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PIE. \*S IN ALBANIAN

FREDERIK KORTLANDT

1. Recent publications by Huld (1984) and Orel (1985) provide an incentive to reconsider the fate of PIE. \*s in Albanian. Though the problem was largely solved by Meyer (1892) and Pedersen (1900), a number of unclear points have remained. In the following I intend to reconsider the evidence in order to arrive at an identification of what I see as the main difficulty. I shall not dwell upon the points which I regard as solved.

2. Initial \*s- before a stressed vowel yielded *gj-*, e.g.:

*gjarpër* 'snake', Lat. *serpēns*;  
*gjashtë* 'six', Lat. *sex*, Gr. *héks*;  
*gjalpë* 'butter', Gr. *élpos*, Toch. A *ṣǎlyp*, B *ṣalype*;  
*gjumë* 'sleep', Gr. *húpnos*, OCS. *ꙗꙋꙋꙋ*;  
*gjallë* 'living', Gr. *hólos*, Skt. *sárva-*;  
*gjak* 'blood', Gr. *opós*, OCS. *ꙗꙋꙋꙋ*.

Orel rejects the accent as a conditioning factor on the basis of the last example (1985: 279). His argument is not valid because the accentuation of the Greek word is irregular, as Lubotsky has recently pointed out (1987: 167), and the Slavic evidence is ambiguous.

3. Initial \*s- was dissimilated to *th-* before a following \*s in *thi* 'pig', Lat. *sūs*, and in *thanj* 'I dry', Lith. *saūsas* (on the latter etymon cf. Lubotsky 1985). Initial \*sw- before a stressed vowel yielded *d-* in the following words:

*diell* 'sun' < \*swel-, Gr. *hélē*, *heílē*;  
*dergjem* 'I am ill' < \*sworgh-, Lith. *siřgti*;  
*dirsë* 'sweat' < \*swidr-, Gr. *hidrós*, Skt. *svéda-*.

of *-i*, *-jo* from *\*so*, *\*sā*, however. Firstly, the derivation does not explain the vowel *-i*, for which Pedersen assumes a development of final *\*-o* to *\*-ū* with subsequent delabialization, adducing *dy* 'two' < *\*dwo* and acc. *ty* 'you' < *\*twe* in support of his view (1900: 282). But *ty* must be derived from the north-east Gheg form *tye* < *\*twēm*, cf. *mue* 'me' < *\*mēm* (Jokl 1963: 142), and Huld derives *dy* from *\*duwai*, OCS. *дѹѡѣ* (1984: 57), which is preferable. Secondly, Pedersen assumes that *-j-* is a simple hiatus filler because *\*j* is normally reflected as *gj* (1900: 313). It is unclear how an epenthetic *-j-* could originate between *a-* and *-o*, however. Thirdly, I think that the expected reflex of PIE. *\*so* is actually attested in the interrogative pronoun *kush* 'who' < *\*ku-so*, obl. *kujt*, cf. OCS. *кѹѡ*. It seems that Pedersen's view of the demonstrative pronoun prevented him from considering this interpretation of the interrogative: "der nominativ ist *ku-š* zu zerlegen; *š* muss rest eines nicht näher zu bestimmenden pronominalen elementes sein; durch analogische anfügung der genitivendung *-i* an den stamm *ku-* entstand *kuj*, mit dem postpositiven artikel *kujt*" (1900: 317). In view of these difficulties, it is necessary to reconsider the system of demonstrative pronouns which can be reconstructed for Proto-Albanian.

8. In an earlier study I pointed out that a reconstruction of the Balto-Slavic demonstrative pronouns leads to the establishment of a single demonstrative *\*so*, *\*to-*, an anaphoric pronoun *\*e/i-*, and three deictic particles, *\*ĕi* 'hic', *\*au* 'istic', and *\*an* 'illic', and that this system also accounts for the demonstrative pronouns of Armenian and Tocharian (1983). The attested paradigms resulted from various confluences of these elements. One may wonder if the Albanian forms can be derived from the same system.

The deictic element *a-* may represent *\*au*, but the element *kě-* cannot be derived from *\*ĕi*, which is perhaps found in *sot* 'today', *sonte* 'tonight' < *\*ĕjā-* (Huld 1984: 112), cf. *ditë* 'day', *natë* 'night', Gr. *śēmeron* 'today', though a comparison with *sivjet* 'this year' rather supports a derivation from *\*tjā-* (Pedersen 1900: 311), cf. abl. masc. *kěsi*, fem. *kěso* 'this' < *\*-tj-*. It seems evident to me that *kě-* reflects Latin *eccum*, Italian *ecco*, which played a dominant role in the formation of the Romance demonstratives, e.g.

Italian *qui* 'here' < \**eccu-hic*. This derivation explains the labialization in Alb. *ky* < \**ku-i*. It suggests that Alb. *a-* must perhaps be connected with Romance *a-* (cf. Meyer 1891: 1).

The second component of the demonstrative pronouns *-i*, *-jo*, *-ta*, *-to* may represent a conflation of the PIE. demonstrative \**so*, \**to-* with the anaphoric pronoun \**e/i-*. Indeed, Alb. *-i*, *-jo* can be directly compared with Latin *is*, *ea* (Meyer 1892: 79), or rather with Skt. *ayám*, *iyám* < \**ei-om*, \**iH-om* (cf. Beekes 1983: 209), with added \**-ā* in the feminine. The unstressed variants are found in the article *i*, *e*. Similar conflations took place in Germanic, Baltic, Slavic, and Tocharian.

The Germanic paradigm of \**so*, \**to-* has \**te-* in the genitive forms and in the feminine dat.sg. form. Since there is no motivation for the analogical introduction of *e/i-* forms into the paradigm of \**so*, \**to-*, I think that it actually represents the paradigm of \**e/i-* which took \**t-* and suppletive nominative and accusative forms from \**so*, \**to-*. The original nom. and acc. forms with added \**s/t-* are found in the Viking age paradigm of ON. *siá* 'this' (cf. Beekes 1983: 219). The origin of these forms can be dated to an earlier period in view of the Vedic evidence (*ibidem*: 216); they do not belong to the same paradigm.

In Prussian, the paradigm of \**e/i-* adopted \**an-* in order to create a form meaning 'he there', which subsequently gave rise to correlating forms with \**t-* and \**si-* (cf. Kortlandt 1983: 317). The further development of these forms yielded an anaphoric pronoun \**tan(e/i)-*, an article \**st(e/i)-*, and demonstrative pronouns \**sta-* and \**ši(a)-* (*ibidem*: 312-314, cf. Kortlandt 1982: 9). The Slavic and Old Lithuanian paradigms of \**e/i-* have suppletive nominative forms with \**an-* (cf. Van Wijk 1918: 116), which evidently have the same origin as the Prussian forms. Note in this connection the parallel in Greek, which has a suppletive nominative for *auto-* as a 3rd person pronoun. The Slavic demonstrative *ѣ* 'this' is inflected as a soft stem in spite of the fact that the *s-* was hard, as is clear from the West Slavic reflex *s-*, not *š-*. The paradigm must therefore be derived from the addition of *s-* from \**si* 'hic' to the inflected forms of \**e/i-*. This derivation also accounts for the deviant masc. nom.pl. form *снн*, which may represent \**ki* plus \**ei*.

The paradigm of the West Tocharian word for 'this' is the following:

	masc.	fem.	neuter
sg. nom.	<i>se</i>	<i>sā</i>	<i>te</i>
obl.	<i>ce</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>te</i>
pl. nom.	<i>cey</i>	<i>toy</i>	
obl.	<i>ceṃ</i>	<i>toy</i>	

Since *e* is the phonetic reflex of PIE. \**o*, the masc. forms show the expected development of PIE. \**so*, \**tom*, \**toi*, \**tons*, except for the fact that *c-* is the phonetic reflex of \**t* before a front vowel. It follows that there must have been a stem \**te-* with a suppletive nom.sg. form and that the initial consonant was adopted in the demonstrative pronoun. Elsewhere I have argued for the reconstruction of a Proto-Tocharian anaphoric pronoun \**ǵ-* < \**e/i-* which adopted \**t-* from the demonstrative (1983: 321). I think that we must assume the same conflation for Proto-Albanian.

Thus, I propose to derive Alb. *-i*, *-jo* from \**is*, \**ijā* or \**ei*, \**ejā*, acc. *-të* < \**tom*, \**tām*, pl. *-ta*, *-to* < \**tons*, \**tās*, gen.-dat. *-ti(j)*, *-saj* < \**tei(-)*, \**t(e)jāi*, abl. *-si(sh)*, *-so(sh)* < \**t(e)jei(su)*, \**t(e)jā(su)* (cf. Beekes 1983: 209, Pedersen 1900: 314). The unstressed variants of these forms are found in the article *i*, *e*, *tě*, *sě*. In any case, the demonstrative pronoun cannot be used as evidence for the alleged loss of PIE. \**s* in Albanian.

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#### NOTE

<sup>1</sup> Thus, I withdraw the view that the intervocalic reflex of PIE. \**s* is zero (1986: 42).

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