archaic stage of EPA *tš > Alb c is preserved (cf. the similar development of *kʷ > *tš > c before a front vowel or *j):

bac ‘elder brother, uncle’ < EPA *batja: Slav *bat'a ~ *batja ‘elder brother, father’.
mjalcē ‘bee’ < EPA *melitjā: Gk μέλισσα < *μέλιτζα id.
1.4.4.5. In the same position, EPA *d (going back to IE *d and *dh) becomes *dž > Alb z.

bruž ‘blue, indigo’ < EPA *brudja < IE *brhou-dh- (Slav *brudh ‘dirt’, *brudha ‘dirty’).

buzė ‘lip, end, edge, bank, stitch, rock’ < EPA *budjā: Lith budė ‘tree-fungus, tinder, whet-stone’.

gīazē ‘riverside forest’ < EPA *sedja < IE *sed- ‘to sit, to be settled’, cf. in particular Slav *sadh ‘garden, grove’.

loz ‘to move, to shake, to play’ < EPA *lādja: Slav *ladh ‘order, peace’, *laditi ‘to make order, to make peace’.

mēz ~ māz ‘foal’ < EPA *mandja, derived from mēnd ‘to feed, to suckle’ < IE *mazd-.

1.4.4.6. The development of IE *sj > *ṣ into *š > Alb sh is well attested:

gišeš ‘to knead’ < EPA *jesja: Skt yāṣyati ‘to boil’, Gk ἕσσω ‘to boil, to cook’.

shoša ‘to sift’ < EPA *ṣāṣja: Gk ἱσσω id., Lith sūjō, sūjtī id., Slav *sesjä id.

shotē ‘big duck’ < EPA *ṣāutē: W ħwyad id., OCorn hoet id., Bret houat id.

veshi ‘to put on (clothes), to cover’ < EPA *wēṣja to *yēs- (Skt vāste ‘to wear, to be dressed in’, Gk ἔνυμι ‘to dress’, and in particular Skt vāsāyati and Goth wasjan id.).

EPA *ts and *dz reflecting Indo-European palatals yielded *tš and *dž before *ʃ.

drīžē ‘blackthorn, sloe’ < EPA *drīzerbai < IE *dergh- ‘to hold, to be firm’ (Skt dhṛyati ‘to be firm’, Slav *dʌržati to hold’ < *darnažati and, in particular, *dara > Russ dera ‘kind of thorny plant’).

sivjete ‘this year’ < EPA *tšjeiti wetel, dat.-loc. sg. continuing IE *kjieci yetei.

sot ‘today’ < EPA *tšj(i) ditī, dat.-loc. sg. continuing IE *kji diti-

vise ‘place’ < EPA *wīsja < IE *geikjā similar to Gk οἶκός ‘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 nāśati ‘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:

cel ‘to open’ < EPA *štšelja. Hitt iskallāi ‘to tear up’, ON skilj ‘to split’, Lith skeliū, skėlti id.
dal ‘to go out’ < EPA *dālja. Gk θάλας ‘to bloom’.
halë ‘fish bone, splinter; pine’ < EPA *skaljā. Lith skalā ‘stick of firewood’, Latv skala ‘splinter (used to furnish light)’.
majë ‘tip, top, point, peak, summit’ < EPA *maljā: Lith malā ‘land’, Latv māla ‘bank, shore’.
vjel ‘to pluck (fruit), to vintage’ < EPA *welja. Gk εἶλω ‘to shut in, to press’, Lith su-valytī ‘to harvest, to reap’.

1.4.4.8. In the same position, *n changed to Alb nj. The latter developed into j in some dialects and in certain morphological classes. Cf. the following examples:

béj ~ báj ‘to do, to make’ < EPA *banja. Gk φαίνω ‘to appear’.
brej ~ brej ‘to gnaw’ < EPA *brainja < IE *bhrei- ‘to cut’ (Skt bhrīṇa ‘(he) injures’, Lat frīō ‘to rub’, Slav *briti ‘to shave’).
huaj ~ huaj ‘foreign, strange’ < EPA *ksanja connected with isolated Gk ἕως, Dor ἔως ‘stranger, guest’.
melënjë ‘blackbird’ < EPA *melanjā < IEfem. adj. *melanjā ‘black’ (Gk μέλανω id., cf. also Skt malinī, fem. malini ‘dirty, unclean, Latv melns ‘black’).
In Late Proto-Albanian, *n* was also palatalized and changed to nj at the end of the word before auslauting *i* < *ai* (found in plurals of substantives). However, if *i* 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-i-t*.

1.4.4.9. IE *r* before *j* gives Alb *rr*:

*derr* ‘pig’ < EPA *darja*. Gk χοῖρος id. < IE *gḥorjos.*

*ěnděrr* ~ *anděrr* ‘dream, sleep’ < EPA *anrjā < IE *onaerjo-* (Gk ὀνείρος, ὀνείρος, Arm anowrj).  

*shperr* ‘to win (money), to gain’ < EPA *sparja*. Gmc *sparōjan* ‘to leave unharmed, to keep’ (ON spara, OHG sparón, OE sparian).

*shqerr* ‘to tear (cloth)’ < EPA *iš-kerja*. Skt kṛṇati ‘to diminish’, Gk κείρω ‘to cut’.

1.4.4.10. At a later chronological stage, Proto-Albanian velars were palatalized before *j* ~ *j* (of any origin, including *j* as the first component of a diphthong), before diphthongs in *-i*, as well as *ē* and *ii*, both old and new. In this environment, gj < *g* and q < *k*:

*dergi* ‘to lie down, to lay sick, to be ill’ < EPA *dergja*. Lith diriginti ‘to move’, dirgti ‘to lose energy, to become weak’, Slav *dergati ‘to pluck, to pull’ and Gmc *targjan ‘to tear’.

*keq* ‘bad, evil’ < EPA *kakja*. Gk κόκος ‘bad’.

*qell* ‘to halt, to hold up, to carry’ < EPA *kela*. Skt kalāyati ‘to impel’, Gk κέλωμαι ‘to drive on’.

*qeth* ‘to cut (hair)’ < EPA *kaisa*. Skt kēśa- ‘hair (of the head)’, Lith kāūsti ‘to scrape, to shave’.


*qyl* ‘slime, mud’ < EPA *kūla*. Lith kūla ‘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:

- *deggies* ‘to burn’ < EPA *dega < IE *dhegʰ- ‘to burn’ (Skt dīhāti, Toch AB ṭsak-, ṭsāk-, Lit degū, dēgtū).
- *dregē* ‘scab’ < EPA *dragā: West Gmc *targjan ‘to pull, to stir’ (Germ zergen), Slav *dargati ‘to pull, to tug’, Lith dirginti ‘to move, to irritate’.
- *grabē* ‘erosion, hollowing out’ < EPA *grabā < IE *ghrebʰ- ‘to dig’ (OHG grab ‘grave’, Slav *grobs’ id.).
- *rrabe* ‘rocky desert (with bushes)’ < EPA *rauba: Goth raupjan ‘to rip’, OHG routen id.
- *tredh* ‘to castrate’ < EPA *treuda: Lat trūdō ‘to push’, Goth us-priutan ‘to burden’, Slav *trudь ‘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):

- *bigē* ‘forked stick, branch; double-crested mountain’ ⇔ Lat bīga ‘pair of animals; team for ploughing’.
modh ‘bushel’ ⇔ Lat modus ‘measure’.
plagē ‘wound’ ⇔ Lat plāga id.
rrugē ‘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:

kij ‘to prune, to trim’ < EPA denominative *kadinja related to kadhē ‘pruning-knife, billhook with long handle’ < IE *ske(n)đi- (Skt kshadate ‘to split’, Gk σκέδόνυμι ‘to scatter, to disperse’).
ngē ‘time, leisure, chance, opportunity’ < EPA *en-gadā. Slav *godb ‘time, year’.
rrush ‘grape’ < EPA *råguśa. Gk ῥόξ id. Intermediate stages of the Proto-Albanian development are reflected in the name of Illyr Ragusa ~ Ragusium Ῥάγουσα.
sot ‘today’ < EPA dat.-loc. sg. *tsja(i) dītāi < IE *čjā diti-.
vēlla ‘brother’ < EPA *swe-laudā, composite of pronominal IE *syc and *laudā < IE*eudh- (OHG liut ‘people’, Slav *ljudb 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.

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 *bubulus* ‘ploughman, herdsman’.
- **kalë** ‘horse’ ⇔ Lat *caballus* id.
- **kreshmë** ‘fast’ ⇔ Lat *quaedrigesima* ‘Lent, fast of forty days’.
- **mjek** ‘physician, doctor’ ⇔ Lat *medicus* id.
- **mjeshtër** ‘master, builder’ ⇔ Lat *magister* ‘master’.
- **pyll** ‘forest’ ⇔ Rom *padulem* < Lat *paludem* ‘swamp’.

Words with no traces of the rhythmic rule belong to a later layer of Latin loanwords:

- **adhuroj** ‘to adore’ ⇔ Lat *adoräre* id.
- **rrregull** ‘rule, norm’ ⇔ Lat *régula* id.
- **rrobull** ‘mountain pine’ ⇔ Lat *róbur* ‘oak’.
- **trashëgof** ‘to inherit’ ⇔ Lat *tränigere* ‘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 (*sq-* → d), 290 (merger of *sk* and *s̄k*), 308 (IE *-tt > -s*), 339 (development of *gn*); Jokl Studien 17 (*sq-* → d), IF XXX 192-210 (on *sk, *s̄k*), LKUBA 207 (clusters with *liquida*), 261-262 (IE *-tt*), Melanges Pedersen 146-148 (development of *k̄y to *tk*); Baric *AarbSt* III 214-221 (development of *sk, *s̄k*); Tagliavini *Dalmazia* 214 (clusters with *w*); MANN *Language* XVII 15 (*rn > rr*), XXVIII 33 (depalatalization of palatals), 37 (development of *sr, *sh*), Hist. Gr. 37-39; Cimochowski *BusT* XIII 41-44; Gaters KZ LXXIII/1-2 108 (development of IE *ry*); Solta *IF LXX/3* 276-315 (Albanian-Armenian parallels); Öberg *Gedenkschr. Brandenstein* 109-118; Hamp KZ LXXVII 252-253 (IE *-tt*); Čačej *Sprache* XVIII 146-153 (reflexes of *sk, *s̄k*), St. III 142-143, IV 56-64 (groups *nd, ng*), IV 218-220 (*sk > sh*), 220-221 (*nt > unhotacized n*), 221 (*yr*
> *tr*; Rusanov *Ls* 1981 195-202; Orel *Antič. balk.* 3 37-39 (IE *dq
> 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 *lt*.

*amul* ‘stagnant (of water)’ < EPA *a-mulwa*. Lith *muľvė* ‘silt,
marsh’, *mūli* ‘to get dirty’.

*diel* ‘sun’ < EPA *delwa*. Skt *hārī* ‘pale, yellowish’, Av *zārī*- id.,
Lat *helvus* ‘yellowish’, Lith *žėlvas* id.

*gielle* ‘alive’ < EPA *salwa*. Skt *sārva* ‘complete, whole’, Gk *ōloς*

*miele* ‘flour’ < EPA *melwa* < IE *melyo*- (OHG *mělo* id., ON *mjôl*
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*.

*arrē* ‘walnut-tree, walnut’ < EPA *arwa*. Gk *ἄρβυς* τό
‘срακλεωτικά κάρυα’, Hes.

*berr* ‘sheep, goat’ < EPA *barwa*. ON *bogr* ‘hog’, OHG *barug,*
*baruh* id., Slav *borvъ* ‘boar’.

*morr* ‘louse’ < EPA *mārwa*. OIr *moirb* ‘ant’, Slav *morvъ* id.

*thirr* ‘soot’ < EPA *tsirwa*. Lith *šīvas* ‘gray’.

*verē* ‘hole’ < EPA *werwa*. Skt *urū* ‘wide’, *vāras*- ‘space, width’,
Gk εὐρύς ‘wide’.

EPA *wr* gave the same results as *rw:

*rra* ‘belly-worm’ < EPA *wraga*. OIr *frige* ‘vermin, flesh-worm’ <
*urgъ*.

*rrah* ‘to beat, to strike’ < EPA *wraugu*. Gk *ῥάγσσα* id. < IE
*γραγʰ*.

*rrēnē* ~ *rranē* ‘root, oak’ < EPA *wradnē*. Gk *ῥάδις* ‘branch’, id.,
Lat *raŭx* ‘root’, W *gwaitd*. 

*rrime* ‘rain-worm’ < EPA *wrima* < IE *urmi*- ~ *urmo*- ‘worm’
(Lat *vermis* id., Goth *wau̯rma* ‘worm, snake’, Lith *va̯rma* ‘insect’).
rris ‘to pull up, to move up, to increase, to grow’ < EPA *writja < IE *gert- ‘to turn’ (Skt varata, Lat vertō, Goth wairpan ‘to become’).

rrum ‘clapper; maize-cob stripped of corns’ < EPA *wrubnā. Gk ṭόμυνος ‘thorny bush’ < *yrbno-.

1.4.6.2. EPA *w lost before all vowels when following an occlusive:

botē ‘earth; world’ < EPA *bwātā based on IE *bheus- ~ *bhū- ‘to be, to grow’.

dak ‘big ram’ < EPA *dwakā. Lith dvēkti ‘to breathe’, dvākas ‘breath’.

degē ‘twig, branch’ < EPA *dwaigā. OHG zwīg id., Germ Zweig.

derē ‘door’ < EPA *dwōrā < IE *dhyer- id. (Skt dvār-, Gk θύρα, Toch B twere).

jieth ‘foliage, green leaves’ < EPA *gadaz. OHG questa ‘tuft’, ON kuist ‘branch’, Slav *gvozd ‘wood, forest’.

kem ‘incense’ < EPA *kapna < IE *kyēp- (Gk κάπνος ‘smoke’).

tērē ~ tanē ‘whole, all’ < EPA *twana < *tyono- < IE *teu- ‘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:

vajžē ‘girl’, based on *varē < EPA *swesarā. Skt svāsar-, Arm koyr, Lat soror.

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

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

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

When followed by *u, 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.
samē ‘dog’s excrements’ < EPA *tswa(n)-ma, a derivative in *mo- of the Indo-European word for ‘dog’, cf. Skt śvā, Gk κύων, Olfr cú, Lith šūo.

zet ‘twenty’ < EPA *w(i)tsatī < IE *yīksmti id. (Skt viśṣati-, Gk ἐἰκοῦσιν, Lat vīgiumī).  
zē – zā ‘voice’ < EPA *dzwana < IE *gʰyeno- (Arm jain ‘voice’, Slav *zvorn ‘ringing, sound’).

zot ‘lord, master, god’ < EPA *w(i)ts-pati-: Skt viṣ-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 (nj)

gjaj ‘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 *ghrebh-

vej ‘to weave’ < EPA *webnja. Skt ubhnaṭi ‘to lace up’, OHG weban ‘to weave’, Toch B wāp- id.

EPA *dnj > Alb (nj)

giej ~ gjēj ‘to find’ < EPA *gadnja. Gk χάνδαιω, aor. ἐχαδίου ‘to seize, to grasp’, Lat pre-hendo id., ON geta id.

lej ‘to give birth; to be born; to rise (of the sun)’ < EPA *laidnja. Lith leisti ‘to let’, Latv laist id.

luaj ~ leuj ‘to move, to shake, to play’ < EPA *lādnja, a denominative verb connected with Slav *ladts ‘order, peace’, *laditi ‘to make order, to make peace’.


EPA *gnj > Alb (nj)

boj, bohet ‘to mate’ < EPA *bāgnja: Lith bėgti ‘to run’, Latv bėgt id., OPrus begeyte id., Slav *běgti id., Gk φέβωμαι id.
enjë 'juniper, yew' < EPA *aIGNJĀ related to the Germanic word for 'oak': ON eik, OHG eih.
enjê ~ ējē 'dairy goat' < EPA *AGNJĀ: Gk ἀγνός 'lamb', Lat agnus id.
ruaj ~ ruej 'to guard, to keep, to observe' < EPA *Rāgnja: ON rökja 'to take care of', Gk ἀρέσκω 'to assist, to defend'.
ujē 'water' < EPA *udnjā < IE *yed- ~ *yod- id.

EPA *knj > Alb nj

prēnjē 'freckle, sunspot', derivative in -kē of EPA *priknjē: Skt prēśni- 'spotted, speckled', Gk πρήσκος 'dark, spotted', W erch 'spotted'.

EPA *rnj > Alb (nj)

mbaj 'to hold, to carry' < EPA *en-barnja, a causative related to IE *bhēr- 'to bear'.
ziej 'to boil, to cook' < EPA *džernja < IE *gher- (Gk θέρωμα 'to become hot, to warm, to burn', OIr feig 'he warms').

EPA *snj > Alb (nj)

muaj ~ muej 'month' < EPA *mōsnja, from the metathesis of IE *mēns- 'moon, month' (Skt mās-, Gk μήν, Lat mēnis, OIr mē). quaj ~ quej 'to call, to give a name' < EPA *klōusnja, a denominative based on IE *kleyos 'glory, word' (Skt śrāvya-, Gk κλέος, Slav *slovo).
thaj 'to dry' < EPA *saušnja < IE *sauo- 'dry' (Gk σοῦς, MHG sōr, Lith saūsas, Slav *suxš).

EPA *snj > Alb (nj)

maj ~ māj 'to feed, to fatten' < EPA *mazdnja, a deverbalive based on IE *mazd- 'feeding' (OHG mast, Skt médas- 'fat, marrow').
EPA *dtʃ, *gtʃ, *ktʃ > Alb s

lus ‘to pray, to invoke, to beg’ < EPA *lugtʃr. Lith lūgōti ‘to ask, to pray’, Latv lūdzu, lūgt ‘to ask, to invite’, OHG lockōn ‘to lure, to entice’.

nesēr ‘tomorrow’ < EPA *natsēr continuing *nok’tjōr, cf. W neithiwr, neithwywr ‘last night’, Bret neizwer, neizir id.

zhys ‘to dive’ < EPA *diš-ūd-tjā derived from IE *yed- ~ *ud- ‘water’.

EPA *dsj, *ksj > Alb sh

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

push ‘fluff, down, nap, pile’ < EPA *pukskā. Skt puccha- ‘tail’ < *puksko-, Slav *puxz ‘down’ < *pukso-.

qesh ‘to laugh’ < EPA *kaksja, cf. similar onomatopoeic verbs in Skt kākhati, Gk κακχϊδω id.

teshē ‘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 *nṛj the segment *ṛj changed to rr and then, epenthetic d was added so that *nṛj resulted in -nderr:

ēnderr ~ anderr ‘dream, sleep’ < EPA *anṛjā < IE *oner- ‘word’ (Gk ὄναρ) ~ *onerio- id. (Gk ὄνειρον, ὄνειρος, Arm anowrfj).

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, glēmb ‘thorn’ < EPA *glamba, comparable with Slav *glob-okh ‘deep’ < *‘hollowed’, *glob ‘trunk, stump, cabbage-stump’, cf. also Gk γλαφό to scrape up.

qep ‘to sew (together), to seize’ < EPA *klepa. Slav *klepati ‘to beat, to knock’.
qetê ‘(jagged) rock’ < EPA *klaitê. W clud ‘heap’ and Lith šlaïtas ‘slope’.
qos ‘to end, to finish’ < EPA *klâ(u)jja derived from the Indo-European word for ‘key’: Gk κλῆ[τ]ς, Lat clavis. Cf. Lith klâdyti ‘to stop, to prevent’.
quaj ~ quej ‘to call, to give a name’ < EPA *klâusnja, a denominative based on IE *kläyos ‘glory, word’: Skt srâvas-, Gk κλεός, Slav *šlovò.
qye ‘summit, peak’ < EPA *klaina to IE *kloino- ‘slanting, skew’ (Goth gen. pl. hlaine ‘hill’).

The one example of medial *gl attests an anaptyctic vowel:

mjegull ‘cloud’ < EPA *meglîä. Gk οὐμίχλη ‘fog, mist’, Lith miglì id., Slav *megl’a ‘darkness, mist’.

EPA *gr and *kr are well preserved in Albanian:

grabë ‘erosion, hollowing out’ < EPA *grabâ: OHG grab ‘grave’, Slav *grobë id.
grah ~ graf ‘to spur on, to call, to roar’ < EPA *graska. Skt grñâti ‘to call, to invoke’, Lith girîù, girti ‘to praise’.
grij ~ grij ‘to cut into pieces, to gnaw, to eat away’ < EPA *grînjà < IE *grê- ‘to swallow’ (Skt girâti, Arm eker, Lat vorô, Lith gerîù, gertì ‘to drink’, Slav *žerti).

kri ~ krî ‘woodworm, moth’ < EPA *kriwi-, to IE *k réal- (Slav *crawv ‘worm’).


krua ~ krue ‘spring, fountain’ < EPA *krûna < *krasna. Gk κρῆνη id., OE hraen ‘wave’ < Gmc *xraznô.

Initial *kr occasionally became voiced:

grerê ~ grenezê ‘wasp, hornet’ < EPA *graïsnu. Lat crâbrô ‘hornet’, OHG hornaz id., Lith širšuô id., Slav *syršënu 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’.
perrmjerr ‘to urinate’ < EPA *per-megra. IE *meiğh- id. (Skt méhati, Gk ὁμειχω, Lat meió, 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:

giatë, glutë ‘long’ < EPA *dlata continuing IE *dlugh-to-, cf. *(d)longho- (Lat longus, Goth lags).

As to *tl, it developed into ll in the middle of the word:

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

EPA *sl yields Alb ll in all positions:

dylë ‘wax’ < EPA *dāla < *dusla: Gk χολός ‘juice’.
kollë ‘cough’ < EPA *kāslā: Slav *kasľa id., Lith kosulys id.
lënjez ‘mud, silt’ < EPA *slinjā: Lith šēnas ‘saliva, mucus, slime’, Slav *slina ‘saliva’.
quill ‘porridge’ < EPA *klu-sla: Gk κλυζω ‘to rinse’, Lat cluō ‘to clean’.

If *k was not depalatalized before *l, the resulting cluster *tsl yielded *sl > ll:

pellë ‘comb’ < EPA *petslā: Gk πέκω ‘to comb’, Lith pešti ‘to pull, to pluck’, Lat pecten ‘comb’.

1.4.6.6. Numerous clusters including dentals and *r were well preserved in Albanian. EPA *dr gave dr:
dre ~ drë ‘deer’ < EPA *dranu-: ὀρνιç [for ὁρ-]: ὀρνιç.
dredh ‘to turn, to rotate’ < EPA *dredža continuing IE *dregh- (Arm dañam ‘to turn’, darj ‘curve, turn’).
dritë ‘light, lustre, pupil (of an eye)’ < EPA *driktä based on IE *derkk- ‘to look’ cf. in particular, OE torht ‘bright’, OHG zorahl.
dru ~ drù ‘tree; wood (f, pl. dru)’ < EPA *druwa. Slav *druvo ‘wood’, Skt dru- id., Av dru- id., Gk ὑρώρ ‘tree, oak’.
dre, dree ‘fear’ < PAbl *dráwä. Latv druvas ‘fear’ and Lith draudžiù, drausti ‘to forbid, to deter, to scare off’.

EPA *tr did not change:

trap ‘ferry’ < EPA *trapæ. Slav *tropa ‘path’ further related to IE *trep- ‘to tread’.
tre ‘three’ < EPA *treje < IE *trejes id. (Skt trayah, Gk τρεῖς, Lat três).
tredh ‘to castrate’ < EPA *treduja. Lat trüdo ‘to push’, Goth us- priuian ‘to burden’, Slav *trudib ‘labor, work’.
tremb ‘to frighten’ < EPA *tremea. Toch A tärm- ‘to get angry’, Gk τρείμω ‘to tremble (of fear)’, Lat tremōid.
tres ‘to melt, to loosen, to dissolve’ < EPA *tröja. Slav *tratjö, *tratití ‘to spend, to waste’.
trim ‘hero’, adj. ‘brave, courageous’ < EPA *trimæ. IE *trmo- (Arm tärn ‘young, fresh, green’).

In inlaut, anaptyctic ĕ developed within Alb tr and dr at a very recent stage:

tjetër ‘other’ < EPA *eteræ. Slav *eterb ‘some, somebody’.
mojtër ‘sister’ < *matriç < EPA *mater < IE *mæter- ‘mother’ (Skt mātār-, Gk μητρῆ, Lat māter).

The cluster *sr gives Alb rr in all positions:

err ‘darkness’ < EPA *auræ. Lith aušrą ‘dawn’, Gk ὄρη id.
korr ‘to reap, to harvest’ < EPA *käsra. Lith kasū, kasti ‘to dig’, Slav *kosa ‘scythe’.
rrag ‘apron’ < EPA *srauga. Lith srūoga ‘skein, hank; tuf, hairlock’, srauga id.
rrymē ‘flow (of water)’ < EPA *srāmē. Gk ἑσύμα ‘stream’, ON straumr id., Lith sraumuō ‘fast stream’.

The development of *str is of special interest. It seems to reflect dhr < *dhr < *tsr, with a secondary variant dr:

badhēr, badēr ‘narcissus, daffodil’ < EPA *bastrā. Skt bhāstrā ‘bellows’, further based on *bhes- ‘to blow’.
thadēr ‘a kind of double-sided axe’ < EPA *tsestrā. Skt śastra- ‘knife, sword’.

Initial clusters with second *r can occasionally lose the r:
pērpush ‘to poke, to stir up’ < *pēr-prush, cf. prush ‘ember, glowing coal’.
shpell ‘to announce, to declare’ < *shprall, based on prrallē ‘tale, story’.

1.4.6.7. When appearing in clusters with nasal sonorants, liquids created homorganic epenthetic consonants:
dhēndēr ~ dhandēr ‘bridegroom, son-in-law’ < EPA *dzanra < IE *gerner- ‘son-in-law’ (Lat gener).
ĕmbēl ~ ambēl ‘sweet’ < EPA *amlā. Skt amlā- ‘sour’.

Rarely attested *rl yielded l, j.

bilē, bijē ‘daughter’ < EPA *bīr(ī)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:
ajkē ‘cream, wool fat’ < EPA *alkā related to Lith ākštī ‘be hungry’, ākā ‘hunger’, Slav *olkti ‘be hungry’.
argēsh ‘crude raft supported by skin bladders, crude bridge of crossbars, harrow’ < EPA *argusa. Skt argala- ‘bolt’, OE reced ‘building, house’.
bajgē, balgē ‘dung’ < EPA *balgā. Gk ἑλκότων ‘cow dung’ < IE *bolto-.
darkē ‘supper’ < EPA *darkā < IE *darkom reflected in Gk δόρπου id.
heq, helq ‘to draw, to pull’ < EPA *skalkja. Gk ἑλκεῖα < *solkejā based on ἑλκω ‘to draw’. The variant heq goes back to *hejā.

In one case, however, EPA *rk yielded rr:

tjerr ‘to spin’ < EPA *terkā. Toch B tārk- ‘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 *ģhersos (Gk χέρος ‘dry land’).
kalli ‘ear of grain’ based on EPA *kalsa: Slav *kolsa ‘ear of grain’.
marrte ‘murky, cloudy, dim, dull’, derived from EPA *marsa. Slav *morx ‘dusk, fog’.
mejl ‘to milk’ < EPA *melga: Gk ὁμέλγω id., Lat mulgeō id., Lith melžiu, melžti id.
ter ‘to make dry’ < EPA *tarsja: Skt tarsāyati 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:

dasmē, darsmē ‘wedding’ < EPA *dartsimā, derived from darkē.

Longer clusters beginning with liquids were radically simplified:

barmē ‘bast’ < EPA *bardzmā derived from *bardza > bardhē ‘white’.
bashkë ‘fleece’ < EPA *bar(u)škā: barukë id. and derived from berr ‘sheep, goat’.
et ‘thirst’ < EPA *alk-tī: Lith įlkti ‘to be hungry’, Slav *olkati id.,
OHG ilgi ‘hunger’.
kashtē ‘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 *bōlνά: Gk φολλός ‘phallus’, Lat follis
‘bellows’, OIr hall ‘limb, member’.
gēshtallē ‘splint, piece of wood’ < EPA *ka-stalnā < IE *stel-
hall ‘trouble, misery, plight, sorrow’ < EPA *skalnā: Gmc *skallaz
‘thin, dry, shallow’ ~ *xallaz ‘weak, tired’.
kall ‘to insert, to thrust, to place, to incite, to set on fire’ < EPA
*kailna < IE *k’ōlo- derived from *k’el- ‘to turn’.
pjell ‘to beget, to produce, to bear’ < EPA *pelnā. Lat pellō ‘to
drive, to push’, Gk πόλεω ‘to poise, to swell, to swing’.

EPA *rn gave Alb rr:

barrē ‘fetus’ < EPA *barνā, cognate with Gmc *barnan ‘child’.
djerr ‘to destroy’ < EPA *derna: Skt dhṛṇati ‘to burst, to tear’, Gk
déρω ‘to skin’, Goth gatairan ‘to tear’.
kurrē ‘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 *mə-r/η: Hitt mānijha- ‘to
hand over’, Gk μαρη, Lat manus.
verr ‘alder’ < EPA *wernea. Bret gwern id., W gwernen id., MIr
fern id. and Arm gerran ‘beam, timber’
zorrē ‘gut’ < EPA *džarnā: Lith žarnā id.

The cluster *rsn also produced Alb rr:

sorrē ‘crow’ < EPA *šārnsnā corresponding to Skt kṛṣṇā- ‘black,
dark’, OPrus kirsan ‘black’, Slav *čeřně id.
1.4.6.10. All clusters consisting of an occlusive followed by EPA *m developed into Alb mr:

*amēz ‘odour, aroma’ derived from EPA *admē: Gk ὀ drmē id., Lat odor id., Lith uostē ‘to smell’.
*hime ‘bran’ < EPA *seidma < IE *seid-men-. Goth skaidan ‘to divide’, Lith skiedžu, skiesti ‘to make thin’, cf. Lith skiemuo ‘opening used to insert the shuttle’ < *seid-men-.
*kam ‘to have’ < EPA *kapmi < IE *kap- ‘to seize, to grasp’ (Lat capiō id., Goth haban ‘to have’).

Likewise, EPA *nm > Alb m:

*emēr ~ emēn ‘name’ < EPA *enmen- or *inmen-: OIr ainm id., Slav *jāmē id., OPrus emnes id.

EPA *sm > Alb m in all positions:

*jam ‘to be’ < EPA *es-mi < IE *es- id. (Skt āsmi, Gk ēimi).
*mug ‘twilight’ < EPA *smugr. OE smoca ‘smoke’, OIr múch id., Arm mowx id.

EPA *nsm simplified to Alb m:

*thom ‘to say’ < EPA *tsānsmi: OPers ṭātiy ‘to say’, Lat cēnsoē ‘to assess, to value’.

Before spirants and affricates *m was dropped:

*gīthē ‘all’ < EPA *sendza < IE *sem-ḡo- ‘one’ (Arm ez).
*mish ‘flesh, meat’ < EPA *memsa < IE *memso- id. (Skt māṁsa ‘flesh, meat’, Arm mis, Goth mīnz, 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.

$g\text{jal}m$ ‘rope, lace’ < EPA *sal\text{p}na: Slav *s\text{olp}iti ‘to stick out’, Lith $i\text{s}-$s\text{elp}i\text{n}\text{e}t\text{i} ‘to get divided’.

$g\text{ju}m\text{e}$ ‘sleep’ < EPA *sup\text{na} < IE *sup-no- id. (Gk ῥ\text{π}ν\text{ο}ς, Slav *\text{š}\text{p}n\text{ь}e).

$k\text{arm}\text{e}$ ‘rock’ < EPA *kar\text{p}n\text{a} further related to kar\text{p}ē id.

$k\text{em}, q\text{em}$ ‘incense’ < EPA *kap\text{na}: Gk κ\text{α}π\text{νός} ‘smoke’.

$k\text{érme}$ ‘carcass, carion, cadaver’ < EPA *kar-p-n\text{ē}: Skt k\text{fp} ‘shape, beautiful appearance’, Lat corpus ‘body’, OHG hr\text{ē}l ‘belly, body’.

$l\text{um}$ ‘blessed, happy, lucky, fortunate’ < EPA *lub\text{na}, an adjective in *-no- derived from IE *leubh- ‘to love, to wish’.

EPA *\text{g}n\text{a} (with *g of any origin) changed to \text{n}j.

$en\text{jē}$ ‘juniper, yew’ < EPA *a\text{ignjē}: ON e\text{i}k, OHG e\text{i}h.

$en\text{jē}$ ~ ē\text{jē} ‘dairy goat’ < EPA *a\text{gnjē}: Gk οι\text{μ}ν\text{ός} ‘lamb’, Lat ag\text{nus} id.

$n\text{joh} ~ n\text{jof} ‘to know’ < EPA *\text{gn}\text{ask}k\text{r}: IE *\text{g}n\text{e}\text{n}o- ~ *\text{gn\text{o}}- id., cf. Gk γ\text{i}γ\text{nό\text{ό}}κ\text{ω}, Epidaur γ\text{nό\text{ό}}κ\text{ω}, Lat (g)nό\text{scō}.

EPA *\text{s}n became *n, which is preserved as such in anlaut:

$n\text{us}$ ‘thread, string’ < EPA *\text{s}n\text{utjā}: Skt sn\text{ā}v\text{a}n- ‘band, sinew’.

In auslaut, however, *n was occasionally lost. When it was preserved, it was rhotacized in Tosk:

$gr\text{erē}$ ~ gren\text{ē} ‘wasp, hornet’ < EPA *gr\text{a}s\text{n}ā: Lat crā\text{brō} ‘hornet’, OHG hor\text{n}az id., Lith šir\text{s}u\text{o} id., Slav *\text{s}r\text{s}e\text{n}u id.

$g\text{ijer}$ ‘soup’ ~ Geg g\text{j}an\text{ē} ‘mudbed, alluvium’ < EPA *ja\text{us}n\text{r}: Skt neut. yu\text{s} ‘soup’, Lat i\text{s}s id., Lith ju\text{sē} ‘fish soup’.

$k\text{r\nu\text{a}}$ ~ kr\text{\u{u}}e ‘spring, fountain’ < EPA *kr\text{\u{u}}n\text{a}: Gk κρ\text{π\text{n}}η id., OE hr\text{n\text{\u{a}}} ‘wave’ < Gmc *x\text{raznō}.

$k\text{rye}$ ‘head’ < EPA *kr\text{\u{a}}n\text{jē} < *k\text{r\text{a}s}n\text{jē}: Gk κ\text{ρ\text{α}nv\text{i}ν ‘skull, head’.

$m\text{uaj} ~ m\text{uej}$ ‘month’ < EPA *\text{m\text{o}s}n\text{j\text{a}}, from the metathesis of IE *\text{m\text{e}n}s- ‘moon, month’ (Skt m\text{ā}s-, Gk μ\text{η}ν, Lat m\text{ē}n\text{s}is, OIr m\text{ī}').
The development of *dn was similar to that of *sr:

lē ~ lā ‘to let’ < EPA *laidna: Lith lėisti id., Latv lāst 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 áṇhast- ‘fear’, Lat angor ‘unrest, fear’, OIr cumcae gl. ‘angor’ < Celt *kom-ong-jā.

angērr ‘skin, intestines’ < EPA *angarā related to Arm anjin ‘soul, person’, ON angi ‘smell, odor’.

bung ‘kind of oak, Quercus sessiflora’ < EPA *bunka: Arm bown ‘trunk’.

nga ‘out’ < EPA *en-ka, a compound consisting of *en- identical with IE *en ‘in’ and EPA *ka, which is related to Slav *ks ‘to, towards’.

ngul ‘to thrust in, to stick in’ < EPA *en-kula: Lith kūlti ‘to thresh’, Latv kūlj ‘to strike’.

If the palatal changed to an affricate, *n was lost:

pesē ~ pēsē ‘five’ < EPA *pentē < IE *penk’e ‘five’ (Skt pāṇca, Gk πέντε, Lat quīnque).

In auslaut, the cluster *nt normally gives n.

anē ‘side’ < EPA *antē: Skt ánta- ‘end’, Goth andeis id.

banē ‘dwelling’ < EPA *banti, derived from bēj ‘to make, to do’.

dhunē ‘labor pains, shame, disgrace’ < EPA *eduntē: Gk ὥδουνη ‘labor pains’, Arm erkn id.

man ‘mulberry’ < EPA *manta: Dac μαντεία ‘blackberry’.

vonē ‘late’ < EPA participle *wāntē: Skt vāyati ‘to vanish, to become exhausted’, Lith vójus(i) ‘ailing’, Latv vājš ‘meager, weak’.

If preceded by *e, EPA *nt became nd:

brenda ‘inside’ < EPA *(en) per entra, a sequence of clitics.
çandêr ‘prop, support’ < EPA *iš-skentra < IE *(s)kentrom (Gk κέντρον ‘goad’).

lend ‘acorn’ < EPA *lenta < IE *lent- ‘lentil’ (Lat lēns, lēntis, OHG līnsi, Slav *lěťa).

lendê ~ landê ‘wood, timber, material’ < EPA *lentē. Gmc *lendō ‘linden’ (OHG līnta, OE līnd), Lith lentā ‘board’, Slav *lōtī ‘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):

farê ‘seed, semen, kin’ < EPA *sparā < IE *sper- ‘to spill, to sow’ (Gk σπειρω id., σπέρμα ‘semen, seed’).

fend ‘to far’ < EPA *spenda. Skt spandate ‘to shiver’, Gk σπανδάζω ‘to ahiver, to tremble’.

ferrê ‘thorn, thorny bush’ < EPA *spernā < IE *sper- ‘spear, stick’ (Lat sparus ‘short spear’, Gmc *speru- ‘spear’ > ON spjör).


fryj ~ fryej ‘to blow’ < *sprūgnja. Lith sprūgstu, sprūgti ‘to escape, to get out’, Slav *sprygati ‘to jump, to spring’.

fus ‘to put in, to thrust in, to insert; to plant’ < EPA *spūta. Lat putō ‘to trim, to prune’, Toch A, B putk ‘to divide’.

fty ‘throat, gullet’ < EPA *spūta. Lat spūō ‘to spit’, spūtum ‘spittle’, Gk πτύω ‘to spit’.

EPA *ps yielded f.

afêr ‘near’ < EPA *apsera, a contamination of *aps, a variant of IE *apo, and of *apero (Skt ápāra ‘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:

\[\text{shpardh}, \text{shparr} \text{ ‘oak’} < \text{EPA} \ast\text{is-pardzæ. ON forkr ‘stick, pole’ continuing IE \ast\text{perg}.}\]

There may be, however, one example which supports this position:

\[\text{shperr} \text{ ‘to win (money), to gain’} < \text{EPA \ast\text{sparja. Gmc \ast\text{sparōjan ‘to leave unharmed, to keep’}; ON spara, OHG sparon, OE sparian.}\]

1.4.6.14. The cluster \ast s \text{ gave \sht \text{ in all positions:}}

\[\text{asht ‘bone’} < \text{EPA \ast\text{ašti or \ast\text{ašta < IE \ast\text{ost(i)- ‘bone’ (Hitt \text{haštai, Skt \text{ašthi, Gk ςότεου).}}}}\]
\text{brushtull ‘heather’} < \text{EPA \ast\text{brust-ula. Slav \ast\text{brǔstŭ ‘sprout, bud’ and OS \text{brustian ‘to shoot, to sprout’.}}\]
\text{kěshtallé ‘splint (in medicine)’} < \text{EPA \ast\text{ka-stală. Goth \text{stols ‘chair’, Lith \text{stūlas ‘table’, Slav \ast\text{stolĭ ‘table, pole’.}}\]
\text{shtagă ‘pole, stick’} < \text{EPA \ast\text{stagă: ON \text{stjaki id., Latv \text{stēga ‘long pole’.}}\]
\text{shtang ‘hard’} < \text{EPA \ast\text{stanga. ON \text{stinga ‘to put, to stick’, Lith \text{stięgė, stęngti ‘to be able’, stięgti ‘to become hard’, Latv \text{stięgt id.}}\]
\text{shteg ‘path, road} < \text{EPA \ast\text{staiga < IE \ast\text{stoigho- ‘way’ (Gk στόιχος ‘row, line’, Goth \text{staiga ‘way’, Latv \text{staīga ‘walking, sēga ‘path’, Slav \ast\text{staza id.}}.}}\]

\text{Alb \sht \text{ is also the end product of triconsonantal clusters ending in \ast st:}}

\[\text{gjashtē ‘six’ < EPA \ast\text{seksti-, derivationally close to Skt \text{ṣaṣṭi- ‘six tens’.}}\]
\text{jashtē ‘outside’} < \text{EPA \ast\text{eksta derived from IE \ast\text{egh-s ‘out’: Gk \text{ἐξ, Lat ex and the like.}}\]
\text{kashtē ‘straw’} < \text{EPA \ast\text{kalstă, derivative of \text{kalli ‘ear of grain’.}}\]
\text{rrasht ‘bone, skull, skeleton, shell’} < \text{EPA \ast\text{wragsta, derivative of \text{rrah ‘to beat, to strike’ < \ast\text{wrag-ska.}}\]

The voiced correlate of \ast st \text{ reflected as \astzd > \astdz > dhr.}
**phonology**

*pidh* ‘female pudenda’ < EPA *p(e)izda*. Slav *pizda* id. and OPrus *peisdā* ‘bottom’.

However, when preceded by voiced consonants, *zd* was dissimilated to *ts* > *θr*.

*driθē* ‘grain’ < EPA *dritsē*. Lat *hordeum* ‘barley’, OHG *gersta* id. < IE *ḥīrzd*-

gjeth ‘foliage, green leaves’ < EPA *gadzra*. OHG *questa* ‘tuft’, ON *kvístr* ‘branch’, Slav *gvozda* ‘wood, forest’.

1.4.6.15. In anlaut, EPA *sk* of any origin (i.e. reflecting IE *sk* or *sk̚*) 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:

*hírrē* ‘whey’ < EPA *ksíra*. Skt *kṣíra*- ‘milk’, Osset *axšir* id.

Metathesis did not normally take place in Proto-Albanian roots containing an unvoiced consonant:

*shkak* ‘reason, cause; noose, snare, trap’ < EPA *skak*. ON *skaga* ‘to protrude’, Slav *skok* ‘jump’ < IE *skek*– ‘to jump, to be agile’.

*shkas* ‘to slip, to slide’ < EPA *skatja* corresponding to Lat *scateā* ‘to stream, to flow out’, Lith *skantū, skastī* ‘to spring, to jump’.

*shkep* ‘to rip open, to unrip, to tear’ < EPA *skipa*. ON *skiša* ‘to split’, OFris *skišia* ‘to divide’.

*shkop* ‘stick, cane’ < EPA *skūpa*. Gk *σκοῦπα*, *κλός*, *σκόπτων* ‘staff’, Lat *scāpus* ‘shaft, stem’.

*shkund* ‘to shake, to swing’ < EPA *skunta*, nasal present of IE *skeut*- (Mlr *scothaid* ‘to cut off’, Lith *skutū, skūstī* ‘to scrape’).

There is no metathesis in words beginning with *skr*:

*shkrabē* ‘scrawl’ < EPA *skrabē*. Lat *scrobis* ‘pit’, OE *screpan* ‘to scratch’, Lith *skrebēti* ‘to rustle’, Slav *skrebēti* ‘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 sciózan and other continuants of Gmc *skiutan ‘to shoot’.
hime ‘bran’ < EPA *skeidma. Goth skaidan ‘to divide’, Lith skiadėžu, skiesta ‘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:


hell ‘spear, spit’ < EPA *skōla. Gk σκόλος ‘pointed stake, thorn’.
hēnē ‘moon’ < EPA *ksandā. Skt cándati ‘(he) shines, is bright’, candrá ‘shining; moon’.
hije ‘shadow’ < EPA *ksija < IE *skāi- ~ *skī- (Skt chāyā id., Gk σκιό id.).

hu ~ hū ‘picket, stake, pole, penis’ < EPA *skuja. Slav *xuja ‘penis’.

humb ‘to leave, to lose, to spoil, to miss’ < IE *skēubh- (Goth af- skiuban ‘to push away, to reject’, Lith skumbū, skūbti ‘to hurry, to hasten’).

There are a few exceptions that may require a revision of the presently accepted etymologies:

hip(ej) ~ hypi ‘to go up’ < EPA *skūpa. Lith kūpti ‘to rise’, Latv kupt ‘to gather, to build up’.

shkëlbozë ‘bark’ based on *shkalbē < 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- ~ *rghi- id. (Av dual. arezi, Gk ὀρχίς, Arm orjik, Mlr uirgge id.).
hikërr ‘sour milk; buckwheat’ < EPA *eikră, 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 *kéel- ‘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 keliu, kelitī ‘to lift’.
shqerr ‘to tear (cloth)’ < EPA *iš-kerja: Skt kṛṣṇāti ‘to diminish’, Gk κείρω ‘to cut’.

If the prefix *iš- was followed by a root initial *sk, the new cluster yielded Alb ç:

çaç ‘to split, to cleave, to smash, to batter, to chop up’ < EPA *iš-skednja < IE *sked- ‘to split’ (Skt skhadate, Gk σχιστύνωμι).
çalë ‘lame’ < EPA *iš-skale: Gk σκιλίς ‘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-skepati. Slav *ščepati ‘to split’.
çjerr ‘to tear up’ < EPA *iš-skera. Olr scaram ‘to separate’, ON skera ‘to cut’, Lith skiriu, 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 *aiks- ‘axis’: Skt ākṣa-, Gk ἀξον, Lat axis.
bashkë ‘fleece’ < EPA *barškā: berr ‘sheep, goat’.
eshke ‘kidney’ < EPA *aiškā: Slav *jūsto id. and ON eista ‘testicle’ < *oidsto-.

fishkem - lyshkem ‘to wither, to fade’ < EPA *spūška: Lith pūškas ‘blist, fin, pimple’, Latv pusks ‘tuft’.

flashkēt ‘sluggish, lame’ < *plaskēt < EPA *plakska: Lith plūščias ‘flat’, Slav *ploskъ id. and Slav *ploxъ ‘flat, bad, evil, poor’.

The cluster *sk was metathesized and gave Alb h (the same applies to triconsonantal clusters ending in *sk). This development is corroborated by numerous Albanian verbs in *-sk-o-:

grah ~ graf ‘to spur on, to call, to roar’ < EPA *graska: Skt grūtī ‘to call, to invoke’, Lith girū, girti ‘to praise’.

grih ‘to sharpen’ < EPA *greiska: Gk χρίω ‘to rub, to anoint, to prick’, Lith griejū, griētī ‘to scoop cream from milk, to take hold of’.

kreh ~ kreh ‘to comb’ < EPA *grebška: Lith grōbti ‘to rake’, Slav *grebō, *grebti ‘to row, to rake’.

meh ~ mef ‘to soak’ < EPA *meu-skā: Latv māut ‘to dive’, Slav *mēti ‘to wash’.

njeh ~ nef ‘to count, to consider’ < EPA *nemskā: Gk νεμω ‘to divide’, Goth niman ‘to take’, Lat numerus ‘member, element, number’ and nummus ‘coin, money’.

shoh ~ shof ‘to see’ < EPA *sākška: Skt sācāte ‘to accompany, to follow’, Gk ἵπτωμαι, Lat sequor, Goth saīvan ‘to see’.

1.4.6.18. Clusters consisting of an affricate and *s develop into a simple affricate:

djathē ‘right’ < EPA *detsa < *detssa < IE *dehss- id. (Skt dáksīna-, Gk δεξιός, Lat dexter).

ith ‘behind’ < EPA *its, a form of IE *e̞ghs ‘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:

shkabē ‘eagle’ < EPA *iš-gabā, a prefixal formation related to gabonjē id.
shkardhê ‘dog-chain; a long stick attached to a dog’s neck to prevent it from biting its master’ < EPA *iš-gardā: Slav *išz-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:

butê ‘soft, smooth’ < EPA *buta < IE *bhugh-to- comparable with
Nir bog ‘soft’ < *bhugh-, Arm bowl ‘blunt’.
dje ‘yesterday’ < EPA *de. Ski hyāś id., Gk χΘες id., Lat. herī id.

drītē f, pl. drita ‘light, lustre, pupil (of an eye)’ < EPA *drikṭā based
on IE *derk- ‘to look, cf. in particular, OE torh ‘bright’, OHG
zorraht.

fletê ‘wing, leaf’ < EPA *awa-lekta, a prefixed derivative of IE
*lek- ‘to fly’ (Lith lekiū, lēkti, Latv lēkt, OHG lecken ‘to jump,
to kick’).
giatê, glatē ‘long’ < EPA *dlata continuing IE *dlong-to-, cf.
*(d)longho- (Lat longus, Goth laggs).

natē ‘night’ < EPA *nakti- corresponding to IE *nok’t- id. (Skt
nākt-, Gk νόκτ-, Lat noc).
tetê ‘eight’ < EPA *aktōti < IE *oktō id. (Skt aṣṭā, Arm owrī, Gk
чётoú)

Clusters of two dentals, however, yielded EPA *tš through a series of
earlier changes from *tšt < *tst < *t ’t:

besē ‘pledge, truce, trust’ < EPA *baitša 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 *dhīlhr.

dhe ‘earth, land’. From PAld *dzō reflecting IE *dheŋhōm ‘earth’:
Hitte tekan, Tochar A tkam, B kem, Skt kṣam-, Gk χθοῶν.
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’.
- *lējetē* ‘orach, dock’ ⇐ Gk λάχαδον id.
- *mokër* ~ *mokën* ‘millstone’ ⇐ Gk μηχανή ‘device, instrument’.

It is also important to notice that Gk σ is rendered as Alb *sh*:

- *presh* ‘leek’ ⇐ Gk πράσσω 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?):

- *bagêm* ‘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:
dēshiroj ‘to wish’ ⇔ Lat désiderāre ‘to long for, to desire’.
fushē ‘plain, open field, meadow’ ⇔ Lat fossa ‘ditch, trench, gutter’.
pash ‘fathom, pace, outstretched arms’ ⇔ Lat passus ‘step, pace’.
shesh ‘plain, plane, flatness, square’ ⇔ Lat sessus ‘seat’.
shullē ~ shullā ‘sunny spot’ ⇔ Lat solānus (locus) id.
shushunjē ‘leech’ ⇔ Rom *saguisungia < Lat sanguisuga id.

In several cases sh was replaced by ç at a later stage of development:

balkēm, balshēm ‘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:

pagēzoj ‘to baptise’ ⇔ Lat baptizare id.
řenxoj ‘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:

bışhē ‘beast, wild animal’ ⇔ Lat bēstia id.
brymē ‘frost’ ⇔ Lat brūma ‘cold, frost’.
bukē ‘bread; meal, meal-time’ ⇔ Lat bucca ‘mouth’ (in Balkan Romance ‘food’).
bule ‘bud’ ⇔ Lat bulla ‘bubble, boss, knob’.
gjelbēr ~ gjelbēn ‘green’ ⇔ Lat galbinus ‘greenish-yellow’.
korbull ‘keg, cask, wooden pail’ ⇔ Lat corbula ‘little basket’.

Lat p is rendered as Alb p:


\textit{krepull ‘inebriated’} ⇔ Rom *crāpulus, cf. Lat crāpula ‘excessive wine-drinking, inebriation’.

\textit{pak ‘a little, few’} ⇔ Lat paucus ‘few, little’.

\textit{paq ‘peace’} ⇔ Lat pacem id.

\textit{pjergull ‘vine-arbor, pergola’} ⇔ Lat pergula ‘shed, booth, vine-arbor’.

\textit{prind ‘father, parent’} ⇔ Lat parentem id.

\textit{turp ‘shame’} ⇔ Lat turpe id.

In one case, Lat \textit{p} is unexpectedly reflected as Alb \textit{mr}.

\textit{mēkat ‘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.

\textit{bishtajë ‘pod, hull, pea, green bean’} ⇔ Rom *pistālia, cf. Lat pistāre ‘to pound’.

\textit{bjeshkë ‘mountain pasture’} ⇔ Rom *pastica based on Lat pastus ‘pasture’.

\textit{bulbër ‘street dust’} ⇔ Lat pulverem ‘dust’.

\textit{pagëzoj ‘to baptise’} ⇔ Lat baptizare id.

\textit{prokë ‘nail, fork’} ⇔ Rom *brocca, *broccia ‘fork, roasting-spit’.

Lat \textit{f} is reflected as Alb \textit{f}.

\textit{fat ‘fate; bridegroom, husband, friend’} ⇔ Lat fūtum.

\textit{fēmijë ‘child, family, spouse’} ⇔ Lat familia ‘family’.

\textit{flok ‘hair’} ⇔ Lat floccus ‘lock, flock’.

\textit{fortë ‘strong’} ⇔ Lat fortis id.

\textit{fund ‘bottom, end’} ⇔ Lat fundus ‘bottom’.

\textit{furkë ‘distaff, fork’} ⇔ Lat furca ‘fork’.

1.4.7.4. Latin dental stops are well preserved in Albanian. Lat \textit{d} yielded Alb \textit{d} in anlaut:

\textit{denjë ‘worth’} ⇔ Lat dignus id.

\textit{detyrë ‘duty, debt’} ⇔ Rom *debitūra id.
dēm ~ dam ‘damage’ ⇔ Lat damnum ‘hurt, harm, damage’.
dishtē, dishkē ⇔ Lat discus ‘disk’.
dragua ~ dra(n)gue ‘dragon’ ⇔ Rom *drancēm, cf. Lat dracēm
   id.
duroj ‘to be patient’ ⇔ Lat dūrēre id.

In the intervocalic position and after r, Lat d became Alb dhr.

kordhē ‘gut string’ ⇔ Lat chorda ‘gut, catgut’.
lardh ‘fat bacon’ ⇔ Lat lāridum, lārdum id.
modh ‘bushel’ ⇔ Lat modus ‘measure’.
prodhōj ‘to produce’ ⇔ Lat prōdāre id.
shurdhēr, shurdhēt ‘deaf’ ⇔ Lat surdus id.
verdhē ‘yellow’ ⇔ Lat viridis ‘green’.

Lat t yielded Alb t in all positions:

fshat ‘village’ ⇔ Lat fossātum ‘ditch’, *‘surrounded by a ditch’.
kērgute ‘ewe with horns’ ⇔ Lat fem. adj. cornūta ‘horned’.
tērmet ‘earthquake’ ⇔ Rom *terrae mōtus id.
tmerr ‘horror, fright’ ⇔ Lat timōrem id.
turme ‘crowd, herd’ ⇔ Lat turma id.
turp ‘shame’ ⇔ Lat turpe id.

In one case, however, Lat t became voiced in initial position:

dēshmoj ‘to testify’ ⇔ Rom *testimōnǐare id.

In the inlaut, Lat t could be dropped when following the stressed
syllable of proporoxytona 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:

krekē ‘maple’ ⇔ Lat (acer) Crēticum ‘Cretan maple’.
shemēr ~ shemērk ‘mistress, concubine, rival’ ⇔ *sub-marītica, cf.
   Lat marīta ‘married woman’.

1.4.7.5. Lat g is rendered as Alb g:
grēmēratē ‘beestings, clots of curdled milk’ ⇔ Lat glomerātum, participle of glomerāre ‘to wind into a ball, to gather into a round heap’.
grigij ‘flock, herd’ ⇔ Lat gregem id.
gusht ‘August’ ⇔ Lat augustus id.
mērgoj ‘to exile, to drive away’ ⇔ Lat mergei ‘to thrust, to push’.
murg – mung ‘monk’ ⇔ Lat monachus id.
rrregul ‘rule, norm’ ⇔ Lat rēgula id.

Lat c and qu gave Alb k:

ark ‘bow’ ⇔ Lat arcus id.
dēkoj ‘to hit, to strike’ ⇔ Lat indicere in its specific meaning ‘to impose, to inflict’ > *(to inflict pain).
karrige ‘chair’ ⇔ Lat quadrīga ‘set of four’ (here, ‘of four legs’).
kērkoj ‘to look for, to seek’ ⇔ Rom *circāre id.
kreshmē ‘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.

mēgashtēr ‘sage’ ⇔ Rom *medicāster reflected in Ital medicastro.

However, in several cases Lat c was voiced for unknown reasons in anlaut:

gērshērē ~ gērshanē ‘scissors’ ⇔ Rom *carsānia, an irregular phonetic transformation of *caesānia.
gēshtenjē ‘chestnut’ ⇔ Lat castanea id.
gjēmoj ⇔ 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:
jâvë ‘week’ ⇆ Lat hebdomas id.
shtijë ‘spear, ray’ ⇆ Lat hastile ‘spear’.
urjej ‘to hate’ ⇆ Lat horrëre ‘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 *erīmāri ‘to hoe, to dig out’, cf. Lat rīmāri ‘to hoe’.
hetoj ‘to search, to inquire, to discover’ ⇆ Lat edictāre ‘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 f (graphically - Lat i or e). Lat df 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’.
zĕrĕ ~ zanĕ ‘goddess of forests, fairy, beautiful maiden’ ⇆ Lat Diana.

In one case, however, *dj unexpectedly gives *gj:

agjĕroj ~ agjĕnoj ‘to fast’ ⇆ Rom *adiūnare id.

Lat *tj and triconsonantal clusters in -*tj became Alb *s:

*marsh ‘March’ ⇆ Lat Martius id.
*nușe ‘bride, young woman, younger daughter-in-law’ ⇆ Rom
*nușia, a local variant of Lat nūpta ‘married woman, wife, bride’; for the formation cf. nūptiae ‘wedding’.
Pēsojk ‘to suffer, to endure’ ⇆ Rom *patiāre, cf. Lat patiōr id.
*pjĕsej ‘part’ ⇆ Rom *petia id.
Pus ‘well, fountain’ ⇆ Lat puteus ‘well’.
Shkorsë ‘rug made of goat wool’ ⇆ Lat scorta, 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:

*Luce ‘mud, mire’ ⇆ Lat lutea ‘muddy’.
Malcof ‘to inflame, to make sore’ ⇆ Rom *malitiae, 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:

Faqe ‘face, cheek’ ⇆ Lat faciēs ‘face’.
Fqinje ‘neighbor’ ⇆ Rom *vīcīnus based on Lat vīcīnus id.
Iriq ‘hedgehog’ ⇆ Lat ēricius id.
Kumeroq ‘toll, duty’ ⇆ Lat commercium ‘trade, commerce’.
Kuoq ‘red’ ⇆ Rom *cocceus, cf. Lat coccīnus ‘scarlet’.
Qelq ‘glass’ ⇆ Lat calicem ‘bowl, cup’.

In dialects, *q was occasionally replaced by *ç and even by *sh:
çünkë, qünkë ‘bug’ ⇔ Lat cūnicem id.
mlyc, 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:

gjeł ‘rooster’ ⇔ Lat gallus id.
gjinde pl. ‘people’ ⇔ Lat gentem id.
ligj ‘law’ ⇔ Lat légem(m) id.
mëngjì ~ mangjì ‘sorcery, witchcraft; medicine’ ⇔ Lat magia ‘magic, sorcery’ (with secondary nasalization).
regj ‘king’ ⇔ Lat régem id.
ungiil ‘gospel’ ⇔ Lat evangelium id.

In a few cases the resulting gj developed into j:

plajë ‘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.
mîkë, miîjë ‘thousand’ ⇔ Lat milia id.
rrëshajë ‘Pentecost’ ⇔ Lat Rōsālia ‘Rusalies’.
skhëndijë ‘spark’ ⇔ Rom *scintilia id. instead of the more widely known Lat scintilla id.
tërlojë ‘trefoil, shamrock’ ⇔ Lat trifolium id.

Lat nj (and Rom *nj from various Latin sources) is always reflected as Alb nj.
fjqnjë ‘neighbor’ ⇐ Rom *vicīnius based on Lat vicīnus id.
gēshenjët ‘chestnut’ ⇐ Lat castanea id.
kunj ‘peg, wedge’ ⇐ Lat cuneus ‘wedge’.
līnje ‘linen shirt; linen’ ⇐ Lat lineum ‘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.
gukjë ‘to worry, to disturb’ ⇐ Rom *colluctīāre, cf. Lat collectāri ‘to struggle, to contend’.
maraj ‘fennel’ ⇐ Rom *marathrium, derivative of Lat marathrum id.

The rare cluster hj seems to have undergone a peculiar development to vgf in the following case:

vgjë ⇐ 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 [gʷ] > [g] in Latin):

lēngjoj ‘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.
shēlboj ‘to save, to deliver’ ⇐ Lat salvāre id.
shērbej ‘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 \( rr \):

\[
\text{nullē} \text{ f 'gum' } \Leftrightarrow \text{Lat alveolum 'dental alveole'}.
\]

\[
\text{rrylē} \sim \text{rrillē} \text{ 'lentil' } \Leftrightarrow \text{Lat ervilla id.}
\]

In similar conditions Lat \( uv \) produced Alb \( nr \):

\[
\text{mēsoj} \text{ 'to teach, to train' } \Leftrightarrow \text{Rom } *\text{invitīāre id.}
\]

\[
\text{mizoj} \text{ 'to rage, to snarl, to hate' } \Leftrightarrow \text{Rom } *\text{invidiāre id.}
\]

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:

\[
\text{brekē} \text{ 'pants' } \Leftrightarrow \text{Lat brācae 'trousers, breeches'}.
\]

\[
\text{bretk} \text{ 'frog' } \Leftrightarrow \text{Rom } *\text{brotacus id.}
\]

\[
\text{brymē} \text{ f. 'frost' } \Leftrightarrow \text{Lat brūma 'cold, frost'}.
\]

\[
\text{dragua} \sim \text{dra(n)gue 'dragon' } \Leftrightarrow \text{Rom } *\text{drācōnem, cf. Lat drācōnem id.}
\]

However, medially voiced labials and dentals were dropped before \( r \) yielding \( r(r) \):

\[
\text{farkē} \text{ 'smithy' } \Leftrightarrow \text{Lat fābrīca 'workshop'}.
\]

\[
\text{harroj} \text{ 'to forget' } \Leftrightarrow \text{Lat aberrāre 'to forget (for a time)'}.
\]

\[
\text{karrīga} \text{ 'chair' } \Leftrightarrow \text{Lat quadrīga 'set of four' (here, of four legs)}.
\]

\[
\text{kreshmē} \text{ 'fast' } \Leftrightarrow \text{Lat quádrāgēsīna 'Lent, fast of forty days'}.
\]

\[
\text{lērushkē} \sim \text{larushkē} \text{ 'wild vine, kind of grape, clematis' } \Leftrightarrow \text{Lat lábrusca 'wild vine'}.
\]

\[
\text{shurukoj} \text{ 'to thunder, to make noise' } \Leftrightarrow \text{Rom } *\text{subraucare 'to make hoarse'}.
\]

In one case, however, \( br \) yields \( *gr > gj(ê)r \):

\[
\text{egjēr} \text{ 'Lolium temulentum' } \Leftrightarrow \text{Lat ebria f. 'drunk'}.
\]

The group \( sr \) was reduced to \( r \).
mjërë ‘unhappy, unfortunate’ ⇔ Lat miserem id. > Rom *misrem.

In anlaut clusters, r sporadically disappeared after unvoiced stops:

këshër ~ këshên ‘Christian’ ⇔ Lat christânus 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’.
luqërë ‘lamp, lantern’ ⇔ Lat lucernā id.
vërrë ~ vërrë ‘winter pasture’ ⇔ Rom *hibernīnum, derivative of Lat hibernum ‘winter’.

In triconsonantal clusters, Lat r was usually lost in the beginning of the cluster:

pjëshkë ‘peach’ ⇔ Rom *pesca < Lat persica id.

1.4.7.12. Latin clusters consisting of velars followed by l remained uncharged 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.
qarte ‘clear’ ⇔ Lat clārus id.
gengj ‘lamb’ ⇔ Rom *ācing(u)lus < Lat āgniculus id.
\emph{qumësht, klumësht} ‘milk, whey’ ⇔ Rom \text{*colostrum}.

Lat \emph{gl} became \emph{jl} intervocally:

\emph{zmojle} ‘fallow (land)’ ⇔ Rom \text{*exmulgiā}, a derivative of Lat \emph{ē(x)mulgēre} ‘to milk out, to drain out’.

The Latin cluster \emph{lc} initially became \emph{lk}. Later, \emph{l} changed to \emph{j} in most dialects:

\emph{bujk, bulk} ‘peasant’ ⇔ Lat \textit{bubulus} ‘ploughman, herdsman’.
\emph{fajkua} $\sim$ \emph{fajkue} ‘falcon’ ⇔ Lat \textit{falcōnem} id.

At least, in one case \emph{j} $<$ \emph{l} was dropped before a velar:

\emph{fuqi} ‘power, strength, force’ ⇔ Rom \text{*fulcius}, derived from \textit{fulcēre} ‘to prop up, to support, to make strong’.

In the initial position Lat \emph{ml} (emerging after the loss of inlaut vowels), changed to Alb \textit{bl}.

\emph{bletē} ‘bee, swarm, hive’ ⇔ Rom *\textit{melettum}, cf. \textit{mellarium} ‘bee-hive, apiary’.
\emph{bluaj} $\sim$ \emph{bluej} ‘to grind’ ⇔ Lat \textit{molare} id.

In the initial position, Lat \emph{sl} and \emph{sc} normally gave \textit{shq}- or, for reasons unclear, \textit{sq}.

\emph{shqafur, sqafur} ‘sulphur’ ⇔ Rom \text{*sl ufarem} instead of Lat \textit{ sulphurem}.
\emph{shqa} ‘Bulgarian’ ⇔ Lat \textit{sclavus} ‘Slav’.
\emph{shqepoj} ‘to be lame’ ⇔ Rom \text{*sclopus}.

Triconsonantal clusters with initial \emph{l} (appearing after the loss of of inlaut vowels) drop their middle element:

\emph{kulte} ‘water melon, gourd’ ⇔ Rom \text{*culbita}, a variant of Lat \textit{cucurbita} ‘gourd’.
\emph{kultēr} ‘pillow, cushion’ ⇔ Lat \textit{culcitra} id.
However, in one case this process was accompanied by the voicing of an unvoiced occlusive:

\textit{vigje} ‘gifts (on marriage or birth); dinner on the third day after child’s birth’ \Leftrightarrow \textit{Lat vîctuâlia} ‘victuals’.

\textbf{1.4.7.13.} Lat \textit{mn} dropped the second nasal and, occasionally, a secondary homorganic occlusive formed:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{dëm} \Leftrightarrow \textit{dam} ‘damage’ \Leftrightarrow \textit{Lat damnum} ‘hurt, har damage’.
  \item \textit{shkëmb} \Leftrightarrow \textit{shkamb} ‘seat, throne; rock’ \Leftrightarrow \textit{Lat scamnum} ‘bench, throne’.
\end{itemize}

In clusters consisting of a nasal sonorant and an unvoiced stop, the latter became voiced:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{giinde} ‘people’ \Leftrightarrow \textit{Lat gentem id}.
  \item \textit{gjuvenge} ‘harlot’ \Leftrightarrow \textit{Lat fem. juvenca} ‘young’, also ‘young cow’.
  \item \textit{këmborë} \Leftrightarrow \textit{këmbone} ‘bell’ \Leftrightarrow \textit{Rom *campona}, a derivational variant of \textit{Lat campana} id.
  \item \textit{mbret} ‘king’ \Leftrightarrow \textit{Rom *imperâtus} for \textit{Lat imperâtor} ‘emperor’.
  \item \textit{rrêmbej} ‘to rob, to seize’ \Leftrightarrow \textit{Lat rumpere} ‘to tear, to tear away’.
  \item \textit{shëndosh} ‘healthy’ \Leftrightarrow \textit{Rom *sanitósus} id.
  \item \textit{trung} ‘trunk’ \Leftrightarrow \textit{Lat truncus} id.
\end{itemize}

In heterorganic clusters, regressive assimilations took place:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{mbesë} ‘niece, granddaughter’ \Leftrightarrow \textit{Lat nepōtia} id.
  \item \textit{mbuloy} ‘to cover, to bury’ \Leftrightarrow \textit{Rom *manipulâre} ‘to dig in handfuls’, cf. \textit{Lat manipulus} ‘handful’.
\end{itemize}

Clusters with voiced occlusives did not change significantly. However, \textit{ng} before front vowels, having changed to expected \textit{ngj}, further developed into \textit{nj}.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{mënjjil} ‘vigil; fast’ \Leftrightarrow \textit{Rom *vīgilīa}, cf. \textit{Lat vigilia} ‘vigil’.
  \item \textit{shushunjë} ‘leech’ \Leftrightarrow \textit{Rom *saguisūngia} < \textit{Lat sanguisuga} id.
  \item \textit{ushunjë} \Leftrightarrow \textit{ushûj} ‘lard’ \Leftrightarrow \textit{Lat axungia} id.
\end{itemize}
Original \textit{ngj} from \textit{ng} or from assimilated \textit{ng} $\prec$ \textit{nd} was only retained in a limited number of words.

\textit{mallēngjej} ‘to touch, to move, to stir’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Lat \textit{malum angere} ‘to cause pain’.

\textit{rrēngjej} ‘to shine’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Lat \textit{renīdēre} ‘to shine’.

Clusters with nasals following \textit{g} have a complicated history. Before \textit{m} the voiced velar was lost:

\textit{timēr} $\sim$ \textit{timēn} ‘weft, wool’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Lat \textit{tegminem} ‘cover’.

In some words the same development characterized \textit{gn}. This cluster changed to \textit{n} and could disappear at the end of the word exactly like simple \textit{n}.

\textit{kunat} $\sim$ \textit{kunetēn} ‘brother-in-law’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Lat \textit{cognātus} ‘kinsman, blood relation’.

\textit{vgje} $\sim$ \textit{vgē} ‘pine’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Lat \textit{abiegnnum} ‘related to fir’, derivative of \textit{abietem} ‘fir’.

In other (older?) loanwords Lat \textit{gn} yields \textit{nī}.

\textit{denjē} ‘worth’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Lat \textit{dignus} id.

\textit{shenjē} ‘sign’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Lat \textit{signum} id.

In another case we find \textit{ng} reflecting Lat \textit{gn}.

\textit{peng} ‘pledge, pawn’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Lat \textit{pignus} id.

The cluster \textit{ns} was regularly simplified and changed to \textit{sh}.

\textit{ishull} ‘island’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Lat \textit{insula} id.

\textit{mēshere} ‘small piece of cheese’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Rom \textit{*mensōra} for Lat \textit{mensūra} ‘measure’.

\textit{mēshoj} ‘to be heavy, to bear down’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Rom \textit{*pesāre} $\prec$ Lat \textit{pensāre} ‘to weigh’.

\textit{peshē} ‘weight; stone, boulder’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Lat \textit{pensum} id.

\textit{trashēgoj} ‘to inherit’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Lat \textit{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.
- kumtěr ‘godfather’ ⇔ Lat *computer* id.
- kěngě ~ kangě ‘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*.

- děftoj ‘to show, to point’ ⇔ Rom *indīctāre* id.
- flua ~ flue ‘quince’ ⇔ Rom *cotōneum* id., namely, ‘Cydonian apple’.
- giymytrē ‘joint, limb’ ⇔ Lat *junctūra* ‘juncture, joint’.
- lufťě ‘fight, war’ ⇔ Lat *lucta* ‘wrestling’, cf. Rum *luptă* ‘fight’.
- taft ‘stench; scorching heat’ ⇔ Lat *tāctus* ‘touch, feeling’.
- taftar ‘funnel’ ⇔ Rom *traictārium* id., cf. Lat *traiectōrium* id.
- trekšě ‘trout’ ⇔ Lat *tructa* id.

A different development of *nct* ⇒ *ft* is found in the following case:

- pufšě ‘empty, hollow’ (only in the expression arrē 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:

- drejšě ‘straight, right’ ⇔ Lat *directum* id.
majtë ~ májtë ‘left’ ⇔ Rom *manctus, based on Lat mancus ‘maimed, inflamed’.

pajoj ‘to appease, to reconcile, to hire, to engage’ ⇔ Rom *pächäre.

shenjtë ‘saint’ ⇔ Lat sanctus id.

shtrenjtë ‘dear, expensive’ ⇔ Rom *strictus ‘narrow’ (Rum strînt, Venet strento, Sl̆tal strînto).

trajoj ‘to deal with, to treat’ ⇔ Lat tractäre id.

Later, j was lost so that ct yielded t and net gave nd if the cluster followed e, i, u or ū:

fluturoj ‘to fly’ ⇔ Rom *fluctuläre < Lat fluctuäre ‘to move in waves, to move to and fro’.

fryt ‘fruit’ ⇔ Lat früctus id.

fyrte ‘face’ ⇔ Lat factūra ‘formation, creature’.

hetoj ‘to search, to inquire, to discover’ ⇔ Lat ἔδικταρ ‘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’.

undyrē ‘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 cōgitāre.

Secondary q < t before a front vowel appears in the following example:

piliq ‘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:
likyrë 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 buttīs id.
gutë ‘gout’ ⇔ Rom *gutta ‘drop’ used as a name of the disease, cf. Rum gutā id.

Lat pt yielded Alb ft.

afë ‘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 ‘blearedness, rheum’.

The following case can be explained only if we presume a chain of assimilations and recombinations from bapt- to *pabt- > *papg- > *pag-:

pagëzoj ‘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 fsḥ < x is found, similar to ḏt < ct. It presumably passed through the stage of *psḥ.

kofšē ‘hip, thigh’ ⇔ Lat coxa ‘hip’.
lafšē ‘crest (of bird), comb’ ⇔ Lat laxa (cutis) ‘loose (skin)’.
mėndafšē ‘silk’ ⇔ Lat metaxa ‘raw silk’ (with secondary -n-).

In other cases, the reflex is sh. This development is parallel to that of ct into ji, t. Cf. the following examples:

bush ‘boxwood’ ⇔ Lat buxus id.
frashēr ~ frashēnu ‘ash-tree’ ⇔ Lat fraxinus id.
proshmoj, prozhmoj ‘to slander, to libel’ ⇔ Lat *proximare ‘to come near, to approach’.
shij ~ shë ‘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:

zmjole f ‘fallow (land)’ ⇔ Rom *exmulpia, a derivative of Lat exmulgëre ‘to milk out, to drain out’, cf. Rum zmulge.

The cluster ps yielded fsh in Albanian, just like some of the words with cs:

grijshë ‘jay, magpie’ ⇔ Rom *griapa based on Lat gryps ‘griffin’.
kafshoj ‘to bite’ ⇔ Lat capessere ~ capissere ‘to seize, to snatch at’.

Lat st is normally reflected as Alb sht:

pasttrak ‘pasture rent, pasturage money’ ⇔ Rom *pastüræcus based on Lat pastūra ‘pasture’.
postë ‘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:

cçmoj ‘to estimate’ ⇔ Lat aestimäre 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:

bheshkë ‘mountain pasture’ ⇔ Rom *pastica based on Lat pastus ‘pasture’.
dëshmoj ‘to testify’ ⇔ Rom *testimōniäre.
mushllinzë ‘clambering vetch’ based on *mushlëi ⇔ Rom *mustëlina, derivative of Lat mustëla ‘weasel’.
All three consonants are preserved in Lat $str \Rightarrow$ Alb sht(ë)r.

*kulloshtër* ‘bietlings’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Lat *colostra* id.

*mjeshtër* ‘master, builder’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Lat *magister* ‘master’.

*shtrat* ‘bed; layer’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Lat *stratum* id.

*shtrëngoj* ‘to press, to squeeze’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Lat *stringere* ‘to stretch, to press, to squeeze’.

*voshtër* ‘Ligustrum vulgare’ (Geg) $\Leftrightarrow$ late Lat *ölëaster*.

If the second element was a labial, a triconsonantal cluster lost initial $s$:

*prift* ‘priest’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Lat *presbyter* id.

The group $xc$ (= *csc*) gives Alb *ç*:

*çoj* ‘to bring, to rise, to send’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Lat *excïre, exciëre* ‘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’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Slav *čerda* ‘row, herd, flock’.

*gérmdhë* ‘ruin’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Slav *gromada* ‘heap, mass’.

*kordhë* ‘sword’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Slav *korda* id.

*shkërdhec* ‘keg, barrel’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Slav *skovordys* ‘pan’.

In early Slavic borrowings Slav *k* gives Alb *g*:

*borgë* ‘kind of pine; splinter’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Slav *borika* ‘fir-tree, pine’.

*gaçë* ‘kind of nut’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Slav *galaska* derived from *gal’a* ‘lump, pebble’.

*gélbazi* ‘a liver illness of sheep caused by worms’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Slav *këlbasa* ‘stuffed gut, sausage’.

*gërcak* ‘jug, pitcher’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Slav *kërëgë* ‘clay vessel, pitcher’.

*gérhas* ‘to snore’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Slav *kërxati* ‘to cough, to expectorate’.

*ravgë* ‘path (in mountains)’ $\Leftrightarrow$ Slav *rovëk* ‘ditch’.
Early Slav *s is reflected as sh in Albanian:

- *koleshkë* ‘cart’ \(\rightarrow\) Slav *koleska* id.
- *shap* ‘disease of the cattle, Apha epizootica’ \(\rightarrow\) Slav *sapъ* ‘glanders’.
- *sharë* ‘offence’ \(\rightarrow\) Slav *sora*, cf. Russ *ssora* ‘row’ < *sъsora*.
- *shark* ‘woolen cloak; green skin of nuts’ \(\rightarrow\) Slav *sorka* ‘shirt’.
- *trishe* ‘shooting, sprout’ \(\rightarrow\) 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’ \(\rightarrow\) Slav *bičьkъ* derived from *bičъ* ‘whip’.
- *brisk* ‘razor, penknife’ \(\rightarrow\) Slav *bričьkъ*, diminutive of *bričъ* id.
- *porosit* ‘to order, to demand’ \(\rightarrow\) Slav *porqčiti* id.

Later, at a stage when Albanian has already developed a new affricate *ć* but still had no ĉ, Slav *ć* was reflected as Alb *ć*:

- *care* ‘witch’ \(\rightarrow\) Slav *čара* ‘witchcraft’.
- *cermē* ‘arthritis’ \(\rightarrow\) Slav *čērrmъ* ‘inflammation’.
- *cēril* ‘thrush’ \(\rightarrow\) Slav *čērnidlo* ‘black (object)’.
- *cub* ‘with a short tail, with the tail cut off’ \(\rightarrow\) Slav *čubъ* ‘tuft of hair, stump, a cut off piece’.
- *kērc* ‘stump’ \(\rightarrow\) Slav *kъrčъ* id.
- *kērcas* ‘to cry, to shout, to rattle, to thunder, to sound’ \(\rightarrow\) Slav *kričatti* ‘to cry, to shout’.

In one case, we also have Slav *ź* replaced by Alb *z*:

- *nozikë* ‘knife worn in the belt’ \(\rightarrow\) 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:

- *bushćēr* ‘raging, wild’ \(\rightarrow\) Slav *bystrъ* ‘quick’.
- *dromće* ‘crumb, bit’ \(\rightarrow\) Slav *drobъnica* ‘trifle, small object’.
garris ‘to neigh’ ⇔ Slav *gavrili – *gavrati ‘to tease, to spoil’.
gorrice ‘wild pear’ ⇔ Slav *goručica id.
koc ‘bone, skull’ ⇔ Slav *kosć id.
věrč ‘věrc’ ‘age’ ⇔ Slav *vrčta ‘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. _Luba 7_; ÇABEJ _Hyre 101-103_; _St. III_ 108-112_; CAMAJ _Alb. Worth. 87-88_; OREL _ZIBalk 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 paroxytoma:

- _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 paroxytoma in words with more than two syllables:

- _fajkua ~ fajkue_ ‘falcon’ ⇔ Lat _falcōnem_ id.
natrë ‘nature’ ⇔ Lat nātūra id.
parriz ‘paradise’ ⇔ Lat paradīsus id.
pashtrak ‘pasture-rent, pasturage money’ ⇔ Rom *pastūrācus
   based on Lat pastūra ‘pasture’.
qytet ‘city’ ⇔ Lat cīvītāte(m) id.
rērē ~ ranē ‘sand’ ⇔ Lat arēna id.

These cases are opposed by a large group of proparoxytona:

bak‐ēm ‘balm’ ⇔ Lat balsamum id.
emtē ‘aunt’ ⇔ Lat amīta ‘paternal aunt’.
engjēll ‘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 *dorḵom reflected in Gk
dōρποῦ id.
dhällë ~ dhallë ‘buttermilk’ < EPA *dzalē. Gk γάλα, gen.
   γάλακτος ‘milk’.
edh ‘he-goat’ < EPA *aidz. Gk αἴδη ‘goat’, Arm ayc id.
farē ‘seed, semen, kin’ < EPA *sparē. Gk fem. σπηρό ‘seed’ and
   further related to *sper- ‘to spill, to sow’ (Gk σπείρω id.,
   σπέρμα ‘semen, seed’).
ghiak ‘blood’ < EPA *sakah. Gk ὁπός ‘juice’, Lith sakai ‘resin’, Slav
   *sokъ ‘juice’.
jerim ‘delirium, absent-mindedness’ < EPA *erma. Lith eṁmas
   ‘monster’, Latv ėrms ‘wonderful apparition’, ėrmi ‘wonders,
   miracles’.

There also exist polysyllabic paroxytona:
glepë ‘matter from eyes, rheum (in eyes)’ < EPA *kat-laipā, derived from IE *leip- ‘to smear with fat’.


lumak ‘bud, shoot; lichen, moss’ < ḫubnaka based on IE *leubh- ‘to peel, to skin’ (Lith luba ‘board (of a ceiling), Latv luba ‘bark, board’, OPrus lubbo ‘board’, Slav *lubba ‘forehead, skull’).

mëlenjë ‘blackbird’ < EPA *melanjā from IE fem. *melanjā ‘black’ > Gk μέλανα id., cf. also Skt malinā-, fem. malini ‘dirty, unclean, Latv melis ‘black’.

tetë ‘eight’ < EPA *aktōti < IE *oktō id. (Skt aṣṭā, Arm ու, Gk ὥκτω).


Other polysyllabic words are proparoxytona:

athēt ‘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 *gribni ‘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.

motēr ‘sister’ < EPA *matēr < IE *māter- ‘mother’ (Skt mātār-, Gk μητήρ, Lat māter).

tjētēr, jetēr ‘other’ < PAlb *etera. Slav *eterь ‘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 paroxytona 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 tjëtër, jëtër ‘other’ (the form tjëtër results from crisis with the preceding particle të and/or from the analogical influence of the plural). It continues LPA *ëtera 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 *etëra with the stress on the penultimate syllable. Thus, the Late Proto-Albanian paradigm consisted of two opposed forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*ëtera</td>
<td>*etëra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another interesting example of this kind is that of Tosk vësht ~ Geg vësht ‘vineyard’. As it is clearly related to verë ~ venë ‘wine’ < *waita etymologically, we should reconstruct Proto-Albanian *waitesta 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 vreshtha ~ Geg vneshta can be only explained if we accept a reconstruction of Proto-Albanian *waïnesta. Again, further evidence for accentual opposition in a Late Proto-Albanian paradigm:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*waïnesta</td>
<td>*waïnesta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

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. *dëwâgà > *déga > dëgë ‘branch’
pl. *dëwâgâi > *dëgâi > dëgë ‘branches’

sg. *dâúsâ(s) > *dauš > dash ‘ram’
pl. *dâúsâi > *dâušë > 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. *skâlâ ‘fish bone’ > *skâla > halë ‘fish bone’
pl. *skalâs ‘fish bones’ > *skalâ(s) > hala ‘fish bones’

sg. *mâús > *mât > mot ‘year’
pl. *mâút > *mâtë > 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. *dârjas > *dërja > derrig ‘pig’
pl. *darjâi > *derjë > 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
2.1.2. Derivatives in -th (usually, diminutives) preserve the accentual type of the original nouns. Nouns of the type A produce derivatives of the type A:

- 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. halë ➔ halth ‘needle’, pl. haltha
- kap ‘cover’, pl. kapa ➔ kapth ‘path (in a swamp)’, pl. kaptha
- krænd ‘brushwood, twig’, pl. krande ➔ kranth ‘little leaf’, pl. kranthë
- lak ‘trap, sling’, pl. leqe ➔ lakth id., pl. lakthe, laktha
- shtëg ‘path, way’, pl. shtigje, shtëgje ➔ shtëktëh ‘sinciput’, pl. shtëktëtha
- thënd ‘beak’, pl. thënda ➔ thënth ‘thorn’, pl. thënthë

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 collectives) in -ez. Nouns belonging to the accentual type A develop a plural in -èz:

- bir ‘son’ ➔ pl. bij, bijëz
- djalë ‘boy’ ➔ pl. djel, djelm, djelmëz
- ijë ‘hip, side’ ➔ pl. ijë, ijëz
njer ‘man’  ➔ pl. njer, njerêz
thua ‘nail’  ➔ pl. thonj, thonêz
ve ‘egg’  ➔ pl. ve, vez, veêz
vesh ‘ear’  ➔ pl. veshê, veshêz

However, diagnostically these plurals are irrelevant, since nouns of the accentual type $B$ form plurals in -az, but usually with a parallel form in -êz:

grerê ‘wasp’  ➔ pl. grera, greraz, grerêz
vashê ‘girl’  ➔ pl. vasha, vashaz, vashêz
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 $B$:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{A} & \text{B} \\
\text{sg.} & \text{lig} < *\text{líga} & \text{madh} < *\text{mádza} \\
\text{pl.} & \text{ligj} < *\text{lígai} & *\text{mëdhe} < *\text{madzái}
\end{array}
\]

In other adjectives, we observe completely different accentual structures. Masculine adjectives ($o$-stems) have -ê in the singular going back to stressed EPA *-ê < IE *-o-s. In the plural, -ê reflects EPA *-êi < 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 ($a$-stems) have -ê from unstressed EPA *-ê < IE *-ê in the singular and -a in the plural from stressed EPA *-êï(s) < IE *-ês. 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 acc Ent types A (i.e. have a zero ending or -č in the singular from unstressed EPA *-a < IE *-o-s), or to type B (with stressed EPA *-a in the singular and a zero ending in the plural from unstressed EPA *-ai < IE *-ai). The variations of stress in the singular with its secondary -č - whatever the explanation might be - is of no relevance to the accentual type. Feminine adjectives in *-m- and *-(i)sam- have -č 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 *-jč or in *-(i)ja), it is indubitably oxytonic, i.e. feminine adjectives belong to the accentual type C.

Cf. the following examples (mīrē ‘good’ and kolmē ‘pretty, winsome’):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>mīrē&lt; *mīrā</td>
<td>mīrē&lt; *mīrā</td>
<td>kolmē&lt; *kālima</td>
<td>kolmē&lt; *kālimija</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>mīre&lt; *mīrāi</td>
<td>mīra&lt; *mīrās</td>
<td>kolmē&lt; *kālimai</td>
<td>kolmē&lt; *kālimijās</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, in both types of adjectives masculine and feminine are accentually contrasted:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>*A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>*B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

\[kri \sim kri, \text{pl. } kri \sim krī \text{ ‘woodworm, moth’ < EPA } *kri\text{-}: \text{Slav } *čvřva \text{ ‘worm’ (c).}\]

OAlb \[njer, \text{pl. } njer \text{ ‘man, person, human being’ < EPA } *nera]: \text{Gk } ὁμήρος ‘man’, gen. ὁμήρος; in Sanskrit the stress of nār- can be explained by the generalization of the nominative.

**s-stems**

\[hi \sim hī ‘ash’, \text{pl. } hi–hī, hin < EPA } *skina < *skines-]: \text{Lat cinis ‘dust, ash’ < *cenes- with an unstressed shortened vowel from } *(s)Kēnes-.\]

**u-stems**

\[grua \sim grue, \text{pl. } gra \text{ ‘woman, wife’ < EPA } *grāwā]: \text{Gk γράως ‘old woman’}.\]

\[valē, \text{pl. } valē ‘wave’ < EPA } *walē]: \text{Slav } *valb \text{ id. (c)}.\]

**o-stems** (masculine)

\[bri \sim bri, \text{pl. } bri, brinj, brirē \sim brinē ‘horn’ < EPA } *brina]: \text{Germ } *brendū (\text{Swed } brind ‘deer’, Norw bringe id.).\]

\[djelā, \text{pl. } djem, djelm, dial. \text{ cjel ‘boy, youth’ < EPA } *dela]: \text{Latv } dēls ‘son’, Swed dial. del, dēl ‘nipple’ < Germ *dēlāz.\]

\[duaj \sim dujej, \text{pl. ‘sheaf’ < EPA } *dōnyā- ‘grain’].\]

\[dhēmbā \sim dhambē \sim dhambē ‘tooth’ < EPA } *dzamba]: \text{Slav } *zobē \text{ id. (c); in other languages this word is barytonic, cf. Skt jāmbha- id. The Slavic accent is hardly innovative.}\]

\[dhēndēr \sim dhandēr, \text{pl. } dhēndurē \sim dhandurē ‘bridegroom, son-in-law’ < EPA } *dzēnra]: \text{Skt jārā- ‘suitor’, Gk γαμβρός ‘son-in-law’}.\]

\[esh, \text{pl. } eshē ‘hedgehog’ < EPA } *ezjā (with phonetic difficulties): \text{Lith } ezį̄s \text{ id. (4), Slav } *ezža \text{ id. (c)}.\]

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*Arranged according to the paradigmatic classes of Indo-European parallels, not Proto-Albanian stems.*
**Chapter Two**

*gii*—*gī*, pl. *gī*—*gī* ‘breast, chest’< EPA *sina*; Lat *sinus* ‘curve, fold’ with the shortening of unstressed *ī*.

*giysh*, pl. *gyshê, gyshêr*—*gyshên* ‘grandfather’< EPA *sùsa*; Skt *sūśa* ‘progenitor’.

*kohè, pl. kohê* ‘time’< EPA *kāxa*; 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. *pieg* ‘old man’< EPA *p(c)laka*< *pelškos*; Lith *pilkas* ‘grey’ (3)< *pelškos*.

*ter, pl. terê, tera* ‘bull’< *tauras*; Lith *tauiras* id. (4); Slav *turъ* id. (c). Gk τούρας id. is barytonic.

*ujk, pl. ujq, ujqêr*—*ujqên* ‘wolf’< EPA *w(j)lka*; Lith *vilkas* id. (4); Slav *volkъ* id. (c) as opposed to barytonic Skt *vīka*-id., Gk λύκος id.

*vjehehr*, pl. *vjehehr* ‘father-in-law’< EPA *swesura*< *swetsurā*; Gk ἕκυρός id., Lith *še–šuras* id. (3); Slav *svektro* id. (c) but cf. barytonic Skt *svāśūra*-id., OHG *swehur* id.< Germ *swéxuraz*.

*zjarm, pl. dial. zjerm, jzermê*, innovative *jarme* ‘fire’< EPA *dżerma*; Skt *gharma* ‘sun-heat’, Gk ἑρμος ‘warm’, Afg *γάρμα* ‘noon, heat’, γαρμά ‘.

**O-stems (neuter)**

*ballê*, pl. *ballê* ‘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 *dauśa*; Gmc *deuzána* ‘wild animal’ (Goth *dus*, ON *dyr*), Slav *duxъ* ‘breath, spirit’ (c).


*grurê – grunê* ‘wheat’ (singularized pl.)< EPA *grunū*; Skt *jūrṇā-, jūrṇā*- ‘old, decayed, withered’, Afg *zērāy* ‘seed’ (based on *zərmān*). However, Lat *grānum*, OIr *grān*, Lith *žirnis* (1), Slav *zərno* are barytonic.

*gjuthê, pl. gjuthê* ‘tongue, language’< EPA *gilisā*: ON *kall* ‘shout’< Gmc *kalzūn*, Slav *golśъ* ‘voice’ (c).

*hirrê, pl. hirrê* ‘whey’< EPA *ksirā*; Skt *kṣirā*- ‘milk’.
i-stems

botē, pl. botē, innovative bota ‘earth; world’ < EPA *bhāṭi: Skt bhāṭi- ‘existence’, Lith būtis id. (3 > 4), Ir bēth id. (with the shortening of the unstressed vowel).

ditē, pl. ditē, ditē ‘day’ < EPA *dīti: Gmc *tītiz ‘time’ (OHG zīt, OE tīd) and Skt su-dīti ‘fair day’.

grathē, pl. grathē ‘tooth, prong (of a device), bristle’, deminutive of EPA *grabha: Slav *grobös (c).

gur, pl. gurē ‘stone, rock’ < EPA *gurē: Skt girē ‘mountain’.

gjollē, pl. gjollē ‘clearing or pasture where salt is strewn for sheep; patch of ground for sowing’ < EPA *sālē: Slav *sola ‘salt’ (c).

natē, pl. netē, netē ‘night’ < EPA *naktē: Slav *noko id. (c) opposed to barytonic Lith naktis id. and Skt nakt-.

sy, pl. sy ‘eye’ < EPA dual *atšwē: Lith aksi id. (4), dual aki, Slav *oko id. (c), dual *oči.

veshā, pl. veshē ‘ear’ < EPA *waušē: Lith ausis id. (4), Latv āuss, Slav *uxo id. (c), dual. *ušī.

zet ‘twenty’, pl. (dy)zet ‘forty’ < EPA *w(i)džatī: Skt viṃśatī- id., Afgh -wištā id., Gk ἐκκοστή id.

ā-stems

bārē, pl. bārē ‘load, burden’ < EPA *bārā: Gk φόρα ‘load’.

bathē, pl. bathē ‘broad bean’ < EPA *batsē: Gk φακῆ ‘dish of lentils’, φακός ‘lentil’.

fārē, pl. fārē, secondary fara ‘seed, semen, kin’ < EPA *psārē: Gk σπορά ‘seed’.

grykē, pl. grykē, secondary gryka ‘throat’ < EPA *griwīkā, derivative of *griwā: Skt grīvā ‘neck’, Afgh gorwā ‘clavicle’.

Latv grīva ‘river mouth’ and Slav *grīva ‘mane’ are barytonic.

guall, pl. guaj ‘shell, skull’ < EPA *gālwa: Lith galvā (3), Slav *golva (c).

kapē, pl. kapē ‘armful of corn; shock, pile’ < EPA *kapē: Slav *kopa ‘mow, shock, stack’ (c) but Gk κόπη ‘manger, crib’ is barytonic.

lendē ~ landē, pl. lendē ~ landē ‘wood, timber, material’ < EPA *lentē: Gmc *lentō ‘linden’ (OHG linta, OE lind), Lith lentā ‘board’ (4).

lopē, pl. lopē ‘cow’ < EPA *lāpē: Latv lūōps ‘cattle’.
nêmê ~ namê, pl. nêmê ~ namê ‘curse’< EPA *namā: Gk νομή ‘meadow’. Both words, despite the semantic differences, are connected with Gk νεμω ‘to distribute’, Goth niman ‘to take’, cf. in particular Gk νέμων ‘wrath’.

c in particular Gk νέμων ‘wrath’.

palē, pl. palē ‘pair; fold; group, class, party’ < EPA *palā. Slav *pala ‘flap, tail’ (c).

pordhē, pl. pordhē ‘fart’ < EPA *pardā. Gk πορδή id.

thekē, pl. thekē ‘fringe’< EPA *tsakā. Lith šakā ‘branch’ (4), Slav *soxa ‘branch, plough’ (c). Skt sākhā ‘branch’ is barytonic.

shtazē, shtēzē ~ shtazē, pl. shtazē, shtēzē ~ shtazē ‘animal’ < EPA *städā (with secondary nasalization): Gmc *stēdfā ‘steady, fast’ (OHG stātī).

zorrē, pl. zorrē ‘gut’< EPA *džarnā. Lith žarnā id. (3).

Several archaic forms show us that words belonging to accental 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 accental type B correspond to barytonic words in Indo-European. This can be corroborated by the following material:

Consonantal stems

gjē ~ gjā, pl. gjēra ~ gjana ‘thing’< EPA *san(s): Gmc *sānī ‘true’ (ON samr, saðr, OE sóð).

krye, pl. krerē ~ krenē ‘head’< EPA *krā(s)nā: Gk κρώνας κεφαλής.

A remade consonantal stem,

madh ‘big, large’, pl. mēdhēny (based on *mēdhe) < EPA *madza. Skt māhi- ‘great, large’, Gk μεγάς id., neut. μέγας.

thērī ~ thēnī, pl. thēria ~ thēnia (thēri ~ thēni is secondary) ‘louse’ < EPA *tsanid-: Gk κονις ‘nit’.
**Heteroclitic stems**

*elb*, pl. *elbēra* – *elbēna* ‘barley’ < EPA *albē*. Gk ἀλῆ ‘kind of grain’.


**n- and r-stems**


*emēr* – *emēn*, pl. *emra* – *emna* ‘name’ < EPA *enmena*. Slav *jman* id. (b?).

*motēr*, pl. *motra* ‘sister’ < EPA *māter*. Afgh mār ‘mother’, Lith mōtē id. (1), Latv māte id., Slav *mati* id. (a). However, several Indo-European forms are oxytonic: Skt mātā-, Gk μητήρ, μητρός.

*rrymē* pl. *rrymna* ‘flow (of water)’ < EPA *srūmā*. Gk ρέμα ‘stream’.

**s-stems**

*ang* ‘fear, nightmare’ < EPA *arga(s)*: Skt āṅg- ‘fear’.

*end* ‘pollen’ < EPA *anda(s)*: Skt āndha- ‘herb’, Gk ἀνθο- ‘flower’.

*etē*, pl. ‘fever’ < EPA *etēda(s)*: Skt ēṭha- ‘firewood, fuel’, Gk ἀιθός ‘fire’.

*vit, vjet*, pl. *vite* ‘year’ < EPA *weta(s)*: Gk ἔτος id.

*zjarr*, pl. *zjarra* ‘fire’ < EPA *džera(s)*: Skt hārā- ‘flame, heat’, Gk θέρσ ‘summer’.

**u-stems**


**o-stems (masculine)**

*ar*, pl. *ara* ‘bear’ < EPA *ara*. Skt ḍka- id., Afgh ḍōz id., Gk ἄρκτος id.

drang, pl. drangie ‘barge-pole, punting-pole; young creature, cub’ < EPA *drangia: Lith draugas ‘perch, pole’ (4); Slav *drogъ (b).
gardh, pl. gardhe, gjerde ‘fence’ < EPA *garda: Lith garadas ‘fence’ (2 > 4); Slav *gardъ ‘town, fence’ (c).
hell, pl. helle, hejc, secondary hej ‘spear, spit’ < EPA *skolъ. Gk ὁκτολάς ‘pointed stake, thorn’.
 Kerr, pl. kērra ‘donkey, ass, foul; gray’ < EPA *kara: Skt kāra- ‘donkey’.
krep, pl. krepu ‘rock’ < EPA *krepa: Gmc *xréfaz ‘body’ (OE hriht, OHG hreh), probably, a remade root noun.
lapē, pl. lapa ‘hard piece of meat or skin; peritoneum; leaf’ < EPA *lāpā: Lith lapas ‘leaf’ (2); Gk ὅπως ‘shell, husk, bark’.
mardhē ‘chill, frost, ice’. < EPA *mardha: Slav *morzhъ ‘frost’ (a).
mitē, pl. mita ‘shoot’ < EPA *meite: Lith miėtas ‘post, stake’ (2).
getē, pl. geta ‘(jagged) rock’ < EPA *klaitē: Lith šlaitas ‘slope’ (2).
rrime, pl. rrime ‘rain-worm’ < EPA *wrime: Gk ῥόμως ‘worm’.
shteg, pl. shtige ‘path, road’ < EPA *staiga: Gk στώχους ‘row, line’.
shtrohē ~ shtrofe; pl. shtroha ~ shtrofa ‘kennel’ < EPA *strājā: Latv straja ‘stall covered with straw’, Slav *stroja ‘construction’.
tul, pl. tule, tula ‘meat, flesh, pulp’ < EPA *tula: Gk τῦλη ‘swelling’, Slav *tyłъ ‘back side’ (a).
thep, pl. thepa ‘peak, point, cog, tooth’ < EPA *tsaipə: Skt sépa- ‘tail, penis’.
vidi, pl. vidha ‘elm’ < EPA *widi(n)dza: Slav *vežъ id. (a).
zē ~ zā, pl. zēra ~ zana ‘voice’ < EPA *dzwana: Slav *zvonъ ‘ringing, sound’ (a).

-o-stems (neuter)

darkē, pl. darka ‘supper’ < EPA *darka: Gk δόρισον id.
èndērr ~ andērr, pl. èndrra ~ andrra ‘dream, sleep’ < EPA *anrjā: Gk ἀνείρων, ἀνείρος.
grabē, pl. graba ‘erosion, hollowing out’ < EPA *grabā: Slav *grobsъ ‘pit, tomb’ (b).
grellē, pl. grella ‘deep place’ < EPA *gritā: Slav *gřdlo ‘throat’ (a). *zɛrdlo ‘river-bed; opening’ (b).
gjeth, pl. gjeth ‘foliage, green leaves’ < EPA *gadza: Slav *gvozdъ ‘wood, forest’ (b).
hudhēr, pl. hudhra ‘garlic’ < EPA *skurdā: Gk σκόρδον id.
shtagē, pl. shtaga ‘pole, stick’ < EPA *staga: Slav stogb’ ‘mow, stack’ (b).

i-stems

besē, pl. besa ‘pledge, truce, trust’ < EPA *baitē: Gk πιστικ ‘faithful, trustworthy’.

herdhe, pl. ‘testicles’ < EPA *ardzai: Gk ὀρχις.

krimb ~ krym, pl. krimba, kērminj ~ kryma ‘worm’ < EPA *krimi: Skt kṛmi-, Lith kirmis, gen. kīrmięs (> 4).

mot, pl. mote ‘time, weather, storm, thunderbolt’ < EPA *māti-: Skt mātī- ‘measure’, Gk μήτις id.

vēng ~ vang, pl. vēnge ~ vangje ‘hoop, tire, ring, rim’ < EPA *wengē: Lith vingis ‘arc’ (1).

zot, pl. zotērinj, zotēr, OAbl zota ‘lord, master, god’ < EPA *w(i)äs-pati-: Skt viṣ-pāti- ‘lord of the house’, Lith viēšpats ‘lord’ (1).

ā- and ĭ-stems

bark, pl. barge ‘belly, womb, abdomen’ < EPA *baruca: βρόκος ‘aibōs παρὰ Ταραντίνοις.

grimē, pl. grima ‘crumb, bit’ < EPA *grimā: Gk βρώμη ‘food, meal’.

hurbē, pl. hurba ‘swallow, mouthful’ < EPA *skurbā: Latv šķība ‘fissure, slot’, Slav *ščerba id. (b).


kedh, pl. kedēh, kedha ‘kid’ < EPA *kadza: Slav *koza ‘she-goat’ (b).

kripē ~ krypē, pl. kripēra ~ krypna ‘salt’ < EPA *kräppā: Slav *krupa ‘groat’ (b).

krua ~ kruē, pl. kroje (secondary form - kroji) ‘spring, fountain’ < EPA *kräna: Gk κρήνη id.

kulp ‘ivy, Clematis’, pl. *kulpa (based on the paradigm of the diminutive kurth, pl. kurthe) < EPA *kulpa: Lith kilpa ‘loop’ (1).

lerē, pl. lera ‘heap of stones, pebble bank’ < EPA *laurē: Gk λεύρα ‘alley, pass between rocks’.

lingē, pl. linga ‘small bell’ < EPA *lingē: Lith lingė ‘flexible pole; bend’ (1), Latv liipa ‘loop’.
loqe, pl. loqe ‘penis; testicles’ < EPA *lauka: Lith liaukà ‘gland’ (2 > 4).
llëřë ~ llanë, pl. llëřa ~ llana (llëřë ~ llanë is secondary) ‘forearm, ell’ < EPA *alenä: Gk ὁλένη ‘elbow’.
mëllënë, pl. mëllênja ‘blackbird’ < EPA *melanjä: Gk fem. μέλανα ‘black’, Latv melns id. But Skt maliná- is oxytonic.
mjalcé, pl. mjalcza ‘bee’ < EPA *melitja: Gk μέλισσα < *melitjā id.
mjegull, pl. mjegulla ‘cloud’ < EPA *meg(u)lla: Gk οὐρά ‘fog, mist’, Lith miglā id. (2), Slav *měla ‘darkness, mist’ (b).
modhull, pl. modhulla ‘vetch, chickling, chick-pea’ < EPA *mádzula: Lith mažulis ‘small’ (2).
pidh, pl. pidhe ‘female pudenda’ < EPA *p(e)izda: Slav *pizda id. (b).
rosë, pl. rosa ‘duck’ < EPA *anâtja: Gk νήσσα ‘duck’.
trap, pl. trapa ‘ferry’ < EPA *trapa: Slav *troopa ‘path’ (b).
verë ~ venë ‘wine’ < EPA *wainā: Gk ὠίνη ‘wine’.
ve, pl. va, veja ‘widow’ < EPA *widewā: Skt vidhāvā id., Slav *vudova id. (b).
zonjè ‘wife’, pl. zonja < EPA *w(i)ts-patnā: Skt pātī id., sa-pātī ‘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 *bēda ‘disaster’ (b).
derë, pl. dier ‘door’ < EPA *dvořā: Skt dvār-, Gk θύρα.
gjak, pl. gjaca, gjakra ~ gjakna ‘blood’ < EPA *saka: Gk ὀπός ‘juice’, Lith sakai ‘resin’ (4), Slav *soč ‘juice’ (c).
halë, pl. hala ‘fish bone, splinter; pine’ < EPA *skalā: Lith skalà ‘stick of firewood’ (4).
hu ~ hù, pl. hunj ‘picket, stake, pole, penis’ < EPA *skuja: Slav *xujù ‘penis’ (b).
qengjè, pl. qengja ‘beehive’ < EPA *kenagā: Gmc *xunagān ‘honey’ (ON hunang, OE hunig, OHG honag).
**rreth.** pl. *rrathē* ‘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)smē* ‘wedding feast’ < EPA *dartš-imā* reflecting an alternation *k* : *s* (EPA *ṭ* : *tš*). A similar alternation of voiced consonants *g* : *z* (EPA *ṭ* : *dzh*) is found in *djeg* ‘to burn’ vs. *ndeza* ‘to set alight, to ignite’ < EPA *en-dadžja*. 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 *Balcanica* 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 *ṭ* 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2 sg. pres.</th>
<th>1 sg. aor.</th>
<th>1 sg. pres.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘to pray’</td>
<td>lut &lt; *lutet</td>
<td>luta &lt; *luta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to measure’</td>
<td>mat &lt; *matet</td>
<td>mata &lt; *mata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to urge’</td>
<td>ngut &lt; *en-gutet</td>
<td>nguta &lt; *en-guta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to practise’</td>
<td>ryt &lt; *rütet</td>
<td>ryt &lt; *rūta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to pull up’</td>
<td>rrit &lt; *writet</td>
<td>rrita &lt; *writa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to frighten’</td>
<td>tut &lt; *tutet</td>
<td>tuta &lt; *tuta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3 sg. pres.</th>
<th>1 sg. aor.</th>
<th>1 sg. pres.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘to mate’</td>
<td>bon &lt; *bā(g)net</td>
<td>(bova)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to gnaw’</td>
<td>bren &lt; *brenet</td>
<td>(brejta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to find’</td>
<td>gjen &lt; *gadenet</td>
<td>(gjeta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to wash’</td>
<td>lan &lt; *launet</td>
<td>(lāva)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to feed’</td>
<td>man &lt; *mazdenet</td>
<td>(majta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to divide’</td>
<td>ndan &lt; *en-danet</td>
<td>(ndajta, ndava)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘twilight’</td>
<td>ag &lt; *auga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘belly’</td>
<td>bark &lt; *barka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘barge-pole’</td>
<td>drang &lt; *dranga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘oak’</td>
<td>dushk &lt; *duska</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘old man’</td>
<td>plak &lt; *plaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘heap’</td>
<td>tog &lt; *tāga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>present</th>
<th>aorist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘to burn’</td>
<td>djeg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to bake’</td>
<td>pjek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to follow’</td>
<td>ndjek</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One more productive alternation is found in the nominal system between /l/ and /j/. The source of this palatalization is medial */j/ before */i/ in Late Proto-Albanian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘people’</td>
<td>popull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘mullet’</td>
<td>qefull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘pine’</td>
<td>rrobull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘seam, edge’</td>
<td>skundill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rag, cloth’</td>
<td>sukull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘title’</td>
<td>titull</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.1.3. Another source of productive alternations in Albanian consonantism is the voicing of unvoiced obstruents after nasals. It often occurs at the juncture between prefixes and nominal stems:

- *ka ‘out’*  
  - *nga id.*
- *kordh ‘to die (of animals)’*  
  - *ngordh ‘to die’*
- *kunjoj ‘to close with a peg’*  
  - *nguoj ‘to enclose’*
- *pas ‘after, behind’*  
  - *mbas id.*
- *pjell ‘to beget’*  
  - *mbjell ‘to sow’*
- *prodh ‘to produce’*  
  - *mbrodh ‘to help’*

Unvoicing is found in the position after the prefix *sh*:

- *bie ‘to bring, to carry’*  
  - *shpie ‘to carry away’*
- *gardhë ‘fence’*  
  - *skardhë ‘dog chain’*
- *gërryej ‘to scrape’*  
  - *shkryej ‘to make dirty’*
- *glepë ‘matter from the eyes’*  
  - *shklepë ‘to make dirty’*
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 \textit{ua} \textasciitilde \textit{ue} and \textit{a}.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'falcon' \textit{fajku}</td>
<td>\textit{fajkonj}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'honeycomb' \textit{huall}</td>
<td>\textit{hoje}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'roebuck' \textit{kapruall}</td>
<td>\textit{kaproj}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'rooster' \textit{kapue}</td>
<td>\textit{kaponj}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'stable' \textit{katu}</td>
<td>\textit{katonj}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'spring' \textit{krue}</td>
<td>\textit{kronj}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same alternation is productive in the verbal morphology. It characterizes the present/aorist opposition:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>present</th>
<th>aorist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'to be afraid' \textit{druaj}</td>
<td>\textit{drova}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to grind' \textit{bluaj}</td>
<td>\textit{blova}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to prepare' \textit{gatuaj}</td>
<td>\textit{gatova}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to hunt' \textit{gjuaj}</td>
<td>\textit{gjova}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to scratch' \textit{krue}</td>
<td>\textit{krova}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to write' \textit{shkruaj}</td>
<td>\textit{shkrova}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 \textit{a} : \textit{e} as in the following pairs:

- \textit{faj} ‘guilt, sin’ \quad \textit{fëjej} ‘to make a mistake’
- \textit{kalb} ‘to let rot’ \quad \textit{këlboqe} ‘putrid’
- \textit{kall} ‘to insert’ \quad \textit{këllass} ‘to put into’
- \textit{lakur} ‘naked’ \quad \textit{lëkurë} ‘skin, bark’
- \textit{lap} ‘to slurp’ \quad \textit{lëpij} ‘to lick’
- \textit{lapë} ‘leaf’ \quad \textit{lëpikë} ‘slipper’
mardhë ‘cold, frost’  
mërdhij ‘to chill’

At the same time, other pairs such as e : ĕ, i : ĕ, o : ŏ and u : ŏ are also attested:

dell ‘tendon’  
dëllinjë ‘juniper’

tund ‘bottom, end’  
fëndyell ‘awl’

lopë ‘cow’  
lëpec ‘old ox or cow’

luftë ‘fight’  
lëftoj ‘to fight’

rrëm ‘false’  
rrëmaç ‘left handed’

rrripë ‘precipice’  
rrëpirë ‘id.’

trufe ‘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;  
ČABEI RESK 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;  
DESNIČKAJA VJa 1965/6 40-41 (Germanic parallels to the Albanian  
umlaut); IPTB 89; ÇABEI 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘bone’</td>
<td>ashtë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘father’</td>
<td>at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ram’</td>
<td>dash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘trap, snare’</td>
<td>lak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘night’</td>
<td>natë</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
‘goat’ \(sqap\) \(sqep, sqepe\)

In numerous nouns \(a\) was restored in the plural by analogy:

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{sg.} & \text{pl.} \\
\text{‘twilight’} & \text{ag} & \text{agje} \\
\text{‘belly’} & \text{bark} & \text{barge} \\
\text{‘cat’} & \text{dac} & \text{daca} \\
\text{‘guilt’} & \text{faj} & \text{faje} \\
\text{‘fathom’} & \text{pash} & \text{pash} \\
\text{‘enclosure’} & \text{thark} & \text{tharq, thanqe} \\
\end{array}
\]

In many other nouns, the raised \(e < *a\) of the plural was generalized (and an innovative plural in \(-a\) was often introduced):

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{sg.} & \text{pl.} \\
\text{‘sheep, goat’} & \text{berr} < *barwa & \text{berra} \\
\text{‘young bull’} & \text{dem} < *dama & \text{dema} \\
\text{‘squirrel’} & \text{ger} < *gaura & \text{gera} \\
\text{‘foliage’} & \text{gjeth} < *gazda & \text{gjeth} \\
\text{‘rock’} & \text{krep} < *krapa & \text{krep} \\
\text{‘bull’} & \text{ter} < *taura & \text{terê} \\
\end{array}
\]

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 \(*-at-i-s, *-at-i-t\).

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{1 sg.} & \text{2-3 sg.} \\
\text{‘to shout’} & \text{bērtas} & \text{bērtet} \\
\text{‘to go out’} & \text{dal} & \text{del} \\
\text{‘to talk’} & \text{flas} & \text{flet} \\
\text{‘to swell’} & \text{mbufus} & \text{mbufet} \\
\text{‘to urge’} & \text{ngas} & \text{nget} \\
\text{‘to knock’} & \text{trokas} & \text{troket} \\
\end{array}
\]
2.2.3.3. The umlaut (je : 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 ë or é. 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), (je : 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3 sg. pres.</th>
<th>2 pl. pres.</th>
<th>1 sg. impf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘to go out’</td>
<td>del</td>
<td>dilni</td>
<td>dilja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to burn’</td>
<td>djeg</td>
<td>digjni</td>
<td>digja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to bake’</td>
<td>pjek</td>
<td>piqni</td>
<td>piqja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to give birth’</td>
<td>pjell</td>
<td>pillai</td>
<td>pillja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to turn’</td>
<td>sjell</td>
<td>silni</td>
<td>sillja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to die’</td>
<td>vdes</td>
<td>vdisni</td>
<td>vdisja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same umlaut appears in some aorist stems (quite often followed by i of the next syllable):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3 sg. pres.</th>
<th>3 sg. aor.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘to rock’</td>
<td>luhet</td>
<td>luhi ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to swell’</td>
<td>mbufet</td>
<td>mbufiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to raise’</td>
<td>ngre</td>
<td>ngriti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to sprinkle’</td>
<td>spérket</td>
<td>spérkiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to knock’</td>
<td>troket</td>
<td>trokti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to die’</td>
<td>vdes</td>
<td>vdiq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.3.4. Due to analogy, the umlaut (je : 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 (je : i is identical with the umlaut a : e, as it supports the opposition singular vs. plural. Cf. the following cases:
### 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. Worth. 28-88; Çabej St. III 124; Orel ZIBalk 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 *bredo, *bresti ‘to wade, to ford’, Lith brendū, bristrūd.
- **djeg** ‘to burn’ < EPA *dega < IE *dheg−h ‘to burn’ (Skt dāhati, Toch AB tsak-, tsāk-, Lit degū, dēgū).
- **mbledh** ‘to gather, to collect’ < EPA *ambi-ledza < IE *leg− (Gk λέγω id., Lat legō ‘to read, *to gather’).
- **mjel** ‘to milk’ < EPA *melga: Gk ἡμέλλυγω id., Lat mulgeō id., Lith mėlžiu, mėlžti id.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘bank, hill’</td>
<td>breg, brigje, bregje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘piglet’</td>
<td>derk, dirq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘avalanche’</td>
<td>ortek, ortiqe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fish’</td>
<td>peshk, peshq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘path’</td>
<td>shteg, shtigej</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
sjell ‘to bring’ < EPA *tšela < IE *k'ēl- (Skt cărati ‘to move, to walk’, Gk πελα ‘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 *melyo- (OHG melo id., ON mjöl id., Slav *melvo ‘grain for grinding’).
mjedhēr ‘mulberry; tares’, a suffixed derivative of *mjedh. Lith médis ‘tree’, Latv mežs ‘wood’.

2.2.4.2. Occasionally, expected e-grade is replaced by a zero grade:

djalē ‘boy, youth’ < EPA *dela. Latv dels ‘son’, Lat filius id.
leh ~ let ‘to bark’ < EPA *lajx. Skt ráyati id., Lith lějus, lőti id., Slav *lajati.
nduk ‘to pluck out, to pull out, to tear’ < EPA *en-duka. Goth tiuhan ‘to pull’, Latv 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 *bāgna: Lith bėgti ‘to run’, Latv bėgt id., OPrus begeyte id., Slav *bėgči id., Gk βηγμα id.
josh ‘to curl, to fondle, to caress’ < EPA *jāudija < IE *jeudh- (Skt yādhyate ‘to fight, to struggle’, Toch A yutk- ‘to take care of, to trouble about’, Lith jaudinti ‘to excite, to arouse’).
kruaj ~ krujej ‘to scratch’ < EPA *krābna: further connected with IE *gřeβh-.
quaj ~ quej ‘to call, to give a name’ < EPA *klāusnja: a

denominative based on IE *kleus ‘glory, word’ (Skt śravas-, Gk κλεος, Slav *slovo).

In other types of presents, lengthening is less frequent. Cf. some examples:

dua ~ due ‘to love’ < EPA *dāusnja < *dāusnja < IE *žeus- ‘to taste’
(Skt jōṣati ‘to be fond of’, Gk γεύσαμαι).
shoh ~ shof ‘to see’ < EPA *sākskā; Skt sācāte ‘to accompany, to follow’, Gk ἁπάσα, Lat sequor, Goth saívan ‘to see’.
shporr ‘to move away, to drive away’ < EPA *pāra; Skt pápari ‘to bring over, to save’, Gk περάο, πείρω ‘to penetrate’.

Lengthening of the full grade is also attested in several nouns:

huaj ~ huej ‘foreign, strange’ < EPA *ksānja connected with isolated Gk ἵαος, Dor ἵνος ‘stranger, guest’.
tog ‘heap, pile’ < EPA *tāga; Gk τέγγη ‘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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 sg. pres.</th>
<th>1 sg. aor.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘to jump’</td>
<td>bredh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to burn’</td>
<td>djeg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to draw’</td>
<td>heq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to strip off’</td>
<td>rjep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to throw’</td>
<td>shtjell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to wean’</td>
<td>zvjerdh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Proto-Albanian, the aoristic lengthening became productive and spread beyond the aorists with accompanying thematic presents:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 sg. pres.</th>
<th>1 sg. aor.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘to go out’</td>
<td>dal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to take’</td>
<td>marr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *lēuk- ‘white’.
2.2.4.4. In Albanian, o-grade is typical of (deverbative) nouns, especially *nomina actionis*:

*dak* ‘big ram’ < EPA *dwaka*; Lith *dvēkti* ‘to breathe’, *dvākas* ‘breath’.

*darkë* ‘supper’ < EPA *darka* < IE *dorkom* reflected in Gk ὀρκοῦν id.

*mardhë* ‘chill, frost, ice’ < EPA *mardzë*: Slav *morze* ‘frost’.

*némë* – *namë* ‘curse’ < EPA *namë*: Gk νεμω ‘to distribute’, Goth *nimnan* ‘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 ~ *-jë.

*brej ~ brëj* ‘to gnaw’ < EPA *brajnja* < IE *bhrei- ‘to cut’ (Skt *bhrañati* ‘(he) injures’, Lat *frō* ‘to rub’, Slav *briši* ‘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 *-dhoghejë* < IE *dhēgh- ‘to burn’.

*reği* ‘to tan’ < EPA *rægja*: ON *reykr* ‘smoke’, OHG *roh* id.

*ter* ‘to make dry’ < EPA *tærsa*: Skt *tarsāyati* 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- (Skt *brudh* ‘dirt’, *brudam* ‘dirty’).

*gjuhë* ‘tongue, language’ < EPA *gulxë*, connected with the Indo-European dialectal word for ‘sound’ *golso- (ON *kai* ‘shout’, Lith *gaisas* ‘echo’, Slav *gols* ‘voice’).

One noun attests lengthened grade in place of an original o-grade:

*zorrë ‘gut’ < EPA *džärnà < IE *ger- ‘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-laška, derived from IE *lek-* *lok- ‘to bend, to jump’ (MHG lecken ‘to throw back, to spring’, Lith lekìû, lëkti ‘to fly’, Latv lèkt ‘to spring, to jump’).
*ndulkem ‘to ripen’ < EPA *en-tulka. Lith telkiù, telktì ‘to gather, to bring together’, Slav *telktì ‘to beat, to pound’.
*ngul ‘to thrust in, to stick in’ < EPA *en-kula. Lith këlti ‘to thresh’, Latv kuhtì ‘to strike’.

*shtrij ‘to spread, to stretch’ < EPA *strinja. Skt stràñàti ‘to spread, to scatter’, Gk στράννει ‘to spread, to stretch’, Lat sternò id.
*thek ‘to roast, to toast (bread)’ < EPA *tsaka < IE *ték- cf. Gk κάργκειν πεινα ‘κάργκειν πεινα’, καγκαμένης ξινόκα τῶ φάφο (Hes.), πόλυκαρυκῆς ‘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 *burdà < IE *bhrdh-: ON bord ‘board, edge’, OE bord ‘id.

On the other hand, several old zero grade nouns were transformed into lengthened grades or o-grades:


Occasionally, this lengthening is caused by a following schwa. Cf. bolle < EPA *bālna < *bholōnos.

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 pēr- continues both EPA *per ~ *pra and Lat per ~ prō. Alb sh-goes back to both EPA *śis- and Lat ex-. Borrowed affixes introduced via loanwords have also become productive. Cf. such forms as palčē ‘marrow’ derived from palē ‘pair, fold’ by means of a Slavic suffix *-lca ⇒ Alb -čē, lajthī ‘hazel-tree, hazel-nut’ built from lakth ~ *læqth ‘loop, noose’ with the help of the Latin suffix -ia ⇒ Alb -i, and ndērzej ‘to mate’, a derivative of the lexeme zē ~ zā ‘to seize, to grasp, to touch’ containing the Latin prefix intēr- ⇒ Alb ndēr-.

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.


_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 dūrbas ‘work’, and elsewhere, cf. Gk ἐλατόφιος ‘stag’, Lat morbus ‘illness’ beside moriōr ‘to die’) is very limited in Albanian.
tharbēt ‘sour’ based on *ðarbhē, derived from thur ‘to add ferment to milk’.
thumb ‘sting, thorn’ derived from thua ~ thue ‘(finger) nail’ < EPA *atsāna to IE *āk- ‘sharp’; structurally similar with Gk ἀκέφαλος ‘thorny fruit’, ἀκαίνα ‘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 *-ib(a) (cf. Slav *žloba ‘anger’, *borba ‘fighting’) and the Baltic nomina actionis found in Lith -yba.

garbe ‘flower-pot’ < EPA *gar-ibā < IE *gʰer- ‘to burn’ (cf. Slav *греть ‘oven, pot’).
kērrabē ‘hook, staff, staff’ derived from *karē < EPA *karā. Slav *kora ‘bark’, Lith kerū, kėrīti ‘to become separated’ and further with IE *(s)ker- ‘to cut’.
llurbē ‘sediment, mud’ < EPA *lur(i)bā derived from *lu- r-a, close to Lith laūrė ‘dirty person’.
thelb ‘kernel (of a nut)’ < EPA *tsaliba, a derivative of IE *kēl- ‘to cover’, cf. OHG huls ‘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 *kewo- ‘to swell’, cf. Skt śūnyā- ‘empty’.

Secondary suffixes based on *-p- are also very rare:

kērc ‘stump’ ➞ kērc ep ‘stump, log, branch’
kashē ‘straw’ ➞ kastup ‘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- > dhr.


This suffix seems to be genetically unrelated to EPA *-dij(a) and its derivatives. The latter is connected with Gk -αδ-, -ιδ-, cf. νομάς ‘pasturing’, ὀσπίς ‘shield’, and their (less frequent) parallels in Indo-Aryan and Italic. EPA *-dij(a) > -ēz is often used in deverbatives:

bluaj ‘to grind’ ➔ blozē ‘soot’
dredh ‘to turn’ ➔ ndrizē ‘band, bandage’
lej ‘to give birth’ ➔ lez, lemzē ‘birthmark’
ruaj – rujej ‘to guard, to keep’ ➔ ruazē ‘glass bead’
shkoj ‘to walk’ ➔ skozē ‘beech’
shqejej ‘to break’ ➔ shqezē ‘harrow’

Quite often, -zē/-ēz appears in denominatives where it reflects thematic EPA *-adjā or *-adjā:

amē ‘odor’ ➔ amēz ‘odor’
gjellē ‘food’ ➔ gjellēz ‘salt’
mēlenjē ‘blackbird’ ➔ mēlezē ‘blackbird’
miełl ‘flour’ ➔ miełlezē ‘fine snow’
pe ~ pē ‘thread’ ➔ pejzē ‘muscle, sinew’
thellē ‘dark’ ➔ théllezē ‘partridge’
vajē ‘girl’ ➔ vajzē ‘girl’

Rarer forms are based on EPA *-idja > -iz.

*kurra ➔ kurriz ‘spine’
murrēt ‘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-.

butē ‘soft, smooth’ < EPA *buta < IE *bʰugh- comparable with Nlr bog ‘soft’ < *bʰugho-, Arm bowl ‘blunt’.
fletē ‘wing, leaf’ < EPA *awa-lekta < IE *lek- ‘to fly’ (Lith lekiū, lēkti, Latv lēkt, OHG lecken ‘to jump, to kick’).
latē ‘small axe’ < EPA *laptē close to (thematic) Slav *lopata ‘spade’. Lith lōpeta id. and (athematic) OPrus lōpto.
lot ‘tear’ < EPA *lā(i)ta, based on IE *lēi- ‘to pour, to flow’.
mut ‘excrement’ < EPA *mukta. Skt mukta- ‘released’.

The same suffix *-ta (or its thematic variant *-atā?) is productive in Albanian adjectives:

dial. blerē ‘green’ > blertē id.
cermē ‘cold’ > cemtē id.
OAlb djathē ‘right (side)’ > djathē ‘right’
hidhem ‘to jump, to overflow’ > hidhēt ‘bitter, sad’
lashē ‘old, early’ > lashē id.
mek ‘to make wet’ > mekēt ‘wet’

Corresponding thematic suffixes in substantives are relatively rare. They include EPA *-eta > -et and *-atē > -atē. The latter is identical with the Slavic suffix of nomina abstracta *-ota, cf. *orb-ota ‘work, labour’, *kras-ota ‘beauty’ and the like.

lēgātē ‘marsh’ < EPA *leugatē. Illyr ἱλός Λούγεος χαλούμενον (Strabo 7.43), Lith lūgas ‘marsh’, Slav *luža ‘pool’.
lēngatē, ligatē ‘illness, sickness, ailment’ < EPA *ligatē derived from *liga > līg ‘ill, bad’.

EPA *-uta > -ut is attested only once, though it is probably related to Balto-Slavic *-tā, *-tā.

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 srutī- ‘flowing, streaming’, Gk ρυτις id., Lat
vitis ‘vine’, OIr fèith ‘sinew’, Lith výtas ‘twig of willow tree’ and the like.

besō ‘pledge, truce, trust’ < EPA *baiti close to Gk πίστις ‘faithful, trustworthy’.
botē ‘earth; world’ < EPA *bwaṭi. Skt bhūṭi- ‘existence’, Lith būtis id., Ir bűith id.
dhunē ‘labor pains, shame, disgrace’ < EPA *edunū or *adunū. Gk ὀδούς ‘labor pains’, Arm erku id.
et ‘thirst’ < EPA *alk-ti-. Lith dūkti ‘to be hungry’, Slav *olkati id., OHG ilgi ‘hunger’.

Historically based on *-ti- is *-tja ~ *-tā.

djersē ‘perspiration’ < EPA *widertjā. Gk ἱδρώς id. < *sjuđrō-t-s.
dosē ‘pig, sow’ < EPA *dā(j)tā, derived from IE *dhē(i)- ‘to suckle’.
nus ‘thread, string’ < EPA *snutja. Skt snāvan- ‘band, sinew’ and further to IE *sneu- ‘to turn, to spin’.
plis ‘clod of earth, sod, piece of turf’ < EPA *plītja. Skt phālāti ‘to burst, to split’, Lat spoliā ‘stripped skin or hide, spoil’.
qersē ‘fallow land’ < EPA *kerktja. Slav *kərča ‘stubbed plot’, Latv kūrkt ‘to become empty (of a turnip)’, OPrus Cūrche ‘the last sheaf in which a deity hides’.

The secondary suffix *-atj- is based on *-tj-:

dērrasē ‘board, stone plate’ < EPA *deratjā based on IE *der- ‘to tear, to split’.
gērrasē ‘scraper’ < EPA *garatjā, derived from grīj ‘to cut into pieces’ < IE *gēr-.
shhkesē ‘roof shingle’ < EPA *skalatjā derived from shkel ‘to make a step, to walk’ < EPA *skala.
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’, *červrug ‘Thursday’. The following two cases are fairly reliable:

- var ‘to hang’ ➔ varg ‘row, chain, ring’
- mélē ~ mullē ‘swelling, lump’ ➔ mélugē ‘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 βίκη id., Lith pilkas ‘grey’, Slav *znakō ‘sign’ and the like.

- gak ‘boar’ < EPA *gauka < IE *gōu- ‘cow’, similar to Maced γόνυ (leg. γονή) ‘vul (Hes.) < *gōu-to-
- sarkē ‘build, frame, figure (of human body)’ < EPA *tserkā derived from IE *kēr- ‘to make, to build’ (Skt kārti, Lith kūrti).
- shtrēk ‘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.
- thūkē ‘knife’ < EPA *tsikā, derived from IE *kēi- ‘to sharpen’ (Skt śiśāti ‘to whet, to sharpen’, Arm sōv ‘sharp; knife’).
- thirge ‘chickpea’, singularized plural of *thirk, derived from thjerrē ‘lentil’ < EPA *tserā, a non-reduplicated parallel of Lat cicēr ‘pea’, Arm sisētn id. < IE *kē-ker-.

This suffix served as a basis for the formation of secondary suffixes *-ik- and *-uk- similar to Lith -ikas, -ukas, Slav *bke and *-bke, IE *-iko- is pretty well attested, cf. Skt vāsant-ika- ‘belonging to spring’, vārsha-ka- ‘belonging to the rainy season’, Gk ἰππ-ικός ‘belonging to horses’, ὑμφ-ικός ‘bridal’. Cf. the following examples of *-ik-:

- berk ‘baš’ < EPA *bardzika derived from PAIb *bardza > bardhē ‘white’.
- brengē ‘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’.
grykē ‘throat’ < EPA *grīwā < IE *griyā ‘neck’ (Skt grīvā, Av grīvā, Latv grīva ‘river mouth’, Slav *griva ‘mane’).
petk ‘clothes, garment’ < EPA *patika, derivative of petē ‘layer (of a flaky pâte); metal plate; flat stone’ < EPA *pati- ‘flat object’ compared with IE *pet- ~ *peto- ‘to stretch’: Gk πετάννυμι id., Lat pateō ‘to stretch, to be spread’.

EPA *-uk- is less frequent:

bark ‘belly, womb, abdomen’ < EPA *baruka: βόρ<υ>κας αἰδοίος παρά Ἄραμνίου continuing *bhor-uko-.
barukē ‘fleece’ < EPA *barukā derived from *barwa > berr ‘sheep, goat’.

The origins of the suffix -ak ~ -akē 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- rather than *-ok-.

bērrakē ‘muddy pool, pond, swamp’ < EPA *bir-akā derived from birē ‘hole’.

harroko ‘he-goat’ < EPA *skar-āka. Lith skerës ‘ram’, Latv škēris id., further connected with Gk σκόρπος ‘to spring, to dance’.
kēlboqe ‘sputum’, singularized plural of *kēlbok < EPA *kalb-āka derived from kalb ‘to let rot’.
tarok ‘young bull’ < EPA *taur-āka related to ter ‘bull’.
therokē ‘Passerina hirsuta; sweepings’ < EPA *tser-ākā derived from ther ‘to slaughter, to pierce’ < EPA *tsera. Skt śṛṇāti ‘to smash, to crush’, Gk κηρ ‘death’, OlIr do-cēr (he) fell’.

2.3.1.8. One of the most productive suffixes in the system of Albanian noun is -th continuing EPA *-ts- < IE *-tʰ-. However, the latter is nearly non-existent as an Indo-European suffix (with the exception of such rare cases as Skt yuvasā- = Lat tuvences ‘youthful, young’). In many cases -th- is used to form diminutives.

krand ‘Reisig, Blatterzweig’ ➔ kranth ‘little leaf’
lak ‘trap, sling’ ➔ lakth id.
lez ‘Warze’ ➔ lyth id.
sy ‘eye’ ➔ syth ‘Masche, Knospe’
uri ‘Maulwurf’ ➔ urith id.
ve ‘egg’ ➔ vetth ‘Made, Fliegenmade’

In many other words, it alters the meaning of the nominal stem, cf. the following examples:

birë ‘hole’ ➔ birth ‘pimple’
bri ‘horn’, brië ➔ 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’ ➔ veth ‘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 *-yes- ~ *-us-.
argēš ‘crude raft supported by skin bladders, crude bridge of crossbars, harrow’ < EPA *argusa: Skt argala- ‘bolt’, OE reced ‘building, house’.

lēpushē ‘mullein; broad-leaved plant’ < *lapusā derived from lapē ‘hard piece of meat or skin; peritoneum; leaf’ < EPA *lapā: Lith ląpas ‘leaf’, Gk λαπάς ‘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 mirti, Slav *merti).

moshē ‘age’ < EPA *mātusā derived from *māti- > mot ‘time’.

rrush ‘grape’ < EPA *rāgusa: Gk ῥόξ id.

vīç ‘calf’ < EPA *vetusa further related to *weta > vit ‘year’.

In one case, the same suffix appears with a long vowel *-ūs- > -ush:

kēlysh ‘young of animal, cub’ < EPA *kul-ūsā: Gk κῦλλας: οὐκῦλλαξ, Hēlēcios, Hes. further connected with οὐκῦλλαξ ‘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 lupt ‘to peal; 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 δισκός ‘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 lietuviškas ‘Lithuanian’, Slav *dětský ‘childish’.
dryshk ‘rust’ < EPA *drúdziska derived from *drúdza > drydhēt ‘easy to plane (of wood)’ < EPA *drúdza 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’.
breshṭē ‘wild, rough, rugged, rude’ < EPA *braišta derived from brej < EPA *brainja further connected with IE *bhrēi- ‘to cut’ (Skt bhrīṇāi ‘(he) injures’, Lat frīō ‘to rub’, Slav *briti ‘to shave’).
lagshṭē ‘wet’ < *lag-sta derived from lag ‘to wet’.

Several nouns with instrumental meaning are formed with the suffix *-ist-.

gasṭē ‘whetstone’ < EPA *galistā, a suffixed derivative related to Lith gālas ‘end’, Latv gals id.
hesṭē ‘spear’, < EPA *skōlistā, derived from hell ‘spear’ < *skōla.
kabisht ‘earwig’ < EPA *kab-ista. Lith kabeši ‘to hang’, kaba ‘crooked tree’.
kashtē ‘straw’ < EPA *kalsistā, derivative of kalli ‘ear (of grain)’.
lakshtē ‘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 > *-iščē.

blishtē ‘linden wood’ < EPA *blin-estā based on bli ‘linden’.
kopshtē ‘garden’ < EPA *kāp-esta. Gk κῆπος id., OHG huoba ‘plot of land’.
vēshtē – 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 εἶλος ‘to shut in, to press’, Lith su-valyti ‘to harvest, to reap’.

In Albanian, we find isolated traces of a suffix *-sla, which is historically identical to Slav *-so-. *maz-slo ‘butter’, *prěd-slo ‘spindle’ and Lat *-slo- in ἄλum ‘wild garlic’, prēlum ‘winepress’.

qull ‘porridge’ < EPA *klu-sla. Gk κλυζω ‘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 stals ‘stool, seat’ and the like.

bukël ‘weasel’ < EPA *buklā connected with bukur ‘beautiful’.

mill ‘sheath’ < EPA *meila. Skt mināti ‘to fasten’, OIr -tuideach id.


vogel ‘small’ < EPA *wäglā. Lat vagor ‘to roam around’, OIr fān ‘slope’ < *yāgno-.

zulē ‘shout, glory’ < EPA *dzulā < IE *ǵʰēy-o- ‘to call’ (Skt hāvate, Av zavāti, Slav *zvavati).

Among the secondary suffixes based on EPA *-l-, the most productive is *-ul-.

ch ‘to sharpen’ → chull ‘icicle’
greh ‘to comb’ (variant of krēh) → grehull ‘thicket’
ha ‘to eat’ → hamull ‘stubble-field’
pendē ‘feather’ → pendull id.
pizgō ‘splinter’ → pizgull id.
sukē ‘low hill’ → sukull ‘lump’
thumb ‘thorn’ → thumbull ‘button’
uthēt ‘sour’ → uthull ‘vinegar’
Another important suffix is *-il- ~ *-il-. The latter can be compared with -yla- in Lith akylas ‘observant’.

bijē ‘daughter’ < EPA *birilā derived from *bira > bir ‘son’.
kērmill ‘snail, slug’ < EPA *krim-ilā derived from krimb ‘worm’ < EPA *krima.
yll ‘star’ < EPA *skīw-ilā, a derivative of *skijā > hije ‘shadow’.

In a few word we find *-el-, which is related to the formant of Lith didelis ‘great’, paršelis ‘piglet’.

gobellē ‘ deep place (in water) ’ < EPA *gāub-elā: Lith gaûbi ‘ to cover, to wrap’, Slav *gûbâti ‘to bend’.

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 ἀλφρός ‘light, brisk’, Lat sacer ‘sacred, holy’ and the like.

larē ‘white spot’, ‘spotted, motley’ < EPA *laurā, based on laj ‘to wash’ < EPA *launjā. Gk λαῦα id., Lat lavō id.
makērr ‘stagnant green on ponds’ < EPA *makra derived from makē ‘glue, scum, skin (on the milk or other liquids)’. Cf. Slav *mokrъ ‘ wet ’.
mīrē ‘good’ < EPA *mīra forming a separate isogloss with Slav *mīrъ ‘peace’ (related to IE *meī-).
thembēr ‘heel’ < EPA *tsambrā < IE *(s)kamb- ‘to bend’: Gk σκιμβός ‘bent, crooked’, Olr cemm id.

A secondary suffix *-ur- is rather productive.

blehurē ‘ pale ’ < EPA *blaid-ura: Slav *blé狄 id., OE blāt id.
bukur ‘ beautiful, fine ’ < EPA *bukura connected with bukēl ‘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 ῥόπτρων ‘tambourine’, Lat rōs-tru-*m* ‘beak’, OIr *criathar* ‘sieve’, Lith vētra ‘storm’.

*ketēr* ‘squirrel, dormouse’ < EPA *kōk-tra*. Lith *kuokas* ‘dance’ (reconstructed from *kuokinė* ‘dancing party’) and Slav *skakati* ‘to jump, to spring’.

*pitēr* ‘frequent’ < EPA *pintra*. OIr *eim* ‘quick, fast’, ON *finr* id.

*thadēr* ‘a kind of a double-sided axe’ < EPA *tsestrā*: Skt śāstrā- ‘knife, sword’.

### 2.3.1.12. Deverbal 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 ájma- ‘path, course’, Gk φλογιός ‘brand’, Goth doms ‘judgement, sentence’.

*barmē* ‘bast’ < EPA *bardzmā* derived from *bardza* > bardhē ‘white’.

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


*brimē* ‘hole’ < EPA *brima*, an adjective in *-mo-* based on IE *bher-*.

*grimē* ‘crumb, bit’ < EPA *grima* derived from *gri̯ – gri̯* ‘to cut into pieces, to gnaw, to eat away’ < IE *g’e*- ‘to swallow’ (Skt gīrāti, Arm eker, Lat vorō, Lith geriu, gérti ‘to drink’, Slav *ţerti* 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 šūd.

*term* ‘foundation, plot of land’ < EPA *tarsma* derived from *ter* ‘to make dry’ < EPA *tarsja*, causative of *ters-*, cf. Skt tarsāyatī id., Lat torrēid., ON *perra* id.
In a few cases, EPA *ma seems to result from the analogical modification of IE *men-, cf. for example:

*hime* ‘bran’ < EPA *skedma < IE *skeid-men-: Goth skaidan ‘to divide’, Lith skędžu, skęsti ‘to make thin’, cf. Lith skiemű ‘opening used to insert the shuttle’ < *sked-men-.


In several words, a secondary suffix *im- is attested, cf. Lith -imas in abstract verbal substantives: Lith sukimas ‘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 *kālima, derivative of IE *kalē: Skt kalyā- ‘healthy’, Gk Hom καλός ‘beautiful’.

lismė ‘slate, fragile earth, stony field, clay’ < EPA *lūšimā related to liq ‘woof, weft’, singularized plural of *lik < IE *leik- ‘to leave, to remain’: Skt rimaśti ‘to leave’, Lat linquo id., OHG lihan.

An important productive suffix of adjectives is *-šëm ~ -čëm < EPA *-(i)sama corresponding to Italic and Celtic superlatives in *-is-mmo-. Cf. the following examples:

menčëm, mendschém ‘clever, intelligent’ < mend ‘mind’

arsyvëshëm ‘reasonable’ < arsy ‘reason’

fuqistëm ‘natural’ < fuqi ‘nature’

2.3.1.13. Another type of deverbal adjective (later expanded to other types of nouns) is represented by EPA *-na continuing IE *-no-, cf. Skt di-nā- ‘bound’, Gk σπαρ-φός ‘scattered’, Lat plēmus ‘full’.

gjalm ‘rope, lace’ < EPA *salpna: Slav *solviti ‘to stick out’, Lith is-selpinėti ‘to get divided’.
karmê ‘rock’ < EPA *karpnä further related to karpê id. < EPA *karpā, cf. Lith kerpū, kirpti ‘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’.
téré ~ tanê ‘whole, all’ < EPA *twana < *tyono- < IE *teu-= ‘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 *-enj.

breshēr ~ breshên ‘hail’ < EPA *braus-ena < IE *bhreus- ‘to break’: OIr bru id., MW breu ‘fragile’, OHG brosna ‘crumb’.
prehēr ~ preheń ‘bosom, lap; apron’ < EPA *prōjena *‘front’, originally, an adjective built on the basis of the locative Gk πρωί ‘early, in the morning’ = OHG fruoi id.

Another secondary suffix, *-ina > -i, is found in masculine nouns. Cf. Slav *-jina, Lith -ina- (Lith kūpinas ‘heaped up’, Slav *džlēnas ‘must’).

ari ‘bear’ < EPA *arina derived from ar id.: Skt ḍkṣa- id., Gk ὀρκτος id.
bari ‘shepherd’ < EPA *bar-ina: OHG baro’(free) man’.
kalli ‘ear of grain’ < EPA *kals-ina. Slav *kolsjë ‘ear of grain’.

2.3.1.14. EPA *-njaj is quite productive.

drēnjê ‘cornel-cherry; healthy, sound’ < EPA *draunjâ < IE *drej- ‘tree’.
drinje ‘brushwood’ < EPA *drünkje < IE *drew- ‘tree’.
enje ‘juniper, yew’ < EPA *aignjä related to the Germanic word for ‘oak’: ON eik, OHG eih.

EPA *-änjä is used in denominatives derived from nouns of Indo-European origin, as well as from loanwords.

beronje ‘barren woman; holly; kind of serpent’ < EPA *baränjä based on *bara ‘naked, barren’, borrowed from Gmc *bazaz.
        OHG har ‘bare’, ON berr id.
bilonje ‘twig, branch; pretty girl or young woman’ < EPA *būlänjä, a derivative of *būla: Gk φύλον ‘leaf’.
gabonje ‘eagle’ < EPA *gabänjä related to shkab id.
mishkonje, mushkonje ‘midge, gnat’ derived from *mushkē, which is borrowed from Lat musca ‘fly’.

In one word we also find *-anjä:

dëllinje, dëllēnje ‘juniper’ < EPA *daislanjä 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:

banje ‘dwelling’ < EPA *banti, derived from bèj ‘to make, to do’.
rëndé ~ randé ‘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 śīśāti ‘to whet, to sharpen’, Arm sowr ‘sharp; knife’.

Several nouns are formed with EPA *-unkā.

ballungë ‘bump, swelling’ < EPA *bal-unkā derived from ballē ‘forehead’ < EPA *balā: Skt bhāla- id., OPrus ballo id.
shtrunqë ‘milking enclosure’ < EPA *st(ε)r-unqē derived from shtrij ‘to spread, to stretch’ < EPA *strinjē. Skt stṛnāti ‘to spread, to scatter’, Gk στροφώμε ‘to spread, to stretch’, Lat sternōid.

Suffixes in *j

2.3.1.16. The productive Proto-Albanian suffix *-ja ~ *-jā goes back to IE *-jo-, cf. Skt gávya- ‘bovine’, Gk διος ‘heavenly, glorious’, Slav *ovučō ‘belonging to the sheep’.


gjazë ‘riverside forest’ < EPA *sedjā, a derivative of IE *sed- ‘to sit, to be settled’, cf. Slav sacho ‘garden, grove’.

keq ‘bad, evil’ < EPA *kakjā. Gk κοκός ‘bad’.

mesē ‘skin (of onion), milk-skin, film’ < EPA *matšjā derived from makē ‘glue, scum, skin (on the milk or other liquids)’ < EPA *makā. Lith makedinti ‘to walk through a swamp’, Slav *mokṛt ‘wet’, *moknošti ‘to become wet’.

teshē ‘speck of dust, little splinter’ < EPA *taksjā < IE *teks- (Skt taksati ‘to carpenter, to cut’, Lat texē ‘to weave’, Lith tašyti ‘to hew’.

verzē ‘gill, branchia’ < EPA *wardjē. Lith varlē ‘frog’ < *vardē, Latv vārde id.

vise ‘place’ < EPA *witsjā < IE *yeikjā. Gk οἶκιō ‘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. Wortb. 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 ἄμφι, 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 aunū, aūti, Slav *uiti).

mbes ‘to remain, to stay’ < EPA *amb(i)-etja derived from jes ‘to remain’ < EPA *etja, a denominative of jetē ‘life’ < EPA *etx. the isolated group of Gk ἐτέος ‘true, real’, ἐτᾶ ‘ἀληθής, σάγχα’ (Hes.), ἐτάζω ‘to test’.

mbēshet ‘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 *ambhi-wela, originally, *to encircle’: Skt valati ‘to turn’, Gk ἐιλέω ‘to roll tight up, to close’, OIr fillid ‘to bend’.

mbys ‘to strangle, to drown, to kill’ < EPA *ambi-wītja. Skt vyāhate ‘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-baruja < IE *bher- ‘to bear’.

ndaj ~ ndaj ‘to divide, to separate’ < EPA *en-danja. Skt dāyate id., dāti ‘to cut, to divide’, Gk δαίμων ‘to divide’.

ndez ‘to set alight, to ignite’ < EPA *en-dadžja, causative IE *-dhog'hejō < IE *dheg'h- ‘to burn’.

ngaj ‘to run’ < EPA *en-ganja. reduplicated Skt jāhāti ‘to leave, to abandon’, OHG gān, gēn ‘to go’.


ngus ‘to urge, to force’ < EPA *en-kutja. Lith kauti ‘to strike’, Slav *kovatij ‘to forge’, Lat cūdō ‘to strike’, OHG houwam id.

ngiis ‘to stick to’ < EPA *en-glietja. Lith gliejū, glieti ‘to smear’, gliūs ‘sticky’, Gk γλυκός ‘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(ʰ)- ~ ka-. Cf. the following examples:


*kalesh* ‘hairy’ < EPA *ka-laiša* derived from lešh ‘wool, fleece, hair’ < EPA *laiša* connected with the Balto-Slavic word for ‘foliage’: Lith laiškas ‘leaf’, Latv laiška ‘leaf on a linen stalk; stalk’, Slav *lis’t* ‘leaf’.

*këndë* ~ *kandë* ‘pleasure, appetite’ < EPA *ka-antâ* derived from ėndë ~ andë ‘appetite, desire, wish’ < EPA *antâ*, cf. Gk ὄνται, ὄντας, πνεός, Hes.

*kllapë* ‘puddle’ < EPA *ka-lapâ* further related to *lap* ‘to lap up’ (of animals) < EPA *lapan*. Gk λαπτω ‘to gulp, to drink greedily’, Lith lapënti ‘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 ‘rinde’, OE rinde id.

On the other hand, in many words *ka*- yielded g(ʰ)- 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, spilllet’: Latv lemesis ‘sharp edge of the plough’, Slav *lemešâ* ‘ploughshare’.

*gdhe* ~ *gdhe* ‘gnarl, knot’ < EPA *ga-daina*. Skt dáyate ‘to divide’, Gk δαιμία id.

*geshtalë*, kështalë ‘splint, piece of wood’ < EPA *ga-stalnâ* < IE *stel-*. 

*geðhep* ‘garden scissors; claw, nipper (of a scorpion)’ < EPA *ga-tsai̯pa. thep* ‘peak, point, cog, tooth’ < EPA *tsaipa*. Skt sépa- ‘tail, penis’, Lat cippus ‘pole’.

*glepë* ‘matter from the eyes, rheum’ < EPA *ka-laipâ*, derived from IE *leip- ‘to smear with fat’.

*grep*, gelepepë ‘hook, fish-hook’ < EPA *ga-repa* related to *rjep* ‘to strip off (skin or bark), to tear off’ < EPA *repa* < IE *rep-*. Gk


The same *ka- ~ *ga- is also used in (mostly denominative) verbs:

- **gdherd** ‘to plane’ < EPA *ga-dain-ta derived from gdhe ~ gdhè ‘gnarl, knot’ < EPA *ga-daina: Skt dāyate ‘to divide’, Gk δοίομαι id.
- **gdhiy ~ gdhij** ‘to stay awake at night’ < EPA *ga-deínja < IE *deino- ~ *deino- ‘day’.
- **gijar** ‘to resemble, to be like; to suit, to become; to seem; to happen’ < EPA *ga-lab-njā, based on *lab-: Lith lābas ‘good’, Latv labs id.
- **kêqv** ‘to look, to observe’ < *ka-kewira derived from qyr ‘to look’ < EPA *kewira: Gk κοιέω ‘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-:

- **kêrbisht** ‘sacrum, sacral bone’ < EPA *kar-būsta derived from bisht ‘tail’ < EPA *bū-sta < IE *bhū- ‘to grow’.
- **kêrlēsh** ‘to stand on end (of hair)’ < *kar-laisa derived from lesh ‘hair’.
- **kêrtyl** ‘to fill up, to satiate’ < EPA *kar-tūla: Lith tūlas ‘many’, Gk τύλος ‘corn’.
- **kêrveshem** ‘to grin, to pull faces’ < EPA *kar-wesja derived from vesh ‘to put on’.

2.3.2.4. The prefix *awa- continues IE *ojo- ~ *aio- (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 *lějo, *lějati ‘to doze, to slumber’.
- **vdes** ‘to die’ < EPA *awa-takja, to *tek- ‘to run, to flow’ (OIr techim ‘to flee’, Lith tekū, tekėti ‘to run’, Slav *tekō, *tekći ‘to flow, to run’).
vēshtjell 'to wrap' < EPA *awa-stela derived from shtjell 'to throw'
< EPA *stela. Gk στέλλω 'to put, to set', OHG stellen 'to put',
OPrus stallit 'to stand'.

vrap 'to run, to haste' < EPA *awa-rapa, derived from rje 'to strip
off (skin or bark), to tear off'.

vras 'to kill' < EPA *awa-rautja < IE *reus- 'to tear, to destroy': Skt
ruta- 'broken', Lat ruo 'to fall down, to rush down'.

The same prefix is attested in several deverbative nouns:

flegē 'splinter' < EPA *awa-lagā < IE *legh- 'to lie', cf. Gk λέχως
'am-bush'.

fletē 'wing, leaf' < EPA *awa-lekta, derived from IE *lek- 'to fly':
Lith lekti, lēkti, Latv lēkt, OHG lecken 'to jump, to kick'.

flugē 'shingle' < EPA *awa-luga < IE *leuḡ-, cf. Skt rujāti 'to
break', Lat lūgeō 'to mourn, to deplore'.

vēshticē 'hard, difficult, bad, evil' < EPA *awa-stira related to shticē
'to pour in, to put in, to throw' < EPA *stera, cf. Skt stṛṇāti 'to
spread, to scatter', Gk στρῶμα 'to stretch, to spread', Lat
sternō 'to spread', Slav *styrō, *sterti id.

vrėndē 'drizzle' < EPA *awa-renta derived from rend 'to run, to
hurry' < EPA *renta. Goth rinnan 'to run', ON rinnad.

vrērēt ~ vrānēt 'cloudy' < EPA *awa-rena based on re 'cloud'.

vruq 'rust, mildew, blight' < EPA *awa-rugr. Av raogna- 'butter',
ON rjúmi 'cream'.

2.3.2.5. The Indo-European adverbs *peri (Skt pāri, Gk πέρι) and *pro
(Skt prā- 'forward', OIr ro-, Goth fra-) developed into EPA *per and
*pra, later merging into Alb pēr-. In some cases, we cannot exclude the
fact that Lat per- and prō- that may also have taken part in the formation
of Alb pēr-. The latter is quite productive and normally appears in
verbs.

pērgjoj 'to pry, to peep, to spy' < EPA *per-jāgnja derived from
gjua ~ gje 'to hunt' < EPA *jāgnja, cf. OHG jagōn 'to hunt'.
pērkul 'to bend' < EPA *per-kula < IE *k'el- 'to turn'.
pērmjerr 'to urinate' < EPA *per-medzra < IE *mei̯gh- id.: Skt
mehāti, Gk ῶμεῖχε, Lat meiō, ON migā.
pērpush 'to poke, to stir up' < EPA *per-p(r)usa derived from
prush 'hot ashes'.
pérqell 'to deride, to mock' < EPA *per-kela derived from qell 'to halt, to hold up, to carry' < EPA *kela. Skt kaláyati 'to impel', Gk κέλομαι 'to drive on'.

përvejel '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 *weka. Gk ἐίλω 'to shut in, to press', Lith su-valyti 'to harvest, to reap'.

The prefix pér- is occasionally used to form adverbs:

pérmbi 'over' < EPA *per-ambi, with the first element identical with pér and the second representing EPA *ambi.

pérpjete 'rising, uphill, rise, slope' < EPA *pra-peta. Gk προπετίς 'prominent', προπέτωμαι 'to fly forwards' and further to Skt pátati 'to fly, to soar', Gk πέτωμαι 'to fly'.

In a number of cases pér- was phonetically transformed into r(r)ē-

rēpjete 'steep' ~ pérpjete 'rising, uphill'
rēposh 'below, underneath' ~ pērposh id.

2.3.2.6. In a limited number of nouns EPA *tsa- > th(ē)- is attested. Its source is IE *kom (Slav *sba).

thēngjill 'hot ashes' < EPA *ts(a)-angila. Lith angils id., OPrus angils id., Slav *ängla id., Skt áṅgara id.

thjeshtē 'simple, easy' < EPA *ts(a)-eksta, based on *eksta > fashtē 'outside'.

thnegēl 'ant' < EPA *ts(a)-angula: Lat anguis 'snake', Lith angis id., OHG angar 'kind of maggot', engirine 'larva', Lith ankštrē 'maggot'.

thupēr 'twig, rod' < EPA *ts(a)-uperā 'upper': OHG oberō 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 kēkut ‘to swing’.
stepen ‘to be slow, to stop’ < EPA *dis-tapa. ON þeþja ‘to stamp, to ram’.
zebej ‘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 drṣāti ‘to burst’, Gk δέρω ‘to skin, to flay’.
zvjerdh ‘to wean’ < EPA *dis-verdza. Lith veržiū, veržti ‘to lace, to tie’, Latv vērzt ‘to turn’, Slav *verzti ‘to bind’.

However, the prefix *dis- is also used in nominal formation:

zgavēr ‘hole’ < EPA *dis-gawirā < IE *geu-, *gou- ‘bent, crooked’.
zgrip ‘side, edge, rim’ < EPA *dis-gripa. OHG krapfo ‘hook’, ON krappr ‘narrow’.
zgiedhē ‘ox-yoke’ < EPA *dis-gadā related to gjedh ‘cattle’.
zverk ‘occiput’ < *dis-warka based on vjerr ‘to hang’ < EPA *vera. Gk ἀείρω ‘to raise up’, Lith veriū, verū ‘to weigh’, sveriū, sverū ‘to open, to thread’.

2.3.2.8. IE *eghs 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, shkre ‘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-kames derived from kmesē ‘billhook, sickle’.
shpit ‘to bring away’ < *is-bera derived from bie ‘to bring, to carry’.
shpēh ~ shpih ‘to slander, to calummiate’ < EPA *is-pēkska. OHG fehan ‘to hate’, Lith peikiū, pekti ‘to blame’.


shpurr ‘to move away, to drive away’ < EPA *pāra, Skt pīparti ‘to bring over, to save’, Gk περάω, πείρω ‘to penetrate’.
shqat ~ shqej ‘to discern, to stress, to learn’ < EPA *is-klāusnja derived from quaţ ~ quej ‘to call, to give a name’ < EPA *klāusnja, a denominative based on IE *kλεύωs ‘glory, word’: Skt śrāvas-, Gk κλέος, Slav *slovo.

The same prefix is attested in numerous nouns:

shkardhē ‘dog chain; long stick attached to a dog’s neck to prevent it from biting its master’ < EPA *is-gardā, connected with gardhē ‘fence’.
shklepē ‘matter from the eyes, rheum’ < EPA *is-ga-laipā derived from glepēd. < EPA *ga-laipā < IE leip- ‘to smear with fat’.
shkrum ‘black ashes, anything burned to ashes’ < EPA *is-kruma < IE *krem- attested in Lat cremō ‘to burn’.
shpardh ‘oak’ < EPA *is-pardz. ON förkr ‘stick, pole’ continuing IE *perą-.
shpat ‘precipice, mountain forest’ < EPA *is-pata. Skt pātati ‘to fly, to soar’, Gk πιπτω ‘to fall’.

2.3.2.9. A few Albanian words preserve the privative prefix *a- < IE *a- (Skt a-, Gk α-, Lat in-):

amull ‘stagnant (of water)’ < EPA *a-mulwa. Lith mulvė ‘silt, marsh’, mulė ‘to get dirty’.
egjell ‘on an empty stomach’ < EPA *a-salwa. gjell ‘food’, gjallé ‘alive’.
esëll ‘on an empty stomach’ < EPA *a-tšilna connected with sîlë ‘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 ~ kacadrē ‘stagbeetle, grasshopper’
gjel ‘rooster’ ➔ rri kacagjel ‘to brag’
mitē(z) ‘roe’ ➔ kacimit ‘stag’
**morphology and word-formation**

*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’

*qafè* ‘neck’ ➔ *kalaqafè* ‘piggyback’

*var* ‘to hang’ ➔ *kalivare* ‘trickling down’

*vesh* ‘grape’ ➔ *kalavesh* id.

**karra-**

*bisht* ‘tail’ ➔ *karrabisht* ‘earwig’

*vesh* ‘grape’ ➔ *karrassh* ‘stick’

**la- ~ lè.*

*kuq* ‘red’ ➔ *lakuq* ‘red (of earth)’

*tredb* ‘to castrate’ ➔ *latredh* ‘uncastrated ram’

*bardbè* ‘white’ ➔ *lbarth* ‘to make white’

*bark* ‘belly’ ➔ *lébarke* ‘dysentery’

*fyì* ‘throat, gullet’ ➔ *léfyì* ‘pipe, tube’

*mazè* ‘milk-skin’ ➔ *lémazè* ‘thin skin, shell’

**mè-**

*kèmbè ~ kambè* ‘leg, foot’ ➔ *mekèmb ~ mèkamb* ‘to set up’

*krye* ‘head’ ➔ *mèkresè* ‘tombstone’

*shèrrè* ‘heifer’ ➔ *mèshèrrè* id.

*keq* ‘bad’ ➔ *mkeqem* ‘to get worse’

**pili-**

*korè* ‘crust, bark’ ➔ *pilikuri* ‘bare, naked’

*pizgè* ‘wind instrument’ ➔ *pilipizgè* ‘kind of pipe’

*ve, vœ* ‘egg’ ➔ *pilivesè, pilivoesè* ‘dragonfly’

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*Cf. the expressive prefix *³la*-in Slavic.*
CHAPTER TWO

shara-

nduq ‘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’ ➔ tlëndër ‘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. Worth. 89-94; Orel ZjBalk 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 lërrë ~ llanë ‘arm’).
\textit{thēnukēl} ‘dogberry’ < *\textit{thēnubēl} < EPA *\textit{tsunu-abōla} ‘dog’s apple’; Dac \textit{κινουβοιλα} ‘plant Bronia alba’ (Diosc. 4. 182) and Lith \textit{šūnubuolas} ‘dog’s pumpkin’.

\textit{vēlla} ‘brother’ < EPA *\textit{swe-lauda}, composite of pronominal IE *\textit{syē} and *\textit{lauda} < IE *\textit{leudh}-(OHG \textit{liut ‘people’}, Slav *\textit{jud} id.).

\textit{yler} ‘rainbow’ < EPA *\textit{al(e)nā bōāra ‘rainbow’ < *‘curve’, a mirror reflection of EPA *\textit{bhōrei ul(e)nā > bērryl}.

\textit{zot} ‘lord, master, god’ < EPA *\textit{w(i)ts-pati}: Skt \textit{viś-pati} ‘lord of the house’.

\subsection{2.3.3.2. Various structural and semantic types of compounds are attested in modern Albanian. All of them are recent innovations:}

\textit{ditēzi} ‘unlucky’ < \textit{ditē} ‘day’ + \textit{zi} ‘black’

\textit{dorēzanē} ‘pledge’ < \textit{dorē} ‘hand’ + \textit{zanē ‘taken’}

\textit{dredhalesh} ‘spindle’ < \textit{dredh ‘to turn’} + \textit{lesh ‘wool’}

\textit{gojēlidhni} ‘wolf’ < \textit{gojē ‘mouth’} + \textit{lidhun ‘bound’}

\textit{gunēdhirē} ‘cloak made of goat wool’ < \textit{gunē ‘cloak’} + \textit{dhirē ‘of goat’}

\textit{giyamsi} ‘bat’ < \textit{giyē ‘half’} + \textit{mi ‘mouse’}

\textit{manaferē} ‘kind of cherry’ < \textit{man ‘berry’} + \textit{ferē ‘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 *-ji-
- Class VI. Stems in *-ni-
- Class VII. Stems in *-nj-
  - Class VIIa. Stems in *-anji-, *-enji-, *-inji-
  - Class VIIb. Stems in *-anji-
- Class VIII. Stems in *-ti-
- Class IX. Stems in *-tji-
  - Class IXa. Stems in *-tji-, *-itji-, *-atji-
- Class X. Stems in *-ri-
- Class XI. Stems in *-sji-

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 *-ji-* with Germanic); BELIĆ *GSKA CXLVIII/76* 1-38 (derives 1 sg. pres. *-o* in Slavic from injunctive *-o-n*); SCHMID *Balt.* 98-99 (disagrees with MEILLET); MEID *Flexion*
passim (secondary endings in Celtic conjunct present); ČABEJ Hyrje 108; Cimochowski St. IE 43-48 (stems in *-n̂-); 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 *-o from perfective *
-a followed by *-m); MANN Hist. Gr. 125-136; OREL Lingv. issl. II
35-39, ZtBalk 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 εἰμί) continues the Indo-
European paradigm of the root present in most of its forms:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{sg.} & \text{pl.} \\
1 & jam < *es-mi & jemi < *es-mēi \\
2 & je < *es-si & [jenĩ] \\
3 & ėshtē – āsht < *en-sti & janē < *es-nti \\
\end{array}
\]

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 < *esmię < *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-ontē. Skt
sāntī, Lat sunt.

The athematic present of kam < *kap-mi related to thematic Lat capiō
‘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
cĕnseō ‘to assess, to value’. In Iranian (OPers bātiy) 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 vāḍa id. and probably Arm gam ‘(I) come’), the structure of the paradigm in singular is perplexing. The original form is retained in 1 pl. vem < *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  *vem < *wad-mi
2  *ve < *wad-esi
3  *vet < *wad-eti

Then a new morphological element was added:

1  *vem te
2  *ve te
3  *vet te

In the 2-3 pl. the above forms developed into the attested vete. In Geg, the 1 sg. evolved from *vem te to vete. However, in Tosc *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 ikēn now belonging to the VII/a class) was athematic in Albanian and its original present was *ei-mi identical with Gk εἴμι. Its current present form was derived from the athematic imperative 2 sg. ik < *eika connected with Lithuanian imperative eik, eiki ‘go!’. This substitution is remarkably similar to that of the athematic *ei-mi in Slavic. Here, *ei-mi was replaced by the innovative present *jšod ‘(I) go’ based on *i-dhī, an old imperative of *ēi-, cf. Skt īhi, Gk ἵλθι.

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:

bredo ‘to jump, to spring’ < EPA *breda. Slav *bredo, *bresti ‘to wade, to ford’, Lith brendū, bristi id.
djeg ‘to burn’ < EPA *dega < IE*dhegʰh- ‘to burn’ (Skt dáhati, Toch AB ṭṣak-, ṭṣāk-, Lit degū, dėgti).
gişh ‘to knead’ < EPA *jesīa. Skt yāsyati ‘to boil’, Gk ζεῦσκω ‘to boil, to cook’.
pječ ‘to bake, to cook’ < EPA *peka < IE *pek-’ id. (Skt pācati, Gk πέκαω, Lat coquē, Slav *peka, *pekti).

pjel’ ‘to beget, to produce, to bear’ < EPA *pelx. 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 *repā < IE *reþ- (Gk ἑρέπομαι ‘to eat’, Lat rapiō ‘to seize, to grasp’, Līth rēpti ‘to grasp’).

tjerr ‘to spin’ < EPA *terkæ. Toch B tärk- ‘to turn’ (only as part. pret.), Lat torqueō id.

vdjerr ‘to leave’ < EPA *awa-dera ‘to leave’ < IE *dêr- ‘to run’: Skt drātī ‘to run, to hasten’, Gk aor. ἔδρα μεν ‘to run away’.

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

zvjerdh ‘to wean’ < EPA *verdax. Līth veržiū, vežžti ‘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 *päræ. Skt pīparti ‘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 θᾶλλω ‘to bloom’.

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

grish ‘to invite’ < EPA *grīsa, a zero grade of IE *gēræ-s-, cf. Skt grāhi ‘to call, to invoke’, Lith giriu, girti ‘to praise’.

leh - lef ‘to bark’ < EPA *lajax. Skt ráyati id., Lith lōjū, lōtī id., Slav *lajati.

nduk ‘to pluck out, to pull out, to tear’ < EPA *en-duka. Goth tiuhan ‘to pull’, Lat dúco id.

ndulkem ‘to ripen’ < EPA *en-tulka. Lith telkiū, tēkti ‘to gather, to bring together’, Slav *telkti ‘to beat, to pound’, *tsulkati ‘to push’.
thek ‘to roast, to toast (bread)’ < EPA *tsaka < IE *ḱuk- cf. Gk κέγκει: πεῖνα, καγκωμένης ξηρὰς τὸ φόβω (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-bar-a, 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 dardēt ‘to rattle’, Latv dārdēt ‘to creak’, W go-dyrrdu ‘to rumble, 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 ἥλιος Λούγειον καλούμενον (Strabo 7.43), Lith liūgas ‘marsh’, Slav *luža ‘pool’.

shkel ‘to make a step, to walk’ < EPA *skala: Skt skhañate ‘to stumble, to trip’.

ul ‘to lower’ < EPA *wala: Gk ἐλάω ‘to shut in, to press’, Lith valyti ‘to clean’, is-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 *kukom (Lith kankū, kākti ‘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 ~ mäj ‘to feed, to fatten’ < EPA *mazdnja, cf. IE *mazel- ‘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 *skuebh- (Goth af-skiiuban ‘to push away, to reject’, Lith skumbū, skūbti ‘to hurry, to hasten’).

hind ‘to bear, to beget; to be born’ < *lindua related to lej ‘to give birth’ < *laidnja. Lith leisti ‘to let’, Latv laistid.

mund ‘to be able’ < EPA nasal present *munu. Lith mudā ‘possibility’, muduoti ‘to try, to attempt’, Skt módate ‘to rejoice, to be merry’.

shkund ‘to shake, to swing’ < EPA *skunta < IE *sceut-, Mfr scoathaid ‘to cut off’, Lith skutū, skūsti ‘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 *-sk/er-, originally-iteratives and duratives, were widespread in Proto-Albanian, where the suffix became EPA *-sk- > *-X- > -h- ~ -f-. In Albanian, stems in *-sk/er- 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 *degisa related to djeq ‘to burn’ < EPA *degska. IE *dheghs- ‘to burn’: Skt dāhati, Toch AB tsak-, tsak-, Lit degu, degti.

fsheh ~ msneh, nçef ‘to hide’ < EPA *skepska. Gk σκέπσα ‘to cover, to shield, to screen’.

grih ‘to sharpen’ < EPA *greiska. Gk χρίσσω ‘to rub, to anoint, to prick’, Lith griegū, grieti ‘to scoop cream from milk, to take hold of’.
kreh ~ kref 'to comb' < EPA *grebska. Lith grębtį ‘to rake’, Slav *grebo, *grebti ‘to row, to rake’.
meh ~ meľ ‘to soak’ < EPA *meu-ska. Latv maūt ‘to dive’, Slav *myti ‘to wash’.
ndih ~ ndif ‘to help’ < EPA *en-deiska. Gk ἁρέω ‘to hurry, to drive’, Skt diyati ‘to fly, to soar’.
njeh ~ njef ‘to count, to consider’ < EPA *nemiska. Gk νέμω ‘to divide’, Goth nīnan ‘to take’, Lat numerus ‘member, element, number’ and nummus ‘coin, money’.
shpifh ~ shpif ‘to slander, to calumniate’ < EPA *is-peikska. OHG fehan ‘to hate’, Lith peikiu, peiktį ‘to blame’.

In other archaic case, lengthened e-grade *ē > *ā is attested in contrast with other Indo-European languages:

shoh ~ shof ‘to see’ < EPA *sākska < IE *sek- ‘to follow, to see’: Skt sācate ‘to accompany, to follow’, Gk ἑπομένω, Lat sequor; cf. in particular Goth sāvan ‘to see’.

There are two cases with the zero-grade vocalism:

grah ~ graf ‘to spur on, to call, to roar’ < EPA *graska. Skt grṝati ‘to call, to invoke’, Lith giriū, girti ‘to praise’.
rrah ‘to beat, to strike’ < EPA *wragska. Gk ῥόοσσο, id.

An unusual vocalism is found in njoh ~ njof ‘which can be explained as an extreme archaism corresponding to Anatolian data:

njoh ~ njof ‘to know’ < EPA *gnāska < IE *gēn̄- ~ *gēn̄- id., cf. Gk γνῶσκομαι, Epidauros γνῶσκω, Lat (g)nōscō but OHitt ga-ne-es-zi ‘to find, to recognize, to know’ < *gēnē-s-ti.

Among the verbs in *-skē/o we find several o-grade denominatives and deverbatives:

eh ‘to sharpen’ < EPA *akska derived from IE *ākos ‘sharp’.
plah ~ plať ‘to cover’ < EPA *p(e)laska, to Gk πέλας ‘skin’, Lith palā ‘linen kerchief’, plenē ‘thin skin, membrane’, ON fjall ‘skin’.
preh ‘to sharpen’ < *per-akska, cf. eh.
shkreh ‘to release (safety device, trigger)’ < *is-krapska derived from shkrep ‘to strike (fire); to release (trigger)’, krep ‘rock’ < EPA *krapa.
shpreh ‘to express, to speak’ < EPA *is-per-akska, further connected with eh.

3.1.1.5. Class V: stems in *-j-. Several different Indo-European types yielded Proto-Albanian present stems in *-je-. 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 *dhekʰ-. 
faj ‘to fill, to cram, to surfeit’ < EPA *spanja. Gmc *spanjan ‘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 *sparójan ‘to leave unharmed, to keep’; ON spara, OHG sparôn, OE sparian.
ter ‘to make dry’ < EPA *tarsja. Skt tarsáyati id., Lat torréō id., ON þerra id.
vesh ‘to put on (clothes), to cover’ < EPA *wesja. Skt vásáyati 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 *ber- ‘to bring, to carry’ (Skt bhárami, Gk βέρομαι, Lat ferō).
dhjes ‘to defecate’ < EPA *dzedtja. Skt hadati id., Gk χεῖζω id.
ēj ~ āj ‘to blow, to swell’ < EPA *anja. Skt āniti ‘to breathe’, Goth us-anan ‘to blow out’.
ftoh ~ ftōf ‘to cool, to make cold’ < EPA *awa-tāja < IE *tā- ‘to melt’ (Slav *tajо, *tajati, Osset tajyń id.).
ndej ~ nēk̑ ‘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 kečià, kėsti ‘to stretch’.
Some of them show zero-grade or o-grade vocalism:

*bēj, bāj* ‘to do, to make’ < EPA *bānjia*. Gk φαίνω ‘to appear’.

*fus* ‘to put in, to thrust in, to insert; to plant’ < EPA *sputia*. Lat putō ‘to trim, to prune’, Toch A, B putk- ‘to divide’.

*kep* ‘to hew’ < EPA *kapja*. Gk κόπτω ‘to hit, to hew’, Lith kapia, käpti ‘to hew’.

*rris* ‘to pull up, to move up, to increase, to grow’ < EPA *piritja* < IE *gert- ‘to turn’: Skt varate, Lat vertō, Goth wairthan ‘to become’.

Albanian also has numerous denominative verbs in *-j-, similar to Baltic and Slavic denominatives in Lith -ỹti - Slav *-jo, *-iti:

*gdhij, gdhīj* ‘to stay awake at night’ < EPA *ga-dina* based on IE *dino- ~ *deino- ‘day’: Skt dīna- ‘day’, Slav *dins* id., Lith dienia id., Latv diena id.

*jes* ‘to remain’ < EPA *etja*, a denominative of jeté ‘life’ < EPA *eta*; the isolated group of Gk ἐτεός ‘true, real’, ἐτα’ ὀληθῆ, ὀγθῆ (Hes.), ἐταξω ‘to test’.

*loz* ‘to move, to shake, to play’ < EPA *lādja*. Slav *ladii ‘to make order, to make peace’ based on *lad’s ‘order, peace’.

*ndes* ‘to have troubles’ < EPA *en-datsja* reflecting IE *dek* and related to the denominative Lith dāktyti ‘to mix up, to put in disorder’.

*pelq* ‘to stir up (water)’ < EPA *pełkia: pelkē ‘marsh, swamp’, Latv pelce ‘puddle’.

*plas* ‘to burst, to split’ < EPA *plata*; a denominative verb: Skt prthi ‘broad, wide’, Gk πλατός id., Lith platūs id.

*tres* ‘to melt, to loosen, to dissolve’ < EPA *trēija*. Slav *tratjo, *tratti ‘to spend, to waste’


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 *šṭepna < IE *skęp- ‘to cut, to split’.
zē ~ zā ‘to seize, to grasp, to touch’ < EPA *džéina based on IE *g’eiə- ‘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 skiriu, skirti.
kall ‘to insert, to thrust, to place, to incite, to set on fire’ < EPA *kalna, cf. sjell < *k’el-.
lē ~ lā ‘to let’ < EPA *laidna: Lith lėisti id., Latv lāsti id., Goth letan id.
tall ‘to ridicule, to deride’ < EPA causative *talna: OlIr tulid ‘to sleep’, Lith tylã, tili ‘to become silent’, Slav *toli ‘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:

vē ~ vē ‘to put’ < EPA *awena based on IE *aγe ‘down, off’ (Skt ávä id.).

There appears to be one lengthened grade n-stem:

dua ~ dve ‘to love’ < EPA *dausna < IE *gëus- ‘to taste’, cf. Skt jósati ‘to be fond of’, Gk γαυωμαί.

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’h-er- ‘hot’.

Some presents in *nj- go back to Indo-European stems in *ne/o- and presents with a nasal infix:

brej ~ brëj ‘to gnaw’ < EPA *brainja < IE *bhrei- ‘to cut’ (Skt bhṛjati ‘(he) injuries’, Lat frīō ‘to rub’, Slav *briti ‘to shave’).
buj ~ bûj ‘to accommodate (a guest); to stay overnight’ < EPA *budnja: Lith bundū ‘to wake up’, Slav *budno ‘to be awake’.
giej ~ gej ‘to find’ < EPA *gadnja < *ghnd-: Gk χόνδυνος, aor. ἔχαδεν ‘to seize, to grasp’, Lat pre-hendo id., ON geta id.
shtrij ‘to spread, to stretch’ < EPA *strinja: Skt strīṇati ‘to spread, to scatter’, Gk στρόνυμι ‘to spread, to stretch’, Lat sternō id.
vej ‘to weave’ < EPA *webnja < Skt ubhruṭi ‘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 διόμαι ‘to divide’, Skt dāyate id.
druaj ~ druej ‘to be afraid’ < EPA *drānja derived from dre, droe ‘fear’ < PAlb *drāwā.
giag ‘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.
lujj ~ luej ‘to move, to shake, to play’ < *lađnja connected with loz id. < EPA *lādja: Slav *laditi ‘to make order, to make peace’ based on *ladu- ‘order, peace’.
qaj ~ qanj ‘to cry, to weep’ < EPA *klaunja: Gk κλαίω < *klówпро id.
shtoj ‘to increase’ < EPA *stānja: Lith stōju, stōti id., Slav *stojo, *stojati id.
thaļ ‘to dry’ < EPA *sausnja, a derivative of IE *sauusto- ‘dry’: Gk σοῦσαι, MHG sör, Lith saūsas, Slav *suxb.

In other cases, verbs in *nj- go back to thematic presents:
boj, bohet ‘to mate’ < EPA *bągnja: Lith bęgti ‘to run’, Latv bęgt id., OPPrs begeyte id., Slav *bęgti id., Gk φεγιμαι id.
čaj ‘to split, to cleave, to smash, to batter, to chop up’ < EPA *štšedna < IE *sked- ‘to split’: Skt skhādāte id., Gk σκεδάωμι id.
krel ‘to pull out’ < EPA *krebnja < IE *ghrebh-, cf. kreh.
laj ~ kij ‘to wash’ < EPA *launja: Gk λουω id., Lat lavō id.
ngaj ‘to run’ < EPA *en-ganja: reduplicated Skt jāhāti ‘to leave, to abandon’, OHG gān, gēn ‘to go’.
ngij ~ ngij ‘to sate, to suckle’ < EPA *glejinja: Lith gliejū, gleti ‘to smear’, OHG klēnan id.

3.1.1.8. Class VIIa: stems in *-anja-, *-enja-, *-inja-. Historically, a class of secondary formations (many of them denominatives) based on the suffix *-nj- of Class VII:

fšaj ‘to sigh’ < EPA *pušanja: Lith puškinti ‘to puff’, puškinti ‘to splash’, Slav *pyxati ‘to blow, to puff’.
gęrdhaj ‘to scratch’ < EPA *grad-inja < IE *ghrđh- cf. OE grindan ‘to grind’, Lith gręndžiu, grėsti ‘to scrape, to scratch’.
hyj ~ hyej ‘to enter’ < EPA *eiwinja: Skt ēvā- ‘speedy’, Lith at-eivis, at-eiva ‘newcomer, stranger’, per-eivis, pér-eiva ‘tramp, vagrant’.
kēsen ‘to ache (of the stomach), to have gripping pains’ < EPA *kantšenja: Lith kenkiū, keikki ‘to damage, to harm’, ON há ‘to torment’ < Gmc *xanxōn.
kij ‘to prune, to trim’ < *kēini < EPA *kadinja, a denominative verb derived from Kadē ‘pruning-knife, billhook with long handle’ < EPA *kādā.
leyej ‘to smear, to oil’ < EPA *elaiwanja, based on *elaiwā borrowed from Gk ἔλαιον ‘oil’.
mpij ~ mpxj ‘to benumb, to make stiff’ < EPA *en-paγinja: Gk πάγγωμι ‘to make firm, to make stiff’, Lat pangō id., Goth fāhan ‘to catch’.
ryej ‘to suffer’ < EPA *raudinja: Skt rōditi ‘to weep, to roar’, Lat rūdō ‘to shout, to cry’, Lith raudā ‘weeping’, Slav *rydati ‘to weep’.
rrej ~ rrēj ‘to deceive’ < EPA *arn-enja: Gk ἀρνεῖμαι ‘to lie’.
Class VIIb: stems in *-änj-. This suffix is a modification of Indo-European *-ā-/*-ē-stems, cf. Gk τιμῶ ‘to bring to shame’, Lat plantāre ‘to plant’ correspond to Sanskrit forms in -ya-. In Albanian *-änj- was widely used to adapt loanwords (see below). Inherited Indo-European vocabulary forms denominatives with stems in *-änj-.

harm(i) ‘broken wind, pursiness’ ➔ harmof ‘to exhaust’
kalua ‘slander, calumny’ ➔ kalooj ‘to slander, to tell stories’
lārē ‘white spot’ ➔ lāroj ‘to speckle, to variegate; to flatter’
lēvorzē ‘peel, skin’ ➔ lēvorzof ‘to peel’
lōdēr ‘game, play’ ➔ lodroj ‘to spring, to dance, to play’
parē ‘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:

gedhend ‘to plane’ < EPA *ga-dain-ta derived from gedhe ~ gdhē ‘gnarl, knot’ < EPA *ga-daina: Skt dāyate ‘to divide’, Gk δοιομαι 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 runna 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:

cars ‘to destroy, to spoil’ < EPA *stištija < IE *sker-: ON skera ‘to cut’, Lith skirti id.
ngrys ‘to darken’ < EPA *en-kritja: Slav *kryti ‘to cover’, Lith krāju, krāuti ‘to pile’.
ngis ‘to stick to’ < EPA *en-gleitja: Lith gliejū, glieti ‘to smear’, glijus ‘sticky’, Gk γλύισκε ‘sticky stuff’.

In several verbs (continuing the tudāti type?), zero grade vocalism is attested:
lus ‘to pray, to invoke, to beg’ < EPA *lugtjā. Lith lūgoti ‘to ask, to pray’, Latv lūdu, lūgt ‘to ask, to invite’, OHG lockôn ‘to lure, to entice’, further connected with IE *leugh- ‘to lie, to cheat’.
mas ‘to measure’ < EPA *matja < IE *me- id. (Skt mimāti, Toch A me-).
rras ‘to squeeze, to press together’ < EPA *wragtjā. Gk ᾷsσσω 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 *neikti. Lith su-niktī ‘to set upon, to attack’, Slav *niknuti ‘to rise, to grow’, Gk νεῖκος ‘quarrel, struggle’
nxīt ‘to urge, to stimulate, to hurry’ < EPA *džīta: IE *dʰy- ‘to live’: Skt jīvati, Lat vīvō.
qis ‘to pull out’ < EPA *kitja: Gk κίυω ‘to go, to move’, Lat cīō ‘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 *lapītja. Gk λαπαρός ‘weak’, λαπαρόζω ‘to weaken’.
laps ‘to wish, to want’ < EPA *labiitja. Skt lābhyaṭi ‘to wish’, Slav *labi’ti ‘to love’.
pres ‘to cut’ < EPA *p(e)retjā. Lith periū, peirti ‘to beat, to thump’, Gk πριτω ‘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). ecēj ‘to go, to run’ < *etēs < EPA *aitatja based on a derivative in *-to- of IE *ei- ‘to go’.
flas ‘to speak’ < EPA *spala, cf. fjel ‘word’ < *spelā.
gērshas ‘to invite’ < *grisatja: grish id. < EPA *grisa, a zero grade of IE *g'e'ro-: Skt grūtā ‘to call, to invoke’, Lith giriu, giriti ‘to praise’.
kēllas ‘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 *(c)ratja: Skt tārāti ‘to cross over’.
umas ‘to bark’ < EPA *wamajja: Skt vāmiti ‘to vomit’, Av vam- ‘to spit’, Gk 'eméō ‘to spit out’, Lat vomēō ‘to vomit’.
vērras ‘to shout; to bleat’ < EPA *weratja: Gk ēiρwσ ‘to say’, Hitt ěrija- ‘to sound’.
vilas ‘to cut down (trees)’ < EPA *wilatja derived from vjel ‘to pluck (fruit), to vintage’ < EPA *wela: Gk ēiλω ‘to shut in, to press’, Lith su-vaλytē ‘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.

ekorr ‘to reap, to harvest’ < EPA *kāsra: Lith kasū, kāsti ‘to dig’,
Slav *kosa ‘scythe’.
permjerr ‘to urinate’ < EPA *per-megra: IE *meigh- id. (Skt mehāti, Gk όμεπιχοα, Lat meiō, ON mága).
qyr ‘to look’ < EPA *kewira: Gk κοεω ‘to note’, Lat caveō ‘to be aware’, Goth hausjan ‘to hear’.

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 *-sj-:

josh ‘to curl, to fondle, to caress’ < EPA *jāudṣja < IE *eudh- (Skt yādhyaΔ ‘to fight, to struggle’, Toch A yukt- ‘to take care of, to trouble about’, Lith jāudinti ‘to excite, to arouse’).
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QGHVK ‘to meet’ < EPA *en-da-sja. Gk δημ ‘to find’.
qesh ‘to laugh’ < EPA *kaksja. Skt kâkhati id., Gk καχαζω 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 IF XLIII 46-49; PEDERSEN BUSHT X/IV/3 231 (suffix -v- treated as a hiatus filler); LAMBERTZ IFLX/3 304 (follows PEDERSEN; source of suffix -t-); COWGILL passim; KURYLOWICZ Intl. 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 *-sji-); 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- > *-s- derived under the influence of the “ruki” rule in such aorists as *rausa > raúsja > 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’. 
The above paradigm is strikingly close to the Slavic sigmatic aorist of *dati ‘to give’ in the singular: 1 sg. *daxa < *dōśa, 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 \[lē ~ lā\]) < 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 \[bieć\]) < EPA *rausa < IE *reu- ‘to tear’: Skt rávate ‘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 thematicization of the sigmatic aorist make this scenario more likely.

\[geshë\] ‘was’ (aor. of \[jam\]) < *kl-esa < IE *k‘el- ‘to turn’. Cf. Italo-Alb klëva ‘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

dua ~ due        desha       ‘to love’
kam            pata        ‘to have’
vij ~ vinj      erdha       ‘to come’

This is also true of asigmatic aorists corresponding to various presents in *-j-. Cf. the presents in *-tj-:

present         aorist

cars           carta       ‘to destroy, to spoil’
kĕpus          kĕputa      ‘to tear off, to pluck’
mas             mata        ‘to measure’
mbes           mbeta       ‘to remain, to stay’
pres            prita       ‘to wait, to expect’
qis             qita        ‘to pull out’
shes           shita       ‘to sell’
umas           umata       ‘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) ḣshāj        ḣshana     ‘to sigh’
(Geg) ḡdhāj        ḡdhina    ‘to stay awake at night’
hāj ~ hājj      hyra ~ hyña    ‘to enter’
Ikēj           ikēna       ‘to go away, to run away’
prīj ~ prījj    prina      ‘to lead’

Verbs in *-atj- retain their innovative presents and the old form of aorist too:

present         aorist

gērsbas         grisha      ‘to invite’
kēlthas         klitha      ‘to cry’
kēllas          kalla       ‘to put into’
pēlcas          plasa       ‘to burst, to explode’
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>present</th>
<th>aorist</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cerk</td>
<td>cerka</td>
<td>‘to hit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çel</td>
<td>çela</td>
<td>‘to open’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhemb</td>
<td>dhemba</td>
<td>‘to ache’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gjerb</td>
<td>gjerba</td>
<td>‘to gulp, to drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gjesh</td>
<td>gjesha</td>
<td>‘to knead’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jes</td>
<td>jeta</td>
<td>‘to remain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vesh</td>
<td>vesha</td>
<td>‘to put on (clothes)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Asigmatic aorists are particularly frequent in verbs having thematic presents with other ablaut grades, mainly with zero grade.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>present</th>
<th>aorist</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>curr</td>
<td>curra</td>
<td>‘to prick up (ears)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fik</td>
<td>fika</td>
<td>‘to extinguish (of fire)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krup</td>
<td>krupa</td>
<td>‘to loathe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nduk</td>
<td>nduka</td>
<td>‘to pluck out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pik</td>
<td>pika</td>
<td>‘to fill holes, to pierce’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puth</td>
<td>putha</td>
<td>‘to kiss’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ul</td>
<td>ula</td>
<td>‘to lower’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All nasal presents have secondary asigmatic aorists.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>present</th>
<th>aorist</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bind</td>
<td>binda</td>
<td>‘to convince, to persuade’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dynd</td>
<td>dynda</td>
<td>‘to shake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fend</td>
<td>fenda</td>
<td>‘to fart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>humb</td>
<td>humba</td>
<td>‘to leave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lind</td>
<td>linda</td>
<td>‘to bear, to beget’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All presents in *-sk- developed asigmatic aorists which incorporated the suffix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>present</th>
<th>aorist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fsheh ~ mshef</td>
<td>fsheha ~ mshefā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grah ~ graf</td>
<td>graha ~ grafa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kreh ~ kref</td>
<td>kreha ~ krefa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mih ~ mif</td>
<td>miha ~ mifa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndih ~ ndif</td>
<td>ndiha ~ ndifa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>njeh ~ njeq</td>
<td>njeha ~ njeqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>njoh ~ njof</td>
<td>njoha ~ njofa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plah ~ plafof</td>
<td>plaha ~ plafofa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preh ~ pref</td>
<td>preha ~ prefā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Innovative aorists formed from presents in *-tj- retain the present suffix, too:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>present</th>
<th>aorist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>laps</td>
<td>lapsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndes</td>
<td>ndesa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pérmbys</td>
<td>pérmbysa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plas</td>
<td>plasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qas</td>
<td>qasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qos</td>
<td>qosa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rras</td>
<td>rrasa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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: *ã < IE *ë. Historically, it is comparable to some of the Italic perfects reflecting the same ablaut grade, cf. Lat ēdō ‘to eat’ ~ ēdī, as well as Germanic and Celtic preterits (the Germanic forms, however, might be their result of old reduplicated forms). In certain cases, this similarity can be corroborated by an etymological equation, cf. for example mbledh, aor. mblođha ‘to gather, to collect’ < *amb(i)-ledza, aor. ambi-lādza; Lat legō, aor. lēgī id.; ndjek, aor. ndoqa

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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>present</th>
<th>aorist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bjerr</td>
<td>borra ‘to lose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bredh</td>
<td>brodha ‘to jump, to spring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dal</td>
<td>dola ‘to go out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djeg</td>
<td>dogja ‘to burn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djerr</td>
<td>dora ‘to destroy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dredh</td>
<td>drodha ‘to turn, to rotate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hedh</td>
<td>hodha ‘to throw, to shoot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heq ~ hek</td>
<td>hoqa ~ hoka ‘to draw, to pull’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbjell</td>
<td>mbolla ‘to sow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbledh</td>
<td>mblolda ‘to gather, to collect’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mjel</td>
<td>mola ‘to milk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pjeck</td>
<td>poqa ‘to bake, to cook’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pjeck</td>
<td>poqa ‘to touch, to meet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pjell</td>
<td>polla ‘to beget, to produce, to bear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pjerdh</td>
<td>poroda ‘to fart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pjerr</td>
<td>pora, porra ‘to bend, to incline’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rfep</td>
<td>ropa ‘to strip off (skin or bark), to tear off’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rrjedh</td>
<td>rrodha ‘to flow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sjell</td>
<td>sola ‘to bring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shqerr</td>
<td>shqorra ‘to tear (cloth)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shtjell</td>
<td>shtolla ‘to throw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjerr</td>
<td>torra ‘to spin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tredh</td>
<td>trodha ‘to castrate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vdjerr</td>
<td>vдорра ‘to leave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vjedh</td>
<td>vodha ‘to steal’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One archaic denominative verb from an n-stem forms its aorist by lengthening the root vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>present</th>
<th>aorist</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>marr</td>
<td>mora</td>
<td>to take, to grasp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that while present has -rr- < *-r-rr-, 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 -ui-/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 práwan ‘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 cnēow.

Aorists in *-w-* are formed from presents in *-nj-*, as well as secondary presents in *-enj-*, *-inj-*, *-ānj-* and the like.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>present</th>
<th>aorist</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boj</td>
<td>bova</td>
<td>to mate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daj</td>
<td>dava</td>
<td>to divide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geløj</td>
<td>gélova</td>
<td>to burst out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kercjej</td>
<td>kerceva</td>
<td>to dance, to jump’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiį</td>
<td>kiva</td>
<td>to prune, to trim’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kreu</td>
<td>kreva</td>
<td>to pull out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laj – lāj</td>
<td>lava</td>
<td>to wash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbiį – mbįj</td>
<td>mbiva</td>
<td>to thrive, to grow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruaj – rėj</td>
<td>rova</td>
<td>to guard, to keep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ryej</td>
<td>reva</td>
<td>to suffer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thaj</td>
<td>thava</td>
<td>to dry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thyej</td>
<td>theva</td>
<td>to break’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In a few (presumably, archaic) cases, aorists in *-w- correspond to present in *-tj:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>present</th>
<th>aorist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dhjes</td>
<td>dhjeva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pres</td>
<td>preva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vrás</td>
<td>vrava</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two verbs have developed secondary aorists in *-w-, as their presents were erroneously analyzed as forms in *-nj-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>present</th>
<th>aorist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gdhij</td>
<td>gdhija</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gdhiva</td>
<td>gdhina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi, pij</td>
<td>piva</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (fletē < *awa-le(i)-t-a < *ojo-le(i)-t- représ) is athematic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>present</th>
<th>aorist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dî</td>
<td>dita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fle ~ flē</td>
<td>fletē, fjeta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngré</td>
<td>ngrita</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, -jit-, in which suffixes of present and aorist merged, was created:
present  aorist

\begin{tabular}{lll}
 buj \sim bûj & bujta \sim bûjta & ‘to accommodate (a guest)’
 cêrij & cêrita & ‘to melt butter’
 druaj \sim druej & druajta, drojta & ‘to be afraid’
 giaj & gia, giajta & ‘to resemble’
 luaj \sim luej & lojta \sim luejta & ‘to move, to shake’
 quaj \sim quej & quajta \sim quejta & ‘to call, to give a name’
 ryj & ryjta & ‘to enter’
 rrej \sim rrêj & rrejta & ‘to deceive’
\end{tabular}

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 \textit{-āre} were transformed to stems in \textit{*-ā-nj}, cf. for example:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{dēfōj} ‘to show, to point’ \Leftrightarrow \text{Rom \textit{*indictāre} id.}
\item \textit{fērkōj} ‘to rub’ \Leftrightarrow \text{Lat \textit{fricāre} id.}
\item \textit{gulōj} ‘to get rid off’ \Leftrightarrow \text{Lat \textit{collectāri} ‘to struggle, to contend’}.
\item \textit{kēndōj} ‘to sing’ \Leftrightarrow \text{Lat \textit{cantāre} id.}
\item \textit{lēshōj} ‘to let, to leave, to free’ \Leftrightarrow \text{Lat \textit{lassāre} ‘to render faint, to tire, *to let’}.
\item \textit{mēngoj} ‘to rise early’ \Leftrightarrow \text{Lat \textit{mānicāre} ‘to come in the morning’}.
\item \textit{ndikōj} ‘to influence’ \Leftrightarrow \text{Lat \textit{indicāre} ‘to impose, to inflict’}.
\item \textit{pendōj} ‘to repent’ \Leftrightarrow \text{Lat \textit{poenītere} id.}
\item \textit{shkarkoj} ‘to unload’ \Leftrightarrow \text{*discarricāre id.}
\item \textit{uroj} ‘to wish luck, to congratulate, to adore (deity)’.
\end{itemize}

A much smaller group of verbs in \textit{-āre} (usually, with the stem ending in liquids or in Lat \textit{i/j}) appears in Albanian with the suffix \textit{*-e-nj}:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{shēfēj, shufēj} ‘to suffer’ \Leftrightarrow \text{Lat \textit{sufferāre} id.}
\item \textit{mērēj} ‘to rest at noon (of animals)’ \Leftrightarrow \text{Lat \textit{meridiāre} ‘to take a mid-day nap’}.
\item \textit{shembéllej} ‘to resemble’ \Leftrightarrow \text{Lat \textit{similāre} id.}
\end{itemize}
shkëmbëj ‘to change, to exchange’ ⇔ Rom *ex cambiāre* id.
shpëreyj ‘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:

dëlor, dëloroj ‘to clean, to cleanse, to deliver’ ⇔ Rom *deliberāre*.

In another (presumably late) case, Lat -āre was substituted by -as:

shtërras, 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 renīdēre ‘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 *-a-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’.
ngurraj ‘to hesitate, to falter, to stop’ ⇐ Lat *incurrere* ‘to commit (a fault)’

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

shtrëngof ‘to press, to squeeze’ ⇐ Lat *stringere* ‘to stretch, to press, to squeeze’.

trashëgof ‘to inherit’ ⇐ Lat *transigere* ‘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’.

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

3.1.3.4. Latin verbs in *-ire* are usually represented by Albanian stems in *-i-nj*:

prüj ~ prüj ‘to lead’ ⇐ Lat *praēire* ‘to lead, to precede’.

qij ‘to copulate, to have sexual intercourse’ ⇐ Lat *coīre* id.

shëllij ~ shëlî ‘to salt’ ⇐ Lat *salīre* id.

vij ~ vînj ‘to come’ ⇐ Lat *venīre* id.

Once, *-ire* is substituted by *-ej*.

shërbej ‘to serve’ ⇐ Lat *servīre* id.

3.1.3.5. Nearly all Slavic verbs were transformed into present stems in *-ti-. Numerous Slavic verbs in *-iti* appear in Albanian as verbs in *-is*:

grabis ‘to steal, to rob’ ⇐ Slav *grabiti* id.,

molis ‘to make tired, to weaken’ ⇐ Slav *moliti* id.,

neveris ‘to desert, to neglect’ ⇐ Slav *ne vēriti* ‘not to believe’

ponis ‘to honor, to respect’ ⇐ Slav *pomniti* ‘to remember’.

radis ‘to prepare, to make ready (of food)’ ⇐ Slav *raditi* ‘to settle, to arrange, to make ready’.

stērvis ‘to train’ ⇐ Slav *strviti* ‘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.

\[ \text{godas} \text{ ‘to strike, to beat’} \cong \text{Slav *goditi id.} \]

3.1.3.6. The majority of Slavic verbs in *-ati became stems in *-as in Albanian:

\[ \begin{align*}
    \text{bu\dot{c}as} & \text{ ‘to roar, to thunder’} \cong \text{Slav *bu\dot{c}ati id.} \\
    \text{di\dot{h}as} & \text{ ‘to pant’} \cong \text{Slav *dyxati ‘to breathe’}. \\
    \text{hi\dot{t}as} & \text{ ‘to hurry’} \cong \text{Slav *xytati id.} \\
    \text{karkas} & \text{ ‘to quack’} \cong \text{Slav *k\text{\text{\text{"}}r}kati ‘to caw, to croak, to quack’}. \\
    \text{lu\dot{h}as} & \text{ ‘to rock, to sway, to swing’} \cong \text{Slav *lu\dot{x}ati ‘to strike’}. \\
    \text{nu\dot{h}as} & \text{ ‘to smell, to sniff’} \cong \text{Slav *nu\dot{x}ati id.} \\
    \text{piskas} & \text{ ‘to shout, to cry’} \cong \text{Slav *piskati ‘to peep’}. \\
\end{align*} \]

A few verbs in *-ati were transferred to the more productive type of stems in *-is/-it

\[ \begin{align*}
    \text{lebetis} & \text{ ‘to tremble, to shudder, to be frightened’} \cong \text{Slav *lebetati ‘to tremble’}. \\
    \text{m\text{\text{"}}rm\text{\text{"}}ris} & \text{ ‘to murmur, to mutter’} \cong \text{Slav *m\text{\text{"}}rm\text{\text{"}}rati id.} \\
    \text{sh\text{\text{"}}tit} & \text{ ‘to go for a walk’} \cong \text{Slav *\text{\text{"}}chetati ‘to walk’}. \\
\end{align*} \]

3.1.3.7. Several smaller groups of Slavic verbs also appear in Albanian as stems in *-is/-it

\[ \begin{align*}
    \text{venit\text{\text{"}}m} & \text{ ‘to pale, to wane’} \cong \text{Slav *ven\text{\text{"}}ti id.} \\
    \text{v\text{\text{"}}rtit} & \text{ ‘to turn’} \cong \text{Slav *vr\text{\text{"}}t\text{\text{"}}ti id.} \\
    \text{v\text{\text{"}}rvit} & \text{ ‘to hurl, to fling’} \cong \text{Slav *vr\text{\text{"}}v\text{\text{"}}ti id.} \\
\end{align*} \]

The oldest layer of Slavic loanwords includes two verbs with the suffix *-aj:

\[ \begin{align*}
    \text{gatuaj} & \sim \text{gatuej ‘make ready, prepare’} \cong \text{Slav *gotovati, *gotoviti ‘make ready, prepare’}. \\
    \text{p\text{\text{"}}ge\text{\text{"}}j} & \sim \text{pug\text{\text{"}}j ‘to make dirty, to soil’} \cong \text{Slav *poganiti id.} \\
\end{align*} \]
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:** BELIC 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, Etimologija 1982 151-156, Baltistica XXI/2 156-158, ZIBalk 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 -ē (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 desinenSe close to Toch A -am < dialectal IE *-o-m, cf. also, quite probably, Slav 1 sg. pres. *-o. Weaker alternative explanations include EPA *-a < IE *-ō or perfective *-a 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-sē). 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(ē) can continue either *-me or *-mes. The 3 pl. ending -n(ē)
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. kërkøj ‘to look for’ -1 pl. kërkøjmë, 3 pl. kërkøjnë 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. pë ‘to drink’ -1 pl. pëmë, 3 pl. pënë.

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 *-nt-te(s). Such a form would have yielded Alb *-nti 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 *nù ‘now’ identical with IE *nù (Skt nà, Gk νῦ 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2 sg.</th>
<th>2 pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lidh</td>
<td>lidh-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kërkon</td>
<td>kërkon-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If the form *kērkoni does not continue earlier *kērkoni-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 *jū(s) ‘you’ normally attested as jū id. corresponding to Lith jūs id., Goth jūs id., Gk ἴμει id., Skt acc. yuṣmāṇ id.

The paradigm of the thematic present of the verb kap ‘to seize, to grasp’ can be reconstructed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>*kap-a &lt; *kap-o-m</td>
<td>*kap-a-me(s) &lt; *kap-o-me(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>*kap-e(s) &lt; *kap-e-s</td>
<td>*kap-e(s) nū/*kap-e(s) ju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>*kap-e-t &lt; *kap-e-t</td>
<td>*kap-a-nti &lt; *kap-o-nti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>*es-mi</td>
<td>*es-mei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>*es-si</td>
<td>*es-si nū/*es-si ju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>*ens-ti &lt; *es-ti</td>
<td>*es-nti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other athematic presents follow the same pattern. The only interesting exception is thom ‘to say’ whose 3 pl. thotē cannot be derived from *tsanztī, but rather continues *tsā(n)ti, which is historically identical with OPers .userAgent 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 _dhashē_); Lamberz _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 -ē); 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. Kuobloch_ 81-85 (on the origins of perfect of the _habeo scriptum_ type).

3.1.5.1. The initial _dh- of _dhashē_, 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 _kapu_, 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, -ē. 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 was 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(e) continues thematic EPA *a-me < IE *-o-me. 3 pl. -n(e) 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 -te 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>*e-kap-á &lt; *e-kap-(o)m</td>
<td>*e-kap-a-me &lt; *e-kap-o-me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>*e-kap-č(s) &lt; *e-kap-e-s</td>
<td>*e-kap-e-te &lt; *e-kap-e-te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>*e-káp-e-t &lt; *e-kap-e-t</td>
<td>*e-kap-a-nti &lt; *e-kap-o-nti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *dantí < IE *d>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:
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 i has been preserved in dialects. Thus, in the imperfect of jam we find standard Albanian isha with innovative i opposed to Chaman jeshê with original *e > je.

The imperfect of jam continues the Indo-European imperfect of *es-. Its 1 sg. isha is athetic and can be directly compared with Skt āsam, Gk ἅσα but the rest of the paradigm is thematic. Hence, the 2 sg. ishê represents a thematization of *e-es-s > Skt ās. The conjugation of the imperfect can be reconstructed as follows (the second forms are Chaman):

1 isha, jeshê < *esa < *es-m  ishim, jeshêm < *es-a-me < *es-o-me
2 ishê, jeshê < *es-e(s) < *es-e-s  ishit, jeshêtê < *es-e-te < *es-e-te
3 ish-te(ê) < *es-e-t < *es-e-t  ishin, ishên < *es-a-nti < *es-o-nti

In the 3 sg. two variants of the imperfect coexist: ish and ishte. The latter is obviously secondary and results from the univerberation 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 ājatād`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 *s Elevated here. Apparently, *s-E 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 \( *-{\text{x}} \) < \( *-{\text{x}} \) of aorists and imperfects was generalized far beyond the original limits of the “ruki” rule.

In several verb classes the original imperfect, e.g. \( *\text{piqa} \) of \( \text{pjeq} \) ‘to cook’, \( *\text{ndiq} \) of \( \text{ndjeq} \) ‘to follow’, was replaced by new forms with suffix \(-j-\): \( \text{piqja, ndiqja} \). 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:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
1 \text{ sg. pres.} & 1 \text{ sg. impf.} \\
\text{kërkoj} & \text{kërkoj-}\text{a} \\
\text{kërkoj} & \text{kërkoj-}\text{a} \\
\end{array}
\]

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 \( *-{\text{x}}h\) 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 Intl. 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 \(-ui\). 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 \( bjer(e) \) and \( piq \), imperatives of \( bie \) ‘to bring’ and \( pjeq \) ‘to cook’, from EPA *bere and *peke (which comes from the phonetically expected *petše), they can be compared with such forms as Lat fer and Skt pacā.

The suppletive imperatives of \( vij \) ‘to come’ are of great interest. Ejā goes back to EPA *ja with a secondary e- (under the influence of ec, ecēj ‘to walk’?). This Proto-Albanian form is without a doubt connected with IE *jā-. Another imperative of \( vij \) is Tosk jāk, which goes back to the same Indo-European root, though uses the imperative particle -k (also attested in ik, ikēj, see above).

3.1.6.2. The present of subjunctive has a formal expression in a clitic \( te \) 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 -ēsh and -ē were retained. These morphemes reflect a remarkable confusion of primary and secondary endings, as the 2 sg. lidhēsh continues EPA *lidz-ē-si (identical with Lat 2 sg. fut. ligēś) while 3 sg. lidhē 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-sti and as-a-ti. The fragments of the paradigm can be presented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>jem &lt; *es-a-mi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>jesh &lt; *es-e-si</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>jetē &lt; *es-e-ti</td>
<td>jenē &lt; *es-o-nti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. *sqom.

**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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 lidhem &lt; *lidz-e-ma(i)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 lidhesh &lt; *lidz-e-so(i)</td>
<td>lidhen &lt; *lidz-e-nto(i)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *syom.

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 deverbal 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-); CIMOWSKY Dushmani 119 (on participles in -uar ~ -uem); SCHMIDT IF LXIX/1 6 (Anatolian participles); KURYLOWICZ Infl. cat. 167; MAMP Baltistica IX/1 46 (follows MEYER), passim (external connections of Albanian participles in -m-); OREL ZBalk 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 sg. aor.</th>
<th>participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'to give'</td>
<td>dhashë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to leave'</td>
<td>lashë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to be'</td>
<td>qeshë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to fall'</td>
<td>rashë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to say'</td>
<td>thashë</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Participle in -n̂è is formed from hangra (to ha ‘eat’): ngrënè ~ ngranè < *en-gra-n̂tī. It is also quite probable that once there existed a similar (athematic) participle of bie ‘to bring’, *bēnè < *ber-n̂tī. This is suggested by the derivative of bie - shpie ‘to bring away’, which has a participle shpēnè < *is-ber-n̂tī.

The only reliable case that can be interpreted as a participle derived from an old verbal adjective in *-ta < *-to- is ratē < *rau-ta, corresponding to aor. rashē ‘to fall’. Remarkably, this aorist has another participle in Albanian: rēnè ~ rānè. This pair of participles may well reflect the original situation in Proto-Albanian where active participles in *-at- were opposed to passive participles in *-to-.

3.1.8.2. In a few cases Tosk preserves participles in -rē < *-na < IE *-no- (Gk στυγνός ‘hated’, σπαρμός ‘scattered’), cf. vras ‘to kill’ - vrarē, blej ‘to sell’ - blerē. 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 ṛyun- ‘life’ vs. full-grade pivan- ‘fat’.

Verbs in *-nj- as well as verbs with a vocalic auslaut, have different types of participles in Tosk and Heg. In Tosk, -r < *-no- is added to the aorist stem: *punov-r > punuar. In Heg the same stem is followed by -m continuing deverbative adjectives in *-mo-: *punov-m > punuem. It seems probable that while Heg retains an archaic participle in this case, Tosk has substituted its forms in *-mo- with newer forms in *-no-. In Heg, 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(ē). Albanian participles in *-mo- are close to the passive participles of Balto-Slavic (cf. Lith nēšamas, Slav *nesomy, ‘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 -ē and have the vocalism of the present: djeg ‘to burn’ - djegē, bēj ‘to do, to make’- bērē. Such forms seem to continue oxytonic Proto-
Albanian nouns with e-grade vocalism: \textit{djegë} < EPA *\textit{degæ}. 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 *\textit{degæ} is derived from IE *\textit{dhogʰʰos}, the “short” participles could reflect Indo-European oxytonic \textit{nomina agentis} similar to Gk τομος.

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: \textit{o}-stems, \textit{ā}-stems and \textit{i}-stems. The latter, whose reconstruction can only be occasionally corroborated by such features as umlaut or the reflection of the root vowel *\textit{e}, merged with \textit{o}- and \textit{ā}-stems at a very early stage. Other types of stems were not preserved in Proto-Albanian, at least not in their immediate form.

\textbf{Literature:} PEDERSEN \textit{KZ} XXXIV 283-291 (Indo-European origin of Albanian neuter); JOKL \textit{Studien} 102-103 (stems in -\textit{iə} reflected as Alb -\textit{-i}); \textit{LKUBA} 65 (\textit{i}-stem in \textit{natë}); \textit{SANDFELD LBalk} 139 (neuter nouns in Albanian and Rumanian); \textit{TOGEBY Cahiers Piscator} II 121-131 (neuter in Albanian and Rumanian); \textit{CIMOCHEWSKI LP} III 161 (\textit{i}-stems changing to \textit{ā}-stems in Albanian), IV 189-207 (follows JOKL \textit{Studien}); \textit{PISANI Sagri} 99 (reconstructs *\textit{-o} in Albanian \textit{r-} and \textit{n}-stems); \textit{ÇABEI LP} VII 145-200, VIII 71-132 (singularization in Albanian); \textit{MANN Hist. Gr.} 48-90; \textit{HAMP KZ LXVII} 254 (\textit{i}-stem in \textit{natë}); \textit{DEMIROV Probl. hist.} 355-374 (Romance influence on the formation of Albanian neuter); DESNICKAJA \textit{Gr. str.} 33 (on \textit{natë}), 42-43 (nouns in -\textit{i} < *\textit{-io}, passim (singularization); \textit{GEORGEV Trakite} 233 (follows \textit{PISANI}); \textit{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:

\[ \text{dhe} \text{ ‘earth, land’} \text{ < EPA } *\text{dzō} \text{ reflecting IE } *\text{dhēhōm} \text{ ‘earth’: Hitt tekan}, \text{Toch A tkam, B kem, Skt kṣam-, Gk χθῶν}. \]

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:

\[ \text{dru} \ ‘tree; wood’ \text{ < EPA } *\text{druwa} \text{ < IE } *\text{dru}- \text{id. (Slav } *\text{druvo} \text{ ‘wood’, Skt dru- id., Av dru- id., Gk ἰπός } \text{ ‘tree, oak’).} \]
\[ \text{gjē} \text{ ~ gjā ‘thing’} \text{ < EPA } *\text{sana} \text{ < } *\text{san(s)} \text{, Gmc } *\text{sānþ} \text{ ‘true’ (ON sannr, sār, OE sóð).} \]
\[ \text{madh} \ ‘big, large’ \text{ < EPA } *\text{madzə} \text{. Skt māhi- ‘great, large’, Gk μεγάς id., neut. μέγα.} \]
\[ \text{muaj} \text{ ~ muej ‘month’} \text{ < EPA } *\text{mōsnja} \text{, from the metathesis of IE } *\text{mēns-} \text{ ‘moon, month’ (Skt mās-, Gk μήν, Lat mēnis, OIr mē).} \]
\[ \text{njëri} \text{, OA1b } \text{njer ‘man, person, human being’} \text{ < EPA } *\text{nera} \text{. Skt nār- ‘man’, Gk οὖν id.} \]

In other cases we find ā-stems substituting root stems in Albanian:

\[ \text{derē} \ ‘door’ \text{ < EPA } *\text{dwōrā} \text{ < IE } *\text{dhēr-} \text{id. (Skt dvār-, Gk θύρα, Toch B twere).} \]
\[ \text{dorē} \ ‘hand’ \text{ < EPA } *\text{dā(s)rā} \text{ < IE } *\text{ghesr-} \text{id. (Gk χέιρ, Hitt keššar, Arm jern).} \]
\[ \text{dhallē} \ ‘buttermilk’ \text{ < EPA } *\text{dżalā} \text{ < } *\text{dzalakt}. \text{Gk γόλα id.} \]
\[ \text{kryē} \ ‘head’ \text{ < EPA } *\text{krā(s)mā}. \text{Gk κράνας } \text{κεφαλή,} \]
\[ \text{thērē} \text{ ~ thēni ‘louse’} \text{ < EPA } *\text{tsanida} \text{ < } *\text{tsanid-}, \text{cf. Gk κονίς } \text{ ‘nit’}. \]

Heteroclitic stems changed to i-stems:

\[ \text{elb ‘barley} \text{ < EPA } *\text{albi}. \text{Gk ἀλῆς } \text{‘kind of grain’}. \]
\[ \text{eshti ‘fibre, muscle fibre’} \text{ < EPA } *\text{astir}. \text{Skt āsthi id.} \]

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.

\[\text{dimēr} \sim \text{dimēn} \ '{\text{winter}}' < \text{EPA }^*\text{deimen} \text{s. Skt } \text{heimen} \text{ loc. 'in winter', Gk } \chi\varepsilon\iota\mu\alpha \text{ 'winter'}.\]

\[\text{dhēndēr} \sim \text{dhandēr} \ '{\text{bridegroom, son-in-law}}' < \text{EPA }^*\text{dzansa} < \text{IE }^*\text{gen} \text{- 'son-in-law' (Lat gener).}\]

\[\text{emēr} \sim \text{emēn} \ '{\text{name}}' < \text{EPA }^*\text{enmena} \text{ close to Slav }^*\text{jumë id.}\]

\[\text{giarpēr} \sim \text{giarpēn} \ '{\text{snake}}' < \text{EPA }^*\text{serpna} < \text{IE }^*\text{ser} \text{- 'to crawl'} \text{ (Lat serpēns 'snake, serpent', serpō 'to crawl').}\]

\[\text{ketēr} \ '{\text{squirrel, dormouse}}' < \text{EPA }^*\text{kōk-ter. Lith }^*\text{kuokas} \text{ 'dance'} \text{ (reconstructed from } \text{kuokinë 'dancing party'} \text{) and Slav }^*\text{skakati} \text{ 'to jump, to spring'}.\]

Only feminine animate substantives retained their original (semantically motivated) gender and appear as Albanian ā-stems:

\[\text{motēr} \ '{\text{sister}}' < \text{EPA }^*\text{māter} < \text{IE }^*\text{māter} \text{- 'mother' (Skt } \text{mātār}, \text{ Gk } \mu\upiota\tau \rho\omicron\nu, \text{ Lat } \text{māter}).\]

In one case, the form of the nominative of a stem in a sonorant was generalized and the word merged with the ā-stems:

\[\text{rrymē} \ '{\text{flow (of water)}}' < \text{EPA }^*\text{srūmē replacing }^*\text{srūma} < \text{IE }^*\text{srūmμ} \text{: Gk } \rho\varepsilon\mu\nu \text{ 'stream', ON } \text{straunm} \text{ id., Lith } \text{strauyno} \text{ 'fast stream'}.\]

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:

\[\text{ang} \ '{\text{fear, nightmare}}' < \text{EPA }^*\text{anga(s) corresponding to Skt } \text{ámhas-} \text{ 'fear', Lat } \text{anger} \text{ 'unrest, fear' } < ^*\text{anghos.}\]

\[\text{end} \ '{\text{pollen}}' < \text{EPA }^*\text{anda(s): Skt } \text{ándhas-} \text{ 'herb', Gk } \alpha\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma \text{ 'flower'.}\]

\[\text{ethe} \ '{\text{fever}}' < \text{EPA }^*\text{aida(s): Skt } \text{édhas-} \text{ 'firewood, fuel', Gk } \alpha\iota\theta\omicron\varsigma \text{ 'fire'.}\]

\[\text{hi} \sim \text{hi} \ '{\text{ash}}' < \text{EPA }^*\text{skina(s): Lat } \text{cinis 'dust, ash'} < ^*\text{cenes-}.\]

\[\text{vit, vjet} \ '{\text{year}}' < \text{EPA }^*\text{weta(s): Gk } \epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma \text{ id.}\]
zjarr ‘fire’ < EPA *džera < IE *g’heres- (Skt hāras- ‘flame, heat’, Gk ἰδρος ‘summer’, Arm ār 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 *ostrā id.
mjekēr ‘chin, beard’ < EPA *smekrā < *smekr-: Skt śmāśru- id.

The word for ‘mother-in-law’ was morphonomically changed under the influence of the masculine form *swetsura > vjehejr ‘father-in-law’:

vjehejr ‘mother-in-law’ < EPA *swexurā (with assimilation from expected *swetsurā) < IE *syekrū- (Skt śvasrū- 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’er- ‘mountain’ (Skt girī-, Av gairī-, Lith girià ‘wood’, Latv dzirīa id., Slav *gora ‘mountain, wood’).

kri ~ kri ‘woodworm, moth’ < EPA *kriwa < *kriwi, to IE *kṛy- (Slav *čyrv ‘worm’).

krimb ~ krym ‘worm’ < EPA *krima < *krimi (with unexplained Geg γ) < IE *kṛmi- id. (Skt kṛmi-, Lith kirmis).

ledh ‘mud, alluvium, clay; wall, earth mound; river-mouth, balk’ < EPA *laiđa. OPrus laidis ‘clay’.

mot ‘time, weather, storm, thunderbolt’ < EPA *māti-: Skt māti- ‘measure’, Gk μήτις id.,

vesh ‘ear’ < EPA *wausa < *wauši: Lat auris, Lith ausis, Latv āuss.

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 < *baitši. Gk πίστις ‘faithful, trustworthy’.

botë ‘world’ < EPA *bwātā < *bwātī. Skt bhūti- ‘existence’, Lith būtis id., Ir buith id.

gjollë ‘clearing or pasture where salt is strewn for sheep; patch of ground for sowing’ < EPA *sālā < *sāli. Slav *sols ‘salt’.

ditë ‘day’ < EPA *ditā < *ditī. Gmc *tīdz ‘time’ (OHG zīt, OE tīd) and Skt dīti ‘brightness, splendor’.

natë ‘night’ < EPA *naktā < *naktī- corresponding to Lith naktis, Lett nakti, OPru naktin, Slav *nokt‘a.

botë < EPA *bwātī, cf. Skt bhūti- ‘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 *sālō, cf. Slav *sols ‘salt’.

Proto-Albanian i-stems included a group of numerals in -tē < *-ti, which correspond to Sanskrit decades in -tī- (śaṣṭi- ‘six tens’ and the like), as well as the word for ‘twenty’:

   giashō ‘six’ < EPA *sekstr-, close to Skt śaṣṭ-, Gk ἕξ, Lat sex.
   tetē ‘eight’ < EPA *aktōtā. Skt aṣṭā, Arm օվթ, Gk ὀκτώ.
   nēntē – nand ‘nine’ < EPA *neunnti- (with analogical restructuring in Tosk), to Skt nāva, Lat novem, Goth niun.
   dhjetē ‘ten’ < EPA *dets(a)tr. Skt dāṣā, Gk δέκα, Lat decem.
   shtatē ‘seven’ < EPA *septati- corresponding to Skt saptā-, Gk ἑπτά, Lat septem.
   zet ‘twenty’ < EPA *w(i)tsati < IE *yīṃnti id. (Skt viṃśati-, Gk ἕκκοι, Lat vīgintī).

Indo-European stems in *-jē are represented in Early Proto-Albanian as stems in *-jā:

   buzē ‘lip, end, edge, bank, stitch, rock’ < EPA *budjā. Lith budē ‘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- ~ *dʰeu-so- (Goth dūs ‘wild animal’, Lith pl. duūsos ‘paradise’, Slav *dŭxъ ‘breath, spirit’).
dem ‘young bull’ < EPA *dam. OIr dam ‘ox’ and Gk δύομάλος ‘calf’.
dhēmb ~ dhamb ‘tooth’ < EPA *dzamba < IE *ǵomboho- ‘peg, tooth’ (Skt jāmbha- ‘bit, peg’, Gk γόμφος ‘peg’, Toch A kam ‘tooth’, B keme id., Latv zūobs id., Slav *zūbъ id.).

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

ujk ‘wolf’ < EPA *(w)ulkan < IE *ulkōs id. (Skt vrka-, Gk ὑλός, Lat lupus, Goth wulfō).

Stems in *-jo- are a productive subgroup of o-stems. The following examples illustrate this type:

derr ‘pig’ < EPA *darja. Gk χοίρος id. < IE *ǵhorojōs.
duaj ~ duaj ‘sheaf’ < EPA *dōnjia. Skt dhanā ‘grain, cereals’, dhāṇya- ‘grain’, Lith dūona ‘bread’.

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

hu ~ hū ‘picket, stake, pole, penis’ < EPA *skuyja. Slav *xuyъ ‘penis’.

keq ‘bad, evil’ < EPA *kakja. Gk κοκός ‘bad’.

mēz ~ miz ‘foal’ < EPA *manulja, derived from mēnd ‘to feed, to suckle’ < IE *mazā́-.

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 skalā ‘stick of firewood’, Latv skala ‘splitter (used to furnish light)’.
krođë ‘beehive’ < EPA *krādā: Slav *krada ‘heap, pile’.
mjegull ‘cloud’ < EPA *meglā: Gk όμίχλη ‘fog, mist’, Lith miglā id., Slav *meglа ‘darkness, mist’.
rrudhē ‘wrinkle’ < EPA *rudzā: Lat ūga id.
thekē ‘fringe’ < EPA *tsakā: Skt sākhā ‘branch’, Lith šakā 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:

dosē ‘pig, sow’ < EPA *dā(i)jā < IE *dhē(i)- ‘to suckle’.
enjē ‘juniper, yew’ < EPA *agnjē related to the Germanic word for ‘oak’: ON eik, OHG eih.
enjē – ējē ‘dairy goat’ < EPA *agnjē: Gk όμνός ‘lamb’, Lat agnus id.

mjalcē ‘bee’ < EPA *melijē: Gk μέλισσα < *μέλιτζα id.
vise ‘place’ < EPA *witsjā < IE *yeikjā similar to Gk οίκία ‘dwelling, house’.

A few old masculine o-stems changed to ă-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:

kohē ‘time’ < EPA *kāxā: Slav *chasā id.
lapē ‘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 οὔγη ‘ray of light’).
kulp, kulpēr ~ kulpēn ‘ivy, clematis’ < EPA *kulpra. Lith kilpa ‘loop’, Latv cilpa id.
pidh ‘female pudenda’ < EPA *p(e)ızda. Slav *pižda id. and OPrus peisda ‘bottom’.

3.2.1.8. Indo-European neuter plural o-stems were reinterpreted as feminine ā-stems in Proto-Albanian:

baltē ‘swamp, marsh, dirt, earth’ < EPA *baltā < IE *bhēlōtom id. (Slav *bolto, cf. Lith bāltas ‘white’).
bimē ‘plant’ < EPA *būmā < IE *bhūnom (Gk φύομ id.).
darkē ‘supper’ < EPA *darkā < IE *dorκom reflected in Gk δόρποι id.
ēndērr ~ andērr ‘dream, sleep’ < EPA *anrjā < IE *onrerjom (Gk ὀνειρος, ὀνειρος, Arm anorj).
fsalē ‘word, speech, tale’ < EPA *spelā: Gmc *spellan (Goth spill ‘story, fable’, ON spjall ‘story, speech’, OE spell id., OHG spel, spell id.) and Arm araspel ‘fable’.
hirrē ‘whey’ < EPA *ksirā: Skt ksīrā- ‘milk’, Osset æxšır id.
hudhēr ‘garlic’ < EPA *skurđā: Gk σκόρδο 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:

ballē ‘forehead’ < EPA *balā, to Skt bhāla- id., OPrus ballo id.
dritē ‘grain’ < EPA *dritisā < IE *gχrzd- (Lat hordeum ‘barley’, OHG gersta id.).
grurē ~ grunē ‘wheat’ < EPA *grunā < IE *gernom ‘grain’ (Lat grānum, OIr grán, Goth kaurn, Lith žirnis, Slav *zvorno).

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’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stage I</td>
<td>*taura</td>
<td>*taurai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage II</td>
<td>*tara</td>
<td>*tarai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage III</td>
<td>ter</td>
<td>terë</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Likewise, singular stems ousted plural stems in the same fashion, though this process was less frequent. Cf. the history of the word drang ‘pole’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stage I</td>
<td>*dranga</td>
<td>*drangai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage III</td>
<td>*dranga</td>
<td>*dregai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage IV</td>
<td>drang</td>
<td>drangj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, both tendencies did not cover all Albanian nouns with umlaut. Some of them retained the paradigm with vocalic alternation, cf. gardh ‘fence’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stage I</td>
<td>*garda</td>
<td>*gardai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage III</td>
<td>*garda</td>
<td>*gerdai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage IV</td>
<td>gardh</td>
<td>gjerdhe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 bëstia id.
- buke ‘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 familia ‘family’.
furkë ‘distaff, fork’ ⇔ Lat furca ‘fork’.
fushë ‘plain, open field, meadow’ ⇔ Lat fossa ‘ditch, trench, gutter’.
lufë ‘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.
flök ‘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’.
shësh ‘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:

dëmn ~ dam ‘damage’ ⇔ Lat damnun ‘hurt, harm, damage’.
fat ‘fate; bridegroom, husband, friend’ ⇔ Lat fatum id.
fshtag ‘village’ ⇔ Lat fossatum ‘ditch’, *surrounded by a ditch’.
gaz ‘joy, laughter’. ⇔ Lat gaudium ‘joy’.
kangjë ‘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:

\( \text{vaj} \sim \text{voj} \) ‘oil’ ⇔ Lat *oleum* id.

Nearly all nouns of the 3d declension became \( \text{o-} \) stems in Albanian:

- bulbërr ‘street-dust’ ⇔ Lat *pulverem* ‘dust’.
- dragua ~ dra(n)guez ‘dragon’ ⇔ Rom *drāncōnem*, 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 *cīvitātē(m)* id.
- tmerr ‘horror, fright’ ⇔ Lat *timōrem* id.
- turp ‘shame’ ⇔ Lat *turpe* id.

Cf. an exceptional case of a noun of the 3d declension adapted as an \( \text{ā-} \) stem:

\( \text{shtijë} \) ‘spear, ray’ ⇔ Lat *hastile* ‘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 \( \text{ā-} \) stems:
nevojë ‘need’ ⇐ Slav *nevol’a ‘lack of freedom, necessity’.
pelenë ‘diaper’ ⇐ Slav *pelenə ‘cover, napkin’.
pjavicë ‘leech’ ⇐ Slav *pjavica id.
raqitë ‘broom (bush)’ ⇐ Slav *orkyta id.
rekë ‘brook, rivulet’ ⇐ Slav *rëka ‘river’.
repë ‘turnip’ ⇐ Slav *rëpa id.
sërë ‘tar’ ⇐ Slav *sëra ‘sulphur’.
verigë ‘chain ring’ ⇐ Slav *veriga ‘chain’.
vërë – vërë ‘age’ ⇐ Slav *vërsta ‘age, kind, kin’.

Slavic masculine o-stems remained o-stems in Albanian:

kaç ‘weaver’ ⇐ Slav *tskaçh id.
lik ‘level’ ⇐ Slav *likh ‘face, surface’.
nemec ‘dumb, stuttering person’ ⇐ Slav *nëmëcь id.
oborr ‘yard, court’ ⇐ Slav *oborhь id.
pelìn ‘wormwood’ ⇐ Slav *pelynь id.
red’ ‘row’ ⇐ Slav *reдь id.
rrasoll ‘pickles’ ⇐ Slav *orzsoll ‘pickles; brine’.
shap ‘disease of the cattle, Apha epizootica’ ⇐ Slav *sapь ‘glanders’.
ugar ‘land unused for two years’ ⇐ Slav *ugarь ‘fallow ground’.
zabel ‘little wood’ ⇐ Slav *zabëль id.
zhëg ‘heat’ ⇐ Slav *zhëgь id.

Neuter substantives borrowed from Slavic became Albanian ā-stems:

lijë ‘smallpox’ ⇐ Slav *lixo ‘evil’
metale ‘snow-drift’ ⇐ Slav *metadlo ‘heap’.
mìtë ‘bride, tip’ ⇐ Slav *myto ‘payment’.
sanë ‘hay’ ⇐ Slav *sëно id.
sië ‘sieve’ ⇐ Slav *siто id.
ulishëtë ‘small tub’ ⇐ Slav *ulišë, derivative of *ulë ‘hive; trough’.
vedër ‘pail (for milk)’ ⇐ Slav *vëdro ‘pail’.

In a few cases, especially in early loanwords, the gender of Slavic words was changed:
Ilohē ‘rain with snow, snow broth, dampness’ ⇔ Slav *loji
*‘anything liquid’ > ‘fat, lard’.
pleng ‘bandage’ ⇔ Slav *pel(e)mska id.
ravé ‘path (in mountains or snow)’ ⇔ Slav *rovē ‘ditch’.
ragē ‘path (in mountains)’ ⇔ Slav *rovēkē ‘ditch’.

Occasionally, the plural forms of Slavic loanwords were reanalyzed as singulars as in the following example:

virua ~ virue ‘brook, rivulet’ ⇔ Slav pl. *viröve of *virē ‘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 -r-), 191-192 (on plurals in -i-), Mélanges Pedersen 135-136 (plural in -r-); Cimochowski BUSHT XIII 47 (Illyrian parallels to plurals in -r-); CAMAJ Alb. Worth. 124-129 (plural in -r-); ČABEJ St. III 309-402; DESNICKAJA Gr. str. 26-27 (-r- ~ -na created on the basis of pl. emēr-a ~ emēn-a restructured as emē-ra ~ emē-na; plural in -ēr ~ -ēn of Latin loanwords); MANN Hist. Gr. 90-99; LAZZERONI SSL VI 96-115 (on IE *-iðja-).

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 ~ eshtēna ‘bone’
gisht ➤ gishtēra ~ gishtna ‘finger, thumb’
pidh ➤ pidhēra ~ 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** ➔ *dhëra* ~ *dhena* ‘earth, land’
- **dhjamë** ➔ *dhjamëra* ~ *dhjamna* (animal) fat, lard, suet, tallow
- **elb** ➔ *elbëra* ~ *elbëna* ‘barley’
- **erë** ➔ *erëra* ~ *erëna* ‘wind’
- **flakë** ➔ *flakëra* ~ *flakëna* ‘flame’
- **fraq** ➔ *fraqra* ~ *fraqna* ‘biting cold, frost’
- **fšat** ➔ *fšatra* ~ *fšatna* ‘village’
- **gram** ➔ *gramra* ~ *gramna* ‘couch-grass, knot-grass’
- **giak** ➔ *giakra* ~ *giakna* ‘blood’
- **kripë** ➔ *kripëra* ~ *kripëna* ‘salt’
- **lesh** ➔ *leshra* ~ *leshna* ‘wool, fleece, hair’
- **mëndafš** ➔ *mëndafšra* ~ *mëndafšna* ‘silk’
- **miel** ➔ *mielra* ~ *mielna* ‘flour’
- **mish** ➔ *mishra* ~ *mishna* ‘flesh, meat’
- **mut** ➔ *mutra* ~ *mutna* ‘excrement’
- **pleh** ➔ *plehra* ~ *plëhna* ‘sweepings, dung, rubbish’
- **qelb** ➔ *qelbra* ~ *qelbna* ‘pus’
- **šhira** ➔ *šhina* ‘rain’
- **špirit** ➔ *špiritëra* ~ *špiritna* ‘soul, spirit’
- **shtat** ➔ *shtatra* ~ *shtatna* ‘figure, image’
- **ujë** ➔ *ujëra* ~ *ujna* ‘water’
- **vaj** ➔ *vøjra* ~ *vojna* ‘oil’

This morpheme might be derived from an old collective suffix *-in-ā*, which is attested in Gk (Ion-Att) -ιν, Lat -īna, Lith -yn, Slav -ina. Thus, the plural of **bar** ‘grass’, **barëra** ~ **barëna**, could be historically identical with Lat *farina* ‘flour’, derived from *far* ‘sort of grain, spelt’.

### 3.2.2.2.

Another important type of plural is characterized by the suffix -ēr ~ -ēn. This type includes numerous masculine Latin and Slavic loanwords denoting human beings:

- **dreq** ➔ *dreqēr* ~ *dreqēn* ‘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:

atē ➔ etër ~ atën, etën ‘father’
gysh ➔ gyshër ~ gyshën ‘grandfather’
vella ➔ véllezër ~ vél lazën ‘brother’

Words of different semantic categories are few:

ris ➔ risër ~ risën ‘lynx’
shrat ➔ shretër ~ shretën ‘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 vella 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 βύβλινος ‘made of papyrus’, χυτρινος ‘of clay’, Lith auksinas ‘golden’, Slav *věĉan ‘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 *otan, ‘father’s, paternal’ corresponding to *otć ‘father’.

3.2.2.3. In several nouns, we find plurals in -inq.

bosht ➔ boshtînj ‘spindle, axis, axle’
drapër ➔ drapën ➔ drapînj, děrpenj ‘sickle’
koc ➔ kocînj ‘bone, skull’
krimb ➔ krum ➔ kěrmînj ‘worm’
prît ➔ prîtînj ‘priest’
stap ➔ stupînj ‘stick, staff’
A rare form of this plural suffix is -ën, -enj.

\(\text{lêmê} \sim \text{lamê} \rightarrow \text{lêmê}n, \text{lêmê}nj, \text{lêmenj} \sim \text{lamenj} \sim \text{threshing-floor}\)

\(\text{lumê} \rightarrow \text{lumenj} \sim \text{river}\)

\(\text{plaf} \rightarrow \text{plêfên} \sim \text{wool blanket, rug}\)

This suffix can be compared with Latin collective nouns in -inimum, as well as with Illyrian -inimum 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 \(^*\text{-n-i} \rightarrow \text{-nj}\) (see 1.4.4.7). As a result, -nj has become a plural suffix. It clearly has no historical connection with -inj:

\(\text{bli} \sim \text{bl} \rightarrow \text{blinj} \sim \text{linden}\)

\(\text{dragua} \sim \text{dra(n)gue} \rightarrow \text{drongj} \sim \text{drangoj} \sim \text{dragon} \sim \text{dragon}\)

\(\text{katua} \sim \text{katue} \rightarrow \text{katonj} \sim \text{stable, basement, cellar}\)

\(\text{mi} \sim \text{m} \rightarrow \text{minj} \sim \text{mouse}\)

\(\text{pêrrua} \sim \text{pêrrue} \rightarrow \text{pêrrenj, pêrronj} \sim \text{brook; river-bed}\)

\(\text{rêmêr} \sim \text{rêmen} \rightarrow \text{rêmênj} \sim \text{Valachian; shepherd}\)

\(\text{thua} \sim \text{thue} \rightarrow \text{thoj \sim thonj} \sim \text{(finger) nail}\)

3.2.2.4. Several plural suffixes are very rare. In two words, plurals are formed by means of -ëz ~ -ez ~ -az.

\(\text{njeri} \rightarrow \text{njerëz} \sim \text{man, person, human being}\)

\(\text{vëlla} \rightarrow \text{vëllazër} \sim \text{vëllazën} \sim \text{brother}\)

This suffix can be compared with the suffix of abstracta -zë.

In one case, plurality is expressed by the suffix -m < EPA \(^*\text{-ma} < \text{IE} \sim \text{-mo}\):

\(\text{djalë} \rightarrow \text{djem, djelm} \sim \text{boy, youth}\)

The adjectival derivative in \(^*\text{-i}\) has been reanalyzed as the plural marker in the following case:

\(\text{shpend} \rightarrow \text{shpezë} \sim \text{fowl}\)
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 ā-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-sù); 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. ā-stems from *-ās); Alb. St. III 37 (*ve < dat.-abl. *bh(j)os), 83 (nom. sg. ā-stems); Pkiemzi 87 (zero ending of plural); MEYER-LÜBKE apud JOKL IF XXXVII 114 (oxytonesis in nom.sg. of o-stems in -ē); PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 278 (gen.-abl. *-ās > gen.-dat. sg. ā-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 -e as a generalization of the old accusative in *-om > -e), Festschr. Kretschmer 92 (zero ending of plural); SKOK AArbSt III 163-175 (agrees with PEDERSEN; derives -ve from *-u-om of u-stems); CAPIDAN Arom. 394-395 (vocative in Balkan Romance); BUBEN ČMF XXIX 148-152 (Slavic origins of the Albanian vocative); BARIĆ Hymje 26 (gen.-dat. sg. ā-stems from abl. of jā-stems in *-jās), 42 (loc. pl. -esh < *-sōm); Ist. 26 (gen.-dat. sg. -ē < *-om, -ve < *-om after a vowel); PISANI Saggi 104 (follows BARIĆ Hymje), 105 (follows MEYER Alb. St. III); HAMP KZ LXXV 150 (nom. pl. -e < collective IE *-jā); Riza BUSHT XIII/4 13 (explains obl. -u phonetically: kau ‘bull’ < *kavi < *kāt); POLÁK Orbis XII/2 391 (follows BUBEN); DOMI RESI XLV 25 (follows BARIĆ); SCHMITT-BRANDT Kratylos XII/1 16 (reconstructs athematic *-u as a source of acc. sg. in o-stems); DESNICKAJA PSFil. 174 (endings of plural), Gr. str. 33-38 (nom. pl. -o < IE *-oi, nom. pl. -e from old collectives), 39 (nom. sg. ā-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.-
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'os
nom. sg. plak ‘old man’ < EPA *p(é)lāka < IE *p(e)leskos
nom. sg. prush ‘ember, glowing coal’ < EPA *pruša < IE
*prousos
nom. sg. shi ‘rain’ < EPA *súja < IE *sújos
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 -ê (not to be confused with the passage of some of old o-stems to ā-stems):

nom. sg. brumë ‘dough’ < EPA *brumá < IE *bhrmos
nom. sg. burrë ‘man, husband’ < LPA *burá (Germanic loan-word)
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: neno ‘oh mother’, burro ‘oh husband’. A similar form exists in Balkan Romance, cf. Rum fâto ‘oh girl’. This vocative has been borrowed from South Slavic where -o characterizes the vocative of ā-stems: *dëvo ‘oh maiden’, *ţeno ‘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 -ê.

acc. *dem* ‘young bull’ < EPA *dáma < IE *damom
acc. *gjak ‘blood’ < EPA *sāka < IE *sok’om
acc. *plak ‘old man’ < EPA *p(e)lāka < IE *p(e)lokom
acc. *prush ‘ember, glowing coal’ < EPA *pruša < IE *prusom
acc. *shu ‘rain’ < EPA *sūja < IE *sūjom
acc. *trap ‘ferry’ < EPA *trápa < IE *tropom

Oxytonic forms:

acc. *brumē ‘dough’ < EPA *brumá < IE *bhrmom
acc. *djalē ‘boy, youth’ < EPA *dclá < IE *dhē(i)lom
acc. *gjumē ‘sleep’ < EPA *supnē < IE *supnom
acc. *lumē ‘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 *-ef (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’ei
gen.-dat.-abl. *plaku ‘old man’ < EPA *p(e)lakei < IE *p(e)lakei
gen.-dat.-abl. *prushi ‘ember, glowing coal’ < EPA *prušei < IE *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 *-ö continuing IE *-öš and the innovative EPA *-ai continuing IE *-oi, originally characteristic of the pronominal declension. The first ending -e can reflect both stressed EPA *-ö and *-ai.

nom. pl. drange ‘barge-pole’ < EPA *drangö/*drangai < IE *dhronghos/*dhronghoid
nom. pl. gardhe ‘fence’ < EPA *gardö/*gardai < IE *ghordhös/*ghordhoi
nom. pl. gjave ‘blood’ < EPA *sakö/*sakai < IE *soköš/*sokoi
nom. pl. helle ‘spear, spit’ < EPA *skölo/*skolai < IE *sköloš/*sköloi
nom. pl. rrime ‘rain-worm’ < EPA *wrëmë/*wrëmai < IE *yr-mëš/*yrmoi
nom.pl. trepe ‘ferry’ < EPA *trapö/*trapai < IE *tropëš/*tropoi

Unstressed *-ö yielded -ë.

nom. pl. brīrë – brinë ‘horn’ < EPA *brinë < IE *bdronës
nom. pl. dhëmbë – dhambë ‘tooth’ < EPA *dzambë < IE *ghombës
nom. pl. dhëndurë – dhandurë ‘bridegroom, son-in-law’ < EPA *dzenrë < IE *Genorës
nom. pl. eshe ‘hedgehog’ < EPA *edzjë < IE *eghjës
nom. pl. gishe ‘grandfather’ < EPA *sùsö < IE *sùsöš
nom. pl. terë ‘bull’ < EPA *taurë < IE *taurës

Unstressed *-ai appears as a zero ending:

nom. pl. gijë – gë ‘breast, chest’ < EPA *sinë < IE *sinoi
nom. pl. lugë ‘trough’ < EPA *lugai < IE *lughoi
nom. pl. pleq ‘old man’ < EPA *pëlakai < IE *pëlakoï
nom. pl. ujë ‘wolf’ < EPA *(w)ulkai < IE *ylk’oi
nom. pl. vjeheërë ‘father-in-law’ < EPA *swesurai < IE *syekuroë
nom. pl. dial. zjer‘ fire’ < EPA *dzermai < IE *g‘hermoi

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 *ghorjās
nom. pl. kērba ‘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 -ē 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 -ē or zero:

acc. pl. brirē ḫrēnē ‘horn’ < EPA *brina < IE *bhrnons
acc. pl. dhēmbē ḫdambē ‘tooth’ < EPA *dzamba < IE *ḏhombons
acc. pl. esē ḫshe ‘hedgehog’ < EPA *edzja < IE *eţhjons
acc. pl. terē ḫtēr ‘bull’ < EPA *taura < IE *taurons
acc. pl. vjehēr ḫfather-in-law’ < EPA *swesura < IE *syekurons
acc. pl. dial. zjer‘ fire’ < EPA *dzerma < *g‘hermons

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 -ē and -a.

acc. pl. drangje ‘barge-pole’ from nom. pl. drangje
acc. pl. gardhe ‘fence’ from nom. pl. gardhe
acc. pl. kērba ‘tub, barrel’ from nom. pl. kērba
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 vrkāṃ, 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. dhēmbe ~ dhambe ‘tooth’ < EPA *dzambō < IE *ģhomboōm
- gen.-dat. pl. gardhe ‘fence’ < EPA *gardō < IE *ģhordhōm
- gen.-dat. pl. prushe ‘ember, glowing coal’ < EPA *prusō < IE *prusōm
- gen.-dat. pl. thepe ‘peak, point’ < EPA *tsaipō < IE *koipōm

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 *-uō > Alb -ve. Later, -ve was extended to the o-stems, where it was amalgamated with original -e > -ve:

- gen.-dat. pl. gardheve ‘fence’ replacing gardhe
- gen.-dat. pl. helleve ‘spear, spit’ replacing hello
- gen.-dat. pl. rendreve ‘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-sur. Skt -esu, Gk –οισον, Lat –īs, Slav *-ेश. Cf. the following examples:

abl. pl. demesh ‘young bull’ < EPA *damaisu < IE *damosiṣu
abl. pl. dhēmbesh ~ dhambesh ‘tooth’ < EPA *dzambaisu < IE *ģhomboisu
abl. pl. gardhesh ‘fence’ < EPA *gardaisu < IE *ģhordhoisu
abl. pl. hellesh ‘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 -ē < EPA *-ā < IE *-ā, cf. Skt āśvā, Gk Att χῶπα. Cf. the following examples:

nom. sg. barrē ‘load, burden’ < EPA *barā < IE *bhorā
nom. sg. grimē ‘crumb, bit’ < EPA *grimā < IE *gṛmā
nom. sg. hurbē ‘swallow, mouthful’ < EPA *skurb < IE *skṛbhā
nom. sg. karpē ‘rock’ < EPA *karpā < IE *korpā
nom. sg. palē ‘pair; fold’ < EPA *palā < IE *polā
nom. sg. zorrē ‘gut’ < EPA *džārnā < IE *gĕrnā

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 χόρπα, SLav *ženę). The following examples illustrate this development:

acc. sg. krohdē ‘beehive’ < EPA *krādā < IE *krēdām
acc. sg. lēndē ~ landē ‘wood, timber, material’ < EPA *lentā < IE *lentām
acc. sg. llêrē ~ llanē ‘forearm, ell’ < EPA *alenā < IE *alenām
acc. sg. rrudhē ‘wrinkle’ < EPA *rubiz < IE *rubizām
acc. sg. tollē ‘bald spot; drum membrane’ < EPA *tāslā < IE *tāskslām
acc. sg. thekē ‘fringe’ < EPA *tsakā < IE *êkām

3.2.3.10. The genitive-dative and ablative singular share the ending -e, which continues the Indo-European dative-locative ending *-āk.

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. mjalcē ‘bee’ < EPA *meliētāi < IE *melitāi
gen.-dat.-abl. sg. rryme ‘flow (of water)’ < EPA *srūmāi < IE *srūmāi
gen.-dat.-abl. sg. vere ~ vene ‘wine’ < EPA *waināi < IE *yoinai

3.2.3.11. Depending on the place of stress in Proto-Albanian, IE *-ā-s > EPA *-ā of the nominative plural could give -ē or -a. In nouns of the accentual type A the ending is -ē.

nom. pl. barrë ‘load, burden’ < EPA *barā < IE *bhorās
nom. pl. bathë ‘broad bean’ < EPA *batsā < IE *bhatās
nom. pl. farë ‘seed, semen, kin’ < EPA *sparā < IE *sporās
nom. pl. grykë ‘throat’ < EPA *grīwikā < IE *gḗyikās
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 -ā.

nom. pl. grīma ‘crumb, bit’ < EPA *grimā < IE *grmās
nom. pl. hurba ‘swallow, mouthful’ < EPA *skrūb < IE *skrūbās
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 natē is net, clearly going back to EPA *nakteje < IE *nokē-
ej-es, an old i-stem. At the same time, the rest of this noun’s nominal paradigm shows only ā-stem terminations.

The Proto-Albanian o- and ā-stem paradigms can be summarized as follows.

Examples: zfarm ‘river’ < *džarma, esh ‘hedgehog’ < *edžja, karpē ‘rock’ < *karpā

o-stems

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>*džarma</td>
<td>*edžja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>*džarma</td>
<td>*edžja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.-dat.</td>
<td>*džarme</td>
<td>*edžei</td>
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<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>*džarme</td>
<td>*edžei</td>
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ā-stems

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>*karpā</td>
<td>*karpā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>*karpā</td>
<td>*karpā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.-dat.</td>
<td>*karpāi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>*karpāi</td>
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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 < *sjom), 504-505 (u ‘I’ < *eğhom), 519 (origins of ai, ajō); Dozon 276 (Italo-Alb uth); 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 *ā*-stems), 454 (*u* borrowed from Rom *ēo* < Lat *ego* ‘I’); PEDERSEN Alb. Texte 186-187 (oblique cases of *kush*), Festskr. Thomesen 249, KZ XXXVI 282 (2 sg. acc. *ty* < *tye*), 309 (-jo from IE *sā̄*, 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 *sye*); JOKL. IF XXXVII 98 (“definite” declension), XLIIX 274 (origin of *mua* ~ *mue*), Sprache IX/2 142 (dat. *nāe* < IE *nosōm*), Studien 4 (*a*-from Lat *ad*), LKUBA 271 (*a*-from IE *ady*); MEILLET Idg. Jb. I 13 (on *kush*); XHUHANI, ÇABEI BUSHT XI/4 68-69 (particle *a*- in 3 sg. < IE *e*/*o*); PISANI Sagā 107 (enclitic *nē*), 130 (archaic dat. *nāe*); SCHMITT-BRANDT Krapylos XII 16 (def. acc. sg. *gurīn* < *gurī-tom*); MANN Hist. gr. 103-105, 114 (identifies *nē* with Gk *ἐγώ-νη*), 115-124; ÇABEI BUSHT 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’); KORTLANDET SSGL X 224-225 (*-jo* < IE *īja* or *ēja*); DEMIRAI AE 218, 228 (*kush* from *k’u-sp*).

**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 *ἐγώ*, Skt *aham*, Hitt *ugga*). It was replaced by *u* < EPA *swa* < IE *syom*, a reflexive pronoun (see below). While this *u* has been preserved in some dialects, the clitic *nē* (identical with Gk *vṓi*, *vṛ́*) reinforces it in the literary language and most dialects (*unē*). 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* ~ *mē* < EPA *mām*, which is identical with the Indo-European accusative *mēm*. Skt *mām*, Av *mām*, OPrus *mien*, Slav *mę*. The corresponding atomic form *mę* 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 ti continuing EPA *tā < IE *tā, cf. Skt tú, Av tā, Gk ú, Lat tú, OIr tú, OHG ðū, Slav *ty and other similar forms. Geg attests an alternate form tinē, which has been analogically formed induced from the 1 sg. unē.

The form of the dative-accusative is *ty < EPA *t(u)wā < IE acc. *tye:m: Skt tvām, Av bhām. OPrus tiën and Slav *te attest an alternate *tē:m. The ablative teje is to be explained as a result of influence of meje. The original form must have been *tei or *tjei.

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 *nās < 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 *nasę.

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 *j, 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 *j-su, a form nearly superimposable upon the Lith loc. jūsu. 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 *suom, acc. ‘self’.
The 3 sg. personal pronouns *ay ~ aɪ, atê 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/*ő. Skt a-sā ṣa ‘that’, Slav *o-nę id. The accusative and ablative 3 sg. pronouns appear without a- when following certain prepositions. The pronominal masculine forms continue IE *ei-: Skt ayām ‘he’, Lat is, OLat iis. The feminine stem continues IE *iā, the fem. sg. of the demonstrative *iō-. The oblique cases continue IE *to- and *kjo-.

The paradigm of the 3 person can be reconstructed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masc./neut.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>a-y ~ a-i &lt; EPA</td>
<td>a-jo &lt; EPA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*ei/ *ı, *id</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>a-tê ~ a-tê, a-tâ</td>
<td>a-tê ~ a-tê, a-tâ &lt; EPA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*ta</td>
<td>*tām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.-dat.</td>
<td>ati, atij &lt; EPA</td>
<td>a-saj, a-saje &lt; EPA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>ati, atij &lt; EPA</td>
<td>a-so, a-co &lt; EPA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*tei</td>
<td>*tsjai</td>
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3.2.4.6. The 3d pl. paradigm is derived from the pronominal stems *to- and *kjo-. The original form of the masculine nominative has been influenced by accusative. The paradigm is to be reconstructed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>fem./neut.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>a-ta [from acc.]</td>
<td>a-to &lt; EPA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*tā &lt; *tās, *tā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>a-ta &lt; EPA</td>
<td>a-to &lt; EPA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*ta &lt; *tons</td>
<td>*tā &lt; *tās, *tā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.-dat.</td>
<td>a-tyre ~ a-tyne [of unknown origin]</td>
<td>a-sish, a-cish &lt; EPA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>a-sish, a-cish &lt; EPA</td>
<td>a-sosh, a-cosh &lt; EPA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*tsj(a)isu</td>
<td>*tsjāsu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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### 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. \textit{im} \sim \textit{em}, fem. \textit{ime} \sim \textit{eme}. Their Proto-Albanian source can be tentatively reconstructed as EPA \textit{*i\,eme} or \textit{*ei\,eme}, where \textit{eme} reflects the old accusative form \textit{eme}, cf. Gk ĭuē. The feminine form appears to be secondary. The masculine cases which coincid in \textit{tim} continue gen.-dat. \textit{*tei\,eme}. In the accusative, \textit{tim} results from an analogical transformation of the original \textit{*ta\,eme} < \textit{*tom\,eme}. In the feminine, the acc. \textit{time} has been influenced by the masculine paradigm. The same applies to gen.-dat.-abl. \textit{sime} which, however, reflects the pronominal stem \textit{*tjo-}. This stem characterizes feminine forms only. The plural possessive formations masc. \textit{mi}, fem. \textit{mia} (used with a preceding article) go back to EPA \textit{*mei} < dialectal IE \textit{*mejós}, a thematized adjective based on the enclitic dative \textit{*mei} \sim \textit{*moi}, which is attested in Lat \textit{meus}, OPrus \textit{mais}, Slav \textit{*moja}.

3.2.4.8. The 2 sg. possessive shows two forms: masc. \textit{yt} and fem. \textit{jote} (secondary analogies account for masc. \textit{jot} and fem. \textit{yte}). These continue EPA \textit{*ei/i\,te} < \textit{*eis/is\,te} and \textit{*jā\,te} < \textit{*jās\,te} where \textit{te} is the atomic 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 \textit{tēnd} \sim \textit{tand}, which reflects the acc. \textit{*tam\,te} < \textit{*tom\,te}. The feminine accusative \textit{tēnde} \sim \textit{tande}, with its secondary -\textit{e}, reflects \textit{*tām\,te} (in both cases the auslaut nasal is preserved because of the univerbation). The feminine genitive-dative-ablative \textit{sate} < \textit{*tsjā\,te}, which originally was the genitival formation \textit{*tjās\,te}.

In case if the possessive should be in the plural, the corresponding forms are masc. \textit{tu} and fem. \textit{tua}. They function similarly to \textit{mi, mia} and go back to EPA \textit{*tuwa}, a variant of IE \textit{*t(e)jōs}, cf. Gk τεός, Lat \textit{tuus}, Lith \textit{tāvas}.

3.2.4.9. The 1 pl. possessive pronouns are masc. \textit{ynē}, fem. \textit{jonē} continuing \textit{*ei/i\,na} < \textit{*eis/nos} and \textit{*jā\,na} < \textit{*jās\,nos}, with \textit{nos} representing the atomic form of the accusative of the corresponding personal pronoun. In the masculine, other cases merged in \textit{tonē} < EPA \textit{*ta\,na} < \textit{*tons\,nos} with -\textit{o-} induced by the paradigm of feminine. In the feminine, acc. \textit{tonē} is a regular reflex of EPA \textit{*tā\,na} < \textit{*tām\,nos}. Other cases
(genitive-dative and ablative) have sonë continuing EPA *tsjä na < *kjäi nos.

When the possessed is plural, the forms are masc. tenë ~ tanë and fem. tonë. As to tonë, 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 < *tōns nos and tonë < EPA *tā na < *tās nos. These forms were then extended to other cases.

3.2.4.10. The 2 pl. pronoun attests the following forms: masc. juaj ~ juej, juji, fem. juaj ~ juej, juja. Geg jují 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 yos and *jā wa < *jās yos. 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 yos and *tās yos.

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 kē-: masc. ky(j), fem. kjo, kōjo. The morpheme kē- continues EPA *ka < IE *kō-, cf. Skt kā- ‘who?’, Goth has id.

Interrogative kush ‘who?’ is a compound of EPA *ku sa consisting of IE *k’u-, a morphonological variant of *k’o-, 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. kē ~ kā, reflecting independent EPA *kam < IE *k’om. On the other hand, the same morphological role is expressed by the acc. kēnd ~ kand < EPA *kan tan < IE *k’om tom. The same kēnd ~ 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(ē) ‘what?’ is not declined. It continues EPA *tši < IE *k’iđ, cf. Hitt kui, 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’jōđ. The same stem is found in sa ‘how many’ < EPA *tš(ē)ja < acc. *k’ejom and si ‘how’ < EPA *tšei < instr. *k’ēi.

Besides kush, the same stem *ku- < *k’u- is reflected in two more pronominal forms: ku ‘where?’ < *k’u, which is close to Skt kā id., Av kū id., MW cw id. and kur ‘when?’, which can be compared with Lith kur ‘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 (a)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 *deshté ‘rams’ go back to EPA *malō tāi < *malōs tōi and EPA *dausai tāi < *dhousoi tōi. The Albanian accusatives continue EPA *mala tā and *dausa tā < *molons tans and *dhousons tans. Oblique cases have an obviously innovated *malevēt.

In the ā-stems, the nom. sg. *hala represents a contracted from EPA *skalā jā < *skolā jā. As to the acc. sg. *halēn, it reflects EPA *skalāmtā(m) < *skolāmtām. The form of oblique cases is *halēs < EPA *skalātās. In the plural, nominative and accusative *halat keeps the old form EPA *skalā tā < *skolās tās. Oblique cases are presented by an innovation—*halavē(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 parē ‘first’ with parē ‘before’); Meyer Alb. St. II 259-338; Wb. 181 (katēr from Lat quattuor), 313-314 (nje compared with Skt anyā ‘other’, Gk ἄνευ ‘some’), 321-322 (parē compared with the Indo-European word for ‘first’), 329 (pesē < *penk’tiē); Meyer-Lübke Idg. Anz. II 184 (on sandhi in dhyetē); Pedersen KZ XXXVI 282 (dy < IE *dyoje); Jokl IF XXXVII 108 (parē to Skt pūrva- id.); Skok AArbSt II 307 (dy < *dui); Baric ARSt 64-65 (njē < *p-sem-); Čabai ZiPhonetik IX 207-209 (zet from ‘jeug-t- related to *jugo ‘yoke’), St. III 43 (non-Indo-European source of the vigesimal system); Jucquios Le Muséon LXXVIII 440 (numerals ‘6’-‘9’ compared with Sanskrit collectives in -tī); Szemerényi Numerals 105, 165; Huld 101 (njē as a back-formation from fem. *smjēH’); Hamp Anc. IE 113 (follows Meyer and connects njē with Messap ennun), 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 një ‘one’. It represents the adjective EPA *ainja derived from the Indo-European word for ‘one’: IE *oi-no- id., cf. Lat unus, Goth ains, OPrus ains.

The second group includes the numbers from ‘two’ to ‘five’. They are direct continuants of the corresponding Indo-European numerals:

- *duwō to IE *dūdo(u) id. (Skt dvāu, Av dva, Gk δύω, Lat duo).
- *trejē < IE *trejes id. (Skt trayah, Gk τρέις, Lat trois).
- *kater ‘four’ < IE *k’etur- ~ *k’etyger- id. (Skt catvāra-, Gk τέσσαρες, Lat quattuor).
- *pēse ‘five’ < IE *penke ‘five’ (Skt pāṇca, Gk πέντε, Lat quīnque).

In the third group, numbers from ‘six’ to ‘ten’ are derived from Indo-European numerals with a suffix -ti/-dē < *-ti (in Tosk nēntē -tē is restored by analogy with other forms). This suffix is sometimes compared with Skt -ti found in various decad formations.

- *seksti- derived from IE *(s)(y)eks- ‘six’ (Skt sāsv, Gk ἕξ, Lat sex).
- *septati- derived from IE *septm id. (Skt saptā, Gk ἑπτά, Lat septem).
- *aktō(t)i, to IE *okti ‘eight’ (Skt aṣṭā, Arm օվռ, Gk ὀκτώ).
- *nentē ‘nine’ < IE *neunti- to IE *neum id. (Skt nava, Lat novem, Goth niun).
- *dets(t)i < IE *dekōn ‘ten’ (Skt dasā, 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. *édin na desete
‘eleven’ = ‘one-on-ten’, *dhsa na deshte ‘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 *vidiazati and representing an old Indo-European word for ‘twenty’ IE *gikminti, Skt vihaśati-, Gk είκοσι, Lat viginti.

Words for ‘hundred’ and ‘thousand’ were borrowed from Latin: qind ‘hundred’ ⇔ Lat centum id., mijë ‘thousand’ ⇔ Lat milia 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 furí, Lat prae.
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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; ČABEJ 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 bøgr ‘hog’, OHG *barug, *baruh id. ~ Slav *borvё ‘boar’.
*blehurē ‘pale’ ~ OE *blät id. ~ Slav *blědtъ id.
*brushtulla ‘heather’ ~ OS brustian ‘to shoot, to sprout’ ~ Slav *brъstъ ‘sprout, bud’.

*
dash ‘ram’ ~ Gmc *deuzan ‘wild animal’ ~ Lith pl. daūsos ‘paradise’ ~ Slav *duxъ ‘breath, spirit’.
dergi ‘to lie down, to lay sick, to be ill’ ~ Gmc *targjan ‘to tear’ ~ Lith dirginti ‘to move’, dirgšti ‘to lose energy, to become weak’ ~ Slav *dargšti ‘to pluck, to pull’.
et ‘thirst’ ~ OHG ilgi ‘hunger’ ~ Lith álkti ‘to be hungry’ ~ Slav *olkati id.
fleti ‘wing, leaf’ ~ OHG lecken ‘to jump, to kick’ ~ Lith lekiū, lėkti, Latv lēkt.
gērdhij ‘to scratch’ ~ OE grindan ‘to grind’ ~ Lith grḗndžu, grę́sti ‘to scrape, to scratch’.
gieth ‘foliage, green leaves’ ~ OHG questa ‘tuft’, ON kvistr ‘branch’ ~ Slav *gvozdь ‘wood, forest’.
giuhē ‘tongue, language’ ~ ON kall ‘shout’ ~ Lith gažsas ‘echo’ ~ Slav *golsь ‘voice’.
hir ‘grace, favor, mercy’ ~ Goth skeirs ‘clear’ ~ Slav *ščirь ‘clean’.
humb ‘to leave, to lose, to spoil, to miss, to drown’ ~ Goth af- skiuban ‘to push away, to reject’ ~ Lith skumbū, skūbtī ‘to hurry, to hasten’.
kēsen ‘to ache (of the stomach), to have gripping pains’ ~ ON há ‘to torment’ ~ Lith kenkiū, keńki ‘to damage, to harm’.
krodiē ‘beehive’ ~ Goth hrot ‘roof’ ~ Slav *krada ‘heap, pile’.
lēndē ~ lundē ‘wood, timber, material’ ~ Gmc *lendō ‘linden’ ~ Lith lentā ‘board’ ~ Slav *lōtъ ‘batt’.
lēmē ~ lamē ‘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 lūgōti ‘to ask, to pray’, Latv lūdu, lūgt ‘to ask, to invite’.
mieľ ‘flour’ ~ OHG mēlo id., ON mjöl id. ~ Slav *melvo ‘grain for grinding’.
shpēh ~ shpēf ‘to slander, to calumniate’ ~ OHG fēhan ‘to hate’ ~ Lith pekitū, pekti ‘to blame’.
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Following are isoglosses attested both in Baltic and Slavic. 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.

*baltē ‘swamp, marsh, dirt, earth’ ~ Lith báltas ‘white’ ~ Slav *bolto ‘swamp, marsh’.
*breðh ‘to jump, to spring’ ~ Lith brendū, bristi ‘to wade, to ford’ ~ Slav *bredo, *brestid.
*dangē ‘belly’ ~ Lith dangā ‘table-cloth, cover’, Latv daņga ‘puddle, marshland’ ~ Slav *dega ‘arc’.
*dikē ‘desire, lust’ ~ Lith dīkas ‘idle, empty’ ~ Slav *dikš ‘wild’.
*end ‘to weave’ ~ Lith iūdas ‘vessel’, Latv endas ‘part of sledge’ ~ Slav *eda ‘fishing rod’.
*flashkēt ‘sluggish, lame’ ~ Lith plokščias ‘flat’ ~ Slav *ploškū ‘flat, bad, evil, poor’.
*gamule ‘heap’ ~ Lith gāmulas ‘bale, lump’ ~ Slav *gomola’d.
*grellē ‘deep place’ ~ Lith gurklys ‘crop’, OPrus gurcle ‘throat’ ~ Slav *greldlo id., cf. also *zerdlo ‘river-bed; opening’.
*ketē ‘squirrel, dormouse’ ~ Lith *kuokas ‘dance’ (reconstructed from kuokinė ‘dancing party’) ~ Slav *skakati ‘to jump, to spring’.
*kollē ‘cough’ ~ Lith kosutys id. ~ Slav *kašš ‘id.
*kreh ~ kreč ‘to comb’ ~ Lith grēbėti ‘to rake’ ~ Slav *grebů, *grebti ‘to row, to rake’.
*latē ‘small axe’ ~ Lith lopeta id., OPrus lopto ~ Slav *lopata id.
*lesh ~ lešna ‘wool, fleece, hair’ ~ Lith laiškas ‘leaf’, Latv laiška ‘leaf on a linen stalk; stalk’ ~ Slav *list ‘leaf’.
*lēgasē ‘marsh’ ~ Lith lūgas id. ~ Slav *luža ‘pool’.

*shqymb ‘to extinguish, to destroy’ ~ Goth alskiuban ‘to push back, to reject’ ~ Lith skumbė, skūsti ‘to hurry up’ ~ Slav *skubə, *skubati ‘to pull, to tear’.
*shtalbēr ‘wooden snare’ ~ ON stolpi ‘beam, girder’, Lith stūbas ‘post, pole’ ~ Slav *stulbū ‘id.
*shtang ‘hard’ ~ ON stinga ‘to put, to stick’ ~ Lith stěngiu, stěngti ‘to be able’, stūgti ‘to become hard’, Latv stūgtī ‘id.
*shtrap ‘stagnant green on ponds’ ~ MHG straft ‘tight’ ~ Lith par-strapinti ‘to drag oneself back’.

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.
kêmsh ~ lamsh ‘ball (of wool, thread), globe (of earth), pool, spilet’ ~ Latv lemesis ‘sharp edge of the plough’, Slav *lemeša ‘ploughshare’.
llêñêž ‘mud, silt’ ~ Lith sliena ‘saliva, mucus, slime’ ~ Slav *sliina ‘saliva’.
makë ‘glue, scum, skin (on the milk or other liquids)’ ~ Lith makënti ‘to walk through a swamp’ ~ Slav *mokrë ‘wet’, *moknoti ‘to become wet’
ndulkem ‘to ripen’ ~ Lith telkiù, telki ‘to gather, to bring together’ ~ Slav *telkti ‘to beat, to pound’.
pìdh ‘female pudenda’ ~ OPrus peisda ‘bottom’ ~ Slav *pizda ‘female pudenda’.
pjerr ‘to bend, to incline’ ~ Lith periù, peñti ‘to strike’ ~ Slav *përy, *periti ‘to press’.
rangë ‘home work’ ~ Lith rankë ‘hand’, parankë ‘gathering’, renkû, riinkti ‘to gather’ ~ Slav *rëka ‘hand’.
shtërë ~ shtrofë ‘kennel’ ~ Latv straja ‘stall covered with straw’, Slav *strojë ‘construction’.
svjèrdh ‘to wean’ ~ Lith veržiù, veñti ‘to lace, to tie’, Latv vërzti ‘to turn’ ~ Slav *verzti ‘to bind’.

4.1.1.3. Separate Albanian-Germanic isoglosses are rather rare:

barrë ‘fetus’ ~ Gmc *barnan ‘child’.
bir ‘son’ ~ Goth baur ‘son’.
det ‘sea’ ~ Gmc *deupiðō ‘depth’ (MDu diepde, MLG dépde, E depth).
(G) fâj ‘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.
kênaq ‘to please, to satisfy’ ~ Goth ga-nah ‘to be enough’, OHG gi-nah id.
lashtë, lashé ‘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 rinnu id.
shperr ‘to win (money), to gain’ ~ Gmc *sparōjan ‘to leave unharmed, to keep’: ON spara, OHG sparōn, OE sparian.
tym ‘smoke’ ~ Gmc *ēdumaz ‘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 muīvė ‘silt, marsh’, muiti ‘to get dirty’.
bli ~ bli ‘linden’ ~ Lith blîndis, blîndis ‘Salix caprea’.
brez ‘belt’ ~ Lith briauna ‘edge’.
buzë ‘lip, end, edge, bank, stitch, rock’ ~ Lith budē ‘tree-fungus, tender, whet-stone’.
dak ‘big ram’ ~ Lith dvēkti ‘to breathe’, dvākas ‘breath’.
druaj ~ druej ‘to be afraid’ ~ Latv druvas ‘fear’, Lith draudžiū, drausti ‘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’ ~ Latv peikti ‘to despise, to scold’, pykti ‘to be angry’, Latv peikt ‘to be spoilt’.
gand ‘accident, vice, defect’ ~ Lith gaṈdas ‘rumor’, gaṈdinti ‘to frighten’, Latv gaṈdēt ‘to spoil’.
gargull ‘full’ ~ Lith gaṟgalas, gargolšas ‘thickening, knotted thread, thread’.
gravē ‘cave, den, lair’ ~ Lith griovā, Latv grava, grēva ‘ravine, precipitous valley’, OPrus grauvus ‘side’
giże ‘stable, house’ ~ Lith sična ‘wall’, Latv sična id.
halē ‘fish bone, splinter; pine’ ~ Lith skalā ‘stick of firewood’, Latv skala ‘splinter (used to furnish light)’.
ikēj ‘to go away, to run away’ ~ Latv eık, eiki imper. ‘go!’
kēpurdhē ‘fungus, mushroom’ ~ Lith kēpurē ‘cap’, Latv cepure id.
kot ‘useless, vain’ ~ Lith kōktūs ‘disgusting’.
krup 'to loathe' ~ Lith kraupūs 'easily scared', krupūs id., krúpti 'to
care'.

kulpēr ~ kulpēn 'ivy, clematis' ~ Lith kilpa 'loop', Latv cilpa id.
kungull 'marrow, pumpkin, bottle' ~ Lith kuŋkus 'bubble.
le (particle of jussive) ~ Lith lai (particle of optative and
permissive), Latv lāi, lēi, OPtus -lai.
lerė 'dirt, mud' ~ Lith laūre 'dirty person'.
ųlė 'small iron ring, loop-ring, link' ~ Lith leišas 'thin, supple,
flexible'.
loqe 'penis; testicles' ~ Lith liaukā 'gland'.
mal 'mountain' ~ Lith mała 'land', Latv mala 'bank, shore'.
mis 'limb, member' ~ Lith miklas 'supple', mitrūs id
modhull 'vetch, chickling, chick-pea' ~ Lith mažulis 'small'.
mugull 'shoot, bud, sprout' ~ Lith *mugulas on which muguliūoti
'to move'.
murg 'dark, grey' ~ Lith mūrgas 'multicolored', mūgūoti 'to
sparkle, to shine', Latv mirga 'gleam', mūrgs 'fantastic image'.
ndes 'to have troubles' ~ Lith dāktyti 'to mix up, to put in disorder',
dāknyti id., dākanotī id.
ngrydhl ~ ngridhl 'to work up, to foment, to ferment', refl. 'to be in
heat (of horses)' ~ Lith grūžiu, grūsti 'to stamp, to punch', Latv
grūstīd.
ŋugl 'to thrust in, to stick in' ~ Lith kūlti 'to thresh', Latv kūlt 'to
strike'.
pelq 'to stir up (water)' ~ Lith pelkētū 'to become marshy', pelkē
'marsh, swamp', Latv pelce 'puddle', pelcēt 'to urinate'.
plish 'kind of reed, Phragmites communis' ~ Lith pl(i)ūšis 'reed'.
qas 'to approach' ~ Lith kečiū, kėsti 'to stretch'.
qikēl 'point, spike, peak' ~ Lith kėkulas 'lump, cluster', Latv cekūks
'forelock, cluster'.
qurra 'snot, snivel' ~ Lith šliūrti 'to become dirty'.
rrag 'apron' ~ Lith srūoga 'skein, hank; tuft, hairlock', srauga id.
rrek 'to strain, to bother' ~ Lith reikā 'need, necessity', reikti 'to be
necessary'
rroj 'to live, to stay' ~ Lith rėjo, rōti 'to cope, to be ready'.
surnē 'dark grey' ~ Lith šūrmas 'grey'.
tesha 'belongings, utensils, things' ~ Lith tiesiū, tiesto 'to make
right, to build, to set', teisūs 'right'.
tērē ~ tanē 'whole, all' ~ Lith tvinti 'to rise, to swell (of water)',
tvānas 'flood'.

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Separate Albanian-Slavic isoglosses are not as frequent as Baltic ones:

bac ‘elder brother, uncle’ ~ Slav *bat’a/*batja ‘elder brother, father’.
bahe ‘slung’ ~ Slav *boja ‘fight’.
bredh ‘fir-tree’ ~ Slav *bredh ‘willow’.
bruz ‘blue, indigo’ ~ Slav *brudh ‘dirt’, *brudah ‘dirty’.
drydhêt ‘easy to plane (of wood)’ ~ Slav *dryzgati, *druzgati ‘to squeeze, to crush’.
fle ~ fle ‘to sleep’ ~ Slav *lêjo, *lêjati ‘to doze, to slumber’.
hu ~ hú ‘picket, stake, pole, penis’ ~ Slav *xuj ‘penis’.
kalhi ‘ear of grain’ ~ Slav *kols ‘ear of grain’.
kedh ‘kid’ ~ Slav *koza ‘she-goat’.
kohe ‘time’ ~ Slav *čas ‘id.
loz ‘to move, to shake, to play’ ~ Slav *lada ‘order, peace’, *laditi ‘to make order, to make peace’.
lug ‘trough, water-trough, long gutter, pipe’, lugê ‘spoon’ ~ Slav *
ľoga ‘spoon, blade’, *ľžica ‘id.
mardhê ‘chill, frost, ice’ ~ Slav *morž ‘frost’.
marrtê ‘murky, cloudy, dim, dull’ ~ Slav *morx ‘dusk, fog’.
mirê ‘good’ ~ Slav *mir ‘peace’.
ngle ‘time, leisure, cloudy, dim, dull’ ~ Slav *god ‘time, year’.
groh ~ grof ‘to warm’ ~ Slav *grejo, *greti ‘id.
shkardhê ‘dog chain; a long stick attached to a dog’s neck to prevent it from biting its master’ ~ Slav *
jz-gorda ‘fence’.
shtrep ‘maggot, larva’ ~ Slav *strip ‘wound, scab, poison’.
tjetër ‘other’ ~ Slav *eter ‘some, somebody’.
trap ‘ferry’ ~ Slav *tropa ‘path’.
tres ‘to melt, to loosen, to dissolve’ ~ Slav *tratjo, *tratiti ‘to spend, to waste’.

4.1.1.5. 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 bláir ‘gray’, W blawr id.

4.1.2.2. The following are the known Celtic-Albanian parallels:

(G) bërshë ‘juniper’ < *eburusa ~ OIr ibar id., Gaulish eburu-,
dem ‘young bull’ ~ OIr dam ‘ox’ (probably also Gk δέμαλος ‘calf’).
rra ‘belly-worm’ ~ OIr frige ‘vermin, flesh-worm’.
hēnë ~ hanë ‘moon’ ~ Celt *kando-: W canv ‘white’, MBret canv
‘full moon’.
shotë ‘big duck’ ~ W hwyad id., OCorn hoet id., Bret houat id.
verr ‘alder’ Bret gwerne id., W gwernen id., Mfr fern id. (cf. also
Arm gérn ‘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 nār- ‘man’ ~ Gk ἄνδρας id. ~
Arm ayr id. (but cf. Lat Nérō).
shqerra, shu'erra pl. ‘lams’ ~ Skt stāriḥ ‘barren cow’ ~ Arm sterį
’sterile, barren’ ~ Gk στείρησα id.

4.1.3.2. Indo-Greek parallels to Albanian are also not very numerous:

dend ‘pollen’ ~ Skt ándhas- ‘herb’ ~ Gk ἄνθος ‘flower’.
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fend ‘to fort’ ~ Skt spandate ‘to shiver’ ~ Gk αφαδάζω ‘to shiver, to tremble’.
gier ‘till’ ~ Av ayar ‘day’ ~ Gk ἡρι < * ἡρι ‘early’ (cf. also Gmc *airiz ‘before, ere’).
giēsh ‘to knead’ giēsh ‘to knead’ ~ Skt yāṣyati ‘to boil’ ~ Gk ζηω ‘to boil, to cook’.
kolmē ‘pretty, winsome’ ~ Skt kalyā- ‘healthy’ ~ Gk Hom κάλος ‘beautiful’.
ndaj ~ ndj ‘to divide, to separate’ ~ Skt dāyate id., dāti ‘to cut, to divide’ ~ Gk δαιμον ‘to divide’.
verrē ‘hole’ ~ Skt urū- ‘wide’, vāras- ‘space, width’ ~ Gk εὐρός ‘wide’.
zē ~ zā ‘to seize, to grasp, to touch’ ~ Skt jyā ‘force, power’, jāyati ‘to win, to conquer’ ~ Gk βή ‘power’.

4.1.3.3. Greco-Armenian isoglosses with Albanian are as follows:

dhi ‘she-goat’ ~ Arm aye id. ~ Gk αἰξ id.
dhunē ‘labor pains, shame, disgrace’ ~ Arm erkn ‘labor pains’ ~ Gk ὀδύνη id.
ēndērr ~ andērr ‘dream, sleep’ ~ Arm anowrj id. ~ Gk ὠνειρον, ὠνειρος id.
me ‘insufficiency, lack; insufficient, scanty, not full’ ~ Arm manr ‘small, thin’ ~ Gk μανρ μικρων. Ἀθαμάννες (Hes.), μανζ ‘thin’.
mykē ‘back edge (of knife)’ ~ Arm mxem ‘to put into, to insert’ ~ Gk μυχος ‘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’.
arrē ‘walnut-tree, walnut’ ~ Gk ἄρυσα ‘τὰ Ἑρακλεωτικά κόρυα, Hes.
bajē ‘dung’ ~ Gk βόλβητο ‘cow dung’.
bathē ‘broad bean’ ~ Gk φάκη ‘dish of lentils’, φακός ‘lentil’.
bēj ~ bāj ‘to do, to make’ ~ Gk φαίνω ‘to appear’.
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bimē ‘plant’ ~ Gk φύμα ‘plant’.
bli ~ bli ‘sturgeon’ ~ Gk βλέψοις id.
cándēr ‘prop, support’ ~ Gk κέντρον ‘goad, spur’.
dal ‘to go out’ ~ Gk θάλλω ‘to bloom’ < *to appear, to come out’.
darkē ‘supper’ ~ Gk δόρπον id.
deri ‘to, up to, till’ ~ Gk δεύρο, δεύρε, δευρί ‘here’.
derr ‘pig’ ~ Gk χοίρος id.
dyllē ‘wax’ ~ Gk χυλός ‘juice’.
ēhallē ~ dhallē ‘buttermilk’ ~ Gk γάλα ‘milk’.
elb ‘barley’ ~ Gk ἀλή ‘kind of grain’.
erdhā aor. ‘came’ ~ Gk ἔρχομαι ‘to come’.
ēndē ~ andē ‘appetite, desire, wish’ ~ Gk ἀνταί ὁνεμοι, ἀντάς ‘to test’.
πνοές, Hes.
farē ‘seed, semen, kin’ ~ Gk σπορά ‘seed’.
grua ~ grue ‘woman, wife’ Gk γραφές ‘old woman’.
heq ~ hek ‘to draw, to pull’ ~ Gk ὕλκεω, causative of ἐλκω ‘to draw’.
hudhēr ‘garlic’ ~ Gk σκόρδον id.
jetē ‘life’ ~ Gk ἕτες ‘true, real’, ἔτα ἀληθῆ, ἀγαθά (Hes.), ἔταζω ‘to test’.
kem ‘incense’ ~ Gk κατνα ‘smoke’.
keq ‘bad, evil’ ~ Gk κακός ‘bad’ (and Phryg kakōs id.).
kryē ‘head’ ~ Gk κρανίον ‘skull, head’.
lērē ‘heap of stones, pebble bank’ ~ Gk λαύρα ‘alley, pass between rocks’.
lumē ‘river’ ~ Gk λῦμα ‘dirt’.
mjalcē ‘bee’ ~ Gk μέλισσα id.
mos ‘not’ ~ Gk μήτε ‘and not’.
ndesh ‘to meet’ ~ Gk δημω ‘to find’.
ndyj ~ ndyuj ‘to make dirty, to soil, to dip, to immerse’ ~ Gk δύω ‘to sink, to cause to sink, to plunge in’.
pēpqētē ‘rising, uphill; rise, slope; up’ ~ Gk προπετής ‘prominent’, προπέτωμαι ‘to fly forwards’.
prish ‘to destroy, to spoil, to waste’ ~ Gk πρίω ‘to saw’.
pug ‘to fit together’. ~ Gk πυκα ‘thickly, strongly’, πυκνός ‘thick, strong’.
rrēj ~ rrēj ‘to deceive’ ~ Gk ἁρνεόμαι ‘to lie’.
rrum ‘clapper; maize-cob stripped of corns’ ~ Gk ῥόμνος ‘thorny bush’.
rrush ‘grape’ ~ Gk ῥόξ id.
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-ţho-).

pah ‘scab, dust’ ~ Arm hogi ‘breath’ (both from *poyj-).

trim ‘hero’, ‘brave, courageous’ ~ Arm ĭrm ‘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 bhástrā ‘bellows’.

dëmbël ~ ambél ‘sweet’ ~ Skt u/mlá- ‘sour’.

gjem ‘bridle’ ~ Skt ya/má- id.

giysh ‘grandfather’ ~ Skt sásă ‘progenitor’.

hirrë ‘whey’ ~ Skt kšîrā- ‘milk’, Osset aëxîr id.

kêrr ‘donkey, ass, foal, gray’ ~ Skt khára- ‘donkey’, Av xarō id., Scyth *xara, Osset xænæg id.

mut ‘excrement’ ~ Skt mukta- ‘released’.

tru ~ trù ‘brain’ ~ Skt târûpa- ‘young, tender’, Av tauruna- ‘young’ (cf. also Gk térîμ ‘tender’, τέρπε ὁδενές, λεπτόν, Hes.).

thadar ‘a kind of double-sided axe’ ~ Skt sastra- ‘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’u-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:

\[ \text{vjehe} \text{rr} \text{ ‘mother-in-law’ < EPA *swexurā (with assimilation from expected *swet}ürā < IE *sye}č}rū- (Skt śvaśrū- ‘mother-in-law’, Lat socrūs id.). Probably morphologically influenced by the masculine form. \]

\[ \text{vjehe} \text{rr} \text{ ‘father-in-law’ < EPA *swexura (with assimilation) < IE *syek}růs id. (Skt śvaśura- ‘father-in-law’, Gk ἐκυρός id.). \]

\[ \text{dh}en}dēr ~ \text{dhandēr ‘bridegroom, son-in-law’ < EPA *dzan}ra < IE *gen}rē- ‘son-in-law’ (Lat gener). \]

A daughter-in-law is simply described as ‘new’ (*e rejā), cf. from this point of view Slav *aevčsta (if related to *neu- ‘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:

\[ \text{nēne} ~ \text{nane ‘mother’, a Lallwort of Balkanic origin, cf. SCR nana id., Rum nană id.} \]

\[ \text{ēmē} ~ \text{ämē ‘mother’}. \]

\[ \text{atē ‘father’ < EPA *atta. Hitt attā- id., Lat atta id., Slav *otьчь id.} \]

The old term for ‘mother’ was retained but changed semantically:

\[ \text{motēr ‘sister’ < EPA *mæter < IE *mæter- ‘mother’ (Skt mātār-, Gk μήτηρ, Lat mātēr).} \]
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:

\textit{vajzë} ‘girl’, based on \textit{*varē} < EPA \textit{*swesarē}: Skt \textit{svāsarē}, Arm \textit{kōyr}, Lat \textit{isor}.

The word for ‘brother’, which replaced IE \textit{*bhrātē} might, in fact, be a very old archaism using two ancient social terms \textit{*sye} and \textit{*leudh}:

\textit{vēlla} ‘brother’ < EPA \textit{*swe-laudā}, composite of pronominal IE \textit{*sye} and \textit{*laudā} < IE\textit{*leudh}- (OHG \textit{luit} ‘people’, Slav \textit{*bjut} id.).

Additional words for ‘elder brother’/‘uncle’/‘father’ seems to be innovative \textit{Lallwörter}:

\textit{apē} ‘elder brother; dad’ < EPA \textit{*apē}.
\textit{bac} ‘elder brother, uncle’ < EPA \textit{*batā}, close to Slav \textit{*bat’a} – \textit{*batja} ‘elder brother, father’.

Terms for ‘son’ and ‘daughter’ represent an Indo-European localism:

\textit{bir} ‘son’ < EPA \textit{*bira}: Goth \textit{baur} ‘son’ < IE \textit{*bhūra}.
\textit{bīlē, bijē} ‘daughter’ < EPA \textit{*bir(i)lā} derived from \textit{bir} ‘son’.

Cf. also a closely related ancient word for ‘child’ as ‘suckling’:

\textit{djalē} ‘boy, youth’ < EPA \textit{*dela} < IE \textit{*dhēi} - ‘to suck’ (Latv \textit{dels} ‘son’, Lat \textit{flīus} id.).

Second degree blood kinship was apparently irrelevant in the Proto-Albanian social structure. All corresponding terms have been borrowed from Latin:

\textit{ungi} ‘uncle’ ⇔ Lat \textit{avunculus} ‘maternal uncle’.
\textit{emtē} ‘aunt’ ⇔ Lat \textit{amīta} ‘paternal aunt’.
\textit{nip} ‘nephew, grandson’ ⇔ Lat nom. \textit{nepōs} ‘grandson’.
\textit{mbesē} ‘niece, granddaughter’ ⇔ Lat \textit{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:

\[ \text{vise ‘place’} < \text{EPA *witsjë < IE *geikijë similar to Gk oikíō ‘dwelling, house’}. \]
\[ \text{zot ‘lord, master, god’} < \text{EPA *w(i)ts-pati-: Skt viś-patī- ‘lord of the house’}. \]
\[ \text{zonjë ‘lady’} < \text{EPA *w(i)ts-patnjë, feminine formation related to zot}. \]

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:

\[ \text{blej ‘to buy’ } \leftarrow \text{Rom *ablevāre ‘to lift up, to relieve (from)’}. \]
\[ \text{shes ‘to sell’} < \text{EPA *iš-agtja < IE *aš- ‘to drive’}. \]

Albanian religious notions are hardly open to reconstruction. Yet, the word \( \text{perëndi} \) ‘God’ could cast some light on this problem. It appears to be a deverbative of \( \text{perëndoj ‘to set (of the sun)’} \) which, in its turn, has been borrowed from Lat \( \text{parentūre ‘to bring a sacrifice (to the dead), to satisfy’} \) or, rather, from its passive correlate \( \text{parentāri}. \) 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:

\[ \text{det} \, \text{‘sea’} \triangleq \text{EPA} \ast \text{deubeta} \, \text{‘depth’} \triangleq \text{IE} \ast \text{dheub-} \, \text{‘deep’}, \text{cf. Gmc} \ast \text{deupipō} \, \text{‘depth’} \] > \text{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:

\[ \text{pellg} \, \text{‘pond, pool, depth’} \triangleq \text{Gk πέλαγος} \, \text{‘high sea’}. \]

Other hydronymy reflects a more complicated picture. Besides two basic words for ‘river’ and ‘stream’

\[ \text{lumë} \, \text{‘river’} < \text{EPA} \ast \text{luma} \] Gk λῦμα \, \text{‘dirt’}; \text{IE} \ast \text{leu(ə)} \, \text{‘dirt’}.  
\[ \text{rrymë} \, \text{‘flow (of water)} < \text{EPA} \ast \text{srūmē} \] Gk ρέμα \, \text{‘stream’}, \text{ON straumr id., Lith sraumė} \, \text{‘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:

\[ \text{lakë} \, \text{‘defilé, valley’} \triangleq \text{Gmc} \ast \text{lakaz} \, \text{‘brook, river, swamp’}, \text{cf. OHG lahha, OE lacu}. \]

\[ \text{përrua} \sim \text{përrue} \, \text{‘brook; river-bed’} \triangleq \text{Slav} \ast \text{porovъ} \sim \ast \text{parovъ}, \text{cf. Pol parów} \, \text{‘ravine’}, \text{name of a source in Greece Πορόβος}. \]

\[ \text{zall} \, \text{‘river sand, river bank’} < \text{EPA} \ast \text{aigjala} \triangleq \text{Gk αἰγίαλός} \, \text{‘river bank’}. \]

\[ \text{rrēke} \, \text{‘stream (of rain), mountain brook’} \triangleq \text{Slav} \ast \text{rēka} \, \text{‘river’}. \]

On the other hand, words for quieter currents and, sometimes, stagnant pools are of Indo-European origin:

\[ \text{bērrakē} \, \text{‘muddy pool, pond, swamp’} \triangleleft \text{birē} \, \text{‘hole’}. \]

\[ \text{hurdhē} \, \text{‘pond, pool’} < \text{EPA} \ast \text{wurdē} \] Slav \ast \text{virъ} \, \text{‘whirlpool’}, \ast \text{variti} \,  \text{‘to cook’}, \text{Lith vėrda, virš id.} \]

\[ \text{ledh} \, \text{‘mud, alluvium, clay; wall, earth mound; river-mouth, bank’} < \text{EPA} \ast \text{laida} \] OPrus laydis \, \text{‘clay’}.  
\[ \text{makērr} \, \text{‘stagnant green on ponds’} \triangleleft \text{makē} \, \text{‘glue, scum, skin’}. \]
amull ‘stagnant (of water)’ < EPA *a-mulwa. Lith mulvé ‘silt, marsh’, mulți ‘to get dirty’.
shtrap ‘stagnant green on ponds’ < EPA *strapar. MHG straf ‘tight’, Lith par-strapinti ‘to drag oneself back’.

Marshes were a usual part of the landscape, too:

balté ‘swamp, marsh, dirt, earth’ < EPA *baltā < IE *bhólotom id.
(Slav *bolto, cf. Lith báltas ‘white’).
légaté ‘marsh’ < EPA *leugatā: Illyr ἕλον Λούγεος καλοίμενον,
Lith liūgas id., Slav *luža ‘pool’.
vurg ‘marsh, swamp’ < EPA *wurga. Gk ὀργύς ‘to be soaked’, ὀργάς ‘marsh, meadow’.

Rivers, as described above, were easy to cross by foot, at least at fords:

bredh ‘to jump, to spring’ < EPA *breda: Slav *bredo, *bresti ‘to wade, to ford’, Lith brendū, bristri 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 ār ‘drizzle’, OPrus wurp ‘pool’.
ngjëre ‘whirlpool’ < gjerë ‘broad, wide’.
grellē ‘deep place’ < EPA *greltā: Lith gurklys ‘crop’, OPrus gurcle ‘throat’, Slav *gurculo 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 *sadž ‘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:

\[
\text{pyll} \; \text{‘forest’} \Leftrightarrow \text{Balk Rom *padülem} < \text{Lat palüdem ‘swamp’}.
\]

On the contrary, the original word for ‘bush’ was not borrowed:

\[
\text{shkorret, shkurre} \; \text{‘bush’} < \text{EPA *skärä derived from shqerr ‘to tear’} < \text{EPA *skera}.
\]

Some old Indo-European names of trees (including basic conifers!) survived in Albanian:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ah} & \; \text{‘beech-tree’} < \text{EPA *aksar. IE *osk- (Gk δέκα ‘beech’, Arm haći ‘ash-tree’, ON askir id., Maced δάκι ‘λάντ)}.
\text{bli – bë ‘linden’} < \text{EPA *blina. Lith blūdis, blendis ‘Salix caprea’}.
\text{bredh} & \; \text{‘fir-tree’} < \text{EPA *brada. Slav *bredь ‘willow’}.
\text{dushk, drushk} & \; \text{‘oak’} < \text{EPA *druśka, derivative of dru ‘tree’} < \text{IE *dru¬ ‘tree, oak’}. \text{Cf. also lend ‘acorn’} < \text{EPA *lenta < IE *lent- ‘linse’ (Lat lēns, lēntis, OHG linsi, Slav *leťa).}
\text{pishë ‘pine’} & < \text{EPA *p-series. Gk πῦς, Lat pīnus (but cf. also vguje ~ vgje ‘pine’ \Leftrightarrow \text{Lat abīgnum ‘related to fir’, derivative of abietem ‘fir’).}
\text{verr} & \; \text{‘alder’} < \text{EPA *werna. Bret gwern id., W gwernen id., Mtr fern id.}
\text{vidh} & \; \text{‘elm’} < \text{EPA *wīdzə. Kurd vīz id., OE wīc id., and, with nasalization, Lith vinkšna id., Slav *vězь id.}
\end{align*}
\]

The above list is opposed to the following Latin loans, which include a new word for ‘birch’:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{frashër ~ frashën} & \; \text{‘ash-tree’} \Leftrightarrow \text{Lat fraxinus id.}
\text{gëshenjë} & \; \text{‘chestnut’} \Leftrightarrow \text{Lat castanea id.}
\text{mështekër ~ mështekën} & \; \text{‘birch’} \Leftrightarrow \text{Lat masticinus ‘related to the mastic-tree’.}
\text{palnë} & \; \text{‘maple’} \Leftrightarrow \text{Rom *plätania derived from Lat platanus ‘plane-tree’}.
\text{plep ‘poplar’} & \Leftrightarrow \text{Rom *plöopus, metathesis of Lat pōpulus id.}
\text{rrobull ‘mountain pine’} & \Leftrightarrow \text{Lat rōbur ‘oak’ with a dissimilation of sonorants.}
\end{align*}
\]
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shelg ‘willow’ ⇔ Lat salīx 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'era- ‘mountain’ (Skt gīrī-, Av gairī-, Lith giria ‘wood’, Latv dzīrīa id., Slav *gora ‘mountain, wood’).


However, all specific terms related to the mountainous relief or to life in the mountains are borrowed. Cf. the following examples:

bheshkë ‘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.

davgë ‘path (in mountains)’ ⇔ Slav *rovška ‘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 *aizijā: Gk αἰζίξ id.
edh ‘he-goat’ < EPA *aidza: Gk αἴζα ‘goat’, Arm ayc id.
kedh ‘kid’ < EPA *kadža: Slav *koza ‘she-goat’.
lopē ‘cow’ < EPA *lāpē: Latv luōps ‘cattle’.
mjei 'to milk' < EPA *melax: Gk ὑμήλγω id., Lat mulgeō id., Lith mėližiu, mėližti id.

ter 'bull' < EPA *taura: Gk ταῦρος id., Lat taurus id., Lith taūras id., Slav *turъ id.

vjet 'calf' < EPA *wetuša further related to *weta > vit 'year', cf. Skt vatsá- 'calf'.

The borrowed nature of the words for ‘dog’ (qen from Latin, shakē 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 (kalē ⇔ Lat caballus id.):

gjem 'bridle' < EPA *jama: Skt yāma- id.

pelē 'mare' < EPA *pōulē: Gk πῦλος 'foal', Goth fula id.

rreth 'hoop, rim (of wheel); circle', diminutive in -th of *rat 'wheel', cf. Skt rātha- 'wagon', Lat rota 'wheel', Ofr roth, OHG rad.
PHONETIC TABLES

Vowels

From Indo-European to Proto-Albanian

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indo-European</th>
<th>Early Proto-Albanian</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>*ã</td>
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<tr>
<td>*o</td>
<td>*o</td>
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<tr>
<td>*ɛ</td>
<td>*ɛ (rare)</td>
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<td>*œ</td>
<td>Φ (after a stressed vowel)</td>
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* 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proto-Albanian</th>
<th>Albanian (Tosk)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>a</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e (by umlaut)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ĕ, Œ (unstressed)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ĕ (before nasals)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ř, ţ (before nasals)</td>
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<td>*e</td>
<td>ř (before *i of the next syllable)</td>
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<tr>
<td>*i</td>
<td>ř (after *g)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ř (due to sibilant or affricate)</td>
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<tr>
<td>*u</td>
<td>ř (due to morphophonological factors)</td>
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<td>*o</td>
<td>ř (irregularly, before nasals)</td>
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<td>ř (before a labial)</td>
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<tr>
<td>*ā</td>
<td>ř (before a labial)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ř (before n, l and a front vowel)</td>
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<tr>
<td>*ō</td>
<td>ř (in anlaut)</td>
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<tr>
<td>*ū</td>
<td>ř (in auslaut)</td>
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<td>*ă</td>
<td>ř (before and after labials)</td>
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## Sonorants

### From Indo-European to Proto-Albanian

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### From Proto-Albanian to modern Albanian (Tosk)

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<td>*u, *ru</td>
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<td>*j (anlaut, before *a, *e, *o)</td>
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<td>*j (anlaut, before *a, *o)</td>
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<td>Ø (inlaut, after front vowels)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>x (inlaut, after non-front vowels)</td>
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<td>*v (anlaut)</td>
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<td>Ø (inlaut, absorbed by long vowels)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>*m</td>
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<td>*mb (auslaut, irregularly)</td>
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<td>*n (anlaut)</td>
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<td>*n</td>
<td>*r (inlaut, after unstressed vowels)</td>
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<tr>
<td>*r</td>
<td>\begin{align*} &amp; r \text{ (in clusters)} \ &amp; \emptyset \text{ (auslaut, after <em>e)} \end{align</em>}</td>
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Consonants

From Indo-European to Proto-Albanian

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zjej  rrèj
lej  èj
blej  bèj
INDEX A TERGO

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eçëj  lëngoj
pëgëj  mëngoj
ikëj  shtrëngoj
hip(ej)  kungoj
žëj  mungoj
bij  rungoj
mbij  fërgoj
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| rrobujoj | pik |
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hidhniu                     veëz
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jju                          ijez
jju                          ijez
gjaku                       bijez
gjaku                       bijëz
plaku                       gjellëz
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lu                           mëz
lu                           mëz
ru                          amëz
ru                          amëz
dru                         djelmëz
dru                       djelmiëz
tru                         llënjez
tru                      llënjëz
gjû                          njerëz
gjû                         njerëz
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hû                           grerëz
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drû                        vashëz
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dy                          parriz
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gaz                           loz
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greraz                       bruz
greraz                      bruz