

Lesson 3: Historical Morphology of Albanian

1. Noun inflection

1.1. General remarks.

1.1.1. Gender.

1.1.1.1. Masculine nouns: end in a consonant (*gjak* ‘blood’, *ujk* ‘wolf’, etc.) or in *-ë* (*qjumë* ‘sleep’, OGH. /*gjarpënë*/ ‘snake’, etc.).

- Mostly go back to old *o*-stems, with PIE $^{*o}o-s > \text{Alb. } -\emptyset$ (§1.2.1 below); in some cases, also to old *i*- or *u*-stems.
- In disyllables, PIE $^{*o}o-s > \text{Alb. } -ë$ instead of $-\emptyset$ if it was preceded by two identical consonants (Klingenschmitt 2022:75).
- In trisyllables, PIE $^{*o}o-s > \text{OAlb. } /-ë/$, which was lost on the way to Mod.-Alb. (cf. St.-Alb. *gjarpër* ‘snake’, VAA:210).

1.1.1.2. Feminine nouns: end in *-ë* (*punë* ‘work’, *zonjë* ‘lady’, etc.) or *-e* (*faqe* ‘face’, etc.).

- Alb. $-ë < \text{Pre-PAlb. } *-ā < \text{PIE } *-eh_2$ or $< \text{Pre-PAlb. } *-iā < \text{PIE } *-ih_2$.
- Alb. $-e < \text{Pre-PAlb. } *-iā < \text{PIE } *-iēh_2$ or $\leftarrow \text{Lat. } -ia$ (Neri 2020:43-4).
- Some Alb. nouns in *-ë* do not go back to PIE eh_2 -stems, but to PIE fem. consonant stems, cf. *natë* f. ‘night’ ($< *nók^u-t-$), *derë* f. ‘door’ ($< *d^h_1uór-$), *dorë* f. ‘hand’ ($< *ǵ^hesr-$), etc.
- In OAlb., also feminine nouns ending in a consonant (/ndër/ ‘honor’, /qytet/ ‘city’, etc.): they go back to inherited or borrowed fem. *i*-stems and became masculine in Mod.-Alb.

1.1.1.3. Neuter nouns: residual category in St.-Alb., where neuter gender is only used to substantivize participles / adjectives, e.g. *shkruar* ‘written’ $\rightarrow$ *të shkruar* n. ‘(act of) writing’.

- Living category in OAlb., where neuter nouns end in $/-ë/ < \text{Pre-PAlb. } *-ad < \text{PIE } ^{*o}o-m$ (*o*-stems) or $^{*o}os$ (*s*-stems).
- E.g., OAlb. /*gjalpë*/ ‘butter’ (St.-Alb. *gjalpë* m.!) $< \text{PIE } *sélp-os$, cf. Toch.B *ṣalype*, Toch.A *ṣälyp* ‘oil’, Gk. ἔλπος n. ‘id.’ (Hsch.), Ved. *sarpíṣ-* n. ‘lard, schmaltz’, etc. (DPEWA s.v.).

1.1.2. Definiteness.

1.1.2.1. Alb. marks definiteness in nouns through a **postposed article**.

- Masc.: *-i* ~ *-u*, cf. *mal* ~ *mal-i* ‘mountain’, *gjak* ~ *gjak-u* ‘blood’, *ka* ~ *ka-u* ‘ox’, etc.
- Fem.: *-a* ~ *-ja*, cf. *punë* ~ *pun-a* ‘work’, *lule* ~ *lul-ja* ‘flower’, OAlb. /qytet ~ qytet-ja/ (St.-Alb. *qytet-i*, §1.1.1.2) ‘city’, etc.
- Neut.: OAlb. /-të/, OAlb. /mish ~ mish-të/ (St.-Alb. *mish-i*) ‘meat’.

1.1.2.2. The Alb. definite article goes back to the PIE demonstrative pronoun **se/o-* ~ **te/o-* ‘this’ > Ved. *sá-* ‘id.’, Gk. *ó* ‘the’, Lat. *is-tud* n. ‘this’, Toch.B *se* ‘id.’, etc. (Neri 2025a:319-22; Petit 2025).

1.1.2.3. The **postposition** of the definite article is a feature of the **Balkan *sprachbund***, cf. also Bulg., Mac., and Rom. (Friedman & Joseph 2025:576-99).

1.1.3. Number.

1.1.3.1. Only **singular** (sg.) and **plural** (pl.).

1.1.3.2. Several pl. endings, sometimes accompanied by stem allomorphy, cf. *i.a.*:

- *-Ø* (± umlaut / palatalization):
 - < Pre-PAlb. **-ih* < **-is* < PIE **-es*: sg. *natë* ~ pl. *net* f. ‘night’;
 - < Pre-PAlb. **-ī* < PIE **-oi*: sg. *plak* ~ pl. *pleq* m. ‘old man’ (§1.2.7 below).
- *-ë* < Pre-PAlb. **-āh* < **-ās* < PIE **-eh₂-es*: OAlb. /sg. *fjalë* ~ pl. *fjal-ë*/ f. ‘word’.
- *-e* < PAlb. **-eə* < **-eṃə* < **-eṃi* < Pre-PAlb. **-aṃih* < **-aṃis* < PIE **-eṃ-es*: sg. *mal* ~ pl. *mal-e* m. ‘mountain’.
- *-a* < *-ë* + (recharacterizing) *-e*: spreading at the costs of *-ë*, cf. St.-Alb. pl. *fjal-a* ‘words’.
- *-ëra* (Gh. *-ëna*) << Pre-PAlb. **-Vn-ih* < PIE **-Vn-es*, typical of mass / uncountable nouns: sg. *bar* ~ pl. *bar-ëra* m. ‘herb, gras’ (Genesin 2012).

1.1.3.3. Pl. forms are synchronically unpredictable and underwent analogical reshaping.

1.1.4. Cases.

1.1.4.1. Alb. has 5 cases: nominative (nom.), accusative (acc.), genitive (gen.), dative (dat.), and ablative (abl.).

- OAlb. had a sixth case: locative or “prepositionalis” (prep., < PIE instrumental).

1.1.4.2. Nom. (sg./pl.), acc. (sg./pl.), and gen. (sg./pl.) go back to PIE nom., acc., and gen. forms.

1.1.4.3. Dat. (sg./pl.) goes back to PIE gen.

- **Merger of gen. and dat.** is another feature of the Balkan *sprachbund*, cf. Mod.-Gk., Balkan Slavic, and Rom. (Friedman & Joseph 2025:525-51).
- The only formal difference between gen. and dat. is the **linking article** (*Gelenksartikel*) before the gen., which agrees in gender, number, and case with the head noun.
 - *gjaku i plakut* ‘the blood of the old man’ vs. *mjekra e plakut* ‘the beard of the old man’.
- The nom.sg. of the linking article (*i* m. ~ *e* f.) goes back to the PIE demonstrative **i-s*, **e₁-eh₂*, **i-d* ‘this’ (> Lat. *is*, *ea*, *id* ‘id.’, etc., cf. Neri 2025a:325).
 - *gjak-u i plak-u-t* ‘BLOOD=the **that** OLD MAN=of the’ (= ‘the blood of the old man’).

1.1.4.4. Abl.sg. goes back (indirectly, §1.2.5 below) to PIE abl.sg., alb.pl. to PIE loc.pl. (§1.2.9 below).

1.1.5. Lit.: Sh. Demiraj 1993:69-175; Klingenschmitt 1994a:222-5; Orel 2000:216-49; Matzinger 2006:93-103; Matzinger & Schumacher 2017:1750-4.

1.2. Case study.

Paradigm of Alb. *plak* m. ‘old (man)’

	Singular		Plural	
	Indefinite forms	Definite forms	Indefinite forms	Definite forms
Nom.	<i>plak</i>	<i>plaku</i>	<i>pleq</i>	<i>pleqtë</i>
Gen.	<i>i/e plaku</i>	<i>i/e plakut</i>	<i>i/e pleqve</i>	<i>i/e pleqvet</i>
Dat.	<i>plaku</i>	<i>plakut</i>	<i>pleqve</i>	<i>pleqvet</i>
Acc.	<i>plak</i>	<i>plakun</i>	<i>pleq</i>	<i>pleqtë</i>
Abl.	<i>plaku</i>	<i>plakut</i>	<i>pleqsh</i>	<i>pleqvet</i>
(Prep.	<i>plak</i>	<i>plakt</i>	<i>pleq</i>	<i>pleqt</i>)

1.2.1. Nom.sg.indef. *plak*.

1.2.1.1. Builds an equation with Lith. *pilkas* (3) ‘grey’ < PIE **plh₁-kó-* ‘id.’.

1.2.1.2. Nom.sg. PIE **plh₁kós* > Pre-PAlb. **plákys* > **plákyh* > PAlb. **pláky* > Alb. *plak*.

- On the change PIE **o* > Pre-PAlb. **y*, see §1.2.2 below.

1.2.1.3. PIE color root **pelh₁-* ‘gray, pale’ → Gk. *πολιός* ‘grey’, *πελιός* ‘livid’, *πέλεια* f. ‘dove’, lat. *pallidus* ‘pale’, Ved. *palitá-* ‘grey’, OIr. *líath* ‘id.’, etc. (DPEWA s.v.).

1.2.2. Nom.sg.def. *plaku*.

1.2.2.1. *-u* in the nom.sg.def. *plak-u* arose from the univerbation of a sequence **^oos sos*, consisting of the thematic nom.sg. **^oo-s* (cf. Gk. *-ος*, Lat. *-us*, etc.) + the nom.sg.m. of the demonstrative pronoun PIE **se/o-* ~ **te/o-* ‘this’, i.e., **só-s*.

1.2.2.2. Pre-PAlb. **plákos sos* ‘old man this => the old man’ > **plákys sys* > **plákyh hyh* > **plákyh yh* > PAlb. **pláky y* > **plák y* > (univerbation) **plák-y* > Alb. *plaku*.

➤ Note PIE **o* > (Pre-)PAlb. **y* / *_s* (VAA:213; Neri 2025a:327).

➤ If PAlb. **-y* was preceded by a consonant other than **^ok-* **^og-* or **^oh-*, it yielded Alb. *-i*, cf. *mal* ‘mountain’ ~ *mal-i* ‘the mountain’.

1.2.3. Gen.sg.indef. *i/e plaku*.

1.2.3.1. The ending *-u* of the gen.sg.indef. *i/e plak-u* goes back to the thematic gen.sg. ending PIE **-osjo* (> Ved. *-asya*, Gk. *-οιο* ~ *-ου*, Arc.-Lat. *-osio*, etc.).

1.2.3.2. Pre-PAlb. **plákosjo* > **plákysju* > **plákyjja* > PAlb. **plákyji* > **plákyi* > **pláky* > Alb. *plaku*.

➤ Again (§1.2.2.2), if PAlb. **-y* was preceded by a consonant other than **^ok-* **^og-* or **^oh-*, it yielded Alb. *-i*, cf. *mal* ‘mountain’ ~ *mal-i* ‘of mountain’.

1.2.3.3. NB: the endings of the nom.sg.def. (*-u* ~ *-i*) and of the gen.sg.indef. (*-u* ~ *-i*) are synchronically identical, but diachronically distinct: the former continues **^oos sos*, the latter **-osjo*.

➤ Formal, but not functional merger.

1.2.4. Gen.sg.def. *i/e plakut*.

1.2.4.1. *-u-t* in the gen.sg.def. *i/e plak-u-t* arose from the univerbation of a sequence **^oosjo tosjo*, consisting of the thematic gen.sg. ending **^oosjo* (§1.2.3.1) + the gen.sg.m./n. of the demonstrative pronoun PIE **se/o-* ~ **te/o-* ‘this’, i.e., **tó-sjo* (Neri 2018).

1.2.4.2. Pre-PAlb. **plákosjo tosjo* ‘of old man of this => of the old man’ > **plákysju tysju* > **plákyjja tyjja* > PAlb. **plákyji tyji* > **plákyi tyi* > **pláky ty* > (univerbation) **pláky-ty* > Alb. *plakut*.

1.2.5. Abl.sg.indef. *plaku*.

1.2.5.1. The formal identity with the gen.sg.indef. points to a pre-form **plákosjo* (§1.2.3).

1.2.5.2. On the model of athematic nouns (where abl.sg. = gen.sg.), Pre-PAlb. extended the gen.sg.-ending **-osjo* to the abl.sg. of thematic nouns as well (Klingenschmitt 1994a:223).

1.2.6. Acc.sg.def. *plakun* (OAlb. /*plaknë*/).

1.2.6.1. OAlb. /*-në*/ (> St.-Alb. *-u-n*) in the acc.sg.def. /*plak-në*/ arose from the univerbation of a sequence **-om tom*, consisting of the thematic acc.sg. **^oo-m* (cf. Gk. *-ον*, Lat. *-um*, etc.) + the acc.sg.m. of the demonstrative pronoun PIE **se/o-* ~ **te/o-* ‘this’, i.e., **tó-m*.

1.2.6.2. Pre-PAlb. **plákom tom* ‘old man this => the old man’ > **plákan tan* > PAlb. **plákan ta* > (univerbation) **plákan-ta* > (assimilation) **plákanna* > **plákənnə* > (syncope) **pláknnə* > OAlb. /plaknĕ/ >> St-Alb. **plakunĕ* > *plakun*.

- Progressive assimilation PAlb. **nt* > **nn* > Alb. *n* after unstressed syllable (VAA:234, also §2.2.1.2 below).

1.2.7. Nom.pl.indef. *pleq*.

1.2.7.1. Alb. *pleq* presupposes the pronominal nom.pl.m. ending PIE **-oĭ*, which also in other languages (Gk. -οι, Lat. -ī, Toch.B -i, etc.) replaced the original nom.pl. ending PIE (**o-es*) > **-ōs* (> Ved. -ās, Osc. -us, etc.).

1.2.7.2. Pre-PAlb. **plákoĭ* > (monophthongization) **plákī* > PAlb. **pláki* > (i-umlaut) **pléki* > (palatalization) **pléci* > **plécə* > (apocope) Alb. *pleq* [plec].

1.2.7.3. From the nom.pl., the palatalized segment *°q* analogically spread to the other pl. forms.

1.2.8. Nom.pl.def. *pleqtĕ*.

1.2.8.1. *°eq-tĕ* in the nom.pl.def. *pleq-tĕ* arose from the univerbation of a sequence **°-oĭ toĭ*, consisting of the nom.pl. ending **-oĭ* (§1.2.7) + the nom.pl.m. of the demonstrative pronoun PIE **se/o- ~ *te/o-* ‘this’, i.e., **tóĭ*.

1.2.8.2. Pre-PAlb. **plákoĭ toĭ* > **plákī tī* > PAlb. **pláki ti* > (univerbation) **pláki-ti* > **plékiti* > **pléciti* > **plécətə* > Alb. *pleqtĕ* [plectə].

1.2.9. Gen.pl.indef. *i/e pleqve* (OAlb. /i/e pleqe/).

1.2.9.1. The ending /-e/ of the gen.pl.indef. OAlb. /i/e pleq-e/ is usually traced back to the (thematic) gen.pl. ending PIE (**-o-Hom*) > **-ōm* (> Gk. -ων, Lith. -ų, Ved. -ānām, etc.).

1.2.9.2. The ending -ve of St-Alb. *i/e pleq-ve* spread analogically from the feminine nouns (cf. gen.pl.indef. *ffjalĕve* ‘of words’), where -v- arose as a *Hiatusstilger* in the sequence PAlb. **°əʔə* < **°əhə* < Pre-PAlb. **°ā-sōm*.

1.2.10. Abl.pl.indef. *pleqsh*.

1.2.10.1. The ending -sh in the abl.pl.indef. *pleq-sh* goes back to **-si*, a reshaping of the athematic (!) loc.pl. ending PIE **-su* (Ved. loc.pl. *pat-sú* ‘in/on the feet’) by analogy to the loc.sg. ending **-i*.

- Pre-PAlb. **-si* > (palatalization) **-ʃi* > PAlb. **-ʃə* > Alb. -sh [ʃ].

1.2.10.2. An identical reshaping took place in Gk., cf. (loc. >) dat.pl. **pod-sí* > ποσί ‘in/on the feet’.

- Morphological innovation common to Alb. and Gk. (Klingenschmitt 1994:245; Matzinger 2012:150).

1.2.11. Abl.pl.def. *pleqvet* (OAlb. /pleqshit/).

1.2.11.1. The abl.pl.def. St.-Alb. *pleqvet* replaced OAlb. /pleqshi-t/ (< Pre-PAlb. *^o*si tojsi* vel sim.) through analogical extension of the gen./dat.pl.def. form.

2. Verb inflection (cf. VAA)

2.1. General remarks.

2.1.1. Citation form of Alb. verbs.

2.1.1.1. Either 1.sg.ind.pres.act. (e.g., *kujtoj* ‘I think’) or 2./3.sg.ind.pres.act. (e.g., *kujton* ‘you think / (s)he thinks’).

- In some cases, all three sg. persons of the pres.ind.act. are homophonous, e.g. *di* ‘know’.

2.1.1.2. Alb. verbal paradigms feature three fundamental stems (§2.1.2-2.1.4 below).

2.1.2. Present (pres.) stem (Genesin 2005).

2.1.2.1. The most important formation built on the pres.-stem is the **ind.pres.act.**

2.1.2.2. The ind.pres.act. of Alb. verbs can be built in several ways, *i.a.*:

- 1.-3.sg. end in the same vowel / diphthong: *di* ‘know’, *pi* ‘drink’, *ha* ‘eat’, *bie* ‘bring’, etc.
- 1.-3.sg. end in the same consonant (± allomorphic variation of the preceding vowel):
 - *mjel* ‘milk’, *pjek* ‘cook’, *nxjerr* ‘extract’, etc.;
 - 1.sg. *marr* ~ 2./3.sg. *merr* ‘take’, 1.sg. *jap* ~ 2./3.sg. *jep* ‘give’, etc.
- 1.sg. -*j* (OAlb. /-nj/) ~ 2./3.sg. -*n*: *kujtoj* ~ *kujton* ‘think’, *shkruaj* ~ *shkruan* ‘write’, *lyej* ~ *lyen* ‘anoint’, etc.—presents in -*oj* ~ -*on* (type *kujton*) are the only productive category in Alb.
- 1.sg. -*Ŵs* ~ 2./3.sg. -*Ŵt* (± allomorphic variation of *Ŵ*):
 - *pres* ~ *pret* ‘cut’, *shes* ~ *shet* ‘sell’, etc.;
 - *vras* ~ *vret* ‘kill’, *flas* ~ *flet* ‘speak’, etc.

2.1.2.3. The pres.-stem also serves to build the following tenses / moods:

- ind.impf.
- subj.pres. / subj.impf.—subj.pres. serves to build the future in Tosk / St.-Alb. (§2.3.2.2 in Less. 1).

2.1.3. Aorist (aor.) stem.

2.1.3.1. Specific set of endings: *-a*, *-e*, *-i* ~ *-u*, *-(ë)m*, *-(ë)t*, *-(ë)n*.

- The distribution of the 3.sg. endings *-i* ~ *-u* depends on the preceding segment, cf. §1.2.2.2 above on the definite article *-i* ~ *-u*.

2.1.3.2. The aor.-stem can be identical or differ from the pres.-stem (the following examples refer to 1.sg.act. forms):

- **Suffixless aorist** ($\pm$ vowel / stress alternations in the root):
 - ind.pres. *ngjit* ~ aor. *ngjit-a* ‘glue’;
 - ind.pres. *mjel* ~ aor. *mol-a* ‘milk’ (§2.2.2 below);
 - ind.pres. *thërrás* ~ aor. *thírr-a* ‘shout’, etc.
- ***v*-Aorist** ($\pm$ vowel alternations in the root):
 - ind.pres. *kujtoj* ~ aor. *kujto-v-a* ‘think’;
 - ind.pres. *ngjyëj* ~ aor. *ngje-v-a* ‘immerse, dye’, etc.
- ***t*-Aorist**: ind.pres. *di* ~ aor. *di-t-a* ‘know’, ind.pres. *mbaj* ~ aor. *mba-jt-a* ‘hold’, etc.
- **Irregular / suppletive aorists** (Schumacher 2007):
 - ind.pres. *them* ~ aor. *thashë* ‘say’;
 - ind.pres. *jap* ~ aor. *dhashë* ‘give’;
 - ind.pres. *ha* ~ aor. *hënggra* ‘eat’, etc.

2.1.3.3. Apart from suffixless *o*-aorists (type *mol-a*), aor.-stem serves to derive the (past) **participle** (ptc.).

- In St.-Alb., generalization of the ptc. **endings** *-r* (OTo. /-rë/, OGh. /-në/ < PIE *-nó-) and *-ur* (OTo. /-urë/, OGh. /-unë/, origin uncertain).
 - E.g., *t*-aor.-stem *mba-jt-* → ptc. *mbajt-ur* ‘held’.
- In OAlb., also other ptc. endings: /-të/ (< PIE *-tó-) and /-m/ (origin uncertain).
- Ptc. in turn serves to derive perfect and admirative forms:
 - **Perfect** (AUX. + ptc.): e.g., 1.sg.ind.perf. *kam thirrur* ‘I have shouted’.
 - **Admirative** (ptc. + HAVE): e.g., 1.sg.admir.pres. *punua-kam* (Friedman & Joseph 2025:748-55).

2.1.3.4. Apart from suffixless *o*-aorists (type *mol-a*), aor.-stem also serves to derive **optative** forms, which have a specific set of endings.

- E.g., *v*-aor.-stem *kujto-v-* → opt.pres. 1.sg. *kujtof-sha*, 2.sg. *kujtof-sh*, 3.sg. *kujtof-të*, etc.
- Optative expresses desires, (good / bad) wishes, etc.: cf. *rrofsh!* (‘may you live [long time]’ => ‘thanks’).

2.1.4. Imperative (impv.) stem.

2.1.4.1. The 2.sg.impv.act. form usually corresponds to the **bare verb stem**, i.e., to the pres.- or aor.- stem deprived of their respective morphological markers.

- 1.sg.ind.pres.act. *lexóĵ* ~ 2.sg.impv.act. *lexó!* 'read'.
- 1.sg.ind.pres.act. *vras* ~ 2.sg.impv.act. *vra!* 'kill'.

2.1.4.2. The 2.pl.impv.act. form is usually identical with the corresponding 2.pl.ind.pres.act. form.

2.1.5. Voice: active vs. non-active (= reflexive / passive).

2.1.5.1. Verbal formations related to the **pres.-stem** express the non-act. voice **synthetically** through a specific set of endings.

- E.g., 3.sg.ind.pres. act. *merr* 'takes' ~ non-act. *merr-et* 'is taken, takes for themselves'.
- The non-act. endings of the ind.pres. are inherited:
 - 1.sg. *-em* < Balkan IE **-o-maĵ* (<< PIE **-o-h₂eĵ* ~ **-o-h₂er*), cf. Gk. *-μαι* vs. Ved. *-e*.
 - 3.sg. *-et* < **-o-toĵ* (<< PIE **-e-toĵ* ~ **-e-tor*), cf. Gk. *-ται*, Ved. *-te* vs. Lat. *-tur*.

2.1.5.2. Verbal formations related to the **aor.-stem** express the non-act. voice **analytically** by preposing a particle *u* (< PIE **sue* 'self') to the corresponding act. forms.

- E.g., 1.sg.aor. act. *mola* 'I milked' ~ non-act. *u mola* 'I was milked, milked for myself'.

2.1.6. Lit.: Sh. Demiraj 1993:233-336; Klingenschmitt 1994a:225-33; Orel 2000:178-215; Matzinger 2006:117-136; VAA:25-197; Matzinger & Schumacher 2017:1760-70.

2.2. Case studies.

2.2.1. Ind.pres.act. of Alb. *bie*¹ 'bring' (≠ *bie*² 'fall').

	Alb.	PIE	Ved.	Gk.	Lat.
1.sg.	<i>bie</i>	<i>*b^hér-o-h₂</i>	<i>bhárāmi</i>	φέρω	<i>ferō</i>
2.sg.	<i>bie</i>	<i>*b^hér-e-si</i>	<i>bhárasi</i>	φέρεις	<i>fers</i>
3.sg.	<i>bie</i>	<i>*b^hér-e-ti</i>	<i>bhárati</i>	φέρει	<i>fert</i>
1.pl.	<i>biem</i>	<i>*b^hér-o-mes</i>	<i>bhárāmas</i>	φέρομεν	<i>ferimus</i>
2.pl.	<i>bini</i>	<i>*b^hér-e-te</i>	<i>bhárata</i>	φέρετε	<i>fertis</i>
3.pl.	<i>bien</i>	<i>*b^hér-o-nti</i>	<i>bháranti</i>	φέρουσι	<i>ferunt</i>

2.2.1.1. 1.-3.sg. *bie*.

- These forms go back regularly to the corresponding PIE pre-forms.
 - 1.sg. PIE **b^hér-o-h₂* > Pre-PALb. **bérō* > **bérū* > PALb. **béru* > **bérā* > **bér* > (lengthening) **bér̄* > (diphthongization) **bíġr* > (loss of *-r* #) Alb. *bie* [biġ].

- 2.sg. PIE **b^hér-e-si* > Pre-PAlb. **béres* > **béris* > **bérih* > PAlb. **béri* > **béra* > **bér* > (lengthening) **bér̃* > (diphthongization) **bér̃* > (loss of *-r#*) Alb. *bie* [biɛ].
- 3.sg. PIE **b^hér-e-ti* > Pre-PAlb. **béret* > **bérit* > PAlb. **béri* > **béra* > **bér* > (lengthening) **bér̃* > (diphthongization) **bér̃* > (loss of *-r#*) Alb. *bie* [biɛ].

- On lengthening and diphthongization of PAlb. **ε*, **æ*, and **ɔ* before word-final resonants, see §2.4.2.2 in Less. 2.
- Note the absence of lengthening and diphthongization in the 3.sg.subj.pres. *të bjer-ë*, where *r* did not become word-final (and did not undergo loss) due to the subj. ending *-ë*.

2.2.1.2. 1.pl. *biem* and 3.pl. *bien*.

- Inner-Albanian innovations built on the 1.sg. *bie*, cf. ind.pres.act. 1.sg. *kujtoj* ~ 1.pl. *kujtoj-më* and 3.pl. *kujtoj-në* ‘think’.
- But the 1.pl. ending *-m(ë)* and the 3.pl. ending *-n(ë)* are inherited and go back to the PIE primary endings **-me/os* and **-nti*, respectively.
- In the 3.pl., progressive assimilation **nt* > **nn* > Alb. *n* after unstressed syllable (§1.2.6.2 above on *plakun*).

2.2.1.3. 2.pl. *bini*.

- Wholly innovative form, both in the stem allomorph *bi-* and in the ending *-ni* (OAlb. */-ī/*), which was analogically transferred from the non-active (where */-ī/* < **-e-d^(h)uaj* < < PIE **-e-sd^hue*).

2.2.2. Aor.act. of Alb. *pjek*¹ ‘cook’ (≠ *pjek*² ‘hit’).

	Alb.
1.sg.	<i>poqa</i>
2.sg.	<i>poqe</i>
3.sg.	<i>poqi</i>
1.pl.	<i>poqëm</i>
2.pl.	<i>poqët</i>
3.pl.	<i>poqën</i>

2.2.2.1. The underlying root is PIE **pek^u-* ‘cook’, whose simple thematic pres. **pék^u-e/o-* > Alb. *pjek* ‘cook’, Ved. *pácati* ‘cooks’, Lat. *coquit* ‘id.’, etc. (§2.1.3.1 in Less. 2).

2.2.2.2. Aor-stem *poq-* points to Pre-PAlb. **pēk-* or **pāk-*, with stem-final palatalization.

2.2.2.3. Schumacher (2005; VAA:162-72): Pre-PAlb. **pēk-* < PIE **pēk^u-* < **pe-pk^u-*, i.e., the generalized weak stem of the PIE perfect **pe-pók^u-* / **pe-pk^u-* which underwent the phonetic development **T₁e-T₁T₂-* > **T₁ēT₂-* (*T* = obstruent—*bigetun* rule).

- Cf. the long $\bar{e}$ in the pl. of the Germanic 5th strong class, Goth. 1.sg. *gab* ~ 1.pl. *geb-um* 'gave'.
 - De-perfective origin is also suggested by the stem-final palatalization of the aor.-stem Alb. *poq-*, which was triggered by the 3.sg. ending Pre-PAlb. $*-i < \text{PIE } *-e$ (perfect ending).
- 2.2.2.4.** Based on paradigms like Pre-PAlb. pres. $*p\acute{e}k-a/e-$ ~ aor. $*p\acute{e}k-$, aorists in $*\bar{e}$ (> Alb. *o*) were built to several verbs with root vowel $*e$ (> Alb. *je*) in the present.
- Productive pattern: Pre-PAlb. pres. $*e \sim$ aor. $*\bar{e} >$ Alb. pres. *je* ~ aor. *o*.
 - Cf. *djeg* ~ *dogj-a* 'burn', *mjel* ~ *mol-a* 'milk', *sjell* ~ *soll-a* 'bring; turn oneself', etc.
- 2.2.2.5.** Alb. aorist is a **syncretic category**, where PIE aorist and perfect forms merged (cf. Lat. perfect).