

Vanja STANIŠIĆ  
Faculty of Philology  
Belgrade

## TWO TYPES OF ANCIENT INDO-EUROPEAN ISOGLOSSES IN THE ALBANIAN LANGUAGE

*Abstract.* Since a separate Indo-European feature of the Albanian language has been discovered in the mid-19th century, reliable and generally accepted criteria for determining its ethno-linguistic connections were largely exhausted. Due to the comparatively late appearance of the Albanian language on the historical scene, on the one hand, and the absence of literary testaments of old-Balkan languages on the other, the dispute on the origin of the Albanian language has been conducted for two centuries, with relatively moderate results. This paper attempts to view the question of Albanian ethno-linguistic ties in the light of new conclusions that have emerged in the comparative grammar of Indo-European languages.

The fact that Albanian is spoken in territories inhabited in the past by Illyrian tribes has incited pioneers in Albanology to view it as a successor of the Illyrian language [J. Thunmann, *Untersuchungen über die Geschichte der östlichen europäischen Völker*, Leipzig, 1774]. Besides a similarity in the tribal names of the ancient and contemporary inhabitants of that part of the Balkans, the Illyrian Ἄλβανοί - the Albanian *arbën/arbër* (with a void of eight centuries between them), linguists have before them meager data which has itself been a subject of dispute and insufficient for any reliable judgment on the Illyrian language.<sup>1</sup> An indisputable fact, nevertheless, is that the Albanian lan-

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<sup>1</sup> Congruity between the names of Illyrian tribes Δελμάται - *Dalmatae* and Alb. *del(m)e* „sheep“, the ancient names of Ulcinj and Kotor, Οὐλκίνιον - *Olcinium*, Ρίζον - *Rhizon*, with the Alb. name for „wolf“ *ujk/ulk* and the verb „flow“ *tjedhë* [Çabej 1976: 26] are based only on external similarities. One of three certain Illyrian words such as ῥίνον from Homer's Scholia (Οἱ λέγουσιν Ἰλλυριοὺς ῥίνον λέγειν τὴν ἀχλύς „They say ῥίνον means darkness to the Illyrians“), which N. Jokl

guage in late antiquity met with considerable Latin influence, bordering with a region whence the Romanian language descended, but the territory cannot be reliably established due to large migrations which altered the ethnic map of the Balkans in early medieval times. Thus Walter Porcig [1964:222-223] argues that the Albanian language cannot be examined as a direct representative of the Illyrian group, but must be compared with the other languages, including the Illyrian, as an independent tongue. In other words, the Albanian language emerged in consequence of inter-linguistic diffusions among the indigenous and Romanized Balkan populations, as inferred by Agnia Desnitskaya, resulting in an amalgamation of the old and new with the Latin lexicon as a substrate element of the new language of the new inhabitants [Десницкая 1987: 125].

A more detailed investigation of the linguistic facts produced an opposite view, that the Albanian language might be of Thracian rather than Illyrian origin, as assumed by Herman Hirt at the close of the previous century [Festschrift für H. Kiepert, Berlin 1898]. Guttural reflexes put the Albanian as a member of the satem languages, and there are reliable examples of Satemic reflexes in the Thracian and Phrygian to be found among old Balkan languages,<sup>2</sup> which cannot be said for certain regarding the Illyrian language.<sup>3</sup> Gustaw Weigand [Balkan-

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was the first to link with the Alb. *re(n)* „cloud“ [Нерознак 1978: 163], and then Çabej linked it to the Alb. *errēt* „darkness“ (1976: 27), could also be connected to the Old Balkan (Old Macedonian) name for the *Cma* River, the western tributary stream of the Vardar River - Ἐπίγων, whose closest areal parallels, according to V. Georgiev [1958: 133] are in the Greek and Armenian terms for darkness - ἔρεβος and evening - *erek*, which was, however, subsequently relativized by the discovery that they are IE archaisms confirmed in the Tocharian A *orkām* „darkness“, Old Ind. *rajaný* „night“ and Goth. *riqis* „darkness“ [Семереньи: 78; Джаукян 1982<sup>1</sup>: 49].

<sup>2</sup> Phryg. ζέμελεν „man“, i.e. countryman, with the same motivation as the Lith. *žmónės* „people“, derived from *žēmė*, the Lat. *homō* from *humus*, and the Gothic *guma* „man“ [Хаас 1980: 390], and the Thracian divinity from the Illiad Σεμέλη: Lith. *Žemėlė* „mother earth“, < \*d<sup>h</sup>e-ǵ<sup>h</sup>ōm, Phryg. ζέλκια „vegetables“, Thrac. ζελάς „wine“ (Old Slavonic *зелк*, *злакъ*, Bulgarian *зелки* - Gr. *χλωρός* „spinach, grass“, Hittite *halkiš* „cereal“ < \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>olkō-), Phryg. σίκκινις „war game satire“ (Lith. *šókti* „play, jump“, Gr. *κηκίει* „be merry, roguish“) Phryg. ἄζενον „chin, double chin“ (Greek *γένυς*, Arm. *cnawt*, Lat. *gena* „cheek“), Phryg. ζεύμαν „source“ (Gr. *χεῦμα* „current, stream“, Arm. *zoyl* „pour out“) [Широков 1981: 10-11].

<sup>3</sup> Apart from some scholars such as M. Budimir (1965: 8), who found among the scanty Illyrian glosses an occasional form with palatalization, such as, for instance, *Záγκλη*, a city in Sicilia, comparable with the Lith. *ginkla* „sickle“,

Archiv 3/1927] made his hypothesis of a common Albano-Romanian origin on the basis of the abovementioned Albano-Romanian linguistic ties and, in particular, their common cattle terminology, and the fact that the Albanian language has no autochthonous marine terminology. Advocates of the Thracian hypothesis (e.g. W. Tomaschek, M. Vasmer, J. Pokorny, X. Barić, H. Krahe) have endeavored to find traces of Albanian phonetic changes in ancient toponyms in the interior of the Peninsula, outlined by the borders of ancient Dardania and Paeonia (Niš-Štip-Ohrid), [Barić 1959:30-31]. The cited material is nevertheless quite debatable and only *Štip* would reflect all elements of Albanian phonetic change (from \*ΑΣτιβος with the typical Albanian omission of the initial *a*-, as in the Albanian latinism *mik* 'friend' < *amicus* together with the lenity as in some early Albanian Slavisms: *Pushtericë* < Бѣстрица [Loma 1991: 282-300].

Considerable popularity among scholars who considered the Albanian as a descendent of the Illyrian language,<sup>4</sup> was a tripartite concept by Holger Pedersen, according to which the Albanian language has reflexes of all three orders of gutturals so is therefore neither centum nor satem („Die Gutturale im Albanesischen,, KZ 36/1900). Pedersen based his assumption on about a dozen examples that should contain traces of old labiovelars, which, in his opinion, gave different reflexes than ordinary velars (became palatalized positionally into *q*, *gj* [k̟, g̟]). However, in 1907, Eduard Hermann showed that Albanian mediopalates *q*, *gj* occurred much later, so there was no difference in the reflexes of labiovelars and common velars [*E. Hermann*, Über das Rekonstruieren, KZ 41], while Eqrem Çabej negated most of Pedersen's samples, arguing that Albanian palatal reflexes were only *th*, *d[h]*, and labiovelars only *s*, *z* [Çabej 1986<sup>b</sup>: 82-85; Откупщиков 1989<sup>a</sup>: 44]. This hypothesis was never conventionally accepted in scientific comparative literature, as that would make the Albanian language unique, having all three orders of gutturals, which, according to the current very convincing twopartite interpretation, did not exist simultaneously even in the ancestral language, thus only velars and palatals can be reconstructed

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nomen instrumenti linked with the Old Slavic жати - therefore, with a typically Alb. reflex of the voiced labiovelar (g<sup>h</sup>en-), such as the Alb. *zjarr* „fire“ according to the Old Slavonic жаръ (\*g<sup>h</sup>er-).

<sup>4</sup> Десницкая 1966: 12-13; Ölberg 1976; Нерознак 1982: 142; Русаков 1987: 173; Demiraj 1989; 38-48.

in satem languages, and only velars and labiovelars in centum languages. With regard to that, the most important thing is that there is no trace of labialization in the Albanian language, according to Oleg Shirokov [1981:10], and that „partial“ or „inconsistent satem“ instances such as the Albanian *kohë*: Old Slavonic *часъ*, *quaj* (dial. *kluonj*) „call“: Old Slavonic *слышати* (cf. Prussian *kīsmān* „time“, lit. *klausyti* „listen“) do not separate the Albanian from other satem languages.

On the other hand, ancient scholars put old Dardania and Paeonia as part of the Illyrian country. Illyrian lands, according to Herodotus, extended north of present-day Macedonia, including the sources of the Ibar and Južna Morava rivers [Papazoglu 1969:167]. Though only one term remains from the Paeonian language - *μόναπος* „wild bull, aurochs“ which tells us nothing about that language [Ködderitzsch 1985:23], today we know that „Illyrian“ and „Thracian“ were predominantly ethnopolitical notions, inclusive of other ethno-linguistic strata, particularly in the central Balkans. As far as Paeonia is concerned, it could also be excluded from the assumed Albanian native land because it fell to Macedonian rule in the third century B.C., bearing strong Hellenic influence since, which reflected on the subsequent Roman division of the Balkan provinces, under which Paeonia remained part of Macedonia. The Albanian language, however, shows no signs of Hellenization, but of Romanization.

The Dardanian hypothesis has been most widely accepted today, as it encompasses the followers of both the Illyrian and Thracian origin of Albanians. The Dardanian-Illyrian origin of Albanians formulated by Norbert Jokl in the 1930s is accepted by many contemporary scholars [Hamp 1966: 106; Ködderitzsch 1988: 113; Loma 1991: 283-284; Gindin 1992]. The traditional opinion that Dardanians were of Illyrian origin is based on express claims of ancient scholars, above all Strabo and Apian. Though only the names of three plants have been preserved from the Dardanian language, abundant onomastic material (primarily Dardanian names dating from Roman times in present-day Kosovo and Metohija) have an overall Illyrian character. Contrary to this, positive Thracian onomastic traces are to be encountered in eastern Dardania (e.g. *Βεσίανα*, with the Thracian ethnicon *Βεσσοί* recognizable in the basis, and *Δαρδάρα* with a Thracian name for a settlement in another part). The presence of Thracian elements has been ascribed to the political expansion of Dardania to the Južna Morava and Nišava rivers in the third century B.C. [Papazoglu 1969: 161-195].

On the other hand, advocates of the Thracian hypothesis saw potential Albanian ancestors in the Thracian stratum in Dardania. In keeping with a comparatively recent view of this Thracian stratum as an ethno-linguistically separate Daco-Mysian region, which included Dardania, V. Georgiev in assumed a joint Daco-Mysian heritage of Albanians and Romanians in 1960. His main argument was that the substrate lexicon of the Romanian language (the Daco-Mysian heritage) has parallels in the Albanian language almost entirely, while the common Romanian-Albanian lexicon of Latin origin is distinctly different in its geo-linguistic and ethno-social features from the western Balkan Dalmatian language. On the basis of all this, Georgiev inferred an affinity between the relationship of the Albanian language to the Daco-Mysian on the one hand, and the Romanian language to the Latin, on the other. Contrary to Jokl, who considered Albanian an amalgamated language of central Balkan origin, with predominantly Illyrian features, Georgiev saw it as a basically Daco-Mysian language with specific Illyrian components [Georgiev 1960: 19]. Georgiev's hypothesis, however, is relativized by the fact that the ethno-linguistic distinction between Dacian and Thracian is also a hypothesis, and that traces of the Dacian language comprise only about a dozen plants and several anthroponyms and toponyms. Still, Georgiev's hypothesis, though set out in the early sixties, has not been seriously contested, but rather approved of, as the text will show later on.

In the light of new knowledge about the Balkans as a meeting-place of northern and southern groups of Indo-Europeans [Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1984:956], the old question of areal relations in the Albanian language, between west and east, within which scholars decided in favor of or against linking satem Albanian with an apparently centum language such as the Illyrian, has in the past few decades developed into a no less exclusive interpretation of the Albanian language either as a member of the northern group of Indo-European languages, or as a member of the southern Indo-European group.

The idea of ancient ties between the Albanian language and the southern Indo-European branch, comprising Greek, Phrygian, Armenian and Aryan languages, is a modified version of the Thracian hypothesis dating from H. Pedersen and V. Pisani,<sup>5</sup> and was in this form

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<sup>5</sup> Pedersen, N., *Albanesisch und Armenisch*, KZ 36, 1900; Pisani, V., *Saggi di linguistica storica Scritti scelti L'albanais et les autres langues indo-européennes*, 96-114), Torino 1959; Барић Х., *Историја арбанашиког језика*, Sarajevo 1959, 19-28.

included in the dialectic classification of Indo-European languages by T. V. Gamkrelidze and V. V. Ivanov [1984: 911]. However, meagerly corroborated, with only three structural morphological traits and a few isoglosses, their assumption was persuasively criticized by Agnia Desnitskaya. The first of these traits, Pedersen's and Pisani's old idea of a possible link between the Albanian suppletive aorist *hëngrā* „I ate“ from *ha* „I'm eating“ with an augment prosthetic appliance that is a structural feature of past times in Greek, Armenian and Aryan, was refuted by Vladimir Orel (1985), who argued that the initial *hē-* was not an augmentative prosthesis such as the Greek ἔ-φαγον „he eats“ (according to the infinitive φαγεῖν), but the root of the main verb preserved in the older northern Albanian form *ha-ngra*. The second trait is an old idea of G. Meyer, linking the Albanian plural suffix genitive-dative *-ve* (*njerëzve* „of people/to people“, *vajzave* „of girls/to girls“) with the Old Indian suffix *-bhyah* the well-known dative-instrumental formant *\*-b<sup>h</sup>/y/os* characteristic of Indo-Iranian, Armenian Greek, Italic and Celtic (Lat. *-bus*), though H. Pedersen solved the origin of this Albanian suffix at the end of the last century, indicating that *-b-* (from *\*-b<sup>h</sup>-*) would not have survived under the laws of Albanian historical phonetics because of the well-known omission of intervocal media in proto-Albanian. Based on Pedersen's conclusion that the final *-e* in Albanian derives from the old dative-ablative *-ōm* (from *\*-o-mos* with the omission of the final consonant as in proto-Slavonic) and the expanded anti-hiatus formant *-v-*, Desnitskaya saw this as confirmation of the exclusive northern European dative-instrumental formant *\*-mos* also in Albanian, i.e. another significant structural connection of the Albanian and Balto-Slavic and Germanic languages, i.e. with the northern European branch. [Десницкая 1989:106-113; Desnickaja 1993: 497-502.]

Before this, the southern Phrygian-Armenian hypothesis suffered harsh criticism by O. Shirokov, who convincingly proved, with a supply of abundant material, the primarily northern European dialectic character of the Albanian language.<sup>6</sup> Some of these isoglosses, such as for

<sup>6</sup> As the following examples testify: Alb. *baltë* = Proto-Slavic *\*bolto*, Alb. *daltë* = Proto-Slavic *\*dolbto*, Alb. *murgash* „dark, tawny“ = Lith. *mārgas*, Russ. /с/муръш, Alb. *djalë* „son; child“ = Latvian *dēls* „son“ with the same motivation as the Latin *fīlius* „son“ from *fēlare* „nurse“, root *\*k̑(e)r-w-* which only in Albanian and Balto-Slavic means „horned beasts“, Alb. *gjedh* - Old Slav. *гоубадо* with the unique dental

instance the loss of the old name for „horse“ from the root \*ekwos in the Albanian and northern European, are by their broad significance equal to the structural ties of the Albanian language with this branch, such as, for instance, the mixed reflexes of \*o/\*a in Germanic, Balto-Slavic and Albanian, and concurring reflexes of short vocals \*ɪ, \*ʊ in Albanian and Balto-Slavic, for example, \*ɪ > ri: Albanian *krimb* „worm“ on the Lith. *kirmis*, Old Ind. *kṛmih*, and Old Slavonic чрьвъ; Albanian *dritë* „light“, Welsh *drych* „appearance; mirror“, Old Indian *dṛṣ* - „appearance“, Greek δρακεῖν „look“ < \*dṛk̑-ti [Huld: 169] (contrary to most Indo-European languages, whose reflexes of vocal sonants are of a closed timbre, the Albanian language here unites with the Balto-Slavic and Celtic the common high vocal of front order).

On the other hand, E.Çabej argued in a separate investigation [Çabej, 1987], that the Albanian has separate lexical links with the Celtic languages. Though Çabej merely registered these ties, the examples, confirmed as a rule in old Balkan and the southern group of languages,<sup>7</sup> might lead to the conclusion of the existence of a southern branch of the northern European area, created by the migration of some Indoeuropeans to central Europe and the Mediterranean. This caused a separation of

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expansion from the root \*gʷou-, Alb. *lag* „damp“ - Old Slav. влага, Alb. /v/eshkë „kidney“ - Old Slav. нстро „bowels“, Alb. *dhëmb* - Old Slav. зжѣ from the root \*ǵembʰ- „bite, tear“, Alb. *vetull* - Old Slav. вежда, Alb. *bredh* „wander“ - Old Slav. бредж, Alb. *tret* „lose“ = Old Slav. трацтж, Alb. *kohë* „time“ - Old Slav. чась Alb. *zall* „coast“ - Proto Slavic \*jalouь etc. [Десницкая 1965; Широков 1981; Нерознак 1983; Çabej 1987].

<sup>7</sup> Such as the Albanian-Celtic-Armenian names for „alder-tree“ (Alb. *verr*, Brythonic *giwern*, French *ver/g/ne* from the root \*wernā- confirmed in the Arm. *geran* „log, trunk“ [Çabej 1987: 374-375; Джаукян 1982 1: 38]; Alb. *mal* „mountain, hill“ (confirmed in the earlier name of the Roman province *Dacia Maluensis* - *Dacia Ripensis*) with parallels in the Latvian *mala* „coast“ and the Old Ir. *mell* „hill“, *mala* „brow“ [Широков 1981: 20]; Alb. *mat* „river bank or sea coast“ (found in the name of the northern Albanian *Mati* River) with parallels in the Old Ir. *math* „sand“ [Çabej 1987: 378], Alb. *nëm* „curse“ cf. Alb. *Malet e Nemuna* - the Prokletije mountains, the „cursed mountains“, with parallels in Old Ir. *namae* „enemy“, and in Gr. νέμεσις „just wrath, divine vengeance“, as in Greek νέμω „grazing cattle“; Alb. *gju/glu* „knee“, Old Ir. *glún* „knee, generation, descendants“ [Широков 1981: 17; Çabej 1987: 375], the Albano-Celtic variant of Indo-European names for „knee“ and „gender“ \*ǵenu-; Alb. *dhe* „earth“ (confirmed in related Paleo-Balkan forms such as the pre-Greek Δη-μήτηρ „mother earth“, Old Macedonian Мокке-δών, Dac. Σιγγι-δών, Old Ir. *dú* „earth“, *dún* „fortress, trench“ with a likely metathesis of the root \*dʰ(e)-ǵʰd̥m > \*ǵʰd̥m > \*d̥m, the inter-stage of which is represented by the Gr. χθών [Гиндин 1981: 71-76].

the Germanic-Balto-Slavic dialectic group, which is chronologically encompassed by the northern Indoeuropean name for the „ryc“ (English *rye*, Lithuanian *rugys*, Old Slav. рѣжь), a cereal cultivated in Eastern Europe since the first millennium B.C. [Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1984:659]. Contrary to the Germanic and Balto-Slavic branch, the southern branch of Old European languages has common traits with the languages of the southern area, such as keeping the old name for «bear», from the root \*H<sub>1</sub>tk-, or the extremely conservative preservation of the diphthong in Illyrian, Greek and Celtic, to which M. Budimir drew attention [1953,1965], in regard with the Illyrian and Gaelic form of the Old European lexeme τευτα „people“ (as opposed to its secondary reflexes in the Italic, Germanic and Baltic).<sup>8</sup>

Despite the fact that the thesis of ancient links between the Albanian language and the southern Indoeuropean area is corroborated in Ivanov's and Gamkrelidze's study with only one certain common feature, the negation \*mē, and a comparatively small number of exclusive Albano-Greek-Armenian isoglosses, a more exhaustive analysis of the material in their work has in fact revealed several other common traits between the Albanian language and the southern group.

1) The negative word \*mē which expresses a prohibition in Aryan, Greek, Armenian, Phrygian and Albanian (Old Indian *mā*, Greek μή, Armenian *mi*, Phrygian με, Albanian *mos* - to which \*ne corresponds in other IE languages).

2) The dental reflexes of mediopalatals in Albanian and western Iranian languages, as opposed to the spirant reflexes of these consonants in other satem languages, e.g. the Albanian *dhëndër* „son/brother-in-law“; Modern Persian *dāmād*; Beluchi *zāmāt*; Avestan *zāmātar*; Old Indian *jāmātar* „son/brother-in-law“ (*jñatī* „cousin“); Lit. *žentas*; Old Slav. зять - Greek γυνωτός „cousin; Lat. *gener* „son/brother-in-law < \*gen-t- (evolutionary parallelism explained as a consequence of a greater occlusion of consonants in the western group of Iranian languages [Эдельман 1984: 22]. These reflexes are in the areal context also parallel to the positional dental palatalization of labiovelars in Greek (Gr. τίς, ποῦ „who,where“ - Lat. *quis, quod*, Old Ind. *cit, káh*, „what, who“, Alb. *si, kush* „how, who“, Old Slav. чьто, кьто < \*k<sup>h</sup>is, \*k<sup>h</sup>o-).

<sup>8</sup> Thus *Teutana*, the old name of Piza, „founded by some Pelazgi“, according to Katon, must be Illyrian, because the root in Osco-Umbrian is *touto*, and, like the Lith. *tautà*, is characterized by a vocalism of the closed timbre [Budimir 1965: 5-7].



3) The loss of syllabic nasals as Albanian-Greek-Aryan isophones: Old Ind. *math* 'thought', Gr. *αὐτό-ματος* 'automatic', Alb. *mat* 'measuring, thinking' - Lat. *mens* (genitive *mentis*) 'sense', Got. *ga-munds* 'memory', Lit. *mintis* 'thought', Old Slav. *па-мать* < \*mṛtis [Калужская, Орел: 19]. In this, as in the previous case, this was not necessarily a common development due to contact among these languages, but common developmental trends conditioned by common linguistic strata.

4) Closing the articulation of sonants \*y-, \*w- in the initial prevocal position is a common trait of Albanian, Greek, and Armenian (with the transition of \*y- > z-/ž-: Greek *ζυγόν*, Albanian *zgjedhë*, Latin *iugum*, Old Slav. *иго*; Arm. *jur* 'water' - Latvian *jūra* 'sea'), Celtic and sometimes Old Iranian (with the transition of \*w- > g-/gw-: Arm. *gelmn* 'wool', Welsh *gwelt* 'grass', Old Ir. *gelid* 'graze' - Hittite *wellu-* 'graze', Gothic *wulla* 'wool', Old Slav. *вълна*). Though it is known that the transition *j- > z / žh / dž* is a typological phonetic change known to many languages of the world (Lat. *iugum* - It. *giogo*, Turk. *jol* 'road' - Kirghizian *дол* [В. А. Серебрянников, ВЯ 5/1958], the areal context indicates that this is an isophone,<sup>9</sup> confirmed by the veralization of the old spirant in the same position, again in the Albanian, Greek, Armenian, Iranian and Brythonic group of Celtic languages, with the most specific reflex precisely in the Albanian *gj-* (*gjumë* 'dream', Greek *ὑπνος* - Lat. *somnus*, Old Ind. *svapnaḥ*), or dissimilatively *th-* (*i thatë* 'dry', Gr. *αῦθος*, Avestan *hišku*, Welsh *hesp* - Old Ir. *sesc*, Lit. *saūsas*, Old Ind. *çōsa*), while undergoing a transition in the intervocal position together with the Iranian languages, from \*-s- > -h- (*kohë* 'time' - Old Slav. *часъ*, Old Persian *ahy* 'your are' - Old Ind. *āsi*).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> As earlier assumed by scholars who linked the Greek reflex ζ- < \*û- with the Thracian language (Śmieszek, A., *Un nouvel essai d'expliquer le ζ- grec de l'i.e. \*i-*, *Symbolae in honorem I. Rozwadowski*, I, Cracovie 1927; A.J. van Windekens, *Once again on Greek Initial Zeta* JIES 7/1979; M. Leroy, *Sur le double traitement de \*y- initial en grec* Mélanges ... à P. Chantraïene [Герценберг 1981: 117].

<sup>10</sup> This positional velarization of enunciation can be linked with the well-known 'pseudolaryngeal', i.e. insufficiently phonematized /h-/ linked with the initial prevocal position precisely in the mentioned languages [Герценберг 1979: 14-15; Polomé 1980: 27].

5) The previous example can also bring into connection the joint Albano-Phrygian simplification of the initial group *\*sw > w-* as in the reflexive-possessive pronoun *\*s(e)wos*: Alb. *vetë*, Phryg. (ε)φε - Gr. ἐ(φ)ός, Old Ind. *s(u)váh*, Lat. *suus*, Prussian *swais*, Old Slav. *свои*, found in the first part of the kinsfolk noun *\*sweĕ(u)ros*; Alb. *vjehër*, Phryg. φεκρος - Gr. ἔκυρός, Old Ind. *çvaçurah*, Lat. *socer*, Lith. *šėšuras*, Old Slav. *свекры*.

The list of reliable Albano-Greek-Armenian isoglosses includes the following examples:

a) Greek ὄνειρος „dream“, Arm. *anuġ*, Alb. *ëndër* (Huld: 63) (Alb. group *-nd-* is of secondary origin [Çabej 1987: 62]; Gr. ἡμέρα (ἡμᾶρ) „day“, Arm. *awr*, Alb. *zëmër* „afternoon; light meal“ (*zëmërij* „have a light meal“ - Alb. form indicates the sonantic prothesis *\*y-amar*, with the same development as in the Alb. *zgjedhë* < *\*yugom* [Çabej 1986<sup>a</sup>: *zëmër*];

b) The Albano-Greek-Armenian parallelism of the root *\*d<sup>h</sup>al-*, meaning „tearing, piercing“, can be added to this, deriving from the Alb. *dal* „emerging, springing, originating“, Gr. θάλλω „flourishing, blooming“ and Arm. *dal* „grass, remedy“; and while in other Indoeuropean languages this root with the vocalization *\*d<sup>h</sup>el-/d<sup>h</sup>ol-/d<sup>h</sup>lJ-g<sup>h</sup>* means „boring, drilling“ (Old Indian *dalāyati*, Lat. *dolo*, Old English *delfan*), a vale and hollow (Old High German *tal*, Old Slavonic *долъ*), length and destination (Proto-Slavic *\*dolgъ*, *\*dolina*), the meaning of moving upward and a green sprout is common for all three languages, to the abstract Armenian noun *dalukn* „jaundice“ and the name for „mint, peppermint“ *daljn*, the same as the Dacian word *teudila*, which refers to the same plant [Джайкян 1982: 113; Çabej 1986<sup>a</sup>: *dal*, Герознак 1978: 21];

20. c) Some unique Albano-Greek innovations: Gr. ὀδμή „odor“, Alb. *amë* „smell“ - contrary to the Latin *odor* which derives from the root *\*od-* „smell“ but with different suffixes (*-mā/-os*); Gr. ξένος „stranger“, Alb. *huaj* < *\*g<sup>h</sup>sen-*; Gr. δόρπον „supper“, Alb. *darkë/drekë* „dinner/lunch“ [Porcig: 262-265]; Albano-Greek heteroclytic root with the vibrant *\*m<sup>h</sup>l-*, from the term for «hand» as a symbol of social and family power *\*m<sup>h</sup>l-* (Het. *maniyahh-* „rule“, Lat. *manus* „hand“), signifies the evolution of the unique Balto-Slavic name for hand *\*ronka*, because the Alb. verb *marr* (< *\*marnō*) „take“ relates to the Homeric

Greek μάρη (= χείρ „hand“) just as the Lithuanian verb *riñkti* (*renkti*) „gather“ relates to the solitary Slavic рѣка [Десницкая 1965:36].

This comparatively small number of exclusive Albano-Greek-Armenian isoglosses may be enlarged with Aryan-Greek-Armenian ties of which the Albanian language is a part.

Old Indian *ajál/ajikā* „she-goat“, Old Persian *azak*, Greek αἴξ, Arm. *ayc* with parallels in the Baltic: Lith. *ožys* „goat“, *ožkà* „she-goat“, Prussian *wosee*, also Alb. *dhi* „she-goat“ - dialectic name for she-goat in this group of languages from the root \*a(i)ǵ-ā (while the Albanian name for „kid“ *kec/kedh* is a northern European lexeme with parallels in the Slavic and Germanic root \*koǵ-ā; Old Slavonic *коза*, Old English *hēcen*), [Гамкрелидзе, Иванов 1984: 585-589].

Old Indian (Ved.) *ná* (genitive *nāras*) „man“, Greek ἀνὴρ (gen. ἀνδρός), Arm. *ayr* (gen. *afn*) and Alb *njerí* „man“ < \*ner- - term for man derived only in this group of languages from the meaning for „life force“ and „virility“ (Gr. ἡνορέη „virility“, Lat. *neriōsus* „strong“, Proto-Slavic \**norъ* „disposition“ [Гамкрелидзе, Иванов 1984: 190, 802; Топоров 1976: 46-47].

The root \*pelios in Aryan, Greek and Armenian is a sign of „gray hairs“: Old Indian *palitá-*, Gr. *πολιός*, Arm. *alik'* dfv(plural), and old age generally in Albanian: Alb. *plak* „old man“, while denoting „pale-ness“ in other languages (Lat. *pallidus* „pale“, Old Eng. *fealu*, Lith. *paĩvas* „pale yellow“, Old Slavonic *плавъ* „golden yellow“ [Porcig: 231, 35, 301].

Innovations in names for milk and dairy products mainly characteristic for Indo-Iranian, developing due to intensive growth of cattle-breeding in this dialectal group [Гамкрелидзе, Иванов 1984:570]: Old Ind. (Ved.) *kṣīrám* „milk“, Avestan *xšvīd-* (Per. *šīr*) - with parallels in Lith. *sviestas* „butter“, Alb. *hirrë* „whey“ and Old Slav. *сѣра* „fat from the first milk“ the same as the Lat. *serum* [Трубачев 1971: 32-39]; Old Ind. (Ved.) *dádhi* „sour milk“ (G *dadhnás*), Alb. *dhall/t'ë* „skimmed milk; cream“, *dhjathë* „cheese“ Gr. *ῥήνιον*, Arm. *dal* „cream“ - areal derivative from the root \*d<sup>h</sup>ej- „nurse“.

Areal archaisms common for this dialectal group are also significant, throwing new light on the problem of archaisms and innovations in dialectal divisions of Indoeuropean languages, as those archaisms characteristic primarily for one area and dialectally linked region cannot be viewed in the same manner as those preserved in various pe-

ripheral parts of the Indoeuropean territory. This view is at the same time a paraphrase of the old demand of Italian neolinguists G. Bonfante and G. Devoto that differences should be made between individual conservative traits and common archaic tendencies, as the creation and preservation of a series of structural common traits must be born in mind from the point of view of contacts among languages in a certain territory.<sup>11</sup>

Names for „barley“ in the Alb. *drithë*, Gr. κριθή, Arm. *gari* and the Lat. *hordeum*, are archaic forms from the root \*ǵr̥- in contrast to the northern European innovation \*ǵr̥n-om, meaning basically „grain“ [Huld: 55-56; Гамкрелидзе, Иванов 1984: 655-656].

The old Indoeuropean name for „beard“ \*smekru- is preserved in the Hittite *zamankur*, Old Ind. *çmaçru-*, Old Arm. *moruk* and Alb. *mjekër* (in an altered meaning and in some old European languages: Lith. *smākras* „double chin“, Old Ir. *smech*, Old Eng. *smāeras* „lips“), while the innovation \*b<sup>h</sup>ar-d<sup>h</sup>ā replaced it in the northern group of IE languages [Иванов 1985: 162].

It is probably no accident that the ancient Indoeuropean name for „arm“, from the root \*ǵ<sup>h</sup>es-r/-t, testifying to which are two archaic IE languages - the Hittite (*keššar*) and the Tocharian (A *tsar*, B *šar*), has been preserved in Greek (χείρ), Arm. (*jeṛn*), Alb. (*dorë*) and Arian (Old Pers. *dasta*, Avestan *zasta-*, Old Ind. *hásta-*) [Гамкрелидзе, Иванов 1984: 785].

On the basis of the above, one gets the impression that instead of only linking the Albanian language with one or another group of languages, it would be more realistic to merge Jokl's or Georgiev's hypothesis into a new view on the transitional character of the Albanian language, like the one revealed in some details in paleo-Balkanic, such as for instance, the oronym *Caucasus* - Καυκάσιον ὄρος, found in the toponyms of Greece and Thracia, but the closest parallels are in the northern group of languages: Gothic *hauhs* „high“, Lith. *kauūkas* „top“, Proto-Slavic \**kuka*/*\*čuka* [Откупщиков 1989<sup>6</sup>], as in the Alb. *sukë* „small hill“ the transition from č- > s- is in parallel with the old Albano-Romanian lexical parallels of the type Alb. *sorrë* - Rom. *cioară* „crow“ [Станишић 1995: 25, 29].

<sup>11</sup> G. Bonfante, *Studi Baltici* (Roma 1935), 30-37; G. Devoto, *Germanisch-lateinisch und germanisch-oskisch-umbrisch*, Hirt-Festschrift, Heidelberg 1936, 536 [Макаев 1964: 31, 57].

The above southern traits of the Albanian language might in the context of historical facts be linked to the Troadic Dardanians, Phrygians and Mysians. Despite the utmost meagerness, traces of the Phrygian language do not contradict Greek traditions on ethno-linguistic affinity between Phrygians, Greeks and Armenians. Testifying to the close ties between Phrygians and Mysians is an inscription on a marble plate from Ujucuk, dated from the fourth and third centuries B.C. [Нерознак 1978: 36-37], and the fact that in Hittite and other sources from Asia Minor, the Mysian name – *Muški/Mušku* - was a sign for Phrygians [Дьяконов 1980: 364]. Dardanians do not have literary monuments, but, unlike the two other participants of the Trojan War, they became legendized, and this underlines their deeper antiquity. Their leading role in the Trojan alliance won historical confirmation in Egyptian sources, according to which Dardanians, as allies of Hittites, took part in the battle at Kadesh in the 12th century B.C. These Troadic Dardanians were claimed as ancestors by four peoples of the ancient period: the central Balkan Dardanians, Macedonians, Epyrotes and Romans, of whom Macedonians and Epyrotes, inferred on the basis of onomastic remains, together with the Proto-Phrygian Brygs and Paenonians, comprised the southern Macedo-Phrygian group [Ködderitzsch 1985].

It is known that all three participants of the Trojan War are linked to the central Balkan area, and are according to Greek traditions the older ethnic layer in the Balkans. This view was subsequently confirmed by archeological discoveries of a special cultural group in the central Balkan Danubian area of the Bronze Age, the material or spiritual culture of which cannot be linked directly to the Illyrians or Thracians, and is conditionally referred to as the Proto-Dacomysian group [Гарашанин 1988: 73]. Though Dardanians belonged ethno-linguistically among Illyrians, this might have been the result of subsequent circumstances, as in the case of Danubian Moesia, who, according to Tomaszek's classification of Thracian tribes [Papazoglu 1969: 311], belonged to the Phrygian-Mysian group and represented remnants of the oldest population in the northeastern Balkans. The migration of this Balkan proto-substrate, which under pressure from Illyrians and „younger“ Thracians from the north, in ethnic migrations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 2d millennium BC, found itself in Asia Minor, might have left trace in Greek traditions on the foundations of Troy, whose founder Dardan was born on the island of Samothrace, and on

the Balkan origin of Phrygians, while related to them, the Mysians in the 12th song of the *Illyad* are located in the Balkan Danubian Basin. The same form of the names with the name of the Troadic Mysia (Μυσοί) enables us, as Georgiev set out (1960), to establish the time of transition of \**ū* > *ü* > *i* y in the paleo-Balkanic and Albanian, as the diphthong inscription *oi/oe* in the name of the Danubian Moesia (Μοισοί/*Moesi*), discovered by Romans in their conquests, might be assumed as a transitional stage in the Albanian same-root form *mi* < \**mūs* „mouse“ (narrowing articulation of the vowel is a common trait of Albanian, Greek, Slavic and Celtic vocalism, the substrate of which is considered the labialization of the Latin *ū* in French). Also, these Mysians, „fighters from up close“ (Μυσοί τ'αγγέμαχοι), who posed a „mythic past“ for the Homeric Greeks, because of their ignorance of the bow and arrow, have a parallel in the tradition of the Balkan Dardanians, as „people of the Trojan War who went wild and became barbarians“ [Papazoglu 1969: 101-103, 351].

Based on the above, certain parallels are imposed with the present ethno-linguistic situation in the Balkans. Preserving this Balkan proto-substrate in the central Balkan border zone between the Illyrians and Thracians recalls, perhaps not by chance, the well-known Van-Vijk's thesis on the Balkan-Romanic substrate region which in the same area divided two groups of Southern Slavs.<sup>12</sup> The geographic congruity of these two substrates might testify that the migration of Northern Indo-Europeans to the Balkans went along the same route in both cases - let us recall, in this context, the original ideas of W. Mańczak that Romans survived Slavization because it did not take place directly from the west, but indirectly, from the south, from Macedonia.<sup>13</sup> In the context of ethnic circumstances in Dardania, the Albanian ethnic name need not be of Illyrian continuity. The old ethnic name, which might be of Caucasian origin, might have been taken over by Illyrian settlers later on, which took place much later with the Southern Slavic tribes in neighboring Macedonia. Finally, different Indo-European layers in the

<sup>12</sup> Cf. П. Ивић, *Српски народ и његов језик*, Београд 1971, 18-20.

<sup>13</sup> W. Mańczak, *Pourquoi la Dacie, au contraire des autres provinces danubiennes, n'a-t-elle pas été slavisée?*, *Vox Romanica* 14/1988 – О. Н. Трубачев, *Древние славяне на Дунае. Лингвистические наблюдения*, *Славянское языкознание* 11, Москва 1993, 17-18.

ethnogenesis of Albanians and Romanians only confirms the fact that the Balkans had since time immemorial been a crossways of Indo-European migratory trends.

## ДВЕ ВРСТЕ ДРЕВНИХ ИНДОЕВРОПСКИХ ИЗОГЛОСА У АЛБАНСКОМ ЈЕЗИКУ

### Резиме

У светлости нових сазнања о Балкану као месту контакта између северне и јужне групе Индоевропљана, старо питање о ареалним односима албанског језика типа запад – исток, у оквиру којег су се стручњаци раније одређивали за или против повезивања сатемског албанског језика с једним наизглед кентумским језиком као што је илирски, последњих деценија је прерасло у ништа мање искључиво тумачење албанског језика или као члана северне групе индоевропских језика, или као члана јужне индоевропске групе. Идеју о древним везама албанског језика с јужним индоевропским ареалом (грчки, фригијски, јерменски и аријски), тј. прерађену верзију старе трачке хипотезе која је у овом облику ушла у дијалекатску класификацију индоевропских језика Т. В. Гамкрелидзеа и В. В. Иванова [1984: 911], подвргли су оштрој критици А. В. Десницкаја и О. Широков, који су на обилу материјала показали преваходно северноевропски дијалекатски карактер албанског језика. Томе се могу додати и одвојене лексичке везе албанског језика с келтским језицима, које су по правилу потврђене и у старобалканском и у језицима јужног ареала, из чега би се могао извести закључак о постојању јужног огранка северноевропског ареала, насталог спуштањем дела ових Индоевропљана у Средњу Европу и Средоземље.

Упркос чињеници да је теза о древним везама албанског језика с јужним индоевропским ареалом поткрепљена у студији Иванова и Гамкрелидзеа релативно малим бројем ексклузивних албано-грчко-јерменских језичких веза, исцрпнија анализа пре свега материјала њихове књиге показује да албански језик с овим јужним ареалом повезује знатно више заједничких одлика. На основу тих црта, стиче се утисак да би уместо искључивог повезивања албанског језика само с једном или само с другом групом језика, реалније било извести закључак о прелазном карактеру албанског језика, који у себи садржи два различита индоевропска језичка слоја.

Описане јужне одлике албанског језика би у контексту историјских чињеница могле да се доведу у везу с тројанским Дарданцима, Фригијцима и Мизима. Као што је познато, сва три учесника тројанског рата везана су такође за централнобалкански простор и грчка предања их сматрају старијим етничким слојем на Балкану. То гледиште потврдила су каснија археолошка открића посебне културне групе бронзаног доба на средњобалканско-подунавском подручју, која се по својој материјалној и духовној култури не може непосредно везати ни за Илире ни за Трачане, и условно се зове прото-дакомезијском [Гарашанин 1988: 73]. Иако су Дарданци етно-лингвистички спадали међу Илире, то би могао да буде резултат каснијег стања,

слично као у случају подунавских Меза који су припадали фригијско-мизијској групи и представљали остатке најстаријег становништва североисточног Балкана.

На основу реченог, намећу се неке паралеле с данашњим етно-лингвистичким приликама на Балкану. Чување овог балканског протосупстрата у средњобалканској пограничној зони између Илира и Трачана подсећа, можда не случајно, на познату Ван-Вејкову тезу о балканороманској супстратској области која је на истом простору раздвајала две групе Јужних Словена. Географско поклапање ова два супстрата могло би да сведочи како је досељавање Северних Индоевропљана на Балкан у оба случаја ишло истим правцима. У контексту етничких прилика у Дарданији ни албанско етничко име не би морало да буде доказ илирског континуитета. Старо етничко име, које би могло бити кавкаског порекла, могли су потом да преузму илирски досељеници, као што се то много касније десило с јужнословенским племенима у суседној Македонији. Коначно, и различити индоевропски слојеви у етногенези Албанаца и Румуна само потврђују чињеницу да је Балкан од памтивека био место укрштања индоевропских миграционих струја.

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