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i. Abbreviations

| | | | |
|-----------|----------------------|-----------|---------------------|
| acc. | accusative | OCS | Old Church Slavonic |
| AGr. | Ancient Greek | OG | Old Geg |
| athem. | athematic | OHG | Old High German |
| Balk.Lat. | Balkan Latin | OIr. | Old Irish |
| Bogd. | Bogdani | OT | Old Tosk |
| Bulg. | Bulgarian | PA | Proto-Albanian |
| Buz. | Buzuku | PDE | Present Day English |
| E | ending | PGmc. | Proto-Germanic |
| EPA | Early-Proto-Albanian | PIE | Proto-Indo-European |
| Goth. | Gothic | pl. | plural |
| Hitt. | Hittite | PSlav. | Proto-Slavic |
| IE | Indo-European | R | root |
| Lat. | Latin | Rum. | Rumanian |
| Lith. | Lithuanian | S | suffix |
| Luv. | Luvian | sg. | singular |
| MHG | Middle High German | Skt. | Sanskrit |
| M(od)Alb. | Modern Albanian | them. | thematic |
| ModHG | Modern High German | Ved. | Vedic |
| nom. | nominative | Vulg.Lat. | Vulgar Latin |
| OAlb. | Old Albanian | | |

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Figure 1. Periodisation of Albanian 24

iii. Spelling and pronunciation of Modern Albanian:

| Letter | | Phonetic transcription (IPA) | Pronunciation |
|--------|--------|------------------------------|---|
| 1. | A, a | [a] | cf. Engl. bath |
| 2. | B, b | [b] | |
| 3. | C, c | [ts] | voiceless alveolar affricate; cf. Gm. Zange |
| 4. | Ç, ç | [tʃ] | voiceless apical affricate, cf. Engl. bleach |
| 5. | D, d | [d] | |
| 6. | Dh, dh | [ð] | voiced dental fricative, cf. Engl. that |
| 7. | E, e | [e] | open e; cf. Engl. bed? , Gm. fett |
| 8. | Ë, ë | [ə] | mid-high central vowel (cf. Engl. about) |
| 9. | F, f | [f] | |
| 10. | G, g | [g] | |
| 11. | Gj, gj | [j] | voiced palatal plosive (cf. Hung. magyar) |
| 12. | H, h | [h] | voiceless pharyngeal |
| 13. | I, i | [i] | |
| 14. | J, j | [j] | cf. Buchholz/Fiedler 1987: 41 |
| 15. | K, k | [k] | |
| 16. | L, l | [l] | |
| 17. | Ll, ll | [ɫ] | lateral sonorant, cf. Engl. hill (dark l?) |
| 18. | M, m | [m] | |

| | | | |
|-----|--------|-------|---|
| 19. | N, n | [n] | |
| 20. | Nj, nj | [ɲ] | palatal nasal, cf. Engl. new |
| 21. | O, o | [ɔ] | open o; cf. Gm. offen |
| 22. | P, p | [p] | |
| 23. | Q, q | [ç] | voiceless palatal plosive, cf. Gm. tja |
| 24. | R, r | [r] ? | |
| 25. | Rr, rr | [R] ? | cf. Spanish perro |
| 26. | S, s | [s] | always voiceless |
| 27. | Sh, sh | [ʃ] | voiceless fricative, cf. Engl. sheep |
| 28. | T, t | [t] | |
| 29. | Th, th | [θ] | voiceless dental fricative, cf. Engl. thing |
| 30. | U, u | [u] | |
| 31. | V, v | [v] | labiodentals voiced fricative, cf. Gm. Wein |
| 32. | X, x | [dz] | voiced alveolar affricate, cf. Italian mezzo |
| 33. | Xh, xh | [dʒ] | voiced alveolar affricate, cf. Engl. jungle |
| 34. | Y, y | [y] | high front rounded vowel, cf. Gm. Tür |
| 35. | Z, z | [z] | always voiced, cf. Engl. size |
| 36. | Zh, zh | [ʒ] | voiced fricative, cf. Engl. vision |

(table adapted from Buchholz/Fiedler 1987: 28ff.; Matzinger 2006: 1-3).

1 Introduction

Të formuarit e emërores shumë paraqit në shqipet laryshi të madhe trajtash. Kjo larmi kapërxen çdo kufi kur është puna për formimin e shumësit të mashkullorëvet [The nominative plural in Albanian presents a great diversity of forms. This diversity exceeds all limits when it comes to the formation of the plural of masculines] (Cipo 1949: 51; quoted and translated in Fiedler 2007: 1).

The present thesis constitutes an attempt at determining the possible ways of plural formation in Modern Albanian, and at tracing their history from their Indo-European roots to the present. Although seemingly a relatively basic objective, a systematic treatment of the diachronic development of Albanian plural formants (or rather, ways to form the plural) seems to be lacking so far. This lack can be directly related to a number of issues:

First, and rather unfortunately, Albanian has in general received little attention in comparison to most other Indo-European languages, and “ist bis heute ein Stiefkind der idg. Sprachwissenschaft geblieben” (Jokl 1917: 109).¹ This is mainly due to its being recorded only very late (the first document is a baptism formula dating back to 1462) and its preserving relatively little archaic features.² Albanian is thus frequently passed over in view of its much earlier recorded and much more archaic sister languages Latin, Ancient Greek, Indo-Iranian or Hittite which are regarded as more profitable for reconstruction (cf. Matzinger 2006: 4-5; Klingenschmitt 2000: 1). This is evident in rather crushing judgements such as SZEMERÉNYI (1960; given below) or the following statement by COWGILL (1986: 53)³:

Schon das älteste Albanisch ist gegenüber dem Urindogermanischen stark verändert, so daß ganz gewaltige Anstrengungen vonnöten sind, um die Vorgeschichte der Sprache zu entwirren. Für solche Mühen ist nur geringer Lohn in Form gesicherter Einsichten in das Wesen des Urindogermanischen und die Entwicklung der anderen indogermanischen Sprachen zu erwarten.

Furthermore, as a result of the troubled extra-linguistic history of Albania, the language sports an abundance of loanwords not only from Ancient Greek and Latin, but also from Slavic languages and Turkish (as well as, in more recent times, Modern Greek and Italian vocabulary) (cf. Klingenschmitt 2000: 1). Identifying borrowed vocabulary and separating it from the inherited PIE lexicon is often difficult, leading SCHMITT-BRANDT to rather

¹ Admittedly, this statement was made almost a hundred years ago, nevertheless, it is still valid (although fortunately to a lesser extent).

² Cf. the Baltic languages, which, although recorded late as well, are relatively well-researched, not least due to their greater archaism in many regards (cf. Schumacher/ Matzinger 2012: 1)

³ Cf. also Tichy (2009:16): “Das Albanische wird hier nicht berücksichtigt, weil es nur mit besonderen Schwierigkeiten zur Rekonstruktion des Uridg. herangezogen werden kann.”

resignedly state that “[k]aum ein anderes indogermanisches Idiom gibt dem Vergleichenden [sic!] Sprachforscher einen so verwirrenden Komplex von Problemen auf wie gerade das Albanische” (1968: 1). SZEMERÉNYI, in his treatment of IE numerals, even goes so far as describing the “state of its historical phonology and morphology” as “hopeless” (1960: 105), as a result of which “[i]t will be generally agreed that Albanian, which preserves only fragments in the inherited system, [...] must [...] be dismissed at once” (1960: 105). The abundance of loanwords furthermore significantly hindered the recognition of Albanian as an independent branch of Indo-European for a considerable time, and certainly slowed down any advancement in its research.

All these issues have led to the situation that much existent research on the Albanian language is of little use, either being out-dated or of doubtful quality, as well as much literature being only available in Albanian (cf. Schumacher/Matzinger 2012: 2). However, interest in the language seems to have risen again recently, and new editions of the Older Albanian text documents, as well as a number of highly valuable linguistic works published in the last decades (cf. e.g. Ölberg 1972; Demiraj Sh. 1986, 1993; Demiraj B. 1997; Fiedler 2004, 2007; de Vaan 2004; Matzinger 2006; Schumacher 2007; Schumacher/Matzinger forthc., among others) certainly represent a major step in the direction towards a more satisfactory linguistic and philological treatment of Old Albanian.

Furthermore, these works also prove that “das Albanische sich wohl in den Rahmen des rekonstruierten indogermanischen Modells fügt und neben durchaus vielen Innovationen letztlich auch Bewahrung altindogermanischer Gegebenheiten aufweist” (Matzinger 2006: 5, cf. also Schumacher/Matzinger 2012). Nevertheless, the diachronic development of the Albanian language is still far from adequately and conclusively explored, and many open questions (above all concerning historical phonology) remain.⁴

A further, second factor, which more directly concerns the Albanian plural and which has caused difficulties in its study, is the rather high complexity of its formation in Modern Albanian. Not only is the Albanian plural characterised by what Fiedler calls “[eine] geradezu ungläubliche” and “geradezu erdrückende Fülle [an] Bildungsmuster[n]” (Fiedler 2007: 382, 383), but single lexemes also admit various different ways of forming its plural (cf. Matzinger

⁴ Cf. MATZINGER (2006: 6): “Aus den vorangegangenen Bemerkungen wird klar, daß die Aufarbeitung des Albanischen mit modernen indogermanistischen Rekonstruktionsmethoden erst am Anfang steht.”

2006: 97). Moreover, various suffixes and other plural formation devices combine rather freely, leading to even more variation (cf. Fiedler 2007: 3).⁵

These ways of formation, which include umlaut, palatalisation, various suffixes and any combination of these, as well as zero formations, constitute, comparably to Modern High German plural formation, “de[n] einzige[n] Bereich, wo die ursprüngliche Vielfalt der idg. Stammklassen nachwirkt” (Schumacher 2009a: 66; Matzinger 2006: 97). A meticulous and extensive collection of all the various possibilities and devices to form the plural in today’s Albanian (including data collected from a large number of dialects) can be found in FIEDLER (2007).⁶

While the synchronic state of Albanian plural formation is thus relatively well explored, its diachronic development from Indo-European onwards has received less attention. Among the works which do treat the issue in a more extensive way, those that have to be mentioned are MEYER’s ‘Die Pluralbildungen der albanesischen Nomina’ (1883), a number of articles by Holger PEDERSEN (e.g. 1894, 1895a, 1895b, 1900) and Norbert JOKL (e.g. 1911, 1912, 1916, 1923), Eric HAMP’s discussion of gender shift in Albanian plurals (1958), the collection of so-called ‘singularised plurals’ compiled by Eqrem ÇABEJ (1958/1960), and the relevant sections in Shaban DEMIRAJ Shaban’s historical grammar (1993, 2002). An equally systematic and thorough account of the historical development of Albanian plural formation as FIEDLER’s monograph appears to be lacking, though.

This thesis now aims to be a first step in the direction to fill this gap, although accomplishing a conclusive and all-encompassing treatment will, due to the limited scale and time-frame of this thesis, unfortunately not be possible. Methodologically, the thesis will be of a qualitative instead of quantitative nature, meaning that its first and foremost objective is to collect and review previous suggestions made concerning the history of plural formation in Albanian. The data thus acquired will then be supplemented by examples found in the oldest written records of Albanian⁷ as well as information gathered from various etymological dictionaries and more general works on Albanian historical phonology and morphology.

⁵Although it is certainly true that plural formation in Albanian is very complex, it has to be admitted that these statements exaggerate the issue to a certain extent, as Albanian is neither unique in this respect (cf. the complexity of plural formation in Modern High German), nor does the issue present an insuperable obstacle to research (Schumacher: personal communication).

⁶Apart from Fiedler (2007), see the grammars by Pekmezi (1908), Busetti (1911), Lambertz (1959) or Buchholz/Fiedler (1987), treatments of special dialects such as Cimochowski (1951), Tagliavini (1937) as well as several dictionaries of Modern Albanian (e.g. Newmark et al. 1982).

⁷These (Geg) documents include: the so-called ‘Missal’ by *Gjon Buzuku* (1555), Bishop *Pjetër Budi*’s theological treatises (around 1620), a dictionary from around 1635 by Franciscus Blanchus (*Frang Bardhi*), as

Regarding structure, the thesis will be organised as follows: Chapter (2) will see a brief introduction to the nominal inflectional system of Indo-European, discussing the most striking issues in its reconstruction. The focus here will be on the development of different inflectional classes, and, evidently, their plural formation. Furthermore, the problem of gender in PIE will briefly be commented on. In the following chapter (3), the noun and its characteristic features in Modern Albanian will be introduced. Most conspicuous here is the little remains of PIE case inflection, and “die Umstellung auf das System der heute für die alb. Deklination charakteristischen Opposition Singularstamm: Pluralstamm” (Fiedler 2007: 385). In chapter (4) then, the various possibilities to form the plural will be listed and their individual historical development be analysed. The internal structure of this chapter is loosely based on the structure found in FIEDLER (2007), however, adjustments and changes were made where considered necessary or fruitful. Finally (chapter 5), the most important points will be repeated and summarised, and conclusions on the issue be drawn.

2 The noun in PIE

In this section, it will be attempted to give an overview of nominal morphology in Indo-European. Since Albanian has, as pointed out above, not preserved much of the older morphological system but maintained only traces of the original inflection, this introduction will be as brief and concise as possible. Although issues such as the accent-ablaut classes and internal derivation, or the origin and development of the three-fold distinction in gender found in most older IE languages are highly interesting and would certainly deserve to be treated more extensively, only the most basic information will be given here. To begin with, the main points and characteristics concerning case, number and gender in PIE will be presented. Afterwards, the properties of PIE nouns and nominal stem formation will be discussed, essentially distinguishing between athematic and thematic nouns. In regard to the former, the focus will be on the issue of accent-ablaut classes.

Although it is now generally agreed on “daß vielmehr Akzent und Ablaut die beiden relevanten klassenbildenden Phänomene des Uridg. gewesen sind” (Meier-Brügger 2002: 197; cf. Eichner 1974: 27ff.), this paper will follow the system of classification typically presented in treatments of the older IE languages, and describe the basic organisation of the PIE nominal inflection according to the principle of stem classes (Meier-Brügger 2002: 196,

well as the philosophical, theological and scientific treatise *Cuneus Prophetarum* written by the Kosovar bishop *Pjetër Bogdani* around 1685. The oldest Tosk literature is a translation of the catechism by Luca Matranga (or *Lekë Matrënga*), dating to 1592 (Schumacher 2007: 209-210).

203). The accent-ablaut classes seen in nouns of the individual stem classes will, however, be listed together with them. In the section following the discussion of thematic nouns, the sets of endings taken by both athematic and thematic nouns will be introduced. Finally, brief mention will be made of the inflectional properties of adjectives.

2.1 General notes

Although the PIE noun shows a less broad inventory of forms than the verb, it is likewise highly inflected (Meier-Brügger 2002: 189; Fortson 2010: 113). As MEIER-BRÜGGER points out, “[d]ie Besonderheiten der einzelsprachlichen Nominalparadigmen lassen sich in der Regel in die Grundsprache zurückführen” (2002: 189), however, most daughter languages saw a considerable amount of innovation and change affecting their inflectional systems, resulting in the rich diversity of forms already found in the most archaic of them.

The paradigmatic dimensions of the substantive are case and number. While gender constitutes a further grammatical dimension for the adjective, the substantive is typically only lexically specified in regard to this parameter⁸ (Tichy 2000: 64; Rix 1992: 115-116).

Concerning the case system of PIE, comparative evidence points towards eight cases, namely nominative, vocative, accusative, accusative, genitive, ablative, dative, instrumental, and locative⁹ (Tichy 2000: 64; Szemerényi 1996: 158; Rix 1992: 116; among others). While Old Indic, in line with its generally highly archaic nature, preserves these original categories, the number of cases was reduced to a more or lesser extent in most of the other languages, Latin, for instance, only showing six of the aforementioned (Beekes 1995: 173; Szemerényi 1996: 157). Such reduction typically affected the oblique cases (in particular ablative, instrumental, dative and locative, cf. Beekes 1995: 173) and is the result of the semantic coalescence of formerly independent categories and the subsequent disposal of one or the other case ending as redundant (Szemerényi 1996: 157; Meier-Brügger 2002: 194).

Included in the dimension of number in PIE are the categories of singular, dual and plural. While the dual, which served to determine things occurring in pairs (inherently or

⁸ Except in a very limited way in forms such as Lat. *equus: equa*, cf. Szemerényi (1996: 154).

⁹ The assumption of a ninth case, the so-called allative or directive in PIE is disputed, evidence for it being largely restricted to Anatolian (Fortson 2010: 113, 172). The respective functions of the different cases are as follows (cf. Tichy 2000: 64ff., Fortson 2010: 113):

- nominative : subject of sentence and predicative nominative
- vocative: direct address
- accusative: direct object
- genitive: possessive
- ablative: place (from which), source
- dative: indirect object, recipient, beneficiary of action
- instrumental: means, accompaniment, reason
- locative: place (where)

situational), is preserved in a number of daughter families (Indo-Iranian, Greek, Tocharian, Balto-Slavic, Celtic), it is generally rather instable, having disappeared in the majority of families (Beekes 1995: 173; Meier-Brügger 2002: 192). Concerning the expression of plurality, the focus may either be on the distributive-additive aspect of the signatum (plural), or the collective aspect, i.e. “a collection of entities treated as a unit” (Fortson 2010: 113), or the “Vielheit als Masse” (Meier-Brügger 2002: 194). Such ‘collective’ or ‘comprehensive’ has been proposed to constitute a separate, additional category outside the singular-dual-plural triad (cf. e.g. Eichner 1985: 134ff.), this issue is, however, debated. The peculiar problem of PIE collectives and their relation to the neuter and feminine gender will be briefly discussed below (2.2.1.6).

PIE gender is a thorny issue insofar as most older IE languages “zeigen in der Regel eine Dreierheit von Mask., Fem. und sog. Neutrum” (Meier-Brügger 2002: 190) in contrast to Anatolian, where we find a two-fold distinction of ‘animate’ and ‘inanimate’. While the former would determine persons and other animate beings able to function as agents as well as patients of an action, wherefore a nominative/accusative distinction was required, the latter would be used only for non-agentive entities, and thus shows no such distinction¹⁰ (Fortson 2010: 114; Meier-Brügger 2002: 190; Tichy 2009: 69-70, etc.). The assumption of an originally two-way system of *Genus distinctum* (also called animate, genus commune, and others) vs. *Genus indistinctum* (inanimate, neuter)¹¹ is supported not only by Anatolian evidence but also by “the fact that in ancient inflexional classes the masculine and feminine do not differ in their inflexion, but together contrast with the neuter: e.g. πατήρ, μήτηρ” (Szemerényi 1996: 156; cf. also Beekes 2011: 174).

The question of how and why the feminine was developed, i.e. the ‘genus distinctum’ was divided into masculine and feminine, is a much-discussed issue, and general agreement on it has not yet been reached (Meier-Brügger 2002: 192).¹² However, it seems clear that concerning semantics, an urge to reflect differences between the natural sexes must have played a role; furthermore, both PIE *-h₂*-stems (typically forming the above-mentioned

¹⁰This of course accounting for the fact that in neuters, nominative and accusative (as well as vocative) are not distinguished in form (Fortson 2010: 114).

¹¹ The terms ‘Genus distinctum/indistinctum’ are, as argued by TICHY (2009: 70), more appropriate than the more traditional ‘Genus animatum/inanimatum’ (e.g. Szemerényi 1996: 156), since the majority of PIE verbal abstracts (by definition non-animate) can convincingly be assigned to the former group.

¹² Most probably, the feminine was already firmly established in PIE. Whether Anatolian broke off from IE before the completion of this process, or whether Anatolian possessed a feminine, but subsequently lost it, is disputed (Szemerényi 1996: 156; cf. also e.g. Pedersen 1938; Kuryłowicz 1964; Beekes 1985).

collectives) as well as pronominal forms such as PIE **se-h₂-* ‘this’ (distinctum) and **te-h₂-* ‘this’ (indistinctum) most likely were involved in the development (cf., among others, Tichy 2009: 70ff.; Tichy 1993; Szemerényi 1996: 156; Meier-Brügger 2002: 190ff.; Beekes 2011: 174; Hirt 1927: 320ff.; Brugmann [1970]: 82-113; Kuryłowicz 1964: 207ff.).

In some IE languages, the number of genders was subsequently reduced again. For instance, Albanian and Lithuanian lost the neuter, while others such as Armenian or English do not distinguish gender at all (Fortson 2010: 451-452, 389; Szemerényi 1996: 155-156).

2.2 Nominal stem formation

Most basically, the IE noun consisted of a root (R), an optional suffix (S), as well as an ending (E). Nouns without an overt suffix, consisting only of root and ending, are commonly called ‘root nouns’. Traditionally, a distinction is made between the two groups of athematic nouns, where the ending is added directly to the root or suffix, and thematic nouns, which insert an ablauting vowel *-e/o-* before the inflectional endings (Fortson 2010: 84, 114). The same inflectional principle is found in verbs. While the former group most probably constitutes the more archaic inflectional pattern, and generally appears to be more complex than the thematic declension and conjugation, the latter gradually spread at the expense of the athematic inflection later on (Fortson 2010: 84).

2.2.1 Athematic nouns

An essential concept in athematic nominal (as well as verbal) inflection is the distinction between strong and weak stems (or cases), which typically differ in regard to accentuation and ablauting behaviour. While the former is found in the nominative and vocative in all numbers, and the accusative in all but the plural¹³, the latter is used with case endings that may take the accent¹⁴ (i.e. the remaining cases), cf. Fortson (2010: 114ff.); Tichy (2009: 55); Meier-Brügger (2002: 203); Rix (1992: 121). A somewhat atypical behaviour is shown by the locative singular, which contrary to the regular weak cases, usually appears in the full (or even lengthened) grade in particular inflectional types (also called middle stem cf. Tichy 2009: 55; Fortson 2010: 115).

As is now well established knowledge, the above-mentioned alternation in accent and ablaut between strong and weak cases in athematic paradigms follows certain distributional

¹³ But cf. e.g. TICHY (2009: 55), who lists the accusative plural as one of the strong cases.

¹⁴ In contrast to the strong stems, which would form either endingless cases or take vowel-less endings (cf. Tichy 2009: 55).

patterns, usually called ‘accent-ablaut classes’¹⁵, or inflectional types (Tichy 2009: 73; Meier-Brügger 2002: 203ff.; Beekes 2011: 174ff.; Rix 1992: 121ff.). While differences in terminology and the specifics of these types (as well as their number) persist, *communis opinio* distinguishes at least four distinct types, namely the following:

- a) acrostatic¹⁶
- b) proterokinetic
- c) hystero-kinetic
- d) amphikinetic (also called holo-kinetic).

A very simplified overview indicating the basic characteristics and IE examples of these individual types will be given below. Additionally proposed types include *mesostatic* and *teleutostatic*¹⁷, their existence in PIE has, however, been doubted (cf. among others, Rix 1992: 123; Tichy 2009: 74-75; Szemerényi 1996: 162; Meier-Brügger 2002: 208).

The first to mention the existence of such schemata was Pedersen (1926; distinguishing between the two types of *proterokinetic* and *hystero-kinetic*), since then, the theory has been greatly elaborated and advanced by various Indo-Europeanists (cf. Kuiper 1942; Rix 1992; Schindler 1967a, 1967b, 1972, etc.; Eichner 1973, 1974, etc.; Beekes 1985; Lubotsky 1988, and others). Although their existence is now generally acknowledged, the original system has been obscured “through the effects of analogy and paradigm levelling that changed the position of the accent and/or the distribution of full and zero-grades within a paradigm” (Fortson 2010: 122; Rix 1992: 124) in most languages.

¹⁵ As MEIER-BRÜGGER points out, the ablaut alternations most likely resulted from the (primary) accentuation patterns (2002: 208).

¹⁶ Here following the terminology proposed by EICHNER (1973: 91) and taken up by SCHINDLER (1975a: 262ff.) or HOCK (1992: 177ff.). The second members of the terms here refer to the stress patterns of the different types, *-static* denoting forms with fixed stress, *-kinetic* indicating mobile stress. Frequently, *-dynamic* is used instead of these, cf. Pedersen (1926); Rix (1992: 123ff.) and following the latter, Rieken (1999: 6), Tichy (2009: 72) and others.

¹⁷ ‘Mesostatic’ designating nouns with fixed accent on the suffix, ‘teleutostatic’ nouns having fixed accent on the ending (Tichy 2009: 74-75).

| | acrostatic | | | proterokinetic | | | hysterokinetic | | | amphikinetic | | |
|---------------|------------------------|---|---|----------------|-----|---|-------------------------|-----|-----|-------------------------|-------|-----|
| | R | S | E | R | S | E | R | S | E | R | S | E |
| strong | -ó- | / | / | -é- | / | / | / | -é- | / | -é- | -ō/o- | / |
| weak | -é- | / | / | / | -é- | / | / | / | -é- | / | / | -é- |
| nom. | *nók ^u -t-s | | | *mén-ti-s | | | *ph ₂ -tér-s | | | *h ₂ éus-ōs- | | |
| gen. | *nék ^u -t-s | | | *mṇ-téi-s | | | *ph ₂ -tr-és | | | *h ₂ us-s-és | | |

Table 1. Basic properties of the four PIE accent-ablaut classes with examples (adapted from Fortson 2010: 120)

As should be clear from the preceding table, acrostatic nouns do not show distinction in accentuation between strong and weak cases, but carry the accent on the root throughout the paradigm. The root vowel typically has ablauting *o*-/*e*-full grade, however, a distinction of lengthened *ē*-grade/ *e*-grade is also found (Fortson 2010: 120). The most characteristic feature of the remaining, *-kinetic*, types is that “der Akzent beim Wechsel vom starken zum schwachen Stamm eine Silbe weiter Richtung Wortende wandert” (Meier-Brügger 2002: 203). In proterokinetic nouns, accent and full grade (*é*) alternate between root in the strong cases and suffix in the weak cases, while in hysterokinetic nouns, the accent is on the suffix and the ending respectively. Amphi- or holokinetic nouns, as the name suggests, show accent shift from the root to the ending in the weak cases. Interestingly, these nouns typically appear with lengthened *o*-grade in the nominative singular (and full-grade *o* in the accusative), in place of the zero-grade that would be expected (cf. Fortson 2010: 120; cf. further Meier-Brügger 2002: 208; Szemerényi 1996: 162; Tichy 2009: 73ff.; Rix 1992: 123, among others). In the following sections, an overview of the various IE athematic inflectional stem classes and their respective accent-ablaut behaviour will be given.

2.2.1.1 Root nouns

As already mentioned, the term ‘root noun’ denotes a noun “bei dem das flexivische Element (Endung) direkt an die Wurzel tritt, ohne daß ein Wortbildungsmorphem (Suffix) eingeschoben wird” (Rieken 1999: 11). These nouns most certainly represent members of a very archaic layer of PIE, and typically denote core concepts of human daily life such as the often-cited **dóm-s*, gen. **dém-s* ‘house, home’ (cf. Rieken 1999: 11; Fortson 2010: 121; Schmitt-Brandt 1998: 169ff.). Concerning their accent-ablaut-schema, root nouns show either fixed accent on the root or mobile accent. While the former can convincingly be subsumed under acrostatic nouns (cf. Schindler 1972: 32-26; Rieken 1999: 11ff.), the latter may be

classified as either hysterokinetic (Kuiper 1942: 39; Beekes 2011: 189; Fortson 2010: 121) or amphikinetic (Meier-Brügger 2002: 218ff.; Schindler 1975a: 262ff.).¹⁸

2.2.1.2 *t*-stems

A formant **-t-* is found both as a simple suffix (e.g. in the acrostatic **nók^w-t-* ‘night’ or in feminine abstract nouns) and in complex suffixes such as **-ět-*, **-ōt¹⁹*, **-tāt*, **-tūt²⁰*. Further subsumed can be stems formed by a suffix *-nt-*, comprised in the possessive suffix **-uent* and found in present participle formation (Fortson 2010: 108; Beekes 2011: 178-179; Schmitt-Brandt 1998: 171-172; Brugmann [1970]: 422-428). **-t-*stems show no clear preference towards one inflectional type, but may be acrostatic, proterokinetic, hysterokinetic as well as possibly amphi-/holokinetic²¹ (Rieken 1999: 99-100).²²

2.2.1.3 *s*-stems

Derivation by a formant **-s-* seems to have been comparatively productive in PIE, and stems formed this way have thus received comparatively much attention, cf. among others, Schindler (1975a); Nussbaum (1986); Stüber (2002); Widmer (2004). Primary *s*-stems include abstract and collective formations, possessives formed by internal derivation as well as agent nouns, and show all four accent-ablaut patterns.²³ While the majority of *s*-stems is neuter, “a smaller group of animate *s*-stems in *-ōs*” (Szemerényi 1996: 175) is found as well, yielding forms such as Lat. *honōs* ‘honour’. Complex *s*-bearing stems are seen in **-ies-/-ios-* formations, used to form the comparative of adjectives, or **-ues-/-uos* (perfect participle) (Fortson 2010: 125; Rieken 1999: 171ff.; Szemerényi 1996: 174-175; Beekes 2011: 180).

¹⁸Of the so-called diphthong stems (e.g. Szemerényi 1996: 181), PIE **d̥ieṷ-* ‘sky, sky-god, day’ most likely has to be interpreted as a root noun as well (belonging to the group with mobile accent); **g^wou-* ‘bull’ is taken to constitute an acrostatic root noun (cf. Rieken 1999: 39; Meier-Brügger 2002: 213).

¹⁹Ex. **népōt-* ‘grandson, nephew’ (Rieken 1999: 92; Beekes 2011: 178; Schindler 1976: 61).

²⁰Cf. lat. *novitās* f. ‘novelty’, *iuventūs* f. ‘youth’ (Rieken 1999: 94).

²¹Cf. again **nép-ōt-*, which may be analysed either as proterokinetic (gen. **n(e)p-ét-s*) or amphi-/holokinetic (gen. **n(e)p-t-és*), cf. Rieken (1999: 92-93, 100); Schindler (1976: 61); Oettinger (1980: 46).

²²Present/aoist participles in **-nt-*, however, most likely showed amphi-/holokinetic accent/ablaut (Meier-Brügger 2002: 219).

²³Cf. amphi-/holokinetic **h₂éṷs-ōs* ‘dawn’; **géh₁-os* ‘birth, thing born, race, kind’ or the animate possessive **kérh₁-és* ‘associated with/ possessing grain’ from a neuter *s*-stem **kérh₁-os* ‘grain’, cf. Lat. *Cerēs* (Rieken 1999: 171ff.; Fortson 2010: 125).

2.2.1.4 nasal/liquid stems

Derivational suffixes ending in nasals or liquids were among the most productive ones in PIE. Among *n*-stems, the complex suffix **-men-/*-m̥n-*, forming neuter abstract nouns with proterokinetic inflection and denoting the result or act of the action referred to by the verb, is highly common (cf. Lat. *car-men* ‘song’ from a root **kan*, *sē-men* ‘semen’ from a root **seh₁-*). Further familiar *n*-stems include possessive formations with a suffix **-Hon-/-Hn-*, also called ‘Hoffmann’-suffix (cf. Fortson 2010: 124; Meier-Brügger 2002: 211; Szemerényi 1996: 168ff; Beekes 2011: 186). While neuter *n*-stems mainly show proterokinetic behaviour, animate *n*-stems in *-ōn* are typically hysterokinetic (cf. Beekes 2011: 176).

Stems ending in **-r-* include simple suffix formations such as PIE **ǵ^hes-ōr-* ‘hand’ (Rieken 1999: 261) as well derivatives with **-ter-*, **-tor-*, very productive suffixes used to form masculine agent nouns. Of these, the former yielded non-event agent nouns with hysterodynamic inflection, in contrast to the latter, which inflected acrostatically and formed event agent nouns (cf. Fortson 2010: 124; Tichy 1995: 58ff.).²⁴ The question whether PIE kinship terms in **-ter-* (such as **ph₂-ter-* ‘father’, **d^hugh₂-ter-* ‘daughter’) in fact also constitute agent nouns or whether we are dealing with a different complex suffix **-h₂-ter* (or an entirely different formation) is disputed (cf. Rieken 1999: 267-268; Szemerényi 1977; Tichy 1995: 17; Delbrück 1889). Further complex *r*-bearing suffixes include amphi-/holokinetic **-uer-*, **-uor-*, found e.g. in the PIE numeral **k^uet-uor-* ‘four’ (Rieken 1999: 265-267).

An important subgroup of nasal/liquid stems is constituted by the so-called heteroclitic stems, the most common of which are neuter **-r/n-* heteroclitics. Most characteristically, these nouns show an alternation between **-r-* in the strong singular (as well as in the collective) and **-n-* in the rest of the paradigm. Although there is a number of acrostatic heteroclitics, the most well-known of such stems are collective, amphi-/holokinetic formations such as the primary *-r/n-* stem n. **uéd-ōr*, gen. **ud-n-és* ‘water’ or the secondary derivation n. **péh₂-uōr*, gen. **ph₂-un-és* ‘fire’ (cf. Rieken 1999: 270; Schindler 1975b: 1-10, 1993: 397; Eichner 1973: 91; Szemerényi 1996: 173). A possible **-l/n-* heteroclitic is PIE **séh₂-u_l / *sh₂-(u)uén-s* ‘sun’ (cf. Schindler 1975b: 10; Pokorny 1959: 881ff.; Rieken 1999: 426-427).²⁵ RIEKEN (1999:

²⁴Cf. *dh₃-tér*, gen. *dh₃-tr-és* (> Ved. *dātā́*) vs. *déh₃-tōr*, gen. *déh₃-tr-s* (> Ved. *dātā́*) (cf. Fortson 2010: 124; Rieken 1999: 265).

²⁵ Lat. *sōl* most probably does not continue a heteroclitic *-l/n-* stem, but stems from PIE **séh₂-u-ōl / *sh₂-u-l-és* (Rieken 1999: 423).

419ff.) further suggests non-heteroclititic *l*-stems to be present in the PIE words for ‘salt’ and ‘apple’ (cf. also Beekes 2011: 177).

2.2.1.5 *i/u*-stems

Stems ending in **-i-* or **-u-*, such as PIE **séuH-nu-s*, gen. **suH-néu-s* ‘son’ (Meier-Brügger 2002: 209; Mayrhofer 1996: 741) or the verbal abstract nouns in **-ti-*, **-tu-* typically represent proterokinetic paradigms, however, they were usually considerably simplified in the daughter languages - “vom schwachen Stamm aus wurde bei der Wurzel i.d.R. die Schwundstufe verallgemeinert, beim Akzent statischer Akzent auf Wurzel oder Suffix”²⁶ (Meier-Brügger 2002: 209; cf. also Kuiper 1942; Kuryłowicz 1964; Fortson 2010: 125; Szemerényi 1996: 175-182).

A second group of originally acrostatic *u*-stems of the type PIE **dóru-* n. ‘wood, spear’, **h₂óju-* n. ‘life-force’, or **gónu-* n. ‘knee’, seems to have undergone secondary restructuring, and changed over to proterokinetic inflection²⁷ (Meier-Brügger 2002: 210-211; Fortson 2010: 120; Kuiper 1942: 30ff.).

2.2.1.6 Laryngeal stems (collective vs. feminine)

As mentioned above, the history of the PIE laryngeal stems, or, more specifically, the **-h₂*-stems is a much discussed issue, as it is tightly connected to a number of complex issues. Most typically, the suffix appears as **-eh₂*, which might either be the full grade of the laryngeal suffix or constitute a combination of a thematic vowel *-e* and the suffix (cf. Meier-Brügger 2002: 201). According to *communis opinio* (see, among others, Schmidt 1980; Hardarson 1987; Neu 199; Tichy 1993; Rix 1992: 163ff.; Szemerényi 1996; Beekes 2011: 174; Meier-Brügger 2002: 190ff. and Tichy 2009: 70ff.), the most likely scenario to have happened is, in a rather simplified way, the following:

Originally, the suffix **-h₂* was used to form abstract nouns, yielding formations such as Lyc. *píjata* ‘gift’ (< **píjo-teh₂*, cf. Fortson 2010: 132) or Lat. *fuga* ‘escape, flight’ (Meier-Brügger 2002: 191). As the suffix could also form nouns referring to collective entities, **-h₂* was then reinterpreted as an inflectional ending of such collectives (Rieken 1999: 239). Subsequently, the nom./acc. sg. of such collectives came to function as the nom./acc. pl. in the paradigm of neuter nouns (or rather, nouns of the ‘Genus indistinctum’). The detailed

²⁶ Cf. e.g. Ved. *sū-nú-ṣ*, *sū-nóṣ* ‘son’, Ved. *matíṣ*, *matéṣ* ‘thought’ or Lat. *mors*, *mortis*, all with generalised zero grade in the root (Meier-Brügger 2002: 209-210; Fortson 2010: 125).

²⁷ I.e. a formerly acrostatic paradigm PIE **dóru-*, gen. **déro-s* was replaced by a proterokinetic paradigm **dóru-*, gen. **dréu-s* (Meier-Brügger 2002: 209-210; Kuiper 1942: 30ff.).

processes possibly involved in this development are given in TICHY (1993: 6ff.). Whether these newly integrated collectives complemented a formerly defective neuter paradigm (without dual and plural forms), or whether they actually replaced the older plural, is disputed, with Tichy (1993: 6ff.) arguing for the latter, while RISCH (1981: 735) and EICHNER (1985: 168) support the former.

On the other hand, **-h₂-* is well known as a productive suffix to derive feminines from animate nouns (the so-called motion suffix)²⁸. That this suffix has to be connected to the abstract/collective laryngeal suffix above seems to be obvious, the specifics are, however, not broadly agreed on. While RIEKEN (1999: 239ff.) as well as MEIER-BRÜGGER (2002: 191) and others for instance argue for a development of the feminine out of abstract **-h₂-* formations (cf. PDE ‘youth’, which apart from denoting the ‘state of being young’ may also “refer to an individual belonging to or associated with that abstract entity” [Fortson 2010: 132]), others suggest that the change originated in collectives. Emanating from possessive contexts such as ‘the relatives of the deceased’, where “durch Bedeutungswandel [ein] Bezug zu einzelnen weiblichen Personen oder Tieren” (Tichy 2009: 7) could be established, a link between **-h₂-* and individuals of feminine sex might have been formed. Whether such semantic change was sufficient to motivate the creation of a whole new category may, however, be doubted (Tichy 1993: 11). It is therefore further argued that thematic pronouns and adjectives, which were themselves remodelled on the basis of the singular animate pronouns and the neuter collective pronouns, played a very influential role in the the development of feminine **-h₂-* (cf. Tichy 1993: 10ff.; Martinet 1956: 83ff.; Hirt 1927: 320ff., among others).

A remnant of the originally collective nature of the feminines may be their reluctance to receive overt marking in the nominative (Meier-Brügger 2002: 201). In their later development, **-h₂-* feminines were heavily affected by thematic formations and adopted certain characteristics from their inflectional system. The distinctive traits of these thematic nouns will be discussed in the following section.

Also used as a feminine motion suffix is the complex suffix ablauting **-ih₂/ *-ieh₂*, which forms so-called ‘*devi^z*-stems’. In contrast, or rather, close relation to this stands non-ablauting **-ih₂* (*vrkī*-stems), used in associative formations (cf. Rieken 1999: 239; Fortson 2010: 133-134).

²⁸Yielding the characteristic *ā*-feminine declension known from many IE languages (cf. Gk. *theā*, Lat. *dea* ‘goddess’, Fortson 2010: 132).

2.2.2 Thematic nouns

As already pointed out above, thematic nouns differ from athematic ones in that an ablauting stem **-e/o-* is inserted between the stem and the case endings; they are continued in the so-called *o*-declension characteristic for most of the IE languages (cf. Szemerényi 1995: 182; Fortson 2010: 126; Beekes 2011: 190-192). In contrast to athematic nouns, thematic paradigms are not distinguished in regard to accent-ablaut classes. Although the vast majority of *o*-stems were of masculine or neuter gender, sporadic feminine *-e/o-*stems can be found as well (cf. PIE **snusos* ‘daughter-in-law’, cf. Fortson 2010: 126). Similar to athematic nouns, thematic nouns could also take complex suffixes including the thematic vowel *-e/o-*, this can be seen e.g. in diminutive formations in **-lo* (Lat. *porc-ulus*), action and event nouns in **-mo* or so-called ‘tool’-nouns in **-tlo-*, **-dhlo-*, **-tro-*, or **-dhro-* (Fortson 2010: 129-131).

2.3 Case endings

In the following, the PIE set of case endings for nouns in the singular, dual and plural as they are commonly reconstructed will be given. Although it is highly probable “daß der Endungssatz für alle Nomina zunächst einheitlich war” (Meier-Brügger 2002: 197), regardless of athematic or thematic inflection, this was frequently obscured by contraction of the thematic vowel when preceding an ending with initial vowel (cf. Meier-Brügger 2002: 197; Fortson 2010: 126). Furthermore, analogical extensions from one paradigm to the other frequently occurred, and thematic stems in particular were heavily influenced by the pronominal paradigm. Seeing that Albanian has preserved little of the original inflectional endings, the following overview will be left largely without comment, despite the many issues which would deserve going into more detail.

| Singular | | |
|---------------------|--|--|
| | <i>athematic</i> | <i>thematic</i> |
| <i>nom. m./f.</i> | <i>*-s / -∅</i> | <i>*-os</i> |
| <i>voc.</i> | <i>*- ∅</i> | <i>*-e</i> |
| <i>acc. m./f.</i> | <i>*-m/ -m̥</i> | <i>*-om</i> |
| <i>n.-a. neuter</i> | <i>*- ∅</i> | <i>*-om</i> |
| <i>gen.</i> | <i>* -és/ -os/ -s</i> | <i>*-os/ -o-sj̥o</i> |
| <i>abl.</i> | <i>* -és/ -os/ -s</i> | <i>*-ōt < *-o-(h₂)at /o-et /-o-ad (> ð̃d)</i> |
| <i>dat.</i> | <i>*-ei/-eḷ̥</i> | <i>*-ōi /-ōḷ̥ < *-o-ei</i> |
| <i>instr.</i> | <i>*-éh₁/ - h₁</i> | <i>*-ō < *-o-h₁ / e-h₁</i> |
| <i>loc.</i> | <i>*-i/-∅</i> | <i>*-oi /ei</i> |

| Dual | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| | <i>athematic</i> | <i>thematic</i> |
| <i>nom. m./f.</i> | *-h ₁ (e) | *-ō<*-o-h ₁ |
| <i>voc.</i> | *-h ₁ | *-ō<*-o-h ₁ |
| <i>acc. m./f.</i> | *-h ₁ | *-ō<*-o-h ₁ |
| <i>n.-a. neuter</i> | *-ih ₁ | *-o-ih ₁ |
| <i>gen.</i> | | |
| <i>abl.</i> | | |
| <i>dat.</i> | | |
| <i>instr.</i> | | |
| <i>loc.</i> | | |

| Plural | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| | <i>athematic</i> | <i>thematic</i> |
| <i>nom. m./f.</i> | *-es | *-ōs < -o-es/ *-oĭ̄ |
| <i>voc.</i> | *-es | *-ōs < -o-es |
| <i>acc. m./f.</i> | *-ns /-n̥s < -m+s | *-ons < -o-m-s |
| <i>n.-a. neuter</i> | *-h ₂ | *-ā < -e-h ₂ |
| <i>gen.</i> | *--om /-ōm < -o-Hom? | *-ōm/-ō̃m < -o-om |
| <i>abl.</i> | *-bh/-m- | *-o(i)bh/m(-os) / ōĭ̄s < o-oĭ̄s |
| <i>dat.</i> | *-bh/m-os | *-o(i)bh/m(-os) |
| <i>instr.</i> | *-bh(-is) | *-o(i)bh/m(-os) / -ō̃ĭ̄s |
| <i>loc.</i> | *-su/-sĭ | *-oĭ̄su/-oĭ̄su < -oĭ̄s-su? |

Table 2. Case endings of PIE athematic and thematic nouns (adapted from Fortson 2010: 126; Meier-Brügger 2002: 197ff.; Tichy 2009: 64ff.)

Animate nouns typically take *-s in the nominative singular, however, athematic nouns with final resonant (or -s-)²⁹ appear to have lost this ending with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel in accordance to Szemerényi's Law (Schmitt-Brandt 1998: 185-187; Hirt 1927: 39ff.; Tichy 2009: 63; Meier-Brügger 2002: 198; Fortson 2010: 115-116). In athematic animate nouns, the nasals of accusative singular ending *-m and plural *-n-s (from earlier *-m-s, which is itself believed to consist of accusative -m in combination with plural marker -s) alternate with their syllabic counterparts when after consonant (Rix 1992: 118; Meier-Brügger 2002: 199). Nominative plural *-es yields contracted *-ōs in the thematic paradigm;

²⁹ Cf. *ph₂tér 'father' (Fortson 2010: 116).

in a variety of IE languages, among them most certainly Albanian, this ending is replaced by pronominal **-oi/-oi* (Tichy 2009: 65; Meier-Brügger 2002: 198; Fortson 2010: 128-129). In accordance to the developments outlined above, neuter nouns have identical endings for nominative and accusative (zero in athematic nouns, **-om* in thematic nouns, **-(e)h₂* in the plural), as originally, neuters were non-agentive and could therefore not form a nominative (cf. Meier-Brügger 2002: 202; Tichy 2009: 69-70). Vocatives typically have the same endings as the nominative (except sg. *-e* in thematic nouns) and show a retraction of the accent (cf. Fortson 2010; Schmitt-Brandt 1998: 184-185). While genitive and ablative are not distinguished in the singular, the variants indicating the effects of accent and ablaut, the cases differ formally in the thematic singular paradigm as well as in the plural. Concerning the former, an older genitive singular **-os* was seemingly replaced by pronominal **-osjo* (Meier-Brügger 2002: 200; Tichy 2009: 66) in a variety of IE languages (cf. Ved. *vīr-áśya*).

In the plural, the genitive ending is most plausibly reconstructed as **-oHom* (Schumacher: personal communication, see also Tichy 2009: 66; Meier-Brügger 2002: 199; Fortson 2010: 129), while ablative, as well as dative and instrumental show an ending containing **-bh-* (**-m-* in Germanic and Balto-Slavic, on the discrepancy see e.g. Katz 1998; Matzinger 2001).

In regard to the locative, a distinction is usually made between a locative formed by means of **-i*, and an endingless locative, which “typically [has] full or lengthened grade of the stem, in contrast to the other weak cases” (Fortson 2010: 116). A probably innovative variant **-si* instead of the common locative plural **-su* is found in Greek as well as possibly Albanian (cf. Fortson 2010: 118, Matzinger 2006: 98, Tichy 2009: 67). While the reconstructions for dative, instrumental and locative singular of the thematic inflection are fairly uncontroversial (Fortson 2010: 127), the thematic ablative singular is problematic, its suffix, which is variously reconstructed as **-et*, **-ad*, or **-h₂et* (Meier-Brügger 2002: 200; Tichy 2009: 66; Fortson 2010: 127) possibly being of pronominal or prepositional/adverbial origin.

As regards the dual paradigm, nominative, accusative and vocative of both neuter and animate, and both thematic and athematic nouns appears to include a formans **-h₁*, a convincing reconstruction of the remaining cases is, however, difficult due to the large differences between the forms attested in the daughter languages (cf. Fortson 2010: 117, 128).

2.4 Adjectives

Most basically, PIE adjectives adhere to the same inflectional principles as PIE substantives, being either athematic or thematic, and are formed by certain suffixes such as **-jo-*, **-ijo-*,

*-ko-, *-ro-, among others (cf. Fortson 2010: 134-135). However, in contrast to the noun, “ist die Dimension Genus [bei den Adjektiven] mit dem Lexem nicht fest verbunden” (Meier-Brügger 2002: 220). Instead, it is expressed by gender congruity (Rix 1992: 161), the form of the adjective varying according to gender (Szemerényi 1995: 192). A number of adjectives show athematic inflection, such as feminines formed by the motion suffix *-ih₂-/-ieh₂-, *-nt-participles, and -i- or -u-stem adjectives (e.g. PIE *suéh₂du- ‘sweet’ > Ved. svādú-; Lat. svāvis; cf. Meier-Brügger 2002: 221). The majority of adjectives, though, constitute thematic -o-stems, as the suffixes mentioned above already suggest (Meier-Brügger 2002: 221; Fortson 2010: 134; Szemerényi 1995: 193). The corresponding feminine forms are always -eh₂-stems.

3 The noun in Albanian

Before introducing the most important features of the Albanian nominal system, some preliminary information on the Albanian language in general will be given, and some basic terms be established. In regard to the periodisation of Albanian, the terminology used varies between authors, the representation provided in the following being based on KLINGENSCHMITT (1994: 221), MATZINGER (2006: 23) and SCHUMACHER/MATZINGER (forthc.: 178-179):

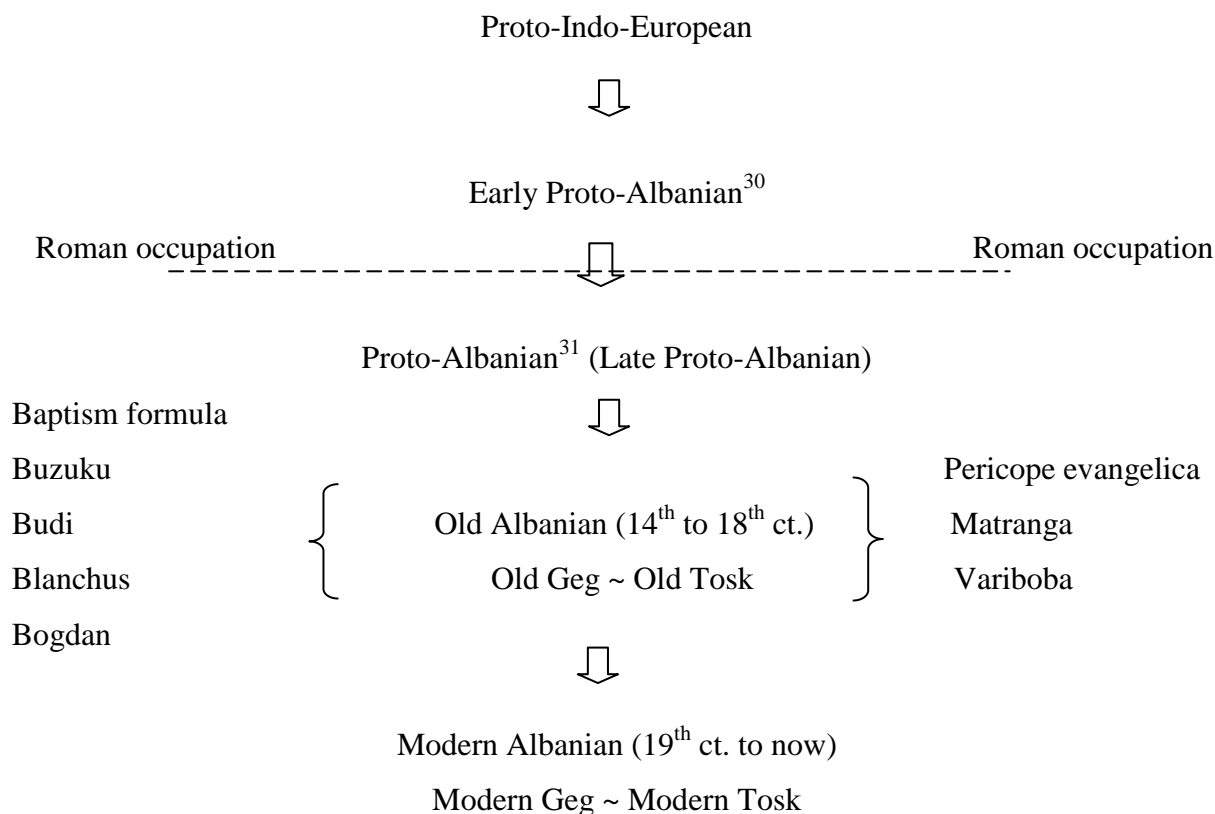


Figure 1. Periodisation of Albanian (adapted from Klingenschmitt 1994: 221; Matzinger 2006: 23)

As is seen in this diagram, Albanian had already split into its two main dialects, called Geg and Tosk, by the time of its first attestation in written documents; the “der Aufspaltung zuvor liegende, gemeinsame Sprachzustand” (Matzinger 2006: 23) is thus only accessible through comparative reconstruction and by means of loan words from Latin, Romance and Slavic (cf. Klingenschmitt 1994: 221-222). The two dialects, which continue to be largely mutually intelligible, show a basic geographical distribution of Geg in Northern Albanian (north of the river *Shkumbi*), Kosovo, Montenegro and Macedonia, and Tosk in the South, including the linguistic enclaves of Italy, Greece and Bulgaria (Schumacher 2009a: 3-4; Matzinger 2006: 8, 23).

³⁰ Translating KLINGENSCHMITT’s ‘Voralbanisch’ on the basis of SCHUMACHER (2009: 3), who uses Early Proto-Albanian (EPAlb) to designate “the earliest stage of Albanian as distinct from late PIE, characterised by certain sound changes such as the mergers of *o and *a as *a, and of *ē and *ā as *ā, the palatalization of labiovelars etc. This phase must have been finished when Albanian first came into contact with Latin (i.e. 3rd/2nd century BCE).”

³¹ Translating KLINGENSCHMITT’s ‘Uralbanisch’. SCHUMACHER, without yet labelling it, assumes a second phase which “comprises the whole period from the beginning of the Roman occupation to the arrival in the Balkans of the Slavs (and beyond?)” (2009: 3). A third phase designating the last stage before Albanian split into the dialect groups of (Old) Geg and (Old) Tosk, termed ‘Late Proto-Albanian’ by Schumacher (2009: 3) is subsumed here, this term will be used in the following to refer to the whole period, i.e. indistinctive to ‘Proto-Albanian’.

3.1 General notes

As regards the dimension of number, the PIE tripartite opposition of *singular: dual: plural* was reduced a twofold distinction (*singular : plural*), as “[d]er Dual als eigene paradigmatische Kategorie” (Matzinger 2006: 93) was lost not only in the nominal domain, but also in the verbal, a similar process happening in several other IE branches (cf. further Klingenschmitt 1994: 223; Demiraj Sh. 1993: 91). Traces of the old dual can, however, be seen in forms such as OG *sȳ(-tĕ)* m. ‘(the) eyes’ (sg. *sȳ*, n.), which KLINGENSCHMITT (1975: 40; 1994: 223) derives from nom.-acc. dual neuter PIE **h₃k^hiuuo-ih₁*³². Synchronically analysed as a plural, this form was transferred from neuter to masculine gender as a result of the phonologically regular formal merger of the NA dual ending (**-o-ih₁*) and the nom. plural ending of thematic stems **-oi* (KLINGENSCHMITT 1994: 223).³³

Further innovations in the categories of number of the (Old) Albanian paradigm include the above mentioned early development of a separate plural stem in opposition to the lexical stem, which was “demzufolge als Singularstamm aufgefaßt” (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 95; cf. also Fiedler 2007: 385). As DEMIRAJ Sh. (1993: 95) suggests, such process most likely originated in the syncretism of nominative and accusative plural (after the acc.pl. ending had been reduced and subsequently replaced by the ending of the nom.pl.). This form would then have been reinterpreted as representing the plural per se, and consequently be treated as a new plural stem to which the endings of the oblique cases could be attached. Seeing that the effects of umlaut and palatalisation have been generalised throughout the plural paradigm, the opposition of singular and plural stem must have developed only after these processes took place (cf. Demiraj Sh. 1993: 95).³⁴ The rise of new plural formants, which probably was triggered by the need to clearly distinguish the plural from the singular, their (PIE) origins and subsequent distribution will be the subject of the main part of this thesis.

Regarding gender in Albanian, opinions seem to be divided – the main issue here being the neuter. While the existence of a neuter gender in Albanian has been questioned by researchers such as HAHN (1853: 27), BOPP (1854: 517) or MEYER, the last of which e.g.

³² Cf. Sg. *h₃k^hiuuo-* to **h₃ok^h-* ‘eye’. The unusual form **h₃k^hiuuo-* is claimed to have been remodelled following the numeral **duuo-*, dual **h₃k^hiuuo-ih₁* developing into **ĉiūuē* and finally Old Geg *sȳ* (Matzinger 2006: 214; Klingenschmitt 1975: 40). Although phonologically possible, this derivation presumes a rather awkward morphology, as will be discussed below (Schumacher: personal communication).

³³ Klingenschmitt further gives Geg/Tosk Sg. f. *anë* ‘side, vessel’; OG plural *enë, anë*, arguing that since pl. *-ë* (< **-ah₂-as*) in feminines with sg. *-ë* should not have conditioned umlaut, the umlauted form *enë* is better explained as continuing a dual **ahnē* < **-ah₂-ih₁* ‘the two sides’ (1994: 223).

³⁴ Although quite advanced, this development is not yet completed but still in progress in Old Albanian; this is indicated by the fact that the genitive of plurals in *-ënë* is not *+ënëve* but *-ëne* in the older texts (Schumacher: personal communication).

states that “[d]as Alb. kennt eigentlich nur männliches und weibliches geschlecht” (1888: 7), it is now generally acknowledged that the PIE gender trias was preserved at least in Old Albanian (Pedersen 1897; Matzinger 2006: 95). Thus, a number of forms ending in $-\emptyset$ or $-\ddot{e}$, such as Alb. *miell* ‘flour’, are taken to continue PIE neuter *o*-stems ($< *melh_2-uo-$, cf. Klingenschmitt 2000: 4-5)³⁵; nouns of other stem classes such as Alb. *gjalpë* $< *sélpos-$ ‘butter’ or *n*-stem Tosk *émërë*, Geg *émënë* ‘name’ $< *h_1\acute{n}h_3men$ ³⁶ were also integrated in this class (Klingenschmitt 2000: 5). The fact that nouns which were neuter in Latin were typically assigned neuter gender in Albanian when borrowed (cf. Alb. *ar* ‘gold’ $< Lat. aurum$; Tosk *vaj*, Geg *voj* ‘oil’ $< Lat. oleum$) serves as a chief argument for the assumed inheritedness of the Albanian neuter, which has been repeatedly (though not convincingly) questioned (cf. e.g. Desnickaja 1976). Furthermore, as DEMIRAJ Sh. (1993: 81) points out, this fact reflects the still firm establishment of the Albanian neuter as an independent category at the time of the Roman occupation.

At a later point, however, when neuter loans from Romanian, Slavic languages, and Modern Greek entered the language, they were integrated into the Albanian gender system as either masculine or feminine, indicating the progressing decline of the neuter. In Modern Albanian then, neuter nouns, although still existent in certain word classes, have only “Reliktcharakter” (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 84) and are “quasi in disuso nella lingua scritta odierna e va rapidamente scomparendo anche dalla lingua parlata” (Landi 1993: 52), a distinction only being preserved in the definite nominative and accusative, as will be pointed out below (cf. also Feuillet 2001: 1516; Fiedler 1965; Pedersen 1897; Pekmezi 1908; Demiraj Sh. 1977).³⁷

A further issue often related to the Albanian neuter is the phenomenon of certain nouns to shift gender in the plural, which can already be seen at a comparatively early stage (cf. e.g. /e ma teperè ndè keto **motet** tona³⁸/ ‘and most in these our times’ [Bgd 1.75.33]) and finds a parallel in other Balkan languages such as Romanian or certain Slavic languages

³⁵ Cf. PGmc **melya-* n. ‘flour’ ($>$ MHG *Mehl*), PSlav. **melvo-* n. ‘flour’ (Klingenschmitt 2000: 4-5; cf. also Pokorny 1994: 716-718).

³⁶ While OT sg. *emërë* is found with both neuter as well as masculine gender in *Matrënga*, OG *emënë* is consistently neuter, according to MATZINGER continuing a form **á(n)menod*, “eine Rückbildung zum Pl. **á(n)mena* $<$ idg. **h_1\acute{n}h_3men-ə_2* (vgl. etwa lat. Pl. *nomina*)” (2006: 262). The precise history of the word for ‘name’ is highly complicated and the reconstruction given above is far from secured, the neuter gender of the Albanian form can, however, certainly be taken as an archaism (Schumacher: personal communication).

³⁷ FEUILLET here states that no more than 15 neuter substantives survive in Modern Albanian “Cependant, le neutre est en recul en albanais, puisqu’il n’y a plus que quinze substantifs non derives qui le presentent encore dans la langue littéraire” (2001: 1516; cf. also Buchholz/Fiedler 1987: 209f.)

³⁸ Sg. *mot*, *-i* ‘time’, m.; used with feminine agreement (*këto*, demonstrative pronoun acc. pl. f.) in the plural.

(Demiraj Sh. 1993: 90; Matzinger 2006: 94). Since the phenomenon largely and mostly affects old neuters such as *ujë* (m., n.) ‘water’, pl. *ujëra, ujëna* (f.), its appearance has frequently been connected to the demise of this gender, and gender shifting nouns are accordingly synchronically often classified as and termed ‘neuters’.

However, as gender shifts are not restricted to the neuter, but constitute a recurring phenomenon (cf. feminine Latin loans in *-tās, -tātis*, masculine in ModAlb.) and furthermore, “das alte echte Neutrum noch erhalten ist” (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 90), labels such as ‘nomina ambigena’ (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 90), or the more recent ‘heterogenic’ have been argued to be more appropriate (Feuillet 2001: 1516; Fiedler 1965). The causes of the oscillation in gender in the plural have been sought in the generally greater relevance of and focus on quantity instead of gender distinctions in the plural (Demiraj Sh. 1977: 241; 1993: 88-90); the specific issue of old neuters being categorised as masculine in the singular and feminine in the plural has been related to phonological factors³⁹ (Feuillet 2001: 1516; Pedersen 1897; Fiedler 1965; Demiraj Sh. 1977: 239ff.; Matzinger 2006: 94).

The synchronic classification of Albanian substantives regarding their gender is done on the basis of their indefinite form (Matzinger 2006: 96)⁴⁰:

- masculines: end in either consonant, stressed vowel, or *-ë*, examples include *ulk, ujk* ‘wolf’ < **ulk^hos*; *ká* ‘ox’ < **k_h₂u_sos*; *gjárpënë* ‘snake’ < **serponos*. Most of these continue PIE thematic stems (including Latin *o*-stems), the divergent continuation of nominative sg. **-os* as either *-Ø* or *-ë* is motivated by the properties of the respective stem – while trisyllabic stems typically show *-ë*, *-ë* in disyllables is dependent on certain stem-endings such as original double consonants (cf. *Tosk dhëmb* ‘tooth’ < **ǵomb^hos* vs. *gjum-ë* ‘sleep’ < **supnos*).⁴¹ As MATZINGER (2006: 96) points out, continuants of other PIE stem classes, i.e. *i*- and *u*-stems, as well as *n*-stems, e.g. *Geg*

³⁹ PEDERSEN, for instance, claims the feminine and neuter to have merged formally in the plural, through which “beobachtung [...] sich die auffällige erscheinung des genuswechsels im Alb. [erklärt] [sic!]“ (Pedersen 1897: 290).

⁴⁰ Here excluding neuters, as their synchronic characteristics were already given above. The description presented here is mainly based on MATZINGER (2006: 96), supplemented by KLINGENSCHMITT (2000: 3-5), PEKMEZI (1908: 83), BUCHHOLZ/FIEDLER (1987: 206-207) and LANDI (1993:52).

⁴¹ KLINGENSCHMITT (1975: 65), MATZINGER (2006: 62, 98). But see below (4.2.1) on certain problematic issues of this approach, as well as difficulties regarding the etymology of *dhëmb* (4.4).

dimën, Tosk *dimër*, m. ‘winter’ < * \tilde{g}^h *ejmon- η* ⁴² (Klingenschmitt 2000: 8), were integrated here as well.

- feminines: end in *-ë*, *-e*, or a stressed vowel (examples including *punë* ‘work’ < *(s)*pudnah*₂; *fjalë* ‘word’ < Lat. *fābella*; *fāqe* ‘face, cheek’ < Lat. *facia* and abstracts formed by *-ĭ* < **-ijah*₂). While the former constitute continuants of the prototypically feminine PIE *-ah*₂-stems, feminines in *-e* continue forms with **-ijā*, i.e. partly deriving from inherited *ī*-stems (*devī*) as well as possibly Lat. *-ja* (Schumacher 2009a: 64; Klingenschmitt 2000: 4; Matzinger 2006: 96). Feminines ending in consonant, with a definite form in *-ja* such as *shëndët*, *-ja* ‘sanity, health’ < Lat. *sānitātis*, “setz[en] lat. Lehnwörter der dritten Deklination fort, aber auch ererbte fem. *i*-Stämme (vielleicht auch *v̄rkī*-Stämme?)” (Matzinger 2006: 96), with their history being rather complex (cf. also Klingenschmitt 2000: 5).

As indicated in the preceding paragraphs, Proto-Albanian nouns have been shown to reflect a number of PIE stem classes. In Modern Albanian, however, only traces of these are preserved in certain feminines as well as in the formation of the plural stem, the PIE stem classes having been largely replaced by a uniform inflection for all nouns. This homogenous inflection is mainly based on the PIE thematic *o*-stems and, in the case of feminines, on the *ah*₂-stems, as will be shown below (Schumacher 2009a: 56). The different stem classes assumed for Proto-Albanian by MATZINGER (2006: 97) and KLINGENSCHMITT (1994: 223-225; 2000: 3-8) are the following:

- *o*-stems (including *ijō*-stems): yielding Albanian masculines and neuters in *-Ø* or *-ë*;. ex. *plak*, m. ‘old man’ < **plh*₂*ko-*; *gjumë*, m. ‘sleep’ < **supno-*.
- *ā*-stems: continued by MAIb. feminines in *-ë*, cf. the above examples. As MATZINGER (2006: 97) points out, a significant remodelling of the PIE consonant stems in (Early) Proto-Albanian led to their inclusion into *ā*-stems, as due to their formal identity in the accusative singular, the old nominative **-s* was replaced by a new form in **-ā* in analogy to nom.sg. **-ā* of *ā*-stems, cf. e.g. nom.sg. **nok^ut-s* →

⁴² Either continuing an old accusative or an analogically formed nominative, cf. Klingenschmitt (2000: 8). MATZINGER (2006: 56) here suggests a proterokinetic noun * \tilde{g}^h *ej-men-*, with full grade of the root; alternatively, the ModAlb. forms might continue a secondary zero-grade form (with zero grade from the weak cases).

EPAIb. **na(k)t-ā* > *natë* ‘night’ to acc.sg. **nok^ht-ŋ* > **na(k)t-an*⁴³ (cf. also Klingenschmitt 2000: 5).⁴⁴ The special case of Alb. *gruo* ‘woman’ will be dealt with separately in the main part of the thesis (see section 4.3.1).

- *iā-* and *ī-*stems: yielding MAIb. feminines in stressed *-í* and unstressed *-e*, cf. *madhe* ‘big’ (f.sg.) < **mégh₂-ih₂* (possibly contaminated with **m̃gh₂-iáh₂-*, or *keqe* ‘bad’ (f.sg.) < **kakiā-* (cf. Klingenschmitt 2000: 4; 1994: 224).
- *i-*stems: continuants of old feminine *i-*stems can be identified by a /j/-sound preceding the indefinite genitive-dative and ablative singular ending *-e*, as well as their definite form in *-ja*⁴⁵. While inherited *i-*stems can be found in e.g. *ënd* ‘flower, blossom’ < **h₂a/ond^hi-* (f.),⁴⁶ a much larger part of these is constituted by Latin loans of the type *shëndét*, *-ja* ‘sanity, health’; *qytét*, *-ja* ‘city, town’, which joined the inherited feminine *i-*stems due to their formal structure. Following feminine *-ā-*stems in their inflection, forms of this type are synchronically typically treated as masculines⁴⁷ (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 88-89). Masculine Latin imparisyllabic loans in ⁺*-is* “flektieren nach ihrer Entlehnung ins Albanische nach dem Muster der ererbten maskulinen *o*-Stämme” (Matzinger 2006: 101; cf. also Klingenschmitt 1994: 225).⁴⁸ The conspicuous nominative forms of both feminines and masculines of this type appear to be the result of a secondary adjustment of the nominative to the oblique cases (e.g. or the remodelling of feminine abstracts in *-tas*, oblique *-tāt-* to a new nom. ⁺*-tātis*), such explanation conveniently accounting for the umlaut often seen in these forms

⁴³ With an intermediate step acc.sg. **-ŋ* > EPAIb **-a*, which would then have been remodelled to **-an* in accordance to the other stem classes (Schumacher 2009: 65).

⁴⁴ OREL (2000: 239) identifies *natë*, *net* as an old *i*-stem (nom.pl. **nok^ht-ej-es*), however, assuming an old consonant stem (with secondary remodelling) seems to be more appropriate considering comparative evidence from other IE languages (Pokorny 1959: 762-763).

⁴⁵ Nom. def. *-ja-* < **-is* + *sā* (Matzinger 2006: 101).

⁴⁶ Cf. Klingenschmitt (2000: 8).

⁴⁷ Others having maintained feminine gender by developing a new ‘hypercorrect’ nominative in *-e* (or *-je* in accordance to the definite form).

⁴⁸ Cf. *gen*, m. ‘dog’ < **kani-s* (from Lat. *canis*) (Klingenschmitt 1992: 103). SCHUMACHER (personal communication), in contrast, assumes they were allocated to the inherited **-iō-*stems, which also featured a nom.sg. in **-ih* in PAIb.

(Matzinger 2006: 100-101; Çabej 1959: 114-117; Demiraj Sh. 1993: 88-90; Klingenschmitt 2000: 5-8; 1994: 225).

- *u*-stems: yielding masculines in $-\emptyset$, $-\ddot{e}$. Cf. e.g. abstracts in *-im* with a plural *-ime* derived from a *u*-stem **-i-mu-s*, plural **-i-meŷ-es* (Klingenschmitt 1994: 225); MANN (1977: 81-83) further includes *gur* ‘stone’⁴⁹, *krah* ‘arm’⁵⁰ here, both examples are, however, etymologically highly difficult. More representative and plausible examples include Alb. *vend* ‘place, location’, a *-tu*-derivation of a root *vĕ* ‘to put’ (cf. section 4.3.3) or Alb. *mal* ‘mountain’ < **mol(h₃)-nu-* (derived from a root **melh₃-* ‘to come out, emerge’, see also section 4.2.2.1), cf. Schumacher (personal communication).
- *n*-stems: as mentioned above, a (masculine) *n*-stem is continued by *dimër* ‘winter’ (< **ǵ^heĭ-mo/en*). Latin *n*-stems such as *dracō*, *-ōnis* ‘dragon’ were integrated into this inflectional class when borrowed (giving PAlb. *drákō*, pl. *drákenès* > *dreq*⁵¹, pl. *dreqër*). Balkan-Latin *r*-stem nominatives such as *emperáto* (< Lat. *imperātor*), after losing final **-r* due to dissimilation, could be reinterpreted as nominatives of *n*-stems, thus yielding nom.sg. *emperátō*, pl. *emperátenès* (> *mbrét*); cf. Klingenschmitt (2000: 8), Orel (2000: 218).

Concerning the Albanian case system, it is generally acknowledged that the eight cases assumed for PIE were reduced to five in Proto-Albanian; the remaining cases are nominative, accusative, genitive-dative, ablative and a fifth case called either ‘prepositional’⁵² (due to its typically appearing after certain prepositions, and rarely on its own), ‘locative’⁵³, or ‘instrumental’⁵⁴ (in recognition of its PIE origins). Several albanologists such as DOMI (1966: 24) postulate a further, vocative case for Albanian; however, such case has merged

⁴⁹ In contrast to Matzinger, who identifies *gur* as an old *i*-stem **g^h₁H-i* (cf. OI. *giri-*); see also Pedersen (1900: 319); Tagliavini (1937: 127); Pokorny 1994: 477).

⁵⁰ Etymologically difficult, probably connected to Lith. *kárka* ‘upper arm, forefoot’, Bulg. *krak* ‘leg’ (cf. Matzinger 2006: 170; Meyer 1891: 203f.; Huld 1984: 81f.; Demiraj B. 1997: 224; Orel 1998: 193f.).

⁵¹ The umlauted singular can here be explained as the result of paradigmatic levelling, being transferred from the plural where the conditioning factors would be given (cf. chapter 4.4).

⁵² E.g. Matzinger (2006: 94).

⁵³ E.g. Klingenschmitt (1994, 2000), Pekmezi (1908).

⁵⁴ E.g. Schumacher (2009a: 56).

with the nominative in all nouns, and is differentiated from it only in certain kinship terms by means of a particle *o* (of interjectional origin) in either pre- or postposition (Feuillet 2001: 1517; Domi 1966: 241).⁵⁵ The inherited PIE character of the Albanian case system and case endings is generally acknowledged, doubts raised and alternative views postulated by some (e.g. Cimochoowski 1951, Bokshi 1980) can convincingly be disproven (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 110).

In the following, the (indefinite) inflection of Albanian masculines, feminines and neuters and the origin of their respective case endings will be briefly discussed. The particular form of the plural stem and nominative plural will be disregarded for the moment, seeing that these issues will be dealt with in the main part of this paper. All tables and their contents are essentially based on MATZINGER (2006: 97-100), SCHUMACHER (2009a: 56-65) and KLINGENSCHMITT (1994: 222-225; 2000: 6-8).

| | Sg. | ex. | | Pl. | ex. |
|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|--------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| Nom. | -Ø, -ë < *-os | <i>plak</i> ⁵⁶ | <i>gjumë</i> | plural stem + -Ø < oĭ | <i>pleq</i> |
| Acc. | -Ø, -ë < *-om | <i>plak</i> | <i>gjumë</i> | -Ø < *-ons | <i>pleq</i> |
| Gen.-Dat. | -i, -u < *-osĭo | <i>plaku</i> | <i>gjumi</i> | -e, -ve < *-ōm | <i>pleqe</i> |
| Abl. | -i, -u < *-osĭo | <i>plaku</i> | <i>gjumi</i> | -sh < *oĭsi | <i>pleqsh</i> |
| Instr. (Prep.) | -Ø < *-oh ₁ | <i>plak</i> | <i>gjumë</i> | -Ø < *-ōĭs | <i>pleq</i> |

Table 3. inflectional paradigm of Albanian masculine nouns

The synchronic Albanian nominative is commonly thought to directly continue a PIE nominative, in contrast to JOKL (1916: 104), who argues for an underlying accusative. As mentioned above, “[ist d]ie Fortsetzung von *-os als -ë oder Ø [...] vom Wortumfang abhängig” (Matzinger 2006: 98).⁵⁷ Accusative and nominative have been merged formally in both numbers. The original nasal of the accusative is, as will be shown below, maintained in the definite form. An important innovation regarding the nominative plural is the replacement of the original *o*-stem ending *-ōs by an ending *-oi of pronominal origin, a feature shared with several other IE languages such as Greek, Latin, certain Balto-Slavic and Celtic languages as well as Tocharian B (cf. e.g. AGk. *the-oí*, OCS *rab-i*, OIr. *fir* < **yir-oi*; Fortson

⁵⁵ Cf. *o bir, bir-o* ‘boy (voc.)’. Such marking of the vocative finds a parallel in Romanian and certain Slavic languages, and was possibly borrowed from there (Domi 1966: 24; Orel 2000: 233).

⁵⁶ *plak* ‘old man’ < **p_lHko-* (**plə₂ko-*), cf. Lith. *pilkas*; *gjumë* ‘sleep’ < **supno-*, cf. AGr. *ὑπνος* ‘id.’ (Schumacher 2009a: 60; Matzinger 2006: 70, 52).

⁵⁷ DE VAAN’s (2004: 79) claim that (all) forms with a nom.sg. in -ë represent continuations of original neuters is difficult to hold.

2010: 129). The various umlaut and palatalisation effects of such ending⁵⁸ appear to have spread beyond their original restriction to *o*-stems and are characteristic of Albanian plural formation (Schumacher 2009: 60).

Case syncretism of genitive and dative has been shown to be a cross-linguistic Balkan phenomenon, a secondary distinction being introduced in Albanian by the use of a so-called ‘pre-posed article’ with the genitive (Feuillet 2001: 1517-1518; Domi 1966: 24; Solta 1980: 205ff.). The synchronic singular genitive-dative formally continues a PIE genitive in **-òsjo* (> PALb. **-#hjo* > **-i/-u*).⁵⁹ The complementary distribution of *-i* and *-u* seen in Modern Albanian “wird durch den Stammaslaut phonetisch gesteuert” (Matzinger 2006: 98) – the latter following velars, *h* and vowels – and is the result of a dissimilation process not yet completed in e.g. *Buzuku*⁶⁰ (Matzinger 2006: 95, 98; Schumacher 2009: 57). An interesting idiosyncrasy is shown by kinship terms such as *atë* ‘father’, *vëlla* ‘brother’, *bir* ‘son’, and *kunat* ‘brother-in-law’ which distinguish two genitive forms, the regular descendant of PIE gen. *-osjo* (> gen. *ati*) besides a special form when accompanied by a possessive pronoun or pre-posed article (e.g. *tim et* ‘of my father’, *d birt* ‘of his son’). While JOKL (cf. Çabej 1976b: 104) explains this peculiarity as a reflex of old *i*-stems, this view is rejected by KLINGENSCHMITT (1992: 103) due to the lack of umlaut in the nominative. Instead, KLINGENSCHMITT (1992: 102-104) proposes an ‘appertinentive’ case in *-ī*, used in *o*-stems “zur Bezeichnung der verwandtschaftlichen Zugehörigkeit oder eines ähnlichen Verhältnisses” (1992: 102-104) and shared with Latin, Celtic and Tocharian (cf. **attī* > *et*, Lat. *Quīntī filius*, etc.).⁶¹

The plural genitive-dative ending *-e* continues a PIE genitive **-oHom* (> **-ō* > *-e*; cf. Pedersen 1894: 254; Schumacher: personal communication); although this ending is still present in certain dialects as well as in colloquial speech (above all in nouns ending in consonant), it is gradually being replaced by an alternative ending *-ve* (Domi 1996: 25;

⁵⁸ **-oi* > **-ai* > **-i* > **-∅* with umlaut of preceding *a* and/or palatalisation of preceding velars, cf. e.g. *plak* ‘old man’, pl. *pleq* < *p!Hk-oi* (Schumacher 2009a: 60).

⁵⁹ OREL’s derivation of gen.-dat. sg. *-i* from PIE locative **-ei* (2000: 234) is dismissed by MATZINGER (1998 [2001]a : 116). DEMIRAJ Sh. (1993: 111-112) gives PIE dative singular **-ei* of thematic stems as the source of Alb. gen.-dat. sg. *-i* (cf. **-o-ei* > **-ōi* > *-i*). For a similar explanation cf. Domi (1966: 24).

⁶⁰Cf. e.g. ModAlb *vëllá-u* ‘brother’ vs. OAlb. (*Buzuku*) *vëllá-i* (Matzinger 2006: 95). DEMIRAJ Sh. (with Pedersen 1900: 280) views the emergence of the back vowel variant as a remedy against palatalisation of the final velars and the homonymy with the plural which would have resulted from it – from there, the ending would then have been analogically extended to other contexts such as to nouns ending in *-h* or vowel (1993: 113).

⁶¹Based on certain similarities in inflection, KLINGENSCHMITT (1992: 104) further assumes a connection of appertinentive **-ī* to the associative suffix **-ih₂* (*vřkř*-type).

Demiraj Sh. 1993: 114-115; cf. also section 4.2.4). The origin of this form of the ending has seen quite diverse explanations – MEYER (1892: 37), for instance, attempts to relate the ending to PIE **-bh̥ios* (rejected by DEMIRAJ Sh. [1993: 115] as phonetically impossible), while OREL (2000: 237) derives **-ve* from the old *u*-stems. Most plausibly, however, this form is simply due to an epenthesis of *-v-* before the regular ending *-e*; this epenthesis occurred wherever the plural stem had vocalic auslaut and serves to avoid hiatus.⁶² The ‘new’ ending *-ve* abstracted from this context would then have been extended to plural stems without the necessary conditions (i.e. plural stems ending in a consonant), yielding forms such as gen.-dat. pl. *miqve* ‘of a friend’ besides earlier *miqe* (Domi 1966: 25; Demiraj Sh. 1993: 114-115; Schumacher 2009: 60; Matzinger 2006: 99, 1998 [2001]a: 116; Sciambra 1964: 48-49; Klingenschmitt 1981: 125).

As regards the ablative case, singular endings *-i* and *-u* (i.e. homonymous with the genitive-dative sg.) are most convincingly accounted for as continuing a PIE ablative, whose original ending **-ōd* of the thematic stems was lost and substituted by genitive **-os̥io* “nach dem Vorbild der athematischen Stämme” (Matzinger 1998 [2001]a: 116); Klingenschmitt 1994: 223). Although the PIE source case of the Albanian ablative plural in *-sh* has been repeatedly located in the genitive or ablative (cf. e.g. Bopp 1854: 463ff.), it is now commonly thought to represent the descendant of the PIE locative (Pedersen 1900: 280; Demiraj Sh. 1993: 117; Matzinger 2006: 98; Klingenschmitt 1994: 225). In a development either common with or parallel to Greek, however, Albanian appears to have innovated in this case, ModAlb. *-sh* reflecting an ending **-(oj)si* instead of original **-(oj)su*, “da nur so die Palatalisierung des s erklärbar ist” (Matzinger 1998 [2001]a: 117, 113; cf. also Klingenschmitt 1994: 225; Domi 1966: 25).⁶³ More recently, a tendency of the ablative ending to be replaced by genitive-dative *-ve* can be observed (Feuillet 2001: 1517; Domi 1966: 25).

The Albanian instrumental or prepositional case continues the PIE instrumental; singular **-oh₁* is lost as expected (> **-ō#* -> \emptyset)⁶⁴. Likewise, PIE **-ō₁is* of the *o*-stems yields \emptyset in the plural, palatalisation of the final consonants is triggered by the ending’s diphthong (**-ō₁is* > EPAlb. **-aih*) (Schumacher 2009: 60); cf. also Matzinger (2006: 98); Klingenschmitt (1994: 225).

⁶² MATZINGER (2006: 99) claims *-ve* to have been transferred to the masculine paradigm from the *ā*-stems.

⁶³ As SCHUMACHER (2009a: 60) points out, the palatalisation of final velars in forms such as *pleqsh* is not necessarily due to analogy to the nominative plural but conditioned by the intermediate diphthong; cf. **-o₁si* > **-ai₁si* > *-sh*.

⁶⁴ Cf. *djeg* ‘burn (trans., 1st ps.sg. pres.)’ < **d^heg^{uh}ō-* (Schumacher 2009a: 60).

| | Sg. | ex. | | Pl. | ex. | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|------------|------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Nom.-acc. | -Ø, -ë < *-od | <i>mish</i> ⁶⁵ | <i>ujë</i> | -ë < *-ah ₂ | <i>mishëna</i> | <i>ujëna</i> |
| Gen.-Dat. | -i, -u < *-osjō | <i>mishi</i> | <i>uji</i> | -e, -ve < *-ōm | <i>mishënavë</i> | <i>ujënavë</i> |
| Abl. | -i, -u < *-osjō | <i>mishi</i> | <i>uji</i> | -sh < *ojsi | <i>mishëdash</i> | <i>ujëdash</i> |
| Instr. (Prep.) | -Ø < *-oh ₁ | <i>mish</i> | <i>ujë</i> | -Ø < *-ōjs | <i>mishëna</i> | <i>ujëna</i> |

Table 4. Inflectional paradigm of Albanian neuter nouns

As indicated in Table 4, and as previously mentioned, the inflectional paradigm of Albanian neuters is distinguished from the masculine only in the form of the nominative-accusative singular. Following from the particular form of its definite counterpart, it is commonly assumed that in the nom.-acc. sg. ending of the neuter the continuant of the original PIE ending **-om* was replaced by the continuant of PIE **-od* (> **-a* > **-ë*) on the model of the pronominal paradigm (Schumacher 2009a: 61; Matzinger 2006: 99; Klingenschmitt 2000: 5; Demiraj Sh. 1993: 84; see also Pedersen 1897: 288; 1900: 314 on the origin of the Albanian pronouns).⁶⁶

The plural nom.-acc. neuter ending *-ë* (as in e.g. (*të*) *mirë* ‘the good things’, substantivised adjective) directly continues PIE **-ah₂* (> *-ā* > *-ë*), the synchronic neuter plural thus constituting the regular descendant of the PIE neuter plural (Matzinger 2006: 99; Schumacher 2009: 60-61). As will be dealt with in more detail below, the distinction between singular and plural stem was frequently reinforced by the attachment of additional plural suffixes of different origin (cf. e.g. *mish-ëna*; Demiraj Sh. 1993: 101).

In the following table, the inflectional paradigm of feminine nouns in *-ë*, i.e. continuants of PIE *ā*-stems (nom.sg. *-ë* < **-ā* < **-ah₂*) will be given, the origin of the various other feminine endings has already been treated above.

⁶⁵ Alb. *mish* ‘meat’ < **memso-* (Matzinger 2006: 79); *ujë* ‘water’ < EPA **uda/ *udan* (> **uđa* > **u.ə* > *ujë* with /j/ to resolve hiatus); pl. **údenā* (cf. Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 207; Pedersen 1894: 247, 1900: 339; Matzinger 2007: 178-184).

⁶⁶ In his account of Albanian neuters, PEDERSEN (1897: 288-290) interprets neuter singulars in *-ë* as continuing old collectives in **-ah₂*, whose use as singulars (favoured by their semantic closeness) would have been preferred in order to avoid homonymy of the original ending **-om*-ending with the accusative masculine. In view of the determinate form, however, the explanation given above seems more appropriate (cf. also Jokl 1916: 153; Çabej 1955: 3).

| | Sg. | ex. | Pl. | ex. |
|-----------------------|---|--------------------|------------------------------------|------------|
| Nom. | -ë < *-ā | farë ⁶⁷ | -ë < *-ās | farë |
| Acc. | -ë < *-an < *-ām | farë | -ë < *-ās | farë |
| Gen.-dat. | -(j)e < *-asjo | fare | -ëve < *-ō ⁿ /-āsōm (?) | farëve |
| Abl. | -(j)e < *-asjo | fare | -sh < *-āsī | farësh |
| Instr. (Prep.) | -ë < *-ah ₂ -(a)h ₁ (?) | farë | ? (analogical to masculine) | farë |

Table 5. Inflectional paradigm of Albanian feminine nouns in -ë

As regards the feminine accusative singular, PIE *-ām shows an exceptional development in that “das ā [...] eine Verkürzung [erfuhr]” (Jokl 1916: 99), yielding *-an and finally -ë. A reflex of the resulting homonymy with *-an# < PIE *-n# or *-ŋ# is the above described transfer of original consonant stems such as *natë* ‘night’ < *nok^ht-, *derë* ‘door’ < *d^huōr-, or *dorë* ‘hand’ < *g^hesr- into ā-stems (Schumacher 2009: 64-65; Matzinger 2006: 63, 97; Klingenschmitt 2000: 6). The distinction between nominative and accusative plural -ë, both from *-ās (nom. *-ah₂as / acc. *-āns > *-ās > *-āh) and the singular correspondents is only contextual (Schumacher 2009: 64).

Gen.-dat. singular -e is explained by KLINGENSCHMITT (2000: 6) as the continuant of *-asjo (> *-ahjo > *-ajja > *-ai > *-ëj (?) > -e) formed on the model of genitive *-osjo of the o-stems (cf. also Klingenschmitt 1994: 223; Matzinger 2006: 100; Schumacher 2009: 64). Occasional intermediate -j-, in feminines not ending in -ë, such as *lule-j-e* ‘of a flower’, most certainly arose as a means to avoid hiatus (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 113). While plural *-(ë)ve is taken to reflect PIE *-ā-sōm (> *-ā-hōm > *-ā(h)e) by KLINGENSCHMITT (2000: 7; 1994: 224) and MATZINGER (2006: 100), SCHUMACHER (2009: 64), although not entirely rejecting it, claims such derivation to be unprovable, and argues that “/-ve/ in /-ëve/ kann [auch] als sekundärer Hiattilger betrachtet werden” (Schumacher 2009: 64).

The ending of the ablative singular matches the genitive-dative, whereas the feminine ablative plural goes back the PIE locative, with secondary remodelling of *-su to *-si (*-āsi > *-āsī > *-ësh) like in the masculine form. The instrumental/prepositional singular in -ë might be a reflex of the PIE instrumental (of the ah₂-stems), possibly continuing either *-ah₂-ah₁ or a devī-type *-ah₂-h₁ (Schumacher 2009: 64; Klingenschmitt 2000: 6, 1994: 223; Matzinger 2006: 100). The plural form of the instrumental is most plausibly taken over from the masculine paradigm (following a pattern ‘indefinite instrumental = indefinite nom.-acc.’; cf. Klingenschmitt 1994: 224; Matzinger 2006: 100; Schumacher 2009: 64).

⁶⁷Alb. *farë*, f. ‘semen, offspring’ < *sporah₂- from a root *sper- ‘to spread, sow, burst (of buds)’ (Matzinger 2006: 78; Pokorny 1959: 993-994; Schumacher: personal communication).

3.2 The post-positive article

As is well known, “[l]’albanais a la catégorie du déterminé exprimé par un article enclitique qui se décline. Il s’ensuit que les substantifs ont une double déclinaison, indéterminée et déterminée” (Domi 1966: 24; see Buchholz/Fiedler 1987: 232ff. for a detailed account of the synchronic properties of the article). Such post-positive article is a feature of the so-called ‘Balkansprachbund’, being shared by several other Balkan languages such as Bulgarian, Rumanian or Macedonian⁶⁸ (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 192; Orel 2000: 246; Mann 1977: 103). Communis opinio holds it that the article “evolved out of Proto-Albanian syntactic constructions consisting of nouns followed by postpositioned demonstrative pronouns” (Orel 2000: 246), its synchronic forms thus continue old case forms of the PIE demonstrative **so/to-* (Matzinger 2006: 95). Regarding the twofold continuation of nominative singular masculine **so* (*mal-i* ‘the mountain’ < **mólnus+so* vs. *plak-u* ‘the old man’ < **płh₂kos+so*), following the same principles as in the ending of the gen.sg.m. (cf. above, 3.1.), “ist [es anzunehmen], daß sich der Artikel **-ü* [i.e. **-y*] je nach der Qualität des vorangehenden Konsonanten zu *-i*, bzw. mit Dissimilation zu *-u* entwickelt hat” (Matzinger 2006: 51).⁶⁹ The synchronic definite nominative singular feminine *-a* represents the product of the contraction of stem-final *-ë* and article **-ā* (cf. **-ah₂+saḥ₂* > **-ā+sā* > **-ā-hā* > *-a*), “[d]ieses *-a* wird dann als Form des femininen Artikels aufgefaßt und auf andere Substantive übertragen, z.B. *nuse* ‘Braut’ → (mit hiattilgendem *-j-*) *nuse-j-a*” (Matzinger 2006: 100; cf. also Schumacher 2009: 64; Pedersen 1900: 279; Klingenschmitt 2000: 6). Neuter nominative singular definite **-të* reflects PIE **tod* (Pedersen 1900: 314), the definite form furthermore supports the assumption of original **-om* having been replaced by pronominal **-od* in the neuter noun, since otherwise the form should be identical to the accusative singular definite (**-od+tod* > **-a+ta(d)*)⁷⁰ > *-të*, cf. Schumacher 2009: 61).

⁶⁸ Cf. Albanian *njери-u* ‘the man, human being’ and Bulg. *човек-ът*, Rum. *om-ul*, Macedon. *човек-от* ‘dito’ (Matzinger 2006: 94).

⁶⁹ Cf. **so* > **hst* > **-u* > *-i/-u* (Matzinger 2006: 95). DEMIRAJ Sh. (1993: 138) claims *-u* to be the original form of the article, *-i* having developed out of it at a later stage. In order to avoid palatalisation of the stem-final velars as well as due to the phonetic advantages in the case of final *-h* and *-i*, the original back vowel would have been kept in these forms (and analogically spread to nouns ending in other vowels). Alternative views such as e.g. RIZA (1965: 25), who explains *-u* as the result of “die Vokalisierung des Hiatusilgers *-v-* nach dem Wegfall des nachgestellten Artikels *-i* in Formen des Typs **ka-v-i* > *kau*” (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 137) have been convincingly rejected.

⁷⁰With early loss of the noun’s final dental, as an assimilation of **-d* → *t/_t* would have given Alb. *-s-* (Matzinger 2006: 99).

| | Singular | | |
|--------------|--|--|------------------------|
| | masc. | fem. | neuter |
| Nom. | -i/-u < *-so | (-a) < *-sah ₂ | -të < *-tod |
| Acc. | -n(ë) < *-tom | -n(ë) < *-tām | -të < *tod |
| Gen.-dat. | -t < *-tosjō | -s(ë) < *tesjās / *tesj-asjō? | -t < *tosjō |
| Abl. | -t < *-tosjō | -t (analogy to masc.?) | -t < *tosjō |
| Instr./prep. | -t < *-toh ₁ | -t < *-tah ₂ -(a)h ₁ | -t < *toh ₁ |
| Plural | | | |
| all genders | | | |
| Nom. | -t(ë) < *-toj̄ (m.), *-tās (f.), *-tah ₂ (n.) | | |
| Acc. | -t(ë) < *-tōns (m.), *-tās (f.), *-tah ₂ (n.) | | |
| Gen.-dat. | -t < *-toj̄soHom (m.), *-tāsoHom (f.) | | |
| Abl. | -t < *-toj̄si (m.), *-tah ₂ si (f.) | | |
| Instr./prep. | -t < *-tōjs (m.), *-tājs (f.) | | |

Table 6. Inflectional paradigm of the Albanian definite article (adapted from Matzinger 2006: 95).

As concerns the case forms of the masculine article, accusative singular *-n(ë)* preserves the characteristic nasal of the accusative, cf. **-ò̄m+tom > *-ò̄n+ton > *-(ù)ntə(n) > *-(ù)ñə > -(i/u)në* (Pedersen 1894: 249; Matzinger 2006: 51, 98; Demiraj Sh. 1993: 139-140).⁷¹ The causes for the presence or absence of a vowel (*-i, -u* in their common distribution) between stem and ending are not agreed on, the vowels possibly being the product of a secondary stress on **-u-* (Matzinger 2006: 98; Schumacher 2009: 57). In nouns ending in liquids (*-r, -l, -ll*), the accusative article is assimilated to the final sound, cf. *gurrë* ‘the stone (acc.)’ < *gurnë* (Pedersen 1900: 310). Long **-ā-* of accusative feminine singular **-tām* is shortened on the model of the accusative of the noun; **-an+-tan* (<**-ām+tām*) eventually yields *-në* as in the masculine (Schumacher 2009: 64). Final short **-o* in the gen.-dat. m./n. as well as ablative sg. m./n. is lost when unstressed (Klingenschmitt 1992: 103), giving **-tosj̄* ‘ and ultimately *-t* (Matzinger 2006: 95).⁷²

A parallel development might have happened in gen.-dat. f. if we assume a PIE form **tesj-asjō*, remodelled after the genitive ending of the noun (cf. above), which would develop

⁷¹ In contrast, no nasal is maintained in genitive-dative plural m. *-et* < **ō̄m+tō̄m*, indicating that the final nasal of the nouns was reduced early. The article itself appears to have been irregularly shortened in order to avoid redundancy, the same can be observed in the ablative and instrumental plural (Schumacher 2009a: 60).

⁷²SCHUMACHER (personal communication) argues against a purely phonological explanation, and stresses that since the morphemes here essentially repeat themselves, the second morpheme could easily be regarded as redundant and, as a consequence, be secondarily removed.

into **tesj-asj*⁷³ and finally be weakened to *-së*⁷³ (Matzinger 2006: 95). A tentative alternative explanation given by Schumacher (2009: 63-64) views *-së* as the (complex) reflex of the regular gen.sg. f. of the demonstrative, **tesjah_{2s}*. Such form would first have been remodelled to **tejāh*⁷⁴, yielding **tjāh* > **t^sɔh* (with **-ej* > **-j-* when unstressed, and *s* from **t+i*), which in analogy to the masculines would be formed into **t^sajja*. In combination with the nominal ending **-asjo*, this would then give **-ajja-t^sajja*, developing into *-së* with a more substantial weakening of the ending of the noun than in the indefinite (unsuffixed) form, and irregular weakening of the article (Schumacher 2009: 64). In colloquial Modern Albanian, *-së* has been reported to be gradually ousted by an ending *-t* in analogy to the other oblique cases (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 141).

The alternation between genitive singular m. *-ët*, *-it* and *-ut* appears to be dependent on the presence of a secondary stress, the former developing out of unstressed **-osjo+tosjo* > *-yhjo+t^o* (cf. *atët* ‘of the father’), the latter two out of a secondary stressed form (cf. *gjarpënit* ‘of the snake’, *gakut* ‘of the blood’; Matzinger 2006: 97-98). Shortened *-t* in the instrumental singular m. may be due to analogy to the indefinite form, where final *-ō* is regularly lost (Schumacher 2009: 60). Ablative plural *-shit* (< **-ojsi+tojsi*) conserves final *-i* of the locative plural (Schumacher 2009: 60). The origin of the form of the feminine ablative singular, *-t*, is not entirely clear, although influence (or complete transfer?⁷⁵) from the masculine seems highly likely (Schumacher 2009: 64; Matzinger 2006: 98).

3.3 Adjectives / pre-posed article

An interesting peculiarity of the Albanian adjective is the existence of a particle sg. m. *i*, f. *e*, n. *të*, pl. *të*, (cf. Fiedler 1965: 88), which stands in pre-position to a large number of adjectives, and is variously termed ‘pre-posed article’, ‘Gelenkartikel’, ‘Konnektor’ or ‘Objektzeichen’ (cf. e.g. Buchholz/Fiedler 1977: 433-452; Himmelmann 1997: 165-170; Solta 1980: 185-200; Domi 1966: 127). As HIMMELMANN (1997: 167) points out, the presence or absence of the pre-posed article with adjectives is synchronically determined lexically; historically, the distinction is possibly due to inherited and early loan adjectives acquiring the

⁷³ With the intermediate steps of **tesj-asj* > **-tj-aj* > **-saj* > **-së* (Matzinger 2006: 95).

⁷⁴ Cf. a similar remodelling in OCS, **tesjah^{2s}* → *toje* (Schumacher 2009a: 63).

⁷⁵ If indef.abl. sg. f. *-e* is taken to reflect masculine **-ōd* (replacing an original feminine ending), definite ending *-et* (e.g. *faret* from nom. *farë* ‘semen, offspring’) would continue earlier **-ōd-tōd* (Schumacher 2009a: 64).

article, in contrast to later adjectives (i.a. compounded adjectives, de-substantival adjectives) which would not (cf. *i mirë* ‘good’ vs. *zemërdërejtë* ‘honest, good’; Matzinger 2006: 104).

The origin of the pre-posed article is a rather disputed issue, the main question being whether and in what way it is connected to the post-positive article dealt with in the last section. While e.g. PEDERSEN (1900: 310) argues for a development of the post-positive article out of the pre-posed one (in sequences such as *pus i thellë* ‘well, the deep one’ > *pusi thellë* ‘the deep well’), DEMIRAJ sh. (1993: 127), following ÇABEJ (1963: 78ff.), claims that “[e]s ist wahrscheinlicher, daß der vorangestellte Artikel [...] durch die mechanische Wiederholung des nachgestellten Artikels des vorangehenden Substantivs entstanden ist“ (cf. also Solta 1980: 185-200; Mann 1977: 103). Most plausibly, the emergence of the pre-posed article is the result of the broad reduction of adjectival case endings, causing the need to mark agreement of the attribute with its reference word in a different way (Matzinger 2006: 104; see also Pekmezi 1908: 103; Buchholz/Fiedler 1977: 433).

The particles are further found with attributive genitives, where they are obligatory and serve a comparable function to the adjectives, as due to the extensive case syncretism, genitives are formally indistinguishable from datives and ablatives - such ambiguity being resolved by the accompanying particles (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 125ff.).

In Modern Albanian, certain adjectives are found with secondary ‘new’ endings, adopted in analogy to the substantive inflectional paradigms (e.g. feminine plural *-a* in *vajza të mira* ‘good girls’ in contrast to *djelm të mirë* ‘good boys’, cf. Matzinger 2006: 104). Some adjectives furthermore show different stress-patterns in the singular and the plural, this phenomenon will be dealt with in more detail in chapter (4.1.1.2).

4 Plural formation

As has already been pointed out above, and as has been shown with great thoroughness by FIEDLER (2007), “[ist d]ie Pluralbildung der albanischen Substantiva [...] synchron sehr komplex” (Matzinger 2006: 97). Although the earlier (IE) system of plural stem formation has been obscured to a great extent by analogical extensions of certain means of formation such as suffixes, and synchronic plural stems of individual lexemes therefore do not necessarily indicate their original stem class membership, plural formation nevertheless still seems to be “der einzige Bereich, wo die ursprüngliche Vielfalt der idg. Stammklassen nachwirkt” (Schumacher 2009: 66).

In the following sections, it will be attempted to trace the various possibilities to form the plural stem in Modern Albanian back to their IE roots. In contrast to FIEDLER’s work

(2007), which strongly focuses on dialectal and lexical variation, the main aim of this study is to determine the origin of the plural stem formations, the diachronic development they might have undergone and to provide a classification of Albanian plural formation based on diachronic criteria. In order to do so in an as clear as possible manner, the ways of formation are further subdivided according to the original gender they were associated with. As gender shifts appear to have been fairly frequent in the history of Albanian, the gender-categorisation of the individual nouns does not necessarily reflect their synchronic gender (cf. e.g. *qytet* ‘city’, which derives from a Latin feminine abstract noun in *-tās, -tātis*, but has become masculine in Modern Albanian).

In a first step then, formations without an overt suffix will be dealt with, with a particular focus on nouns primarily characterised by vowel and/or consonant alternations, i.e. the indefinite nominative singular (or singular stem) and the indefinite nominative plural (or plural stem) being distinguished by the differing quality of the (mostly stressed) vowel and a frequently co-occurring change in final consonants. Subsequently, the various sources of the Modern Albanian plural suffixes (above all the most typical *-ë, -e* and *-a*, alongside a number of other, minor formants) will be discussed, specifically addressing the question of the age of the plural markers and whether they represent continuations of IE plural case endings (cf. Demiraj Sh. 1993: 97).

In order to substantiate the various claims made in literature regarding these sources, specific examples for each type of plural formation as attested in the oldest documents will be drawn on. These documents include the following (cf. Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 4-5):

- **Gjon Buzuku** (1555), *Missale*. 2 The transliterations used in the thesis stem from M. JANDA’s electronic edition; the references give the page number as well as line number as found in the facsimile-print of the edition of RESSULI 1958 and edited electronically by HOCK (2000-2002). Abbreviation: Buz.
- **Pjetër Budi** (1618–1621), *Dottrina christiana* (1618), *Rituale Romanum* (1621), *Speculum confessionis* (1621). Page and line numbers refer to the information given in the electronic versions of the texts by SCHUMACHER/MATZINGER based on the editions by SVANE (1985, 1986a, 1986b).
- **Pjetër Bogdani** (1685), *Cuneus Prophetarum*. References give the book (the work comprising 2 separate books), page, and line numbers as found in the electronic version of the 1977 TROFENIK edition by de VAAN (2004). Abbreviation: Bgd.
- **Freng Bardhi (Franciscus Blanchus)** (1635), *Dictionarium Latino-Epiroticum*. References refer to the electronic edition by de VAAN (2004).

- **Matrënga, Lekë** (1592), *Mbsuame e Krështerë (Dottrina Cristiana)*. Old Tosk. All examples from Matrënga are taken from MATZINGER (2006).

4.1 -∅

The following section is loosely based on FIEDLER (2007: 24ff., 336ff.) as well as BUCHHOLZ/FIEDLER (1986: 266ff.), encompassing the three main groups of ‘zero plurals’ (‘Nullplural’, Fiedler 2007: 336ff.), ‘plural formation by vowel alternation’ (Fiedler 2007: 23ff.) and ‘plural formation by consonant alternation’ (Fiedler 2007: 86ff.). While FIEDLER’s classification is, however, strongly based on synchronic considerations, and therefore only superficially distinguishes between the different sources of synchronically (ModAlb.) similar ways of formation, this chapter is chiefly structured according to diachronic concerns. For instance, the first of the three sub-groups which FIEDLER identifies in regard to vowel alternation, namely

- (1) alternations resulting from umlaut in the plural⁷⁶ (2007: 24),

will be related to and treated together with alternations of final consonants, as they are caused by the same mechanisms.

As indicated by the term ‘zero plurals’, the plural stems of the nouns dealt with in this chapter are primarily characterised by the absence of an overt suffix, as a result of the original plural case endings being reduced and eventually lost. Traces of such endings can, however, be observed in the various vowel and consonant alternations; for example, umlaut and palatalisation are a recurrent feature of Albanian plural formation. Nevertheless, a large number of forms is identical in the singular and plural, and the original nature of their plural suffix is often difficult to determine. This issue is further complicated by the frequent, secondary addition of plural suffixes of different origin to ∅-plurals in order to increase their recognisability as plurals. In turn, original alternations were abandoned in some cases, the vocalism and/or consonantism of either the singular or the plural stem being analogically extended to the whole paradigm (FIEDLER 2007: 23).

⁷⁶ The remaining sub-groups being:

- (2) diphthongs in one number correspond to monophthongs in the other
- (3) alternation between stressed and unstressed vowels (cf. Fiedler 2007: 24).

4.1.1 - Ø (masculine)

Plural formation of masculine nouns by zero-suffixation, i.e. masculine nouns with a plural stem identical to the singular stem is a fairly widespread phenomenon in the Albanian language (cf. Fiedler 2007: 336ff.). Most basically, the Ø-ending here continues the nominative plural form of two PIE stem classes, masculine thematic *o*-stems as well as masculine *i*-stems. As regards the former, it is commonly assumed that Albanian, in a development parallel to several of its sister languages such as Greek, Latin, Celtic, Balto-Slavic and Tocharian (cf. Fortson 2010: 129), replaced the original nominative plural ending **-ōs* by an innovative ending **-oj* of pronominal origin. While this ending was lost without any traces in some cases (**-oj* > **ai* > **e* > **i* > Ø), its original presence can be deduced from the effects (such as umlaut and palatalisation) it had on certain vowels and stem-final consonants. The outcomes of such processes, as well as the properties of this suffix will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

Included in the group of nouns (i.e. masculines with identical singular and plural stem) are, among others, the following (cf. Fiedler 2007: 337ff.; Pekmezi 1908: 91; Demiraj Sh. 1993: 96ff.):

StAlb. (agent) nouns formed by a suffix *-ēs/-as* < **-ikʰjo-* cf. OArm. *-ič^c* (Matzinger 2006: 138; Pedersen 1900: 322f.; Pekmezi 1908: 91). E.g. *vendës, -i* ‘native, local’ ~ pl. *vendës, -itë* < **^o-isi* (?) < **_uen-t-ikʰjoj*

/atà tè **vendassitè**/ (Bgd. 1.131.17) ‘those of the locals’

StAlb. *mjeshtë*r, *-i* ‘master, craftsman’ ~ pl. *mjeshtë*r, *-itë*⁷⁷ ⇨ Lat. *magister* (showing the PIE contrastive suffix **-tero-*, cf. the correspondent form Lat. *minister*; Fortson 2010: 135-136; Meyer 1891: 284; Orel 1998: 270).⁷⁸

/As mos grëshitii **mjesht**ra/ (Buz. 130, 43-44)
‘do not let yourselves be called masters’

/kanë me gjetunë e me ënbëliedhunë **mjesht**ra të rëshim/ (Buz. 362, 18-20)
‘they will find and gather false teachers’

/i çà **Mjesct**er fort te holè/ (Bgd. 1.86.26) ‘provided him with excellent teachers’

⁷⁷ Besides StAlb. *mjesht*ra, *-t(ë)* with secondary suffix *-a*. According to FIEDLER (2007: 344), the younger, extended variant is largely restricted to Geg, the zero formation prevailing in Tosk.

⁷⁸ MATZINGER dismisses this traditional etymology as “lautlich problematisch” (2006: 165) due to the unexpected loss of intervocalic *-g-* and instead suggests an early borrowing from Italian (It. *maestro* > **majestro* > **mëjés > *mjësht*rë); cf. also B. Demiraj (2001: 66f.).*

Tosk *zĕ, zĕri*, OG /zã/, /zãni/ ‘voice’ ~ pl. Tosk/StAlb. *zĕra*, Geg *zana* ← **zani* < EPA nom.sg. **j̥uanai* < PIE **ǵʰuon-oj*, cf. OCS *zvонъ* ‘sound, tone, bell’, Arm. *jayn* ‘voice’, from a root **ǵʰuēn-* ‘sound, clink’ (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 184).

/ĕnbĕ **zãt** tĕ oratĕvet mive/ (Buz. 20, 39-40) ‘in the voices for my prayers’

StAlb. *rrush, -i* ‘grape’ ~ pl. *rrush* < **rus̥sai* ⇨ AGr. *ῥώξ* ‘id.’ As SCHUMACHER/MATZINGER (forthc.: 185) point out, the form must have been borrowed only after Greek /ō/ and /o/ were merged.

/pĕr tu nzierrĕ vena n’ **Ruscit**/ (Bgd. 1.61.15) ‘to extract wine from the grapes’

StAlb. *furr(ĕ)* ‘oven, bakery’ ~ pl. *furre* ⇨ Lat. *furnus* ‘id.’. The synchronically predominant form is StAlb. *furrĕ*, fem., whether the adoption of secondary plural suffix *-e* is connected to this gender shift or took place independently, may be debated.

StAlb. *zjarr, -i* (OAlb. *zjarrĕ*)⁷⁹ ‘fire’ ~ pl. *zjarre* < **gʰhernoj*; cf. Lat. *furnus*. With secondary suffix *-e* (cf. Matzinger 2006: 62; Demiraj B. 1997: 428).

StAlb. *zjarm, -i* ‘fire’ ~ pl. *zjarne* < **gʰhernoj*, cf. AGr. *θερμός* (cf. Matzinger 2006: 72).

Apart from masculine *o*-stems, nouns with identical singular and plural forms in ModAlb. may continue original *i*-stems, the nominative plural ending of which would likewise have been reduced and eventually lost, cf. nom. pl. **-ejes* > **-eeh* > **-ijeh* > **-ĭeh* > **-ĭih* > **-ih* (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 222-223).⁸⁰ Unfortunately, however, the number of unambiguous continuants of old masculine *i*-stems is rather small, as they were frequently integrated into PA *o*- or *ĭo*-stems (cf. e.g. the masculine *i*-stem imparisyllables borrowed from Latin, see section 3.1 above). Furthermore, umlaut as well as palatalisation processes are not restricted to the plural in this class, but triggered by short **-i* in the singular as well; possible traces of the original ending are therefore difficult to evaluate.

StAlb. *lot, -i* ‘tear’ ~ pl. *lot, -ĕt* < **lotih* < **lotĭih* < **lãtĭeh* < **lãtĭeh* < **lãteeh* < PIE **lah₂-tejes*. Abstract noun formed by suffix **-ti-* to a root **leh₂-* ‘to pour’ (?). (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 203; Pokorny 1959: 664-665).⁸¹

/e sÿtĕ e mĭ ĕn **lotshit**/ (Buz. 46, 83) ‘and my eyes in tears’

⁷⁹**-os* > *-ĕ* if preceded by a sequence **-Rn-*, but see the note above.

⁸⁰For the same phonetic development in the verbal system see the causative/iterative suffix **-ĕje/o-*, e.g. StAlb. *vesh* ‘to clothe, dress so.’ (3rd sg. ind. pres.) < PIE **uos-ĕje-ti*, root **ues-* ‘wear (clothes)’ (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 222).

⁸¹ OREL (1998: 231) identifies this form as a masculine substantivised adjective in **-to-*.

/Ma perditë i ctohescinë **lottë**/ (Bgd. 1.49.28.) ‘but each day the tears became more’

Tosk/OG. /gūr/, /guri/ ‘(block of) stone’ ~ pl. *gurë* < PA **gurih* < uridg. **g^hrh₂-ejes*; cf. Ved. *giri-* ‘mountain, hill’, LAv. *gairi-* ‘mountain (range)’, also OCS *gora* ‘mountain’. EPA **u* is lengthened to **ū* when stressed and in front of tautosyllabic, non-geminated **r* (accounting for the length of the vowel in nom.sg. *gūr*); cf. Schumacher/Matzinger (forthc.: 201, 188). The suffix *-ë* of the ModAlb. form is explained by DEMIRAJ Sh. (1993: 96) as secondarily adopted, but could also represent a variant continuation of the ending **-ih* (cf. section 4.2.1.1).

/ordhëno këta **gurë** të banenë bukë/ (Buz. 112, 76-77)
‘then order that these stones become bread’

StAlb. *qen*, *-i* ‘dog’ ~ pl. *qen* < **kanih* (☞ Lat. *canis*). Variant plural form *qenër* with secondary suffix *-ër* (Klingenschmitt 2000: 8; Orel 1998: 356).⁸² The vocalism of the form /qanë/ as found once in Buzuku is highly conspicuous.

/e **qentë** vinjinë/ (Buz. 134, 14) ‘and the dogs came’

/e këlysh të **hanë** ën fërmëshit/ (Buz. 122, 6-7) ‘even the young dogs eat the crumbs’

StAlb. *qelq* (besides *kelq*) ‘glass’ ~ pl. *qelqe* ☞ Lat. ⁺*calicis* (Class.Lat. *calix*, *-icis*, m.).
Secondary suffix *-e*. Cf. Matzinger (2006: 66); Klingenschmitt (2000: 8).

StAlb. *gjeth*, *-i* ‘leaf, foliage’ ~ pl. StAlb./ OG (Buz.) *gjeth*, *-të* < PIE nom./acc.pl. **g^huosd-ejes*; sg. *gjeth* < LPA nom. sg. **jeθ* < **geð* < **gadih* < **g^huazdih* < PIE nom. sg. **g^huosdis* with devoicing of original **-d* in final position (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 221).

/e kã **gjeth të** e tî të verdha/ (Buz. 132, 84) ‘and his leaves remained green’

/se mbelon mbarren’ e vet me **gieštë** Ficut/ (Bgd. 1.46.20) ‘covered their private parts with the leaves of the fig tree’

Furthermore, ModAlb. zero plurals possibly continue the nominative plural of root nouns (*^o-*es* > -∅), cf. the following:

StAlb. *mi*, *-u* (NGeg *mî*, *-ni*) ‘mouse’ ~ (earlier) pl. *mi* (< *mî* < **m^y* < PIE **muH-es* (cf. Matzinger 54; Schumacher/Matzinger: 197; Demiraj B. 1997: 267-268; Fiedler 2007: 337; Meyer 1883: 190; Jokl Studien 77; Mann 1950: 387; Pokorny 1959: 752; Ölberg 1972: 48, 126; Huld 1984: 91ff.). ModAlb. *mi(n)j*, *-të* with secondary suffixation, cf. below.

⁸²The absence of palatalisation of final /n/ is, as will be pointed out below, unproblematic, as this process is only triggered by the *o*-stem suffix **-oi*.

StAlb. *thi*, *-u* /thī/ ‘(domestic) pig’ ~ pl. *thi*, *-të* /thī/ < *ćȳ < PIE *suH-es; cf. Lat. *sūs* ‘pig, sow’, MHG *Sau*, root *seuH- ‘give birth, bear’ (see Ölberg 1972: 48; Meyer 1891: 90; Pedersen 1895: 82; Jokl St.77; Pokorny 1959: 1038; Kortlandt 1987: 220; Orel 1998: 477).

4.1.1.1 -Ø (type *plak*)



Preliminaries umlaut/ palatalisation

A feature characteristic of a considerable number of Albanian nouns, as well as strongly present in the verbal system, is the effects of ‘umlaut’, also called ‘*i*-mutation’ as well as palatalisation processes. According to DEMIRAJ Sh. (1993: 53), “[ist d]iese Erscheinung, die auch in einigen anderen (besonders germanischen) Sprachen belegt ist, [...] im Lauf der historischen Evolution des Albanischen selbst aufgetreten”. More specifically, the phenomenon of umlaut is thought to have started in Early-Proto-Albanian (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 183), affecting both inherited words and loans from Ancient Greek.⁸³ The process appears to have continued into the Proto-Albanian period, as Latin loan words were similarly subjected to it (Matzinger 2006: 60; Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 183; Demiraj Sh. 1993: 56ff.). There seems to be a certain consensus among researchers that umlaut did not affect Slavic loan words any more, suggesting that the process had ceased to be a “transparenter morphologischer Vorgang” by the time of their arrival, i.e. “[b]ereits vor Beginn der literarischen Periode” (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 183, cf. also Demiraj Sh. 1973: 50, 1993: 56ff., 1996: 132). However, this view appears to rely heavily on evidence from the verbal paradigm, and is not undebated in regard to nouns (Schumacher: personal communication).

Although the original conditions for umlaut to occur were thus not preserved into documented stages of the Albanian language, the processes have left many traces in both the nominal and the verbal system and appear to have had a significant impact on the language’s phonological and morphological system (Meyer 1888: 10; Demiraj Sh. 1993: 54, 1996: 124; Çabej 1976a: 114).

⁸³This view contradicts PEDERSEN’s claim that “[d]er umlaut [sic!] ist aber im Albanesischen erst nach der Römerherrschaft eingetreten” (1900: 283) to a certain extent (the statement itself being somehow ambiguous in possibly referring to either the time after the beginning or the end of the Roman occupation). The assumption of umlaut as an EPA phenomenon, however, is certainly at least equally plausible and acceptable.

Most generally, umlaut of a stressed vowel is triggered by (*)-*i* in the syllable following it, thus representing a “Art von regressiver Assimilation” (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 54; cf. also Pekmezi 1908: 62; Matzinger 2006: 60) as the preceding vowel is fronted under the influence of an adjacent front or palatal vowel. JOKL’s claim that only long *-*ī* may produce umlaut (cf. 1927: 92ff., also Çabej 1976a: 114) is not tenable, as the apparent discrepancies regarding the effect of short *-*ī* on preceding (root) syllables (in e.g. old *i*-stems) can convincingly be accounted for in different ways. JOKL’s argument is essentially based on the distinct development of StAlb. *asht*, -*i* (m., originally n.) ‘bone(s)’, showing umlaut only in the plural *eshtra*, Geg *esht(ë)na*, and StAlb. *elb* ‘barley, cereal’ (m., originally n.), as both forms in his view continue old PIE *i*-stems, the later corresponding to AGr. *ἀλφι* < **albhi*-. The absence of umlaut in the singular *asht* is regarded as indicative of the inability of short *-*ī* to trigger umlaut; on this basis, singular *elb* is then explained as analogically transferred from the neuter plural (**albh-ī*, which itself would have to be explained as formed on the model of the masculine *o*-stems, though). A more plausible scenario, however, views *elb* as the regular descendent of an old *i*-stem **h₂alb^hi*- (with *i*-mutation in the singular, triggered by **ī*), while “ein Heteroklitikon mit *n*-Stamm-Flexion außerhalb des Nom./Akk. Sg. (*h₁asth₂(e)n*- oder *h₁osth₂(e)n*-)”⁸⁴ (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 190) is at the basis of *asht*, older /*ashtë*/⁸⁵ (Buzuku). Original heteroclitic nom./acc. **h₂asti*-, **h₂osti*-⁸⁶ would then have been replaced by a secondary nom./acc. form (***h₂est-ŋ*, ***h₂ost-ŋ* > EPA *asta*) built on the model of the oblique cases in -*n*-, and not producing umlaut (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 190; Matzinger 2006: 217; Meyer 1891: 18; Huld 1984: 38f.; Demiraj B. 1997: 82f.; Orel 1998: 11).

The umlaut-causing properties of short **ī* are further supported by the continuants of PIE feminine *i*-stems such as StAlb. *end* ‘blossom’ < **h₂a/ondhi*- (cf. Gk. *ἄνθος*), furthermore the umlauted Latin loans, e.g. *qytet*  + *cīvitātis*, as accounted for above (section 3.1). Masculine *i*-stems with regular umlaut in the singular are seen in StAlb. *qen* ( Lat. *canis* < **kani*-), among others (Klingenschmitt 2000: 8; Matzinger 2006).

As already mentioned, the umlauted vowel is maintained even after the conditioning environment is lost; i.e. although originally triggered by phonetic factors, it appears that the

⁸⁴ SCHUMACHER (personal communication) now assumes an oblique stem **h₂ast(e)n*- / **h₂ost(e)n*-.

⁸⁵ Synchronically a neuter *o*-stem.

⁸⁶ The precise shape of the original heteroclitic nom./acc. sg. is unclear, with -*i* being only one possibility. The more relevant point in any case is that the nom./acc. sg. form underlying the Albanian paradigm is most certainly a secondary *n*-stem (Schumacher: personal communication).

umlaut was later morphologised and in some cases, such as plural formation, grammaticalised and extended to other contexts (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 53-54; Matzinger 2006: 60; Meyer 1888: 10). As a consequence of the increasing lack of transparency of umlaut, “wurden Umlautphänomene in nominalen und verbalen Paradigmen [oft] reduziert oder eliminiert, sodass in den meisten Paradigmen entweder Allomorphe mit Umlaut oder solche ohne Umlaut generalisiert wurden“ (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 183).

The most frequent umlauting process is the fronting of EPA $a \rightarrow e$ ($*a > *e > *e$)⁸⁷, the number of possible contexts for such umlaut considerably rising after the Roman invasion, as both lat. /ǃ/ and lat. /ā/ were merged to $*a$ in Albanian, cf. e.g. lat. *galbīnus* ‘yellowish green’ → StAlb. *i gjelbër* ‘green’ (Schumacher/ Matzinger forthc. 183).

By contrast, umlaut of EPA stressed $o \rightarrow e$ ($*o > *æ > *e$) as well as and $u \rightarrow y$ ⁸⁸ only occur sporadically, leaving noticeably fewer traces in the language than $a \rightarrow e$ (Matzinger 2006: 61; Demiraj Sh. 1993: 53ff.; Pedersen 1900: 283; Pekmezi 1908: 62).⁸⁹ A more complex matter is presented by an alternation stressed $e \sim i$, which is typically included in the discussion of umlaut. Although in some cases, such as the 2nd person plural of certain verbs, regular umlaut caused by a palatal vowel in the following syllable is assumed (Klingenschmitt 2000: 8; Orel 2000: 145), the development was most probably caused by a following palatal consonant in other cases, and did not occur until the LPA period, see e.g. StAlb. *mish*, *-të* ‘meat’ < $*miśsa$ < $*meśsa$ < $*mema-$, n. (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 191; De Vaan 1997: 62, 2004: 71). Indirect traces of a development EPA unstressed $*e \rightarrow *i$ in final syllables, as well as $*e \rightarrow *i/_N$ in medial syllables, are further seen in forms such as StAlb. *net* (NA Pl. of *nat/ë*, *-a* ‘night’) and *eshtra* (NA Pl. of *asht*, *-i* ‘bone’), cf. Schumacher/Matzinger (forthc.: 190); Matzinger (2006: 50); De Vaan (2004: 71).⁹⁰ While earlier accounts such as JOKL

⁸⁷The product of such umlaut process ($*e < *a$) is lengthened to $*ē$ when followed by tauto-syllabic, non-geminated $*r\#$ and $*l\#$ (as well as secondary, tauto-syllabic $*i\#$, in analogy to stressed $*a \rightarrow *ā$ in the same contexts; cf. e.g. OG /*qēll*/ ‘he/she brings’ < $*LPA$ *cēl* < $*kalit$ < PIE $*k^h olh_1-éje-ti$ (root $*k^h elh_1-$ ‘turn’, Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 184). As MATZINGER (2006: 49, 61) points out, the umlauting product does, however, not participate in the regular change $*e > *je$ (cf. also De Vaan 2004; Ölberg 1972: 132).

⁸⁸ Unlike the other umlaut phenomena, $u \rightarrow y$ may also be triggered by a following glide $*i$, cf. StAlb. *i grynjë* ‘wheat’, derived from the StAlb. noun *grur/ë*, *-i*; OG /*grunë*, *-të*/ ‘wheat’ (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 187-188).

⁸⁹ Alongside these, a number of very minor alternations is found, “die oft nur mit einem Beispiel belegt sind” (Matzinger 2006: 61), cf. further Fiedler (2007) and Buchholz/Fiedler (1986).

⁹⁰ Although the presence of an unstressed syllable containing a front vowel $*i$ ($\leftarrow *e$) cannot be directly substantiated, “da diese unbetonten Silben lange vor Beginn der literarischen Periode apokopiert, synkopiert oder zu Schwa reduziert wurden” (Schumacher/ Matzinger forthc.: 190), it needs to be assumed in order to explain the umlaut (cf. Meyer 1883: 359).

(1929: 126), HAMP (1971: 224) argue for a fronting of **e* → **i* when followed by consonant clusters, this view is now largely rejected in favour of more fine-grained solutions.

In the nominal system, “spielt Umlaut eine bedeutende Rolle, hauptsächlich bei der Bildung des Pluralstamms verhältnismäßig vieler Substantive” (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 54); the details of this issue will be discussed below. As was mentioned above, however, umlaut phenomena can also be observed in continuants of old *i*-stem nouns as well as in old genitive singular forms of certain kinship terms, cf. *atë* ‘father’ ~ gen. *tim et* ‘of my father’ < **attī* (Buzuku).

Regarding the verbal system, fronting of *a* → *e* frequently occurs in the second and third person singular of the present indicative of a number of simple verbs as well as certain verbs showing a suffix *-(a)s ~ (e)t*, cf. e.g. ModAlb. *rrah* ~ *rreh* (< **urā₁g-skē/o-*)⁹¹ ‘to beat’, *marr* ~ *merr* (< **marne/o* < **me-arnu-*) ‘to take’, *dal* ~ *del* (< **d^hal-ne/o*) ‘to leave, exit’ (intrans.), *vras* ~ *vret* (< **rou(H)d-eje/o-* ?) ‘to kill’, *flas* ~ *flet* (< **fabel-je/o-*) ‘to speak’, while *o* → *e* can be seen in e.g. *njoh* ~ *njeh* (< **ġnh₃-skē/o-*) ‘to know’, *shoh* ~ *sheh* (< **sek^h-??*) ‘to see’ (Demiraj Sh. 2002: 78, 1993: 54ff.; Pekmezi 1908: 62; Çabej 1976a: 114; Matzinger 2006: 61).⁹² Forms such as ModAlb. *derdh* (*a* → *o*; < **d^herġ^h-*) ‘to cast, spill’, *shtyp* (*u* → *y*; < **(s)tup-je/o-*) ‘to crush’ are assumed to have generalised the umlauted variant in the whole paradigm (cf. Matzinger 2006: 61; Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 187). Umlaut *e* → *i* in the 2nd person plural of the active present indicative (as well as the imperative and a number of other cases) of forms such as *mbledh* (2nd sg.), *mblidhni* (2nd pl.) (< OAlb. [Buzuku] *ënbëliedh* < **-leġ-e/o-*) ‘to collect’; *flas* (1st sg.), *flet* (2nd /3rd sg.), *flisni/flitni* (2nd pl.) is, as mentioned above, most commonly explained as either caused by a change *e* > *i* before consonant clusters (double consonance) (e.g. Hamp 1971: 221; Meyer 1888b: 88; Hamp 1971: 221; Meyer 1891: 280; Tagliavini 1937: 193; Jokl 1923: 326), or as the regular outcome of *i*-mutation triggered by the front vowel of the personal ending *-ni* (Klingenschmitt 2000: 8; Orel 2000: 145; De Vaan 2004: 71). Both suggestions are rejected by MATZINGER (2006: 125), as first, a regular change *e* > *i* before consonant clusters (double consonance) would, due to the late ousting of older *-i* by a generalised ending *-ni* not be viable in this case, and second, umlaut produced by the palatal vowel in the following syllable is debatable since *-je-* (from IE **-e-*)

⁹¹ All reconstructed forms according to MATZINGER (2006).

⁹² The diachronic development of the vowel alternation in these cases is not entirely clear, it is, however, assumed that the umlaut was triggered by the endings *-is/-it* (2nd/3rd ps. sg. pres. ind.) of IE *-je/o* thematic verbs; cf. 1st ps. *flas* < **fabel-at-iō*; 2nd ps. *flet* < **^oat-is* < **^oat-je-s*; 3rd ps. *flet* < **^oat-it* < **^oat-je-t* (Matzinger 2006: 121-122; cf. also Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.; Demiraj Sh. 1993: 55-56; Meillet 1916: 119-121; Jokl 1927: 92; Çabej 1976: 114-115).

is not typically fronted to *-i-* (Matzinger 2006: 49-60, 125). On the basis of KLINGENSCHMITT (1975: 72), MATZINGER therefore claims these forms to constitute “eine analogische Nachahmung des ererbten Ablauts von Wurzeln des Typs Sg. **h₁ei-* : Pl. **h₁i-*” (2006: 125). SCHUMACHER (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 190-191) assumes that the point of origin lies in primary verbs with final velars which were regularly palatalised in the 2nd person plural (cf. e.g. /ëndiqëni/ ‘follow! (you, pl.)’ ← EPA 2nd pl. imp. act. **anteketi*).

A second phenomenon, related to umlaut and equally influential in both the nominal and the verbal system of Albanian, is the (L)PA palatalisation of velar consonants, as well as liquids and **n* under specific conditions. Both velars continuing PIE plain velars as well as the velar continuants of PIE labiovelars, i.e. **k* < **k*, **k^h*; **g* < **g*, **g^h*, **g^h* (cf. Ölberg 1976: 562)⁹³, were affected by this process when followed by either **i* or **y*, **e* (← EPA **a* through umlaut) or the outcomes of EPA **e*, i.e. **(j)e* and **(j)a*; palatalisation was not, however, triggered by (L)PA **e* from EPA **ō* (→ **æ* → **e*)⁹⁴, yielding /ç/ (written <q>) and /ʃ/ (written <gj>) respectively (cf. Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 212-213; Matzinger 2006: 70, 73; Orel 2000: 77, 139ff.; Demiraj Sh. 1973: 50ff., 1993: 64ff., 1996: 132; Çabej 1976a: 127, 1972: 145-146; Buchholz/Fiedler 1987: 264ff; Domi 1966: 25; Meyer 1883: 349; Pekmezi 1908: 62ff.).

This development is thought to have taken place in the LPA period, Latin loans being fully affected by it. The precise dating is, however, hindered by the fact that the (South-) Slavic languages, at the time Albanian came into closer contact to them, did not feature any sequences of velar consonants + front vowels any more, and the conditions for palatalisation were thus not given in Slavic loans (cf. Fiedler 2007: 88). In regard to later loan words from Modern Greek or Turkish showing palatalisation of velars before front vowels, it may be assumed with FIEDLER (2007: 88) that sounds in the respective environments already had a palatal quality in the donor languages, and were thus substituted by /ç/ and /ʃ/ in Albanian.⁹⁵ Palatalisation plays a considerable role in both the nominal and the verbal system of Modern Albanian, cf. the following examples (inherited and Latin loan words):

⁹³Cf. e.g. sg. *ujk* ‘wolf’ < **ulkuos*, pl. *ujq* (Ölberg 1976: 562)

⁹⁴E.g. PIE **k^ho-h₁* (instr. of **k^ho-*) > EPA **kō* > StAlb. *ke* ‘where’ (relative conjunction), cf. Schumacher/Matzinger (forthc.: 212-213).

⁹⁵Cf. e.g. StAlb. *qebap*, *-i* ‘kebab’ ↔ Tk. *kebap* (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 213), StAlb. *sihariq* ‘good news’ ↔ MGr. *συγκάρικια* (Fiedler 2007: 88; Meyer 1891: 384).

StAlb. *qell*, OG. /qēll/ ‘he/she brings’ < LPA *cēl < *kalit < PIE *k_uolh₁-éje-ti (root *k^helh₁- ‘turn’)

StAlb. *qel/ë, -a* ‘house of a priest’ ⇨ Lat. *cella* ‘cell, room, chamber, chapel’

StAlb. *gjel, -i* ⇨ Lat. *gallus* (see section 4.4 for an account of *i*-mutation in this case)

Tosk/OG. /gjindetë/ ‘he/she is (located), resides’ < EPA *gendetai, nasal present of a root *g^hed- ‘catch’; cf. Lat. *pre-hendere* ‘take, catch’, Goth. *bigitan* ‘find’.

(examples taken from Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 212- 213).

Palatalisation further affected the PIE liquids (non-geminated) *l and *r when followed by a final *i < PA *-e < *ai < *-oj; as will be pointed out below, this ending is eventually lost. The palatalisation product of both *l and *r, namely /λ/ “fiel dann im Gegischen und in vielen toskischen Dialekten (auch in den Dialekten, die der Standardsprache zugrunde liegen) mit j zusammen“ (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 215, 217). The resulting alternation between non-palatalised and palatalised forms is especially conspicuous in the formation of the plural, as will be discussed in more detail in the following section, cf. e.g.

StAlb. sg. *popull, -i* (OG. /popull/ë, -i) ‘people’ ~ pl. *popuj* (OG /popuj/) ⇨ Lat. *populus*

StAlb. sg. *buall, -i* ‘buffalo’ ~ pl. *buaj* ⇨ Lat. *būbalus*

StAlb. sg. *bir* ‘son’ ~ pl. *bij*, Tosk/OG. /bī/ < *biri < EPA pl. *bīrai⁹⁶

(Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 215, 217; Matzinger 2006: 73-74; Pekmezi 1908: 63, 90; Demiraj Sh. 1993: 64; Orel 2000: 143; Mann 1952: 37; Çabej 1959: 76).

Likewise, inherited (and Latin) *n undergoes palatalisation to *nj* (written <nj>) when preceding *i (<< *oj); in contrast to the liquids, however, this process is independent of the eventual loss of *i, occurring also where the final sound is continued by -ë, cf. e.g. StAlb. sg. *mulli, -ri* ‘mill’ ~ pl. *mullinj* < *mulini⁹⁷ (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 218; cf. also Domi 1966: 25).

⁹⁶ *Matrënga* fol. 42^v preserves the intermediate step OT. *bilj* (Matzinger 2006: 74). Non-geminated *l in intervocalic position gives /l/ (<ll>), cf. StAlb. *popull* ⇨ Lat. *populus*. For the non-palatalisation of *l in sg. *kalë* ‘horse’ ~ pl. *kual* see section 4.1.1.2 below (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 215, 217; Matzinger 2006: 74).

⁹⁷ Although a Latin loan (sg. *mulli* ⇨ Lat. *molīnum* (*saxum*) ‘millstone’), the plural in this case seems to be clearly Albanian (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 219).

Umlaut/palatalisation in plural formation

Umlaut as well as palatalisation in the plural formation of masculine nouns is, as repeatedly indicated above, a characteristic feature of Albanian. As one of the first researchers concerned with the issue, MEYER (1883: 349) correctly traced these phenomena to an old nominative plural ending **i*. MEYER's (1888: 819) attempt to explain such plural ending as a Latin loan (cf. Lat. *-ī*), suggesting that certain Latin words entered the language in the plural, is, however, now broadly considered as “unbegründet” (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 98, cf. also 1973: 50; Desnickaja 1976; Meyer-Lübke 1904-1906: 1056). Arguments challenging an adoption from Latin include the little viability of the numerous masculine Latin words entering Albanian as plurals⁹⁸, as well as the generally relatively weak grammatical (morphological and syntactical) impact Latin had on the language; it therefore seems almost “unmöglich, daß eine fremde Endung so viele alte sprachliche Erscheinungen bewirkt haben sollte” (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 98). *Communis opinio* instead traces Albanian nom.pl. **-i* back to the PIE nom.pl. ending *-oi* of masculine *o*-stems (PIE **-oi* in unstressed position > EPA **-ai* > **-e* > **-i*); in a parallel development to Greek (*-oi*), Balto-Slavic (e.g. OCS *-i*), Celtic⁹⁹ and Latin (nom. pl. *-ī*), Albanian would therefore have replaced original nom.pl. *-ōs* by an ending **-oi* of pronominal origin¹⁰⁰ (cf. Brugmann 1904: 390; Hirt 1927: 76; Pedersen; Demiraj Sh. 1973: 51, 1993: 98f.; Matzinger 2006: 101; Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 198-199; Domi 1966: 25; Pekmezi 1908: 62ff.). Following JOKL's argument that only final long *-ī* may trigger umlaut in the plural (1927: 92ff.), the ending is frequently reconstructed as such (**-ī*; cf. Fiedler 2007: 23; Çabej 1976a: 114; Demiraj Sh. 1973: 50ff.). However, quantity of the vowel does not appear to be a decisive feature in regard to umlaut, as the evidence from old *i*-stems presented above shows. The ending of the nominative plural of masculine *o*-stems is here thus assumed to have been short **i̇* (<< PIE **oi*, cf. Schumacher 2009: 66; Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 198). As pointed out before, the beginning of umlaut processes to occur is commonly dated to the EPA period (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 183).¹⁰¹ It is expected that in the case of plural formation, such process will as well have started relatively early (Demiraj Sh. 1993:

⁹⁸ While the suggestion that Latin loans entered the language in the accusative (e.g. Çabej 1976a: 136, also Demiraj Sh. 1993: 99) enjoys a certain popularity, it is more plausible that particularly imparisyllables such as Lat. *civitas*, *-tātis* secondarily formed a ‘new’ nominative singular modelled on the oblique case forms in Balkan-Latin cf. *qytet* < *+civitātis* (Matzinger 2006: 100-101).

⁹⁹ Cf. e.g. *fir* ‘men’ < **uir-oi* (Fortson 2010: 129).

¹⁰⁰ Nom.pl. **-i* thus constitutes an inner-Albanian innovation, this assumption contradicting MEYER-LÜBKE's claim that it “scheint sich [aber] aus dem Albanischen nicht erklären zu lassen” (1904-1906: 1056).

57), however, the various intermediate steps which presumably were involved in both the development of (PIE $*-oi_{\lambda}>$) EPA $*-ai > *i$ as well as the gradualness of the umlauting process (e.g. $*a > *e > *e$) have to be taken into account. Nevertheless, evidence clearly shows that Latin loans were already subjected to umlaut triggered by pl. $*-i$.

Palatalisation of velars as well as liquids and $*n$ is typically thought to be “verhältnismässig jung”, taking place only in the LPA period, i.e. after umlaut had occurred. This relative chronology is supported by forms with palatalisation of initial or word-internal velars such as StAlb. *gardh* ‘fence’ ~ pl. *gjerdhe*; *i vogël* ‘small, little’ ~ pl. *të vegjël*; *kopsht* ‘garden’ ~ pl. *qipshite*¹⁰² as the consonant alternation here is triggered by the front vowels which had in turn been produced by umlaut earlier, and can therefore only be secondary (cf. Buchholz/Fiedler 1986: 264-265; Matzinger 2006: 70, 255).

Although it is, as pointed out above, traditionally assumed that “[d]er Umlaut erfaßt [...] die slawischen Lehnwörter nicht mehr” (Matzinger 2006: 60), this view is contradicted by umlaut plurals of distinctively Slavic origin such as StAlb. *vllëh* (← *vllah* ‘Aromunian’, cf.). It therefore seems viable to propose that the plural ending was not lost or did not cease to affect preceding vowels until a later point. Whether impact on preceding consonants was still given cannot be substantiated due to the lack of sequences of velars and front vowels in the Slavic donor languages at that time (cf. Fiedler 2007: 88).

It is furthermore sometimes claimed that in order for palatalisation to occur, pl. $*-i$ must have been reduced to a glide $*-j$ (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 65)¹⁰³, however, such assumption is to a certain extent redundant, as palatalisation of consonants triggered by following $*-i$ is a frequent and very natural process (Kümmel 2007: 250ff.; Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 212-213). An intermediate step $*-i > *j$ in the ending’s eventual reduction and complete loss is further not assumed in SCHUMACHER/MATZINGER (forthc.: 198) and MATZINGER (2006: 101), as unstressed syllables in general were frequently syncopated, apocopated or reduced to schwa before the literary period. As FIEDLER (2007: 23) points out, evidence from Arvanitic suggests that the deletion of pl. $*-i$ had been completed by the 12th century.

¹⁰²Umlaut of $a > i$ as in this case, called “übermäßig durchgeführte[r] Wandel” by FIEDLER (2007: 47), only occurs sporadically, and might be explained by a very early mutation of $*a > *e$, which would then have been secondarily affected by umlaut again ($*a > *e > *i$) under the influence of a still present and productive ending $*-i$ (cf. Çabej 1976 : 125ff.).

¹⁰³DEMIRAJ Sh. here slightly contradicts himself, as in *Morfologjia historike e gjuhës shqipe* (1973: 50) he argues for a development $*-ī > *-i > *-j$, with palatalisation occurring when long $*-ī$ was shortened, whereas he later claims palatalisation only took place after the reduction of $*-i$ to a glide (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 65).

While such general loss of the PA plural **-i* is commonly not debated, it has been suggested by MEYER (1883: 349; 1888: 819) and PEKMEZI (1908: 89-90), among others, that the front vowel in definite plural forms of certain nouns such as StAlb. *vendësit(ë)* ‘the locals, natives’ (derived from StAlb. *vend*, *-i*¹⁰⁴ ‘place, country’), StAlb. *njerëzit(ë)* ‘the men, people’ (sg. *njeri*) in fact preserves this ending. In the latter case, corroborating this claim is complicated by the fact that although sg. *njeri* continues an old *-ijō*-stem¹⁰⁵, the plural is formed by a suffix *-ëz* of uncertain origin (see section 4.2.5.1). Whether such plural, which is amply documented in the Old Geg texts, continues a PIE masculine *o*-stem may therefore be doubted. Cf.

/Të ëngrihenë **njerëzitë** e Ninivësë/ (Buz. 118, 77) ‘the men of Ninive shall rise’

/e ndritinë **njerësitë** me gniotunë Tënëësonë/ (Bgd. 1.22.19-20) ‘and led the men/ mankind to knowledge of God’

Regarding the former case, a definite plural of *vendës/ vendas* is not found in Buzuku, and only documented once in Bogdani, cf.

/atà të **vendassitë**/ (Bgd. 1.131.17) ‘those of the locals’

As this form constitutes an agent noun built by means of a suffix *-ës/ -as* (m.) which can be traced back to PIE **-ik^hijō-*¹⁰⁶ (Pedersen 1900: 322; Matzinger 2006: 138), the source of the definite nominative plural *vendësit(ë)/ vendasitë* can be reconstructed as **^o-ik^hi-oj+toj > *^o-e+te*. If we assume that in e.g. polysyllabic words such as the noun in question, the plural ending could receive secondary stress (cf. the variable development of the definite genitive sg. *-^hijō+t^o > -ët, -it/-ut* depending on stress)¹⁰⁷, **-i* (< **-e* < **-ai* < **-oj*) might have escaped reduction and eventual deletion in this position (in contrast to when in unstressed position).

¹⁰⁴ Etymology not entirely clear. According to DEMIRAJ B. (1997: 419), *vend*, *-i* < PA **uen-(e)t-*, likely related to a verb *ve*, Geg *vë* ‘put’ < PA **uen-* (cf. also Meyer 1891: 469; Tagliavini 1937: 279; Hamp 1965: 128-129; Çabej 1958/1960; Mann 1977: 81).

¹⁰⁵ < **h₂ner-ijō-*, substantivised adjective in the meaning of ‘manly’, derived from and substituting simplex **h₂nēr* (nom.). The simplex is preserved in plural *njër-ëz* (Matzinger 2006: 158).

¹⁰⁶ Cf. also OArm. *-ič^c* (Pedersen 1900: 322).

¹⁰⁷ Cf. chapter 3.1; Matzinger (2006: 98).

Regarding definite plurals such as OG *djemënitë* ‘the devils’ ☞ Lat. *daemōn*, *-onis* (or AGr. *δαίμων*)¹⁰⁸, documented in Bogdani as well as Budi (cf. the example below), the front vowel preceding the definite suffix has to be accounted for differently, since as original *n*-stems (Latin or AGr.), such loans would most probably have been integrated in the (E)PA *n*-stems (still present at that time), cf. Klingenschmitt (2000: 8); Matzinger (2006: 97):

/po ashtu ende **djemënitë** e ferrit dridhenë e tristonenë, ke gjegjenë shintinë emënitë e tī/ (Budi DC 48.7-9) ‘but likewise even the demons of hell tremble and are frightened where they hear his holy name’

In a form (E)PA plural **dɛ-mɛn-ès+toj*, unstressed **-è* in final syllables could then become **-i*¹⁰⁹, preserved in the definite variant (> OG *djemënitë*), but reduced in the indefinite (> StAlb. *djemën*); cf. Schumacher/Matzinger (forthc.: 190). The same accounts for OG def. pl. nom. *dreqënitë* (Buzuku), as Latin loans such as *dracō/ dracō* ‘dragon’ were integrated into the Albanian inherited *n*-stems as nom.sg. **drakō* (> StAlb. *dreq*) ‘devil’, nom. pl. **drákɛnès* (> **drakinih* > PA **drek’ënë* > Tosk *dreqër*, Geg *dreqën*), indef. nom. pl. **dreqënitë* < **drakinih+°* < *drakɛn-es+toj* (cf. Klingenschmitt 2000: 8).

Alternatively, and more plausibly, however, synchronic *-i-* in certain definite nominative plural forms is explained as an epenthetic vowel¹¹⁰, inserted to avoid consonant clusters in polysyllabic forms as well as problematic consonant clusters in monosyllables such as pl. *peshq-i-t/ pishq-i-t* ‘the fish’¹¹¹; cf. DEMIRAJ Sh. (1973: 52):

Përsa i takon zanores *-i-*, që del në shumësin e shquar të disa emrave [...], kjo s'ka të bëjë me mbaresën e vjetër të shumësit *-i-*, e cila është zhdukur prej kohësh [as concerns the vowel *-i-* which appears in the definite plural of some nouns, it has nothing to do with the old plural ending, which has long disappeared].

¹⁰⁸ Suppletive plural of *djáll* ‘devil’ ☞ Lat. *diābolus* or AGr. *διάβολος* (cf. Meyer 1891: 69; Çabej 1976/I: 128; Orel 1998: 67; Matzinger 2006: 196).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. pl. *net* (sg. *nat/ë*, *-a* ‘night’) < EPA **naktih* < PIE **nókʷt-es* (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 190).

¹¹⁰ See FIEDLER (2007: 145): “[E]s spricht aber vieles auch dafür, daß es sich um einen neueren Svarabhaktivokal handelt, wie er auch in anderen Bereichen der alb. Grammatik verwendet wird”, cf. e.g. *flas* (1st ps. sg. ind. pres.): *të flasish* (2nd ps. sg. conj. pres.) ‘to speak’. Plurals formed by a suffix *-i*, documented by FIEDLER (2007: 145-147) for certain North Geg dialects (cf. sg. *shtek* ~ pl. *shteqi*, sg. *peshk* ~ pl. *peshqi*) most probably constitute back-formations to the above discussed definite plural forms in *-it*.

¹¹¹ Sg. *peshk*, either inherited < PIE **peisk-* (consonant stem) or ☞ Lat. *piscis*. Umlaut and palatalisation may be explained by influence from plural nom. suffix **-es* > **-ih*, the vowel of which would again have been preserved in the definite variant (PIE **peisk-es+toj* > *peshk-es+°* > *peshk-ih+°* > *pishq-i+°*).

Another argument in favour of a synchronic euphonic rule is the account of the processes in SASSE (1991: 82f.).

As has been pointed out before (see section 3.1), umlaut and palatalisation produced by the ending **-i* (< **-oi*) and therefore originally restricted to the nominative plural, were typically generalised to the whole plural paradigm, catering to the growing tendency to clearly distinguish a singular and a plural stem (cf. Demiraj Sh. 1993: 95; Fiedler 2007: 385). Suffixes of various other sources were then frequently added to the *o*-plurals (characterised only by umlaut or palatalisation) in order to further increase this distinction (Domi 1966: 25).¹¹²

Although “[d]iese Endung (**-ai*) [...] sich genaugenommen nur bei echten *o*-Stämmen [...] postulieren [lässt]” (Schumacher 2009: 60), causing the synchronic predominance of umlaut and palatalisation in masculine nouns, it might have been analogically extended to other stems, or other genders, as DEMIRAJ Sh. (1993: 54) suggests. This argument is based on examples such as the original neuters sg. *anë* ‘side, vessel’ ~ pl. *enë* as well as *ashtë* ‘bone’ ~ pl. *eshtëna/ eshtë(ë)ra*, *shtrat* ‘bed’ ~ *shtret-ër* (Geg *shtret-ën*)¹¹³, whose umlaut effects are explained by a secondary adoption of **-i* (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 54). However, alternative (and more convincing) solutions are available for each of these cases, as e.g. umlaut in the two latter plural forms may have been triggered by the formans Geg *-ën(ë)*, Tosk *-ër(ë)* < **-inë* < **-en-ā* < PIE **-en-eh₂*¹¹⁴. Such reconstruction certainly seems most valid and plausible in regard to *ashtë(ë)*, pl. *eshtë(ë)ra* (< PA **ástinë* < EPA **ástenǎ*; cf. Matzinger 2006: 217). Concerning *shtrat* ~ *shtret-ër*, the case is less obvious, though, as it is impossible to judge from textual evidence whether the noun was first subjected to umlaut by an analogically adopted ending **-oi* in the plural, and later took on a reinforcing suffix Tosk *-ër(ë)* Geg *-ën(ë)* (a common enough phenomenon), or whether the umlaut was caused by the early attachment of a suffix **-en-ā* (secondarily split up from plural forms of old neuter *n*-stems), both of which developments would have yielded synchronic *shtret-ër/ shtret-ën*.

The synchronic plural *enë* (sg. *anë*), the etymological origin of which is not entirely clear, could in contrast be traced to an old dual **ahnē* < **^o-ah₂-ih₁* ‘both sides’; cf. Buz. (230, 9-10)

¹¹² As dealt with in chapter (3.1), the absence of umlaut/palatalisation in certain case forms built by *i*-bearing suffixes (genitive-dative, ablative sg.), or rather, the appearance of a variant *-u* in forms with final velars, is sometimes related to the need to clearly distinguish between singular and plural stem as well (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 55, 65, 113).

¹¹³ StAlb. *shtrat*, *-i* (synchronically masculine) ↔ Lat. *strātum* (n.)

¹¹⁴ For the plural formans Tosk *-ërë*, Geg *-ënë* ultimately deriving from masculine *n*-stems (< **-in-ih* < PIE **-en-es*) see chapter (4.2.4).

/ën katërë **enësh**/ ‘from four sides’ vs. Buz. (378, 64-65) /ënbë të dÿ **anët**¹¹⁵/ ‘on both sides’ (Klingenschmitt 1994: 223). Although neither of the examples therefore necessarily requires the assumption of an analogical extension of *-i, the possibility cannot be ruled out completely; the problematic etymology of the form and the unclear relationship between its meanings ‘side’ and ‘vessel’ make it difficult to draw any satisfactory conclusions (Schumacher: personal communication).

Umlaut as well as palatalisation seem, however, to have been grammaticalised at a later stage, being extended to a number of Turkish loan words which entered the language at a time when the original conditions for the processes would not have been given any more (from the 14th ct. onwards, i.e. shortly before the literary period). This is exemplified by the following plural forms (variably with additional plural suffix e.g. -e; cf. Pekmezi 1908: 90; Demiraj Sh. 1993: 65; Fiedler 2007: 26; Buseti 1911: 592):

- *surrat*, -i ~ pl. *surreten* ‘face’
- *kat*, -i ~ pl. *ket* ‘floor, storey’
- *hendek*, -u ~ pl. *hendiqe/hendeqe* ‘ditch, gap’
- *turk*, -u ~ pl. *turqe* ‘Turkish’ (subst.adj.)
- *oxhak*, -u ~ pl. *oxhaq* ‘chimney’
- *çek*, -u ~ pl. *çeqe* ‘check’
- *çardak*, -u ~ pl. *çardaqe* ‘garret’
- *çoban*, -i ‘shepherd’ ~ *çobenj*.

While Turkish loans in general are largely absent from Buzuku, plurals of Turkish nouns showing palatalisation of final velars are frequently found in Bogdani, cf. e.g.

/ciardachie [spelling StAlb. *çardaqe*] fort të nalta/ (Bgd. 1.2.11-12) ‘very high garrets’

Later loans from Italian or Modern Greek were similarly secondarily subjected to umlaut and/or palatalisation in some cases, cf. StAlb. *avokat* ‘lawyer, attorney’ ~ dialectal pl. *avoket(ër)*, StAlb. *frat* ‘friar’ ~ dialectal pl. *fret(ër)*; cf. Fiedler (2007: 34).

In contrast to these phenomena commonly being regarded as analogical formations on the model of the “zahlreichen Lexemen auf -ek und -eg” (Fiedler 2007: 26; cf. also Pekmezi 1908: 90; Demiraj Sh. 1993: 65), DEMIRAJ Sh. (1996: 136) views the vowel alternation in variant forms such as *hendiqe* “als sekundäre Entwicklung - als Dissimilation (e/e > i/e) nach

¹¹⁵ Instead of *enet* (cf. Klingenschmitt 1994: 223).

dem Antritt des Suffixes -e, wobei auch der palatale [sic!] Charakter des -k, -gj eine Rolle gespielt haben könnte” (Fiedler 2007: 26).

In other cases, however, a tendency to preserve final -k in the plural seems to have acted counter such extension. In particular, nouns with word-formation suffixes such as -ok (e.g. *patok* ‘gander’), -uk (e.g. *kopuk* ‘have-not’), -(n)ik (e.g. *pianik* ‘drunkard’), are only very rarely affected by palatalisation; furthermore, non-suffixed nouns such as *shok*, -u ‘friend’ → Lat. *socius*, “das ursprünglich wohl wegen -ci- allgemein **shoq* lautete und zunächst dem Muster *mik/miq* angepaßt wurde” (Fiedler 2007: 97), frequently developed a secondary, non-palatalised plural¹¹⁶, cf. ModAlb. *shok*, pl. *shokë* (Fiedler 2007: 97).

In the following, selected plural forms characterised by either umlaut, palatalisation or both, and continuing PIE masculine o-stems (inherited as well as loans), will be discussed (the classification being mainly based on FIEDLER 2007).

- *a* → *e*

(A) -á- in final, closed syllable

StAlb. *plak*, -u ‘old man’ ~ pl. *pleq*, -të < **plaki* < EPA nom.pl. **plakai* < PIE **p_lh₂-koj*, cf. Lith. *pilkas* ‘grey’, root **pelh₂*- (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 198).

/E ënd’ ata vietë klenë zgjiedhunë d8 **pleq**/ (Buz. 156, 11)
‘And in these years two old men were chosen’

/A kini gjegjunë qish thanë anshtë ën **pleqshit**/ (Buz. 108, 70-71)
‘You have heard that it was said by the old men?’

/të Jevrejet **plechie**/ (Bgd. 1.17.7-8) ‘elders of the Hebrews’

StAlb. *kunát*, -i ‘brother-in-law’ ~ pl. *kunëtër* → Lat. *cō-gnātus* ‘relative’, root **ǵenh₁*- ‘be born, beget’ (cf. Rum. *cumnat* ‘id.’), plural reinforced by additional suffix -ër in StAlb. (cf. Meyer 1891: 214; Matzinger 2006: 98). Only the singular is documented in the older texts.

StAlb. *gardh*, -i ‘fence’ ~ pl. *gjerdhe* < **gardhi* < EPA **gardhai* < **g^hord^hoj* (cf. Lith. *gaĩdas*), root **g^herd^h*- ‘enclose, engird’ (cf. OCS *gradъ* ‘castle, city, garden’; pl. *gjerdh+e* with secondary suffix -e (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 183; Matzinger 2006: 70). Not documented in the older texts.

¹¹⁶ Older *shoq*, -i being preserved in a specialised meaning ‘husband’ (Fiedler 2007: 97).

StAlb. *lak*, *-u* ‘trap, snare, rope’ ~ pl. *leq(ë)*. Etymology unclear, according to MEYER (1891: 235) borrowed from BalkLat. *laquus* (Lat. *laqueus*), OREL (1998: 211) assumes a PA form **laka* (pl. *leq* < **lakai*?). DEMIRAJ B. (1997: 232) suggests a possible relation to a root **lh₂k-* of non-Indo-European origin (cf. Pokorny 1959: 673-674, *lĕk-*)

/leqt e kanbëvet mive/ (Buz. 190, 47) ‘snares for my feet’

/me sctijm rjetë , e lechie/ (Bgd. 1.3.1) ‘to throw out the nets and ropes’

(B) *-á-* in final, open syllable

StAlb. *ka*, *-u* ‘ox’ ~ pl. *qe* < *k̑rh₂uoĭ* (cf. Lith. *kárvė*; Matzinger 2006: 96).

/Qētë por lëvronjinë/ (Buz. 376, 56) ‘the oxen (were) ploughing’

/qētë e dhentë/ (Buz. 162, 78) ‘the oxen and sheep’

(C) *-á-* in penultima

i) last syllable open

StAlb. *at(ë)*, *-i* ‘father’ ~ pl. *et(ër)* < **ati* < **attoĭ* ? (babbling word, cf. Hitt. *atta-*, Goth. *atta*, Lat. *atta*, OHD *atto*, OCS *otъcъ*, etc. ‘id.’; Pokorny 1959: 71). As SCHUMACHER/MATZINGER (forthc.: 190) point out, StAlb. *etër* as well as the OG correspondent form /atënë/ continue a remodelled plural EPA **at-inih* < **-en-es*, the umlaut in the Tosk/StAlb. form most plausibly caused by this secondary suffix (cf. section 4.2.4) instead of the original *o*-stem suffix. This umlaut was secondarily reversed in Old Geg.

Penseçjetë dit ende mbassi nzuer **Atenite** tane prej Missirit (Bgd. 2.140.13)
‘yet fifty days after he led our fathers out from Egypt’

ii) last syllable closed

StAlb. *mashkull* ‘male being’ ~ pl. *meshkuj* (dialectal variants *mashkuj*, *meshqyj*) ⇨ Lat. *masculus* ‘id.’

StAlb. *shekull* ‘world, life’ ~ pl. *shekuj* ⇨ Lat. *sacculus* (?) (cf. Schmidt 1922: 239).

- *o* → *e*

StAlb. *shkop* ‘rod, stick’ ~ dialectal pl. *shqep* (besides dialectal *shqip*, StAlb. *shkopinj* with secondary suffix *-inj*) ⇨ Lat. *scāpus*? (Meyer 1891: 408; Taglivaini 1937: 254; Huld 1984: 114; Çabej 2006: 141 argues for a borrowing from NW Greek). Traced back to PA **skāpa* by OREL (1998: 421), cf. AGr. *σκᾶπος, σκῆπτρον* ‘stick, sceptre’.

StAlb. (*i*) *vogël* ‘small, little’ ~ pl. (*të*) *vegjël*. Isolated word, connected to the equally isolated OCS form *svěžb* ‘fresh’ by MEYER (1891: 477), see also Huld (1983: 131-132), Tagliavini (1937: 286). OREL (1998: 513) proposes a PA form **vāgla, vāgra* from earlier **uāg-no* (root *uāg, uāg* ‘be crooked’, cf. Lat. *vagor* ‘to roam around’, OIr *fán* ‘slope’; Pokorny 1959: 1120)
pl. *vegjël* < PA **voglai* ?

/ξ̣ambete **vogiele** , e te barçe si duora/ (Bgd. 2.7.10)
‘the teeth small, and white like snow’

/i nandi ndër Profetetë **vogielë**/ (Bgd. 1.148.7) ‘the ninth among the minor prophets’

- *e* → *i*

StAlb. *shteg, -u* ‘path’ (OG /*shtek, -u* / ~ pl. *shtigje* < **štēgi* < PA **staigai* < **stōjg^hoi*, root **stejg^h-* ‘climb, rise, step’ (cf. AGr. *στοῖχος*; Goth. *staiga* ‘way, path’ < **stōjg^heh₂*). See Schumacher/Matzinger (forthc.: 198); also Mann (1950: 387), Pokorny (1959: 1017), Huld (1984: 114).

OG. (Budi) (*i*) *vobeg* ‘poor’ (besides OG. *vobëk*/StAlb. *vobëkë*) ~ pl. (*të*) *vobigjtë* ⇨ OSlav. *ubogъ* ‘id.’. Early loanword. Seeing that plural **-i* generally not trigger umlaut, the change *e* → *i* might here have been either triggered by the following palatal consonant, or resulted from dissimilation from a secondary suffix (Jokl 1923: 7).

/giççe te **vobeschite** , e te pervutite/ (Bgd. 2.21.15)
‘all the poor ones, and the humble ones’

/te niereë mat’ **vobechie**/ (Bgd. 2.18.16-17) ‘of the poorest men’

StAlb. *breg, -u* ‘bank, shore, coast’ ~ dialectal pl. *brigje*; Slavic loan, cf. SCr. *brijeg, breg*, OCS *brěgъ* ‘bank, coast, hill’; secondary umlaut and palatalisation cf. above (Orel 1998: 34; Meyer 1891: 46).

/cur dalenë jashtë **Brigjetscit** se tünë (Bgd. 2.12.16)
‘when they were leaving their shores’

- *u* → *y*

StAlb. *mashkull, -i* ‘male’ ~ dialectal (Tosk) pl. *meshqyj* (cf. Fiedler 2007: 53f., 478)
⇨ Lat. *masculus* (> pl. **maškuli*; cf. Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.:187), cf. above.

StAlb. *shuall*, -i ‘sole’ ~ dialectal pl. *shyej* (StAlb. *shuaj*; Geg *shoje*) ⇨ Lat. *solum* (Fiedler 2007: 53ff.; Matzinger 2006: 60). Originally neuter, umlaut and palatalisation adopted in analogy to masculines?

- *a* → *i*

StAlb. *lak*, -u ‘loop’ ~ dialectal pl. *liqe* (StAlb. *laqe*); cf. above.

- *o* → *i*

StAlb. *kopsht*, -i (OG /kopēsht/ë, -itë/ ‘garden’ ~ pl. *qipsh(e)* (< *qepsht*) < **kop(ë)sti* < **kop(ë)stai* < **kāp-ostoi* (Matzinger 2006: 255), cf. AGr. κῆπος (Dor. κᾶπος) ‘id.’. According to SCHUMACHER/MATZINGER (forthc.: 229), originally a neuter *o*-stem: transponat ***keh₂po-sth₂o-m*; umlaut through analogical extension of m. pl. *-i (cf. Demiraj Sh. 1993: 54), cf. below, chapter (4.2.4).

StAlb. *shkop*, -i ‘stick, rod’ ~ dialectal pl. *shqip* (besides dialectal *shqep*, StAlb. secondary plural *shkopinj*), cf. above

- *k* → *q*

StAlb. *armik*, -u ‘enemy’ ~ pl. *armiq* (Geg *anmik*) ⇨ Lat. *inimicus* (Matzinger 2006: 83)

StAlb. *mik*, -u ‘friend’ ~ pl. *miq* ⇨ Lat. *amicus* (Matzinger 2006: 97, 216)

/e **mich** me Teneone/ (Bgd. 2.3.18-19) and friends with God’

/Michiè , e Anemichiè , Dittenè , e Nattene/ (Bgd. 2.45.12)
‘friends and enemies, day and night’

StAlb. *bujk*, -u ‘farmer’ ~ pl. *bujq* ⇨ Lat. *bubulcus* (Matzinger 2006: 73)

StAlb. *ujk*, -u (OG /ulk, -u/) ‘wolf’ ~ pl. *ujq* < **ul^hk^hoⁱ*; cf. OCS *vlъkъ*, Ved. *vṛka-*, Lith. *vilkas* ‘id.’ (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 200)

/lypinë prej priftënish shëjtënë pagëzim për të mos i përpim **ujtë** për shtësë/
(Bgd. 2.39.3)

‘they ask the priests for the holy christening, so that the wolves will not devour them instead of animals’

StAlb. *fik*, -u ‘fig’ ~ pl. *fiq* ⇨ Lat. *ficus* (Matzinger 2006: 66).

/andaj lüpi ndeper vensctenat **Fich**/ (Bgd. 2.21.18)
'hence I am looking for figs in the vineyard'

- **g** → **gj**

StAlb. *zog*, -u 'bird' ~ pl. *zogj* < EPA **jūāgV*- < PIE **ǵ^huāh₂g^hV*-; cf. Arm. *jag(-owc)* 'young bird, sparrow' (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 210; Demiraj B. 1997: 429; Pedersen 1900: 338; Huld 1984: 135-136; Tagliavini 1937: 294-295; Mann 1952: 36, 1977: 35).

/te gurevet , te **əogiet** , te Peskut/ (Bgd. 2.47.7) 'of the stones, birds, fish'

- **l** → **j**

StAlb. *buall*, -i 'buffalo' ~ pl. *buaj* ⇨ Lat. *būbalus* (Matzinger 2006: 82).

StAlb. sg. *popull*, -i (OG. /*popull/ë*, -i/) 'people' ~ pl. *popuj* (OG. /*popuj/*) ⇨ Lat. *populus* (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 205).

sg.:

/Zot, ji afërë **popullit** t'it/ (Buz. 124, 17) 'Lord, show mercy to your people'

pl.:

/ti **popujet** kërshenave/ (Buz. 122, 18-19) 'to the Christian peoples'

StAlb. *díell* 'sun' ~ pl. *diej* < **deli* < PA **delvai* < PIE **ǵ^hel-uoj*; cf. Skt. *hári-* 'pale, yellowish', Av. *zairi-* 'id.', Lat. *helvus* 'yellowish', Lith. *žėlvas* 'id.' (Orel 1998: 65; Matzinger 2006: 49).

StAlb. *qiell* 'sky, heaven' ~ pl. *qiej*; MATZINGER (2006: 179) here suggests borrowing from Lat. plural *caeli/ keli*, which could be interpreted as nom.sg. of a fem. *i*-stem (accounting for the form's feminine gender in OAlb., cf. e.g. Buzuku fol. 12^v, gen.sg. /*qiellsë*/; has become masculine in ModAlb.). In Old and Modern Geg, the plural form of this noun typically shows non-palatalised liquid, in accordance with its feminine gender, cf.

/Sā janë **qielltë** ën dheut të nalta/ (Buz. 226, 77)

/pse e tireja ishtë perëndia e **qiellvet**/ 'because theirs is the kingdom of the heavens' (Matrënga, fol.42; cf. Matzinger 2006: 246; Fiedler 2007: 118).

In Bogdani, the noun oscillates between masculine and feminine gender; in neither gender does the plural show a palatalised liquid, though.

/e pèr keta tre **Chieλ** foli S. Pali/ (Bgd. 1.22.2)

‘and of these three heavens spoke St. Paul’

/tè ξjetè **Chiełtè** tjera/ (Bgd. 1.25.2); cf. Fiedler (2007: 119) ‘of the other ten heavens’

The palatalisation of the final liquid in Modern Tosk therefore has to be considered as only secondary. Cf. also Meyer (1891: 225f.); Orel (1998: 360).

StAlb. *(h)yll, -i* ‘star’ (Tosk/OG /y̯ll, -i/) ~ pl. StAlb. *(h)yje* OG y̯j < *y̯li < *yli < EPA *ūlai < uridg. *h₂us-loj; root *h₂ues- ‘to brighten up, became light’. (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 197; Demiraj B. 1997: 206; Huld 1984: 13; Pedersen 1897: 544; Pokorny 1959: 881).

/è **üitè** nfscefne drittènè e vet/ (Bgd. 2.120.9-10) ‘and the stars hide their light’

StAlb. *apostull*, OG /apóstol/ ‘apostle’ ~ pl. *apostuj*, OG /apostoj/ ⇨ AGr. ἀπόστολος (cf. Matzinger 2006: 185; Fiedler 2007: 119). Ex.:

sg.:

/Kçe̯ej sè riu **Apostułi** e i ξξà/ (Bgd. 2.92.14) ‘the apostle returned to tell him’

pl.:

/e ënbas-andaj githë **apostojet**/ (Buz. 282, 13-14) ‘and subsequently all apostles’

/Darca e Iesu Christit me **apostuite** vet/ (Bgd. 2.92.1)
‘the supper of Jesus Christ with his apostles’

/O ju gjithë shenj<ë>tënë **Apostoj** Evanhelista, lutii për në/ (Buz. 40, 69-70)
‘All you holy evangelist apostles, pray for us’

Matrënga gives a variant non-palatalised zero-plural form, cf.

/të dimbëdhjetë **apostolitë**/ (Matrënga fol.12^v) ‘the twelve apostles’

StAlb. *mashkull* ‘male being’ ~ pl. *meshkuj* (dialectal variants *mashkuj*, *meshqyj*) ⇨ Lat. *masculus* ‘id.’

/achia per **masckuit**, sa per femenat/ (Bgd. 2.25.9)
‘as much for the males, as for the females’

/përsepat Jacobi dëmbëξjetë bij **Masckuje**/ (Bgd. 1.52. 21-22)
‘Jacob had twelve male children’

StAlb. *shekull* ‘world, life’ ~ pl. *shekuj* ⇨ Lat. *sacculus* (?) (cf. Schmidt 1922: 239).

/ëndë gjithë farë të **shekujet**/ (Buz. 288, 38-39) ‘in all beginning of the worlds’

- *r* → *j*

StAlb. *bir*, *-i* (OG /bīr-, -i/) ‘son’ ~ pl. *bij* < OTosk /bilj/ (*Matrënga* fol. 42^v) < **biri* < PA **bīrai* < **b^hiH-roj*; root **b^heġH-* cf. the related root *b^hueh₂-* > StAlb. (*m*)*bin* ‘to bud, sprout, bear fruit’ (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 187; Matzinger 2006: 212; Meyer 1891: 37; Hamp 1971: 22ff.; Huld 1984: 44; Klingenschmitt 1992: 103; Demiraj B. 1997: 101ff.; Matzinger 1998b: 232; Orel 1998: 26).

/e Tè **bij**tè , Jobit/ (Bgd. 2.80.24-25) ‘and the sons of Job’

StAlb. *lepur*, *-i* ‘rabbit’ ~ pl. *lepuj* ☞ Lat. nom. sg. +*lepuris* (Class.-Lat. *lepus*, *-oris*)¹¹⁷; MATZINGER claims that Latin masculine imparisyllaba with restructured nominative “flektieren nach ihrer Entlehnung ins Albanische nach dem Muster der ererbten maskulinen o-Stämme” (2006: 101); the development could, in this case, however also be analogical (Schumacher: personal communication); PA nom.pl. **lepurai* >/→ *lepuj*.

- *n* → *nj/j*¹¹⁸

StAlb. *gju*, *-ri* (Geg *gjû*, *-ni*) ‘knee’ ~ pl. *gjunj(ë)* (OG /gjũ/, pl. /gjũnjë/; older /glũnjë/), original nasal lost in singular, but preserved in plural and definite singular (with rhotacism of *n* → *r* as well as de-nasalisation of the vowel in Tosk). Possibly < **glunoj* (dissimilated from **ġnu-no-*; cf. Lat. *genu*), the original gender and stem formation is, however, not entirely clear (< EPA **glunV(C)-* < **gnu-nV(C)-*, most likely derived from an etymon continued by Ved. *jānu* ‘knee’, possibly also related to OIr. *glún* ‘id.’; rather old neuter *s*-stem PIE **ġnuH-nes-* than *o*-stem?) cf. Schumacher/Matzinger (forthc.: 209); Demiraj B. (1997: 190ff.). SCHUMACHER (personal communication), following EICHNER, derives synchronic plural *gjunjë* from an old neuter dual **glun-ih₁* or thematic **glun-oih₁*.

StAlb. *gji*, *-ri* (Geg *gġi*, *gġini*; OG /gġi, gġini/) ‘breast(s), bosom’ ~ pl. *gjinj* (besides ModAlb. *gji*) < **sinoj*; whether this noun is inherited or borrowed (very early) from Lat. *sinus*, *-ūs* is debated (cf. Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 233; Matzinger 2006: 77).

/ëndë **gji** të saj/ (Buz. 162, 40-41) ‘to her bosom’ (singular or plural)

StAlb. *mulli*, *-ri* ‘mill’ ~ pl. *mullinj* < **mulinoj*; with PIE *-*VIV-* > *-*VĪV* > -*ll(-)*; SCHUMACHER/MATZINGER (forthc.: 218) point out that “[o]bwohl das Wort

¹¹⁷ SCHUMACHER/MATZINGER (forthc.: 185), based on the Rumanian forms also showing /u/, suggest that the Romance input-forms had *u*-vocalism, cf. Alb. *shpuz/ë*, *-a* ‘glowing ashes’; Rum. *spuză* ☞ Lat. *spodium* ‘ashes’.

¹¹⁸ As SCHUMACHER/MATZINGER (forthc.: 219) point out, final *-nj-* usually becomes *-j-* “in den modernen Dialekten und in der Standardsprache”, cf. StAlb. *bëj* ‘I do, make’ vs. OGeg *bânj* (see also FIEDLER 2007: 340).

selbst eine Entlehnung aus lat. *molīnum (saxum)* ‘Mühlstein’ ist, ist die Pluralform rein albanisch”. Only the singular is documented in the older texts.

/gurë e **mullinit** ën fßt të tī/ (Buz. 336, 29-30) ‘a millstone around his neck’

StAlb. *luan*, -i ‘lion’ ~ pl. *luanj* ⇨ Lat. *leō*, -*ōnis*. The phonological development of this form is unclear; most certainly, it constitutes a more recent borrowing (cf. *dragua*; Schumacher: personal communication).

/U duk ateherë Danieli Lechienit se **Luagnet**/ (Bgd. 2.130.7)
‘then was Daniel pulled out of the lions’ den’

/e scpetoj **Luanjscit**/ (Bgd. 1.31.23) ‘and rescued (him) from the lions’

StAlb. *kushëri*, -ri; Geg *kushrî*, -ini ‘cousin’ ~ pl. *kush(ë)rinj* ⇨ Lat. *cōn-sobrīnus* ‘id.’
(Meyer 1891: 218; Matzinger 2006: 102)

As already alluded to, and as noticed by, among others, DEMIRAJ Sh. (1993: 102) and FIEDLER (2007: 237ff.), a suffix *-ínj/-énj* is frequently found to attach itself to nouns which neither have a nasal in the singular, nor appear to have ever had one in both singular and plural, cf. e.g. *shkop* ~ *shkop-ínj* as discussed above. While JOKL (1927: 382) posits an Illyrian formant *-inium* as the ancestor of this suffix, *-inj* is now commonly explained as an “Ergebnis einer inneren Entwicklung des Albanischen selbst” (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 102).¹¹⁹ Originally occurring in forms with stem-final nasal (*-Vn-*) such as Geg *mullî* (Tosk *mulli*) < **mulin-* ~ pl. *mullínj* < **mulini* < **o-* or Geg *kushrî* (Tosk *kushëri*) < **kuśrin-* ~ pl. *kush(ë)rínj* < **kuśrini* < **o-*, this ending could have been reinterpreted as a plural suffix itself, as a result of the nasal being lost in the singular with nasalisation of the preceding vowel (and eventual de-nasalisation of the vowel in Tosk). This new, mis-segmented suffix then spread to other contexts, secondarily attaching to otherwise characterised plural formations (Matzinger 2006: 102; Demiraj Sh. 1986: 241f., 1993: 102; Meyer 1883: 357f.; Domi 1961: 8). Such development can be exemplified by the following examples:

StAlb. *mi*, -u, Geg *mî*, -ni ~ pl. *minj* ← nom. pl. *mī* < *mūh* < (*muëh*) < *muH-es* (?) (Matzinger 54; Schumacher/Matzinger: 197). Geg variant *mî*, def. *mini* constitutes a case of secondary nasalisation, as “[a]us paradigmatischen Gründen haben Vorbilder wie mullî, -ni [...], wo Nasal berechtigt ist, auf nichtnasale Vokalstämme eingewirkt und sie in Nasalstämme übergeführt” (Ölberg 1972: 48). Such transfer was triggered by an analogy in the plural: Geg sg. *mullî*, -ni : pl. *mullí(nj)* ~ sg. *x* : pl. *mí(nj)*; *x* = new

¹¹⁹Others suggest that a collective formation is at the basis of this suffix; cf. e.g. JOKL (1923: 191) who assumes a PA suffix **-inio* (> *-ënj*) or FIEDLER (2007: 201), positing a collective suffix **an* + plural formant *-i*. Both assumptions can be dismissed on various grounds (cf. Matzinger 2006: 102; Demiraj Sh. 1993:102; see also section 4.2.4).

nominative singular *mî*, *-ni* (cf. also Çabej 1960: 99ff.; Meyer 1891: 278).¹²⁰ See also section (4.1.1).

StAlb. *i madh* (m.) ‘great, big, large’ ~ pl. *mëdhénj*; < EPA **maj-* < PIE **meǵh₂*; cf. AGr. *μέγας* ‘id.’, Lat. *magnus* ‘id.’, Arm. *mec* ‘id.’ (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 209). Secondary suffix *-énj* or, in line with MATZINGER (2006: 172), continuing an extended form **meǵh₂-ón-es* (with an individualising *n*-suffix); EPA *maj-án-es* > **maj-án-is* > PA **medδ-én* (vocalism due to umlaut) > **mëdhén*, later → *mëdhenj* in analogy to other paradigms (Matzinger 2006: 172).

/te meçejte e njereete meçej/ (Bgd. 2.162.8-9) ‘the adults and great men’

Further listed among plurals with secondary suffix *-inj* by DEMIRAJ Sh. (1993: 02) is StAlb. *gjarpër*, *-i*, Geg *gjarpën/(ë)*, *-i* ‘snake’ ~ dialectal pl. *gjarpínj* (besides Old Geg *gjërpánjë* and StAlb./Tosk *gjarpërinj*). Although palatalisation of the final nasal is to be expected in this case (< EPA **zarpánai* < PIE **serpónoi*), the *i*-vocalism in *gjarpínj* can only be due to analogical extension.¹²¹ The secondary nature of *-ínj* is even more conspicuous in StAlb./Tosk *gjarpërinj*, as the suffix here attaches to the rhotacised singular stem. The regular, original plural *gjërpanjë* would not have been affected by rhotacism, as only non-palatalised (and non-geminated) **n* were subjected to the process (cf. Fiedler 2007: 128; Schumacher: personal communication).

Items with debated etymology, but almost certainly secondary suffixation include *cjáp* ‘he-goat’ ~ pl. *cjepínj* and *dash* ‘ram’ ~ pl. *dëshínj* (Fiedler 2007: 72-73).

4.1.1.2 accent shift (type *gjarpënë*)

In the following chapter, certain aspects of the diachronic development of stress in Albanian and their relevance for plural formation will be dealt with. As discussed in chapter (2.2.1), accent in Indo-European was mobile, the position of the stress being systematically determined by the specific properties of the form in question (e.g. class or case). The extent to which or whether at all “die Betonungsmuster des Altalbanischen mit grundsprachlichen Betonungsmustern zusammenhängen” (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 180) has not yet been

¹²⁰ Cf. also Geg *ullî*, *-ni* (Tosk *ullî*, *-ri/-u*) ‘olive’ ~ pl. *ullínj* ⇔ Lat. *olīva*. ÖLBERG (1972: 48) further claims the nasal variants of *arí* ‘bear’, *urí-th* ‘mole’ as well as *shatí* ‘gander’ to be “geneuerte Singulare vom Plural *-inj* her”, contrary to JOKL (1923: 310) deriving them from old nasal stems (cf. also Çabej 1960: 99f.). While the nasalisation in Geg *sý*, *-ni* ‘eye’ is also assumed to be secondary (Matzinger 2006: 59), Geg *drû*, *-ni* ‘wood’ is argued to represent an old variant **drun-* besides **dru-* (possibly already existing in PIE) by ÇABEJ (1961: 61ff.) and ÖLBERG (1972: 48-49).

¹²¹ For a discussion of the stress pattern in pairs such as *krímb* ~ *kërmúj*, *gjarpër* ~ *gjërpánjë* see section 4.1.1.2.

completely ascertained, the issue of Albanian stress in general being “kompliziert und nicht in allen Einzelheiten klar” (Matzinger 2006: 64). While it can fairly safely be said that the PIE mobile accent was fixed, i.e. the accent is lexically and/or morphologically assigned for the individual lexeme and there is (usually) no variation within one paradigm¹²², there seems to be no restriction regarding the specific position of the fixed accent in Old Albanian. Rather, both initial and medial syllables are found to carry stress, furthermore, oxytona appear to be very frequent (cf. Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 180; Demiraj Sh. 1993: 44ff.).¹²³ OAlb. as well as ModAlb. oxytona are, however, not supposed to continue PIE oxytonic forms, but either constitute post-PIE compounds or reflect the loss of a final syllable (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 180). This broad abandonment of PIE final stress has lead certain linguists, first of all JOKL, to assume a “mechanische[...] Regelung des Akzentes nach dem Pänultimaprinzip” (1923: 8), i.e. paroxytonic stress as a rule (cf. also Demiraj Sh. 1993: 43ff.; Çabej 1976a: 9). As MATZINGER (2006: 64), among others, has shown, the various exceptions to such rule can, however, not be ignored, and the rule as formulated by JOKL must not be regarded as a ‘law’ determining Albanian accent, but is clearly in need of modification (cf. also Klingenschmitt 2000: 3).

Regarding the nominal system, JOKL’s penultimate rule does seem to apply in disyllabic forms (VV), as the only acceptable pattern in this case is accentuation on the first syllable, i.e. $\acute{V}V$ (disregarding late univerbations and clitics), cf. Matzinger (2006: 64). Consequently, the position of the accent is retained in inherited paroxytona such as StAlb. *dárkë* ‘dinner, supper’ < PIE **dórk^ho-* (cf. Gk. *δóρπον*) or StAlb. *nátë* ‘night, acc.’ < PIE **nók^ht-m* (Matzinger 2006: 64; Klingenschmitt 2000: 3), as well as in trisyllabic forms with inherited penultimate stress, e.g. StAlb. *shtatë* ‘seven’ < **sept^htā-* or StAlb. *tetë* ‘eight’ < **ok^htōt-m*.¹²⁴ In contrast, we can observe a shift of the accent to the penultimate syllable in forms with earlier ultimate stress, i.e. a retraction of the accent, in accordance to the penultimate rule as proposed; cf. StAlb. *gják* ‘blood’ < **sok^hó-* (cf. Gk. *ὀπός*), StAlb. *lápë* ‘leaf, peritoneum’ < **lopáh₂-* (Matzinger 2006: 64; Klingenschmitt 2000: 3).

A different development is, however, seen in a group of trisyllabic masculine substantives with final vowel, which are typically stressed on the first syllable or

¹²² Cf. e.g. *flútur* ‘butterfly’ (nom. sg. f.), *flúturës* (gen. sg. def.), *flúturat* (pl. nom. def.), *flúturavet* (gen. pl. def.), etc. (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 43).

¹²³ SCHUMACHER/MATZINGER (forthc.: 180) note a general tendency for penultimate stress in words with final vowel, while C-final forms typically (but not necessarily) receive stress on the ultima.

¹²⁴ See furthermore *thërí*, Geg *thëní* (f.) ‘nit’ < **čaníd-a* < PIE **koníd-* (cf. AGr. *koníd*), with retention of the old penultimate stress in ModAlb. final position (Klingenschmitt 2000: 3).

antepenultimate (́VVV), in contradiction to the expected penultimate accentuation (cf. Matzinger 2006: 64; Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 181; Klingenschmitt 2000: 3). Again, the original position of the accent seems to be preserved here, e.g. (O)Alb. *vjéh(ë)rrë* ‘father-in-law’ < **sṷékuro-*; OG/ ModGeg *gjárpënë* (Tosk *gjarpër*) ‘snake’ < **sérpono-*. Furthermore, this group shows mobile accent, as the plural form receives stress not on the antepenultimate, but on the penultimate syllable, cf. *gjárpënë* ~ OG pl. *gjërpánjë*; OAlb. *jétërë* ‘the other’ (< **étero-*) ~ pl. *tjérë* (< **etéro-*). As KLINGENSCHMITT (2000: 3) argues, this alternation, or rather, contrastive accent most certainly does not continue an inherited, PIE accent mobility, but represents an Albanian innovation, triggered by the variant quantity of the final syllables, in particular by the length of the diphthongal plural suffix *-*ai* < *-*oi* as opposed to the short vowel in nom. sg. *-*uh* < *-*os* (Matzinger 2006: 64; Klingenschmitt 2000: 3; Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 105, 109; Fiedler 2007: 80ff.).

In accordance with these observations, the following sound law is then posited by SCHUMACHER/MATZINGER (forthc.: 181):

Bei frühuralbanischen dreisilbigen Wortformen mit ursprünglicher Antepänultimabetonung wurde die Betonung auf die Pänultima verschoben, wenn die letzte Silbe den Diphthong **ai* enthielt. Dieses Lautgesetz gilt auch im verbalen Bereich.

It is commonly agreed that these various rules came into effect at a relatively early time, with JOKL (1916: 119ff.)¹²⁵ and MEYER-LÜBKE (1914: 20ff.) arguing for a pre-Roman development. Such dating is supported by the fact that the original position of the accent is typically retained in loans from Ancient Greek as well as Latin, suggesting that the process had already been completed by the time of their adoption (cf. Demiraj Sh. 1994: 44; Bonnet 1998: 35; Matzinger 2006: 65; Çabej 1976a: 9).¹²⁶ Likewise, later loan words from Slavic, Italian and other languages, were not affected by these rules (Matzinger 2006: 65).

An early dating is furthermore indicated by “die bekannte Tatsache, daß sowohl die vortonigen als auch die nachtonigen Vokale verschiedener alter Wörter eine starke Reduktion erfahren haben, die oft die Schwundstufe erreicht hat” (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 45).¹²⁷ As Slavic loans were not affected by such broad reduction, it is expected that the process had been

¹²⁶ ÇABEJ (1976: 9) in contrast, claims the fixation of the accent to be “ein Prozeß der historischen, nicht vorhistorischen Periode des Albanischen” (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 44). Although he himself points to the retention of the accent position in Latin and Greek loans, the issue is, however, left unaccounted for.

¹²⁷ Caused by the strongly expirative quality of the Albanian stress, i.e. ‘Druckakzent’ (Matzinger 2006: 65).

largely completed when the languages came into closer contact (Matzinger 2006: 65; Demiraj Sh. 1993: 45).

A special case is presented by the suffix *-ínj*, which always carries stress, regardless of the stress position of the noun it attaches to (cf. e.g. *gisht-ër-ínj* ‘fingers’, *cjap-ínj* ‘he-goats’, *kërm-ínj* ‘worms’). Most plausibly, this pattern originated in forms such as *mullí* ‘mill’ ~ pl. *mullínj*, *kushëri* ‘cousin’ ~ pl. *kushërinj*, which retain the penultimate stress of Lat. *molīnum*, *cōn-sobrīnus*. It can be expected that when the ending was secondarily interpreted as a plural suffix and extended to other singular stems, the position of stress remained on this syllable, i.e. was spread together with the suffix, cf. Fiedler (2007: 80): “es ist anzunehmen, daß die Endbetonung nach dem Muster anderer Pluralausgänge auf *-nj* [...] erhalten blieb”.

OG. nom. sg. /gj'arpënë/¹²⁸ ‘snake’ < **žárpānuh* < **sórponos* ~ nom./acc. pl. /gjërp'anjë/, /gjarp'anjë/¹²⁹ < **žarpānai* < **serpónoj*, root **serp-* ‘to crawl, creep’ (cf. Lat. *serpēns* ‘id.’; Pokorny 1959: 912). StAlb./Tosk *gjarpër* ~ pl. *gjarpërinj* with Tosk rhotacism of *n* → *r* and secondary adoption of pl. suffix *-ínj* (cf. above). The plural shows regular palatalisation of the final nasal, triggered by the plural ending *-ī*, which is continued by *-ë* (the distribution of *-Ø* and *-ë* as continuants of **-oī* seems to be determined by similar factors as in the case of sg. **-os*). Cf. further Meyer (1891: 137); Jokl (1916: 113-114); Mann (1950: 383); Pedersen (1900: 383); Tagliavini (1937: 129); Çabej (1976a: 268); Huld (1984: 67-68); Orel (1998: 130); Demiraj B. (1997: 183-184).

sg.:

/O peshk të lypnjë; e ai t' i ëndenjë **gjarpëninë** ?/ (Buz. 250, 72-73)¹³⁰
‘or he asks for a fish, and he gives him a snake’

/Mojsessi , e lescioj mb' çee, e ù kçjë ndè gni **giarpenë**/ (Bgd. 1.88.17.)
‘Moses threw it to the ground and it became a snake’

pl.:

/bani t' ini t' urtë por-si **gjërpanjë**/ (Buz. 346, 1-2)¹³¹ ‘be smart like the snakes’

/banè meu kçjëem ndè **giarpagnjë** prutekatè tünè/ (Bgd. 1.89.22-23) ‘they turned their staffs into snakes’

¹²⁸ As previously pointed out, the continuation of nom.sg. **-os* as either *-Ø* or *-ë* appears to be dependent on factors such as number of syllables (word length) or the properties of the syllables (cf. Matzinger 2006: 98).

¹²⁹ With assimilation of the reduced vowel *-ë* of the first syllable to the stressed vowel following it (*-ë* → *a* / *_á*), cf. *Bogdani* (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 181).

¹³⁰ The assumption of a nom./acc. sg. indef. /gj'arpënë/ is based on the documented definite acc.sg./gj'arpëninë/ (Buzuku 250.7.3).

¹³¹ Documented nom./acc. pl. def. /gjërp'anjë/ presupposes an indefinite counterpart /gjërp'anjë/ (cf. Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 181).

StAlb/Tosk. *dr'apër,-i*; Geg *dr'apën(ë)* ‘sickle’ ~ dialectal pl. *dërp'ënj* (StAlb. pl. *drapínj, drapërinj*) < Dor. *δράπανον*.¹³² Originally neuter, early transfer to masculine gender (?). The accentuation pattern of Geg pl. *dërp'ënj* presupposes an EPA form nom./acc. pl. **drapánai* (vs. nom.sg. **drápanuh*), with metathesis and vowel reduction in the initial syllable (cf. Schumacher 2009: 66; Matzinger 2006: 17, 19; Fiedler 2007: 72ff.; Orel 1998: 72).

StAlb. nom. sg. m. *i keq* /k'eq/ ‘bad, evil’ < EPA **kákīh* < **kákīj̥h* < PIE **kákījos* (-*ijo-* adjective; cf. AGr. *κακός, -ή, -όν* ‘id.’, Phryg. *κακο-* with simple thematic suffix -*o-*) ~ nom. pl. m. *të këqi* /këq̥i/ < EPA **kakīi* < **kakījai* < PIE **kákījoj̥* with retraction of the accent to the penultimate syllable. It is assumed that the adjectival suffix **-ijo-* was “bei ursprünglich langer Folgesilbe auf dem **-i-* betont und dreisilbig [...] (Nom. Pl. m. /-ī/ < **-ijai*), bei ursprünglich kurzer Folgesilbe aber unbetont, weswegen es verkürzt wurde (Nom. Sg. m. -∅ < **-ih* < **-ij̥h*).” (Schumacher 2009: 66). Feminine nom. sg. *e keqe* /k'eqe/ is the regular continuant of trisyllabic PIE fem. **kákīj̥ā*¹³³, while nom. pl. f. *të keqia* /keq'ia/ continues PIE **kakīj̥ās* (< **kakījah₂as*), with secondary retraction of the accent in analogy to the masculine (cf. Schumacher 2009: 66). In Modern Standard Albanian, the earlier plural forms have been replaced by masculine nom.pl. *të këqí(n)j*, feminine nom.pl. *të keqíja*, with secondary *-ínj*-suffix and further plural suffix in the case of the feminine (cf. Buchholz/Fiedler 1987: 266f. ; Demiraj Sh. 1993: 164-165). See further Matzinger (2006: 104-105, 203); Klingenschmitt (2000: 3); Schumacher/Matzinger (forthc.: 210); Fiedler (2007: 76-77); Orel (1998: 175); Bopp (1854: 490); Meyer (1891: 184-185); Jokl (1911: 35-36); Tagliavini (1937: 145); Mann (1950: 380, 385); Camaj (1966: 100); Çabej (1976a: 273-274); Demiraj B. (1997: 216-217); Huld (1984: 79-80).

sg. m.:

/e gjithë lis **i keq** ban peme të këqia/ (Buz. 276, 68-69)
‘and every bad tree gives bad fruits’

sg. f.:

/e thomi se kun kafshë **e keqe** e angrë/ (Buz. 136, 28-29)
‘and we’ll say that a wild animal (lit. a bad thing) devoured him’

pl. m.:

/Mort ansctë **t’ Kechiuet**, jetë t’ mirevet/ (Bgd. 2.95.20)
‘death is to the bad ones, life to the good ones (mors malis, vita bonis)’

pl. f.:

/erdhnë dÿ grā **të këqia** tek Salamoni/ (Buz. 162, 26-27)
‘two bad women came to Solomon’

¹³² The Doric variant is preferred over the standard Ion.-Att. *δράπανον* due to the vocalism of the Albanian form (cf. Meyer 1891: 73; Çabej 1961: 54-55; Huld 1984: 54; Matzinger 2006: 17, 19).

¹³³ PIE **kákīj̥ā* > **kecē* > **kece* > (*e*) *keqe* (cf. Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 194).

StAlb. nom. sg. *dhëndër(r)*, *-i*, Geg *dhândër(r)* ‘son-in-law, groom’ ~ nom. pl. *dhëndúr(r)ë*; nom. sg. < **jándur(r)uh* < **génturos* (cf. Lat. *gener*) (Matzinger 2006: 74; Demiraj B. 1997: 159ff.). SCHUMACHER, in contrast, derives the form from a remodelled kinship term in *-*ter/-tj-* (with the tentative reconstruction of **jantura-* for EPA; cf. Ved. *jámatar* ‘id.’). The *u*-vocalism in the plural then reflects the regular and expected outcome of syllabic **r* before vowels, while the *o*-stem inflection of the form is due to an analogical remodelling on the basis of the acc. in *-*tur-an* (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 201).

nom. pl. *dhëndúr(r)ë*¹³⁴ < **janturai* < **o-tj-V-*

A similar paradigm would be expected in the case of StAlb. *vjeh/ërr, -rri* ‘father-in-law’ < **suekuro-*, i.e. nom. sg. *vjéhërr* < **suekuros* ~ nom.pl. *vjehërr* (^x*vjehúr(rë)*) < **suekúroj* (?), however, such pattern has not been documented¹³⁵ (Demiraj B. 1997: 122). Cf. further Çabej (1996: 33f); Demiraj B. (1997: 159ff.); Orel (1998: 82); Schuchardt (1872: 247); Mann (1950: 383); Meyer (1891: 85); Jokl (1923: 46-48); Huld (1984: 58-59).

sg.:

/Ndër sa pò cułotentè Grijnè Mojsessi tè **vjehërrit** vet mbè Maltè Sinajt/
(Bgd. 1.87.25)

‘while Moses grazed the flock of his father-in-law on Mount Sinai’

StAlb. nom.sg. *kalë, -i* ‘horse’ < **ká(β)alë* ⇨ Lat. *cáballus* ~ StAlb. *kuaj*; OG /kual/, Geg nom. pl. *kuál, kvál* < **kuál-i* < **kuál-* < **kβál-* < **këβál-* ⇨ Lat. *cabálli* (Matzinger 2006: 74). FIEDLER (2007: 65ff.) here proposes a development *cabálli* > *këél* with loss of the intervocalic fricative *-β-* and the subsequent insertion of an epenthetic glide *-u-* to avoid homonymy with the singular (sg. **këál* ~ pl. **këél* > **këál* → *këuál*). However, assuming a development *-β-* > *-u-* with MATZINGER (2006: 74) seems to be not only a more plausible, but also a more parsimonious option.¹³⁶ It is important to note here that the OG form /kual/ was a monosyllable pronounced [kwal], the Modern (StAlb./Tosk) pronunciation with a diphthong appears to have been implemented only rather recently (Schumacher: personal communication).

The absence of palatalisation of the final liquid in Geg pl. *kual* is accounted for by FIEDLER (2007: 67) in that he assumes a separate development of the Geg dialects as opposed to Tosk. While the latter would have preserved final *-ll*¹³⁷ which was then palatalised to *-j-*, Geg shows a “sekundäre[...] Reduzierung der Pluralmarker” (2007: 67), i.e. *-ll-* > *-l-*, which sound would not have been subjected to palatalisation. This view is, however, phonetically problematic, and is rejected by MATZINGER (2006:

¹³⁴Final geminate /-rr-/ in both *dhandërr* and *vjehërr* is claimed to be the result of a “normale[n] Verhärtung des Auslauts” by DEMIRAJ B. (1997: 122).

¹³⁵This absence of a plural form is probably explainable by the simple fact that in pre-Islamic times, a man would usually have had only one father-in-law, in contrast to possibly a number of sons-in-law (Schumacher: personal communication).

¹³⁶Although still problematic, since the reflex of Romance *β* is usually lost at a relatively early stage (before syncope in the pre-tonic syllable could occur) (Schumacher: personal communication).

¹³⁷Reflecting the fact that back /l/ (<ll>) is more easily palatalised than front /l/ (<l>) (Schumacher: personal communication).

74) who argues for a secondary (and rather recent) nature of StAlb. /Tosk pl. *kuaj*, formed in analogy to nouns such as *buall* ~ pl. *buaj* (cf. also Demiraj Sh. 1987: 246ff.; Pedersen 1895: 238).¹³⁸

sg.:

/Mos bani por-si **kali**/ (Buz. 34, 41-42) ‘don’t do it like the horse’

pl.:

/mos **kualtë**, mos lopëtë/ (Buz. 54, 86) ‘nor the horses, nor the cows’

/Kisctë Salomoni catterçjetë mije **Kual** Coccijsc/ (Bgd. 1.112.6)
‘Solomon had forty thousand cart-horses’

/**Qual**, Arme, Zohe, Gure te pa cmuem/ (Bgd. 2.31.6-7)
‘horses, weapons, drapery, gems’

StAlb. *krim(b)*, *-i* ‘worm’ (besides Geg *krym(b)* with secondary rounding) ~ pl. *kërm-í(n)j*¹³⁹. As already indicated above, StAlb. *krim* is assumed to form part of the group of accent alternation between singular and plural stem as well. However, the alternation is here not caused by the *o*-stem pl. suffix **-ai*, but the different accentuation patterns of *i*-stem sg. *-is* and pl. *-éjes*.¹⁴⁰ Original final stress can quite safely be posited on the basis of the related forms StAlb. *kërmí*, *-u* (m.) ‘snail, slug’ and *kërmí*, *-(j)a* ‘wood worm, round worm’, which constitute lexicalised plural forms of *krim*.¹⁴¹ The noun is therefore thought to ultimately continue a paradigmatic opposition of sg. PIE **k^hṛm-is* (cf. Ved. *kṛmi-* ‘worm, maggot’, Lith. *kirmis* ‘snake, lindworm’) > EPA **krimíh* > EPA **krimi-* > *krim* ~ pl. PIE **k^hṛm-éjes* (cf. Demiraj B. 1997: 225). Nom. sg. **krimih* would then have been interpreted as the nom. sg. of an *ijo*-stem, leading to the introduction of a new, corresponding, plural form *kërmí(j)* (Schumacher: personal communication). This form was then frequently extended to *kërmínj* in analogy to other paradigms. While no plural form is found in Buzuku, Bogdani already shows secondarily remodelled pl. *krymba* (cf. the examples above). StAlb. sg. *kërmill* is most plausibly a “Rückbildung aus (Pl.) *kërmíj*” (Demiraj B. 1997: 225), as a plural ending *-j* could be interpreted as a palatalised variant of sg. *-ll* in analogy to the nouns discussed above (sg. *buall* : pl. *buaj* ~ sg. ? : pl. *kërmíj* → sg. *kërmill*)¹⁴² (cf. Demiraj B. 1997: 225; Jokl 191ff., 1916: 133; Çabej 1976b: 323; Orel 1998; Pokorny 1959: 649; Huld 1984: 82).

¹³⁸ Palatalisation generally does not affect liquids continuing Latin geminate liquids, cf. Lat. *gallus* ‘rooster’ → *gjel* (originally plural, i.e. *galli*; cf. chapter 4.2).

¹³⁹ Besides the more frequent plural variants StAlb. *krimba*, Geg *kryma* (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 225).

¹⁴⁰ Nevertheless, this alternation most probably does not continue PIE stress mobility, but constitutes an Albanian innovation based on the length/weight of the final syllables similar to the *o*-stem cases discussed above.

¹⁴¹ On the basis of these related forms, the final labial stop of StAlb. *krimb* is usually regarded as epenthetic.

¹⁴² Further examples of such back-formation include sg. *farizell* ~ pl. *farizenj* ‘Pharisee’ and sg. *skundill* ~ pl. *skundinj* ‘end, point, lappet’ (Fiedler 2007: 133-134).

/e giagninè plot me **krümba**/ (Bgd. 1.92.20-21) ‘they found it full of worms’

/è janè **Krümbatè**/ (Bgd. 1.137. 5) ‘and who are worms’

As SCHUMACHER (personal communication) suggests, contrastive accent can further be assumed for trisyllabic nouns characterised by palatalisation of the final liquid in the plural (although difficult to prove). For examples see above (4.1.1.1).

StAlb. *apóstull*, OG. *apóstol* < **apóstoluh* ~ pl. *apostój* < **apostóli* < **apostólai* ⇨ AGr. *ἀποστολ-* (cf. Matzinger 2006: 185; Fiedler 2007: 119)

StAlb. *pópull* ‘people’ < **pópuluh* ~ pl. *porúj* < **porúli* < **porúlai* ⇨ Lat. *popul-* (cf. Matzinger 2006: 74).

StAlb. *máshkull* ‘male’ < **máskuluh* ~ pl. *mashkúj* < **máskúli* < **maskúlai* ⇨ Lat. *mascul-* (cf. Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 187).

The pairs of StAlb. *njerí* ‘man, human’ ~ pl. *njérëz* and StAlb. *kallí* ‘ear (of grain)’ ~ pl. *kállëz* evidently show a different pattern of accentuation, as there is retraction of the accent in the plural instead of the singular. Since this alternation is most plausibly connected to the plural suffix *-ëz* featured by both these forms (as well as by the similarly patterned *vëllá* ‘brother’ ~ pl. *vëllëzër*; cf. Matzinger 2006: 158), this issue will be dealt with in connection with the general discussion of the suffix (see chapter 4.2.5.1).

4.1.1.3 - Ø (type *krua*)

A process neither restricted to the nominal system, nor to masculine nouns is the diphthongisation of PA stressed **ó* as well as PA **ǎ*¹⁴³ when followed by non-geminated, tautosyllabic final liquid, nasal as well as secondary *-j#*. It is here assumed that in a first step, both PA vowels were lengthened (**ō*, **ǣ*), catering to a general tendency to lengthen “alle Kurzvokale [in Auslautsilben] vor folgender [tautosyllabischer] Liquida oder Nasal” (Matzinger 2006: 60, see also Pekmezi 1908: 54). Afterwards, these long vowels were diphthongised to LPA **uo* and **ya* – while in the former case, the diphthong later yielded OGeg *-uo-*, ModGeg *-ue-*, as opposed to Tosk *-ua-*, the latter developed into ModAlb. *-ye-* in

¹⁴³ This vowel itself being either the regular continuation of PIE **ō* and **oH* (cf. Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 194) or resulting from fronting of **o* (/ɔ/) after a palatal consonant or by umlaut (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 193; Matzinger 2006: 59).

all dialects. The syllable-closing consonants were generally retained, except in the case of nasal *-n-* which was lost in word-final position after the diphthongisation was completed. In contrast to JOKL (1931/1932: 58), who locates the beginnings of this phenomenon, i.e. the lengthening of **o* (and presumably, although not explicitly mentioned, **æ*) in the time of the Roman occupation, it is now commonly assumed to have taken place only in the Late Proto-Albanian period. However, Slavic as well as Modern Greek and Italian loan words¹⁴⁴ were not affected by the process any more, suggesting that it had been completed by the time of their entering the language (cf. Demiraj Sh. 1993: 59, 1996: 93ff.; Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 192, 195; Matzinger 2006: 59-60; Ölberg 1972: 95ff.; Meyer 1888: 5; Pedersen 1900: 283; Pekmezi 1908: 55; Jokl 1931/1932; Orel 2000: 16ff.).

With regard to plural formation, this process is relevant insofar as in a group of (mainly) masculine and neuter nouns, diphthongisation of the stressed vowel is only observed in the indefinite nominative and accusative. In contrast, the remaining cases of the singular, as well as the plural, do not show diphthongisation, a surprising idiosyncrasy considering the general tendency to clearly distinguish the singular and plural stem (cf. Fiedler 2007: 55ff.; Demiraj Sh. 1996: 93ff.). The fact that these forms were not affected supports the late dating (LPA) of the diphthongisation process, as will be shown below. As DEMIRAJ Sh. (1993: 59) points out, such idiosyncratic behaviour was frequently later resolved by paradigmatic levelling (typically generalising the monophthongal variant). Cf. the following examples:

StAlb. *kr/ua*, *-oi* ‘spring, fountain’ ~ pl. *kronj*. Etymology debated. DEMIRAJ B. (1997: 318) SCHUMACHER (2009b: 47ff.) argues against the assumption of an unclear ‘Balkan’ origin (cf. e.g. Demiraj B. 1997: 318), but suggests an underlying root PIE **(H)renH-*, present also in, for instance, ModHG *rennen*, *rinnen* ‘to run, flow’. The related forms StAlb. *përr/ua*, *-oi* ‘creak, stream’ (Geg *përrue*, OG *përruo*) and *krua* would then continue “dehnstufige Ableitungen von dieser Wurzel und waren möglicherweise ursprünglich *i*-Stämme (**(H)rēnH-i-*)” (Schumacher 2009b: 49).¹⁴⁵ Unfortunately, plural *kronj* is not documented in the older texts (cf. the examples below).

nom./acc. sg. indef. PIE **ko(m)-(H)rēnH-is* > **kārōnih* > **krōn* > **kruɔn* > OG *kruo* > ModGeg *krue*, Tosk *krua*; diphthongisation triggered only after the loss of the ending *-ih*, i.e. when the nasal is in absolute final position.

¹⁴⁴In contrast to loans from Latin and Ancient Greek, which were subjected to the process just as the inherited vocabulary. Diphthongisation in later loans such as *potkua* ‘horseshoe’ ~ def. *potko-i* can be explained as the result of analogical extension (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 60; 1996: 119).

¹⁴⁵With a prefix *për-* and *k-* < **kë-* < **ko(m)-*, respectively (Schumacher 2009b: 48). The former was borrowed into Balkan Latin and forms the basis of Rumanian *pîrîu* ‘torrent’ (Alb. *përrua* < **përrōn* < **përrōnVh-* → Balk.Lat. *perrānus*); cf. Schumacher (2009b: 47ff.), Matzinger (2006: 59-60).

nom. sg. def. * *kārōnih+hu* > **kronu* > **kroni* → *kro-i* (?). Monophthong and nasal are preserved as the nasal is not in final position, and lengthening, diphthongisation is not triggered. The nasal might have been secondarily lost in analogy to the indefinite form.

nom./acc. pl. indef. PIE * *ko(m)-(H)rēnH-ēs* > **kārōnih* > **kroni* → *kronj*; absence of diphthongisation due to the ending *-*ih* only being lost after the process took place, with late (analogical?) palatalisation of the final nasal.

Unfortunately, plural *kronj* is not documented in the older texts, while plural *përronjë* is found once in Bogdani (cf. the following examples).

/e t'arta , kopesctigne , e **kroena**/ (Bgd. 1.2.12)
'and of the gold, gardens and fountains'

/croenatè me mosu scterrè/ (Bgd. 1.2.20) 'the fountains will not dry out'

/katër **kroenë** oo gurrë të gjalla/ (Budi DC 97.20) 'four fountains or live stones'

/si **Perrognètè**/ (Bgd. 1.107.32-33) 'like streams'

StAlb. *kapr/uall, -olli*, Geg *kapruell* 'roebuck' ~ pl. *kaproj* ⇨ Lat. *capreolus*. A similar scenario as in StAlb. *krua* above is proposed in this case, i.e.

nom./acc.sg.indef. PA **kaprolus* > **kaprol(l)uh* > **kaprōll* > **kapruoll* > (OG) *kapruoll* > Tosk *kapruall*, Geg *kapruell*

nom./acc. pl. indef. PA **kaprolai* > **kaproli* > *kaproj*

nom.sg. def. PA **kaprol(l)uh+hu* > **kaprollu* > *kaprolli*

Only the singular is attested in the older texts:

/anshtë i dashuni em por-si **kaprolli**/ (Buz. 324, 36) 'my beloved is like a roebuck'

StAlb. *drag/ua, -oi* 'dragon' ~ pl. *dragonj* ⇨ Vulg.Lat. **dragōnis*. This form is evidently from a younger layer of loans (indicated by the input form showing Romance lenition of *k* > *g*) and thus does not show the typical integrating behaviour of Latin *n*-stems (cf. Lat. *dracō, -ōnis* → PA **drákō*, pl. *drákenès* > StAlb. *dreq*, pl. *dreqër*; Klingenschmitt 2000: 3) (Schumacher: personal communication).

nom./acc. sg. indef. **dragōnis* > **dragōnih* > **dragōn* > **draguo* > *dragua*, Geg *drague*.

nom./acc. pl. indef. **dragonih* > **dragoni* > *dragonj*.

nom. sg. def. **dragōnis+so* > **dragōnih+hu* > **dragoni* → *dragoi* (?)

/here të **Dragognet**/ (Bgd. 2.160.10) 'time of the dragons'

/tè sijatè ù kǝžünè ndè **Dragoj**/ (Bgd. 1.56.10) ‘which are turned into dragons’

StAlb. *pëlq/yer*, *-eri*, OG /pulqyer, -i/ ‘thumb’ ~ pl. *pëlqerë* ☞ Vulg.Lat. **pulliciārius* (derived from Lat. *pollex*, *-icis* ‘id.’); cf. Schumacher/Matzinger (forthc.: 193).

nom./acc. sg. indef. **pullikǝrih* > **pulcǝr* > **pulqyǝr* > OG. /pulqyer/, StAlb. *pëlqyer*

nom./acc. pl. indef. **pullikǝriai* > **pulcǝri* > **pulqeri* > *pulqerë* > StAlb. *pëlqerë*.
The liquid is not palatalised as **-i#* is not lost but retained by *-ë#*.

OG /nye, neu/¹⁴⁶ ‘node’ ~ pl. *neje* ☞ Lat. *nōdus*. The diphthong in this case is not due to the process described above, but is the result of vowel contraction after hiatus develops due to the “Schwund von intervokalischem **h* < **s* oder aus dem Schwund von intervokalischem **d* < frualb. **d* < uridg. **d* oder **d^h*” (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 195).

nom./acc. sg. indef. **nǝðu^h* > **nǝ* > **nyǝ* > OG /nye/

nom./acc. pl. indef. **nǝðai* > **nǝi* > **nei* > **neë* > **ne* → *neje* (with secondary suffix *-e* and *-j-* to avoid hiatus?)

nom. sg. def. **nǝðu^h+hu* > **nǝu* > OG /neu/

(cf. Orel 1998: 303; Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 194-195; Meyer 1891: 302; Jokl 1911: 60; 1923: 64-65).

Only the singular is documented in the older texts.

/janë lidhunë me një **nye**/ (Budi SC 84.5) ‘are joined/tied with a node’

/me gni **nüe**/ (Bgd. 2.1.9) ‘with a node’

StAlb. *qye* ‘summit, peak’ ~ pl. *qej* ☞ AGr. ? (cf. Matzinger 2006: 60; Orel 1998: 364).

nom./acc.sg. indef. *kǝnu^h* > **kǝn* (umlaut from plural) > **kyǝ* > *qye*

nom./acc. pl. indef. **kǝnai* > **kǝni* > **keni* > *qe(n)j*

/Prej Jovit ndjerë mbë Saturnit janë **chüete**/ (Bgd. 1.26.21)
‘from Jupiter to Saturn there are summits’

Included here are two nouns borrowed from Latin which are traditionally classified as original neuters; however, it is highly plausible that they had taken on masculine gender already in Latin before they were adopted, neither of them requiring an early date of borrowing

¹⁴⁶ StAlb. has secondary f. sg. *nyjë*.

(Schumacher: personal communication). The absence of diphthongisation in the plural is thus not necessarily due to the retention of the (continuant of the) neuter plural ending $*(e)h_2$ as $-ë$, as the process was only triggered by sonorants in word-final position, but can be explained as discussed above (cf. Demiraj Sh. 1993: 59, 1996: 93ff.; Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 192, 195; Matzinger 2006: 59-60).

StAlb. *shuall*, Geg *shuell* ‘sole, ground’ ~ pl. *shoj* ⇐ Lat. *solum/solus*

nom./acc. sg. PA $*s̥ol(l)u̯h > *s̥ōll > *s̥uoll > OG shuoll > Tosk shuall, Geg *shuell*$

nom./acc. pl. PA $*s̥olai > *sho̯li \rightarrow shoj$. Diphthongisation is not triggered as the liquid is not in final position, the final palatal consonant in the Standard Mod.Alb. plural can be explained by the early (probably pre-borrowing) transfer to the masculine gender or an early analogy to other paradigms (cf. m.sg. *kapruall* : pl. *kaproj* ~ n.sg. *shuall* : pl. ? \rightarrow pl. *shoj*).

The form is only documented in the singular (most conspicuously, with a non-diphthongised vowel), cf.

/shollit së kambësë/ (Budi, SC 265.21) ‘on the sole of the foot’.

StAlb. *ftua*, Geg *ftue* ‘quince’ ~ pl. *fto(n)j* ⇐ Lat. *cotōneum* (Matzinger 2006: 60).

nom./acc. sg. PA $*ft̥ōn > *ft̥uon > OG ftuo > Tosk ftua, Geg *ftue*$

nom./acc. pl. PA $*ft̥onai > *ft̥oni \rightarrow ftonj$. See *shuall* above, preservation of the monophthong and secondary palatalisation of the nasal in accordance to the masculines.

A plural form /ftoignte/ is given in Bardhi (160.25), glossed *struthia mala*.

4.1.2 - Ø (neuter)

Genuine zero-plurals of original neuters appear to be rare, and are rather difficult to account for, seeing that the regular continuation of the PIE nom./acc.pl. ending $*(e)h_2$ is commonly acknowledged to be $-ë$ (see chapter 4.2.1.2). The issue is further complicated by the fact that the etymologies, or rather, the stem formation of both *dru* ‘wood’ and *sy* ‘eye’ are debated, the only clear example thus being *muaj* ‘month’, the plural formation of which might be of a secondary nature.

StAlb. *muaj*, -i, OG /muoj, -të/ (ModGeg *muej*, -i) ‘month’ ~ pl. *muaj*, Geg *muej*, OG /muoj, muej/. Sg. *muaj*¹⁴⁷ < **mājjā*- < **māšja*-; according to SCHUMACHER/MATZINGER (forthc.: 230), a neuter *jo*-derivation (transponat ***meh₁ns-jo-m*) of the PIE word for ‘month’, cf. e.g. Lat. *mēnsis*. Most conspicuously, the regular continuant the PIE n.pl. suffix *-*eh₂* > ModAlb. -*ë* is absent already in the oldest documents, suggesting a differential continuation of *-*eh₂* as either - \emptyset or -*ë* similar to the development of nom.sg. m. *-*os*, or an early, secondary loss of the suffix¹⁴⁸. Alternatively, the Albanian plural may either continue a variant masculine PIE form, or the noun may have secondarily adopted masculine inflection in the plural, i.e. ***māšjai* > ***mājii* > *muoj* (?)¹⁴⁹. Yet another possible option, based on KLINGENSCHMITT’s suggestion regarding the origin of StAlb. pl. *sy*, -*të* (see below) would be to consider synchronic plural *muaj* as continuing an old dual form ***meh₁ns-jo-ih₁*; however, such assumption may be doubted on semantic grounds.

/për trī vietë e gjashtë **muoj**/ (Buz. 146.17-18) ‘for three years and six months’

/Vjetit sè tijnaj triçjetë e dÿü Vjet , e tre **muej** , e çjetë dit/ (Bgd. 2.121.3-4)
‘of his age of thirty-two years, and three months, and ten days’

/U ndal e lumeja Virginë ndaj Elisabettene affere tre **muej**/ (Bgd. 2.15.14)
‘The blessed virgin stayed with Elizabeth for about three months’

Tosk *drÿ*, *druri* ‘tree, wood’, OG /drÿ, -të/ ~ pl. OG /drÿ/, StAlb. *drunj*, Tosk *drurë* < EPA **dru-nV*¹⁵⁰; cf. OCS pl. n. *drÿva* ‘wood’, Ved. *dāru*, *drós* ‘id.’ (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 188). Tracing pl. /*dru*/ back to the nom./acc.pl. of a simple neuter *u*-stem as present in a number of IE languages (cf. e.g. AGr. *δóρυ* ‘wood, spear’) is problematic due to phonological reasons, as neither PIE acrostatic nom./acc.pl. **d(V)r-u-h₂* nor innovated proterokinetic pl. **dr-eu-(e)h₂* (cf. Fortson 2010: 121) would yield a long vowel *ÿ* in Albanian (cf. e.g. **muH-s* ‘mouse’ > Alb. *mÿ*). StAlb. *drunj* represents a later innovation, formed in analogy to masculines such as StAlb. *mulli* ~ pl. *mullinj*. In Bogdani, the form has already switched to feminine gender¹⁵¹, most likely connected to its (phonetic) similarity to fem. *ÿ*, def. *ÿja* ‘hunger’ (Schumacher: personal communication).

/e eshtënatë e mÿ por-si **dru<u>të** e thatë/ (Buz. 36, 84) ‘my bones are dry as wood’

/E hinje se 8 ënbëliedh dÿ **drÿ**/ (Buz. 130, 1) ‘And behold that I collect two lumbers (pieces of wood)’

¹⁴⁷For the diphthongisation of **ÿ* when followed by secondary **j*, cf. chapter 4.1.1.3.

¹⁴⁸The former option of these is rather implausible, as this would be the only example of such development. Loss of the suffix might have been motivated by analogy to the masculine plurals in -*j*, cf. sg. *buall* ~ pl. *buaj* : sg. *muaj* ~ pl. *muajë* → pl. *muaj*.

¹⁴⁹The assumption of a *jo*-derivation is, however, indispensable, as plural *muoj* cannot continue a simple stem **meh₁ns-*, cf. the rather unsuccessful attempts to explain the final glide -*j*- as a means to avoid hiatus by e.g. PEDERSEN (1900b).

¹⁵⁰As SCHUMACHER/MATZINGER (forthc.: 188) point out, the stem formation in this case is unclear.

¹⁵¹Cf. /chi ansetë **Druja**/ (Bgd. 1.74.8) ‘which is of wood’

/e guresc , e **drusc**/ (Bgd. 2.31.28-29) ‘in stones and wood (pl.)’

OG /sȳ, -të/, ModGeg sȳ¹⁵², *syni*, Tosk *sy, -ri* ‘eye’~ pl. OG /sȳ, -të/, ModAlb. *sy*. According to KLINGENSCHMITT (1994: 223), the synchronic plural continues an original nom.-acc. dual neuter PIE **h₃k^hi^{h2}u^o-ih₁*, remodelled on the basis of the numeral **duyo* ‘two’. Although phonologically possible, the plausibility of such rather awkward morphological restructuring may be questioned (Schumacher: personal communication).

/nçelnjëmë **syytë**/ (Budi SC -10.6-7) ‘let us open our [lit. the] eyes!’

/nukë kisc meu paam prej **süscit** sinesc/ (Bgd. 1.26.29-30)
‘she [the earth] would not be seen by our eyes’

/ʒ t’ ap gjithë qish ti sheh me **sȳ**/ (Buz. 114, 4)
‘I will give you everything that you see with (the) eyes’

StAlb. *shtëpí, -a* ~ pl. OG /shtëpī/, StAlb. *shtëpia* ⇨ Lat. *hospitium* with metathesis? cf. Orel (1998: 438); Meyer (1891: 415-416); Tagliavini (1937: 256-257); Huld (1984: 115); Fiedler (2007: 363). The form seems to have adopted feminine gender at an early point, cf. e.g. def.gen.sg. /sctepisse/ in Bogdani; possibly, its original plural form ***shtëpī-e* < Lat. *hospitiā* (cf. chapter 4.2.2) was then replaced by a new zero-plural *shtëpī* on the basis of patterns such as sg. *thënī* ‘nit’~ pl. *thënī*.

/ëndë **shtëpī** të regjënjet/ ‘in the houses of the kings’ (Buz. 78, 35)

/ën **shtëpijet** së Izraelit/ ‘from the houses of Israel’ (Buz. 122, 1)

4.1.3 - Ø (feminine)

As FIEDLER (2007: 348) points out, “[d]er 0-Plural spielt bei den Feminina eine noch größere Rolle als bei den Maskulina”, characteristic of a large part of the feminine nouns. This claim needs to be relativised to a certain extent, however, as in contrast to FIEDLER, feminines featuring a suffix *-ë* in both singular and plural are excluded here. While FIEDLER’s classification of such forms as zero-plurals is justified insofar as synchronically, the plural forms in these cases indeed appear to be identical to the singular, the suffixes have to be distinguished historically, representing different sources in the singular and the plural respectively (cf. also FIEDLER 2007: 143). Patterns such as sg. *fjalë* ‘word’ ~ pl. *fjalë* will therefore be treated in the chapter on the plural suffix *-ë* (4.2.1.3). Since these forms constitute the large majority of FIEDLER’s feminine zero-plurals, though, the number of nouns dealt

¹⁵² With secondary nasalisation, cf. Matzinger (2006: 59); Ölberg (1972: 46); Klingenschmitt (1975: 36ff.); Demiraj B. (1997: 356ff.).

‘by so-called zero-formations regarding feminines is rather limited from a historical point of view. Essentially, feminine \emptyset -plurals can be classified into three main groups: first, synchronically genuine zero-formations of feminines ending in a vowel (4.1.3.1); second, the continuants of Latin nouns of the 3rd declension (4.1.3.2), and last, forms characterised by vowel alternation between the singular and the plural stem (4.1.3.3).

4.1.3.1 - \emptyset (type *bē*)

As pointed out above, feminine nouns ending in a stressed vowel are thought to typically show a plural form identical to the singular. This assumption is supported by the evidence given in FIEDLER (2007: 360), who in his survey of Fjalor 1954 finds only very little variation in the plural formation of these feminines, the large majority (~ 96%) showing a zero-plural. Regarding their historical development, patterns such as sg. *ve* ‘egg’ ~ pl. *ve* can be explained as the final products of various vowel contraction processes, caused by the loss of intervocalic consonants such as PA $*-\beta-$, $*-\delta-$, $*-\zeta-$. As MATZINGER (2006: 63) points out, the hiatus resulting from such consonant loss was resolved by a contraction of the vowels¹⁵³, yielding the new long vowels still present in Old Albanian and in various modern dialects (cf. e.g. Alb. *vëllá* ‘brother’ < $*h_{2}u\bar{e}-\bar{l}á(\delta)\bar{e}$ < $*s^{u}e-loud^{h}\bar{a}$ ¹⁵⁴). The identity of the singular and plural stem is ultimately accounted for by the development of both nom.sg. $*-ah_{2}$ and nom.pl. $*-ah_{2}as$ of the PIE feminine \bar{a} -stems to Alb. $-\bar{e}$, or nom.sg. $*(i)\bar{i}ah_{2}$ and nom.pl. $*(i)\bar{i}ah_{2}as$ of the PIE fem. $i\bar{a}$ -stems to Alb. $-e$ respectively, seeing that when contracted with the preceding vowels, both forms would yield the same end-product.

StAlb./Tosk. *vē*, *-ja*, Geg *vō*, *-ja*, OG /*voe*, *-ja*/ ‘egg’ ~ pl. StAlb. *vē*, OG /*voe*/.

Nom./acc.sg. *ve* < LPA nom/acc.sg. $*u\bar{e}$ < $*\bar{e}$ < EPA nom./acc.sg. $*\bar{a}ui\bar{i}\bar{a}$, transponat $**h_{2}o-h_{2}ui\bar{i}eh_{2}$ or $**h_{2}\bar{o}\bar{u}\bar{i}eh_{2}$, cf. AGr. *ᾠόν* ‘egg’. According to this reconstruction, the continuants of PIE $*\bar{e}$, $*eh_{1}$, $*\bar{a}$, $*ah_{2}$ und $*\bar{o}$, $*oH$ would have been neutralised to $*\bar{a}$ before heterosyllabic $*u$ ¹⁵⁵ (cf. Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 196).

nom./acc.pl. *ve* < $**h_{2}o-h_{2}ui\bar{i}eh_{2}es$. Although synchronically constituting a zero-formation, the final vowel in OG pl. /*voe*/ in fact thus continues the nom./acc.pl. of a PIE $*-i\bar{a}$ -stem ($*(i)\bar{i}\bar{a}s$ < $*(i)\bar{i}ah_{2}as$), cf. chapter 4.2.2.3.

/Të beekuomitë e **voevet**/ (Budi RR 207.19) ‘the blessing of the eggs’

¹⁵³ Concerning the word-final syllable, this only applies to original long vowels. In the case of original short vowels, contraction did not occur, but the final syllable was lost without traces (cf. the numeral $*trej\bar{e}s$ ‘three’ > $*tre\bar{e}$ > *tre*); cf. Schumacher (2006: 63).

¹⁵⁴ Or the like (cf. Matzinger 2006: 163); see further chapter 4.2.5.1.

¹⁵⁵ This development possibly finds a parallel in the short vowels (cf. Buzuku-OG 1st ps. sg. conj. act. /*lā*/ < PIE $*leuh_{3}-e/o-$ ‘to wash’; Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 196).

Tosk. *thëri*, -a, Geg *thëni*, -a ‘nit’ ~ pl. *thëri*, Geg *thëni*; nom./acc.pl. < **θanidā* < EPA **ćanidās* ← PIE nom.sg. **kónid-es* ‘id.’; cf. AGr. *κονίς*, -ίδος ‘id.’, OE *hnitu* ‘id.’; with loss of /d/ in intervocalic position (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 207).

OG /bē/ ‘oath’ ~ pl. OG /bē/ < PIE **b^hoǵd^hā-*; cf. OSlav. *běda* (Matzinger 2006: 176).
Nom./acc.pl. /bē/ < **beë* < **bē(δ)ě* < **b^hoǵd^hās* < *^o-*ah₂as* (cf. chapter 4.2.1.3.2).

/beetë rrenë / (Budi DC 227'.21) ‘the false oaths’

/Ra mboh Pietri te tretienë herë me sciumë beë/ (Bgd. 2.103.25)
‘and Peter it denied for the third time with many oaths’

4.1.3.2 - Ø (type *qytet*)

Exemplified by StAlb. *qytet*, -ja ‘city, town’, the nouns included in this group show umlaut and palatalisation effects in both singular and plural. Although synchronically of masculine gender, these nouns were feminine in Old Albanian, and partly followed the feminines in -*ā* (< **-ā*) in their inflection, cf. Matzinger (2006: 100-101).¹⁵⁶

As was pointed out before, nouns of the type Alb. *qytet* constitute Latin loans of the 3rd declension, continuing either PIE consonant-stems or *i*-stems, and were integrated into the class of inherited feminine *i*-stems in Albanian. Explained by some as having been borrowed in the accusative, they were subsumed under the so-called ‘singularised plurals’ by others (e.g. Çabej 1958/1960; cf. chapter 4.4). However, it is now commonly assumed that this type of “Imparisyllaba im Balkanlateinischen (oder speziell in der lateinischen lokalen Varietät von Epirus) öfters ihren Nominativ sekundär an die Form des Obliquus angeglichen [hat]” (Matzinger 2006: 100-101). Umlaut and occasional palatalisation effects in the singular of these nouns are therefore taken to result from a secondary nominative +^o*is*, +^o*tātis*. As seen in the following examples, the original zero-plural form was typically later secondarily extended by the plural suffix -e (cf. Fiedler 2007: 306ff.).

- a → e:

StAlb. *qytet*, -i, OG /qytet, -ja/ ‘city, town’ ~ pl. OG /qytet/, StAlb. *qytete* ☞ nom. sg. Lat. +*cīvitātis*; Lat. pl. *cīvitātēs* → PA **kiuitatih* > **kītati* > *qytet(e)*. Although frequently offered as a prime example of so-called ‘singularised plurals’ (cf. e.g. Demiraj Sh. 1993: 94; Çabej 1958/1960), the particular shape of singular *qytet*, -ja (i.e. the umlauted vowel and palatalised velar), can more plausibly be traced back to an

¹⁵⁶DEMIRAJ Sh. (1993: 95) here assumes for an original masculine gender of these nouns in Albanian, only becoming feminine after the singularisation of their plural stem; in view of the consistently feminine gender of the Latin base words, this argumentation is, however, difficult to follow (cf. also Çabej 1976a: 136).

innovated nominative singular, cf. above. The reinforced plural variant /qytet+e/ is already found in Buzuku, co-existing with the original zero-formation.

/ E ëndë të tjera **qytet** më duhetë me predikuom/ (Buz. 266, 33-35)
'I have to preach in the other cities as well'

StAlb. *vërtet*, -i 'truth' ~ pl. *vërtete* ☞ Lat. nom.sg. +*vēritātis*; Lat.nom.pl. *vēritātēs* > nom./acc.pl. *vërtete* with secondary adoption of the plural suffix -e (cf. Demiraj Sh. 1993: 94).

Further listed as belonging to this group are StAlb. *qelq*, -u 'glass' ~ *qelqe* ☞ nom.sg. Lat. +*calicis*; Lat. pl. *calicēs* → PA **kalikih* > **kalki* > *qelq*; StAlb. *vollundet*, -i 'will, volition' ~ pl. *vollundete* ☞ Lat. nom.sg. +*voluntātis*; StAlb. *pushtet*, -i 'power' ~ pl. *pushtete* ☞ Lat. nom.sg. +*potestātis* (Klingenschmitt 2000: 6ff.).

- e → i:

Although the vocalism of the following Latin loans is frequently ascribed to umlaut (cf. e.g. Matzinger 2006: 66), this is only partly correct. While medial -i- in StAlb. *ligj* reflects the regular raising of stressed *e → i when followed by a palatal consonant (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 190), the vocalism of StAlb. *gjind* is due to a development in the precursor of Rumanian and Aromunian (*e → i before tautosyllabic -n-) (Schumacher: personal communication):

StAlb. *ligj*, -i 'law' ☞ Lat. +*lēgis* (Class.Lat. *lēx*, -*gis* 'id.')

/ të ordhënon ti të veshte per keto **ligjee** e këto të dërejta/ (Buz. 124, 30-31)
'He orders you to observe these laws and rights'

StAlb. *gjind(e)*, -të (synchron. pl.) 'people' ☞ Lat. +*gentis*.

/e ënbë dhët shumë t' idhunë për-ënbë **gjint**/ (Buz. 76, 32-33)
'and on the earth great fear among the peoples'

4.1.3.3 - Ø (type *natë*)

The plural formation of the Albanian words for 'hand', 'door' and 'night' has received comparatively much attention in treatments of the historical development of the language, the conspicuous forms of their plurals calling for an explanation. Although various differing hypotheses have been put forward, it is now broadly acknowledged that these nouns represent

continuations of PIE feminine consonant stems (cf. among others, Matzinger 2006: 97; Schumacher 2009: 66; Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 203; Fiedler 2007: 63ff., 71ff., 332ff.; Orel 1998: 60).

As already indicated above (chapter 3.1), it appears that the feminine consonant stem nouns were remodelled to \bar{a} -stems in the singular, presenting indirect evidence for the development of syllabic nasal in word-final position. According to SCHUMACHER/MATZINGER (forthc.: 203), “wird gewöhnlich angenommen, dass der Ausgangspunkt dieser Umbildung im Akkusativ Singular zu suchen ist, wie das in idg. Einzelsprachen öfter der Fall ist (z.B. Umbildung zu *u*-Stämmen im Germanischen bzw. zu *i*-Stämmen im Slavischen).” In analogy to the \bar{a} -stems (nom.sg. $*\bar{a}$: acc.sg. $*-an < *\bar{a}m$), the consonant stems (acc.sg. $*-an < *-am < *-\eta^{157}$) would thus have formed a new nominative, cf. e.g. nom.sg. EPA $*nakt-s (< *nok^h t-s) \rightarrow$ nom.sg. $*nakt\bar{a}$. The original stem formation is, however, still visible in the plural, the particular shape of the plural forms resulting from an old ending $*-es$ which was lost before the documented stages of Albanian.

StAlb. *dor/ë, -a* ‘hand’ ~ pl. *duar*, OG /duor, -të/; cf. Hitt. *kessar-*, AGr. *χείρ* (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 192; Schumacher 2009; Matzinger 2006: 169; Pokorny 1959: 447; Fiedler 2007: 63ff.; Brugmann/Thumb 1913: 805; Jokl 1931: 274; Demiraj Sh. 1996: 142).

nom./acc. sg. *dorë* < EPA $*j\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ ← $*j\bar{e}r-$ < PIE nom.sg. $*\hat{g}^hesr-s$; weak stem of the PIE word for ‘hand’, as SCHUMACHER/MATZINGER (forthc.: 192) point out, the compensatory lengthening of the medial vowel must have taken place before the change of $*\bar{e} > *\bar{a}$.

nom./acc. pl. *duar*, Geg *duer* ‘hands’ < OG /duor/ < $*du\bar{o}r < *d\bar{5}r < EPA$ nom. pl. $*j\bar{a}rih^{158}$ < nom.pl. $*j\bar{e}reh$; transponat $**\hat{g}^hesr-es$. As discussed in chapter 4.1.1.3, the lengthening and diphthongisation of the back vowel presuppose a relatively early loss of the ending $*-ih < *-es$.

/e kanë me e dhanë ëndër **duor** të nierëzet/ (Buz. 132, 12-13)
‘and they will hand him over to the men’

/Zani anshtë zani i Jakobit, ma **duortë** janë të Ezaut/ (Buz. 138, 64-65)
‘the voice is Jacob’s voice, but the hands are Esau’s’

¹⁵⁷As SCHUMACHER/MATZINGER (forthc.: 203) point out, a twofold continuation of $*-\eta$ as either $*-am$ or $*-a$ ($*\eta > *a /C_C$) has to be assumed, depending on the environment; i.e. $*-\eta\# > *-am\# / __\#V$ vs. $*-\eta\# > *-a\# / __\#C$ as sandhi-variants (cf. also Schmidt 1885: 282–284).

¹⁵⁸MATZINGER (2006: 220) here assumes an early analogical levelling on the basis of the oblique cases to account for the absence of umlaut of $*\bar{o} (< *\bar{a}) \rightarrow *a$ in the nom./acc. pl. (cf. pl. *net* < $*nakt-ih$). Since, however, such umlaut process only occurs sporadically, this assumption is not strictly necessary (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 193).

/ pèr **duertè** Engelit/ (Bgd. 1.131.29) ‘through the hands of the angel’

/mbasi të kietë lām **duortë**/ (Budi RR 72.14) ‘after he had washed his hands’

StAlb. *der/ë, -a* ‘door’ ~ pl. *dyer* (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 194, 195; Fiedler 2007: 71ff.; Demiraj Sh. 1996: 143¹⁵⁹; Vasmer 1953: 330; Orel 1998: 60; et al.).

nom./acc. sg. *derë* < **dæra* < EPA nom.sg. **duōrā* ← PIE nom.sg. **dh̥uōr*¹⁶⁰ ‘door’; cf. Ved. *dvārā* (nom./acc. dual) ‘wings of a door’; Lat. *forēs* ‘door (with two wings)’; OCS *dvorъ* ‘farm, grange’.

nom./acc. pl. *dyer* ‘doors’ < **dyær* < **dāer* < **dær* < **dærih* < EPA nom.pl. **duōrih* < PIE nom.pl. **dh̥uōr-es*.

/ O j8 gjithë të shtëpīsë Judë {e} sē, qi j8 hini për këto **dyer**/ (Buz. 150, 54-56) ‘All you people of Judah who have passed through these gates/doors’

/me **düer** të bucura/ (Bgd. 1.2.11) ‘with beautiful doors/gates’

/për **dyer-të** shekullit/ (Budi, SC 379.4-5) ‘through the doors/gates of the world’

StAlb. *nat/ë, -a* ‘night’ ~ pl. *net* (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 183, 190; Tagliavini 1937: 104; Çabej 1976a: 252ff.; Fiedler 332ff.).

nom./acc.sg. *natë* < EPA nom.sg. **nakt-ā* ← PIE nom.sg. **nok^ht-s*; cf. Lat. *noct-* ‘id.’

nom./acc.pl. *net* ‘nights’ < EPA nom.pl. **naktih* < PIE nom.pl. **nók^ht-es*; with umlaut of the vowel triggered by the ending *-ih. As was indicated above, this reconstruction further disproves JOKL’s claim of the operation of umlaut being dependent on the quantity of the front vowel, i.e. only *-ī causing umlaut (1927: 92ff).¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹See DEMIRAJ Sh. (1996: 143), repeated in FIEDLER (2007: 71), for an attempt of an alternative explanation of the distinct vocalism of singular and plural (sg. **duér-* > *der-* with loss of the semi-vowel; the semi-vowel would have been retained in the plural, with a development **duer-* > *dyer-* in order to avoid homonymy with *duor* ‘hands’, according to an inner-systemic analogy of sg. -uo ~ pl. -o : sg. -o ~ pl. -uo → sg. -ye ~ pl. -e : sg. -e ~ -ye). This explanation, which SCHUMACHER (personal communication) attributes to DEMIRAJ Sh.’s (among others’) ignorance of the regularity of the change (tautosyllabic) **æ* > *ye*, is, however, rather awkward and highly problematic in view of the more easily accessible and certainly more plausible option presented above.

¹⁶⁰The vocalism of the PIE nom.sg. was, as SCHUMACHER/MATZINGER (forthc.: 194) indicate, here generalised throughout the whole period at an early point.

¹⁶¹See chapter 4.1.1.1. In JOKL’s account, Alb. *natë* ~ pl. *net* continues an old *i*-stem; while the ending of sg. **nok^ht-is* would not cause umlaut, pl. **nok^ht-ī* < **nok^ht-ih₂* would be affected by umlaut due to the quantity of the vowel in the ending (1927: 92ff.). A different approach is taken by DEMIRAJ B. (1997: 283ff., following HAMP), who draws on JOKL’s assumption of only long *-ī triggering umlaut, but identifies Alb. *natë* as a (possibly) neuter consonant stem, with pl. *net* continuing an old neuter dual **nok^ht-ih₁*, which is highly questionable. As it is here assumed that umlaut was not dependent on the quantity of the front vowel, both JOKL’s and DEMIRAJ/HAMP’s account can be rejected in favour of the more parsimonious and readily available option proposed by SCHUMACHER/MATZINGER (forthc.: 183) and presented above.

/e 8 bā shi8 pēr-ēnbī dhēt katër-dhietë dit e katër-dhietë **net**/ (Buz. 222, 31-32)
'and it rained on the earth for forty days and forty nights'

/Për-se, si kle Jona ëndë bark të peshkut trī dit e trī **net**/ (Buz.118, 73-75)
'because just as Jonah spent three days and three nights in the belly of the fish'

/Përse sicunderse kjë Iona pèr trij dit , e pèr trij **nett**'/ (Bgd. 1.61.32)
'because just as Jonah spent three days and three nights in the belly of the fish'

4.2 Suffixation

In the following chapters, the main suffixes used to form the plural in Modern Albanian and their historical development will be discussed. As has already been pointed out, the broad reduction and frequent loss of unstressed syllables (particularly in word-final position) has led to considerable syncretism in the plural formants, with the original sources of the various suffixes as well as the original stem formation of individual lexemes often having been obscured to a large extent.

Furthermore, or rather, as a result of such broad reduction, plural formation in Modern Albanian is characterised by great variation, as certain suffixes could be analogically extended to other formations. Although far from being interchangeable, variation is particularly high concerning the three main suffixes *-ë*, *-e* and *-a*, as the last of these has proven to be very productive already in the earliest documented stages of Albanian.

While the complex relations of the suffixes to each other in Modern Albanian constitute the main focus of FIEDLER's account (2007), each suffix will be treated separately in this thesis, attempting to identify their original sources and subsequent development. Nevertheless, the variation and frequent secondary adoption of plural markers will be evident in the discussion of individual lexemes.

Each chapter will be subdivided according to the original gender association of the respective plural formants. A clear classification of Modern Albanian lexemes is, however, sometimes complicated by the early loss of the neuter gender as well as the above-mentioned cases of heterogeneity, i.e. gender shifts between the singular and plural forms of a noun. For a detailed discussion of the various issues connected to this problem in Modern Albanian, see the relevant chapters of FIEDLER (2007).

4.2.1 *-ë*

A widespread suffix in Old Albanian, *-ë* is now commonly thought to continue a number of different suffixes and/or endings in both the singular and the plural (cf. Demiraj Sh. 1993:

99). This runs counter to earlier attempts to trace the suffix back to one single source; cf. e.g. PEDERSEN (1905: 210), suggesting a plural suffix $*-i < *-oi$ to be at the basis of Alb. $-ë$, or HAMP (1958: 153), who claims $-ë$ to continue the nom.pl. ending of thematic o -stems, $*-ōs$. Both accounts have since been convincingly rejected, cf. the following sections.

In Modern Albanian, plural $-ë$ has, according to FIEDLER (2007: 150ff.) been consistently losing ground during the last centuries, and is generally lost in word-final position in Modern Geg (with compensatory lengthening of the vowel of the preceding syllable). An extensive and detailed account of the distribution and productivity of the suffix in Modern Albanian and its dialects is provided in FIEDLER (2007: 150ff.).

4.2.1.1 m.

The origin of plural $-ë$ in masculine nouns with a singular in $-o$ is debated (Schumacher 2009: 67). Proposals such as DOMI (1961: 36), deriving $-ë$ from the accusative plural of masculine o -stems ($*-ons$) clearly have to be rejected, while DEMIRAJ Sh.'s (1993: 96) suggestion of $-ë$ having only secondarily been extended to the masculines in analogy to the feminine nouns is possible, but of little appeal. MATZINGER's (2006: 102) derivation of $-ë$ from the nom.pl. ending $*-es (> *-ih > -ë)$ of PIE consonant stems as well as Latin loans of the 3rd declension, on the other hand, conveniently accounts for the plural forms of nouns featuring the word formation suffixes Alb. $-tuar$ or Alb. $-uar$ as presented below. Seeing that nom.pl. $*-es$ is reduced to zero in originally disyllabic feminine consonant stems such as nom./acc. pl. *net* 'nights' $< *naktih < *nok^u t-es$ (discussed in chapter 4.1.3.2), but continued as $*-ë$ in originally trisyllabic forms with stressed antepenultimate, e.g. nom./acc.pl. OG /dreqënë/ 'devils' $< *drakinih$ (cf. chapter 4.2.4.1) and the tri-/tetrasyllabic examples given below, we could then assume a twofold continuation of nom.pl. $*-es$ as either $-o$ or $-ë$. Most certainly, the retention of the original ending as $-ë$ can here be connected to the stress pattern, as in words with accent on the antepenultimate, the final syllable could receive secondary stress. A parallel development is seen in the discrepant continuation of nom.sg. $*-os > *-uh > \text{either } -o \text{ or } -ë$ because, although the evidence is less consistent in this case, the continuation by $-ë$ does appear to be more frequent in originally trisyllabic forms with antepenultimate stress (cf. e.g. $*sórponos$ 'snake' $> \text{OG } /gjarpënë/$); cf. Schumacher/Matzinger (forthc.: 181-182).

Examples other than the complex nouns formed with $-tuar$, $-uar$ are rare and inconclusive (cf. further Meyer 1883: 354f.; Domi 1961: 7; Domi 1966: 25; Demiraj Sh. 1973: 52, 1986: 230ff., 1993: 99; Orel 2000: 233).

OG /sherbët|uor, -ori/¹⁶² ‘servant’ ~ pl. OG /sherbëtorë/ ☞ Lat. *servītor*; cf. StAlb. *shërbej* ‘serve’. The suffix StAlb. *-tuar* (m.), used to form nomina agentis, has been borrowed from Lat. *-tor* and is further present in e.g. *mkatëtuor* ‘sinner’ ~ pl. *mkatëtorë*, cf. *mkat* ‘sin’ ☞ Lat. *peccātus*, cf. OG (Buzuku) /kat/ (Matzinger 2006: 138, 158); as well as *punëtuor* ‘worker’ ~ pl. *punëtorë* ← *punë* ‘work’, *fshatuor* ‘peasant, villager, farmer’ ~ *fshatorë* ← *fshat* ‘village’ or pl. *da(r)smorë* ‘wedding guest’ ← *da(r)smë* ‘wedding’ (Pekmezi 1908: 89). For the diphthong in the ending of the singular see chapter 4.1.1.3; the lengthening and subsequent diphthongisation of the back vowel in the plural is again impeded as the liquid is in non-final position (i.e. by the longer preservation of the continuant of the ending **-es*).

nom./acc.sg. Lat. *servītor* ☞ PA **šerbëtōr* > *šerbëtuor* > OG /sherbëtuor/

nom./acc.pl. Lat. *servītōr-ēs* ☞ PA **šerbëtor-ih* > OG /sherbëtorë/

sg.:

/ai të jetë **sherbëtori** ū{u}j/ (Buz. 132, 40-41) ‘he [who...] will be your servant’

pl.:

/Ji afërë, Zot, **sherbëtorëvet** tuve/ (Buz. 134, 57) ‘Lord, show mercy to your servants’

/e Gind’ sciume ghiuhesc kane me i kjane **scerbetore**/ (Bgd. 2.34.13-14)
‘and the peoples of many languages will be servants to

/ E tue hīm regji me pām **darsmorëtë**/ (Buz. 300, 1-2)
‘the king came to see the wedding guests’

OG /kāl|uor, -ori/ ‘horseman, rider, knight’ ~ pl. OG /kālorë, -të/, cf. OG /kāl|ë, -i/ ‘horse’. The nominal derivation suffix OG /-uor, -ori/, Tosk *-uar, -ori* has likewise been adopted from Latin (☞ Lat. *-ārius*). While being present in loan words such as OG /kallënd|uor, -ori/ ‘January’ from Lat. *calendārius*, this suffix has also become productive in Albanian; cf. StAlb. *fjalor, -i* ‘dictionary’ ← *fjalë* ‘word’, StAlb. *banor, -i* ‘inhabitant’ ← *banë* ‘dwelling’ (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 192). The absence of diphthongisation of the back vowel in the plural again has to be explained by the longer preservation of its ending (Lat. *-ārī* > PA **-ōrī*), as a result of which the vowel and the following *-r-* were not taustosyllabic.

As with *-tuar* above, the monophthong of the definite singular and indefinite plural forms seems to have been generalised to the whole paradigm in Modern Standard Albanian. In the continuant of *kāluor*, the modern form secondarily adopted the suffix *-ës*, used to form agent nouns (< **ik^hio-*), cf. StAlb. *kālōrës, -i* ‘horseman, knight’. This redundant suffixation suggests that the suffix *-uar/-or* had ceased to be productive and transparent at that time (cf. Matzinger 2006: 137).

/kapetanja i **kālōrëvet** regjit Sirjesë/ (Buz. 144, 24-25)
‘the commander of the army [lit. knights] of the king of Syria’

¹⁶² Buzuku. Bogdani shows the younger (Old and ModGeg) form *shërbëtuor*, the ending is *-tuar* in Tosk, while StAlb. has the levelled form *shërbëtor* (with the monophthong generalised from the plural or definite form).

StAlb. *dhëmb* (m.) ‘tooth’ ~ pl. *dhëmbë*. Although this form would have to be included in this group on the basis of its synchronic properties, its historical development is, as will be pointed out below, rather complex and unclear (see chapter 4.4).

StAlb. *flok* ‘hair’ ~ pl. *flokë*, OG (Bogdani) def. /flokëtë/ ☞ Lat. *floccus* ‘lock, flock’ (Orel 1998: 100). Unclear. OG/ StAlb. *flok-ë* is unlikely to continue an *o*-stem plural PA **floki*, as the final velar would have been palatalised by the ending. Whether the documented plural form constitutes an early Albanian innovation or derives from a variant form is difficult to establish.

/Ions duel Pesckut giççë pèrlüm: **flokëtë**/ (Bgd. 1.143.11-12) ‘Jonah came out of the fish all dirty: the hair’

/**flokëtë** endë ajo daam per mjedist/ (Bgd. 2.36.23-24)
‘and the hair she then divided in the middle’

4.2.1.2 n.

The origin of nom./acc.pl. *-ë* in neuter nouns with singular *-o* is, in contrast to the masculines above, unproblematic, and commonly acknowledged to lie in the nom./acc.pl. of neuter *o*-stems, i.e. nom./acc.pl. n. *-ë* < **-ā* < **-ah₂*, cf. OInd. *-ā* (Matzinger 2006: 102; Pedersen 1897: 289; Domi 1961: 7; Demiraj Sh. 1986: 231; Demiraj Sh. 1993: 99). As seen in the case of *vesh* ‘ear’ ~ pl. *veshë*, the suffix may, however, also continue an old dual neuter ending **-ih₁* (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 231).

StAlb. *kr/ye, -eu*, OG /*krye, -të*/ ‘head’ ~ pl. OG /*krenë*/, /*krena*¹⁶³, Tosk /*krerë*/. For the presence of diphthongisation in the plural, as well as its absence in the plural form see chapter 4.1.1.3.

nom./acc.sg. *krye* < **kryæ* < **kræn* < **krōna* < **krōsna* < PIE nom./acc.sg. **kroh₂snom* ‘id.’; cf. AGr. *κράνιον* ‘id.’, Ved. gen./abl. sg. *śīrṣṇás* ‘id.’, etc.

nom./acc.pl. OG /*krenë*/ < LPA **krænə* < **krōnā* < **krōsnā* < PIE nom./acc. Pl. **kroh₂snah₂*.

(Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 195; Matzinger 2006: 194; Nussbaum 1986; Matzinger 1988 [2001]b).

/gjithë **krenëtë** e priftënet e shkruositë e popullit/ (Buz. 88, 37-38)
‘all high priests [lit. heads of the priests] and scribes of the people’

/e ëngrini **krenëtë** t’uoj/ (Buz. 76.42-43) ‘and raise your heads’

¹⁶³ For an account of the suffix in the variant form /*krena*/ as shown by Bogdani, see chapter 4.2.4.

/e giġġè vjersc , e pikè , e **krena**/ (Bgd. 1.1.22)
‘and all lines, dots and titles [lit. heads]’

/daam cater lümenasc mbè catter **krena**/ (Bgd. 1.45.19) ‘divided by four rivers into
fours regions’

StAlb. *vesh*, -i, OG /vesh, -të/ ‘ear’ ~ pl. *veshë*. According to SCHUMACHER/MATZINGER (forthc.: 231), plural *veshë* continues EPA nom./acc. dual **auhasī*, which itself constitutes an innovation in that the weak stem **us-* (< **h₂us-* < prePIA **h₂us-s-*) of nom./acc. dual **h₂usih₁* was replaced by **auhas-*, a form based on the strong stem of the nom./acc. sg., PIE **h₂ausos*. Singular *vesh* is argued to be “eine späte Rückbildung vom Nom./Akk.Pl. *veshë*” (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 231).

/Kush kà **veshë** me ëndigluom, ëndiglonjë/ (Buz. 102, 5-6)
‘He who has ears to hear, shall listen’

/Ndjere mbè **vesce** , rjeġenè lemuem ; **vescescit** e pjeteposcte jane rudè/
(Bgd. 2.36.20-21)
‘Down to the ears, they are straight, from the ears downwards they are curly’

StAlb. *ballë*, -i , OG /ballë, -të/ ‘forehead’ ~ pl. *ballë* < **b^holHo-*; from a root **b^helH-* ‘white, shining’, cf. OPr. *ballo* ‘front, forehead’ (Pokorny 1959: 118ff.; Matzinger 2006: 169; Demiraj B. 1997: 88f., Çabej 1976a: 53). While StAlb. *ballë* represents the regular continuant of a neuter plural **bholHā*, Bogdani already gives secondarily extended /ball-ëna/. As pl. *ballë* is not clearly characterised as a plural (being identical to the singular stem) and since the suffix *-ëna* shows a particular productivity with neuters, its early presence in this form (as well as *kopësht* above) is not surprising¹⁶⁴ (cf. e.g. the spread of the suffix *-er* in MHG

/e janit düü **baġenasc**/ (Bgd. 1.178.4) ‘of the two-faced Janus’

OG /vjetë, -të/ ‘year’ ~ pl. /vjetë/ < PIE **u^étos-(e)h₂?*; root **u^ét-* ‘to turn’; cf. AGr. *ἔτος* ‘id.’, Lat. *vetus* ‘old’. The original paradigm, represented by the OG forms, was later obscured by the formation of a new nom./acc.sg., StAlb. *vit*, on the basis of the oblique forms (e.g. OG instr. /viti/ < PIE loc. **u^ét-es-ej*), StAlb. *vite* (besides older *vjet*) is a further innovation based on the new nominative singular (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 222; Matzinger 2006: 223; Demiraj B. 1997: 419ff.).

/a jë qenë rrëfyem për gjithë **vjetë**/ (Budi SC 119.2) ‘have you confessed, through all these years?’

/për trī **vietë** e gjashtë muoj/ (Buz. 146.17-18) ‘for three years and six months’

¹⁶⁴Cf. e.g. the spread of the suffix *-er* in ModHG in forms such as pl. *Wörter* ‘words’ or *Häupter* which ousted the original MHG plurals (*wort*, *houbet*) which were homonymous to the nom./ acc. sg. (Schumacher: personal communication).

StAlb. (*të*) *mirë*, *-të* ‘(the) good (subst.adj)’ ~ pl. (*të*) *mirë* < PIE nom./acc.pl. **mī-rā* < **miH-rah₂*, root **meiH-* ‘soft, mild’ (cf. OInd. *máyas-*), cf. also OSlav. *mirъ* ‘world, peace’, cf. also **mī-lo-* with a different suffix; e.g. Lith. *mýlas* ‘dear, nice’, OSlav. *milъ* ‘id.’ (Matzinger 2006: 155).

/me zgjedhunë **të mirëtë** ën se keqi/ (Buz.) ‘to free the good (things) from ill, evil’

Mass nouns such as StAlb. *miell*, *vaj*, or *mish* ‘meat’ typically already in the earliest documents form their plural with a suffix (OG) *-ëna*¹⁶⁵, secondarily adopted in accordance with *ujë* ‘water’ ~ pl. *ujëna*, and *ashtë* ~ pl. *eshtëna*, where the ending is historically justified (cf. chapter 4.2.4 below; Schumacher: personal communication). Although it has to be assumed that these nouns originally featured a plural suffix **-ā* (< PIE nom./acc.pl. **-eh₂*), there is no documented evidence to substantiate this (cf. chapter 4.2.4.2).

StAlb. *mish*, *-i*, OG /*mish*, *-të*/ ‘meat’ ~ pl. Geg *mishna*, Tosk *mishra* ← EPA nom./acc. pl. n. **miśśā* < **meśśā* < PIE **mems-eh₂*; cf. Goth. *mims* ‘id.’, TochB *mīsa* ‘id.’ (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 190; Matzinger 2006: 79).

/ën gjithë **mishënashit**/ (Buz. 306, 67) ‘of all unclean animals (lit. types of meat)’

StAlb. *miell*, *-të* ‘flour’ ~ pl. Geg *miellna*, Tosk *miellra* ← EPA nom./acc. pl. n. *meluā* < PIE **melh₂-ueh₂*. (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 189).

StAlb. *vaj*, *-i*, OG /*voj*, *-të*/ ‘oil’ ~ pl. Geg *vajna*, Tosk *vajra* ← nom./acc. pl. n. **uolā* ☞ Vulg.Lat. **oljā* (or the like; cf. Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 223).

4.2.1.3 f.

As in the case of the neuters, the source of the feminine plural suffix *-ë* in feminines showing *-ë* in the singular is relatively undebated; the broadly accepted view deriving pl.f. *-ë* from the nominative plural of feminine *ā*-stems, i.e. **-ah₂as* > **-ās* > *-ë*; cf. Goth. *-ōs*, OInd. *-ās*, etc. (Matzinger 2006: 103; Demiraj Sh. 1986: 231, 1993: 97-99; Orel 2000: 239).

Synchronically, feminine nouns are typically characterised by the highly productive plural suffix *-a*, patterns of the type sg. *dardhë* ‘pear’ ~ pl. *dardhë* having been largely replaced by the more distinctive pattern sg. *-ë* ~ *-a* (Fiedler 2007: 231ff.; Pekmezi 1908: 93, etc.).

¹⁶⁵ With the medial reduced vowel *-ë* later being syncopated (e.g. *mishëna* → *mishna*). As will be pointed out below (chapter 4.2.4), this suffix is particularly popular with mass nouns.

OT/ OG/ StAlb. *far/ë, -a* ‘seed, spawn, kind’ ~ pl. *farë* (besides *fara*) < EPA nom./acc.pl. **p^harāh* < PIE nom.pl. **sporáh₂as* and/or acc.pl. **sporās*; cf. AGr. *σπορά* ‘sowing, seed’, root **sper-* ‘diffuse, spread’ (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 194).

/E këto janë **farëtë** e Noeut/ (Buz. 220, 52-53) ‘and these are the offspring of Noah’

/një nier qi ënbiell **farë** të mirë ënd’arë të/ (Buz. 96, 64-65)
‘the man who sows good seeds on his field’

/së silët dissà **fare** raa i mbeçëe/ (Bgd. 2.64.5) ‘and a few seeds fell to the ground’

StAlb. *dit/ë, -a* ‘day’ ~ pl. *dit(ë)* < EPA **dītās* < PIE nom.pl. **dih₂-tah₂as*; root **deih₂-* ‘glow, shine’ (cf. AGr. aor. *δέατο*); cf. OInd. *dīna*, OSlav. *дѣнь* ‘id.’. The prevailing form in Old Albanian is /dit/ (see the examples below); the absence of final *-ë* is clearly influenced by the semantically close *natë* ‘night’ ~ pl. *net*, where the pattern is historically justified (cf. Fiedler 2007: 332).¹⁶⁶

/e si u ëmbaruonë **ditë** e festësë/ (Buz. 90, 20-22)
‘and after the days of celebration had ended’

/katërdhjetë **dit** ndëjesëne/ (Budi SC 330.28-331.1) ‘fourty days of indulgence’

StAlb./ OG /udh|ë, -a/ ‘way, street’ ~ pl. OG /udhë, -të/ < EPA **ujāh* < PIE **uĝ^h-ah₂as-*, root **ueĝ^h-* ‘float, drive’; cf. MHG *Weg* (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 209).

/me ecunë ënb'**udhë** të tī/ (Buz. 124, 35) ‘to walk on his ways’

/Persë mb’ **uçetë** Jerusalemite ndë Jerikt giütet/ (Bgd. 2.79.26)
‘because on the ways from Jerusalem to the city of Jericho’

StAlb. *dasm/ë, -a*, OG /darsmë/ ‘wedding’ ~ pl. OG /darsmë/, StAlb. *dasma* < EPA nom./acc.pl. **darčimāh*; derivation from *darkë* < PIE **dork^ho-* ‘supper, dinner’; with an original meaning of ‘wedding feast’ (cf. Demiraj B. 1997: 123-124; Çabej 1976a, 108-109; Jokl 1923: 14; Orel 1998: 57).

/**Darsmëtë** për të vërtetë janë trajtuom/ (Buz. 298, 83-85)
‘the wedding (feasts) are truly ready’

/Vottë mbë keto **darsmë**/ (Bgd. 2.48.25) ‘he went to these weddings’

¹⁶⁶DEMIRAJ Sh. (1993: 283) here assumes influence in the opposite direction, arguing that pl.*net* had lost its final *-ë* in analogy to pl. *dit*. As was shown above, however, this view has to be rejected, seeing that *net* regularly continues the PIE nom.pl. **nok^ht-es*. Occasional *-ë*-bearing variant plural forms (*netë*) as documented by FIEDLER (2007: 333) in turn might have been influenced by pl. *ditë*, suggesting a complex interplay between these two forms.

StAlb./OG *fjal/ë, -a* ‘word’ ~ pl. *fjalë, -të* ☞ Lat. *fābella* ‘speech’; cf. It. *favella* ‘language’.
PA nom./acc.pl. *fa(β)ëlā* (Matzinger 2006: 156, De Vaan 2004: 77).

/e gjegj **fjalë** ëndë kshi<i>ll/ (Buz. 100, 59-60) ‘and heard secret words’

/per vertutë **fjalevet** se Virginesë/ (Bgd. 2.15.5)
‘through the force of the words of the virgin’

4.2.2 -e

The historical development of the second of the main suffixes, pl. *-e*, appears to be less clear cut than the one of the suffix *-ë* treated in the preceding chapter. Although the suffix is comparatively frequent and productive in Modern Albanian, it is now generally traced back to a number of “ganz kleine[n] Gruppe[n] von Substantiven” (Fiedler 2007: 223), meaning that the ending must have spread far beyond its original scope (cf. Matzinger 2006: 102). In the following, the main suggestions regarding the original source of pl. *-e* will be briefly discussed.

4.2.2.1 m.

The origin of pl. *-e* in masculines, restricted to inanimates, is not yet entirely clear. Early proposals such as MEYER (1883: 350ff; followed more recently by e.g. Domi 1966: 25), who claims *-e* to continue the (pronominal) nom.pl. of *o*-stems, **-oi*, which would have mixed with Lat. pl. *-ēs*, or PEDERSEN (1905: 209; followed by Jokl 1916: 183ff.), arguing for **-e* < **-ās*, have been convincingly disproven (cf. HAMP 1958: 148).

KLINGENSCHMITT (1994: 225), followed by MATZINGER (2006: 102), derives *-e* from the nominative plural of the PIE *u*-stems, cf. **-eu-es* > **-ou-es* > **-au-es* > **-au-ih* > **e(u)ë*¹⁶⁷. This assumption is challenged by the fact that if the adjective *i thellë* ‘deep’ is taken to continue **éa(u)ila-/ā-* < PIE **kouilo/ah₂-* (cf. AGr. *κόιλος* ‘hollow’), the loss of intervocalic **-u-* must have taken place at a comparatively early time, i.e. before the monophthongisation of **ai* to **e* – as SCHUMACHER points out, “in einem solchen Fall wäre es wenig wahrscheinlich, dass ein auslautendes /-e#/#/ entstehen könnte”¹⁶⁸ (2009: 68; Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 221). Following MELCHERT (seminar discussion UCLA 2009, communicated by Schumacher), it can, however, be argued that the glide **-u-* could

¹⁶⁷With umlaut of *a* → *e* triggered by the ending **-ih*.

¹⁶⁸Seeing that “ein unbetonter auslautender Vokal, der kein Schwa ist, nur einen sekundären Langvokal fortsetzen [kann], also einen Vokal, der durch sekundäre Dehnung oder Kontraktion entstanden ist” (Schumacher 2009a: 68).

have been reintroduced into the nom. pl. on the basis of other parts of the ablauting paradigm (e.g. gen. sg. EPA **-auh* < **-eus*; loc. sg. **-āu* < **-ēu*). This secondary **-u-* would then have disappeared only at a later time, finally leading to the development of *-e*. This argument, as well as the fact that the suffix does appear predominantly with original *u*-stems, seem to support KLINGENSCHMITT's assumption in the long run.

DEMIRAJ Sh. (1993: 100), in contrast, suggests *-e* to be of a secondary nature, having been analogically extended from the feminine. While this proposal seems rather attractive due to the frequent heterogeneity seen in plurals in *-e*¹⁶⁹ (i.e. nouns which are masculine in the singular, but show feminine characteristics in the plural, cf. chapter 3.1, Fiedler 2007: 223), DEMIRAJ Sh.'s (1993: 100; following Bokshi 1980) derivation of pl.f. *-e* from nom.pl.f. **-āi* (of pronominal origin) has to be questioned (cf. Hamp 1958: 148).

StAlb. *mot*, *-i* 'weather, year', OG /mot/ 'time' ~ StAlb./OG /mote/ < EPA **māt-aṽih* < PIE nom.pl. **meh₁-teu-es*; *tu*-abstract of the root **meh₁-* 'to measure'. Despite Buzuku showing /motëna/¹⁷⁰, the variant /mote/ found in both Bogdani and Budi most plausibly constitutes the older and regular plural form; Buzuku's form thus seems to be an early innovation (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 192; Schumacher: personal communication)

/e ma teperè ndè keto **motet** tona¹⁷¹/ (Bgd. 1.75.34) 'and most in these our times'

StAlb. *mal*, *-i* 'mountain' ~ pl. *male*. Although usually assumed to derive from an *o*-stem noun **mol-no* (cf. e.g. Matzinger 2006: 51), the fact that a plural *male* is already found besides /mal/ in Buzuku might point toward a PIE *u*-stem source **mol(h₃)-nu-*, from a root **melh₃-* 'come out, emerge' (Schumacher: personal communication).¹⁷² Whether both an *o*-stem and *u*-stem form are continued in Albanian, or whether one of the variants represents the original form (with either secondary loss or secondary adoption of *-e*, cf. e.g. Demiraj Sh. 1993: 96 for the latter) remains to be decided.

/e ënbë **malet** të nalta të Izraelit/ (Buz. 114, 40-41)
'and in the high mountains of Israel'

/e për gjithë **maleshi{i}t** të Jud<ë>së/ (Buz. 320, 55-56)

¹⁶⁹The association of the suffix with the feminine triggering feminine attribution.

¹⁷⁰ While plural /motëna/ is documented three times in Buzuku, a variant form /moteshit/ might be present in the sequence /ën motëshit plaka/ 'from the old times onward', as argued by FIEDLER (2007: 222) and ÇABEJ (?) (counter the transcription of Ressulî, and justifiably so). If correct, this further supports the assumption of an older plural form *mote* continuing an original *u*-stem.

¹⁷¹With feminine pronoun; cf. the issue of heterogeneity as discussed above (chapter 3.1).

¹⁷² The fact that nominal derivations by a suffix **-nu-* are generally less frequent than derivations with the *o*-stem suffix **-no-* is not overly problematic (Schumacher: personal communication).

‘and through all mountains of Judah’

/asthü qi ü të derpërtonj gjithë **maltë**/ (Buz. 102, 53-54)
‘so that I could move all mountains’

/e uçevet , **Malevet** , e fusciauet/ (Bgd. 2.45.12-13)
‘and via the streets, and the mountains, and the plains’

StAlb. *mundim*, -i ‘effort, ability’ ~ pl. *mundime* ← StAlb. *mund* ‘can, be able’ from a PIE root **meyH-* (cf. Luw. *mūwa-* ‘power, strength’; Schumacher 2005). The suffix *-im* < **-imu-* is used to form abstract nouns from verbal bases (cf. OIr. *-m* < **-mu-*) and is further present in e.g. *durim* ‘endurance, patience’ ← *duro-* ‘to suffer, endure’, *gëzim* ‘joy, gladness’ ← *gëzo-* ‘be happy, glad; rejoice’, *kujtim* ‘memory, remembrance’ ← *kujto-* ‘remember, recall’ (Matzinger 2006: 137, 188, 190).¹⁷³

nom./acc.pl. *mundime* < **^o-im-eyes*

/për-se ata qish ën **mundimeshit** meritonjënë/ (Buz. 108, 2-3)
‘whatever pains we deserve’

/t’ achia **mundimeve**/ (Bgd. 2.160.21) ‘of so much pains’

Tosk. *vend/vënd*, -i, OG /vënd, -i/ ‘place, country’ ~ pl. *vende* < EPA **uenteyes*, *tu*-abstract noun of the root **h₁uen-* ‘to spread, extend’; cf. StAlb. *vë* ‘to put, place’ (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 189). The usual plural form of this noun in the Older Albanian documents is, however, suppletive *vise* (cf. chapter 4.3.3).

The suffix is of a clearly secondary nature in e.g. *shteg*, -u ‘path’ ~ pl. *shtigje* < **stoig^ho-* (cf. chapter 4.1.1.1), *qytet*, -ja ‘city’ ~ pl. *qytete* ⇨ Lat. **civitatīs* (cf. chapter 4.1.3.2).

4.2.2.2 n.

As suggested by HAMP (1958: 153), and followed by KLINGENSCHMITT (1994: 225) as well as MATZINGER (2006: 103), neuter pl.-*e* may have evolved from collective **(i)jā* < **(i)iah₂* of the PIE *ijo-*stems.

StAlb. *dëm*, -i, Geg *dâm* ‘damage, harm’ ~ pl. *dëme* ⇨ Lat. *damnum*; nom.pl. **damniā* > nom./acc.pl. *dëme* (Matzinger 2006: 82).

¹⁷³As SCHUMACHER (personal communication) points out, the derivation of the suffix *-im* from an old *u*-stem is far from secured, and is challenged to a certain extent by the existence of verbal abstract in *-imas* in Lithuanian. Despite being old *o*-stems, these formations show remarkable similarities to the Albanian verbal abstracts; one possible explanation would be a secondary remodelling of these abstracts to *u*-stems under influence of formations in **-tu-*. While such assumption seems rather plausible regarding the OIr. *-m*-formations mentioned above, the available evidence does not allow clear conclusions in Albanian.

StAlb. *gaz*, -i ‘joy’ ~ pl. *gaze* ⇨ Lat. *gaudium*; nom.pl. **gaudijā* > nom./acc.pl. *gaze* (Matzinger 2006: 82).

StAlb. *gjq*, -i, OT /gjik/ ‘court, trial’ ~ pl. *gjqe* ⇨ Lat. *iudicium* (Matzinger 2006: 195).

4.2.2.3 f.

Likewise, pl. -e in feminines with singular -e is taken to derive from the nom.pl. of the PIE feminine *ijā*-stems, i.e. *-(i)*jah₂as* > *-(i)*iās* > -e (Hamp 1958: 149; Matzinger 2006: 103; Schumacher 2009: 68).

StAlb. *shërbëtor/e*, -ja, OG /*sherbëtore*/ ‘female servant, maid’ ~ pl. *shërbëtore*, OG /*sherbëtore*/; motion feminine of m. *sherbëtuor* ‘servant’ ⇨ Lat. *servitor*, formed by the continuants of motion suffix *-i_{h₂, nom.pl. *-i_{h₂-es > *-iās > *-e; nom.pl. **šerbëtōrjāh* > **sherbëtore* (Schumacher 2009: 68).}}

/dÿ **shërbëtore** të vetëme/ (Buz. 156, 30-31) ‘with only two maids’

StAlb. *faq/e*, -ja ‘face, cheek’ ~ pl. *faqe* < nom./acc. pl. **fakijāh* < **facijās*; ⇨ Vulg.Lat. sg. **facia* ‘face’ (cf. It. *faccia*, Rum. *față*) (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 194; Matzinger 2006: 188)

/trī **faqe** një i vetëmë Inëzot/ (Matrënga, fol.14) ‘three persons¹⁷⁴, one single god’

StAlb. *këqí*, -a ‘evil, ill (nom.)’ ~ pl. *këqe*; de-adjectival abstract noun formed by the productive suffix *-í < *-ijā (cf. AGr. -ía); OG /këqí/ ← (i) *keq* ‘bad, evil’; nom./acc.pl. *këqe* < **kakijāh* < **kakijās* < nom.pl. **kakijah₂as*. Cf. further *priftëri*, -a, Geg *priftëni*, -a ‘ordination to the priesthood’ ~ pl. *priftëre*, Geg *priftëne* ← StAlb. *prift*, -i ‘priest’ ⇨ Lat. *preptō* (remodelled form of Lat. *pre(s)byter*); cf. Matzinger (2006: 137, 203, 236).

4.2.3 -a

As is the case with the plural suffixes -ë and -e, “[d]ieses Suffix wird ebenfalls ganz unterschiedlich erklärt” (Fiedler 2007: 149). MEYER’s (1883: 351) account of pl.-a < feminine pl. *-ās (originally restricted to feminines, later extended to masculines), supported by PEKMEZI (1908: 93) and DOMI (1961: 6, 1966: 25) is phonetically untenable, as *-ās yields Mod.Alb. -ë (cf. chapter 4.2.1.3). Similarly rejected is HAMP’s (1958: 149, 154) suggestion of -a continuing the accusative plural of both masculine and feminine *o*-stems (m. *-ans/ f. *-āns > *-ās > -e).

¹⁷⁴ As MATZINGER (2006: 188) points out, /faqe/ is here used in the sense of ‘person’ (cf. also Sciambra 1964: 214).

The most plausible explanation is then found in PEDERSEN (1895: 10, 1905: 209), who claims that

[b]ei den Wörtern, die im Singular auf *-ë* auslauteten, ist [...] durch eine Neuerung vor der Pluralendung *-e* der Stammauslaut *-ë* eingeführt worden; *ë+e* ergab dann *-a* [...], eine solche analogische Einführung des Stammvokals vor einer vokalisch anlautenden Endung findet sich oft im Alb.

This view of a pl.*-a* as the result of the reinforcing attachment of pl.*-e* is supported by JOKL (1923: 92) as well as MATZINGER (2006: 102-103) and SCHUMACHER (2009: 68). DEMIRAJ Sh. (1993: 100) adds that this process is not restricted to nouns with a suffix *-ë* in the singular, but also affects the plural suffix *-ë*. Although DEMIRAJ Sh. (1993: 101) rightly points out that the process can have taken place only at a time when final *-a#* was not reduced any further, the process is commonly thought to have started at a rather relatively early date, as pl.*-a* is already frequent in the Older Geg documents, cf. also Fiedler (2007: 196).

In Modern Albanian, pl.*-a* is highly productive, predominantly associated with feminines, and has been extended to certain adjectives and pronouns, cf. e.g. *vajza të mir-a* ‘good girls’, *të tjer-a* ‘others’ (Demiraj Sh. 1993: 98, 100). Although it has been suggested that the suffix was originally limited to the feminines, the predilection of the suffix for this gender is most likely simply connected to the generally very high frequency of feminines in *-ë*.

4.2.3.1 m.

Both masculines with a singular in zero, and masculines in sg.*-ë* are found with plural *-a*. As the *o*-stem plural ending **-oĭ* was usually lost completely (at least in originally disyllabic forms), the masculine *-a*-plurals given below might constitute early examples of the analogical extension of the suffix, supporting DEMIRAJ Sh.’s view that the suffix originally did not occur with masculines (1993: 100).

sg. *-ë* ~ pl. *-a*

StAlb. *burr/ë, -i* ‘man, husband’ ~ pl. *burra*; PA **burna-* < PIE **b^hr-no-*¹⁷⁵ (cf. Lith. *bėrnas* ‘child, boy’, Goth. *barn* ‘child’). In order to arrive at ModAlb. *burra*, the ending of the masculine *o*-stem plural PA **burnai* must have been reduced to *-ë* instead of being lost (cf. e.g. *gjërpanjë* < **sorpon-oĭ*)¹⁷⁶; after the secondary attachment of the plural suffix

¹⁷⁵The etymology of this form is far from secured; MATZINGER’s (2006: 155) assumption of a development *r > ur* in labial environment is furthermore admittedly rather ad hoc (Schumacher: personal communication).

¹⁷⁶ Cf. also the differential development of nom.sg.m. **-os > -∅* or *-ë*; while it seems likely that **-os, *-i* (< **-ai*) being either reduced to *-ë* or lost completely is a certain extent dependent on the length of the word as well the

-e, this ending will have been contracted to -a. Cf. PA nom./acc.pl. **burnai* > **burri* > **burrë+e* > nom./acc.pl. *burra* (Matzinger 2006: 155). As pointed out above, and more plausibly, however, -a in this case was adopted secondarily in analogy to the feminines and neuters, i.e. **burnai* > **burri* > **burr* → nom./acc.pl. *burra*.

/burra , graa e fëmii/ (Budi, DC 192.19) ‘man, women and children’

/burra , e Graa/ (Bgd. 2.158.18-19) ‘men and women’

StAlb. *dim/ër, -ri*, OG /dimën|ë, -i/ ‘winter’ ~ pl. Geg *dimna*, Tosk *dimra* < **dim(ë)në+e* < LPA **dimənəh* < **dimənəh* < EPA nom./acc.pl. **jīmanih* < PIE nom.pl. **ǵʰejmōn-es*; cf. AGr. *χειμῶν* ‘winter-(weather), storm’. Nom./acc. singular appears to have been remodelled on the basis of the *o*-stem masculines, cf. PIE **ǵʰejmōn* → EPA **jīmanuh* (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 198).

/Dü Dimena , e düü Vera/ (Bgd. 1.45.21) ‘two winters and two summers’

sg. -o ~ pl. a

StAlb. *trim, -i* ‘hero, brave young man’ ~ pl. *trima*; related to the adjective StAlb. *trim* ‘bold, brave’; root PIE **ter-* ‘weak, young’, cf. Arm. *t’arm* ‘young, fresh’. Again, it has to be assumed that either the plural ending **-oj* was continued by -ë, which in combination with the ending -e was contracted to -a, or that the suffix was only adopted secondarily cf. PIE nom.pl. **tj-moj* > **trimai* > **trimi* > (**trimë+e*) > **trima* (Orel 1998: 464; Pokorny 1959: 1070-1071; Demiraj B. 1997: 389).

/E trimatë e tyne klofshinë ënvrām ëndë luftët shpatet/ (Buz. 190, 42-43)
‘and their young men die by sword in battle’

/mè trimatè Regit Herod/ (Bgd.2.89.2) ‘with young men of King Herod’

StAlb. *edh, -i* ‘kid (young goat)’ ~ pl. *edha* < (**edhë+e*) < EPA **aijai* < **h₂aiǵoj* (?); cf. AGr. *αἴζ, αἰγός* ‘goat’, Arm. *ayc* ‘id.’ (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 198).

/e të venë qengjatë ënbë të djathët tī, e edhatë ënbë të shtëmanktët/ (Buz. 114, 63-65)
‘put the sheep on his right and the goats on the left’

/tè bahescine dü Eça mbë Deretë kiscessë/ (Bgd. 2.111.2)
‘brought two young goats to the gate of the temple’

The suffix is of a clearly secondary nature in e.g. sg. *gjel, -i* ‘rooster’ ~ pl. *gjel-a*, sg. *dem, -i* ‘bull’ ~ pl. *dem-a* (cf. chapter 4.4).

properties of the stem itself, the precise factors conditioning such development are not yet entirely clear (cf. Matzinger 2006; Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 181-182).

4.2.3.2 n.

StAlb. *petk*, -u, OG /petëk/ ~ pl. StAlb. *petka*, OG /petëka/; etymology debated, possibly from PIE **pajto-ko-*; pl. *petëka* < **petëkë+e* < **pajto-keh₂*; as MATZINGER points out, the word might be a wanderwort related to AGr. *βαίτη* (2006: 226).

/ata qi ëndë **petëka** të bukura ënvëshenë/ (Buz. 78, 33-34)
'those that are dressed in beautiful garments'

/më **petëkatë** Apostujet/ (Bgd. 2.87.10) 'with the garments of the apostles'

4.2.3.3 f.

Plural -a is particularly frequent with PIE *ā*-stems, the nominative plural ending **-ās* (< **-ah₂as*) of which yielded final -ë in Albanian. Reinforced by the plural suffix -e, this combination would then give final -a (cf. Pedersen 1895: 10).

StAlb. *mot/ër*, -ra, OG /motr|ë, -a/ 'sister' ~ pl. StAlb./OG *motra*; nom./acc.sg. < EPA **mātrā* ← PIE nom.sg. **mah₂-tēr* 'mother'. Plural EPA **mātrās* > **motrë+e* > *motra* (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 191)

/E dërguonë të **motratë** e tī tek Jez8/ (Buz. 172, 88-89)
'and his sisters sent (a message) to Jesus'

/me te dūū Mriat , **Motrat'** e se Lumessë Virginë/ (Bgd. 2.127.14)
'with the two Marys, the sisters of the blessed virgin'

StAlb. *bijë*, -a 'daughter' ~ pl. StAlb. *bija*, OG /bija, -të/ < EPA **biljās*¹⁷⁷ < **b^hir-īās* ← m. *bir* 'son' (Matzinger 2006: 74).

/ e kush do bi<j>të o **bijatë** mā se muo/ (Buz. 350, 60-61)

/Delni , ò **bijate** Ierusalemīt ξξote spīrti scenjt/ (Bgd. 2.18.10) 'Leave Jerusalem, o daughters, said the holy spirit'

StAlb. *vep/ër*, -ra, OG /vepër|ë, -a/ 'work, deed' ~ pl. StAlb. *vepra*, OG /vepëra/ ☞ **ōpera* (Class.Lat. *ōpus*, *ōpera*).

/tue ëndīgluom Gjoni ëndë burg **vepëratë** e Krishtit / (Buz. 78, 16-17)
'when John in prison heard of the deeds of Christ'

/për frujtit të **vepëravet** mirave/ (Buz. 120, 40-41)
'through the fruits of the marvellous works'

/per **veperatë** tua/ (Bgd. 2.50.12) 'for your works/deeds'

¹⁷⁷ The intermediate step **-li-* is preserved in Arvan. *bilë* (Matzinger 2006: 74).

StAlb. *vat/ër, -ra*, OG /votr|ë, -a/ ‘fireplace, hearth’ ~ pl. *vatra* < nom./acc.pl. **uotrā+e* < **otrāh* < EPA **ātrāh* < PIE nomen loci nom.pl. **h₂ah₁-trah₂as*, from a root **h₂eh₁-* ‘to be hot’; cf. Lat. *ātrium* ‘atrium, receptionroom of a Roman house’, OIr. *áith* (< **h₂ah₁-ti-*) ‘desiccator’ (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 193). The plural form is not documented in the older Albanian texts.

StAlb. *shtyllë, -a* ‘pillar, post’ ~ pl. *shtylla* < **shtyllë+e* < EPA nom./acc.pl. **stūlāh* < PIE **stuh₂-lah₂as*; cf. AGr. *στῦλος* ‘id.’, Ved. *sthūṅā-* ‘pillar, post’; from a root **steh₂-* ‘step, place oneself’ with infix *-u-* ?. (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 197).

/per mbij giascteçjete e giascètè **sctiŭla** mbucuruem’/ (Bgd. 2.47. 30-48.1) ‘upon sixty-six worked columns’

StAlb. *drit/ë, -a* ‘light’ ~ pl. *drita* < **dritë+e* < PIE nom.pl. **dṛk̑-táh₂as*, cf. OE *torht* ‘bright, beaming’, OIr. *ardracht* ‘beaming’, from a root **derk̑-* ‘look, behold’ (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 200).

/E bani Zot’ ynë dÿ **drita** të mëdhā/ (Buz. 218, 57-58)
‘And God made two great lights’

/ketò të trij **Dritta**/ (Bgd. 1.17.15) ‘these three lights’

4.2.4 -ënë

A large number of claims concerning the origin of this suffix (Geg *-ënë*, Tosk *-ërë*) which have been put forward in the literature clearly have to be rejected, see e.g. SCHUCHARDT’S (1872: 297) attempt to relate the suffix to Latin/Italian *-ora*, Rumanian *-uri*, already refuted by MEYER (1883: 356ff.) due to the nasal-bearing version of the suffix undoubtedly being the older one.

Likewise doubtful, if not to say perverse, is OREL’S (2000: 230) derivation of *-ënë* from a PIE suffix **-ino-* (cf. De Vaan 2004: 71). FIEDLER (2007: 236ff.), although little plausible, follows JOKL (1923: 156) in assuming a collective suffix **-an* to be at the basis of Alb. *-ënë* (cf. also Camaj 1966: 127). In connection with the *o*-stem nom.pl. ending **-oj*, this suffix would, so FIEDLER’S argument, then have been continued in a two-fold way – when carrying stress (i.e. **-ánī*), the suffix would yield *-Vńj* (e.g. *barí* ‘shepherd’ ~ *barínj*), when unstressed, the suffix would give *-ënë*. However, FIEDLER seems to be mistaken here, as although a certain fluctuation between these suffixes certainly exists (cf. e.g. *priftënë* ‘priests’ ~ *priftínj*), they clearly derive from different sources – the former (*-Vńj*) appearing in nasal-

bearing thematic *o*-stems (cf. chapter 4.1.1.1), the latter (-*ënë*) deriving from athematic *n*-stems (nom.pl. *-*en-es*/*-*en-(e)h₂* instead of *-*an-oj*).

Considerably more plausibly, the suffix is explained as having been secondarily segmented from the continuants of the nom./acc. pl. of masculine or neuter *n*-stems: *-*en-es*, m. > *-*in-ih* (causing umlaut) > *-*ënë*, and *-*en-eh₂* (n.) respectively.

Reinterpreted as a plural suffix, the ending could then be extended to other nouns (for a similar development see the suffix -*inj* as discussed in chapter 4.1.1.1). As DEMIRAJ Sh. (1993: 102) points out, the operating of rhotacism on the suffix's nasal, as well as its presence across all Albanian dialects indicates a “verhältnismäßig frühe Entstehung” (cf. further Matzinger 2006: 102; Schumacher 2009: 68, Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.; Klingenschmitt 2000: 8; Demiraj Sh. 1973: 55ff., 1986: 239ff., 1993: 101f.; Meyer 1883: 355ff.).

A highly conspicuous feature of -*ënë*-plurals, still present in the dialect of Dushmani, as well as found in the older Geg documents, is their (longer) retention of the original dative inflection (-*ëne* instead of **-*ënëve*), cf. Cimochoowski (1951); Domi (1996: 25); Demiraj Sh. (1993: 114-115).¹⁷⁸

In Modern Albanian, the suffix has been simplified, i.e. shortened, in both its original and rhotacised (Tosk) form, the final reduced vowel typically being lost (Geg -*ënë* > -*ën*, Tosk -*ërë* > -*ër*); cf. Fiedler (2007: 240); Schumacher/Matzinger (forthc.: 240). As will be dealt with in more detail in the next section, a ‘reinforced’ plural suffix -*ëna* frequently arose through the attachment of the plural suffix -*e* to the final reduced vowel (cf. section 4.2.3).

StAlb. *dreq*, -*i* ‘devil’ ~ pl. OG /*dreqënë*/, Tosk/StAlb. *dreqër* ⇔ Lat. *dracō*, integrated into Albanian as an *n*-stem, sg. **drakō* ~ pl. *drakenes* > PA **drakinih* > *dreqënë*. As indicated above, the umlauted vowel of the singular has been generalised from the plural.

/Ai qet jashtë **dreqënitë** pr’ emënë të Belxebubit/ (Buz. 142, 58-59)
‘he casts out demons in the name of Beelzebul’

OG (StAlb.) /*prift*, -*i* ‘priest’ ~ pl. OG /*priftënë*/, StAlb. *priftër* ⇔ Lat. *praebitor* (remodelled from Class.Lat. *pre(s)byter*, cf. Rum. *preot*). Integrated into Albanian as sg. **preptō*¹⁷⁹ ~ pl. **prept-en-es* (> **prept-in-ih* > *priftënë*) on the basis of the inherited *n*-stems (cf. Klingenschmitt 2000: 8; Matzinger 2006: 236).

/lupinë prej **Priftenish**, shëjtënë pagheçim/ (Bgd. 2.39.4)

¹⁷⁸/tha Jezus shumicësë Xhuhivet e t’ parëvet **priftënet**/ (Buz. 360, 28-29)
‘then said Jesus to the many Jews and the high priests’

¹⁷⁹ After the final liquid was lost due to dissimilation (cf. Klingenschmitt 2000: 8).

‘they ask from the priests the holy baptism’

/priftënitë banji{g}në oratë/ (Buz. 124, 66-67) ‘the priests prayed’

StAlb. *mbret*, -i ‘king’ ~ pl. StAlb. *mbretër*, Geg *mbretën* ☞ BalkanLat. *emperato* (☞ Class.Lat. *imperātor*; cf. Rum. *imparat*); integrated into Albanian as *n*-stem sg. **emperatō*, pl. **emperatenes* > OG **mbretënë*. Neither singular nor plural forms are documented in the older Albanian texts (Klingenschmitt 2000: 8); nevertheless, the form has to be a borrowing.

StAlb. *nip*, -i ‘grandson, nephew’ ~ pl. StAlb. *nipër*, Geg *nipën*. Following KLINGENSCHMITT (2000: 8) and DE VAAN (2004: 71), it is here assumed that EPA nom./acc.sg. **nepō* was integrated into the Albanian *n*-stems after the final consonant cluster had been reduced (< PIE nom.sg. **nepōts*), giving rise to a nom./acc. plural **nep-in-ih*. The umlauted vocalism of the plural would then have been generalised to the whole paradigm (**nep* → *nip*). Only the singular is attested in the older forms.

/Barnabba **Nipij** Scejnt Marcut Evangelistë/ (Bgd. 2.77.22)
‘Barnabas, the nephew (cousin) of Saint Marcus the Evangelist’

StAlb. *dhe*, -u, Tosk/OG /dhē/ ‘earth’ ~ pl. OG /dhenë/, Tosk *dhera*, Geg *dhena*. As argued by SCHUMACHER/MATZINGER (forthc.: 195), nom.sg. *dhe* continues EPA nom.sg. **djōh*; which in turn constitutes a backformation of acc.sg. **djōm*, remodelled from the PIE acc.sg. **dʰéǵʰōm* (transponat ***dʰǵʰōm*); cf. Ved. nom.sg. *kṣās* ‘earth, ground’, which is based on acc.sg. *kṣām* (< transponat ***dʰǵʰōm*). Plural /dhenë/ is probably a secondary formation.

/e 8 t’ 8 ënbëliedh ën gjithë **dhenëshit** / (Buz. 166, 64-65)
‘I will gather you from all the countries’

OG /shpīrt, -i/, StAlb. *shpirt*, -i ‘soul, spirit’ ~ pl. OG /shpīrtëna/, Tosk/StAlb. *shpirtra* ☞ Lat. *spīritus* ‘breath, spirit, life’. Secondary adoption of suffix -*ënë+e* (nom./acc.pl. **špīrt-in-ih*).

Amplly documented in Buzuku as well as Bogdani:

/si shpirti i atet janë **shpirtëna** të mī/ (Buz. 120, 54-55)
‘like the soul of my father is my soul [lit. are my souls’

/e mer shtate të tjera **shpirtëna** me vetëhenë/ (Buz. 120, 2-3)
‘and he takes seven other ghosts with him’

/Ujetë përr të delijrunë **scpirtenatë** tanë/ (Bgd. 1.66.32) ‘the water to purify our souls’

StAlb. *at/ë*, -i ‘father’ ~ pl. Tosk/StAlb. *etër*, OG /atënë/ < PA nom./acc.pl. **at-inih*. In contrast to StAlb. *etër*, which shows umlaut triggered by the plural ending, the umlaut has been secondarily reversed in the OG form /atënë/ on the basis of the singular (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 190).

/Penseçjetë dit ende mbassi nzuer **Atenite** tane prej Missirit/ (Bgd. 2.140.13)
'yet fifty days after he led our fathers out from Egypt'

StAlb. *ujk*, -i 'wolf' ~ pl. StAlb. *ujq*, *ujqër*, OG /ulq/ (< PIE **ul̥kʷoǵ*) besides secondary /ulqënë/ (Buzuku) < **ulk-in-ih*.

/por-si dhentë ëndë viedmis **ulqet**/ (Buz. 344, 90-346, 1)
'like sheep surrounded by wolves'

/e për-ënbrenda janë **ulqënë** qi grabitnjënë/ (Buz. 276, 63-65)
'but inwardly (they) are voracious wolves'

/per te mossi perpijm **Ujtë** per sctansë / (Bgd. 2.39.5) 'so that the wolves won't devour them instead of the animals'

StAlb. *zot*, -i 'lord, God' ~ pl. StAlb. *zotër*, OG /zotënë/ < **zot-in-ih* ← EPA **zotih* < PIE nom.pl. **djā(h)-pt-ejes* < **desjās+pot-ejes* (Klingenschmitt 1992: 104; Matzinger 2006: 156; Demiraj B. 1997: 431). KLINGENSCHMITT's (1992: 104) etymology is, however, rather problematic; according to SCHUMACHER (personal communication), only the assumption of a compound with a second constituent **poti-*tenable. In the Old Geg documents, the usual plural form is a quasi-suppletive /zotëni/, originally the plural of *zotëni* 'rule, rulership, reign'¹⁸⁰, here used as a concrete (Schumacher: personal communication).

/Mos kini besë ënbë **zotëni**/ (Buz. 50, 37) 'do not trust in princes'

/e **zotënijtë** mëçej per ta paam/ (Bgd. 2.49.26-27) 'and great lords to hear him'

As SCHUMACHER (personal communication) points out, Buzuku consistently uses /zota/ to refer to 'gods', an interesting case of secondary differentiation.

/Këta janë **zotatë** e tū, o Izrael/ (Buz. 164, 45) 'these are your gods, o Israel'

OG /krisht/ 'Christian' ~ pl. OG /krishtëna/ < **krišt-in-ih* ☞ Lat. *Christus*

/Krishtëna të rëshim e profetë të falsa/ (Buz. 306, 16-17)
'false Christians and false prophets'

¹⁸⁰Cf. e.g. ModHG 'Herrschaften', typically used as a concrete noun (Schumacher: personal communication).

4.2.5 -ëna

The source of the plural suffix *-ëna*, typically found with neuters and particularly associated with mass nouns (predominantly used as a “Sortenplural”¹⁸¹, Matzinger 2006: 102), is assumed to be the nominative-accusative of PIE neuter *n*-stems; **-en-(e)h₂*¹⁸² > **-in-ǎ* > *-ënë+e* → *-ëna* (cf., among others, Fiedler 2007: 261; Meyer 1888: 10; Pekmezi 1908: 91; Demiraj Sh. 1993: 102ff.). The suffix constitutes a ‘hyper’-characterised relative of *-ënë* in that the plural suffix *-e* was secondarily attached to it, the combination of final *-ë+e* then yielding *-a* (cf. chapter 4.2.3). As already pointed out, this suffix is, however, due to its origins clearly preferred by neuters, while the older *-ënë* is largely restricted to masculines (cf. Matzinger 2006: 102, Demiraj Sh. 1993: 101ff.; Fiedler 2007: 236ff.). As in the case of this suffix, *-ëna* was affected by rhotacism (Tosk *-ëra*), both variants later seeing syncope of the unstressed medial vowel (Geg *-ëna* > *-na*, Tosk *-ëra* > *-ra*).

StAlb. *ujë*, *-t*, OG /ujë, -të/ ‘water’ ~ pl. StAlb./Tosk *ujëra*, OG /ujëna/.

SCHUMACHER/MATZINGER (forthc.: 207) assume sg. *ujë* to derive from a secondary nom./acc.sg. ***udŋ* (transponat) of a neuter *n*-stem (***ud-ŋ* > EPA nom./acc.sg. **uda*¹⁸³ > **u.ə* > *ujë* with *-j-* to avoid hiatus); cf. Goth. *watō* on the basis of *namō*; cf. further Hitt. *wātar*, gen. *witenaš* (< **uod-r-*, **ued-ŋ-*) ‘id.’ Gk. *ὕδωρ* (< **ud-ōr*) ‘id.’, Engl. *water*, ON *vatn* ‘id.’ (Fortson 2010: 118, 123).

pl. *ujëna* < **ujënë+e* < **u.ənə* < **udinǎ* < **ud-en-(e)h₂*

/pr’ **ujënat** të diluvjit/ (Buz. 222, 18-19) ‘because of the floodwaters’

/kù iscinè sciume **ujëna**/ (Bgd. 2.53.7) ‘wherer there were many waters’

/E jò vece ajo Gurre po endè giççe te tjerate **Ujëna**/ (Bgd. 2.31.25-26)
‘but not only that spring, in but all other waters’

StAlb. *emër*, *-i*, OT /emërë/, OG /emënë/ ‘name’ ~ pl. StAlb. *emra*, OG /emëna/. Despite the history of this form being rather complicated, it may be assumed that OG pl. /emëna/ continues an original *n*-stem plural, possibly PIE nom./acc.pl. **h₁ŋ(h₃)men-(e)h₂* > EPA **á(n)menǎ*. OG sg. /emënë/, according to MATZINGER (2006: 262), continues EPA **á(n)menod*, a backformation to the plural.

/E**menat**’ è apostujet janè keto chi ndiekenè/ (Bgd. 2.58.10)
‘the names of the apostels are the following’

/Keto të trij **emëna** janè ndè Ranzetè/ (Bgd. 1.17.17)

¹⁸¹ Cf. FIEDLER (2007: 236ff.), who states that the suffix is mainly used with ‘Stoffnamen’.

¹⁸² With the ending **-eh₂* of the thematic inflection having replaced original nom./acc.pl.n. **-h₂* (?)

¹⁸³ While EPA **uda* synchronically constitutes the nom./acc. of a neuter *o*-stem, the assumption of an original neuter *n*-stem (or rather, heteroclitic) is supported by the plural as well as comparative evidence (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 207).

‘these three names are of the roots’

OT, OG /ashtë/ ‘bone’ ~ OT /eshtra/, OG /eshtëna/ < *ashtënë+e < *astənə < EPA nom./acc. pl. *ast-inā < PIE nom./acc.pl. *h₂a/ost(h₁)-en-es.

Most certainly, this form continues a heteroclitic stem *h₂ast(h₁)(e)n-¹⁸⁴ oder *h₂ost(h₁)(e)n-; except for the nom./acc.sg., the form shows *n*-stem inflexion. As in the case of nom./acc.sg. /ujë/ ‘water’ above, nom./acc.sg. OG /ashtë/ can be assumed to continue a secondary nom./acc.sg. of a neuter *n*-stem; transponat **h₂ast(h₁)ŋ oder **h₂ost(h₁)ŋ > EPA *asta¹⁸⁵. The precise form of the original heteroclitic nom./acc.sg. is difficult to establish, but may have been *h₂a/osth₁i; cf. Ved. *ásthi* (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 190; Schumacher: personal communication).

/O **eshtëna** të thata, gjegjine fjalënë e tinë Zot/ (Buz.)
‘o dry bones, hear the word of the lord’

/Ndë gjithë sctattë Nierit Crijoj eotünë tre chind’ **esctena** ndër të mëçat , e të voghëlët/ (Bgd. 1.40.15)
‘in the whole human body the lord created more than three hundred big bones and small ones’

StAlb. *kopsht*, -i, OG /kopështjē, -itē/ ‘garden’, assumed to derive from **keh₂po-sth₂o-m (transponat) by SCHUMACHER/MATZINGER (forthc.:); cf. AGr. *κῆπος* (Dor. *κᾶπος*) ‘id.’. Most plausibly, the original plural of this form was **kopështë < **kāpoštā < **keh₂po-sth₂ah₂; however, such plural is not documented. The plural variants /kopështëna/ and /kopështinj/, found in Buzuku and Bogdani/Budi respectively, most likely constitute later innovations in analogy to words such as *ashtë* ~ pl. *eshtëna* ‘bone’ (Schumacher: personal communication).

/**kopështëna**/ (Buz. 290, 43-44) ‘gardens (nom./acc.pl.)’

/ **kopështinjet**/ (Budi RR, 198.16) ‘gardens (dat. pl.)’

/e t’arta , **kopesctigne** , e kroena/ (Bgd. 1.2.12) ‘of the gold, gardens and fountains’

As already indicated in chapter 4.1.2.1, mass nouns such as *mish* ‘meat’, *vaj* ‘oil’, *miell* ‘flour’, as well as e.g. *djathë* ‘cheese’ in their plural formation comply with *ujë* ~ pl. *ujëna*, and show secondarily adopted suffix *-ëna* from early on (Schumacher: personal communication; Fiedler 2007: 261ff.; Meyer 1883: 355ff., Pekmezi 1908: 91, Demiraj Sh. 1993: 102ff.); cf. the following:

¹⁸⁴The assumption of initial *#h₂ is based on MWelsh *ascwrn*, etc., cf. SCHRIJVER (1995: 53f.); while KLOEKHORST (2008: 325) further assumes medial *h₁, this is now rejected by SCHUMACHER (personal communication).

¹⁸⁵Again, EPA *asta is treated as a neuter *o*-stem nom./acc; cf. *ujë*.

StAlb. *mish*, -i, OG /mish, -të/ ‘meat’ ~ pl. Geg *mishna*, Tosk *mishra* ← EPA nom./acc. pl. n. **miśśā* < **meśśā* < PIE **mems-eh*₂; cf. Goth. *mims* ‘id.’, TochB *mīsa* ‘id.’ (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 190; Matzinger 2006: 79).

/ën gjithë **mishënashit**/ (Buz. 306, 67) ‘of all unclean animals (lit. types of meat)’

StAlb. *miell*, -të ‘flour’ ~ pl. Geg *miellna*, Tosk *miellra* ← EPA nom./acc. pl. n. *meluā* < PIE **melh*₂-*ueh*₂. (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 189).

StAlb. *drith/ë*, -i ‘cereal’ ~ pl. *drith(ë)ra* ← EPA **jričā* < PIE nom./acc.pl. **ĝ^hri(H)k^hah*₂ (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 229).

StAlb. *elb*, -i ‘barley’ ~ pl. *elb(ë)ra*, Geg *elbna* ← EPA **albih* < nom.pl. *^o-*ejes*, cf. AGr. *ἄλφι* (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 183).

StAlb. *dyllë*, -t ‘wax’ ~ pl. *dyll(ë)ra* ← EPA **jūlā* < PIE **ĝ^huslah*₂ (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 191).

StAlb. *grur/ë*, -i, OG /grunë, -të/ ‘wheat’ ~ pl. *grurëra* ← EPA **grunā* < PIE **ĝ^hruh*₂-*nah*₂; root **ĝ^herh*₂- ‘to ream, make old’, cf. Ved. *jūrvati* ‘he/she reams’ (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 209).

Further examples include, among others, StAlb. *dhjam/ë*, -i ‘fat’ ~ pl. *dhjam(ë)ra* and StAlb. *lesh*, -i ‘wool, hair’ ~ pl. *lesh(ë)ra*.

Although pl. *-ënë/-ëna* is commonly thought to have been restricted to masculines and neuters, a number of Modern Albanian feminine nouns appear to have adopted the suffix in more recent times (cf. Fiedler 2007: 266ff.; Pekmezi 1908: 93), cf. e.g. the following:

StAlb. *er/ë*, -a ‘wind’ ~ pl. *erëra* < ?

StAlb. *loj/ë*, -a ‘play, game’ ~ pl. StAlb. *lojra*, Geg *lojna*; root **leh*₁*d-* cf. StAlb. *lodrë* ‘id.’?

StAlb. *gjë*, -ja, OG /gjâ/ ‘thing’ ~ pl. StAlb. *gjëra*, Geg *gjanë* ← EPA **zanih* < **sonh*₂-*ejes* (cf. Klingenschmitt 2000: 8) or nom./acc. pl. participle **h₁sont-ah*₂. Although FIEDLER (249ff.) here assumes a secondary adoption of the suffix *-ëna*, *-ëra*, the plural form in fact represents the regular continuation of an original *n*-bearing *i*-stem.

/A s’ mundë banj qish të duo **gjanë** teme/ (Buz. 98, 67-68)
‘is it not possible to do what I want with my things?’

The only feminine form showing a suffix *-ëna* in the older Albanian documents is OG /majë/ ‘top, summit’:

StAlb. *maj/ë*, -a ‘top, summit’ ~ pl. StAlb. *maja*, OG /majë/ besides OG (Buzuku) /majëna/ < ?

/panë **majënatë**¹⁸⁶ e mallet/ (Buz. 222, 77) ‘they saw the tops of the mountains’

/gjithë **majët** e malet nalta/ (Buz. 222.48-49) ‘all the high summits and mountains’

4.2.6 Minor suffixes

In the following sections, a number of minor suffixes, limited to a relatively small number of nouns, will be briefly discussed. While in the case of *-(a)llarë*, *-lerë* (4.2.5.3), the original source is well known and undebated, the history of the other suffixes is unclear.

4.2.6.1 -ëz(ër)

The plural formant *-ëz*, which is complemented by a retraction of the accent to the penultimate syllable, is restricted to a very small group of Albanian nouns, including StAlb. *njeri*, *-u* ‘man’ ~ pl. *njërëz*, StAlb. *kallí*, *-u* ‘ear, sheaf’ ~ pl. *kállëz*, StAlb. *vëllá* ‘brother’ ~ pl. *vëllëzër* (cf. Matzinger 2006: 103). The history of this suffix remains uncertain, as no suggestion put forward so far can conclusively account for these forms. While BOPP’s (1854: 36) equation of Alb. *njërëz* with Oind. nom.pl. *naras* ‘men’ is clearly untenable, JOKL’s (1911: 9; 1923: 89ff.) assumption of a collective suffix *-zë* (cf. *njërëzì* ‘mankind’, *marrëzì* ‘foolishness’), which he derives from PIE **-dja* (cf. WGmc. **-tja*)¹⁸⁷ appears more plausible; however, a final answer remains to be found. In line with FIEDLER (2007: 319), it may be assumed that the homophonic feminine diminutive suffix *-zë* (< **-djã*; cf. Matzinger 2006: 138) had a (reinforcing?) impact on the plural suffix, although not constituting its ultimate source, as suggested by MEYER (1883: 258).

StAlb. *vëlla*, *-u* ‘brother’ ~ pl. StAlb. *vëllëzër*, OG /vëllázënë/¹⁸⁸. Difficult etymology, one possible source is, e.g., a compound **sue-louð^hā-* ‘(having) one’s own birth, member of the tribe, community’, cf. e.g. *ljudŕje* ‘people’, OHG *liuti*, etc. (Jokl 1923: 42; Pokorny 1959: 684);¹⁸⁹ cf. Klingenschmitt (1975: 25), Jokl (1934-35: 58f.); Demiraj B. (1997: 230); Matzinger (2006: 163). The stem formation of the noun remains

¹⁸⁶Buzuku’s choice of *majëna* in this case is probably due to him making a semantic distinction, stressing that there were many mountain tops (Schumacher: personal communication).

¹⁸⁷Cf. also Mann (1977: 97), who argues for a collective formation in PIE **-idja*.

¹⁸⁸With OG having reversed the umlaut of *a* → *e*, caused by pl. **^o-in-ih* > *-enë* and seen in StAlb./Tosk; cf. OG /atënë/.

¹⁸⁹Proposed etymologies with medial **-g^h-* or **-g-* have to be rejected as the velars never disappear in intervocalic position (Schumacher: personal communication); e.g. < **sue-slouð^hā-* ‘own family, own troop’; cf. OIr. *slúag* ‘troop’ (cf. OIr. *teglach* ‘family’), OSlav. *sluga* ‘servant’ (Klingenschmitt in Demiraj B. 1997: 417; Pokorny 1959: 658ff.); further **sue-log^hā-* ‘own troop’, (cf. AGr. *λόχος*, *ἄλοχος* ‘wife’ < **‘having the same bed’*, Pokorny 1959: 658ff.).

unclear; while the OG ending /-ënë/ points toward an original *n*-stem (Schumacher 2009: 68), it might also have been adopted secondarily. Possibly an **(i)io*-derivation cf.

pl. OG /vëllazënë/ ← PA **h₂uē-(h)lāza-* < **s₂ue-lou^hd^h-i_o-*¹⁹⁰

or featuring a collective/diminutive suffix *-ëz* < *-d_iā-* (?) < **s₂ue-lou^hd^h-d_i-o/en-es* (?).

/e shih a janë shëndosh të tū **vëllazënë** e dhentë/ (Buz. 136, 11-13)
'see whether your brothers and sheep are healthy'

/tè **vëllazënë** e tijnaj/ (Bgd. 2.82.8) 'his brothers'

StAlb. *njerí, -u*, OG /nierī, -u/ 'man, human' ~ pl. StAlb. *njërëz*, OG /nierëz/. As MATZINGER (2006: 158) points out, the simplex **h₂ner-*, cf. AGr. *ἀνήρ*, OArm. *ayr* 'id.' forms the basis of the plural, while singular *njerí* constitutes a substantivised adjective **h₂ner-i_o-* 'manly, masculine', cf. OInd. *náriya-*. Diminutive formation **h₂ner-d_ioi??* Semantics??

(cf. further Jokl 1911: 102, 1923: 89; Demiraj Sh. 1986: 245; Pokorny 1959: 765; Ölberg 1972: 65; Huld 1984: 100f.; Demiraj B. 1997: 304ff.; Orel 1998: 304; Meyer 1891: 313).

/O **nierëz** prej Galileje/ (Buz. 252, 35-36) 'o men of Galilee'

/giççe **Nierësite** kane meu ngialune/ (Bgd. 2.158.18) 'all men rose from the dead'

StAlb. *kallí, -u* 'ear, spike' ~ pl. *kallëz* < ? Unclear etymology.

/j8 të shpiri duojtë e **kallëzet** ën së parit drithë qi të ënbëlidhni priftit/
(Buz. 262, 81-83)

'you have to bring the sheaf of the ears of the first harvest that you gather to the priest'

/prasctu gëlajne herehere me **kallë**/ (Bgd. 2.21.24) 'they live again with ears'

4.2.6.2 -m

A formans *-m-* is only found in the plural of two Albanian nouns, namely *djall, -i* 'devil' ~ pl. *djemën*, as well as *djal/ë, -i* 'boy' ~ pl. *dje(l)m*, and little attention has been paid to its origins in literature. While the formant is considered to be "of uncertain origin, but clearly old" by HAMP (1957: 531ff.), AJETI (1961: 93) here suggests an old collective suffix. Most probably, however, the two forms are unrelated and no common basis of the nasal found in them should be assumed.

¹⁹⁰**s₂ue-log^h-i_{oi}/ *s₂ue-lou^h-i_{oi}*

StAlb. *djall*, *-i* ‘devil’ ~ StAlb. *djemën* ☞ Lat. *daemōn*, *-onis* (or AGr. *δαίμων*); sg. *djall* ☞ Lat. *diabolus*. Suppletive paradigm. HAMP (1957: 531ff.) here argues that the plural form *djemën* could be reanalysed as a pattern *dje-m-ën*, with a development of *-ll > j > -0*, through which the nasal could be related to the formant present in *dje(l)m* (sg. *djalë*) and could be reinterpreted as a separate plural formant. Although theoretically possible, there is no conclusive evidence to support this assumption.

/po ashtu ende **djemënitë** e ferrit dridhenë e tristonenë/ (Budi DC 48.7-9)
‘even the devils in hell tremble and fear’

/per te leftuem me **Djemenit/** (Bgd. 2.30.17) ‘to fight with the devils’

StAlb. *djal/ë*, *-i* ~ StAlb. *djem*, OG /djelm/ ‘boy’ ; sg. *djalë* from n. **delnod* < **del-no-m* (Matzinger 2006: 98), plural /djelm/ from **< djelnā* < **del-nah₂*, with dissimilation of *n* → *m* and loss of final *-ë* (?).

/e **djelmtë** qi thërisnë ëndë klishë / (Buz. 116, 81-82)
‘the children that were shouting in the temple’

/ndër giççë **Djelmt/** (Bgd. 1.129.6) ‘among all the children/ boys’

4.2.6.3 -(a)llarë, -lerë

As pointed out by FIEDLER (2007: 314), the suffixes *-(a)llarë*, *-lerë* “sind die einzigen Lehnelemente, die in der albanischen Pluralbildung eine Rolle spielen”. Borrowed from Turkish, they are variants of the same plural morphem, their distribution following the rules of vowel harmony; i.e. *-ler* is used after *e*, *i*, *ö*, and *ü* in the last syllable of the stem, while *-lar* occurs after *ı*, *a*, *o*, *u* (Fiedler 1977: 125ff.; Fiedler 2007: 314; Matzinger 2006: 103; Demiraj Sh. 1993: 56). Judging from the limited productivity of the suffixes, and their broad restriction to nouns of Turkish origin, it is assumed that they do not constitute loan suffixes as such, instead, the plural forms featuring the suffixes are thought to have been borrowed as a whole. In Albanian, the suffixes are typically found with an additional suffix *-ë*, which can be taken to constitute the plural suffix as discussed above, chapter 4.2.1 (cf. Fiedler 2007: 314-315; Demiraj Sh. 1973: 56, 1993: 102ff.; Pekmezi 1908: 93; Meyer 1888: 10, 1883: 358ff.; Boretzky 1975, 1976).

While absent from Buzuku (in line with the generally rare occurrence of Turkish loans in Buzuku), the suffix is present in Bogdani, suggesting a rather early date of their entering the language; cf.

/ma scije ù kaa , se **Pascialarevet/** (Bgd. 1.44.3-4) ‘they ate with appetite, the pashas’

Further examples include Alb. *kadi* → pl. *kadi-lerë*, *sheh* ‘sheikh’ → pl. *sheh-lerë*, *aga* → pl. *aga-llarë*, as well as *babá* ‘father’ → pl. *baba-llarë*.

4.3 Irregular/ suppletive formations

In the following, various patterns which do not readily fall into any of the groups discussed above will be dealt with. Some of the forms included here are synchronically of quasi-suppletive character, cf. e.g. *grua* ‘woman’ ~ pl. *grā* and *bari* ‘shepherd’ ~ pl. *bëruo*, although belonging together etymologically (their relation having been obscured by phonological processes as well as morphological restructuring), while others constitute genuine suppletive paradigms (cf. e.g. *vend* ‘country, place’ ~ pl. *vise*).

4.3.1 *grua* ~ *grā*

Not only is the etymology of StAlb. *grua*, *-ja*, Geg *grue* a much discussed issue, but its plural form *grā* is generally seen as “diachron schwer zugänglich” (Matzinger 2000: 81; cf. also Demiraj Sh. 1993: 104). One of the most recent and certainly most convincing accounts is MATZINGER (2000), who suggests an original proterokinetic paradigm $*g^u\acute{e}n-h_2-$, $*g^u\acute{n}-\acute{e}h_2-$ ¹⁹¹ to be at the basis of both singular and plural¹⁹²; cf. the following:

nom./acc. sg. OG /gruo/ < $*gru\omega$ < $*gr\bar{\omega}n$ ← dissimilated from $*gn\bar{\omega}n$ < $*gn\bar{a}n$ < $*g^u\acute{n}-(a)h_2-on$, the original form $*g^u\acute{n}-ah_2$ ¹⁹³ (with collective meaning) extended by an individualising suffix *-on*.

nom./acc.pl. OG /grā/¹⁹⁴ < $*gna\acute{e}$ < $*gnai\acute{i}h$ < $*g^u\acute{n}(h_2)-\acute{a}\acute{i}-es$ ¹⁹⁵. Such derivation by a suffix $*-a\acute{i}-$, used to denote individuals, is further thought to be present in both Greek $\gamma\upsilon\nu-\acute{a}\acute{i}-\kappa-(\epsilon\zeta)$ and Armenian *kanay-(k’)*, thus constituting a ‘Balkan-IE’ innovation.

sg.:

/Qish punë kē ti atje e 8, **gruo**?/ (Buz. 92, 51-52)

¹⁹¹For similar views see further Pedersen (1909), Barić (1919: 155), Tagliavini (1937), Pokorny (1959), Ködderitzsch (1994), Rasmussen (1989, 1998).

¹⁹²Counter to a number of accounts suggesting a connection between Alb. *grua* and AGr. $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\delta\zeta$ ‘old woman’ (cf. e.g. Mann 1950; Hamp 1960a; Huld 1984; Demiraj B. 1997: 180); this view is rejected by MATZINGER (2000: 77ff.) on both phonological and semantic grounds.

¹⁹³With the ablaut pattern of the oblique stem having been generalised (nom.sg. $*g^u\acute{e}n-(a)h_2 \rightarrow *g^u\acute{n}-ah_2$).

¹⁹⁴The initial cluster $*gn$ is assumed to have been remodelled to $*gr$ in analogy to the singular at a certain point.

¹⁹⁵The syllable structure of the plural is taken to have been adapted to the singular.

‘What to me and what to you, woman?’

/Emberrini gni **grue** Samaritanè/ (Bgd. 2.53.24) ‘a Samaritan woman arrived’

pl.:

/e bi<j>të e tū e **gratë** e d’ bijet tuve/ (Buz.) ‘and his sons and the wives of his sons’

/e me të trebijtë tijnaj , e me **graatë** tünè/ (Bgd. 1.51.14)
‘and his three sons with their wives’

4.3.2 bari ~ bëruo

StAlb. *barí*, -u ‘shepherd’ ~ pl. StAlb. *barinj*, OG (Buzuku, Budi) /bëruo/. In contrast to OREL (1998: 17-18), who denies any relation between sg. *bari* and pl. *bëruo*, but suggests the former to be inherited (PA **bara*) and the latter borrowed from Lat. *bārōnem*, a common basis of both singular and plural is supported here (cf. Çabej 1976a: 55-56; Demiraj B. 1997: 92). Whether the noun in fact reflects a loan from Latin *barō*, *barōnis* ‘fool, baron’¹⁹⁶ or continues an inherited form¹⁹⁷ is, however, uncertain. Assuming a borrowing, the development of the form might have been the following:

nom./acc.sg. *bari* ← **bar(ë)* < PA **bare* ⇨ Lat. *barō*, with secondary adoption of the suffix *-í-* present also in *njerí* ‘man’, and *arí* ‘bear’, which seems to have originally been restricted to the singular¹⁹⁸

nom./acc.pl. /bëruo/ < **bæruo* < **bærōn* < **barōnih* ⇨ Lat. *barōn-es*, with regular diphthongisation of the back vowel when preceding a nasal in word-final position (cf. chapter 4.1.1.3).

sg.:

/por-si **barí** da qengjatë ën edhashit/ (Buz. 114, 62-63)
‘like a shepherd the sheep from the goats’

¹⁹⁶The assumption of a borrowing from Latin is supported by two arguments put forward by SCHUMACHER (personal communication): First, although Lat. *barō* is usually translated with a rather negative meaning (cf. the Oxford Latin Dictionary, glossing *baro* as ‘a blockhead, lout’), the word might in fact have had a much more neutral meaning along the lines of ModE *fella*, *guy*, ModHG *Kerl*, *Typ*. Second, negative connotations of words borrowed from a colonial power are sometimes not perceived by the native population (cf. e.g. the derogatory and rassist English term *pickaninny*, showing up as *pikinini* ‘child’ in Tok Pisin).

¹⁹⁷ Root **b^her-* ‘to carry’, possibly connected to Alb. *burrë*, OHD *baro* ‘(free) man’ (cf. Pokorny 1959: 130; Orel 1998: 16). If inherited, singular *barí* might possibly constitute a substantivised *-ijo*-adjective (cf. *njerí* < **h₂ner-ijo-*); in order to account for the vocalism of the form, an *o*-grade root would have to be assumed. Plural /bëruo/, in contrast, requires the assumption of an *n*-stem (**^o-ōn-es*).

¹⁹⁸Cf. the plural form /āra/ (<aara>) of *arí* ‘bear’ in Bogdani, pl. *arínj* most certainly represents a younger formation (Schumacher: personal communication).

/Barij kjè Daudi , Barij Iesu Chriscti/ (Bgd. 2.13.12-13) ‘David was a shepherd’

pl.:

/e dogj dhentë me gjithë beruo/¹⁹⁹ (Buz. 376, 62)
‘and burnt the sheep with all shepherds’

/çëntë , e Barijtë tünè/ (Bgd. 1.117.1) ‘sheep and shepherds’

/qi janë bruotë e popullit/ (Budi RR, 66.25) ‘who are the shepherds of the people’

4.3.3 vend ~ vise

Alb. *vise*, *-t* (f.), which is typically found to serve as a plural to sg. *vend*, *-i* ‘place, country, location’, most certainly constitutes a suppletive plural form, despite a number of accounts attempting to derive both forms from one single root. So does, e.g. ÇABEJ (1960: 127ff.; followed by ÖLBERG 1972: 100 and CAMAJ 1966: 69ff.²⁰⁰) suggest an original (derived) plural form **vent-ĭē* (> StAlb. *vise*) to a singular **vento-* > *vend*; the coexisting singular forms *vis*, *-i* (m.) / *vise*, *-ja* (f.) are then explained as secondarily generated on the basis of the plural (cf. the so-called ‘singularised plurals’). Although such association is certainly appealing due to the overlapping semantics (“Sinzusammenhang [sic!]” cf. Demiraj B. 1997: 419), and justified for Modern Albanian in regard to their suppletive character, the suggestion of a common source of both forms is now mostly viewed as “fehlgeleitet” (Demiraj B. 1997: 419) – while StAlb. *vend/vënd*, *-i* (OG *vënd*, *-i*) is, as pointed out above (4.2.1.1), assumed to continue an original *tu*-abstract noun of a root PIE **h₁uēn-* > Alb. *vē/vĕ*, ageg. /vĕ/ ‘I put’ (cf. Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 189), linking Alb. *vise* to the same root (cf. e.g. Huld 1984: 126: *vis* < PA **vend-TV-*) has to be rejected on phonological grounds. The etymology of this form, i.e. sg. *vis(e)* ~ pl. *vise* is, however, not entirely clear, a possible option being MEYER’s (1891: 473) proposal of a correspondence to OInd. *viś-* ‘dwelling, abode, house’, Lat. *vīcus*

¹⁹⁹As SCHUMACHER (personal communication) points out, this appears to be an editorial mistake, and should read /bëruo/.

²⁰⁰As well as FIEDLER (2007: 378-379), who supports Çabej’s proposal of a shared etymology of both forms, but instead of an *i*-extension of the root suggest a sporadic development of a cluster **nt/ *nd* > *s*. The further evidence adduced by FIEDLER to substantiate his assumption, does, however, in fact not hold - as e.g. the fricative in Alb. *mëz* ‘foal’ (to Alb. *mënd* ‘to suckle, nurse’) is the regular continuation of the EPA cluster **-dĭ-* (i.e. *mëz* < EPA **mandĭa*), cf. Schumacher/Matzinger (forthc.: 207).

‘village, quarter, grange’, AGr. *ὄικος* ‘house, dwelling’ (< PIE **u(e)ik-*; cf. Pokorny 1959: 1131; Pedersen 1900a: 338; Orel 1998: 508-509).²⁰¹

sg.:

/ndè gni **vend** ndè skretetijt Sim / (Bgd. 1.94.13) ‘in a place in the desert of Sim’

pl.:

/ën gjithë **viseshit**/ (Buz. 112, 4) ‘from all places’

4.3.4 gjarpër ~ shtërpínj

The relationship between sg. StAlb. *gjarpër* (OG /gjárpënë/) ~ pl. StAlb. *gjarpërinj* (OG /gjërpánjë/) and Tosk, dial. G pl. *shtërpínj/ shtërpí(j)* ‘reptiles, worms, vermin’²⁰² is debated. While OREL (1998: 130) here rejects any etymological connection between the two forms, MEYER (1891: 137), followed by ÇABEJ (1959: 48) as well as FIEDLER (2007: 369), assumes the latter to constitute the original plural form of StAlb. *gjarpër*, with the discrepancy in the forms’ initial sounds resulting from different stress patterns, cf.

sg. *gjárpën* < **sérpon-*

pl. *shtërpénj*²⁰³ < **srp-ín-*²⁰⁴ / **serpón-*²⁰⁵

Despite FIEDLER (2007: 369) labelling this plural as the “regelmäßige” continuant of the proposed PIE base, this term is inappropriate and unjustified in this case, as the regular output of PIE initial **#s* in pre-vocalic position (in polysyllabic words) is Alb. *#gj-*, whereas a sequence **#sr-* regularly gives *#rr-* in Modern Albanian (cf. Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 227, 230; Demiraj B. 1997: 374). Although not completely dismissing the suggestion of a shared origin, but arguing it to be “sehr wahrscheinlich”, DEMIRAJ B. therefore claims that “[d]ie entsprechende Grundform läßt sich [...] nicht genau feststellen” (1997: 374), and that “[d]ie Feststellung der gegenseitigen Verhältnisse ist [...] nicht eindeutig” (1997: 183). The

²⁰¹ As SCHUMACHER (personal communication) points out, this derivation is problematic as one would expect an Albanian form ***vith*, the only possible antecedents of *-s-* in this case being **k̂ + w/j*.

²⁰² As ÇABEJ (1960: 107) points out, the Modern Alb. (dialectal) singular forms *shtërpí* ‘reptile’ and *shtrep* ‘maggot, worm’ represent backformations of this plural form.

²⁰³ Largely replaced by the innovated form *shtërpínj* showing the secondary suffix *-ínj* as discussed in chapter 4.1.1.1.

²⁰⁴ Cf. Meyer (1891: 137); Çabej (1959: 48)

²⁰⁵ Cf. Fiedler (2007: 369).

initial cluster *sht-* is here, according to HAMP (1960b: 105) tentatively explained as an irregular continuation of a sequence **#sr-*, containing an epenthetic dental. Final *-ínj*, in contrast, is most certainly of a secondary nature (cf. chapter 4.1.1.2).

Considering that the form is absent from the oldest documents, but only perfectly regular /gjërpánjë/ (< **serpón-oj*; cf. chapter 4.1.1.2) is found, it has to be questioned whether ModAlb. *shtërpínj* really continues a weak-stem variant **sɽp-én-* of strong-stem **serp-ón-*, or whether we are dealing with a later innovation (cf. further Jokl 1923: 283, 1916: 113ff.; Pedersen 1900a: 284; Pokorny 1959: 912; Huld 1984: 147).

4.3.5 viç ~ vjeta

Similarly unclear is the relationship between Alb. *viç* ‘calf’ and dialectal Geg *vjetë*²⁰⁶ ‘calf’ ~ Geg *vjeta*, OG pl. /vieta/, which both appear to be ultimately related to OG /vjetë, -të/ ‘year’. Sg. *viç* (~ pl. *viça*) is assumed to continue an *o*-derivation of **uētes-ó*²⁰⁷ ‘yearling, having a year’ of PIE **uētos-* ‘year’ (cf. chapter 4.2.1) by PEDERSEN (1900a: 290), supported by DEMIRAJ B. (1997: 418), while SCHUMACHER argues for a form with front vowel (**uētesi-* or the like; personal communication). The original stem formation of sg. *vjetë* ~ pl. *vjeta* is debated (**uētos-o-* ?); singular and plural form do not necessarily derive from one paradigm.

sg.:

/ata banë një **viç**/ (Buz. 164, 42-43) ‘they built a calf’

pl.:

/e na të ënfalnjëmë tÿ **vietatë**/ (Buz. 292, 56) ‘and we give you the calves’

4.3.6 vesht ~ vreshta

Both forms of the irregular paradigm of sg. dialectal Geg *vësht*, Tosk *vësht*, StAlb. *vresht* ‘vineyard’ ~ pl. Tosk *vreshta*, Geg *vneshtë*, *-a* are commonly traced back to the same source, i.e. a locative derivation **uoi(h₁)n-e/o-sth₂o-* (cf. *kopësht*, chapter 4.2.1.2) from PIE **uoi(h₁)neh₂* > StAlb. *ver|ë, -a*, OG /vên|ë, -a/ ‘wine’ (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 198).

²⁰⁶ The existence of which is denied by ÇABEJ (1976: 289), but reported by FIEDLER (2007: 377-378) as well as DEMIRAJ B. (1997: 417-418), based on ASHTA’s vocabulary of Buzuku (2000: 481).

²⁰⁷ Cf. Lat. *veterinus* ‘draught cattle’, OInd. *vatsá* ‘calf, young animal’; PIE **uētes-ó-* > Alb. **vitVš-* > *viç* (Demiraj B. 1997: 418; Bopp 1854: 461; Mayrhofer 1992-2001: 495).

Although it has been proposed that the variation in forms is determined by an originally different accentuation (e.g. Orel 1998: 506; Çabej 1959: 48), the only thing that can safely be adduced from the evidence of the older texts is original stress on the first syllable, the second syllable could then already be syncopated in Bogdani’s time. The original stem formation remains, however, unclear, the issue being clouded due to the form’s being feminine in Buzuku but masculine in Bogdani (Schumacher: personal communication; cf. further Fiedler 2007: 367ff.; Pedersen 549; Jokl 1923: 274; Tagliavini 1937: 285; Camaj 1966: 123; Meyer 1891: 465ff).

/ëndë **vëneshtë** teme/ (Buz. 98, 38) ‘in my vineyards’ (f.)

/Venscti j Tinëot/ (Bgd. 1.82.11) ‘the vineyard of the lord’ (m.)

/mej punuem **Vensctenatë**/ (Bgd. 2.83.8) ‘to work the vineyards’

4.3.7 qengj ~ shtjerra/shqerra

In the case of StAlb, OG /qengj, -i/ ‘lamb’, the variant plural form *shtjerra/ shqerra*, found besides the regular plural StAlb. (OG) *qengja*, clearly stands in a suppletive relation to the singular form. In contrast to sg. *qengj*, which is commonly thought to continue a metathesised borrowing from Latin *āgniculus* (diminutive of Lat. *āgnus* ‘lamb’²⁰⁸), the etymology of the suppletive plural is much debated. Although often connected, the variants most probably do not descend from a common source, but as DEMIRAJ B. points out, but “[e]s handelt sich offenbar um zwei verschieden Wörter, die sich gegenseitig beeinflusst haben” (1997: 377). While in sg. *stjerrë* ~ pl. *shtjerra*, a PIE root **ster(i)-* ‘infertile’ might be present (cf. Lat. *sterilis* ‘young cow (which has not yet calved), infertile’)²⁰⁹, sg. *shqerrë* ~ pl. *shqerra* is still unclear.

HAMP’s (1981: 36ff.) relating the form to Alb. *krye* ‘head’ ~ pl. *krerë* in the sense of ‘the number of animals (counting their heads)’, ultimately deriving it from PIE **k̑er-* ‘id.’ (**kersnā* > **š-ker-n-*) is criticised as “sehr hypothetisch” by DEMIRAJ B. (1997: 377), who tentatively links the noun to a root **(s)ker-* ‘jump (around), cf. Icel. *skirja* ‘young cow’ (cf. Pokorny 1959: 934, 1031; further Orel 1998: 356; Jokl 1923: 156; Tagliavini 1937: 259;

²⁰⁸Doubted by SCHUMACHER (personal communication) due to a sequence /gl/ remaining unaltered in Buzuku when borrowed.

²⁰⁹A further option mentioned by DEMIRAJ B. (1997: 377) is to segment *shtjerrë* into *sh-tjerrë* with a primary meaning of ‘young creature, animal’, the second, stem element of which could then be related to OInd. *táruṇa-* ‘young, youth’, AGr. *τέρην* ‘young, young animal’ (cf. Pokorny 1959: 1070).

Meyer 1891: 416-417; Camaj 1966: 105; Vasmer 1921: 344-348; Huld 1984: 115). The suppletive plurals are not found in the older documents.

sg.:

/Hinje **qengji** i t'inë Zot/ (Buz.) 'see the lamb of God'

pl.:

/e por-si ëndë mishat të **qengjavet**/ (Buz. 186, 55) 'like the meat of lambs'

4.4 'Singularised plurals'

The term 'singularised plurals', coined by ÇABEJ (cf. e.g. 1958/1960; Gm. 'singularisierte Plurale'), is used to refer to the peculiar phenomenon of paradigmatic levelling between singular and plural stem, typically in favour of the latter.²¹⁰ First described by JOKL (1912: 204ff.; 1916: 158ff.), and discussed in detail in the article 'Alb. vise 'Orte, Plätze' und die singularisierten Plurale im Albanischen' (1958/1960) by ÇABEJ, such generalisation is frequently witnessed in Albanian nouns, most easily seen in original masculine *o*-stem nouns, where the unlauded vocalism and/or the palatalised consonants of the plural were extended to the singular stem. In a majority of cases, the plural subsequently secondarily adopted an additional suffix, catering to the tendency of a clear distinction between singular and plural stem as mentioned above (cf. *gjel* 'rooster' ~ pl. *gjel-a*).

The causes of such extension of the sound structure of the plural are usually sought in semantics. So does, e.g. DEMIRAJ Sh.(1993: 93ff.) argue that "die Singularisierung des Pluralstamms von der Kollektiv- bzw. Intensivbedeutung des Plurals unterstützt worden [ist]", suggesting that in cases such as *dele* (f.) 'sheep (sg.)' from an original stem **dal(m)* (cf. Çabej 1976a) would generally have been used more frequently in the plural than in the singular (due to sheep typically being held in herds). A parallel development is found in Italian *pecora* 'sheep (sg./pl.)' from Lat. sg. *pecus* ~ pl. *pecora* (cf. Demiraj Sh. 1993: 94).

The issue of the singularisation of plurals has been taken up rather enthusiastically in treatments of the Albanian nominal system, and is typically considered a highly characteristic feature of the Albanian language. Although certainly interesting and of significance for the study of historical phonology as well as historical morphology of Albanian, however, its role has been exaggerated to a considerable extent, as a considerable number of nouns identified as singularised plurals by e.g. JOKL (1912, 1916) and ÇABEJ (1958/1960) have since received

²¹⁰Although widely used in literature, the term 'singularised plurals' is rather misleading and suggestive; it would therefore be more appropriate to refer to the nouns included here as simply showing a special case of paradigmatic levelling (Schumacher: personal communication).

a different interpretation. A clear example of such mis-interpretation are, for instance, Latin loans of the 3rd declension such as *qytet*, *-ja* ‘city’, the umlaut of which was triggered by the innovated nominative singular ending *^o-*is* already in Vulgar Latin (as discussed in chapter 4.1.3.2 above).

Further frequently offered examples (cf. e.g. Demiraj Sh. 1993: 93) include the *i*-stems *elb*, *-i* ‘barley’ < **albhi-*, and *gjeth*, *-ja* ‘foliage, leaves’ < **guosdi-*, where umlaut is triggered by the stem formant **-i-* in both the singular and the plural, while in the case of *enë* ‘side, vessel’, whose etymology is in general debated, the singular form might continue an old dual (Klingenschmitt 1994). DEMIRAJ Sh.’s claim of neuters ending in *-ë* such as *gjalpë* ‘butter’, *grurë* ‘cereal’, *ujë* ‘water’, *djathë* ‘cheese’ representing original plural forms is phonologically possible and attractive in view of the collective semantics of these mass nouns; however, seeing that the synchronically singular forms can all be convincingly derived from earlier singular forms, no definite conclusion on the origin of these forms can be drawn. Judging from the available material, it appears that the phenomenon of ‘singularised plurals’ has not only been exaggerated, but also wrongly presented; the processes involved here simply represent paradigmatic levellings, cf. e.g. the umlaut, originally only triggered in the plural, gets generalised to the whole paradigm; in turn, many paradigms do not show umlaut although it would be expected, and certain verbs extended the umlaut, which originally only appeared in the 2nd/3rd ps. present to the whole paradigm, (e.g. *hedh* ‘to throw’) (Schumacher: personal communication).

StAlb. *gjem*, *-i* ‘bridle, rein’ ~ pl. *gjema* < **jamuth* < PIE **jomos*; root **jem-* ‘extend, reach out’; cf. Ved. *yāma-* ‘rein’; umlaut *a* → *e* taken over from nom./acc. plural EPA **jamai* < PIE **jom-oj* (cf. Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 221).

StAlb. *gjel*, *-i* ‘rooster’ ~ pl. *gjela* ⇐ Lat. nom.sg. *gallus*; umlaut and palatalisation of the initial velar generalised from the plural PA **galli*. Secondary plural (cf. Matzinger 2006: 82).

StAlb. *ter*, *-i* ‘bull’ ~ pl. *terë*, *tera* < EPA **taura-*, umlaut taken over from the plural, cf. *ter* < **tar-i* < **taur-oj*. The original vocalism of the singular is still visible in the derivation StAlb. *taroç*, *-i* ‘young bull, bullock’ < EPA **taura-* plus a suffix of uncertain origin; cf. AGr. τᾰῤῥοç ‘id.’, Lat. *taurus* ‘id.’ (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 199; Matzinger 2006: 61).

StAlb. *bredh*, *-i* ‘silver fir, *Abies alba*’ ~ pl. *bredha*; sg. *bredh* ← EPA **brajuth* < PIE nom.sg. **b^hrh₁gós*; cf. Ved. *bhūrjā-* ‘type of birch (*Betula utilis*)’, root **b^hreh₁g-* ‘(start to) shine, gleam’. Again, the umlauted singular is due to a generalisation of the vocalism of the nom./acc.pl. *bredh* < EPA nom.pl. **brajai* (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 201), cf. also Rum. *brad* ‘fir’.

StAlb. *dem*, -i ‘(young) bull’ ~ pl. *dema*; sg. *dem* < **damu̯h* < PIE nom.sg.**d̥m̥h₂-us*, with umlaut from nom./acc.pl. *dem* < EPA **damai* < **d̥m̥h₂-oj* (Matzinger 2006: 61).

StAlb. *mbret*, -i ‘king’ ~ pl. Tosk *mbretër*, Geg *mbretën*; ☞ Lat. *imperātor*, adopted into Albanian as nom.sg. **ëmperatō*, nom.pl. *ëmperat-in-ës* > *mbret*, umlaut generalised to the singular. Cf. also StAlb. *dreq* ‘devil’ ☞ Lat. *draco-*, integrated into Albanian as nom.sg. *drakō*, nom.pl. *drak-en-es* (Matzinger 2006: 61; Klingenschmitt 2000: 8). For the suffix *-ërë*, *-ënë* see chapter (4.2.4).

A rather problematic issue frequently mentioned in connection with the ‘singularisation of plurals’ is the case of ‘marker inversion’ between the singular and plural, i.e. the singular showing umlaut in contrast to the plural, where the original stem vowel is seen, cf. e.g. StAlb. *rreth*, -i ‘circle’ ~ pl. *rrathë* (Meyer 1883: 360; Çabej 1958: 172ff.; Fiedler 2007: 44). ÇABEJ (1958: 173) here assumes that “[i]n einem älteren Schema *thas: thes* [...] die Form des Plurals in den Singular [eindrang]”, whereby the paradigm was levelled. “In diesem im Singular und Plural ganz oder fast ganz gleichlautenden Schema mag dann die umgelautete Pluralform beim Singular verblieben, die ältere, nicht ganz geschwundene Form des Singulars mit ihrem ursprünglichen *-a*-Vokal aber, vielleicht um einer besseren Unterscheidung der Numeri willen, in den Plural getreten sein” (Çabej 1958: 173), resulting in a pattern sg. *thes* ~ pl. *thasë*. This assumption is taken up and slightly modified by FIEDLER (2007: 44), who argues for an original schema sg. *thas* ~ pl. *thesë*, on the basis of which a new singular *thes* on the one hand, and a new plural *thasë* on the other hand would have been formed. After an initial period of co-existence of all variants, the attested pattern sg. *thes* ~ pl. *thasë* would emerge and become the standard. Although, however, FIEDLER’s explanation is certainly valid from a synchronic-descriptive point of view, its historical adequacy as well as its explanatoriness may be questioned (cf. Schumacher: personal communication). As will be clear from the following discussion, though, a conclusive answer to the questions posed by these patterns has not yet been found:

StAlb. *rreth*, -i ‘circle, district, hoop’ ~ pl. *rrathë* < PIE **rot^ho-* or **roth₂o-* (cf. Matzinger 2006: 80).

sg.:

/gjithë **rrethi** i shekullit/ (Budi DC 11.15) ‘all regions of the world’

/ndë për gjithë **Reçtë** ssecullit/ (Bgd. 1.71.10) ‘in all parts of the world’

pl.

/Dahètè ξeu ndè cater piessè , ò **raξξè**/ (Bgd. 1.33.9)
'the world is divided into four parts, or regions'

StAlb. *thes*, -i 'sack' ~ pl. *thasë* ☞ AGr. *σάκκος* ? although possible, the AGr. word itself is believed to be a loan from Phoenician, tracking the precise etymology of the Albanian word is therefore further complicated (cf. Schumacher: personal communication).

sg.:

/e 8 ënbëluo ëndë **thes**/ (Buz. 180, 31-32) 'put on a sack(cloth)'

/desciunë ξξ**essit** se vet/ (Bgd. 2.130.11) 'robbed of his sack'

pl.:

/e 8 ënveshnë ëndë **thasë**/ (Buz.) 'and put on sackclothes'

StAlb. *dhëmb*, -i, OG /dhêmb, -i; dhâmb/ 'tooth' ~ pl. *dhëmbë*, OG /dhâmbë/; < PIE **ǵômbʰo-*, cf. OCS *zǫbъ* 'id.', OHG *kamb* 'comb', root **ǵembʰ-* 'snap, bite'. (Schumacher/Matzinger forthc.: 184). Plural /dhâmbë/ is amply documented in the Old Geg texts (Buzuku, Budi, Bogdani), while singular /dhêmb/ is found only in Bogdani (cf. below). The original paradigm is nevertheless thought to have been sg. *dhêmb* ~ pl. *dhâmbë*, the noun thus belonging to the group of *rreth* and *thas*.

sg.:

/pò ende si raa as gni **ξemb** ngojeje/ (Bgd. 1.92.24-25)
'but neither did a tooth fall out of his mouth'

pl.:

/essila tue e scterguem me **ξambë** jù ngittnë **ξambetë** gniani me tjetërit/
(Bgd. 1.131.20-21)

'through the tightening of the teeth, all the teeth stayed joined to one another'

/e **dhanbëtë** e d' bijet 8 ënpinë/ (Buz. 120, 50) 'and the sons get stump teeth'

In order to account for this pattern, KLINGENSCHMITT (1994: 225) assumes sg. /dhêmb/ to continue an old *-ijō*-stem; < **dhambih* < nom.sg. **ǵômbʰijōs*, while plural /dhambë/ is taken to represent the continuant of a (neuter) collective nom./acc.pl. PA **dhambā* < **ǵômbʰah₂*.

While such assumption conveniently explains the presence of umlaut in the singular, and its absence from the plural, and is phonologically possible, it is difficult to prove.

An alternative approach, suggested by SCHUMACHER (personal communication), would take the patterns of both 'tooth' and 'circle', as well as 'sack' to reflect (semi-)original *devī*-inflection, cf.

PIE nom. sg. **ǵômbʰ-ih₂* > PA **dhambi* > nom./acc.sg. /dhêmb/

PIE nom. pl. * $\hat{g}omb^h$ - $\dot{\iota}eh_2es$ > * $\hat{g}omb^h$ - $\dot{\iota}\bar{a}s$ > nom./acc.pl. /dhambë/.

While such reconstruction is theoretically possible, it is problematic insofar as although Modern Standard Alb. pl. *dhëmbë* can be feminine (Buchholz/Fiedler 1987: 209)²¹¹, the Old Albanian occurrences of /dhambë/ do not permit a clear assignment of gender; whereas *rreth* and *thes* are, moreover, invariably masculine (Schumacher: personal communication). In the following, a group of words frequently by included in the class of plurals with ‘marker inversion’ (cf. e.g. Fiedler 2007: 44ff.), will be discussed. Although synchronically appearing to display the same features as the forms dealt with above, their diachronic development differs significantly, and they should thus in fact be separated from the ‘marker inversion’- plurals.

StAlb. *ve* ‘widow’ ~ pl. *va*, *veja*. Etymology debated, possibly a loan from Rumanian. As pointed out before, the paradigm of ‘widow’ synchronically appears to belong to the group of forms with ‘marker inversion’ and is thus usually included in it (cf. Fiedler 2007: 44ff.). The vocalism of the plural is, however, more plausibly due to contraction of final *-ë* and the reinforcing plural suffix *-e* (cf. chapter 4.2.2), with the resulting diphthong *-ea-* being simplified to *-a* (cf. Demiraj Sh. 1993: 103):

PIE nom.pl. * $\dot{u}id^h$ - $\acute{e}u\bar{a}s$ > * $\dot{u}\acute{e}d\acute{e}u\acute{e}$ > * $v\acute{e}\acute{e}\acute{e}$ > * $v\acute{e}\acute{e}+e$ > *vea*²¹² > *vā* (StAlb. *va*) (Matzinger 2006: 62; Schumacher: personal communication).²¹³

Final *-a#* in the variant plural form *veja* possibly constitutes the product of contraction of original final *-ë* and the reinforcing plural suffix *-e* (see chapter 4.2.3), with *-j-* having been inserted to avoid hiatus (cf. Matzinger 2006: 76):

PIE nom.pl. * $\dot{u}id^h$ - $\acute{e}u\bar{a}s$ > * $\dot{u}\acute{e}d\acute{e}u\acute{e}$ > * $v\acute{e}\acute{e}\acute{e}$ > * $v\acute{e}\acute{e}+e$ > *vea* → *veja*.

sg.:

/t’ ametë **Veejë** të Scenj’t Marcut Evangelistë/ (Bgd. 2.104.12)
‘with the widowed mother of Saint Marcus the Evangelist’

pl.

/shumë të **veja** ishnë ëndë mot të Illiut ëndë Izrael’t/ (Buz. 146, 15-16)
‘there were many widows in Israel in the Elijah’s days’

²¹¹As SCHUMACHER (personal communication) points out, this might, however, merely reflect the fact that terms for body parts typically receive feminine gender in Modern Albanian, cf. also Buchholz/Fiedler (1987).

²¹²Presupposing a rightward shift of the accent (cf. Demiraj Sh. 1993: 103).

²¹³Cf. JOKL (1923: 52), who assumes loss of unstressed **e* in the definite pl. **veát*.

Although it could also be assumed that the form secondarily adopted the plural suffix *-a* in order to differentiate more clearly between singular and plural stem (**véë* > **ve* → *va*), contraction/hyphaeresis, despite problematic as well, appears to be the more plausible option.

/disa të **veja**/ (Budi SC 2.16) ‘a few widows’

StAlb. *re*, Geg *rê* ‘cloud’ ~ pl. OG /ra/, StAlb. *re*. DEMIRAJ B. (1994: 68) here argues for a reconstructed form **h₁reguo-* (**h₁regus-no*) with loss of the medial velar. The general assumption of such loss is, however, rejected by SCHUMACHER/MATZINGER (forthc.: 210). In contrast, spirantisation and eventual loss of intervocalic /d/ appears to have been a common process in the history of Albanian, the form thus might continue a derivation of the root **Hred-* ‘to flow, dissolve’ (Pokorny 1959: 330- 334). Seeing that the nasal vowel of the Geg form is unlikely due to a secondary nasalisation, a nasal-bearing derivation would then have to be assumed for the ancestor form.

While this form most likely underwent a similar development as the word for ‘widow’ above (sg. **Hred-ās* > **reë+e* > **rea* > *ra*²¹⁴), assuming an original *devī*-stem in line with the discussion above would in this case also be possible (and unproblematic, as the noun consistently shows feminine gender); cf. also Jokl (1924: 86); Çabej (1976a: 71); Orel (1998: 366).

The plural forms shown in the older documents bear e-vocalism, whether these preserve the original state or constitute early innovations is unclear.

/tue n’grehunë **reentë**/ (Bgd. 1.37.12) ‘raising up clouds’

/atë-herrë kanë me pām të Birë e nierit me ardhunë ëndë {e}r **rë**t/ (Buz.)
‘and then they will see the son of man coming on the clouds’

Further nouns which would have to be subsumed in this group (non-‘marker-inversion’) are StAlb. *e re* ~ pl. *të ra* (StAlb. *reja*) ‘young, new’ (f.) as well as StAlb. *rre* ~ pl. *rra* ‘belly-worm, roundworm’ (cf. Demiraj Sh. 1993: 103). Since the etymologies of the majority of the nouns included here are, however, rather uncertain, and a number of problematic issues remains to be solved, drawing a definite conclusion regarding the history of their plural formation seems almost impossible at this point.

5 Conclusion

As stated in the introduction to this thesis, the main objective pursued here was to (at least partly) fill the gap left by previous research as identified by e.g. FIEDLER (2007: 384):

Dabei [i.e. in dealing with the historical development of plural formation in Albanian] ist allerdings nicht nur die präzise Feststellung der absoluten Chronologie unmöglich - auch die Ermittlung der relativen Chronologie der zum heutigen Zustand führenden

²¹⁴Cf. Pedersen (1905: 215). Contrary to what is suggested here, PEDERSEN suggests pl. *ra* to be the result of a contraction of **reja*.

Prozesse bereitet Schwierigkeiten. Hier sind weitere Detailuntersuchungen der historischen Phonetik, aber auch der Etymologie einzelner Lexeme erforderlich.

In order to do so, it was attempted to trace back the various synchronic options to form the plural to the earlier stages of Albanian, and, if possible, to Proto-Indo-European, and critically assess the propositions made in this regard so far. Following a general discussion of the origins of the individual plural formants, evidence from the oldest Albanian documents was drawn on to substantiate the claims made and the etymologies of certain lexemes characterised by the individual formants were dealt with in more detail.

Although, however, in many cases the results were satisfactory, and certain issues could be resolved, it had to be realised that due to the number of “Lücken und Unsicherheiten” (Matzinger 2006: 47) still present in regard to the historical phonology of Albanian²¹⁵, as well as, and even more challenging, the substantial uncertainties concerning the etymologies of many lexemes, drawing definite conclusions was often not possible. A further difficulty was posed by the (repeatedly mentioned) distinctive tendency of Albanian to analogically extend certain formants to other contexts, with the suffixes *-e*, *-a*, *-ínj* as well as *-ënë/a* enjoying a particular productivity.

Besides the suffixes *-ë* and *-e*, both reflecting various sources, i.e. PIE case endings depending on the original gender of the individual lexemes, as well as the product of contraction of these, the highly productive suffix *-a*, which “stellen [...] die wichtigsten Bausteine der Pluralbildung im gesamten Verlauf der dokumentierten Sprachgeschichte bis hin zum heutigen System der Pluralbildung dar” (Fiedler 2007: 385), a large number of Modern Albanian plural forms are characterised by the traces left by the PA nom./acc. suffix **-i*. This suffix, which is assumed to continue the nominative plural ending **-oj* of pronominal origin, constitutes an Albanian innovation, having replaced the original nom.pl. m. ending **-os* of the thematic *o*-stems in a parallel development to other IE languages such as Greek, Latin, Celtic and Balto-Slavic (cf. chapter 4.1.1.1). Although mostly lost in pre-literary times, the umlaut and palatalisation effects triggered by this suffix are still visible in a large amount of (predominantly) masculine nouns and have even become productive to a certain extent.

Apart from umlaut, an important role in the history of Albanian plural formation is played by a second process affecting vowels, namely the lengthening and subsequent diphthongisation of the back vowel **o* to Tosk *-ua-*, Geg *-ue-* when followed by liquids, the

²¹⁵ Although it has to be said that this number is rather limited, as due to more recent works in the historical phonology of Albanian such as ÖLBERG (1972), MATZINGER (2006), KÜMMEL (2007) as well as SCHUMACHER/MATZINGER (forthc.), certain problematic issues could be resolved.

nasal *n* and secondary **j* (cf. chapter 4.1.1.3). Since this process only took place when the relevant consonants were in word-final position, depending on the stem formation and endings of the individual singular and plural forms, typically either the one or the other was affected, resulting in the singular and the plural stem becoming distinguished by an alternation in their stem vowels.

Similar to the productive suffix *-inj* mentioned above, which constitutes the regular outcome of thematic, nasal-bearing stems in combination with the plural suffix **-oj*, and was secondarily interpreted as a plural suffix itself, the formant *-ënë* (*-ëna*) was wrongly segmented from the plural forms of original *n*-stems (nom.pl.m. **-en-es*, nom./acc.pl.n. **-en-(e)h₂*) and acquired particular productivity and frequency with neuter mass nouns such as *mish* ~ *mishëna* ‘meat’.

Finally, a number of minor, partly rather unclear suffixes was dealt with, as well as a selection of synchronically irregular plural forms or suppletive singular - plural paradigms (based on FIEDLER 2007: 366ff.; cf. chapter 4.3).

In addition to the various suffixes and phonological (and morphological) processes, special attention was paid to the effects of stress and stress shifts between singular and plural stems. Nevertheless, this issue definitely requires further investigation, and it is expected that stress-related issues may account for an even wider range of phenomena found within the Albanian plural formation as dealt with in this thesis.

By way of conclusion, it can be said that the plural formation of the Albanian nouns is synchronically indeed highly complex and a considerable amount of problematic issues and insecurities regarding its diachronic development remain, further investigation thus being certainly needed. Nevertheless, certain tendencies can be detected, and the history of a variety of formants and formations be convincingly explained. Furthermore, it has to be borne in mind that the complexity shown in the Albanian plural formation does in fact not differ fundamentally from, for instance, the Modern High German situation (which particularly native speakers of German do not seem to be aware of); the issue therefore by no means provides an insuperable obstacle to further research into the field.

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ABSTRACT/ ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die vorliegende Arbeit beschäftigt sich mit der Frage nach dem Ursprung der albanischen nominalen Pluralbildung, insbesondere mit dem Problem der konkreten indogermanischen Wurzeln der verschiedenen Möglichkeiten, im synchronen Modern-Albanischen den Plural zu bilden. In Bezug auf diese Thematik herrscht erstaunlich wenig Konsensus in der Literatur, nicht zuletzt weil das Albanische im Allgemeinen, aufgrund diverser Umstände (wie etwa die erst sehr späte Bezeugung), lange Zeit sehr wenig sprachwissenschaftliche Aufmerksamkeit erfahren hat. Darüber hinaus gilt (wenn auch nur zu einem gewissen Grad gerechtfertigt) die albanische Pluralbildung als hochkomplex und wenig regelhaft, was eine detaillierte Aufstellung und Diskussion der diachronen Entwicklung der Formantien bislang verhindert zu haben scheint.

In dieser Arbeit werden nun systematisch die verschiedenen Möglichkeiten zur Pluralbildung, wie etwa *0*-Ableitungen, Vokal-Alternationen oder Suffigierung, gesammelt, und die vorhandenen Hypothesen zu deren jeweiligem Ursprung besprochen.

Von besonderem Interesse ist hier, ob die Vielfalt der indogermanischen Stammklassen im albanischen Nominalsystem noch zu erkennen ist (so ist z.B. anzunehmen, dass das Pluralsuffix *-e* der Maskulina auf die Nominativ Plural-Endung bzw. -Ausgang der indogermanischen maskulinen *u*-Stämme zurückgeht; vgl. **-eu-es > *-ou-es > *-au-es > *-au-ih > *e(u)ë > -e*). Weiters wird versucht, die relative Chronologie der involvierten Prozesse wie etwa bestimmter Lautwandel oder morphologischer Vorgänge (z.B. Umlaut) genauer festzustellen. Um eine möglichst umfassende und kohärente Untersuchung zu ermöglichen, werden die Überlegungen an sprachkonkreten Beispielen getestet, die den ältesten albanischen Texten (Altgegisch, unter anderem z.B. Pjetër Bogdani's *Cuneus Prophetarum* [1685]) entnommen werden, und die jeweiligen Etymologien und historische (phonologische und morphologische) Entwicklung dieser Wörter recherchiert.

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