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Form, function and history of the present suffix
-i/-ën in Albanian and its dialects

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1 Introduction

In many Albanian dialects we find traces of a present suffix *-ënj-*, appearing in verbs whose stem ends in a consonant. In the standard language, it is found as a suffix 1sg *-i*, 2/3sg *-ën* in only three verbs (*eci* ‘to go’, *hipi* ‘to rise, to mount’, *iki* ‘to leave, to go out’) in the present, but it appears in the imperfect of every verb ending in a consonant. In dialects and in Old Albanian the situation may be quite different. In Old Albanian, there are full conjugations of both suffixed and nonsuffixed verbs; in Arbëresh these two conjugations have merged into a single one, and in Northern Geg dialect, the suffix appears only in certain verbal conjugations, but the exact distribution differs per region. Meanwhile, in Arvanitika, the suffix is possible in many verbs, but obligatory only in a few.

Since there is such a wide variety in the use of the suffix in the Albanian dialects, this raises the question what the Proto-Albanian situation was; this question has remained relatively unexplored thusfar. Another question is how we must view the suffix from an Indo-European perspective.

There are two ways to approach these questions. The first one is to view the question as a phonological/morphological question: How did the suffix *-ënj-* decline in Proto-Albanian, what happened to that conjugation in the different dialects, and how does this conjugation relate to Proto-Indo-European? The second approach is to ask oneself what the function was of the suffix *-ënj-* in Proto-Albanian. The suffix appears in different verbal conjugations and tenses in different dialects, and in some dialects it has, or must have had, a clearly distinguished use; the question is whether such a function can also be found in Proto-Albanian, and again, whether we can explain such a function from an Indo-European perspective.

The general setup of this thesis is as follows. In section 2, I describe the conventions and definitions used in this thesis. In section 3, I describe the background of the problem, so that I can state the full extent of the problem. Chapter 4 is dedicated to the development of the suffix from Old Albanian to the contemporary dialects. In section 5, I use this to reconstruct the Proto-Albanian paradigm, and in section 6, I compare this to Proto-Indo-European; this concludes the morphological part of this thesis. In section 7, I discuss the form and function of the suffix in various dialects; in section 8, I discuss the function of the suffix in Proto-Albanian, and its connection to Proto-Indo-European in section 9; it is also in this section that we will discuss this connection in the light of typological connections in Chadic, Japanese and Jaminjung. In section 10, I describe the development of this function to the various dialects, and I end with a conclusion in section 11.

2 Conventions and notation

Since Albanian is attested relatively late for an Indo-European language, and since it is considered by most scholars to have no closely related languages¹, it is difficult to precisely define Proto-Albanian. The most straightforward definition would be to take the latest common ancestor to all Albanian dialects. However, this is problematic, because the Albanian dialects have remained a continuum for some time after the dialectal split, and it is possible that some pan-Albanian sound changes took place after the Proto-Albanian period.

We know that this must have been the case for at least one sound law. One of the major sound changes separating Tosk from Geg is the Tosk rhotacism, which changed earlier **n* into *r*, such as in Tosk *femër*, Geg *femën* ‘woman’ < Palb. **femina* ← Lat. *femina* ‘woman’. This change only took place intervocally, as can be seen from Tosk, Geg *këndoj* ‘to sing’ < Palb. **kantānj-* ← Lat. *cantō* ‘to sing’. The rhotacism is by definition post-Proto-Albanian, but the fact that it only happened intervocally means that it must have preceded the loss and reduction of final syllables. Although the erosion of unstressed syllables is a process that happened differently in the different dialects, all dialects have completely lost the final syllable in **femina*. This loss is a Pan-Albanian sound change, which must have taken place after the Proto-Albanian period, because if it would have happened before the split of Tosk and Geg, Tosk would have retained the original nasal.

My definition of Proto-Albanian is more pragmatic: I will take as Proto-Albanian the stage of the Albanian language after the loss of vowel length inherited from PIE, and before Tosk rhotacism and the reduction and loss of final syllables.² Since some Latin borrowings participate in the vowel quantity changes associated with the loss of vowel length (such as *mollë* ‘apple’ < Palb. **māla-* ← Lat. *mālum* ‘apple’) while others do not (such as *shtrat* ‘bed’ < Palb. **strata-* ← Lat. *strātum* ‘bed’), the stage of Proto-Albanian we reconstruct will be somewhere around the Roman period.

The aim of this thesis is to give a Proto-Albanian reconstruction of both the form and the function of the Albanian suffix *-ënj-*. Since our definition of Proto-Albanian is a phonological one, the form of the suffix and its conjugation will be possible to give, but it is harder to reconstruct the function of the suffix, since it is not always clear to find a relative chronology on phonological and semantic/grammatical changes. Therefore, I will just reconstruct the last function of the suffix that is common to the chronology of all Albanian dialects. It is possible that this actually describes a later stage than what I have defined to be Proto-Albanian, but this will be the closest we can get.

¹Albanian has often been connected to Paleo-Balkan languages such as Illyrian, Messapic and Thracian. Unfortunately, our only evidence for these languages are some glosses, toponyms and personal names. Some of these can be interpreted in an earlier stage of Albanian (see for instance Matzinger [2005] on Messapic), but overall the evidence is too scarce to say anything with much certainty.

²Of course, this assumes that the reduction of vowel length predates the dialectal split. Since this development is pan-Albanian (the long vowels in Geg are of a secondary nature), one may assume that it is pre-Proto-Albanian, but the previous paragraph shows that this is not always the case. Nevertheless, it is the best assumption to make, since this explanation requires fewer individual sound laws.

Most of the notation I use for Proto-Albanian is self-explanatory, but I will denote (and have denoted) by *ǎ the Proto-Albanian phoneme that is the product of the loss of vowel length in post-PIE *ē (< PIE *ē, *eh₁) and post-PIE *ā (< *eh₂); this phoneme developed into Albanian o. Similarly, I denote by *ō the Proto-Albanian phoneme descending from PIE *ō. Furthermore, I use < to denote regular changes according to sound laws, ≪ to denote analogical change, and ← to denote borrowings.

3 Background and statement of the problem

In order to fully appreciate the subject of this thesis, it is necessary to first introduce the reader to a short overview of the grammar of Albanian and its history. This will be done in this section; more thorough treatments can be found in [Demiraj, 1986] and [Orel, 2000].

3.1 The Albanian verbal system

There are many different verbal conjugations in modern Albanian. Most grammarians of Albanian, such as Buchholz and Fiedler [1987], distinguish the following classes:

- I Verbs ending in a stressed vowel or diphthong + *-j* in the 1sg³, such as *shkoj* ‘to go’, *druaj* ‘to fear’ and *arrij* ‘to arrive’;
- II Verbs with a stem ending in a consonant different from *-j*, such as *flas* ‘to speak’, *djeg* ‘to burn’ and *hap* ‘to open’;
- III Verbs with a stem ending in a vowel, such as *pi* ‘to drink’, *bie* ‘to bring’, *ha* ‘to eat’;
- IV A small set of irregular verbs, such as *jam* ‘to be’, *kam* ‘to have’ and *thom* ‘to say’.

These classes are furthermore divided into subclasses depending on their conjugation in the present and how they form the aorist. For instance, in class II there is a class of verbs showing both umlaut and consonant alternation in the 2/3sg of the present active, such as *flas*, which has 2/3sg *flet*; this differs from the ‘usual’ verbs of class II, which have identical forms in all three persons of the present singular.

Class II has a subclass of three verbs (*eci* ‘to walk’, *hipi* ‘to mount’ and *iki* ‘to go out’) of which the present singular has the endings 1sg *-i*, 23sg *-ën*. The subject of this thesis is to determine the origin of these endings.

If we compare the modern situation to Old Albanian, we find that in the language of Buzuku, whose 1555 *Meshari* is the first Albanian book, these endings are actually represented by a suffix of the form *-ënj/-ën-* that appears in many parts of the paradigm. Given this information, the question then becomes what the use of the suffix *-ënj/-ën-* is in Old Albanian, or in any prehistoric stage, and what its origin is.

In Old Albanian the morphological parallels of the suffix to conjugational class I are also much clearer; it appears as though the suffix *-ënj/-ën-* and the suffix *-j* of class I stem from a common source. From this perspective it makes sense to include the verbs of class I into our investigation, and to look into the difference between this class and class III. However, the fact that the suffix *-oj* has been in use as a denominative since the Roman era⁴ and the fact that Latin loanwords are predominantly given the suffix *-oj* [Genesin, 2005b], combined with the fact that there exist no verbs ending just in *-o*,⁵ show us

³Since Albanian lacks an infinitive verbs are cited by their 1sg form.

⁴See Klingenschmitt, in a non-published handout.

⁵Note, though, pairs such as *ngas* ‘to run’, *nganj* ‘to walk’ and *vras* ‘to kill’, *vranj* ‘to hurt (trans.)’ in the Arbëresh dialect of San Costantino Albanese.

that there are at least some subcategories of category I that behave differently from the verbs with the suffix *-ën/-ënj-*: the verbs in *-oj* represent a suffix *-oj*, rather than a suffix *-j* added to verbs ending in *-o*. Therefore in this thesis I will concentrate only on the verbs showing a suffix *-ënj-*.

As in other Indo-European languages, the verbal conjugation can be divided into a present system and an aorist system, depending on which stem (present or aorist) a tense is based on. The perfect, a third category in some classical Indo-European languages, has been lost in Albanian. There are different ways to distinguish the present stem from the aorist stem. Some verbs do so by means of an aorist suffix (such as *shkoj*, aorist stem *shkov-*), while others show ablaut (*mbledh* ‘to collect’, aorist stem *mbloodh-*). There are also some suppletive verbs, such as *jap* ‘to give’, aorist stem *dhash-*. Finally, there are verbs whose present stem is equal to their present stem, such as *hap*.

Interestingly, in Old Albanian the suffix *-ën/-ënj-* is only found in the present system. This calls to mind a similarity with the present suffixes known in many Indo-European languages. In particular, the suffix bears a resemblance to the Greek present suffix *-αίνω*. In order to fully evaluate the link between the two, however, we now need to turn to the Proto-Albanian verbal system.

3.2 The Proto-Albanian verbal system

This section will mainly be concerned with how the Proto-Albanian verbal system descended from Proto-Indo-European, and how it has developed into Albanian.

In Proto-Albanian, the four conjugational classes of modern Albanian were only two classes, namely thematic verbs (classes I-III) and athematic verbs (class IV). The distinguishing factor of class I was just a suffix **-nj-* to which the thematic vowel was attached, whereas the conjugations II and III only differed by the final phoneme of the verbal root.

As mentioned before Proto-Albanian retained the Indo-European distinction between present and perfect. There is a possibility that Proto-Albanian retained the Proto-Indo-European augment **h₁e-*. Although we can hardly tell it from modern Albanian, since an unstressed initial vowel would be lost anyway, the fact that the PIE **d* developed into a *dh* in *dhashë* ‘I gave’ < **(h₁e-)dh₃-s-m* suggests that it may once have been intervocalic, which would mean that the augment would have been preserved in Proto-Albanian [Orel, 2000, p. 209]. For this reason I will reconstruct the augment in Proto-Albanian.

In Proto-Albanian the present and aorist stems could be distinguished in different ways. As in Albanian, there were some verbs with an aorist suffix, and verbs that created their aorist with **e/â*-ablaut, originally due to reduplication, i.e. *djeg* < PALb. **dega-* < PIE **d^heg^{wh}-* versus the aorist *doga* < PALb. **edāga-* < **e-dēg-* < PIE **h₁e-d^he-d^hg^{wh}-*.⁶ There were also verbs with present suffixes: the verb *lus* ‘to pray’ can be

⁶One would suspect an intervocalic PIE **d^h* to develop into *dh* [Orel, 2000, p. 79], so here one must assume an analogous restoration of the *d* on the basis of the present, which has no augment.

reconstructed as **lutja-*, with an aorist *luta* < **luta-*. These partly continued Proto-Indo-European present suffixes, in this case **-ie/o-*, known, for example, from the Vedic fourth present conjugation, formed by adding the present suffix *-yá-* to the root.

It is unclear, however, whether in Proto-Albanian also verbs existed with identical present and aorist stems, because there are dialects, such as that of Buzuku, in which this is not the case. In many of these dialects, we find that the words that in other dialects have identical present and aorist stems have the suffix *-ënj*; for instance, *hap* is attested as *hapinj* in Buzuku. Later in this thesis I will come back to the question whether the situation in Buzuku or standard Albanian is older.

3.3 Main research questions

Having introduced the necessary knowledge about the historical grammar of Albanian, we can now state the goal of this thesis. As is mentioned before, the focus of this thesis is the suffix *-ënj-*, and the aim of this thesis is to give a historical explanation both of its form and occurrence as well as of its function. We can then posit the following subquestions:

- Where, and in what form, does the suffix occur in the contemporary Albanian dialects, including the standard language?
- What is the answer for the previous question in the case of Old Albanian, and what developments have taken place in between these language stadia?
- Given the data obtained from the previous two questions, how can we reconstruct the Proto-Albanian situation? In particular, can we view the suffix as a ‘present suffix’ and if so, in what conditions was it used?
- How can we explain the Proto-Albanian situation with what we know from Proto-Indo-European?

I will answer these questions in the following sections separately for the form and the function of the suffix, starting with the former. Before I do so, however, I will give an overview of literature on the subject published thusfar.

3.4 Previous work on the subject

There have not been many scholars to write about the suffix *-ënj-* in the existing literature. The suffix is not mentioned in the historical grammar by Orel [2000]. Its reconstruction, however, is discussed by [Demiraj, 1986, p. 693], who considers the suffix created by analogy from the verb *běj* ‘to do’. Klingenschmitt⁷, by contrast, considers the suffix to be a direct continuant of the PIE suffix **-n-ie/o-* that also is the basis of the Greek suffix *-αίνω*. In section 6 I will discuss the advantages and disadvantages of both reconstructions.

⁷In a non-published handout.

Unfortunately, no account has been made yet of the history of the function of the suffix in Albanian. However, some authors have described the function of the suffix in some dialects. Breu [2002] describes the use of the suffix in the Arbëresh dialect of San Costantino Albanese. In this dialect, the suffix has various semantic uses. The situation in Buzuku is described by [Fiedler, 2004, p. 129], where the suffix is used as a present marker in verbs that would otherwise have an identical present and aorist stem.

The history of the spread of the function, however, is discussed by Genesin [2005a]. In her opinion, the suffix was originally limited to a small class of verbs including *hipi*, from which it spread to other verbs, either by analogy of form (such as *hap*) or analogy of meaning (such as *eci*, *iki*). However, this does not explain where the suffix in *hipi* comes from, and why the suffix is only found in *eci*, *hipi* and *iki* today. I aim to give an explanation that addresses both of these points, and as such I will try to find a different explanation.

The suffix *-ënj-* in Old Albanian is discussed by De Vaan [Forthcoming]. He gives an overview of the tenses, moods and verbs in which they appear. Following Genesin [2005a], he conjectures that the suffix may have been used to disambiguate the present from the aorist, since it usually does not appear in verbs that show ablaut between these tenses. There is no clear semantic pattern between suffixed and non-suffixed verbs, and a considerable amount of verbs shows variability between having and not having the suffix in the Old Albanian corpus.

Although the existing literature is quite limited, we can already see that there exist different opinions on the history of the suffix, and the suffix has different functions in at least two dialects, both of which differ from the standard language. I will expand on this by examining more dialects, and reconstruct the Proto-Albanian situation. First, however, I will consider the morphological changes in the recorded history of Albanian in the next section.

4 Morphological changes from Old Albanian to Modern Albanian

In contemporary standard Albanian there are only three verbs (*eci*, *hipi*, *iki*) that continue the suffix *-ënj-* in part of their conjugation. In Old Albanian, the suffix is present in more parts of the conjugation. The most complete description of the Old Albanian verbal system is the description of the verbal system of Buzuku by Fiedler [2004], so we will use that as a starting point for our investigation.

4.1 Verbal endings in Old and Modern Albanian

The following table shows the conjugation of standard Albanian and Buzuku of both the verbs with the suffix *-ënj-* and suffixless verbs ending in a consonant in the tenses in which the suffix occurs (the present and imperfect indicative and the present subjunctive), as well as the dialectal forms of the endings with the suffix, in standardised orthography. Since in Albanian, the present subjunctive differs from the present indicative only in the 2/3sg, I will only list these forms.

		modern Albanian		Buzuku		Dialectal alternations
		no suffix	<i>-ënj-</i>	no suffix	<i>-ënj-</i>	<i>-ënj-</i>
Pr. Ind.	1sg.	-Ø	-i	-Ø	-(i)nj	-ënj, -ij, -inj, -i/u
	2sg.	-Ø	-ën	-Ø	-ën	
	3sg.	-Ø	-ën	-Ø	-ën	-Ø ^a , -ënë, -i -n
	1pl.		-im	-më	-(ë)njëmë	-ëm, -ëmë, -ënjëmë, -imë, -jëm, -mi
	2pl.		-ni	-((ë)n)i	-(ë)ni	-ëni
	3pl.		-in	-ënë	-njënë	-ën, -ënë, -ënjënë, -inë, -jën, -ni
Impf. Ind.	1sg.		-ja	-ë	-një	-(ë)një, -ij, -inj, -je, -jem, -nja
	2sg.		-je		-njej	-nje
	3sg.		-te	-Ø	-n	-Ø ^b , -nej
	1pl.		-nim		-njim	-ëm, -(ë)njëmë, -im, -imë, -jëm, -jim, -njëm
	2pl.		-nit	-njitë	???	-(ë)njëtë, -ët, -it, -jët, -jit, -njët, -të
	3pl.		-nin	-(nji)në	-njinë, -jnë	-ën, -in, -inë, -jën, -jin, -njën
Pr. Subj.	2sg.		-ësh	-sh	-njësh	-ënjësh, -ish, -nësh
	3sg.		-ë	-ë	-një	-ënj, -i, -in, -inj

^aWith a lengthening of the stem vowel.

^bWith an *i*-mutation of the stem vowel.

The imperfect 2pl of the suffixed endings is unfortunately not attested in Buzuku. While I will discuss the function of the suffix in a later section, I will now show to what extent we can derive the modern Albanian morphology from the earlier stage attested in Buzuku.

4.2 Present singular

The present singular ending *-i* can be derived from *-inj* via an intermediate stage **-ij*. Notice, however, that the ending *-nj* is attested only for the verbs *eci* (as the present subjunctive <ezzin>, if this indeed stands for /ecɲ/) and *hipi* in Buzuku, each attested only once in the 1sg; the other verbs with the suffix *-ënj-* have the ending *-inj*. Hence, in Buzuku it is possible to posit two different conjugations for verbs with the suffix *-ënj-*, although the difference would only be visible in the 1sg of the present indicative and subjunctive, and the evidence for this is scanty as well. I will return to this question later. If *-nj* is the original form, it is best to consider *-inj* as containing an epenthetic vowel **ë* that was raised to *i* by the following palatal consonant. All the dialectal endings are easily explained from this as well; the allomorph *-u* appears in the dialects of Mirdita and Shala (Northern Geg) after a velar consonant; this distribution is probably a development analogous to the masculine definite marker *-i/-u*.

In the 2/3sg of the present we find some alternative endings. The lengthening of the stem vowel can be understood if we suppose a simplification **-ën > *-ë*; in the dialects where the lengthening takes place (Hot and Kelmend, Northwestern Geg) many final instances of word-final **-ë* were lost, yielding lengthening of the penultimate vowel. The ending *-ëñë* is limited to only a few words in the dialect of Falconara Albanese (Arbëresh), and I will discuss them in section 9. The 3sg ending *-i* is probably taken from the subjunctive ending *-i*, which will be discussed later in this section.

4.3 Present plural

In the present plural indicative the two conjugations have the same endings in modern Albanian. We may ignore the second person plural, since this is the same for both conjugations in Buzuku. For the first and third plural endings we can give two possible scenarios to explain the endings in modern Albanian:

- The endings *-im*, *-in* come from the endings *-më*, *-në* through the epenthesis of a vowel *i*;
- The endings *im*, *-in* come from the endings *-njëmë*, *-njënë* via a development *-njëNë > -ënjëNë > -injëNë > -ijNë > -iNë > iN*.

Although the second scenario looks vastly more complicated, there are reasons to assume that this is the correct one. Firstly, in the first scenario there is no reason why the epenthetic vowel should be a *i*. From the ending *-ëñë* in Buzuku we can see that an epenthetic vowel would be *ë* rather than *i*; this is also what we expect from phonological theory [Van Oostendorp, 1998]. The development from *-njëñë* to *-jnë* is a development we see more often in Albanian: in Buzuku, all vowel nasal stems (such as verbs in *-oj*) have the ending *-Vnjëñë* in the third plural present indicative, which becomes *-jnë* in modern Albanian.⁸ Overall, the second explanation, although it is more complicated, makes perfect reason and poses less problems when compared to the first.

⁸See, though, the part on the endings in Arvanitika in the next section about this ending.

On this basis we would assume that the endings *-mĕ*, *-nĕ* in Buzuku would develop into modern Albanian *-ĕm*, *-ĕn*. We indeed find these endings in some of the dialects, as is discussed at large in section 7. It is now also understandable why these endings were replaced; at one point, there would have been a third person singular ending *-ĕn*, as well as a third person plural ending *-ĕn*, in two different conjugations. Although this does not directly give ambiguity as long as the conjugational classes are clearly defined, when the suffix began to lose its function and could be used more freely, the ending *-ĕn* became ambiguous, which is why it was lost. The ending *-ĕm* was then replaced analogous to the 3pl.

The other dialectal endings can mostly be explained from earlier *-mĕ* and *-ĕnjĕmĕ* (and the same for the 3pl). The somewhat aberrant endings *-mi*, *-ni* come from the Arbëresh dialect of Greci. This dialect has lost the phoneme *ĕ*, which may be the reason why these endings do not show the *ĕ* known from other dialects.

4.4 Imperfect and subjunctive

The first and second person endings of the imperfect singular indicative can best be explained from an earlier suffix *-ĕnj-* that developed into *-j-* < **-ĕj-*; this is corroborated by the fact that the vowel nasal stems also show this suffix *-j-*. The endings *-a*, *-e* cannot be explained from the corresponding endings in Buzuku, but they must have been taken over from the aorist. The third person singular ending *-te* is considered by Orel [2000] to be an added pronominal from PIE **tōd*. The 1sg endings *-je* and *-jem* are peculiar; perhaps they are formed by adding a particle to the verbal ending, as has happened with the 3sg ending *-te*. In the 3sg, we can explain the *i*-mutation by assuming an earlier ending **-i*. The ending *-nej* is peculiar again. It is shared by all the other verbs in this dialect (of Konispol, Tosk), and again it looks as though a particle was suffixed to the ending.

In Buzuku we can see that the nasal suffix was taken over by all consonant stems in the imperfect plural indicative, although the third person plural still has an optional suffixless ending *-nĕ*. The reason for this analogy will be discussed in section 5. The modern Albanian forms show a development *-nji-* > *-ni-* that is probably due to dissimilation of the two palatal phonemes. Again, we find quite some variety in the dialects, including some that have retained the nonsuffixed endings *-ĕm*, *-ĕt*, *-ĕn*. Here one may wonder whether the endings initially were of the form **-njĕmĕ* or **-njimĕ*; we will discuss this matter in the next section.

In the subjunctive we see that modern Albanian has generalised the nonsuffixed endings, as opposed to Buzuku. In the dialects we again find quite some variety in the form of the ending, but all is easily explainable if we assume an earlier stage with nonsuffixed endings **-ĕsh*, **-ĕ* and suffixed endings **-njĕsh*, **-njĕ*. In particular the latter developed in some dialects into *-i*, which was then taken over by the indicative.

5 Proto-Albanian reconstruction

From the conjugation in Buzuku we can make the following observations:

- The suffix *-ënj-* was indeed a suffix, and the endings are otherwise the same as those of other verbs;
- The conjugation of verbs having the suffix *-ënj-* is (almost) identical to the verbs ending in *-Vj*, a stressed vowel followed by the suffix *-nj-*.

One may assume that the same holds for Proto-Albanian: there must have been a Proto-Albanian suffix **-Vnj-*, with an unstressed vowel, which preceded the ending of the verb. A variant of this suffix **-nj-* could in the same way be attached to verb stems ending in a vowel, although we still have to distinguish its function, if any exists.

To begin with the original phonology of the suffix *-ënj-* itself, it must at some point have had a full vowel, that was reduced because of its unstressed position. We cannot determine this vowel from the Albanian evidence, but in the next section I will argue, on the basis of its Indo-European correspondences, that this vowel is most probably **a*. I have reconstructed the present endings in [Lopuhaä, 2012] of the verbs in *-oj*, following Orel [2000], as follows:

<i>-oj</i>	< <i>*-ānjā</i>	<i>-ojmë</i>	< <i>*-ānjame(s)</i>
<i>-on</i>	< <i>*-ānis</i>	<i>-oni</i>	< <i>*-ānis ny/jy</i>
<i>-on</i>	< <i>*-ānit</i>	<i>-ojnë</i>	< <i>*-ānjanti</i>

On the same basis we may reconstruct the following Proto-Albanian endings to the Buzuku endings of the suffixed verbs:

<i>-inj</i>	< <i>*-anjā</i>	<i>-(ë)njëmë</i>	< <i>*-anjame(s)</i>
<i>-ën</i>	< <i>*-anis</i>	<i>-(ë)ni</i>	< <i>*-anis ny/jy</i>
<i>-ën</i>	< <i>*-anit</i>	<i>-njënë</i>	< <i>*-anjanti</i>

Here we may regard the 23sg endings **-anis*, **-anit* as contractions from earlier **-anjes*, **anjet*. If we assume this, the endings are exactly the same as for the normal consonantal declination, except for the appearance of the suffix *-anj-*.

The imperfect endings present us with a bit more difficulty. As was discussed in the previous section, the ending *-ë* in the 1sg is probably archaic, for which we may reconstruct PALb. **-am*, coming from the secondary ending in PIE. For the 2sg ending *-e* Orel [2000] reconstructs PALb. **-és*, attributing the full vowel to its stressed position. This is possible, but one would then have to assume that the verb stem was restored in the 2sg, which would normally be reduced when unstressed. The 3sg zero ending was probably unstressed **-et*, which was identical to the present.

In the plural the situation is considerably more complicated, especially the distinction between present and imperfect. In Arvanitika we find the endings *-ëjmë*, *-ënjënë* for the present, but *-ënjëmë*, *-ëjnë* in the

imperfect. It is unlikely that such an irregular distribution came into being secondarily, so it is best to assume that it goes back by sound law to an irregular distribution in Proto-Albanian. To see how such a distribution came into being, we look at the PIE reconstruction. Based upon our knowledge of the PIE verbal system we may reconstruct the following:

	Arvanitika	Proto-Indo-European
Present	-ëjmë	*-n-io-mos
	-ënjënë	*-n-ió-nti
Imperfect	-ënjëmë	*-n-ió-me
	-ëjnë	*-n-io-nt

On the other hand, we know that the ending *-nti must have been introduced to the imperfect in Albanian at some point, since the ending ends in a -ë in modern Albanian. We also know that the word-final *-s of the present 1pl ending must have been lost at some point. This would make the endings of the present phonologically almost completely identical to the imperfect endings, so the question is then why they have developed differently.

The difference between the present and imperfect are schwas that have been lost at certain points. The medial schwas that have been preserved in Arvanitika are precisely those that were stressed in PIE; this suggests that the PIE stress was the decisive factor for this development. Although this medial syllable is unstressed in the dialects where it exists, the syllable must have retained its stress for a long enough period to allow for a different development to allow for a different development compared to the medial syllables that were unstressed in PIE. In general, the effects of PIE stress on the development of Albanian is hard to determine, since much of the PIE accentual mobility was lost in favour of paradigms with fixed stress. There is one case in which the PIE accentual mobility was retained: the word *gjárpër* ‘snake’ < *sérponos has the plural *gjërpínj* < *serpónoi in Old Albanian. In every other case, however, accentual mobility has been lost in favour of fixed stress across the paradigm.

We then still need to explain the vowel *i* in the endings -njim, -njitë, -njinë found in Buzuku. According to Schumacher and Matzinger [2013] the origin of this vowel is “vollkommen unklar”; on the basis of a suffix -nj- and endings -m, -t, -n one would expect *-njëm(ë), *-njët(ë), *-njën(ë). It should be noted that this vowel is mostly attested as a long vowel, written <ü> or <ij> in Old Albanian. One possible solution is that these endings are secondary and taken over from the aorist of verbs like *nba* ‘to hold’, which has aorist 1pl *nbajtimë*, 3pl *nbajtinë*. Since there is not only an Old Albanian aorist suffix -ti- but also -t(ë)-,⁹ one can imagine that a form *nbaj-ti-më* would be reanalysed as *nbaj-t-imë*. Since the aorist and imperfect endings were the same in Proto-Albanian [Orel, 2000, p. 210], these aorist endings could have been introduced in the imperfect. The reason for this introduction must have been that after the imperfect ending -ënjëmë spread to the present ambiguity between the present and the imperfect arose,

⁹In fact, Schumacher and Matzinger [2013] assume that the original form of the suffix is -të-, and in some verbs, such as *di* ‘to know’, the vowel of the suffix was coloured by the preceding vowel.

and this was resolved by taking endings from the aorist which are clearly distinguishable from the present. A problem with this explanation, however, is that it does not explain the discrepancy of vowel quantity in the two endings, as the aorist plural endings show a short vowel *i*.

The modern Albanian endings *-nim*, *-nit*, *-nin* can be derived either from the Buzuku endings, or from a supposed prestige **-njēmě*, **-njětě*, **-njěně*. Since in modern Albanian the suffix does not appear in the present plural, there would have been no ambiguity as in Buzuku, so there would be no need to replace the endings. On the other hand, it is possible that this replacement took place before the suffix was lost in the present plural; the data we have at our disposal is simply insufficient to determine the correct development.

For the nonsuffixed subjunctive endings we can straightforwardly reconstruct *-sh* < **-ási* < **-ěsi* and *-ě* < **-át* < **-ět*; the suffixed endings look exactly the same. It is interesting that here, as in many cases in Albanian, we find primary and secondary Indo-European endings in the same paradigm.

6 Proto-Indo-European reconstruction

Multiple suggestions have been made for the PIE reconstruction of this verbal conjugation. The general consensus is that it in some way must continue a PIE concatenation of present suffixes **-n-ie/o-*. This compound suffix is also the origin for the other Albanian nasal stems. However, the precise development is debated. Demiraj [1997] considers the present suffix *-ënj-* to be created analogically after the verb *běj* ‘to do, to make’ (Geg *bâj*), which can be reconstructed as PALb. **banje/o-* < PIE **bh₂-n-ie/o-*, cf. Gr. *φαίνω* ‘to show’ and Skt. *bhāti* ‘to shine’. On the other hand, Klingenschmitt¹⁰ considers it a regular development from a PIE class of verbs in **-n-ie/o-*, which is also represented in Greek *μαρφαίνω* ‘to destroy’ and Sanskrit *iṣanyati* ‘to rush’.

To my mind, these two proposals represent two different issues with this formation. The first issue is whether an Indo-European formation **C(e/o)C-n-ie/o-* would indeed yield an Albanian verb with a suffix *-ën-* (here **CeC-* is the verbal root). The second issue is whether such a compound suffix **-n-ie/o-* is indeed of PIE origin. The concatenation certainly exists in Albanian, Greek and Sanskrit, but it is possible that the concatenation developed separately in these languages.

6.1 Vocalic nasals in Albanian

As to the first question, it is widely accepted that a PIE vocalic nasal yielded *a* in Proto-Albanian, as in *mat* ‘bank, shore’ < **mnto-*, cf. Lat. *mont-* ‘mountain’ and *shtatë* ‘seven’ < **septmto-*. On this basis, one would expect **CVC-n-ie/o-* to develop into Old Albanian ***CVC-ěj-*, without any sign of a nasal. However, all examples of this sound law given by Orel [2000] and Demiraj [1997] descend from a PIE form **CNC*, where both consonants are stops. Here it may be helpful to compare the situation in Greek. As is shown by Rix [1992], a PIE sequence **C₁NC₂* yields Proto-Greek **C₁aC₂* if **C₂* is a stop, but **C₁anC₂* if **C₂* is a resonant, as in *μαίνομαι* ‘to be excited’ < Proto-Greek **manjomai* < PIE **mn-ie/o-*.

In my opinion, there is no reason not to assume the same development for Albanian. Although I admittedly cannot think of any other examples, to my mind it is certainly possible that the suffix *-ënj-* continues PIE **-n-ie/o-*. On the other hand, the alternative explanation, in which the suffix *-ënj-* was created secondarily after the verb *běj*, supposes that at some point the Proto-Albanian verb *banj-e/o-* was reanalysed as *b-anj-e/o-*. However, there is no ground on which the Proto-Albanians could have based this analysis. Although purely consonantal roots are not unheard of in Albanian (for example, the verb *shkoj* ‘to go’ may be analysed as *shk-oj*), in all other verbal tenses (aorist *bëra* < **bana*, participle *bërë* < *banë*) the verb shows a stem **ban-*. Therefore, there is no point in the prehistory of Albanian in which this analogy could have taken place, and the better explanation is that *-ënj-* developed regularly out of PIE **-n-ie/o-*.

¹⁰In a non-published handout.

6.2 The reality of a PIE suffix **-n-ie/o-*

The next question is whether the suffix **-n-ie/o-* is of PIE origin. In both Greek and Albanian the verb $\varphi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega/b\acute{e}j$ has the **n*, but not the **i*, in all tenses of the verb, so that in both of these languages the root is analysable as dialectal PIE **b^han-*. However, the Sanskrit evidence shows that the nasal was not part of the root in Indo-European. This gives us two possible scenarios:

- In Greek and Albanian, an original nasal present of the root **b^heh₂-*, still preserved in Sanskrit *bhánati* ‘to speak, to sound’, was reanalysed as having a stem **b^han-*, to which a nasal present was created;
- In Greek and Albanian, an original formation **b^heh₂-n-ie/o-* was reanalysed as **b^han-ie/o-*.

Beekes [2010] opts for the first scenario on the basis of the Armenian evidence, and to my mind, the existence of the first explanation shows that the word $\varphi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega/b\acute{e}j$ in itself cannot show the existence of a PIE compound suffix **-n-ie/o-*. For this, we need to turn to other examples. One of these, the Greek $\mu\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega$ ‘to destroy’ is difficult to reconstruct. Formally, it looks like a **-n-ie/o-*-formation on the root **mer-* ‘to die’. In PIE, this would become **mrnie/o-*. It is unclear how the resonants would vocalise in this context, but as is mentioned by Beekes [2010], it would be highly unlikely that both the **r* and the **n* vocalise, which would be required to yield Proto-Greek **maranje/o-*. This shows that this verb is probably not of Indo-European origin.

Oettinger [1992] has examined the verbs in *-anyá-* in Vedic. Apart from *ya*-denominatives from *n*-stems such as *ukṣanyati* ‘to desire a young bull’, the ‘real’ *anya*-formation has an intensifying meaning. He then compared this to verbs with the suffix *-annīe-* in Hittite; this suffix also has an intensifying meaning. On the basis of this, he reconstructs a PIE intensifying suffix *-n-ie/o-* that came into being after verbs with an intensifying *Wurzelerweiterung* **-en-* and a present suffix *-ie/o-* were reanalysed as having a suffix *-n-ie/o-*. The existence of such a suffix **-en-* is based on the root **kes-* ‘to comb’, which has a yod present in OCS *češp* ‘I comb’, but of which the expanded form is attested in Vedic *kṣaṇati* ‘to comb wool’ and Greek $\xi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega$ ‘to comb wool’. Another instance of this suffix **-en-* can be seen in Greek $\nu\varphi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega$ ‘to weave’ and Albanian *vej* ‘to weave’, both from **ub^h-n-ie/o-*, reflecting earlier **ub^h-en-*, a stem enlargement from the root **ueb^h-* ‘to weave’ that we know from Germanic.

Lindeman [2001], however, rejects this proposal. As is noted by Demiraj [1997], a Proto-Albanian form **webn-* would yield an Albanian consonant stem **vem* rather than a nasal stem *vej*, and he prefers to reconstruct **uH-eie-* for the Albanian form. Furthermore, the cognate forms in Sanskrit are *ubhnāti* and the injunctive *sam unap*, which shows that the root probably had a nasal present in Indo-European, which was extended with a yod present in Greek. We are then left with the root **kes-* as the only example, which in my opinion is not enough to base a PIE root enlarging suffix *-en-*, different from the ‘ordinary’ nasal present.

Lindeman [2001] also disagrees with the explanation given for the Sanskrit forms. Instead, he prefers an analogical explanation. His principal example is Vedic *huvanyati* ‘to call’, which he considers to be a contamination between **ǵ^hueH-* ‘to call’ and **ǵ^huen-* ‘to sound’, so that we can reconstruct Proto-Indo-Iranian **ǵuHn-ia-*. The other verbs in *-anya-* would then be created analogically. This solution, however, is quite *ad hoc*, and in my opinion it is best to see *huvanyati* as an *anya-* derivation of the root *hvā-*, and *-anya-* as reflecting the two PIE suffixes **-n-* and **-ie/o-*; the question is then whether this concatenation was already made in PIE times or whether it is a Sanskrit innovation. With regards to the Hittite evidence, Kloekhorst [2008] also states that a PIE reconstruction **-en-ie/o-* would yield Hittite ***-anniia-* rather than *-anna/i-*, and prefers to reconstruct PIE **-otn-i-* for the Hittite suffix. We are then left only with Sanskrit and Albanian that can possibly reflect PIE **-n-ie/o-*. Although it is possible that the concatenation is of PIE origin, it is an innovation that easily could have happened separately in those two languages. Therefore in my opinion it is not possible to project the Albanian formation **-n-ie/o-* directly into Indo-European; the suffix thus is an Albanian innovation, although parallel developments exist in Greek and Sanskrit. It is still possible, however, that the Proto-Albanian suffix **-anj-* continues either or both of its predecessors in function. I will return to this in section 10.

7 Dialectal information

We now come to the second part of the thesis, in which we will discuss the function of the suffix, both in the modern dialects and its supposed reconstruction in Proto-Albanian. In this section I present an overview of the appearance of the suffix *-ënj-* in various Albanian dialects. Many of these dialects show the suffix only in some verbal classes. To give a consistent overview, I use an adaptation of the system used by Buchholz and Fiedler [1987] as given below.

conjugation	characteristics	conjugations in B & F	example
A	regular	II.1.a	<i>hap</i> ‘to open’
B	1sg = <i>-i</i> , 2/3sg = <i>-ën</i>	IV.1.a	<i>eci</i> ‘to walk’
C	root = <i>-e-</i> , 2pl = <i>-i-</i>	II.1.h	<i>ndez</i> ‘to ignite’
D	root = <i>-a-</i> , 23sg = <i>-e-</i> , 2pl = <i>-i-</i>	II.1.i/j, II.4.b	<i>rrah</i> ‘to beat’
E	root = <i>-e-</i> , 2pl = <i>-i-</i> , aor = <i>-o-</i>	II.1.b, II.4.a	<i>mbledh</i> ‘to collect’
F	root = <i>-je-</i> , 2pl = <i>-i-</i> , aor = <i>-o-</i>	II.1.c/d/p/q	<i>pjek</i> ‘to boil’
G	root = <i>-ie-</i> , 2pl = <i>-i-</i> , aor = <i>-o-</i>	II.1.g	<i>prier</i> ‘to lean’
H	root = <i>-i-</i> , aor = <i>-o-</i>	II.1.f	<i>dridh</i> ‘to assemble’
I	root = <i>-a/o-</i> , 23sg = <i>-e-</i> , aor = <i>-o-</i>	II.1.e/r/s	<i>dal</i> ‘to exit’
J	other ablauting	II.2.c/d/e/f/g/h/i	<i>shtërret</i> ‘to shrink’
K	regular <i>-s/t</i>	II.1.k/l	<i>pyes</i> ‘to ask’
L	other <i>-s/-t</i>	II.2.a/b/j/k/l/m/n/o/p, II.3.a	<i>flas</i> ‘to speak’

Since the suffix *-ënj-* only appears in the present indicative and subjunctive, and in the imperfect indicative, these will be the tenses discussed below. Note that the only difference between categories A and B is the appearance of the suffix in the present indicative singular. In this case, however, we take the distribution of the standard language as normative, so if I say that a dialect in the present singular indicative only shows the suffix in category B, I only mean the three verbs *eci*, *hipi* and *iki*. We will see that this occurs quite often in the dialects.

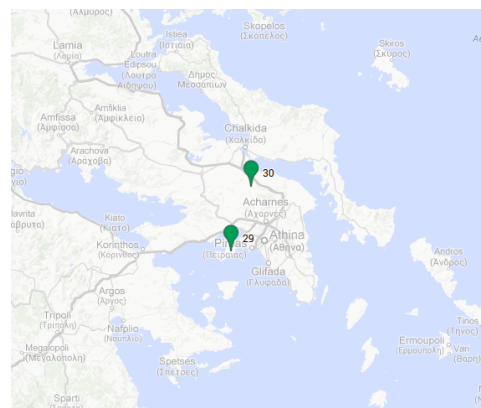
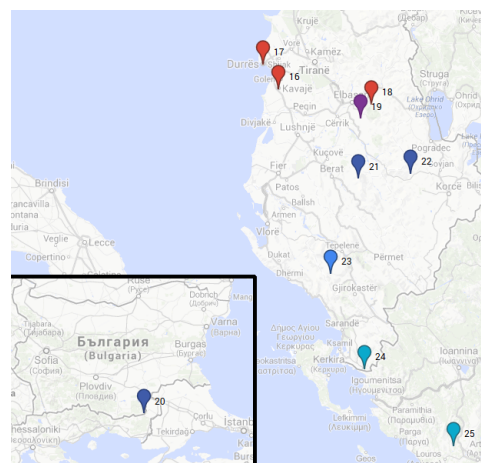
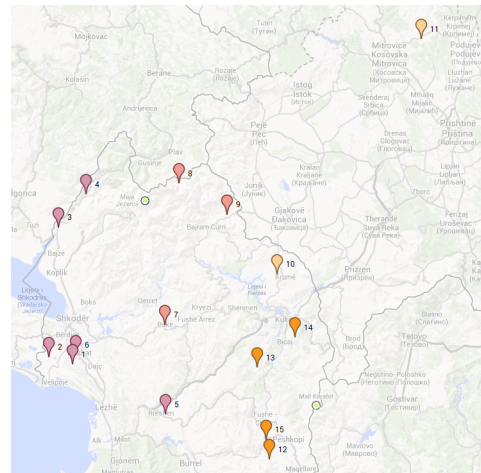
Before we dive into the specific details of the individual dialects, it is best to give an overview of the dialectal situation of Albanian. The major division is that between the Geg (northern) and Tosk (southern) dialect groups. Some of the major characteristics of this divide are the Tosk-specific rhotacism of intervocalic Proto-Albanian **n* and the loss of nasalisation in Tosk. The border between these dialects is the Shkumbini river, along which a transitory zone is found.

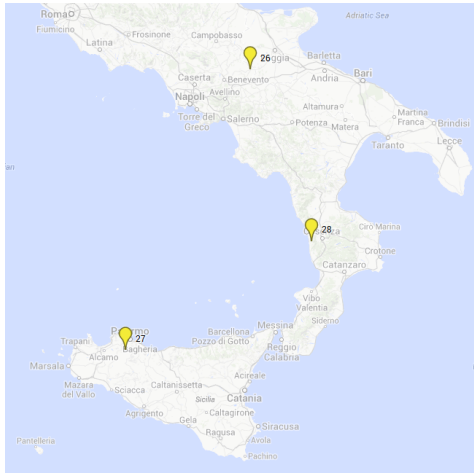
Geg is further subdivided into Northwestern, Northern, Northeastern, Central and Southern Geg; in particular the dialects of Kosovo are Northeastern Geg. Tosk can be subdivided into Northern Tosk, spoken in most of southern Albania, as well as in the village of Mandrica in Bulgaria; Lab, spoken

in northern Epirus, both in Albania and Greece; Çam, spoken in southern Epirus, mainly in Greece; Arvanitika, spoken in the countryside of Attica and Boeotia; and Arbëresh, spoken in southern Italy. Both Arvanitika and Arbëresh are spoken by communities that migrated from Albania after the Turkish invasion in the 15th century; these dialects often preserve the Old Albanian situation better than the contiguous dialects, but underwent great influence from Italian and Modern Greek.

The selection of dialects considered in this section came into being pragmatically: these are the dialects of which a grammar was available in the library of Leiden University. Still, the selection contains dialects from all dialect groups, so in my opinion this selection of dialects gives a good overview of what is possible in Albanian. Still, Geg is overrepresented in this selection, so it is better not to draw any conclusions from the *percentage* of dialects that show a certain feature. The considered dialects are listed on the next page:

NW Geg	1	Shkrel
	2	Breg i Bunës
	3	Hot
	4	Kelmend
	5	Mirdita
	6	Rranxa
N Geg	7	Puka
	8	Çerem & Valbona
	9	Ragam
NE Geg	10	Has
	11	Shala
C Geg	12	Luznia e Dibrës
	13	Arrën
	14	Vilë-e-Kalisi
	15	Muhurr
S Geg	16	Kavaja
	17	Durrës
	18	Polis
Transitory	19	Shpat
N Tosk	20	Mandrica
	21	Tomorica
	22	Strelca
Lab	23	Kurvelesh i Siper
Çam	24	Konispol
	25	Çam
Arbëresh	26	Greci
	27	Piani degli Albanesi
	28	Falconara Albanese
Arvanitika	29	Salamis
	30	NE Attica-Boeotia





7.1 Buzuku

Reference: [Fiedler, 2004]

In the language of Buzuku the suffix *-enj-* appears only in the verbs of conjugations A, B and C, and the verb *pyetën* ‘to ask’. The verb *pyetën* appears to be a hybrid verb: the verb shows the suffix in the present and perfect indicative, but it also has a 3sg present subjunctive form *pyesë*. Therefore, this verb represents a hybrid conjugation. The other verbs in this category are precisely those verbs whose aorist stem is equal to the present stem. There is only one verb of category D attested in Buzuku, namely the imperfect *rrih* of the verb *rrah*, but the form makes it seem as though this verb shows umlaut, so that it would not be a verb of category D in Buzuku.

7.2 Northwestern Geg

7.2.1 Shkrel

Reference: [Beci, 1971].

In the 1sg of the present indicative, the verbs of conjugations A, B and C receive the suffix *-i*. The 1pl in this tense alternates geographically between *-ëm* and *-im*, but the 3pl only appears as *-in*. The imperfect is formed with the suffix *-sh-* rather than with the suffix *-enj-*. In the subjunctive, there is a trace of this suffix in the 3sg ending *-in*, and perhaps also in the 2sg, which alternates between *-ësh* and *-ish*.

7.2.2 Breg i Bunës

Reference: [Gjinari, 1971].

In this dialect we find the 1sg present indicative suffix *-i* in conjugations A, B, C and D. Here too the imperfect is formed with the suffix *-sh-*, whereas in the subjunctive we find the endings *-ish/-ush* and *-in/-un*.

7.2.3 Hot

Reference: [Shkurtaĵ, 1974].

Here we find the 1sg suffix *-i* in conjugations A, B, C and D. The older generation has the plural endings *-ĕm/-ĕn*, but among the younger generation the standard endings *-im/-in* is more prevalent. The imperfect is formed by means of the suffix *-sh-*; the subjunctive endings are *-(i)sh* and *-in*.

7.2.4 Kelmend

Reference: [Shkurtaĵ, 1975].

In this dialect we find exactly the same situation as in Hot.

7.2.5 Mirdita

Reference: [Beci, 1982].

In this region the suffix in the present singular is limited to conjugation B, except for the village of Laç, where every verb in the conjugations A-I gets the suffix *-i/u* in the 1sg. The plural is the same as in standard Albanian. The imperfect lacks the suffix, instead formed by the suffix *-sh-*. In the 3sg of the subjunctive, we find a geographical alternation between the endings *-e* and *-i*.

7.2.6 Rranxa

Reference: [Shkurtaĵ, 1982].

Here the grammar is, unfortunately, unclear. We find the 1sg suffix *-i* in conjugations A, B and C in younger speakers. In older speakers, we also find the suffix in conjugations E, F, G and H, but the grammar is unclear about conjugation D. Older speakers also have the endings *-ĕm, -ĕn* in the present plural, whereas the younger generation has the standard ending. The imperfect lacks the suffix, whereas the subjunctive endings are *-(i)sh, -in*.

7.3 Northern Geg

7.3.1 Puka

Reference: [Topalli, 1974]

Verbs from the conjugations A,B,C, and E-H. get the 1sg suffix *-i*. The plural is *-im/-in*. some of the imperfect endings appear to show a double suffix, as is seen from the imperfect paradigm:

-shem/-shna/-sham/-she
 -she
 -te/-ke
 -shna/-shim
 -shi
 -shin

Here we see an apparent double suffix in the 1sg and the 1pl. In the subjunctive we find the 2sg ending *-(i)sh*, while the 3sg has no ending (so it is equal to the present indicative).

7.3.2 Çerem and Valbona

Reference: [Gosturani, 1982].

Verbs of the conjugations A and B, and, in the case of older speakers, F, have the 1sg suffix *-i* in the present. The plural is regular. The imperfect is formed by *-sh-*, and the 3sg of the subjunctive is *-in*.

7.3.3 Ragam

Reference: [Gosturani, 1990].

Verbs of the conjugations A, B and J have the 1sg suffix *-i* in the present. The plural is regular. The imperfect is formed by *-sh-*, and the 3sg of the subjunctive is *-in*.

7.4 Northeastern Geg

7.4.1 Has

Reference: [Gosturani, 1975].

In the present singular indicative, the ending *-i* of the 1sg appears in conjugations A, B, C, D and F. In these conjugations we find a lengthening of the root vowel in the 23sg. The plural has the same endings as the standard language. In the imperfect, we find the following endings:

-shna
 -she
 -ke
 -shim
 -shit
 -shin

Here the 1sg for is noteworthy, since it seems to show both a suffix *-sh-* and *-n-*. In the subjunctive we find the endings *-sh* and *in*.

7.4.2 Shala

Reference: [Mulaku, 1990].

In conjugation A, B,C ,E and H we find the suffix *-i/-u* in the 1sg of the present. In the plural we have an alternation *-im/-um/-ëm*, but only *-in*. The imperfect endings are the same as in Has; the subjunctive is the same as in the standard language.

7.5 Central Geg

7.5.1 Luzën

Reference: [Beci, 1974]

Here too the 1sg suffix *-i* is used in some verbs, but the category differs per village. In Katund i Ri it is present in conjugations A, B, C and E-H, as well as in the verbs *kosis* and *fus*; in Lishan it is limited to verbs of conjugation A, B and C. The imperfect is made with the suffix *-sh*, and the subjunctive lacks the suffix as well.

7.5.2 Vilë-e-Kalisi

Reference: [Hoxha, 1975].

In this dialect, in the present singular indicative, we find the endings *-i*, *-ën*, *-ën* in conjugation A and B, as well as in verbs from conjugations C-H ending in the consonants *s*, *l*, *ll*, or *rr* and the verb *gjeqj*. Interestingly, in the plural we find the endings *-ëm*, *-ën* in conjugation C-H, as well as occasionally in class A-B; otherwise we find the standard endings *-im/-in*. Verbs that take have the nasal suffix in the singular also have a subjunctive 2sg ending *-ish* rather than *-sh* (the 3sg ending is *-e*). The imperfect lacks the suffix altogether, and is instead formed by means of the suffix *-sh-*.

7.5.3 Muhurr

Reference: [Ylli and Sobolev, 2003].

In this dialect verbs of the conjugations A, B, C and E-H have a suffix *-i* in the present indicative 1sg and 3sg, as well as in the 3sg of the subjunctive. In the plural both the endings *-ëm*, *-ën* and *-im*, *-in* are acceptable. the imperfect is formed by means of the suffix *-sh-*.

7.5.4 Arrën

Reference: [Hoxha, 1990].

In this dialect the situation is exactly the same as in Vilë-e-Kalisi.

7.6 Southern Geg

7.6.1 Kavaja

Reference: [Çeliku, 1974].

In the present indicative singular, the suffix is limited to category B; the plural endings are *-im*, *-in*. The imperfect endings are as follows:

-je/-she/-jem
 -je/-she
 -te
 -shim/-jem/-im
 -shit/-it
 -shin/-jen/-in

Furthermore, the nasal suffix is also visible in the subjunctive 3sg *-i*.

7.6.2 Durrës and surroundings

Reference: [Çeliku, 1990].

With regards to our investigation, this variety is the same as the standard language, except for the fact that the imperfect is formed by means of the suffix *-sh-*.

7.6.3 Polis

Reference: [Haxhihasani, 1987].

In this dialect, we find the suffix restricted to conjugation B. However, many verbs of conjugations J and K have the following endings in the present singular indicative:

-Vt
-Vj
-Vn
- $\tilde{V}jm$
-Vni
- $\tilde{V}jn$

The plural and the imperfect of the other conjugations are as in standard Albanian, but it should be noted that in the imperfect plural the forms have a suffix *-ji-* rather than *-ni-*. In the subjunctive we find the endings *-ç* and *-in*.

7.7 Transitory dialects

7.7.1 Shpat

Reference: [Çeliku, 1971].

In the present singular the suffix is restricted to conjugation B; the present plural endings are *-im*, *-in*. In the imperfect, the suffix appears as *nj/j* in all forms except for the 3sg, which, as in standard Albanian has the ending *-te*. In one village (Shtermën), the third person plural of the imperfect has more options, namely *-shin*, *-in*, *-nin* and *-jin*. In the subjunctive, we find the endings *-ësh/-ish* and *-i/-Ø*.

7.8 Northern Tosk

7.8.1 Mandrica

Reference: [Sokolova, 1983].

In this dialect the suffix is limited to conjugation B. In the imperfect, we find the following endings:

-nja
-nje
-ish
-ishmë
-ishtë
-ishnë

Where we may explain the epenthetic vowel *-i-* from an earlier *-nj-*. The subjunctive lacks the suffix.

7.8.2 Tomorica

Reference: [Xhaferri, 1990].

In this dialect, we find the present singular endings *-Ø*, *-ĕn*, *-ĕn* in all verbs ending in *-p*. The older generation has, in these verbs, also a 1sg ending *-inj*. The present plural is as in the standard language, as is the subjunctive and the imperfect, although it should be noted that here the palatal nasal *nj* is preserved in the 12sg.

7.8.3 Strelca

Reference: [Petriti, 1987].

In the present singular the suffix is limited to conjugation B, where the archaic 1sg ending *-ĕnj* is preserved. In the plural we find *-im* and an alternation *-ĕn/-in*. The imperfect has the following endings:

-nja
-nje
-te
-mim(i)/-nimi
-nit(ĕ)
-nin(ĕ)

Here we see the suffix *-ĕnj-* in all forms except the 3sg; the form of the 1pl has undergone assimilation. In the subjunctive we find the endings 2sg *-ĕsh/-ish*, 3sg *-ĕ*, although conjugation B has the 3sg ending *-ĕnj*.

7.9 Lab

7.9.1 Kurvelesh

Reference: [Totoni, 1971].

Except for category B, the suffix *-ĕnj-* does not appear in the present singular. In the present plural the endings are *-ĕm* and *-ĕn*. The imperfect has the following endings, geographically distributed across the various villages:

-ij/-Ø
-je
i-mutation of stem vowel
-ëm/-im
-ët/-it
-ën/-in

We see that the use of the suffix in the imperfect is mostly optional. The origin of the ending of the 3sg is unclear, but it might be due to an earlier ending **-i* as in Falconara Albanese.

7.10 Çam

Reference: [Haxhihasani, 1971].

In the present singular indicative, the suffix is limited to conjugation B. In the present plural, the older generation (when the grammar was written) has the endings *-ëm/-ën*. In the imperfect, we find the following endings:

-ij
-je
i-mutation of stem vowel
-ijm
-ijt
-ijn

Here we find the suffix in every form, which also supports the fact that the umlaut originally shows the suffix. According to Petersen we also find the nonsuffixed endings 1sg *-ë*, 3pl *-ën/-në* in the village of Mursi. In the subjunctive, the endings are *-ç* and *-ij*, so this variety also originally had the palatal nasal rather than the dental one in this ending.

7.10.1 Konispol

Reference: [Muça, 1987].

This dialect follows the distribution of the suffix of the standard language, except for the subjunctive 3sg ending *-inj*. In the imperfect, we find the following endings:

-inj
 -nje
 -nej
 -njëm
 -njët
 -njën

7.11 Arbëresh

7.11.1 Greci, Avellino

Reference: [Camaj, 1971].

In the dialect of Greci in Southern Italy the conjugation of consonant stems with and without the suffix has merged into one. The conjugation is as follows, here of the word *liθ* ‘to connect’:

Present Indicative	Imperfect Indicative	Present Subjunctive
<i>liθ(i)n</i>	<i>liðŋa</i>	<i>liðijn</i>
<i>liθ(an)</i>	<i>liðŋa</i>	<i>liθŋ</i>
<i>liθan</i>	<i>liði</i>	<i>liðijn</i>
<i>liðmi</i>	<i>liðim</i>	
<i>liðni</i>	<i>liðit</i>	
<i>liðŋan</i>	<i>liðin</i>	

We see that the suffix appears in the 3sg/pl of the present indicative, the 1/2sg of the imperfect and the 2/3sg of the present subjunctive, and that it is optional in the 1/2sg of the present indicative. One might also suppose that *liðim* comes from an earlier **liðjim* < **liðnim*, and similar developments in the other forms of the imperfect plural, so that the entire imperfect system would represent the suffix. However, as mentioned before, this dialect lacks the phoneme /ə/, so this too might be the reason the the epenthetic vowel is *i* rather than *ə* in these endings.

It should be noted that the optionality of the suffix varies per verb. There does not seem to be much of a system behind it: *breθ* ‘to play’ (aor. *broðə*) always has the suffix, whereas *mbleθ* ‘collect’ (aor. *mbloðə*) has the suffix optionally. Furthermore, *piel* ‘to be born’ (aor. *poja*) never has the suffix, while *viελ* ‘to harvest’ (aor. *vola*) always has the suffix. Perhaps a comprehensive study on the suffix in Greci will shed more light on the distribution.

It is striking that because of the optionality of the suffix the second and third person singular of the present indicative are different, whereas in Old Albanian these two persons are the same both in the conjugation with the suffix and the conjugation without the suffix. This shows that the merging of the

paradigm cannot have been purely on grammatical grounds. The only way to explain this differentiation is by assuming that the suffix *-ënj-* originally had some semantic value, and that this semantic value occurred more in the 3sg than it did in the 2sg.

7.11.2 Piani degli Albanesi

Reference: [Gerbino, 2009].

Sadly, this grammar lacks any kind of explanation regarding the verbal conjugation. All we have is the following paradigm, of the verb *mas*:

Present Indicative	Imperfect Indicative	Present Subjunctive
<i>mas</i>	<i>masja</i>	
<i>man</i>	<i>masje</i>	<i>masësh</i>
<i>man</i>	<i>masëj</i>	<i>masënj</i>
<i>masjëm</i>	<i>masjëm</i>	
<i>mani</i>	<i>masjët</i>	
<i>masjën</i>	<i>masjën</i>	

Here we can explain the entire conjugation from the nasal suffix, if we assume developments **matn* > *man* and **matinj* > **matij* > **matj* > *mas*. Unfortunately, this is the only verb with a consonant stem of which the conjugation has been given; it is of type II.1.a, and we do not know how the other types behave.

7.11.3 Falconara Albanese

Reference: [Camaj, 1977].

The regular conjugation of consonant stems is the following:

Present Indicative	Imperfect Indicative	Present Subjunctive
<i>-Ø/-i</i>	<i>-ja</i>	
<i>-Ø</i>	<i>-je</i>	<i>-f/-tʃ</i>
<i>-Ø</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-Ø</i>
<i>-mə/-imə</i>	<i>-imə</i>	
<i>-ni</i>	<i>-tə</i>	
<i>-in/-nə</i>	<i>-inə</i>	

In addition to this, the four verbs *tëft* ‘to sneeze’, *çeft* ‘to laugh’, *mund* ‘to be able to’, *raç* ‘to fight’¹¹ have the following present endings in some verbs:

¹¹The transcription mostly follows IPA, but *r* = [r], *ṛ* = [r̥].

-ij	-əmə
-ənə	-əni
-ənə	-ənə

Here we see the nasal suffix optionally in the 1/3pl of the present indicative, and in the 1/2sg of the imperfect. Here it is striking that the 1sg ending of these select verbs (-ij) is different from the optional 1sg ending -i. We will return to this matter in subsection 10.4. It is also interesting that in the imperfect 3sg the ending is -i, which seems to have developed from *-nj rather than *-n.

7.11.4 San Costantino

Reference: Breu [2002] and Breu [2008].

Although the morphology of the suffix is not discussed in these articles, the distribution is nevertheless very interesting. In this dialect the suffix has actual semantic importance; thus we find pairs such as *sos* ‘to finish’ versus *sosënj* ‘to be about to finish’. Breu classifies four uses of the suffix: a processual meaning, such as in *sos* versus *sosënj*; an iterative meaning, such as in *pres* ‘to cut (as a single stroke)’ versus *presinj* ‘to cut (aterminative)’; an intensifying meaning, such as in *gris* ‘to waste’ versus *grisënj* ‘to exhaust’; and denoting agency, such as in *gjejj* ‘to sense’ versus *gjejjënj* ‘to listen’.

7.12 Arvanitika

7.12.1 Salamis

Reference: Haebler [1965].

In this dialect, there are three options for consonant stems. Most consonant stems show in some forms an alternation between having and not having the suffix. However, the verbs of category B (limited to *ec*, *hip*, *ik*) always show the suffix, whereas the verbs of category K and L never show the suffix. The conjugations are as follows:

<i>fκas</i>	<i>hap</i>	<i>ikəɲ</i>
<i>fκet</i>	<i>hap</i>	<i>ikən</i>
<i>fκet</i>	<i>hap</i>	<i>ikən</i>
<i>fκasəmə</i>	<i>hapəmə/hamɲəmə</i>	<i>ikəjmə</i>
<i>fκizni</i>	<i>hamni</i>	<i>ikəni</i>
<i>fκasənə</i>	<i>hapənə/hamɲənə</i>	<i>ikəɲənə</i>
<i>fκasə</i>	<i>hapə/hamɲə</i>	<i>ikəɲə</i>
<i>fκase</i>	<i>hape/hamɲe</i>	<i>ikəɲe</i>
<i>fκit</i>	<i>hap</i>	<i>ikən</i>
<i>fκasəmə</i>	<i>hamɲəmə</i>	<i>ikəɲəmə</i>
<i>fκasətə</i>	<i>hamɲətə</i>	<i>ikəɲətə</i>
<i>fκitnə/fκinə</i>	<i>hamnə</i>	<i>ikəɲnə</i>
<i>fκasəʃ</i>	<i>hapəʃ/hamnəʃ</i>	<i>ikəʃ</i>
<i>fκasə</i>	<i>hapə/hamnə</i>	<i>ikəɲə</i>

Here we see that the form of the nasal suffix in *ik* is different from that in the regular consonant stems, as was the case for another set of verbs in Falconara Albanese. Again, the appearance of the suffix differs in different persons and tenses.

7.12.2 Northeastern Attica and Boeotia

Reference: Sasse [1991]

In this variety, we find three different sets of endings for the present and imperfect. These sets are as follows:

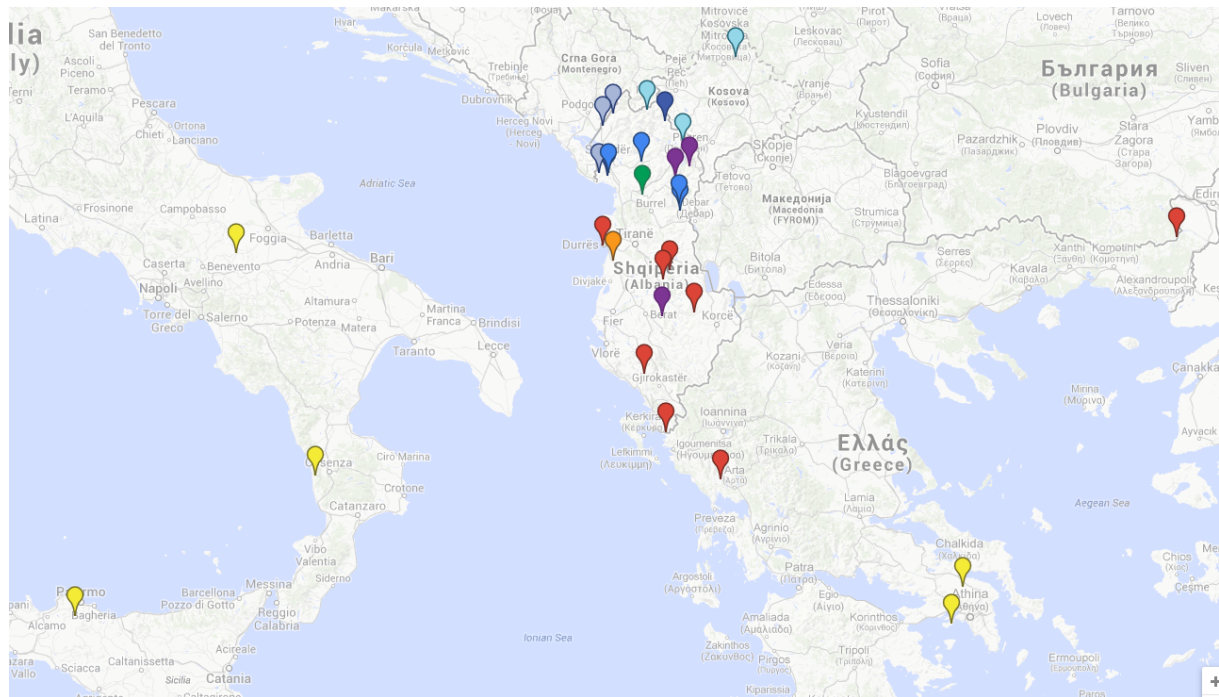
α	β	γ
-Ø	-Ø	-ən
-Ø	-Ø	-ən
-Ø	-Ø	-ən
-(ə)mə	-imə	-əjmə
-ni	-ni	-ni
-ənə	-inə	-ənənə
-ə	-ə	-ənə
-e	-e	-əne
-Ø	-Ø	-ən
-əmə	-əmə	-ənəmə
-ətə	-ətə	-ənətə
-(i)nə	-(i)nə	-əjnə
-(ə)f	-əf	-ənəf
-ə	-ə	-ənə

These different sets of endings are distributed among the different conjugations, with some conjugations having multiple possibilities:

conjugation	ending sets
A, C, E, F,, H I, J	β , γ
B	γ
D	β , (γ)
G, K, L	α

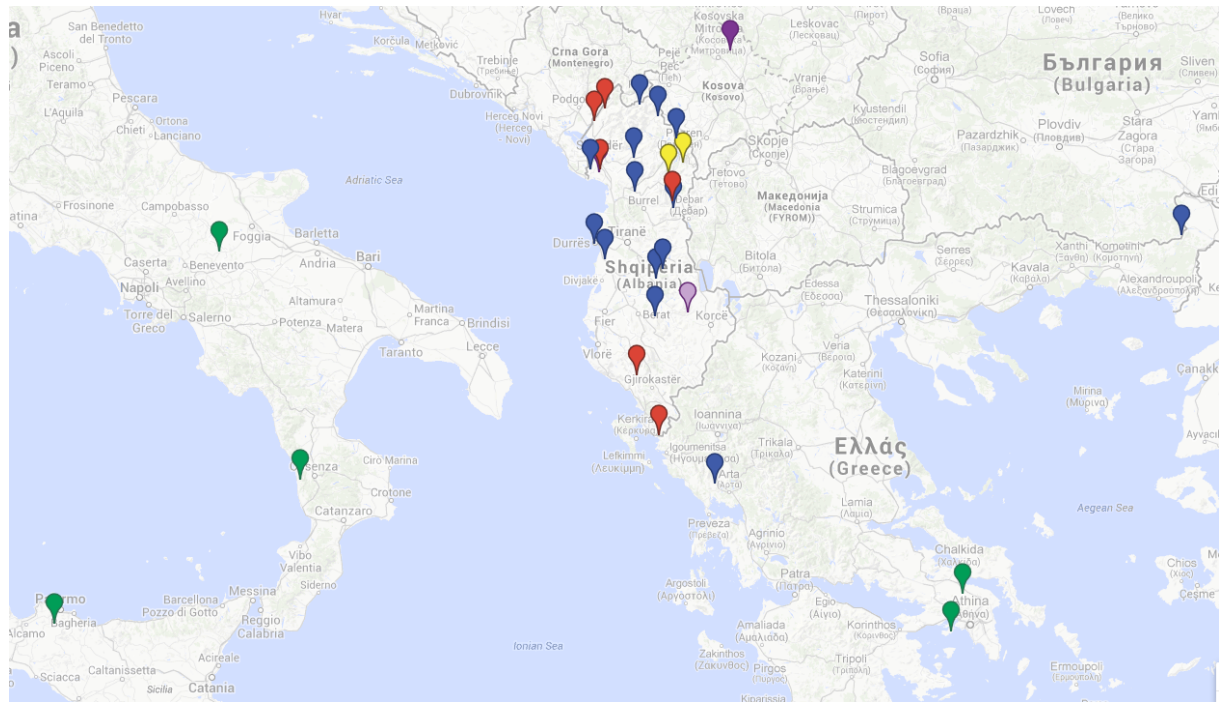
7.13 Summary

Here I will briefly summarise the results of this section for the appearance of the suffix in the 1sg and the endings *-əm*, *-ən* versus *-im*, *-in* in the plural. If there is a generational difference I only show the older stage, and if there is geographical variation I only show the value that is different from the standard language.



Only <i>ec</i> , <i>hip</i> , <i>ik</i>	Red	Durrës, Polis, Shpat, Mandrica, Strelca, Kurvellesh, Konispol, Çam
Free alternation in appearance	Yellow	Greci, Piana degli Albanesi, Falconara Albanese, Salamis, Northeast Attica-Boeotia
Phonetically determined	Purple	Arrën, Vilë-e-Kalisi, Tomorica
Non-umlauting verbs	Blue	Rranxa, Puka, Lyznia, Muhurr
Non-ablauting verbs	Blue	Breg i Bunës, Hot, Kelmend
Non-um/ablauting verbs	Blue	Shkrel, Ragam
Other conjugation-dependent distribution	Teal	Çerem & Valbona, Has, Shala
Only in <i>s/t</i> -verbs	Orange	Polis
Every verb	Green	Mirdita

Figure 1: Distribution of the suffix *-ënj* (*-i*) in the 1sg.



-im, -in	Blue	Breg i Bunës, Mirdita, Puka, Çerem & Valbona, Ragam, Has, Luznia, Kavaja, Durrës, Polis, Shpat, Mandrica, Tomorica, Çam
-ëm, -in	Purple	Shala, Shkrel
-im, -ën	Purple	Strelca
-ëm, -ën	Red	Hot, Kelmend, Muhurr, Kurvelesh i Siperim, Konispol, Rranxa
dependent on conjugation	Yellow	Vilë-e-Kalisi, Arrën
different endings	Green	Greci, Piana degli Albanesi, Falconara Albanese, Salamis, Northeast Attica-Boeotia

Figure 2: Distribution of the present plural endings -ëm, -ën versus -im, -in.

8 Historical explanation

Having gathered all the material, we can now turn to the description of the suffix **-anj-* in Proto-Albanian. We have already seen that morphologically the suffix comes from a concatenation of PIE suffixes **-n-ie/o-*. The following two questions are central to our treatment:

1. Did the suffix **-anj-* have any semantic value, or was its use purely grammatical?
2. In which verbal conjugations could the suffix appear in Proto-Albanian?

Let us first turn to the use of the suffix in the dialects. In some dialects, such as those of Hot and Kelmend, but also in the language of Buzuku, we find the suffix *-ënj-* in precisely those verbs whose present and aorist stems are the same. This suggests that in these dialects the suffix originally had the function to (be able to) distinguish between present and aorist stems. This was needed, because the aorist 3pl ending is *-në* in Buzuku, which is the same as the ending of the 3pl present. Furthermore, Orel [2000] suggests that the ending of the aorist 3sg was originally *-Ø*, so that it would be identical with the present 3sg. The suffix was then either introduced, kept or restored in precisely those verbs that otherwise would have insufficient distinction between the present and the aorist at the time before the aorist 3sg ending *-i* was introduced.

In other dialects, such as those of Puka and Luznia, the suffix appears in precisely those verbs that would otherwise have the same verb forms in the present singular indicative. In these dialects, the suffix was introduced, kept or restored in these verbs in order to be able to distinguish between these verb forms.

8.1 Proto-Albanian **-anj-* as a marker of verbal conjugations

The question is then what determined the distribution of the suffix in Proto-Albanian. One possibility is, as in the two dialect groups discussed above, that the suffix was obligatory in some verbal conjugations, and prohibited in the other. In some dialects, the suffix then spread analogically to other conjugations, or was lost in some conjugations, as described by Genesin [2005a], or became optional. It was especially productive in the imperfect, perhaps to make the imperfect more distinct from the present and the aorist.

There are, however, three problems with this approach. First, in the Arbëresh dialect of Greci, the suffix *-an* is obligatory in the third person singular of the present indicative, but optional in the second person singular. In other words, in this dialect the third person and the second person behave differently. But since the forms of the 2/3sg are identical both with and without the suffix, this would mean that the dialect of Greci somehow introduced a morphological difference between the 2sg and the 3sg out of nowhere. If the suffix, or lack of it, had spread by analogy between verbal conjugations, we would expect the same result in the 2sg and the 3sg. The same occurs in the dialect of Muhurr, where we find the ending *-i* marking not only the 1sg of the present indicative in some conjugations, but also the 3sg: here

too there is an unexplained difference between the 2sg and the 3sg.

Second, in the dialect of Salamis, where the suffix is optional in most verbal conjugations, the suffix is obligatory in *ec*, *hip* and *ik*. In these verbs, the conjugation is different from the usual conjugation of suffixes, as can be seen from the table below. For reference I also include the conjugation of verbs in *-onj*:

optional	obligatory	<i>-onj</i>
-Ø	-ən	-on
-Ø	-ən	-on
-Ø	-ən	-on
-əmə/-nəmə	-əjmə	-ojmə
-ni	-əni	-oni
-əmə/-nəmə	-ənəmə	-onəmə

It is clear that the endings of *eci*, *hipi* and *iki* were reformed after those of verbs in conjugation I, i.e. the verbs ending in *-Vj*; the only difference is that the initial syllable of these endings is unstressed, but apparently that was not enough reason not to reform these endings analogically.

One may suspect that such an analogy might also explain the 1sg ending *-nj* instead of *-inj* of *ecnj* and *hipnj* in Buzuku: these may be reformed after the verbs in *-onj*, but then regarding, for example, *punonj* as *puno-nj*, and then transporting this ending *-nj* to *eci*, *hipi* and possibly *iki*. However, it is difficult to prove such a thing, since this analogy then only would have happened in the 1sg, and the evidence in the 1sg is scarce as well.

However, we still have to explain why this analogy only took place in these three verbs. Since these are also precisely the verbs that have the suffix in many other dialects, it makes it improbable that it is mere chance that caused the analogy only to happen in these verbs in all these dialects. In some way or another, these verbs must have been different from other verbs showing the suffix *-ənj-* in Proto-Albanian times already.

The question is, then what this difference was. If the suffix indeed would have been either obligatory or prohibited in Proto-Albanian depending on the verbal conjugation, then there would be no difference between conjugations A and B in Proto-Albanian. Therefore, since the suffix is obligatory in Salamis in conjugation B, we would also expect it to be so in conjugation A; however, since these conjugations are treated differently in a large group of dialects that is neither geographically or genetically connected, we must conclude that the occurrence of the suffix is not simply determined by verbal conjugation.

The third problem is the fact that the suffix has actual semantic importance in the dialect of San

Costantino Albanese. Generally, we find grammaticalisation rather than degrammaticalisation in languages, so we would expect the semantic function to be older than any morphological function *a priori*. Of course, it is entirely possible that the semantic function is secondary, but then one would have to find a reason for its development. The other way around is easier: if the suffix originally had a semantic value, we can simply assume that it is lost in most dialects, which caused a free alternation between appearance and non-appearance of the suffix, which then opened up the possibility of other uses for the suffix.

Of course, a development the other way around could be envisaged as well. In the past tense the difference between aorist and imperfect was the difference between perfectivity and imperfectivity. Since the endings of the aorist and imperfect were identical in Proto-Albanian, the only morphological difference would be the present suffix in the imperfect. In the past tense, then, Indo-European present suffixes had an imperfective meaning, and it is possible that this meaning was transferred to the suffix in its entirety.

This still does not explain, however, why there seems to be a Proto-Albanian difference between conjugations A and B; we have to conclude that in Proto-Albanian the use of the suffix was not just determined by the lack of ablaut or umlaut, as we find in many Northern Geg dialects.

8.2 Proto-Albanian **-anj-* as a semantic derivation

We see that there must be some factor, different from the verbal conjugation, determining the appearance of the suffix. From the dialectal data, it seems reasonable to suppose that there were some conjugations in which the suffix could occasionally appear, and some in which it could never appear. Also, in the three verbs *eci*, *hipi* and *iki* the suffix was obligatory. The best way to account for this is by assuming the suffix originally had some semantic value, so that it would appear depending on the meaning of the sentence.

The question then arises what the semantic value of the suffix could have been. Unfortunately, this semantic value has been lost in most of attested Albanian. In order to determine the meaning, we only have the following information at our disposal:

- The fact that the suffix is obligatory in the verbs *eci* ‘to move, to proceed’, *hipi* ‘to rise, to climb’ and *iki* ‘to leave’, points to the fact that these words, by virtue of their own meaning, always had the semantic value of the suffix, which is why the suffix always appeared in those verbs.
- The suffix still has a set of semantic values in the dialect of San Costantino Albanese, and we must be able to explain those meanings from any reconstructed semantic value of the suffix.
- In many dialects, the suffix was generalised in the imperfect. This suggests that the semantic value of the imperfect and the semantic value of the suffix were closely connected, although it might be the case that the suffix was generalised to the imperfect in order to keep the distinction between aorist and imperfect.

- In the dialects of Muhurr and Greci the suffix is more prevalent in the 3sg of the present indicative than in the 2sg, suggesting that the meaning of the suffix occurred more often in the 3sg. In many dialects (such as Çerem and Valbona) the suffix occurs in the 3sg of the subjunctive, but not the 2sg. However, it is difficult to extract any semantic information out of this.
- The suffix does not occur in verbs of the type *-s/-t*, if we assume that the situation in Polis was somehow created secondary. However, the verbs in *-s/-t* do not form a coherent semantic group, so this probably will not help us either.
- The semantic value of the suffix might be inherited from Proto-Indo-European, and it might be possible to reconstruct that on the basis of other Indo-European languages.

I will address the last point in the next section, where I will discuss the PIE origins of the suffix; let us first look at the common semantic factor of *eci*, *hipi* and *iki*. All three verbs are verbs of motion, but it seems unlikely that the meaning of the suffix *-ënj* has anything to do with movement; if it would have, it would be hard to imagine what the original meaning of a derivation *hapënj* to *hap* ‘to open’ could possibly mean. Since the suffix could be applied to a wide range of verbs, it is very likely that the meaning of the suffix must have been more of an abstract nature. Another aspect that is mutual to the semantics of *eci*, *hipi* and *iki* is that they are all inherently inchoative. This suggests that perhaps the suffix could originally have had an inchoative meaning.

On the other hand, we also need to take San Costantino Albanese into account. As mentioned before, the suffix could have a processual, iterative, intensive and ‘agentivising’ meaning. The agentivity meaning is only in two verbs, namely in *qjegj* ‘to sense’ versus *qjegjënj* ‘to listen’ and *shurdhes* ‘to become deaf, to lose hearing’ versus *shurdhenj* ‘to deafen’, but in these cases the suffix could as well be taken to have an imperfective meaning. In fact, an intensive meaning can have developed out of an iterative meaning, and the iterative and processual meanings can both be derived from an earlier imperfective meaning: an imperfective by definition describes a process rather than an event or a state, and an imperfective of a verbal action that is inherently an event will be iterative. Thus, we may reconstruct an imperfective meaning of the suffix for ‘Proto-San Costantino Albanese’.

If we wish to attribute the fact that the suffix was often generalised in the imperfect to the semantic value of the suffix, then this also points to an originally imperfective meaning of the suffix. The question is now whether the inchoative or imperfective meaning was original. One way to approach this question is to look for Indo-European cognates and see if we can find either of the two meanings there, so that we may reconstruct either the inchoative or imperfective for Proto-Indo-European, and then assume this has stayed the same in Proto-Albanian. Such an approach will be taken in the next section. Another way is to determine whether a development from an inchoative to an imperfective meaning is more likely, or the other way around.

For this we can cite Kurzová [1996], who discusses the development of the future tense in Central European languages. The sentence ‘I will write’ is in German *ich werde schreiben*, in Hungarian *írni fogok/fogom*, in Czech *budu psáti* and Slovak *budem písať*. All these auxiliaries were originally inchoative: German *werden* originally meant ‘to become’, Hungarian *fogni* mean ‘to seize, to grasp’, and the Slavic words go back to PIE **b^heu-* ‘to be, to become’. According to Kurzová, the inchoative and perfective aspects are mutually exclusive; in this view the inchoative aspect would be a specialisation of the imperfective aspect. Their future meaning in these Central European languages then came into being as the semantics of the inchoative value was lost: thus there was a change of meaning from ‘I’ll start to write’ to ‘I’ll be writing’.

We also find the inchoative as a specialisation of the imperfective in New Testament Greek, where one of the uses of the imperfect tense is to denote inchoativity [Wallace, 1996]:

Τότε ἀφίησιν αὐτὸν ὁ διάβολος, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελοι προσῆλθον καὶ **διηκόνουν** αὐτῷ.

‘Then the devil left him, and angels came and **began ministering** to his needs.’ [NET Bible]

So we know that the inchoative can be seen as a specialisation of the imperfective, or, put differently, that the imperfective is a generalisation of the inchoative. Since generally in languages we find generalisation, or semantic bleaching, more often than specialisation, the best way to explain the Albanian data is to assume that the inchoative aspect of the suffix is original, as in the future tenses of Central European. Again the other way around is not impossible.

In Albanian the suffix only appears in verbs in the consonant conjugation; we do not find, for instance, an alternation between *shkoj* ‘to go’ and **shko*. It is generally accepted that the origin of this *-j* is the same Proto-Indo-European concatenation **-n-ie/o-*. In this case, however, the semantic value must have been lost in Proto-Albanian times already, as we do not find evidence for any alternation in any dialect. It is unclear what precisely caused this. We know that in Roman times the Proto-Albanian sequence **-ānj-*, the precursor to *-oj*, must have been a separate present suffix, since all Latin loanwords show this suffix indiscriminate of meaning. Since this Proto-Albanian suffix most likely comes from a PIE concatenation **eh₂-n-ie/o-* [Lopuhaä, 2012], and hence contained the inchoative suffix, one may suppose that in Proto-Albanian there existed a present suffix **-ānj-* that may still have had an inchoative meaning. However, as the Latin words were incorporated into this class due to their first person singular in *-ō*, the suffix lost its semantic value. The grammaticality of the suffix then spread to other verbs in which the inchoative suffix was added to a vowel.

9 Indo-European origins

9.1 Inchoative nasal presents in dialectal PIE

As we have seen before, the concatenation **n-ie/o-* is an Albanian innovation, and as such its semantic value cannot come directly from its PIE semantic value; however, it is possible that the semantics of the suffix **n-ie/o-* can be traced back to either of its constituents. The semantics of the nasal suffix are discussed in Gorbachov [2007]. There are two different semantical uses of the nasal present. The first one, known from Vedic, Hittite, and Latin, are mostly transitive and terminative, such as Hittite *ḫunikzi* ‘to damage’, or Vedic *unátti* ‘to make wet’ from the root *ud-* ‘water’. These nasal presents are often thematic. On the other hand, in Germanic and Balto-Slavic, the suffix is used for intransitive, inchoative constructions, such as Goth *galuknan* ‘become shut’. These constructions are mostly thematic.

We can now also explain why the suffix *-ěj-* rarely occurs with verbs with the *-s/t*; these verbs reflect a Proto-Albanian conjugation 1sg **t-ja-m*, 2sg **t-i-s*, 3sg **t-i-t* from the PIE present suffix *-ie/o-*. In Proto-Indo-European times, verbs could only have one present suffix, so these verbs did not have nasal presents. This property of these verbs was kept in Proto-Albanian, where these verbs could not take the suffix *-anj-*, the Proto-Albanian descendent of the inchoative nasal suffix; hence we do not find the suffix *-ěj-* in these verbs in the attested dialects of Albanian. In this respect, the situation in San Costantino Albanese is interesting: in some words we find alternation between a suffix *-s/-t* and *-nj*, as in *kěput* ‘to break’ versus *kěpunj* ‘to interrupt’. Here the nasal suffix replaces the *-s/-t* suffix when an inchoative is needed. It is not clear whether this resembles any old situation or if it is an innovation of the dialect of San Costantino Albanese.

If Proto-Albanian verbs could have at most one present suffix we would also not expect the suffix **anj* in other Albanian verbal classes continuing the PIE suffix *-ie/o-*. These are the classes displaying umlaut in the present singular, or conjugations D and I in the system given at the beginning of section 7. Indeed we find a lack of this suffix in many of the Albanian dialects.

Another option is that the concatenation **n-ie/o-* continues the semantic value of the PIE suffix **-ie/o-*. The semantics of this suffix are discussed by Kortlandt [2010], who considers it a thematisation of *-(e)i-* presents that took place after the separation of Hittite. The meaning would have been imperfective, which neatly ties in with the meaning in Proto-Albanian.

The origin of the inchoative nasal suffix class is discussed by Villanueva Svensson [2011]. According to him the nasal class, which could be used to form intransitives already in PIE, took over the inchoative function from the PIE **-ie/o-* presents in Balto-Slavic and Germanic. Thus we find Lithuanian *pabùsti*, *pabuñda*, *pabùdo* ‘to wake up’ and OCS *vъz-bъ(d)nъti* ‘to wake up’ < PBSl **bunde/o-* corresponding to Skt. *budhyáte* ‘to wake up’, both of which are derived from a root **b^heud^h-* ‘to be awake’ (Lith. *budėti*). We can then also take this explanation for Albanian, only here the nasal suffix did not fully replace the

*-ie/o- suffix, but merged with it instead.

It is interesting that Albanian shares this common innovation with Balto-Slavic and Germanic. Albanian is usually grouped with languages as Phrygian, Greek and Armenian into ‘Balkan Indo-European’, although such a grouping is supported by much less evidence and shared sound laws than Balto-Slavic, Indo-Iranian or Italo-Celtic. Perhaps a more fruitful way to consider the subgroupings of Indo-European subfamilies is as part of an Indo-European dialect continuum, where innovations could spread between language varieties that were still to some extent mutually intelligible. In this case, the inchoative nasal suffix innovation would have reached Albania¹², but it did not reach the Proto-Greeks or Proto-Armenians.¹³

What we now still need to explain, however, is the fact that the suffix only occurred in the verbs *eci*, *hipi* and *iki*. Although these verbs are inherently inchoative, they are certainly not the only inchoative verbs in Albanian in the consonant conjugation. We would like to have an explanation that shows why precisely these verbs have the suffix. I will give an explanation for this in subsection 9.4, but first I will give a parallel development in the Chadic languages.

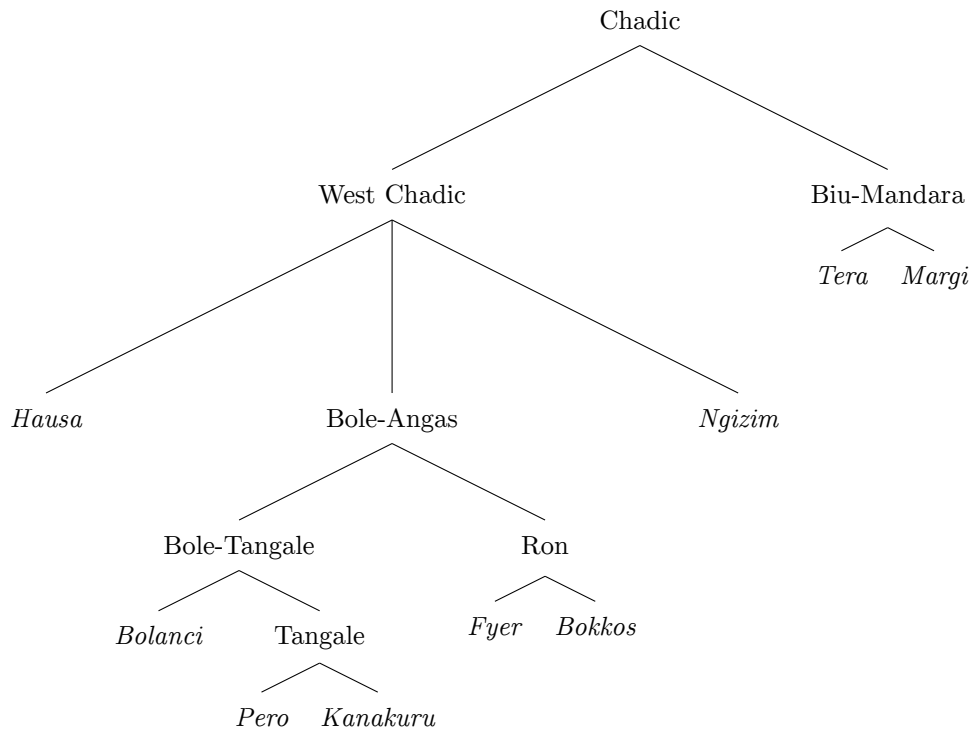
9.2 ICPs in Chadic

In the Chadic languages of Niger and Nigeria, there is a construction in which a pronoun of the same gender, number and person of the subject of a verb is suffixed to that verb. These pronouns were coined intransitive copy pronouns or ICPs by Newman [1971], because of their use in Kanakuru, where they can only appear in an ‘intransitive sentence’ in the terminology of Newman, i.e. sentences whose finite verb is a verb of motion, and sentences with an intransitive finite verb whose subject is the semantic objective, e.g. ‘the chair breaks’.

Frajzyngier [1977] investigated this construction in a number of Chadic languages in an attempt to reconstruct the Proto-Chadic situation. He considered the following languages, that I have placed in a genetic tree that is a severe simplification of Newman [1977]; the considered languages are in italics.

¹²Or wherever the Proto-Albanians resided at the appropriate point in time.

¹³As in many cases, the situation in Illyrian, Thracian and Messapic is completely unknown to us.



Overall we find the following uses of the ICP construction in the different Chadic languages. In all Chadic languages the suffixed verb always is intransitive, either because the base verb is, or because the suffix changes a transitive verb into an intransitive one.

Hausa In this language the ICP construction has no semantic value and is limited to the three verbs *je* ‘to go’, *zo* ‘to come’ and *ya* ‘to come’.

Pero In this language the ICP construction was initially described by Frajzyngier [1977] as being inchoative, but later in [Frajzyngier, 1989] he considers this inchoative meaning as being a specific instance of a more general meaning of punctuality.

Kanakuru Here the ICP construction is obligatory in intransitive sentences as defined above in certain moods and tenses, such as the perfect and the imperative.

Bolanci In this language the ICP construction turns a transitive verb into an intransitive.

Fyer Here the suffix exists as a means to make an intransitive verb inchoative.

Bokkos In Bokkos the ICP construction ‘destativises’ a verb, so one has *tîfôt* ‘I am lost’ as opposed to *tîfôtun* ‘I hid myself’.

Ngizim In Ngizim the ICP construction denotes totality in some intransitive verbs, including all verbs of motion. However, Frajzyngier supposes that the fact that the ICP construction is used in verbs such as ‘to stand’, ‘to sit’ and ‘to lie down’ shows that the meaning was originally inchoative, and that its meaning was changed, so that it could also spread to stative verbs.

Tera In Tera some intransitive verbs may take the ICP construction. Frajzyngier takes his data from Newman [1970], who himself could not discover any semantic value of the construction. Frajzyngier,

however, draws from the data in the grammar the conclusion that the construction has an inchoative meaning, but admits that more research is needed to adequately prove this.

Margi In Margi, the ICP construction only appears in a select number of verbs. These include all verbs of motion, as well as the verbs ‘to lie’ and ‘to sit’, from which Frajzyngier concludes the original meaning must have been inchoative.

On the basis of this Frajzyngier reconstructs two uses for the ICP construction in Proto-Chadic: an intransitivising function, and an inchoative function. In modern Hausa the meaning has disappeared, and it only occurs in three verbs, which are all verbs of motion. Likewise, in Ngizim, the meaning has changed from denoting inchoativity to denoting totality, but it still mainly appears in verbs of motion.

The parallel to the standard Albanian situation is now that a suffix that is originally inchoative was retained only in verbs of motion. In theory, the ICP construction could also signify intransitivity, but since verbs of motion are always intransitive, this cannot be the case here, and the meaning must have originally been inchoative. This provides evidence that the development I have proposed for Albanian is actually possible.

9.3 Causative/inchoative pairs

This by itself is certainly a nice result, but it does not yet explain *why* an inchoative suffix is preserved precisely in these three verbs of motion. The clue to this, however, may be found in Kanakuru. In this language motion verbs can be part of a so-called causative/inchoative pair: a set of two identical or related verbal constructions of which one is transitive and the other is intransitive, and the intransitive one has the objective of the action as its subject. An example from English would be the verb *to break*, which can appear both transitive (*John breaks the glass*) and intransitive (*the glass breaks*).¹⁴

In Kanakuru the intransitive part of such a pair takes the ICP construction. Interestingly, motion verbs can be the intransitive part of such a pair, as does the English verb *to move*. Newman [1974] cites the following examples:

<i>nà por panda</i>	‘I took out the mat’
<i>nà poro-no</i>	‘I went out’
<i>à yili</i>	‘she raised it’
<i>à yilo-to</i>	‘she got up’

This raises the question whether the verbs of motion showing the ICP construction in Hausa were originally transitive verbs as well. Two of these words are found in [Orel and Stolbova, 1995]: *zo* ‘to come’ is reconstructed as Proto-West-Chadic **ʒa*’, and its meanings in Chadic are ‘to come’, ‘to enter’, ‘to walk’ or ‘to go’. Similarly *ya* ‘to come’ is reconstructed as Proto-West-Chadic **ya*’, with meanings ‘to come’,

¹⁴In many instances a better term for the intransitive counterpart would be *anticausative*, since the action depicted by the verb affects the syntactical subject without overtly showing the cause of the event.

‘to go’ and ‘to run’.¹⁵ We see that these words originally must have been verbs of motion. One way to explain this situation is to assume that the construction spread to these words from other verbs of motion, which were derived from transitive verbs, and that these original verbs are now lost. Unfortunately, we have no evidence of this, but it would still be the best way to explain the suffix in these verbs in Hausa.

In Japanese we find the same phenomenon. Tsujimura [2002] has compiled the following list of causative/inchoative pairs in Japanese of etymologically related verbs:

Causative	Inchoative	Gloss (causative)
<i>ireru</i>	<i>hairu</i>	‘put in’
<i>dasu</i>	<i>deru</i>	‘take out’
<i>ageru</i>	<i>agaru</i>	‘raise’
<i>sageru</i>	<i>sagaru</i>	‘lower’
<i>noseru</i>	<i>noru</i>	‘put up’
<i>orosu</i>	<i>oriru</i>	‘take down’
<i>sizumeru</i>	<i>sizumu</i>	‘sink’
<i>tikazukeru</i>	<i>tikazuku</i>	‘make something closer’
<i>toozakeru</i>	<i>toozakaru</i>	‘keep something away’
<i>toosu</i>	<i>tooru</i>	‘pass’

Furthermore, she notes that the inchoative counterpart of these verbs are directed verbs of motion. Thus, we have a contrast between the sentences

Taroo-ga uma-o saku-no naka-ni ireta
‘Taro put the horse inside the fence’

and

Uma-ga saku-no naka-ni haitta
‘The horse entered the fence’

The same pattern we find in Jaminjung, a language of the Mirndi family spoken in the Northern Territory of Australia. Here too some directed verbs of motion are the inchoative counterpart of a transitive verb. Thus we find the following two examples from Schultze-Berndt [2012]:

Burduj ga-jga-ny langiny-bina jayiny ngarrgina.
go.up 3SG.S-go-PST tree-ALL MoMo/DaCh 1SG:POSS
‘My grandchild climbed up a tree.’

¹⁵Cognates outside of Chadic are also given, but they are not relevant to this discussion.

(*Jalig-di*) *burduj* *gan-arra-m* *thanthu* *C*.
 child-ERG go.up 3SG.A>3SG.P-put-PRS DEM proper name
 ‘(The child) is lifting that C up [into the car].’

We can see that there are languages in which some verbs of motion are inchoative counterparts of certain transitive verbs. In Kanakuru, we can even clearly see that the inchoative forms are derived from the causative forms. This is not a universal principle: Haspelmath [1993] notes that in Khalka Mongolian the verb *xajluulax* ‘to melt (tr.)’ is derived from *xajlax* ‘to melt (intr.)’, and in English it can often happen without any changes in morphology, making it hard to determine whether *to melt* is ‘underlyingly’ transitive or intransitive, if such a question even has an answer.

9.4 Etymology of *eci*, *hipi*, *iki*

This subsection will be dedicated to the question why the suffix is found only in the verbs *eci*, *hipi* and *iki* in the standard language. Based upon what we have seen of causative-inchoative pairs, we may posit the following two scenarios:

1. The verbs *ec-*, *hip-* and *ik-* were originally inchoative verbs of motion. Because of their semantics they always occurred with the suffix **-anj-* already in Proto-Albanian, and as such it was retained in these three verbs as the suffix lost its semantic value.
2. The verbs *ec-*, *hip-* and *ik-* were originally transitive verbs whose inchoative counterparts were formed by the suffix **-anj-*; these counterparts were verbs of movement. As the semantic value of the suffix was lost, the connection between the verbs **ec* ‘to bring’ (for example) and *eci* ‘to go’ was obscured, and the first of the two was lost.

In the following we will discuss these possibilities one at a time.

9.4.1 The roots *ec-*, *hip-*, *ik-* as intransitive verbs of motion

Since both of these explanations rely on the etymologies of these three verbs, it is wisest to look at this first. All etymologies that have been proposed thusfar implicitly rely on the first scenario. For *eci* Orel [1998] reconstructs **aitatja-* from PIE **h₁ei-* ‘to go’. This reconstruction, however, requires the assumption that the PIE root acquired the three Proto-Albanian present suffixes **-ta-*, **-atja-* and **-anj-*; this seems highly improbable. For *hipi*, which has a dialectal form *hypi*, he reconstructs PIE **skup-*, connected to Lithuanian *kùpti* ‘to rise’ and Latvian *kupt* ‘to gather’, but this does not explain the *y* in Albanian, which must come from an original **ū*. We also have no other evidence for an *s*-mobile in this root. He also considers *iki* to continue **h₁ei-*, and compares the construction to Lithuanian *eik(i)* ‘go away!’. However, here the problem is that the Lithuanian imperative in *-k-* has no certain parallels in Indo-European (and nowhere in Albanian we find a comparable construction), and where the semantics ‘to go away’ come from.

For *iki* it is possible to give another etymology. In Hittite there is a verb $\bar{a}k^i-$ /*akk-* ‘to die’, that might also be reflected in Lydian *akra-* ‘of the dead’. Kloekhorst [2008] connects this word to Sanskrit *aka-* ‘suffering, evil’, although he is not certain about the connection. Indeed Mayrhofer [1986] prefers to connect the Sanskrit word to the verbal root $añc-$ ‘to bend’ < $*h_2enk-$. One would then have to assume that the meaning of *aka-* < $*h_2nko-$ developed from ‘bent’ to ‘evil’, and that the meaning ‘suffering’ is secondary. Part of this development can also be seen in English words such as *twisted* and *crooked*.

If this is true, however, it seems impossible to connect $\bar{a}k^i-$ /*akk-* to the root $*h_2enk-$ ‘to bend’, either semantically or phonologically (as intervocalic nasals are retained in Hittite, cf. Kloekhorst [2008]). Instead, the Hittite verb points to a PIE reconstruction $*h_{1/3}ek-$. This root can also develop into Albanian *ik-*, if we assume that this goes back to an original reduplicated present $*Hi-Hk-$.¹⁶ The Albanian semantics ‘to go out, to leave’ must then be original, and the Hittite meaning ‘to pass away’ must then have arisen as a euphemism. This in itself is not a strange development; one may compare it to the PIE root $*mer-$, which means ‘to disappear’ in Anatolian and ‘to die’ in the other Indo-European languages; in this instance Anatolian has the original meaning [Kloekhorst, 2008].

We can now list the advantages and disadvantages of the first explanation. The advantages are that it can explain why the suffix appears in these three verbs, and it gives a good etymology for *iki*. The disadvantages are that there are no good etymologies for *eci* and *hipi*, and that this explanation does not explain why the suffix only appears in these three verbs, rather than in all inchoative verbs.

It is tempting to consider the analogy to the situation in Hausa, where a formerly inchoative construction now also is only found in three verbs of motion, that were also ‘simply’ intransitive verbs of motion in Proto-Chadic; this would then imply the same for the verbs *eci*, *hipi* and *iki* in Albanian. However, the situation is not completely parallel, since the reason why the construction is now only found in these verbs in Hausa might have to do with the fact that in an earlier stage of the language the suffix could be used to create verbs of motion from transitive verbs. Under the assumption of explanation 1 the same does not hold for Albanian, so the situation in Hausa offers no explanation as to why the nasal suffix is only found in the three verbs of motion in Albanian.

9.4.2 The roots *ec-*, *hip-*, *ik-* as transitive verbs

Let us try to find an etymology for *ec* under the assumption of the second explanation. The question is to what a modern Albanian *c* can go back. Orel [2000] gives five possible sources:

- In Slavic loanwords, such as *carbë* ‘scrap’ ← $*čarъba$;
- A (late) contraction of $*t$ and $*s$, as in *cili* ‘which’ < $*tēsilē$;
- An alternative outcome of the usual sound law PIE $*k̑ > th$, as in *acar* ‘steel’ < $*h_2k̑ro-$;

¹⁶Hittite points to $*h_1$ or $*h_3$. In Albanian, $*h_3-$ usually develops into *h-*, but there are some exceptions; we therefore cannot be certain about the laryngeal of the reconstruction, although $*h_1-$ seems to be the most likely since this is always lost word-initially in Albanian.

- An alternative outcome of the palatalisation of PIE $*k^w$ (which regularly develops into s), as in *citë* ‘full’ < $*k^w(e)iHto-$;
- An alternative outcome of the development of PIE $*tjV > s$, as in *mjalčë* ‘bee’ < $*melit-ieh_2$.

Unfortunately, it is unknown what causes the alternative development in the last three possibilities; this is one of the areas of the historical phonology of Albanian that is still very much an open question. For an alternative view, Demiraj [1997] does not accept the latter three developments. For now, we have to make to with considering it a possibility.

One may now wonder what the outcome of PIE $*ts$ would be in Albanian. Unfortunately no good examples of this exist. Based on the known developments $*ps > f$ and $*ks > h$ one might suspect an outcome s , sh or th . We can, however, reconstruct the word *drithë* ‘grain’ as PIE $*ǵʰrsd-$ (Latin *hordeum* ‘barley’, Dutch *gerst* ‘id.’). We have to assume a devoicing of the cluster $*sd$ here. However, PIE $*st$ developed into *sht* in Albanian, as can be seen from *shteg* ‘path, road’ < $*stoigh^ho-$ (Greek $\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\omicron\varsigma$ ‘row, line’, Gothic *staiga* ‘way’, Latvian *staīga* ‘walking’); hence we must suppose a metathesis $*st > *ts$, and we see that indeed at some point the cluster $*ts$ developed into *th*. However, this does mean that at a certain point $*k$ and $*ts$ fell together. Since c is a possible outcome of $*k$, the most straightforward solution is to suppose that $*k$ simply developed into $*ts$ before this cluster further could develop into *th*. But a consequence of this is that c might also be a possible outcome of $*ts$, if one is willing to accept it as a possible outcome of $*k$.

For *ec* it is now possible to give such a reconstruction. Rix [2002] cites a PIE root $*h_3eit-$ ‘to take along’, which is reflected in Old Latin *oit* ‘take (along)!’, which later developed into Latin *ūtor* ‘to use’, and Greek $\omicron\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, the suppletive future of $\varphi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$ ‘to bring’. The same stem $*h_3eit-s-$ that underlies the Greek form would regularly yield *ec-* or *eth-* in Albanian. In my opinion this reconstruction is preferable to that of Orel, and it also renders it conceivable that *eci* is originally the inchoative counterpart of a resultative root $*ec-$ ‘to take along’.

Of course, one may object that PIE $*ts$ would yield *th* rather than $*ts$ in Albanian; this is indeed at the very least the expected outcome. An alternative solution would then be to reconstruct PALb. $*aitatja$ like Orel, but then as a root $*ait-$ < $*h_3eit-$ together with a present suffix *-atja-*. This reconstruction is in my opinion still preferable to Orel’s reconstruction, since we only need two present suffixes rather than three. Furthermore, the second present suffix $*-anj-$ has the function of creating an inchoative rather than denoting the present, so this explains why the verb *eci* has two apparent present suffixes.

For *hipi* we can also find an etymology from a transitive verb. In Hittite, we find a verb *happzi* ‘to join, to attach’ that is related to Latin *aptus* ‘connected, fitting’. Based on this we may reconstruct a PIE verb $*h_2ep-$ ‘to attach’. A reduplicated present $*h_2i-h_2p-$ would yield $*(h)ip-$ in Albanian; thus we have a phonologically perfect reconstruction for *hip-* as a transitive verb. The problem is that upward motion is not reflected in the original semantics. This is not necessarily a problem: one may compare it to the

intransitive example of **steigh-* ‘to stride’ (cf Gr. *στειχω* ‘to march’, OIr. *tiagu* ‘to stride, to go’), which has come to mean ‘to ascend’ in Germanic [Kroonen, 2012].

We can connect *iki* to the PIE verbal root **(H)ieh₁-* ‘to throw, to send (away)’ (Greek *ῥημι*, Latin *iēcī* ‘to throw (perf.)’). The Latin perfect and the Greek perfect *ῥηχα* show that the verb must have had a PIE perfect in **-k-*; the Latin present *iaciō* was created on the basis of this perfect, either as the regular output of **Hih₁k-* or as the result of an analogy from the perfect *iēcī* [De Vaan, 2008]. If we assume the same present formation in Albanian we would expect a Proto-Albanian verb **ik-* ‘to throw, to send away’ < **Hih₁k-*; the verb *iki* can then be seen as the inchoative counterpart of this verb.

If one accepts this explanation and these etymologies, it becomes clear why the suffix occurs in precisely these three verbs. Causative/inchoative pairs are usually formed in Albanian by using the middle voice:

<i>unë e prish qelqin</i>	versus	<i>qelqi prishet</i>
‘I break the glass’		‘The glass breaks’

However, as is shown by Lushaj [2011], the Albanian middle voice can only be used when a human agent is implicit in the action. If we assume that this was also the case in the stage of Albanian where **ec* was still around as a transitive verb¹⁷, then a middle form **ecet* could only mean ‘is being brought along’. As such, to create an inchoative counterpart as in Kanakuru or Japanese, another suffix was needed; therefore the suffix **-ënj-*, which at that stage was already available in the language as an inchoative suffix. Using this suffix, a verb *eci* ‘to go’ was created; the same must have happened for *iki* and *hipi*. Later the inchoative meaning of the suffix was lost, and at the same time the underived verbs **ec*, **hip*, **ik* were lost, leaving the language only with three new motion verbs.

This second explanation, then, can perfectly explain why the suffix was retained in precisely these three verbs, and there are two decent etymologies to support it, although they are not without certain ad hoc assumptions. The explanation does assume a grammatical process that is unknown in Indo-European, although it is certainly not without typological parallels, and for which the evidence is only very indirect.

9.4.3 Conclusion

We are then left with two explanations, both of which are not without problems: we are either left with no reason why the suffix is found only found in these three verbs in Albanian, or we have to assume a causative/inchoative alternation creating verbs of movement in Proto-Albanian, for which we have no evidence other than these three verbs. On the etymological side of the problem, I have found some etymologies which certainly can be considered plausible, but the fact remains that we are dealing with the reconstruction of verbal roots consisting of only a few phonemes in a language that is known to

¹⁷For clarity I place all the Albanian words in this paragraph in the present with regards to their phonological form. This does not imply any conceptions of mine regarding the time at which this process took place.

have undergone large amounts of analogical restructuring and of which the historical phonology is not completely clear. This makes it very possible that the etymologies I have found over the course of this section might be due to chance. To illustrate, the verb *ik-* might go back to **hik-* (which is attested dialectally); hence the initial segment might go back to any PIE laryngeal, to **sk^(w)-*, **k^(w)s-*, or to **k^(w)-* if one allows for *s*-mobile. The vowel *i* might reflect PIE **i(H)*, a root diphthong *ei*, or it might be the vowel of a reduplication; alternatively, it can reflect PIE **uH* that developed into Proto-Albanian **y*, which was subsequently delabialised. The final *k* might go back to **k^(w)*, but it might be a perfect suffix and it may not even be part of the stem. This should make clear that the number of possible PIE roots that could yield *ik-* in some tense or ablaut grade is enormous, and one should be wary of putting too much value in the found etymologies.

10 Developments from Proto-Albanian to the dialects

In this section I discuss the developments of the Proto-Albanian suffix *-anj-*, in term of form and function, in the different dialects. As discussed before, in Proto-Albanian this suffix probably had an imperfective meaning. This suffix could appear in verbs that did not have the present suffix *-ja/-i-*. Furthermore, the Proto-Albanian counterparts of the verbs *ec*, *hip* and *ik* had the suffix obligatorily.

A development that took place in most dialects, although not at the same time, is that the semantic value of the suffix was lost. This caused the suffixed forms to be in free variation with the non-suffixed forms in those categories where its appearance first was semantically determined. Then the different dialects got rid of this variety in various ways.

10.1 Imperfect

As is noted by Orel [2000], the imperfect and the aorist originally had the same endings. Thus, in the verbs in which the present stem is identical to the aorist stem, the imperfect and aorist are indistinguishable. This is more or less the situation in the Arvanitika of Northeastern Attica-Boeotia, although here we find the innovative aorist endings 1sg *-a*, 3sg *-i*, and the fact that the imperfect shows a vowel *-ə/i-*; here one might think that the vowelless endings are analogous after the verbs in *-Vj*. The reason for this analogy was to create a differentiation between the aorist and the unsuffixed endings of the imperfect. In other dialects, this ambiguity was resolved by creating imperfect suffixes. In some dialects, this was done by the suffix *-sh-* (analogous from the imperfect of the verb *jam* ‘to be’?) or *-k-* (from *kam* ‘to have’?), whereas in other dialects the imperfective suffix *-ënj-* was taken to be characteristic for the imperfect. From our standpoint, there are two factors that initiated the generalisation of the suffix *-ënj-* to the entire imperfect: the fact that its imperfective meaning naturally occurs very often in the imperfect tense, and the fact that the imperfect and the aorist needed to be distinguished, as they were in the verbs in *-Vj*. On the other hand, this also shows that the fact that the suffix *-ënj-* is obligatory in the imperfect in many dialects, including the standard language, does not necessarily have to tell us much about the semantics of the suffix *-ënj-*; as there was a morphological reason to keep the suffix in the imperfect, it did not necessarily have to have a semantic reason as well. Still, we are able to posit an inchoative meaning of the suffix on independent grounds.

10.2 Present plural

In the 1/3pl of the present singular, we find the endings *-ëm/-ën* and *-im/-in*, as well as more archaic endings such as *-ɲamə/-ɲanə* in Salamis. In section 4, I supposed that the endings *-ëm/-ën* are the original suffixless endings, whereas *-im/-in* developed from the suffixed endings. Most dialects have generalised either of the two sets of endings, except for the dialects of Vilë-e-Kalisi and Arrën, where we indeed find *-im/-in* precisely in those verbs that have the suffix *-i* in the 1sg, and *-ëm/-ën* otherwise. This shows that indeed the endings with *-i-* descend from the suffixed endings, while the regular endings show *-ë-*.

10.3 Developments in Northern Geg: *-ënj-* as a resolver of ambiguity

Let us now turn to the present singular, which is where we find most traces of the suffix. In the subjunctive, we often find the endings *-ish* for the 2sg and *-inj* and *-in* in the 3sg, although there is no dialect in which the suffixed and nonsuffixed subjunctive endings have the same distribution as in the present singular indicative. The ending *-in* seems to be the innovative one of the two, with its nonpalatal nasal imported from the indicative ending *-ën*.

In the present singular, we find that in many dialects the appearance of the suffix depends on the verbal conjugation. This is because in different dialects the suffix has different uses. In the dialects of Breg, Hot and Kelmend, the suffix appears in the form of the suffix *-i* in the 1sg if and only if the aorist and present stems are the same, so here the function of the suffix must have been to keep the aorist and present stem distinguished. As mentioned before, the suffix, which was optional in the verbs whose aorist and present stem were the same, was generalised to the entire present, so that the third person singular indicative, which would otherwise be identical in the aorist and the present, could be distinguished; this was before the innovative aorist ending *-i* in the 3sg was created. Note that in these dialects the suffix also appears in some verbs that have umlaut, which are verbs that historically had the suffix **-ja/-i-*, so the suffix must have spread here analogically.

Over time, however, sound laws applied to the suffixed endings, so that the suffix became unrecognisable, especially in the 1sg ending *-i* and the plural endings *-im*, *-in*. This led to the interchangeability of the suffixed and unsuffixed plural endings, with different dialects generalising different endings. This development led to the fact that the 2/3sg suffixed ending *-ën* became ambiguous, as it could also denote the 3pl. Therefore, this ending was dropped in most dialects.

In the dialects of Puka, Luznia, and possibly Rranxa, the suffix has a different function. In these dialects, the suffix appears in precisely those verbs that would otherwise have the same form in the present singular indicative. Here too the use of the suffix is clearly to create more conjugation and resolve ambiguity. In these dialects as well we only find the suffix *-i* in the 1sg.

Other dialects show different versions of these distributions. In Breg, the situation is generally the same as in Hot and Kelmend, but the suffix is optional in the verbs showing ablaut. In Shkrel, the verbal conjugations that show the suffix have to satisfy both restrictions; it only appears in the verbs without umlaut in the singular indicative, and without ablaut in the aorist. In the dialects of Çerem and Valbona, Has and Shala, we see that the suffix has spread to some of the ablauting verbs, depending on their stem vowel: in Çerem and Valbona and Has, verbs with the stem vowel *-je-* also have the suffix, whereas in Shala this holds for the verbs with stem vowel *-e-* and *-i-*. The suffix must have spread by analogy in these dialects, probably due to the fact that there are verbs with stem vowel *-je-*, *-e-* and *-i-* that do not show ablaut. In Çerem and Valbona, the suffix was later lost in verbs of category C (verbs with stem vowel *-e-* without ablaut), probably by analogy to category E (verbs with stem vowel *-e-* with ablaut). In Ragam,

this same analogy has taken place, but here the suffix has spread to the verbs with *-s/-t* alternation that do not show umlaut. In this dialect, precisely those verbs whose stem vowel remains the same throughout the entire paradigm show the suffix, irrespective of whether the final stem consonant changes.

10.4 Developments in Tosk and Southern Geg

Most contiguous (i.e. not Arbëresh or Arvanitika) dialects southwards from Southern Geg do not have the suffix, except for the verbs *eci*, *hipi* and *iki*. An interesting exception is the dialect of Tomorica, where the suffix occurs in precisely those verbs ending in *-p*; it is unclear what created this strange phenomenon, although the facts that *hip* ends in a *p* and that there are no verbs in *p* showing umlaut probably aided in the creation of this situation. We face a similar situation in Vilë-e-Kalisi and Arrën, where we find the suffix in conjugations A and B and in verbs ending in a resonant or *s*. Here it is even harder to find a reason for this development, since many verbs ending in a resonant show umlaut and ablaut.

The dialect of Polis has its own peculiar development as well. Here we find the suffix, in the present indicative, in the verbs with the suffix *-s/-t*, in all persons except the first person singular, which has just *-t* (except for the verb *pys* ‘to ask’). the endings of the 3sg *-n*, 1pl *-jm*, 3pl *-jn* are the regular developments of earlier **-tën*, **-tënjëmë*, **-tënjënë* after the loss of all schwas. The 2pl ending *-jni* then received the *-j-* analogically from the other persons in the plural, and the 2sg ending *-j* then received the *-j-* from the 2pl, analogically after verbs that have 2sg *-Ø*, *-ni*. In this dialect, this conjugation replaced the Proto-Albanian suffix **-t-j-* with the suffix *-t-anj-*. This did not happen in other verbs with the present suffix *-j-*, such as *dal* < PALb. **dalja-*. The reason for this is unclear, but perhaps it can be compared to the situation in San Costantino Albanese, where in some instances we find the suffix *-nj-* alternating with the suffix *-s/-t*. Perhaps these endings were in some way contaminated in the instances where we originally had this alternation, and then this hybrid conjugation spread to all verbs in *-s/-t*. From this perspective it is interesting to note that in Old Albanian we occasionally also find such an hybrid conjugation, such as for the verb *pyes* ‘to ask’ in Buzuku [De Vaan, Forthcoming].

In the dialect of Falconara Albanese, we find four verbs *teft* ‘to sneeze’, *cef* ‘to laugh’, *mund* ‘to be able’, *ray* ‘to fight’ that have a different conjugation for some of the speakers. Apart from the different endings in the present singular, these verbs also have an extra *-ə-* between the stem and the imperfect endings *-ja*, *-je*. Camaï calls this vowel epenthetic. This suggests that the conjugation of these verbs in the present indicative is due to an epenthetic vowel as well. This certainly is the case in the plural endings *-əma*, *-əni*, *-ənə*. In the first person singular, it is unclear what happened exactly. One may suppose that in the other verbs there was a development **-Cj̥ > *-Cj̥ > -Ci*, whereas this group showed a development **-Caj̥ > *-Caj̥ > -Cij̥*. If we assume this, however, then we must assume that the Proto-Albanian ending **-anjom* developed to a vocalic ending **-j̥* first, instead of an expected ***-əj̥* or ***-ij̥*. This is unexpected, because in this dialect an unstressed vowel does not usually drop between a consonant and a nasal; for example, the definite feminine accusative ending is *-ën*. Another possibility is to assume that the Proto-Indo-European vocalic nasal in the suffix **-n-ie/o-* actually remained vocalic in Proto-Albanian, and that this was retained

in this dialect. However, this is quite speculative as well, since we have no direct evidence of this, and there is no dialect of Albanian in which the PIE vocalic nasals are retained. We do find in many dialects secondary vocalic nasals, such as the standard language prefix *n-* from earlier **en-*. Therefore, it is in my opinion best to treat the posited vocalic nasal as secondary. The 2/3sg ending *-ənə* probably received its final *-ə* analogically after the plural, although this does seem a strange analogy to take place, since the 2/3sg and 3pl are always distinct in Albanian.

The question is then why these verbs show this epenthetic *-ə-*. This can partially be explained by looking at their Proto-Albanian reconstructions. For these verbs Orel [2000] reconstructs, respectively, Proto-Albanian **teušt-*, **kaksj-*, **mund-* and **wragšk-*, so all of them must have had consonant clusters in some stage. If we assume that these consonant clusters were retained longer than the vowel in the suffix **-anj-*, we may assume that an epenthetic *-ə-* appeared because a cluster such as **-gsknj-* would be too much for a speaker of this dialect.

A better etymology for *mund* has been found by Schumacher [2005], who considers *mund* to be a contraction from **mun tē*, where **mun* is a 3sg form of a *nj*-present of the PIE root **meuH-* ‘to be able’, known from Luvian *mūwa* ‘power’ and Greek *μυρός* ‘unbounded’. The epenthetic *-ə-* in Falconara Albanese could then just be the retention of the **ē* of **mun tē*.

Of course, there is no clear distribution between Proto-Albanian consonant clusters and an epenthetic *-ə-*; The word *fej* ‘to hide’ continues Proto-Albanian **skepsk-*, but it does not have the special conjugation. Presumably, the epenthetic vowel was lost in some verbs after its conditioning, namely Proto-Albanian consonant clusters, were lost when consonant clusters were simplified.

10.5 Latin inchoatives

I conclude this section with the development of another PIE present suffix in Romance. The development of the suffix *-ēj-* in Albanian is in many ways, but not completely, parallel to the development of the PIE suffix *-sk-* in Latin and Romance; this development is extensively described by Allen [1995]. This suffix has an inchoative meaning in classical Latin, but it is hard to find the same in older Indo-European. In the verb **g^wm-ské-* ‘to go’ (Sanskrit *gacchati*, Greek *βάσχω*) the suffix appears to have no meaning, and the same is true for **prk-ské-* ‘to ask’ (Sanskrit *prcchati*, Armenian *harc’anem*, Latin *poscō*). In Hittite, however, the suffix has an iterative meaning, and in Tocharian, the suffix has a causative meaning. This makes it hard to reconstruct the PIE semantic value, but at any rate it seems likely that the inchoative meaning is a Latin innovation.

As in the case of **-n-ie/o-* in Albanian, because the suffix *-sk-* was originally a PIE present suffix, it is limited to the present system only in Latin; thus we have a verb *amō* ‘to love’, with perfect *amāvī* and past participle *amātus*, and a corresponding inchoative *amāscō* ‘to fall in love’, which has no perfect or past participle.

In later Latin, and certainly in Romance, the meaning shifted. In the 5th century, the Classical Latin verb *innōtēscō* ‘to become known’ shifted its meaning to the transitive ‘to publish’. Furthermore, the inchoative meaning was lost. In the modern languages, the suffix was partly incorporated in verbal paradigms. Thus, the French word *finir* ‘to finish’ derives from Latin *finiō*, but its 3pl form *finissent* comes from *finiscunt*. Likewise, in the Italian *finire* from the same Latin root we find the 1sg *finisco*. Here, as in Albanian, we find that in some verbs the suffix became part of the paradigm, without conveying any meaning, and we cannot predict the persons in which it appears from the inchoative meaning.

In Spanish, as in the northern varieties of Geg, we find that the suffix has spread to certain verbs without a discernible difference in meaning, as is described by Blaylock [1975]; thus in Old Spanish we find pairs such as *guarir*, *guarecer* ‘to shelter’ and *cuntir*, *contecer* ‘to happen’, of which the simplex forms were lost in the modern language. This too was probably done because the verbs in *-ecer* < *-ēscere* provided a clear conjugational pattern, which could also be used to make deadjectival verbs.

11 Conclusion

In this thesis, we have seen the synchronic descriptions of the form and the function of the suffix *-ënj-* in various Albanian dialects. With regards to the form, we have seen that the suffix is limited in standard Albanian, but it used to have a full-fledged conjugation in the present. The fact that it only occurs in the present stems from its origin as a concatenation of PIE present suffixes. We have also seen that its conjugation is in Proto-Albanian mostly no different from the usual conjugation of consonant stems. However, in Arvanitika, we find an irregular distribution of the intermediate *ë* in the endings of the 1/3pl in the present and imperfect, which must reflect a Proto-Albanian irregularity; this irregularity is best explained from accentual mobility in Proto-Indo-European.

With regards to its function we have seen that broadly the suffix has one of the following uses:

- The suffix is limited to a few lexically determined verbs;
- The suffix gives extra inflection to verbs that lack umlaut in the present;
- The suffix is used to distinguish present stem from aorist stems in verbs in which these two would otherwise be identical;
- The suffix has a range of semantic values.

Although the last option is rarely attested in the contemporary dialects, it is nevertheless this situation that we must reconstruct for Proto-Albanian. Its meaning, which probably was inchoative in nature at the time of Proto-Albanian, developed an imperfective meaning in the dialect of San Costantino, and probably also in the dialects in which it was generalised in the imperfect. In three isolated instances, the verbs *eci*, *hipi* and *iki*, the suffix was obligatory in Proto-Albanian. I have given two optional explanations for this phenomenon: Either the suffix was obligatory because of their inherently inchoative nature, or these verbs are derived from transitive verbs **ec-*, **hip-*, **ik-*, and the inchoative suffix acted to create an anticausative counterpart to the transitive verb, similar to what is possible in some Chadic languages. Both of these explanations can only be proven by means of solid etymologies from Indo-European; we can find plausible etymologies for both explanations, but the value of these etymologies as proof of the explanations is mitigated by some ad hoc assumptions.

Except for these few verbs in which the suffix was obligatory, the suffix was possible in other verbs of the consonant conjugation. When the semantic value was lost, however, the suffix became freely available, as is still the case in Arvanitika and most of Arbëresh. This free variation was lost, however, in contiguous Albanian. In contiguous Tosk the suffix was lost altogether, but in Northern Geg the suffix was used to dissolve ambiguity in cases where it could arise due to the erosion of verbal conjugation.

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