

Lesson 4: (Old) Albanian Syntax and Texts

The *Mbsuame e krështerë* by Lekë Matrënga (1592)

1. Preliminaries

- 1.1. Lekë Matrënga [Ma'trəŋga] (1567-1619) was born in Piana degli Albanesi (*Hora e Arbëreshëve*) in Sicily and belonged to the local Arbëresh community.
- 1.2. He was a priest in Piana. In 1592, he wrote the second oldest text of the Alb. literature (after the *Missale / Mishari* by Gjon Buzuku, 1555), the oldest attested work in Tosk (esp. arbëresh).
- 1.3. The *Mbsuame e krështerë* [mb'suamə ε krəʃ'tɛɹə] (*Dottrina cristiana* 'Christian doctrine') is a catechism in Albanian with Italian translation by Matrënga himself, with the aim of instructing the community of Piana on the most important aspects of the Catholic faith.
 - 1.3.1. *Mbsuame* f. 'teaching': abstr. noun in *-e* (< PIE **-ijeh₂*) built on /mb(ë)suam/, *m*-ptc. of the OAlb. verb /mbëson/ (St.-Alb. *mëson*) 'teach'.
 - OAlb. /m-bëson/ ← prefix /m-/ 'in' + verb /pëson/ 'suffer' ← (loanword) VLat. **PATIĀRE* (Cl.-Lat. *patior, patī* 'id.').
 - 1.3.2. *e krështerë* 'Christian': loanword from Lat. *christianus* 'id.', with (i) vowel weakening **i* > *ë* in unstressed position, (ii) regular development **-ja-* > *-e-*, and (iii) Tosk rhotacism.
 - Note the linking article (*Gelenksartikel*) *i/e*, which precedes most Alb. adjectives and agrees in gender, number, and case with the head noun—same origin as the linking article of the gen. (§1.1.4.3 in Lesson 3).
- 1.4. Text edition: Matzinger 2006:145-260.

2. Old Tosk text: *Canzona Spirituale*

Poetic incipit of the *Dottrina cristiana*, in hendecasyllables (cf. Matzinger 2006:152-3):

2.1. Original text

Cghíthæue u thærés, cux dó ndægliésæ
Tæ míræ tæ chræxtée búra, e gráa
Mbæ fiálæt tæ tinæzót tæ xíchi méxæ
Sé síxtæ gneríj nèx cciæ mcátæ scáa
E lúm cúx e cuitón sè càa tæ vdésæ
E mentæ báxcæ mbæ tænxónæ i cáa
Sè Chríxti ndæ parráisit i bæn piésæ
E bæn pær bíjr tæ tíj e pær vælæa.

2.2. (Semiphonological) Transcription

1. /Gjithëve u thërres: kush do ndëlesë,

Të mirë të krështerë, burra, e grë.

Mbë fjalët të tinëzot të shih meshë,

Se s'ishtë njeri nesh që mkatë 's kã.

5. E lum kush e kujton se kã të vdesë

E mentë bashkë mbë tënëzonë i kã,

Se Krishti ndë parajsit i bën pjesë,

E bën për bir të tij e për vëllë./

3. Translation

1. Everybody I call: who wants forgiveness,

the good Christians, men, and women.

In the words of Our Lord may you see the Mass,

because there is no human [being] among us who does not have sins.

5. And blissful who thinks that he will die

and has his [lit. the] thoughts together with Our Lord.

For Christ makes space [lit. part] for him in Paradise,

he makes him his own son and brother.

4. Linguistic commentary¹

4.1. Verse 1

- 4.1.1. /gji^hthëve/: dat.pl. of the adj. *i gji^hthë* ‘all, everybody’. Etymology uncertain (DPEWA s.v.).
- 4.1.2. /u/: nom. of the personal pronoun of the 1.sg., in St.-Alb. *u-në* ‘I’ with strengthening particle. Probably, reshaping of expected **je* / **e* (< PIE **éǵʰ* ‘I’, cf. Lat. *eg-ō*, Gk. *ἐγ-ώ*, Ved. *ah-ám*, etc.) by analogy to the personal pronoun of the 2.sg. **tu-h_x* ‘you’ > Pre-PAlb. **tū* (> Alb. *ti* ‘id.’), cf. Hitt. *ūk* ‘I’ (DPEWA s.v. *unë* / *ne*).
- 4.1.3. /thërres/: 1.sg.ind.pres.act. of the verb 1.sg. *thërrës* ~ 2./3.sg. *thërrét* ‘call’, built with the pres. suffix -és ~ -ét (< Pre-PAlb. **-átje/o-*), which triggers weakening of the unstressed root vowel. The verbal base is /thirr-/, cf. 1.sg.aor.act. *thírr-a* ‘I called’. Etymology uncertain (DPEWA s.v.).
- 4.1.4. /kush/ ‘who?’: < PAlb. **kýjffə* < Pre-PAlb. **kʷós-so*, lit. ‘who [is] this?’ => ‘who?’. Cf. Pre-PToch. **kʷis-só* ‘id.’ > Toch.B *k_usé* ‘who?’, Toch.A *kus* ‘id.’ (DPEWA s.v.).
- 4.1.5. /do/: 3.sg.ind.pres.act. of the verb 1.sg. *dua* ~ 2./3.sg. *do* (1.sg.aor.act. *desh-a*) ‘want; love’, of disputed origin (DPEWA s.v.). Related to Gk. *δέω*² ‘lack’ ~ *δεῖ* ‘is necessary’ < PIE **deus-*? Note the 3.sg.ind.pres.non-act. Alb. *du-h-et* ‘is necessary’, with the same semantic development as Gk. *δεῖ*.
- Alb. *do* (+ subj.pres.) serves to build the future in Tosk (§2.3.2.2 in Lesson 1).
- 4.1.6. /ndëlesë/: acc.sg.indef. of *ndëlesë* f. ‘forgiveness’, abstr. noun in -së (< Pre-PAlb. **-tjā-*) built to the verb *ndëlen* ‘forgive’, of uncertain origin. Loanword from Lat. *indulgeō* ‘id.’?

4.2. Verse 2

- 4.2.1. /të mirë/: nom.pl.m. of the adj. *i mirë* ‘good’, of uncertain origin: (i) loanword from Lat. *mīrus* ‘extraordinary’ or (ii) < PIE **mih_x-ró-* ‘mild, tender’, cf. the PIE root **meǵh_x-* → Lat. *mītis* ‘mild’, Lith. *mýlas* (3) ‘dear’, and—esp. for Alb.—OCS *mirŭ* m. ‘peace; world’, Russ. *mir* m. ‘id.’, etc.?
- 4.2.2. /të krështerë/: substantivized nom.pl.m. of the adj. *i krështerë* ‘Christian’ (§1.3.2). Note the doubling of the linking adjective, due to the marked syntactic order (fronting) in /Të mirë të krështerë/ instead of expected *Krështerë të mirë*.
- Other than the nom./acc.sg. forms *i/e* (§1.1.4.3 in Less. 3), the other paradigmatic forms of the linking article go back to the PIE demonstrative **te/o-* ‘this’ (like the postposed definite article).

¹ Cf. Matzinger 2006:153-63.

- 4.2.3. /burra/: nom.pl.indef. (with ending -a) of the noun *burrë* m. ‘strong man, hero’. According to Neri 2024: substantivized ptc. in *-na- derived from the weak stem of a Pre-PAlb. aor. *bér-d / *búr-end (< PIE root aor. *b^hér- / *b^hr-), belonging to the PIE root *b^her- ‘bring; heave, lift’.
- I.e., Pre-PAlb. *bur-na- ‘lifted, high, tall’ => ‘big, strong (man)’.
- 4.2.4. /e/ ‘and’: loanword from Lat. *et* ‘id.’ (< PIE *é-ti, cf. Gk. ἔτι ‘still, yet’) or regular continuation of PIE *é-h₂-i ‘here, also’ (i-loc. of the pronominal collective *é-h₂ ‘all this’)? (Cf. DPEWA s.v.). Next to Alb. *e*, note the extended variant *e-dhe* ‘id.’, with -dhe < PIE *dó-h₁ or *ǵ^hó-h₁.
- 4.2.5. /grā/: (suppletive) nom.pl.indef. of the noun *grua* f. ‘women’. Ultimately, from PIE *ǵ^hén-h₂ / *ǵ^hn-éh₂- ‘woman’ > Gk. γυνή f. ‘id.’, Ved. *jáni-* f. ‘id.’, Toch.B *śana* f. ‘id.’, PDE *queen*, etc. (Matzinger 2000; Hackstein 2024:150-3). The details are complex (see Neri in print).
- (i) Sg.: weak stem PIE *ǵ^hn-éh₂- + (individualizing) suff. *-ōn → *ǵ^hneh₂-ōn > Pre-PAlb. *gnaōn > (dissimilation) *graōn > (vowel contraction) *grān > PALb. *grōn > (vowel lengthening) *grōn > (diphthongization) *grūzn > (loss of -n#) OGh. /gruo/, OTo./St-Alb. *grua*.
- (ii) Pl.: *ǵ^hn-éh₂-ih₂-es > Pre-PAlb. *gna’i’ah > *gnaia’ah > PALb. *gnaia > (loss of intervocalic *i) *gna’a > (vowel contraction) *gnā >> (by analogy to the sg.) OAlb. /grā/, St.-Alb. *gra*.
- Note that a suppletive pl. stem *ǵ^hn-éh₂-ih₂- (originally, a degenitival derivative of *ǵ^hén-h₂ / *ǵ^hn-éh₂- ‘woman’?) is also presupposed by Gk. nom.pl. γυναι-ες ‘women’ and Arm. pl. *kanay-k^c* ‘id.’. Balkan IE isogloss? Though note the absence of *-k- in Alb. and Arm.

4.3. Verse 3

- 4.3.1. /mbë/ ‘in, on’: preposition (+ acc.) < PALb. *ambə < Pre-PAlb. *ambi < (Alb. Rix’s Law, §3.2.2.2 in Less. 2) *h₂mb^hi < PIE *h₂nt-b^hi ‘close to the forehead / anterior side’, cf. Toch.B *antapi* ‘both’, Toch.A *āmpi* ‘id.’, Ved. *abhí* ‘towards, against’ ~ *abhí-tas* ‘around’, YAv. *aibī* ‘against’, Gk. ἄμφι ‘around’, Lat. *ambi-* ‘id.’, etc. OAlb. /mbë/ > St.-Alb. *më* ‘in, up’ (§4.7.3 below on /ndë/).
- The loss of the initial vowel (but see /ëmbë/ in Buzuku) is due to the unstressed position.
- 4.3.2. /fjalët/: acc.pl.def. of the noun *fjalë* f. ‘word’ < PALb. *fjál-la < (a-umlaut) *fjélla < *fëlla < Pre-PAlb. *p^hélnā- < PIE *spélh_x-neh₂- f. ‘said thing’ ← adj. *sp^hlh_x-nó- ‘said’. Cf. Goth. *spill* n. ‘talk’ (→ *spillon* ‘tell’), OE *spell* n. ‘talk’, OHG *got-spell* n. ‘Gospel’ (lit. ‘God’s word’), etc. < *spélh_x-no- n. ‘said thing’. Underlying root is PIE *spelh_x- ‘speak, say’ (DPEWA s.v.).
- Note the developments (i) Pre-PAlb. *-VlnV- > PALb. *-VllV- > Alb. [-VlV-] <VlV> (vs. Pre-PAlb. *-VlV- > PALb. *-VlV- > Alb. [-VlV-] <VlV>) and (ii) PIE *sp > Pre-PAlb. *hp > *p^h > Alb. *f*.

4.3.3. /të tinëzot/: gen.sg.indef. of the noun OTo. /inë-zót/ ‘Our Lord’, univerbation of the possessive pronoun OTo. nom. /inë/ ~ gen. /tinë/ (St.-Alb. *ynë* ~ *tonë*) ‘our’ and the noun *zot* ‘lord, master’. For the latter, cf. Klingenschmitt 1992:104: PIE **desǵéh₂-s pót-i-* ‘master of the servants’ → (univerbation) **d[es]ǵéh₂[s]-p[o]ti-* > Pre-PALb. **dǵǎ-pti-* > **dǵǎti-* > PALb. **d̥ǵtə* > Alb. *zot*, with a structure comparable to that of Arm. *tēr* ‘lord, master’ < **desǵéh₂-s h₂nér-* ‘master of the servants’. For PIE **desǵéh₂-* ‘slavery; servants’, cf. Ved. *dáśyu-* ‘non-Aryan’ (< **dé/ós-ǵ-u-*) and Gk. *δοῦλος* ‘slave’ (< **dóholo-* < **dós-o-lo-*).

- The linking article /të/ (here < **tās* < PIE acc.pl.f. **teh₂-ms*) agrees in gender, number, and case with the preceding head noun /fjalët/ (acc.pl.def.).
- Note the absence of the gen. ending (/të tinëzot/ instead of ^x/të tinëzotit/).

4.3.4. /të shihi/: 2.pl.subj.pres.act. (with exhortative function) of the verb 1.sg. *shoh* ~ 2./3.sg. *sheh* ‘see’ (~ suppletive aor. 3.sg. *pa*). Etymology uncertain. Pre-form is probably PALb. 1.sg. **ǵfǵhə* ~ 3.sg. **ǵfǵhi* < **ǵfǵhə* ~ (*i*-umlaut) **ǵfǵhi* < (assimilation) **ǵnǵhə* ~ **ǵnǵhi*. (i) PALb. **ǵn-* ‘in’ is a prefix. (ii) Alb. *°h* < PIE **-skē/o-* is a lexicalized pres. suffix. (iii) The lexical base is thus Alb. *sho°* < PALb. **ǵǵ-*. According to VAA:996, from **seh,p-skē/o-* to the PIE root **seh,p-* ‘perceive (with taste)’ of Lat. *sapiō* ‘have taste’, etc. Alternatively, from **seh,g-skē/o-* to the PIE root **seh,g-* ‘follow (a spoor), track’ of Goth. *sokjan* ‘seek’, Lat. *sāgiō* ‘perceive’, etc., with semantic development ‘follow (with the eyes)’ => ‘see’ like in Goth. *saíhvan*, etc. (DPEWA s.v.).

4.3.5. /meshë/: acc.sg.indef. of the noun *meshë* f. ‘Mass’ ← Lat. *missa* ‘id.’.

4.4. Verse 4

4.4.1. /se/ ‘because’: Alb. *se* ‘that; because; what?; why?’ likely corresponds to Lat. nom./acc.pl.n. *qui-a* (nom.sg.m. *qui-s* ‘who?’). Pronominal stem **k̥i-* ‘who?’ + **-ǵ-* (hiatus filler) + neuter pl. ending **-eh₂* → **k̥i-ǵ-eh₂* > Pre-PALb. **čǵǵā* > PALb. **t̥e* > Alb. *se*, with development Pre-PALb. **-ǵǵā* > Alb. *-e* in unstressed position (§1.1.1.2 in Less. 3).

4.4.2. /’s/ ‘not’: shortened variant (with apheresis) of the declarative negation *as* (~ prohibitive negation *mos*), which builds an equation with Gk. *οὐκί* (~ *οὐκ* ~ *οὐ*) ‘not’ and Arm. *oč̣* ‘id.’ < PIE **(ne) h₂óǵi-u ±k̥id* ‘not at all [in] life’ => ‘never in life’ => ‘not’—Balkan IE isogloss. PIE **h₂óǵi-u k̥id* > Pre-PALb. **aǵuči* > **aǵuč̣* > PALb. **aǵt̥̥* > **at̥̥* > alb. *as* ~ ‘s’. “Jespersen’s Cycle”: negative semantics no longer expressed by the original negation, here PIE **ne* (Cowgill 1960; Hackstein 2016/17:219; 2020:17-8; DPEWA s.v.).

- 4.4.3. /ishtë/: 3.sg.ind.pres. of the verb ‘be’ (St.-Alb. *ështëë* ~ aor. *qe*). OTo. /ishtë/ is an archaism, as it directly continues PIE 3.sg. **h₂és-ti* ‘is’ (> Hitt. *ēszi*, Ved. *ásti*, Lat. *est*, etc.): Pre-PALb. **ésti* > **éfti* > PALb. **éftə* > **iftə* > Alb. *ishtë*, with vowel raising **ε* > **i* in palatal context (VAA:219). St.-Alb. *ështëë* (~ OGh. /*âstë*/, with nasal vowel) instead goes back to a prefixed pre-form Pre-PALb. **ân-esti* > (syncope) **ânsti* > **ânfti* > PALb. **ânftə* > OGh. /*âstë*/, (denasalization) St.-Alb. *ështëë*, cf. Hellenistic Gk. ἔν-εστῖ ‘is (inside)’ > Mod-Gk. 3.sg./pl. ἔνι ‘is; are’ (DPEWA s.v.).
- 4.4.4. /njeri/: nom.sg.indef. of the noun /njeri/ (St.-Alb. *njeri*) m. ‘human being’ (<nj> = [ɲ]). Related to PIE **h₂né-* ‘(strong) man, hero’ > Ved. *nár(a)-* m. ‘id.’, Gk. ἀνὴρ m. ‘id.’, → Lat. *Nerō*, etc., esp.: PIE **h₂né-* > Pre-PALb. **né-* > PALb. **nér* > **njér* + suff. **-í* (< **-iə* < PIE **-iō-*) → **njér-í* > OAlb. /*njerí*/, St.-Alb. *njerí*. Note the (weakly) suppletive pl. *njërëz* (OAlb. /*njërëzë*/) < Pre-PALb. collective **né-idjad* (DPEWA s.v.).
- The original meaning ‘(strong) man, hero’ (PIE **h₂né-*) developed to ‘human being’ (Alb. *njeri*). The meaning ‘(strong) man, hero’ is now expressed by Alb. *burrë* (§4.2.3).
- 4.4.5. /nesh/: abl.pl. (with partitive meaning) of the personal pronoun of the 1.pl. *ne* ‘we’ < PIE **nós* (> Lat. *nōs* ‘id.’) (DPEWA s.v. *unë* / *ne*; Neri 2025a:324). On the abl.pl. ending *-sh*, §1.2.10 in Less. 3.
- 4.4.6. /që/ ‘who, which’: indeclinable relative pronoun Alb. *që* < PALb. **ki* << PIE interrogative pron. **k^uí-s* ‘who?’, cf. Lat. *quis* ‘who?; who / which’. The vowel *ö* (= [ə]) in *që* is due to unstressed position; in dialects, one still finds the variant *qi*, with *ö* < PIE **k^uí-s*. The velar *q^o* (< PALb. **k* / *_V_[+front]*) instead of *s^o* (< PIE **k^u* / *_V_[+front]*) is unexpected and may have been transferred analogically from *kush* ‘who?’ (§4.1.4).
- 4.4.7. /mkatë/: acc.pl.indef. of the noun OTo. /mkat/ (St.-Alb. *mëkát*, OGh. /kat/) m. ‘sin’ ← Lat. *peccātum* n. ‘id.’. Cf. Lat. *peccātum* → PALb. nom.sg. **pekátyh* (vowel weakening) > **pəkátyh* > (syncope) **pəkáty* > **káty* > OGh. /kat/. (O)To. /m(ë)kat/ probably arose via univerbation from a nominal phrase **me kát* ‘with sin’.
- 4.4.8. /kã/: 3.sg.ind.pres. of the verb ‘have’ (St.-Alb. *ka*), of disputed origin. Most likely, from the PIE root **tkeh₂-* ‘gain, obtain’ of Gk. κτάομαι ‘id.’, esp. from a resultative perfect PIE **te-tkóh₂-* / **te-tkh₂-* (‘have obtained’ =>) ‘have’ >> (dereduplication) **tkóh₂-* / **tkh₂-* >> (intra-paradigmatic generalization of the weak stem) **tkh₂-* > Pre-PALb. **tka-* > PALb. **ka-*. In the 3.sg., PALb. **ka-* + ending **-ə* (< PIE **-e*) → **ka-ə* > (contraction) OTo. /kã/, St.-Alb. *ka* (DPEWA s.v.).
- Suppletive aor. 3.sg. Alb. *pat-i* ‘had’ ← PIE root **pot-* ‘(be) master’ (DPEWA s.v.).

4.5. Verse 5

- 4.5.1. /lum/: nom.sg.m. (with apocope of -ē) of the adj. *i lumë* ‘blissful, happy’ < PALb. **lumma-* < Pre-PALb. **lumna-* < **lubna-* < PIE **lub^h-nó-* ‘(be)loved’, from the PIE root **leub^h-* ‘love’ of Lat. *lubet* ~ *libet* (impers.) ‘it pleases, is agreeable’. Cf. esp. PIE **leub^h-ó-* ‘(be)loved’ > Goth. *liufs* ‘dear’, PDE (obs.) *lief* ‘willingly’, OHG *liob* ‘dear’, OCS *ljubŭ* ‘id.’, etc.
- 4.5.2. /e/ ‘him/her/it’: acc.m./f. of the unstressed (esp., proclitic) personal pronoun of the 3.sg. (~ dat.m./f. *i*). In Alb., the direct obj. of a verb can be doubled through a proclitic pronoun: e.g., *Plator e do shumë punën* ‘Plator loves his work very much’. In our text, the clitic pronoun doubles the completive clause introduced by the verb *kujton*, cf. /lum kush e kujton se.../, lit. ‘blissful who thinks it, that ...’.
- Alb. acc.m./f. *e* ‘him/her/it’ goes back to PIE acc.sg. m. **éi-om* ~ f. **éi-ām* (> Lat. *eum* ‘him’ ~ *eam* ‘her’), cf. Matzinger 2006:108-9; Neri 2025a:336. It thus belongs to the PIE demonstrative **i-* / **eĭ-* ~ **e-* / **o-* ‘this’, like the nom./acc.sg. of the linking article (§1.1.4.3 in Less. 3).
 - The acc.m./f. of the proclitic pronoun of the 3.sg. is homophonous with the copulative conjunction (§4.2.4)!
- 4.5.3. /kujton/: 3.sg.ind.pres.act. of the verb *kujton* ‘think’ ← Lat. *cōgitō*, -āre ‘id.’. Alb. speakers took the 1.sg. Lat. *cōgitō* as the basic form of the paradigm: this led to a stem PALb. **kugitó-*, which was then enlarged with the pres. suffix 1.sg. **-nĭā* ~ 3.sg. **-ni* (< Pre-PALb. **-nĭe/a-*). Pres. paradigm PALb. 1.sg. **kugitó-nĭā* ~ 3.sg. **kugitó-ni* > (syncope) **kugtó-nĭā* ~ **kugtó-ni* > **kuktó-nĭ* ~ **kuktó-n* > **kuxtó-n* ~ **kuxtó-n* > OAlb. /kujtónj ~ kujtón/ > St.-Alb. *kujtój* ~ *kujtón*.
- The development Lat. (*)-ct- > Alb. -jt- points to an early loan. In later borrowings, Lat. -ct- → Alb. -ft-, e.g. Lat. *lucta* ‘wrestling’ → Alb. *luftë* f. ‘war’ (~ Rum. *luptă* f. ‘id.’). Cf. di Giovine 1982.
- 4.5.4. /se/ ‘that’: §4.4.1 above.
- 4.5.5. /kā të vdesë/: periphrastic future form (3.sg.) consisting of (i) 3.sg.ind.pres. /kā/ ‘has’ (§4.4.8) + (ii) 3.sg.subj.pres. /të vdes-ë/, to the verb 1-3.sg. *vdes* ‘die’. Alb. *v-des* features a lexicalized prefix *v-* (< PIE **ui-* ‘away’, cf. Ved. *vi-* ‘id.’) + a lexical base -des, of uncertain origin. Perhaps, from an iterative PIE **dok^u-ĕje/o-* ‘show (oneself)’ > Pre-PALb. **dáč-ĭje/a-* > PALb. **dát^si* > (i-umlaut) **dét^si* > Alb. -des, with semantic development ‘show (oneself) away, dis-appear’ => ‘die’. For the PIE root **dek^u-* ‘show (oneself)’, cf. Hitt. *tekkusija* ‘id.’ ← **dek^u-s-* (DPEWA s.v.).
- Arbëresh future differs from both Gheg (HAVE + inf.) and Tosk (WANT + subj.pres.) periphrastic future (Matzinger 2006:119, 160; §2.3.2.2 in Less. 1).

4.6. Verse 6

4.6.1. /mentë/: acc.pl.def. of the noun *mend* (~ pl.indef. *mend*) f. ‘thought, mind’. The OTosk definite pl. /mentë/ arose through assimilation from *mend-të* (= St.-Alb. form). Alb. *mend* could be a loanword from Lat. *mēns, mentis* f. ‘mind’ (esp. from acc.sg. *mentem* or nom.sg. VLat. *MENTIS), but also—and more likely—go back to the *i*-stem PIE *mén-ti- / *mḡ-téj (> ai. *matí*- f. ‘thought’, lat. *mēns, mentis* f. ‘mind’, etc.). Cf. nom.sg. PIE *mén-ti-s > Pre-PAlb. *méntih > PAlb. *mēnti > (voicing assimilation) *mēndi > Alb. *mend*.

- The old *i*-stem inflection is still visible in the nom.sg.def. Alb. *mend-ja* << (reanalysis) *mendj-a* < *mēndi-a.

4.6.2. /bashkë/ ‘together’: adv. with disputed etymology. The final sequence °shkë could be of suffixal origin (< *°-s-tu-ko- with syncope?). The initial sequence ba° could be from *b^hond^h-°, to the PIE root *b^hend^h- ‘bind’ of Goth. *bindan* ‘id.’, Gk. πενθερός m. ‘father-in-law’, etc. (DPEWA s.v.).

4.6.3. /tënëzonë/: acc.sg.def. of the noun /inë-zot/ ‘Our Lord’ (§4.3.3). Unlike the gen.sg.def. (/të tinëzot/), the acc.sg.def. did feature the inflectional ending (*-në, §1.2.6 in Less. 3), which triggered assimilation of the stem final segment °t: *tënëzót-në > *tënëzónnë > (degemination) /tënëzónë/.

- Note the oscillation between [i] (/të tinëzot/) and [ə] (/tënëzonë/) in the unstressed initial syllable.

4.6.4. /i/ ‘them’: acc.m./f. of the unstressed (proclitic) personal pronoun of the 3.pl. (~ dat.m./f. *u*). Note, again, the doubling of the direct object: /e mentë bashkë mbë tënëzonë i kâ/.

- Like the proclitic pronoun of the 3.sg. (§4.5.2), also the proclitic pronoun of the 3.pl. continues the PIE demonstrative *i- / *eḡ- ~ *e- / *o- ‘this’, cf. Alb. *i* < acc.pl.m. *i-ms (> Goth. acc.pl.m. *ins* ‘them’).

4.7. Verse 7

4.7.1. /se/ ‘because’: §4.4.1.

4.7.2. /Krishti/: nom.sg.def. of *Krisht* ‘Christ’ ← (loanword) Lat. *Christus*. Lat. *s* always yields Alb. [ʃ] (<sh>) in loanwords.

- 4.7.3. /ndë/ 'in': preposition (+ abl./acc.) < PALb. **andə* < Pre-PALb. **entah* < PIE **en-tós* '(from) inside', cf. Lat. *intus* adv. 'in(side)', Gk. ἐντός 'id.', ai. *ántas-patha-* '(being) on the way', etc. The loss of the initial vowel (but see /ëndë/ in Buzuku) is due to the unstressed position.
- OAlb. /ndë/ > St.-Alb. *në* 'in' (§4.3.1 on /mbë/).
- 4.7.4. /parajsit/: abl.sg.def. of the noun *parájs* (~ def. *parajs-i*) m. 'Paradise' ← (loanword) Byz.-Gk. παράδεισος m. 'id.', with loss of intervocalic δ [ð]. In (O)Gheg, the source of the loanword is not Greek, but Latin, cf. *paradīsus* m. → (O)Gh. *paríz* ~ *parís*.
- Gk. παράδεισος ← Iran. *pairi.daēza-* 'enclosure; garden' ← *pairi-* 'around' (cf. Gk. περί 'id.') + *daēza-* m. 'wall' < PIE **dʰóǵʰ-o-* 'the kneaded one' (cf. Gk. τοῖχος m. 'wall').
- 4.7.5. /i/ 'to him': dat.m./f. of the unstressed (proclitic) personal pronoun of the 3.sg. (~ acc.m./f. *e*, §4.5.2). Probably, < PALb. **eĭ* < **eĭ̃* < Pre-PALb. **eĭ̃ə* < PIE gen.sg. **é-sĭo* (> Ved. *ásya* 'of him', Lat. *eiū-s* 'id.', etc.), to the demonstrative pronoun PIE **i-* / **eĭ-* ~ **e-* / **o-* 'he, this' (§4.2.4).
- Note the homophony with the acc.m./f. of the proclitic pronoun of the 3.pl. (Alb. *i* < **i-ms*, §4.6.4).
- 4.7.6. /bën/: 3.sg.ind.pres.act. of the verb 1.sg. *běj* ~ 2./3.sg. *bën* 'do, make'. Ultimately, from the *n*-infix pres. PIE **bʰ-né-h₂-* / **bʰ-ŋ-h₂-* 'make appear' (← PIE root **bʰeh₂-* 'shine'), directly continued in Arm. *bana-m* 'I open'. In a stage ancestral to Alb. and Gk., the 3.pl. **bʰ-ŋ-h₂-énti* regularly developed to **bʰán-énti*, whence speakers extracted a new pres. stem **bʰán-* which they recharacterized as **bʰán-ĭe/o-*.
- In Alb., this led to Pre-PALb. 1.sg. **bánĭō* ~ 3.sg. **bánĭet* > **bánĭō* ~ **bánĭit* > **bánĭō* ~ **báni* >
 - (i) PALb. 1.sg. **bânĭə* > OGh. /bânj/ > Gh. *bâj* ~ (denasalization) OTo. /bënj/ > To./St.-Alb. *běj*;
 - (ii) PALb. 3.sg. **báni* >> (Klingenschmitt 1982:256 fn. 15) (O)Gh. *bân* ~ (denasalization) (O)To./St.-Alb. *bën*.
 - In Gk., **bʰán-ĭe/o-* > φαίνω 'show' (<= 'make appear').
 - Albano-Greek morphological isogloss (§1.1 in Less. 2), though Alb. innovated on the semantic side—further development 'make appear' => 'create, produce' => 'do, make' (DPEWA s.v.).
- 4.7.7. /pjesë/: acc.sg.indef. of the noun *pjesë* f. 'part, portion' < PALb. **pétʰa* ← (loanword) VLat. **PETĭA* 'part, piece' (> Fr. *pièce* 'id.', It. *pezza* 'id.', etc.). VLat. **PETĭA* may be a loan from Gall. **pettia*, cf. OIr. *cuith* f. 'part, piece' and OW *ped* m./f. 'id.' < PCelt. **kʷezdi-* (EDPC:179).
- Syntagm /bën pjesë/ + dat. 'make space / place to', lit. 'make part to'.

4.8. Verse 8

4.8.1. /e/ 'him/her/it': §4.5.2.

4.8.2. /për/ 'for': preposition (+ acc.) < PALb. *pər < Pre-PALb. *pŕ < PIE *prō (cf. Lat. *prō*) or *pro (cf. Gk. *πρό*). In the text, /për/ introduces the appositions qualifying the direct objects of the verb 'do', i.e., /bīr/ 'son' and /vëllā/ 'brother'.

➤ /e bën pər bīr/ lit. 'he makes him for son' => 'he makes him son', cf. NHG *jdñ. zu etwas machen* 'make sb. sth'.

4.8.3. /bīr/: acc.sg.indef. of the noun OAlb. /bīr/ (St.-Alb. *bir*, pl. *bij*) m. 'son' < PALb. *biryh, with lengthening *i* > *ī* / _r# after the loss of the nom. ending *-yh < *-os (§2.4.2.1 in Less. 2). PALb. *biryh 'son' goes back to Pre-PALb. *bīra- < PIE *b^hih_x-ro- 'sprout, shoot' and belongs to the PIE root *b^hejh_x- 'beat; sprout, shoot' → OCS *biti* 'beat', Russ. *bit* 'id.', Alb. *m-bin* 'sprout', etc.

➤ Same semantic development as Gk. *φῑτν* n. 'sprout, bud' < PIE *b^hih_x-tu-.

4.8.4. /të tij/: acc. of the masc. possessive pronoun of the 3.sg. (nom. *i/e tij*). It is made up by: (i) linking article in the acc.sg.m., i.e., Alb. *të* < PIE acc.sg.m. *tó-m 'this', which agrees with the acc.sg.indef. *bīr* 'son'; (ii) demonstrative pronoun in the gen.sg.m., i.e., Alb. *tij* < PALb. *tyj̥ < Pre-PALb. *tyj̥ə < PIE *tó-sjo* 'of this' (cf. Ved. *tásya* 'id.', Ep.-Gk. *τοῦτο* 'of the', etc.).

➤ /bīr të tij/ lit. 'son the [one] of this [person]' => 'this [person's] son' => 'his/her/its (own) son'.

4.8.5. /e/ 'and': §4.2.4.

4.8.6. /vëllā/: acc.sg.indef. of the noun OAlb. /vëllā/ (St.-Alb. *vëlla* [və'la]) m. 'brother', with complex prehistory. Most likely, the starting form is a PIE compound *sue-leud^h-i- 'own people' ← (i) reflexive pron. PIE *sue (> Ved. *svá*, Gk. *ἐ*, etc.) + (ii) noun PIE *leud^h-i- 'people' (> OHG *liut* f. 'id.', NHG *Leute* f. 'id.', lit. *ljáudis* f. 'id.', Russ. *ljud* m. 'id.', etc.). From there, adj. derivative *sue-leud^h-i-o- 'belonging to the own people' → subst. *sue-leud^h-i-on- 'the one belonging to the own people' > Alb. *vëllá* m. 'brother'. This means: Alb. *vë*^o < PIE *sue-; Alb. *ollá* < PIE *-léud^h-i-on- via lenition and loss of intervocalic *-d^h- and subsequent vowel contraction (cf. the long vowel in OAlb. /vëllā/).

➤ Suppletive pl. Alb. *vëllézër* (OGh. /vëllázënë/) 'brothers' < PALb. *xelád̥jani < *sue-leud^h-i-on-es (DPEWA s.v.).