

Caucasian Albania

An International Handbook

Edited by
Jost Gippert and Jasmine Dum-Tragut

DE GRUYTER

This publication is part of a project that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant agreement No. 101019006) and from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – EXC 2176 'Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures' (Project No. 390893796).



ISBN 978-3-11-079459-5
e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-079468-7
DOI <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110794687>



This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License. For details go to <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>.

Creative Commons license terms for re-use do not apply to any content (such as graphs, figures, photos, excerpts, etc.) not original to the Open Access publication and further permission may be required from the rights holder. The obligation to research and clear permission lies solely with the party re-using the material.

Library of Congress Control Number: 2022948927

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2023 the author(s), editing © 2023 Jost Gippert and Jasmine Dum-Tragut, published by Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston

This book is published with open access at www.degruyter.com.

Cover image: © Jost Gippert

Typesetting: Meta Systems Publishing & Printservices GmbH, Wustermark

Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

www.degruyter.com

Contents

Preface — v

I Caucasian Albania in Foreign Sources

Marco Bais

1 Caucasian Albania in Greek and Latin Sources — 3

Jasmine Dum-Tragut and Jost Gippert

2 Caucasian Albania in Medieval Armenian Sources (5th–13th Centuries) — 33

II The Heritage of Caucasian Albanian

Jost Gippert

3 The Textual Heritage of Caucasian Albanian — 95

Jost Gippert and Wolfgang Schulze[†]

4 The Language of the Caucasian Albanians — 167

Wolfgang Schulze[†] and Jost Gippert

5 Caucasian Albanian and Modern Udi — 231

Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev

5A The Udis' Petition to Tsar Peter — 261

III The Caucasian Albanian Church

Charles Renoux

6 Albanians, Armenians and Georgians: a Common Liturgy — 267

Jasmine Dum-Tragut

7 One or two? On Christological and Hierarchical Disputes and the Development of the “Church of Albania” (4th–8th centuries) — 285

Armenuhi Drost-Abgaryan

7A The Holy Covenant — 333

Yana Tchekhanovets

8 Albanians in the Holy Land – Absence of Archaeological Evidence or Evidence of Absence? — 337

IV Architecture and Archaeology

Armen Kazaryan

9 Urban Planning and Architecture of Caucasian Albania. Main Monuments and Trends of Development — 353

Patrick Donabédian

10 The Ensemble of the “Seven Churches” – an Ecumenical Monastery Ahead of Time? — 387

Hamlet Petrosyan

11 Tigranakert in Artsakh — 433

V Ethnic, Religious and Social Issues

Aleksan Hakobyan

12 The Ethnic Situation in Antique and Medieval Caucasian Albania — 475

Alison M. Vacca

13 The Rebels of Early Abbasid Albania — 489

Sergio La Porta

14 “You say Albanian, I say Armenian”: Discourses of Ethnicity and Power Around an Albanian King of Armenia — 515

Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev

15 Between the Planes and the Mountains: the Albanian-Armenian Marches in the 12th Century and David of Gandzak (c. 1065–1140) — 537

Jost Gippert

15A The Gate of Ganja — 571

Hratch Tchilingirian

16 Reverse Engineering: A State-Created “Albanian Apostolic Church” — 581

General References — 611

Indexes — 675

- 1 Persons (individuals and groups) — **675**
- 2 Place Names — **689**
- 3 Manuscripts and Inscriptions — **698**
 - 3.1 Manuscripts by designation — **698**
 - 3.2 Manuscripts by repository — **699**
 - 3.3 Inscriptions — **700**
- 4 Source Texts — **701**
 - 4.1 Bible — **701**
 - 4.2 Other texts — **704**
- 5 Terms — **706**
 - 5.1 Linguistic terms — **706**
 - 5.2 Other terms — **710**
- 6 Words — **715**
 - 6.1 Albanian — **715**
 - 6.2 Armenian — **725**
 - 6.3 Georgian — **727**
 - 6.4 Greek — **728**
 - 6.5 Iranian languages — **729**
 - 6.6 Latin — **730**
 - 6.7 Russian — **730**
 - 6.8 Semitic languages — **730**
 - 6.9 Turkic languages — **731**
 - 6.10 Udi (and other Lezgic languages) — **731**

Jost Gippert and Wolfgang Schulze[†]

4 The Language of the Caucasian Albanians

Abstract: The Chapter provides a concise account of the Caucasian Albanian language as it appears in the Sinai palimpsests and the few known inscriptions. It begins with an analysis of the Albanian script and the phonological system it was invented for and continues with an overview of the morphological elements and the syntactical features of the language. Special attention is paid to the lexicon, with a focus on the different strata of loan words and the lexical elements that belong to the inherited East Caucasian stock.

1 Introduction

With the detection of the Albanian alphabet list in ms. 7117 of the Matenadaran, Yerevan, and the decipherment of the palimpsests of Mt Sinai (cf. Chapter 3 of this Handbook, 1.1), the language of the Caucasian “Albanians” has become accessible for scholarly investigation. We may now safely posit that it was, if not a true ancestor, a close relative of Modern Udi, the relationship between the two being similar to the relationship between Classical Old Armenian (*Grabar*) and Modern East or West Armenian, with the exception of the lexicon which has undergone dramatical changes due to the influence of (Turkic) Azeri (including its Arabic and Persian layers) and Russian. The relatedness is warranted, among others, by deep accordances in the phonological, morphological and syntactical structures that go far beyond the similarities with other languages belonging together with Udi and Albanian to the Lezgic family of the North-East Caucasian stock. In the following treatise, comparative reference to Udi will be reduced to a minimum as this is dealt with in more detail in Chapter 5 of this Handbook.¹






¹ The present Chapter is based upon common work undertaken by the two authors in the course of preparing the first edition of the Caucasian Albanian palimpsests (cf. Gippert et al. 2008: I, II-1-84) and afterwards. A more extensive sketch grammar of Albanian was prepared in cooperation for a collective volume concerning the languages of the Caucasus before W. Schulze's untimely death on 13 April 2020.

2 Script and sound system

2.1 The alphabet list and the Albanian script















Under the heading *alowanik' girn* 'the script of the Albanians', the alphabet list contained in ms. 7117 of the Matenadaran comprises a total of 52 characters the sound value of which can only be guessed at on the basis of the letter names added to them in Armenian script (cf. Figures 1 and 2 of Chapter 3 of this Handbook). In spite of considerable differences in the actual letter shapes, which in the case of the alphabet list may be due to multiple copying by non-specialists in the course of centuries, nearly all of the items contained in it have been identified on the basis of the palimpsests; only two characters (nos. 32 and 34 of the list) have not yet been documented. The alphabet as established today is displayed in Table I;² the order of the first 21 characters has been ascertained by their alphanumerical use in the palimpsests.

Tab. I: The letters of the palimpsests contrasted with the alphabet list.














No.	Palimp- sests	Alphabet list	Actual reading		Intended reading		Recon- str. name	Pho- netic value	Trans- literation	Num. value
1	Զ		Ալթ:	Alt':	Ալթ	Alt'	<i>Alt</i>	[a]	<i>a</i>	1
2	Ե		ՈդԵթ:	Odet':	*ԲԵթ	*Bet'	<i>*Bet</i>	[b]	<i>b</i>	2
3	Կ		Ձիմ:	Zim:	*Գիմ	*Gim	<i>*Gim</i>	[g]	<i>g</i>	3
4	Գ		Գատ:	Gat:	*Դատ:	*Dat	<i>*Dat</i>	[d]	<i>d</i>	4
5	Դ		Էբ:	Ēb:	*Էբ:	*Eb	<i>*Eb</i>	[e]	<i>e</i>	5

² For a previous account cf. Gippert et al. (2008: I, II-4–17) and Gippert (2011a); meanwhile, character no. 28 has been identified (see below). In the Table, letters that have not yet been detected in the text documents are marked with an asterisk. For earlier attempts by A. Shaniḏze (1938 and 1957), A. Abrahamyan (1964), V. Gukasyan (1969) and S. Murav'ev (1980 and 1981) cf. Gippert et al. (2008: I, II-2–4).















Tab. I (continued)

No.	Palimpsests	Alphabet list	Actual reading		Intended reading		Reconstr. name	Phonetic value	Transliteration	Num. value
6	Տ		Ջանլ:	Zařl:	Ջանլ	Zařl	<i>Zarl</i>	[z]	z	6
7	Է		Էն:	En:	*Էն	*Ēn	*Ēn	[ej / e:]	ē	7
8	Բ		Ժիլ:	Žil:	Ժիլ	Žil	<i>Žil</i>	[ʒ]	ž	8
9	Ջ		Թաս:	T'as	Թաս	T'as	<i>Tas</i>	[t]	t	9
10	Լ		Ճա:	Čá	Ճա	Čá	*Ča	[tɕ']	č	10
11	Դ		Գով:	Yowd	Գով	Yowd	<i>Yowd</i>	[j]	y	20
12	Կ		Ժա:	Žá	Ժա	Žá	*Ža	[ʒ]	ž	30
13	Վ		Իրբ:	Írb	Իրբ	Írb	*Irb	[i]	i	40
14	Ե		Շա:	Ša	*Շա	*Šá	*Ša? *Šša?	[ʃ]	š	50
15	Դ		Լան:	Lan	Լան	Lan	<i>Lan</i>	[l]	l	60
16	Ն		Ինա:	Ína	Ինա	Ína	*In'a ?	[n']	n'	70
17	Վ		Խեն:	Xén	Խեն	Xén	*Xřen ?	[x]	x	80
18	Դ		Դան:	Dan	*Դան	*Dán	*D'an	[d']	d'	90
19	Ջ		Ճառ:	Čař	*Ճառ	*Cař	*Čar	[ts']	č	100







Tab. I (continued)

No.	Palimpsests	Alphabet list	Actual reading		Intended reading		Reconstr. name	Phonetic value	Transliteration	Num. value
20	ⲧ		ϩⲏⲗ:	Zox	*ϩⲏⲗ	*Țox	*Țox	[dʒ]	ȝ	200
21	Σ		ϩⲱⲣ	Kār	ϩⲱⲣ	Kār	*Ḳar ?	[k]	ḱ	300
22	Ⲑ		Ⲙⲏⲗ:	Lít	Ⲙⲏⲗ	Lít	L'iṭ	[ʎ]	l'	*400
23	Ⲩ		ϩⲥⲏⲗ:	Hêt	ϩⲥⲏⲗ	Hêt	Hêṭ	[h]	h	*500
24	Ⲉ		ϩⲱⲗ:	Hay	ϩⲱⲗ	Hay	*Ḫay	[q, χ]	χ	*600
25	Ⲑ		Ⲙⲏⲗ:	Ar	*Ⲙⲏⲗ	*Ār	*Ār	[ɒ]	ā	*700
26	Ⲑ		ϩⲏⲗ:	C'oy	*ϩⲏⲗ	*C'óy	*Ćoy	[tɛ]	ć	*800
27	ϩ		Ⲕⲏⲗ:	Či	Ⲕⲏⲗ	Či	Či	[tʃ']	č	*900
28	Ⲙ		ϩⲱⲗ:	Čay	*ϩⲱⲗ	*Č'áy	*C'aj	[tsʲ] ?	(c')	*1000
29	Ⲙ		Ⲙⲱⲗ:	Mák	Ⲙⲱⲗ	Mák	*Maq̣?	[m]	m	*2000
30	ϩ		ϩⲱⲗ:	Kaṛ	ϩⲱⲗ:	Káṛ	*Qar ?	[q̣]	q̣	*3000
31	Ⲙ		Ⲙⲏⲗ:	Nowc'	Ⲙⲏⲗ	Nowc'	Nowc	[n]	n	*4000
32	*Ⲙ		ϩⲱⲗ:	ǰáy	ϩⲱⲗ	ǰáy	Ț'ay	[dzʲ] ?	(ȝ')	*5000

Tab. I (continued)

No.	Palimpsests	Alphabet list	Actual reading		Intended reading		Reconstr. name	Phonetic value	Transliteration	Num. value
33	Ժ		Շաք:	Šak'	Շաք	Šak'	Šak	[ʃ]	š	*6000
34	*Պ		Ջայն:	Ĵayn	Ջայն	Ĵayn	Ĵayn	[dʒ]	ž	*7000
35	Օ		Ուն	Own	Ուն	Own	*On	[o]	o	*8000
36	Զ		տայ:	Tay	*Տայ	*Táy	*T'aj	[tʰ]	t'	*9000
37	Դ		խամ:	Xam	խամ	Xam	*Fam	[f]	f	*10000
38	Ն		Ջայ:	Jay	Ջայ	Jay	ǰaj	[dz]	ǰ	*20000
39	Շ		Չատ:	Čat	Չատ:	Čat	Čat	[tʃ]	č	*30000
40	Պ		Պեն:	Pen	Պեն	Pen	Pen	[pʰ]	p'	*40000
41	Տ		Փէս:	P'ēs	*Խէս	*Xēs	*Ġēs	[ɣ]	ğ	*50000
42	Լ		Կատ:	Kat	*Երատ:	*Erat	*Raṭ	[r]	r	*60000
43	Դ		սէկ:	Sēk	Սէկ:	Sēk	Sēk	[s]	s	*70000
44	Ե		Վէզ:	Vēz	Վէզ	Vēz	Vēz	[v]	v	*80000
45	Զ		տիւր	Tiwr	Տիւր	Tiwr	Tüwr	[tʰ]	t'	*90000
46	Ց		սոյ:	Soy	Սոյ	Soy	*Տoy	[ɛ]	ś	*100000

Tab. I (continued)

No.	Palimpsests	Alphabet list	Actual reading		Intended reading		Reconstr. name	Phonetic value	Transliteration	Num. value
47	Մ(Ի)		իոն:	Ion	իոն:	Ion	*Üwn	[y]	ü	*200000
48	Պ		ծաւ:	Cáw	ծաւ:	Cáw	*Ç'aw	[tsʰ]	ç'	*300000
49	Գ		ծալն:	C'ayn	ծալն:	C'ayn	Cayn	[tsʰ]	c	*400000
50	Դ		ծալդ:	Yayd	ծալդ:	Yayd	Yayd	[w]	w	*500000
51	Ս		փիւր:	P'iwr	փիւր:	P'iwr	Püwr	[pʰ]	p	*600000
52	Ժ		Գիւ:	K'iw	Գիւ:	K'iw	Küw	[kʰ]	k	*700000

The script as represented in the list is essentially phonological, i.e. it complies with the principle one sound – one letter. However, in accordance with the Greek, Armenian and Georgian (*asomtavruli*) scripts, the vowel /u/ is always represented by a digraph **Օ-Ի** <ow>. Another digraph consists of the sequence **Մ-Ի** <üw>; it must be noted here that the horizontal stroke attached to the right in **Մ** <ü> (character no. 47) in contrast to **Մ** <â> (character no. 25) is not assured by either the alphabet list or the attestations but was introduced in the first edition of the palimpsests to distinguish the two characters. Parallel to Old Armenian and Old Georgian, the letter **Ը** is likely to represent a “diphthongal” sequence ey (especially in loan words from Greek and Biblical names), obviously reflecting Greek **Η** (*ēta*) as do its Armenian and Georgian counterparts, **Է** and **Ի**; it is usually transliterated as <ē> though the Albanian language probably did not possess long vowels (cf. 2.2.1 below).

Among the letters representing consonants, the close resemblance of **Ձ** <x> and **Ղ** <x>, **Ղ** <l> and **Գ** <l'>, and **Ծ** and **Լ** <ɣ> conditions that in the palimpsests it is sometimes difficult to discriminate them. The same holds true of **Ջ** <ɬ> and u <c'> which were not yet distinguished in the edition of 2008.

Beyond alphabetic characters, the Albanian script comprises a few punctuation marks (., :, ', and ↔), a dot-shaped diacritic denoting vowels in hiatus (e.g., **Თ** = *ā*), a superscript line marking abbreviations (e.g., **ᲗᲗ** = *ā*~y ‘their’) and superscript and subscript lines indicating the numerical use of characters (e.g., **ᲗᲗ** = *cye* = 125).

The following description of the Albanian language presents all data in a transliterated form. Accordingly, the digraph **ᲐᲗ** is rendered as *ow* and **ᲗᲗ** as *ūw*; **Თ** is transcribed as *ey* when required for grammatical analysis, in other cases as *ē*. Quite a number of lexical and morphological units appear abbreviated in the palimpsests (e.g. **ᲑᲑ** *b̃ḡ*, probably standing for *b(ixaḡow)ḡ* ‘Lord’, or **ᲗᲗ** -*n*~*n* ~ -*n(ow)n*, genitive ending or 2nd person sg. marker, etc.). Wherever the abbreviations do not admit of a secured reading (e.g. in the ergative pl. pronoun **ᲗᲗ** *ā*~*n* ‘they’), the abbreviated forms are maintained throughout this treatise.

2.2 The sound system

The phonetic value of the Albanian letters can only be described in rough terms. The main clue is given by the sound shape of loan words and by correspondences with Modern Udi.³ Hence, the exact phonetic values of the phonemes represented by the letters of this script may have slightly differed from what is described below.

2.2.1 Vowels

The system of the vowels of Albanian is shown, together with its graphical representation, in Fig. 1. The exact phonetic value of /*ü*/ is uncertain; it might have been pharyngealised (/*ü̠*/). As the sound is represented by a digraph with <*w*> as its second component, a labial articulation is warranted. This assumption is corroborated by correspondences such as <*hüwḡ*> /*hük*/ ‘heart, mind’ ~ Udi *V uk* / N *ük* ‘id.’, <*üwḡ*> /*üq*/ ‘six’ ~ Udi *uʹq* ‘id.’, <*vüwḡ*> /*vüg*/ ‘seven’ ~ Udi *vuʹḡ* ‘id.’, <*müwḡ*> /*müg*/ ‘eight’ ~ Udi *muḡ* ‘id.’, <*müwḡxen*> /*müqen*/ ‘feast’ ~ Udi *muʹq* ‘joyful, happy’, or <*hüwqen*> /*hüqen*/ ‘bone’ ~ Udi *uʹqeʹn* ‘id.’, but cf. also <*qüw(e)*> /*qü(e)*/ ‘fear, fright’ ~ Udi *q̃iʹ/q̃aʹ* ‘id.’, <*büwḡa*> /*büḡa*/ ‘between, amidst’ ~ Udi *biʹḡ/baʹḡ* ‘middle’, and <*büwi*> /*büi*/ ‘heavy’ ~ Udi *biʹ/baʹ* ‘id.’. The phonetics of /*ā*/ probably

³ Where in the following examples two variants are noted for Udi, the first one usually represents the Vartashen dialect (abbreviated V.) and the second one, that of Nij (N.); cf. Chapter 5 of this Handbook, 2.2 sqq. as to the distinction of the two dialects.

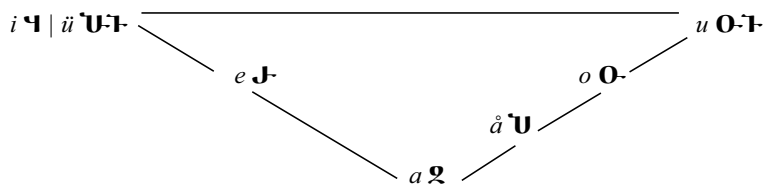


Fig. 1: The vowel phonemes of Caucasian Albanian and their graphical representation.

included both velar and labial features ([b]?), perhaps also pharyngealisation. This is suggested by correspondences such as *tāxan'in* 'fig tree' ~ Udi *to^hxa'n* 'fig', *tā* 'side, region' ~ Udi *to^h-g-* 'id.' (plural, appearing in the postposition *to^hgo'l* 'near, aside of' ~ CA *tāowgol* superess.pl. 'on the sides'); *qā* 'twenty', attested in *sa-qā-qo* 'twenty-five' ~ Udi *sa-qo-qo*, *xo-qāom* 'hundredfold', lit. 'five-(times)-twenty-fold', or *xo-qāaray-bān'i* 'centurion', lit. 'of-five-(times)-twenty-(people)-chief', and *bāgal(a)* 'deep, depth, abyss' ~ Udi *bo^hga'l-* 'deep'.

Contrary to Udi, Albanian probably did not yet possess a full set of pharyngealised vowels in phonemic function. This assumption is grounded in the fact that the letter **Ե** /ɛ/ clearly shows consonantal properties (cf. 2.2.2 below). This, however, does not exclude the possibility that vowels in the vicinity of the pharyngeal consonant might have been pharyngealised, e.g. in *pša* ~ [p^hsa^h] 'two' ~ Udi *pā^h*.

Lengthening of vowels is not documented for Albanian (cf. 2.1 above as to the character **Է** = *ē* ~ *ey*). Tautosyllabic sequences consisting of a lower vowel and one of the glides (*ay*, *ey*, *oy*, *uy*, *aw*, rarely *ew*) may be interpreted as diphthongs. However, some of the sequences seem only to occur with a morpheme boundary within them, and the differentiation of monosyllabic and bisyllabic structures is not always clear (cf., e.g. *išebay* gen.pl. 'brothers' vs. *bai* 'full').

2.2.2 Consonants

The consonantal phonemes of Albanian are listed together with their graphical representations in Table II. In the Table, those elements that are not documented so far in the texts are marked with an asterisk. The assignment of a phonetic value to these units is tentative (based on the names given to the letters in the alphabet list and to systematical considerations).

As the Table shows, Albanian possessed the same three sets of sibilants and affricates as does Modern Udi (dental-alveolar, alveolar-palatal, and postalveolar);⁴ in addition, we have to assume a fourth set of palatalised dental-alveolars

4 Cf. Gippert (2018b); for a different approach cf. Lolua (2018).

comprising both stops and affricates. The most frequent representative is /d/, which has developed into /ʒ/ in Udi as shown by Albanian *kod* ‘house’ ~ Udi *koʒ* ‘id.’, *xod* ‘shadow, shade’ ~ Udi *xoʒi/xoʒi* ‘id.’, and *d’ed’er* ‘lip’ ~ Udi *ʒeʒer* ‘id.’. A *d*-like stop is further evinced by the two loans *d’ip* ‘scripture, book’ (< Old Persian *dip̄*- etc.) and *bod’var* ‘censer’ (< Middle Iranian **bōdiβār*, lit. ‘perfume-bearer’).⁵ The glottalised stop /t̚/ is corroborated especially by *eṭ’a*, genitive of the demonstrative pronoun ‘this/that’ (< **e-t̚-ya*, > Udi *-ta*), and *-hanayt’aḱe-*, genitive of the neutral relative pronoun (< *-hanay-t̚-ya-ḱe-*). The palatalised lateral /l̥/ is warranted, e.g., by *madil* ‘grace, mercy’ (< Old Georgian *madl-i* ‘id.’), *laḱ* ‘way, road’ ~ Udi *yaḱ* ‘id.’, and *bil’a* ‘kill, die’ (present stem, ~ Udi *bi(y)a-* ‘id.’). Palatalised /n̥/ may have been just an allophonic variant of /n/ in the vicinity of a palatal vowel, cf. *en’eḡ* ‘(an)other’ (if this corresponds to Udi *ene(x)* ‘moreover, additionally’) or *marmin-* ‘body, flesh’ (< Arm. *marmin* ‘id.’); /n̥/ also shows up in the derivational elements *-n’a* (< **-n-ya*) meaning ‘related/pertinent to’ as in *qar-n’a* and *či-n’a* ‘relative’ (< *qar* / *čin* ‘kind, nation, stock’), *ṭseg-n’a* ‘stroke, tittle’ (< *ṭseg* ‘sign’), *gel-n’a* ‘guilty’ (< *gel* ‘debt(or)’) or *d’ip-n’a* ‘script-’, and *-n’i* forming adjectives as in *en’i* ‘new’ (~ Udi *ini* ‘id.’), *bān’i* ‘great’, *bāxn’i* ‘worthy’, *ḡan’i* ‘faded away’ and, perhaps, *aḡay-tin’i* / *-town’i* ‘(having gone) astray’. The palatalised glottal affricate /č̚/ is attested in the frequent word *mowč’owr* ‘pure, holy’, which corresponds to either Udi *mučur* ‘clear, bright (sky)’ or Udi *ač’ar* ‘clear, pure, transparent’, and the voiceless non-glottal affricate /c̚/ has now been identified in *ac’esown* ‘be lost’ and *ac’es-biyesown* ‘destroy, lose’ ~ Udi *ačesun* and *ačes-besun* ‘id.’.

The pharyngeal /ʕ/ has clear consonantal properties. Examples are *ʕi* ‘ear’, pl. *ʕi-mowx* ~ Udi *imux*, *u’mu’x* ‘ear’ (pl.tant.), *ʕaxi* ‘far, distant’ ~ Udi *a’xi’l* ‘id.’ (superessive?), *vʕan* ‘you (pl.)’ ~ Udi *va’n* (besides *efan*)/*vā’n* ‘id.’ (but cf. *bʕefi* ‘your (pl.)’ ~ Udi *efi* ‘id.’), *bʕeḡ* ‘sun’ ~ Udi *be’ḡ* ‘id.’, and *pʕa* ‘two’ ~ Udi *pā’/pā’* ‘id.’. Most likely, /ʕ/ had some kind of rhotic (co-)articulation as suggested by *xoʕaḱ* ‘heat’ ~ Arm. *xoršak*, Georg. *xoršak-i* ‘id.’ and *vaʕamaḱ* ‘cercloth, napkin’ ~ Arm. *varšamak*, Georg. *varšamag-i* ‘id.’. Albanian *mowʕaḱ* ‘worker, labourer’ ~ Georg. *muʕaḱ-i*, Arm. *mšak* ‘id.’ and *iʕa* ‘near’ (Udi *i’śa*) suggest an underlying articulation [ɾʕ] or the like.⁶ The affinity of <ʕ> with /rʂ/ would further be stressed if CA *naiʕow* ‘servant’, *xiʕow* ‘woman, wife’, and *iʕowa* ‘widow’ are derived from *iʕow* ‘man’ (as ‘not-(free-)man’, ‘female-man’, and ‘man-less’).⁷

In addition to the similarity of the two letters representing them, the sound value of the characters 𐌕 and 𐌕, here transcribed *x* and *χ*, is difficult to determine, all the more since they seem to be interchangeable to a certain extent. The latter

5 Cf. Gippert (2007b: 102–104) as to this word.

6 Cf. Gippert (2009: 131–135) as to these words.

7 Cf. Gippert et al. (2008: I, IV-32, IV-22, and IV-19 s.vv.).

usually occurs in the plural suffix *-owx* which corresponds to Udi *-ux*, thus suggesting a fricative; this is corroborated by its variant *-owġ* appearing in oblique case forms. In the ending of the dative II and the secondary case forms derived from it (cf. 3.1.3 below), we find both *-x*- and *-ġ*-, again matching Udi *-x*-. On the other hand, word-initial *x* usually corresponds to the uvular stop *q*- in Udi (cf., e.g., Albanian *xo* ‘five’ ~ Udi *qo*, *xüw-â~r* ‘some’ ~ Udi *qiʷ/qəʷ* ‘half’, *aḡay-pesown* ‘open’ ~ Udi *qay-p(e)sun*), and also *ḡalay* ‘pregnant’ ~ Udi V *qela* vs. N *xela*), while initial *x* corresponds to a fricative (cf., e.g., *xaš* ‘light’ ~ Udi *xaš* (also ‘moon’, ‘month’), *xe* ‘water’ ~ Udi *xe*, or *xib* ‘three’ ~ Udi *xib*). *x* may therefore be taken to denote an affricated uvular [qʰ].

2.2.3 Syllable structure and prosody

The syllable structure of Albanian is relatively restricted. Clusters of two or more consonants are usually excluded in both initial and final position, loans such as *kroba*- ‘cherub’ or *varz* ‘reward’⁸ being exceptions. Loans including word-final clusters usually undergo anaptyxis or metathesis; cf., e.g., *harik* ‘tribute, tax, necessity’ vs. Arm. *hark*, Georg. *xark-i* ‘id.’, *madil* ‘grace, mercy’ vs. Georg. *madl-i* ‘id.’, or *ašarkeṭ* ‘pupil’ vs. Arm. *ašakert* ‘id.’. In this context, the phonological status of the pharyngeal consonant ʕ might be questioned when it follows an initial consonant as in *bŕeg* ‘sun’, *ṗša* ‘two’, *vŕan* ‘you (pl.)’, or *kŕaban* ‘desert’ (cf. Udi *ḡaʷaʷn/qavun* ‘meadow, pasture’). Here, the letter <ŕ> may already have had the function to mark a pharyngealised articulation of the following vowel.⁹

Nothing is known about the prosodic features of Albanian. Nevertheless, the strong presence of enclitic (in parts also proclitic) elements suggests that the language was characterised by some kind of stress accent.

2.2.4 Conditioned and unconditioned alternations

Phonological alternation mainly occurs with the plural suffix *-owx* whose *-x* becomes a voiced fricative when followed by a case morpheme; cf., e.g., *angelos-owx* > gen. *angelos-owġ-oy* ‘angels’, *ašarkeṭ-owx* > erg. *ašarkeṭ-owġ-on* ‘disciples’, *il’-owx* > gen. *il’-owġ-oy* ‘words’, or *marġaven-owx* > gen. *marġaven-owġ-oy* ‘pro-

⁸ Cf. 5.2.2 and 5.2.1 below.

⁹ Note that in the first Udi primer, *Samçi dəs*, the pharyngealisation of vowels is also indicated by an individual letter (*h*) printed before the vowel as in *pha* ‘two’ ~ *ṗaʕ*, cf. Alb. *ṗša* (Jeirani and Jeirani 1934: 41).

phets'. In these cases, the vowel of the plural suffix is frequently syncopated as in *čib-owx* > gen. *čib-ġ-oy* 'wives, women' (pl.tant.); this is also true of the plural suffix *-owr* which usually appears with monosyllabic nouns as in *mog-owr* > erg. *mog-r-on* 'mates' (cf. 3.1.2).

Ablaut processes are attested in the formation of aspecto-temporal verb stems (cf. 3.5.3). An *i/a*-ablaut is clearly visible in the verbs *ihesown* 'be(come)' with present stem *aha-*, *biqesown* 'seize' with present stem *baqa-*, and *biyesown* (< **bi'e-*) 'do, make' with present stem *ba(a)-* (< **ba'a-*). Another type of ablaut occurs with the thematic vowel of aspecto-temporal stems: with so-called "weak" verbs, both the present and the past stem are marked with a thematic vowel *-a-* as in *heqesown* 'take' with present and past stem *heqa-*, whereas with "strong" verbs the thematic vowel of the past stem is equal to that of the infinitive (*-e-*) as in *beqesown* 'look' with past stem *beqe-* vs. pres. stem *beqa-* (cf. 3.5.1).

3 Morphology

Albanian clearly distinguishes the following word classes: nouns, adjectives, numerals, pronouns, adverbs, verbs, conjunctions, and particles. The language has no system of noun classification as it is typical for other East Caucasian languages, the only remnants being petrified prefixes in verbs, adjectives, and a few nouns.¹⁰ In contrast, it possesses a sexus-based gender system that shows up in the paradigm of articles and demonstratives (masculine vs. feminine vs. neuter). The verbal tense-aspect-mood system is only modestly elaborated. Albanian by and large lacks morphological devices of subordination (e.g., converbs), which are replaced by a complex system of conjunction-based subordination strategies.

A prevalent feature of Albanian is the dominant role of cliticisation processes. Large clitic chains are typical for subordinative syntagms but may likewise occur in matrix clauses. Some clitics usually take a fixed (and primary) position in the clitic chain. These clitics normally have a stronger lexical semantics than the subsequent ones, which show a higher degree of grammaticalisation. Strongly lexical clitics are termed "heavy" clitics here, whereas the other clitics (following them when present) are termed "light". Heavy clitics include *-qa-* (hortative optative, cf. 3.5.4), *-en'e-* (conditional, 3.5.4), *-anke-* (subjunctive, 3.5.4), *-anaqe-* (explicative, 3.8), and the forms of relative pronouns in clitic position (3.3.6). All other clitics such as the agreement clitics (3.5.2) or the focal clitic *-al* (3.9) are light clitics.¹¹

¹⁰ Cf. Gippert (2018a: 26–27) for examples.

¹¹ Cf. Gippert et al. (2008: I, II-60–64) as to the appearances of "clitic chaining" in Albanian.

3.1 Nouns

3.1.1 Stem formation and composition

Nouns can be underived, derived, or compounded. Underived nouns include terms like *ġar* ‘child, son’, *de* ‘father’, *ne* ‘mother’, *ša* ‘daughter’, *bŕeġ* ‘sun’, *bowze* ‘moon’ > ‘month’, *bowl* ‘head’, or *kowl* ‘hand’. A frequent word formation element is *-al* forming *nomina agentis*, most likely related to the *-al(a)*-participle (cf. 3.5.6), which often occurs in plural forms (*-al-iḡ*); cf. *bix-al-iḡ* ‘parents’ (*bixesown* ‘give birth, create’), *voe-k-al-iġ* ‘weepers’ (*voe* ‘woe’ + *-(ow)ka* pres. stem of *(ow)pesown* ‘say’), *ŕi-baġ-al* ‘ear’ (*ŕi-bi/aġ-esown* ‘listen’, lit. ‘take ear’). Another frequent element is *-xown* (originally a noun denoting ‘place’) deriving *nomina loci* as in *bŕaxe-xown* ‘court’ < ‘place of judge(ment)’ (*bŕax*), *dai-xown* ‘marsh meadow, rushes’ (lit. ‘green place’), *iġa-xown* ‘desiccated, parched (ground)’ (cf. *iġ* ‘thirst’). The suffix *-own* derives abstract nouns denoting states from primary or secondary adjectives, adverbs, and verbal participles, as well as masdars (verbal nouns) from the infinitive stem of verbs (cf. 3.5.7); cf. *aana-own* ‘knowledge’ and *n-aana-own* ‘ignorance’ (*-aa* ‘knowing’, *n-* negator), *himiġana-own* ‘need’ (*himiġana* ‘lacking’), *bowġa(na)-own* ‘love’ (*bowġana* ‘beloved, wanted’), *ġaršow-own* ‘childhood’ (*ġar* ‘child’ + *išow* ‘man’), or *biyes-own* ‘doing, making’ (infinitive stem *biy-es-*) and *ihes-own* ‘being, becoming’ (infinitive stem *ih-es-*).

Compounding strategies concern (a) noun+noun compounds (usually *determinans-determinatum*, with genitival first member) such as, e.g., *ayzin-d’ip* ‘land taxation’ (lit. ‘of-land-writing’), *bŕeġown-powl* ‘sun’ (lit. ‘of-sun-eye’), *kaeni-xal’owm* ‘morning star’, *bŕaxe-ž(ow)ġ* ‘judge’ (lit. ‘of-judgement-lord’), and *kođ’in-ž(ow)ġ* ‘patron’ (lit. ‘of-house-lord’); (b) compounds consisting of noun+adjective or adverb, cf. *ġaṭari-bân’i* ‘governor of the feast’ (lit. ‘of-temple-big (one)’) and *kahanaowġoy-bân’i* ‘high priest’ (lit. ‘of-priests-big (one)’); (c) deverbal compounds based on incorporation such as *d’ipn’a-baal* ‘scribe’ (lit. ‘(one) making scripture(s)’) and *il’owx-heċal* ‘messenger’ (lit. ‘(one) bringing words’).

3.1.2 Number

Albanian nouns distinguish only singulars and plurals; duals are not attested. The formation of the nominal plural is based on a set of allomorphs the most frequent of which is *-owx*. This form of the suffix only occurs in the absolutive case. In the oblique cases, the velar becomes voiced and the vowel can be dropped after voiced consonants (cf. 2.2.4 above). Examples for nouns using *-owx* are *bŕe-owx* ‘sheep’, *biyayown-owx* ‘creatures’, *daxṭak-owx* ‘tablets’, *hetanos-owx* ‘Gentiles’,

and *mar-akesown-owx* ‘sufferings’. With certain nouns (often formations in *-al*, cf. 3.5.6), the suffix is *-ix/-ig-* instead, cf. *aḱal-ix* ‘witnesses’ (lit. ‘seeing (ones)’), *ḱow-lowḱal-ix* ‘evangelists’ (lit. ‘news-givers’), *axay-boḱal-ix* ‘leaders’, *bal’-baḱal-ix* ‘servants’, *bixal-ig-* ‘parents’, *d’ipn’a-baal-ix* (alongside *d’ipn’a-baal-owx*) ‘scribes’, *ix-bišal-ix* ‘zealous (people)’, and *ṭen’-ix* ‘linen clothes’. Alternative plural morphemes are *-b(owr)*, *-(ow)r(owx)*, and *-m(owx)*. These plural markers are based on the inherited plural morphemes *-ur-* and *-m-*. Plain *-owr* is mostly attached to monosyllabic nominal stems as in *aš-owr* ‘works’, *bāx-owr* ‘snakes’, *lowf-owr* ‘doves’, *mowz-owr* ‘tongues, languages’, *xown’-owr* ‘places’, *ḱaḱ-owr* ‘bonds, chains’, *hüwḱ-owr* ‘hearts’, or *ḱod’-owr* ‘houses’ (> ‘verses’); the same is true of *-m-owx* as in *ḱar-m-owx* ‘sons, children’, *ḱar-m-owx* ‘tribes’, *ḱow-m-owx* ‘mouth’ (pl.tant.), *l’aḱ-m-owx* ‘ways’, *oḱ-m-owx* ‘door’ (pl.tant.), *bowl-m-owx* ‘heads’, *powl-m-owx* ‘eyes’, *kowl-m-owx* ‘hands’, or *towr-m-owx* ‘feet, legs’. With monosyllabic stems ending in vowels, the suffix *-owx* is usually added to *-(ow)r-*, cf. *ḱi-r-owx* (> *ḱi-r-ḱ-*) ‘days’, *go-r-owx* (> *go-r-ḱ-*) ‘sins’, *bow-r-ḱ-* ‘mountains’, *de-r-ḱ-* ‘fathers’; however, the combination also occurs with other stems as in *naifow-r-owx* ‘servants’. The simple *-r-* and *-m-* plurals can occasionally be found in oblique cases, too, as in *aš-r-on* (erg.pl.) ‘with works’, *mowz-r-on* (erg.pl.) ‘with tongues’, *xown’-r-ol* (superess.I pl.) ‘on/at places’, *ḱaḱ-r-on* (erg.pl.) ‘with bonds’, *ḱar-m-oy* (gen.pl.) ‘of the sons’, *ḱar-m-ol* (superess.I pl.) ‘about the children’, *kowl-m-on* (erg.pl.) ‘with the hands’, *towr-m-oy* (gen.pl.) ‘of the feet’, and *ṭol-m-on* (erg.pl.) ‘with skins’. The *-bowr*-plural normally occurs with a pronominal inflection as in *iše-bowr* ‘(co-) brethren’ with genitive *iše-b-ay* and dative *iše-b-a-s*; irregular formations are the pluralia tantum *owsbo* ‘husbands’ (dat.I pl.) with ergative *owsbo-n* and *čibowx* ‘women, wives’ suppletting *xiḱow* ‘woman, wife’.

3.1.3 Case

All in all, nineteen cases have been documented for Albanian (including a vocative). There is a clear distinction between grammatical cases (absolutive, ergative, genitive, and three datives) and locative cases, most of which are built upon one of the datives. These datives can be regarded as representing intermediate functions, covering both grammatical and local relations.

To a certain extent, the paradigm of nominal case forms differs from that of pronominal elements. The main difference consists in the marking of the primary dative. In principle, all nouns exhibit a “nominal” paradigm except for those that show stem augmentation (cf. 3.1.4). While the case marking of locatives is relatively straightforward, the ergative, genitive and dative cases are liable to allomorphic variation. The exact conditions that decide upon the use of the individual

Tab. III: Primary case endings of Caucasian Albanian.

	Nominal		Pronominal	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
Absolutive	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-(a)r
Vocative	-e	-o	-	-(a)re
Ergative(-Instrumental)	-e; -en; -in	-on	-en	-an
Genitive I	-i, -y	-oy	-ya	-ay
Genitive II	-in, -own	-	-	-
Ablative I	-oc	-oc	-	-
Anteablative I	-oštay	-	-oštay	-

allomorphs are not always transparent. All in all, four sub-patterns can be distinguished.

(a) Primary (underived) case forms (Table III). Among the allomorphs of the **ergative**, the ending *-e* is restricted to the following forms: *de* ‘father’ (< **de-e*), *ne* ‘mother’ (< **ne-e*), *vičiy-e* ‘brother’, *ž̃-e* ‘lord’ (probably *ž̃(ow)ġe*, abs. *ž̃-ġ* ~ *ž̃(ow)ġ*), *b̃-e* ‘God’ (probably *b̃(ixa)zowġe*, abs. *b̃-ġ* ~ *b̃(ixa)zowġ*), lit. ‘creating Lord’), and *iše* ‘man, someone’ (abs. *išow*), probably also *biy-e* ‘head’ (abs. *bowl*) and *piy-e* ‘eye’ (abs. *powl*). This suggests a semantic grouping (kinship terms and related concepts?). The distribution of the *-en-* and the *-in-*ergative is not predictable. At any rate, the *-en-*ergative seems to have been the default. The *-in-*ergative shows up, e.g., with *hel* ‘spirit’ > *hel-in*, *iġ* ‘thirst’ > *iġ-in*, *bows* ‘hunger’ > *bows-in*, *xaš* ‘light’ > *xaš-in*, *helas* ‘oath’ > *helas-in*, and *mowš* ‘wind, storm’ > *mowš-in*. – As in Udi, the **genitive** knows two basic types (*-i/-y* vs. *-own*), the distribution of which is not fully clear. The ending *-y* occurs after vowels and mainly with nouns having an ergative in *-e*, which suggests a common sub-paradigm; cf., e.g., *b̃-ē* (i.e. *b̃-e-y*) ‘of God’ (erg. *b̃-e*), *ž̃-ē* (i.e. *ž̃-e-y*) ‘of the Lord’ (erg. *ž̃-e*), *vičiy(e)ē* (i.e. *vičiy(e)-y*) ‘of the brother’ (erg. *vičiy-e*), *išow-y* ‘of the man’ (abs. *išow*, erg. *iše*); but note gen. *ičē* (i.e. *iče-y*) ‘of oneself, own’ (abs. *ič*) vs. erg. *ič-en* and *ġar-e* ‘of the son’ vs. erg. *ġar-en* (cf. below). The ending *-i* usually appears with proper names (mostly with stems ending in consonants), cf. *Abel-i*, *Abraham-i*, *Aharon-i*, *Barak-i*, *Elisabet-i*, *Herodēs-i*, *K̃-s-i* ‘of Christ’ (probably *K̃(ristos)i*), *Lowkas-i*, and so on, but also *ž̃-d-i* (alongside *ž̃-d-own*) ‘of the people’. A genitive in *-ya* is typical for pronominal elements such as, e.g., *o-ya* ‘his’, *aġ-ya* ‘her’ etc., but also shows up in some kinship terms (*ša-ya* of *ša* ‘daughter’, *de-ya* of *de* ‘father’, and *ne-ya* of *ne* ‘mother’); note also *daizde-ya* ‘golden, of gold’. The ending *-ya* is also concealed in the derivational element *-n’a* < **n-ya* (see 3.2 below). An *-in-*genitive occurs with a restricted set of nouns and usually merges with the *-in-*ergative. Examples are *bi-in* ‘of the head’ (abs. *bowl*), *pi-in* ‘of the eye’ (abs. *powl*), *ḡod-in* ‘of the house’, *žow-lowġal-in* ‘of

the evangelist', *eklesi-n* 'of the church', *ayz-in* 'of the world'. Far more frequent is the genitive in *-own* which is often used as the basis of adjectival formations as in *marġaven-own* 'of a prophet, prophetic', *ćowd-own* (for **ćowdow-own*) 'of heaven, heavenly', or *ġiy-own* 'of the day, daily' (abs. *ġi*). A few monosyllabic words have a genitive in *-e*; cf., e.g., *ġar-e* 'of the son' (*ġar*), *l'am-e* 'of sheep', *ça-e* 'of the sea' (*ça*), or *oe* 'of the grass' (**o*). – Attested **vocatives** are, among others, *ġ~e* 'Lord!', *y~s-e* 'Jesus!', *owp~e* 'death!', *boťohowm-e* 'hell!', *de-yo* 'father!' (abs. *de*), *xifow-yo* 'woman!' (abs. *xifow*), *išebowr-o* 'brethren!', *apiyes-baalix-e* 'despisers!', *bowqana-hěã~r-e* 'beloved ones!', and *aṣay-ťin'ĩã~r-e* 'erring ones!'. – The **ablative I** appears, e.g., in *kowy-oc* 'from/by the hand' (abs. *kowl*), *powriem-oc* 'from the dead' (abs.sg. *powri*, with unusual plural suffix *-em-*), *ṣown-ṣown-oc* 'from each side', and the adverbs *ćohoc* and *bahoc* 'from outside' and 'from inside'; the **anteablative I** is only concealed in the adverbial formations *hamošťay* 'whence', *emošťay* 'hence', *eťošťay* 'thence', *halošťay* 'from above' and *owqošťay* 'from below'. – The *o*-vowel of the plural morphemes (except for *-oc*) has probably resulted from an assimilation to the vowel *ow* of the plural morpheme *-owġ-*.

All other case forms are based upon either the primary dative (dative I, always ending in a vowel) or one of the two secondary datives (dative II with a suffix *-x/-ṣ*, dative III with a suffix *-s*) or the superessive I (with a suffix *-l*), which are extensions of it.¹² Obviously, the underlying pattern has resulted from the typical East Caucasian way of linking case and series morphemes in locative function, with the series encoding the regions of a landmark and the case forms relating to the motion/state type of the trajectory. This paradigm must have undergone severe changes, which no longer allow for describing the case forms in terms of full-fledged case-series sequences.

(b) **Dative I** and its derivatives (Table IV). Within the allomorphic set of vocalic endings, the most typical instantiation is *-a* as in *aķowķ-ihesown-a* 'to the manifestation', *harzesown-a* 'to the resurrection', *ašarķeť-a* 'to the disciple', *avazan-a* 'in the pool', *bűwġ-a* 'amidst, in the middle', *cexar-a* 'to all', *ćiy-a* 'to the name', *ćowdow-a* 'in heaven', or *damaskos-a* 'to Damascus'. The *e*-dative is rare. It occurs with *ťã-e* 'side', *biy-e* 'head' (abs. *bowl*), *piy-e* 'eye' (abs. *powl*), *će-* (< **će-e*) 'fire', *rowġ-e* 'seed', *ġ~e* 'lord' (abs. *ġ~ġ*), *b~e* 'God' (abs. *b~ġ*), *hűwķ-e* 'heart', *de-* (< **de-e*) 'father', *ne-* (< **ne-e*) 'mother', *xown~e* 'place', *vićiy-e* 'brother', *ayz-e* 'world', *hom-e* 'back', and *ġe* 'today' (< *ġi* 'day', as opposed to *ġiy-a* 'on the day'). The *i*-dative is documented in *gal'i-i* 'guard', *cam-i* 'writing, text', *xaš-i* 'light', *hel-i* 'spirit', *ķal'i-i*

¹² In Gippert et al. (2008), the dative in *-s* is assigned dative II and the dative in *-x*, dative III. The present assignment is meant to facilitate comparison with Udi where only the latter has survived.

Tab. IV: Dative I and its derivatives.

	Abbreviation	Nominal		Pronominal	
		SG	PL	SG	PL
Dative I	DAT.I	-i, -e, -a, -ow	-o	-a, -ow	-a
Adessive I	ADESS.I	-V _{DAT.I} -k(a)	-o-k(a)	-V _{DAT.I} -k(a)	-a-k(a)
Adessive II	ADESS.II	-V _{DAT.I} -čʹ	-o-čʹ	-V _{DAT.I} -čʹ	-a-čʹ
Equative	EQU.	-V _{DAT.I} -ġa	-o-ġa	-V _{DAT.I} -ġa	-a-ġa
Subessive	SUBESS.	-V _{DAT.I} -ġ	-o-ġ	-V _{DAT.I} -ġ	-a-ġ
> Dative II	DAT. II	-V _{DAT.I} -x	-o-x	-V _{DAT.I} -x	-a-x
> Dative III	DAT. III	-V _{DAT.I} -s	-o-s	-V _{DAT.I} -s	-a-s
> Superessive I	SUPERESS.I	-V _{DAT.I} -l	-o-l	-V _{DAT.I} -l	-a-l

Tab. V: Dative II and its derivatives.

	Abbreviation	Nominal		Pronominal	
		SG	PL	SG	PL
Dative II	DAT.II	-V _{DAT.I} -x	-o-x	-ow-x	-a-x
Ablative II	ABL.II	-V _{DAT.I} -x-oc	-o-x-oc	-ow-x-oc	-a-x-oc
Anteablative II	ANTEABL.II	-V _{DAT.I} -x-ošay	-o-x-ošay	-ow-x-ošay	-a-x-ošay
Superessive III	SUPERESS.III	-V _{DAT.I} -x-ol	-o-x-ol	-ow-x-ol	-a-x-ol
Comitative	COM.	-V _{DAT.I} -x-oš	-o-x-oš	-ow-x-oš	-a-x-oš
Directive	DIR.	-V _{DAT.I} -x-ow	-o-x-ow	-ow-x-ow	-a-x-ow

‘voice’, *žam-i* ‘hour’, *mowš-i* ‘wind’, and *eḱles-i* (< *eḱlesi-i*, alongside *eḱlesiy-a*) ‘church’. A dative in *-ow-* is attested in *gol-ow-* ‘herd of sheep’ (abs. *gol*).

(c) **Dative II** and its derivatives (Table V). In its ending, the two consonants *x* and *ḫ* vary without a clear distribution (cf. 2.1 above as to the difficulty of distinguishing the two characters representing *x* and *ḫ*). It seems that *ḫ* usually appears in word-final position and always in combination with the ablative ending *-oc* (> *-ḫ-oc*) whereas *x* is usually written with the directive and comitative endings following it (> *-x-ow*, *-x-oš*). For the sake of simplicity, the spelling variants with *-ḫ* instead of *-x* are ignored in the present grammatical treatise, the suffix being generally transliterated as *-x-* in order to clearly distinguish it from the plural ending *-ḫ*.

(d) **Dative III** and its derivatives. Except for the anteablative III ending in *-s-taxoc*, the dative with the suffix *-s* seems not to have yielded secondary cases.

(e) **Superessive I** and its derivatives (Table VI). The formations based upon the superessive I that are documented so far are the superessive II (with the comitative ending *-oš*), a superablative in *-oc*, and a superanteablative in *-ošay*.

Tab. VI: Superessive I and its derivatives.

	Abbreviation	Nominal		Pronominal	
		SG	PL	SG	PL
Superessive I	SUPERESS.I	-V _{DAT.I} -/	-o-/	-V _{DAT.I} -/	-a-/
Superessive II	SUPERESS.II	-V _{DAT.I} -/oš	-o-/oš	-V _{DAT.I} -/oš	-a-/oš
Superablative	SUPERABL.	-V _{DAT.I} -/oC	-o-/oC	-V _{DAT.I} -/oC	-a-/oC
Superanteablative	SUPERANTEABL.	-V _{DAT.I} -/oštay	-o-/oštay	-V _{DAT.I} -/oštay	-a-/oštay

The primary dative (dative I) functions as a locative (inessive or allative) or encodes indirect objects. In addition, it usually serves to mark the subject of experiencer constructions (with *verba sentiendi*). The dative II encodes both an (often directional, but also inessive) locative and the “direct object” if it is not in the absolutive (see 4.2.2). The dative III usually encodes the addressee of speech act verbs. For the derived case forms, the semantics can usually be inferred from the corresponding labels.¹³

3.1.4 Oblique stem marking

Contrary to modern Vartashen Udi but quite in accordance with the variety of Nij,¹⁴ an oblique stem marker (-n-) may appear inserted in some nouns. In Albanian, this “stem augment” is confined to a small set of original nouns and to *nomina agentis* marked by the suffix -al (cf. 3.5.6). With the latter, the stem augment is present in the ergative case; cf. *baal* ‘doer’ > erg. *baal-n-en*, **axal* ‘nurse’ > erg. *axal-n-en*, *ča-biṭal-n-* ‘curtain’ (lit. ‘face-sowing’), or *bal’-baqal-n-* ‘servant’. With primary nouns, the stem augment is usually present in the datives and the corresponding locative cases; cf. *aśal* ‘earth’ > erg. *aśal-en*, gen. *aśal-own* vs. dat. I *aśal-n-a*; *balala* ‘candle’ > gen. *balal-in* vs. dat. III *balal-n-ax*; *ṣowr* ‘rock’ > superess. I *ṣowr-n-ow-l*. At least four nouns differ from this pattern by showing the stem augment -n- in the genitive, too. Here it merges with the initial consonant of the genitive suffix -ya resulting in a suffix -n’a; cf. *d’ip* ‘book’ > gen. *d’ip-n’a* < **d’ip-n-ya*. This suffix has been reanalysed as marking relational properties (‘belonging to, related to’, cf. 2.2.2 and 3.2).

¹³ Cf. Gippert et al. (2008: I, II-26–29) for a set of examples.

¹⁴ Cf. Chapter 5 of this Handbook, 2.2 as to the dialects of Udi.

3.2 Adjectives

The number of basic, non-derived adjectives and adverbs is rather small, as in other Lezgian languages, too. Examples include *al'e* 'old', *mal* 'small, few', *büwi* 'heavy', *kaçi* 'blind', *faxi* 'far', *bai* 'full', *aci* 'below', *qaç* 'narrow', *aqat'i* 'naked', *iša* 'near', *en'eğ* 'other', *himi* 'other, next, remaining, left over', *ser* 'true, real', *ē* ~ *ey* 'good', *ğowy* 'living, alive', and *bowxi* 'strong'.

Derivational processes are usually based on case marking, the ergative and the genitives (both in *-own* and *-ya* including *-n'a* with stem augmented nouns) being most frequently involved; cf. *mal-pfiy-own* 'temporal, transient' (*mal* 'few', *pfi* 'time'), *marğaven-own* 'prophetical' (*marğaven* 'prophet'), *daizde-ya* 'golden' (*daizde* 'gold'), *kođ-in* 'belonging to the house' (*kođ* 'house'), etc.; formations based on the ergative(instrumental) are, e.g., *hel-in* 'spiritual' (*hel* 'spirit') and *tfeg-en* 'true' (*tfeg* 'sign') etc., possibly also *kiye* 'rich' (< **ki* 'wealth, strength'). In addition, adjectives may be identical with or derived from participles. Other derivational processes are not fully transparent; this is true, e.g., for the segment *-n'i* that occurs with the following adjectives: *bân'i* 'great, big', *bâxn'i* 'worthy', *gan'i* 'faded away, dwindled' (only in *gan'i-ihesown* 'wither, fade away'), *en'i* 'new', and *aṣay-ṭin'i* / *-ṭown'i* 'erring, going astray'.

There are no agreement patterns of adjectives within noun phrases or in predicative position. Both attributive and predicative adjectives are unmarked with respect to case, number, or gender except when referentialised, i.e. nominalised. In principle, all adjectives (as well as most participles, certain pronouns and case forms) can undergo referentialisation; cf., e.g., *bân'i-o* 'the (male) big one', *karxes-baal-o* 'the saving (one)', *pē-o* 'the spoken (one)', *bezi-etxoṣṭay* 'from mine', *yohannēsi-txoc* 'from those of John', or *saṣesownax-ā~a* 'to those in temptation'.¹⁵ Table VII lists the primary case forms of the referentialising elements,

Tab. VII: Basic case forms of referentialising elements.

	Masculine		Feminine		Neuter	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
Absolutive	-o	-ā~r	-ağ	-ağ-owr	-o	-ebowr
Ergative	-o-en	-ā~n	-ağ-en	-ağ-r-o-n	-(e)t-en	-ed-ğ-o-n / -et-x-on
Genitive	-o-ya	-ā~y	-ağ-ya	*-ağ-r-o-y	*-(e)t-ya > -(e)t'a	-ed-ğ-o-y / -et-x-oy
Dative I	-o-ow	-ā~a	-ağ-ow	-ağ-r-o	-(e)d/t/t-ow	-ed-ğ-o / -et-x-o

¹⁵ For further examples cf. Gippert (2018a: 28–29).

which are clearly related to the system of the demonstrative pronouns and articles (see 3.3.2).

3.3 Pronouns

3.3.1 Personal and possessive pronouns

Albanian has no 3rd person pronouns, the demonstrative pronouns being used instead (see 3.3.2). The language does not know an inclusive/exclusive distinction for the first person plural. The case marking of the personal pronouns is purely of the “nominative-accusative” type, contrasting a base form that encodes both the subject of an intransitive verb (hereafter: “S”) and the agent of a transitive verb (“A”), with a dative II-marked form used to encode the direct object of a transitive verb (“O”); there is no distinction of absolutive and ergative forms. Instead of proper genitive forms, Albanian uses possessive formations that are characterised, except for the 2nd person singular, by a petrified class marker *b-* in initial position and, in the plural forms, by a noteworthy alternation of the root consonant (see Table VIII).

Tab. VIII: The personal and possessive pronouns of Caucasian Albanian.

	1Sg	2Sg	1Pl	2Pl
Absolutive/Ergative	<i>zow</i>	<i>vown</i>	<i>žan</i>	<i>všan</i>
Genitive/Possessive	<i>b-ez-i</i>	<i>vë</i> (~ <i>ve-y</i>)	<i>b-eš-i</i>	<i>b-šef-i</i>
Dative I	<i>za</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>ža</i>	<i>vša</i>
Dative II	<i>zax</i>	<i>vax</i>	<i>žax</i>	<i>všax</i>
Dative III	<i>zas</i>	<i>vas</i>	<i>žas</i>	<i>všas</i>

3.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns and articles

The palimpsests show that Albanian possessed only one demonstrative pronoun with a full inflection, which was used in both deictic and anaphoric function. This pronoun, which is also the basis for the referentialised forms of adjectives and participles (cf. 3.2) and, at least partly, the preposed definite article (cf. 4.1), exhibits a threefold sexus-based gender system in both singular and plural, including a masculine (“M”), a feminine (“F”) and a neuter (“N”).¹⁶ Table IX illus-

¹⁶ Cf. Gippert (2018a: 28–29) for a discussion of the neuter allomorphs.

Tab. IX: Demonstrative pronouns, referentialising suffixes and definite articles.

		Demonstrative / anaphoric			Referentialiser			Article		
		M	F	N	M	F	N	M	F	N
Sg.	Abs.	<i>o(o)</i>	<i>aġ</i>	<i>e(e)</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>-aġ</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>
	Obl.	<i>o-</i>	<i>aġ-</i>	<i>ed/t/ṭ- ~ o-</i>	<i>-o-</i>	<i>-aġ-</i>	<i>-ed/t/ṭ- ~ o-</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>
Pl.	Abs.	<i>â~r</i>	<i>aġowr</i>	<i>ebowr</i>	<i>-â~r</i>	<i>-aġowr</i>	<i>-ebowr</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>
	Obl.	<i>â~-</i>	<i>aġr-</i>	<i>edġ- / etx-</i>	<i>-â~-</i>	<i>-aġr-</i>	<i>-edġ-</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>

trates the basic forms of the demonstrative pronoun contrasted with the referentialising suffixes and the forms of the article.

The exact pronunciation of the masculine plural forms is difficult to assess as they appear always abbreviated in the palimpsests. A probable reading for *â~r* is *â-ar* (vs. ergative *â~n* = *â-an* or *â-ar-an* etc.).¹⁷ The genitive of the demonstratives is used instead of possessive pronouns; the forms are M *o-ya*, F *aġ-ya*, N *eṭ'a* (< **eṭ-ya*) in the singular and M *â~-y*, F **aġro-y*, N *edġo-y* in the plural (the feminine form is unattested).

The pronoun seems not to be specified for distal or proximal deixis which can, however, be indicated by the adverbs *eme* ‘here’ (corresponding to Arm. *ast* ‘id.’, e.g. in Matthew 17.4: A13vb, 8),¹⁸ probably the basis of the proximal pronoun *me-* in Udi, and *eṭe* / *eṭiš* ‘there’ (corresponding to Arm. *and(r)* ‘id.’, e.g., in Luke 2.6: A35vb, 1), which reappears in Udi *ṭe-* ‘that’.¹⁹

3.3.3 Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns

The reflexive pronoun is *ič*. The following forms are attested: abs. *ič*, erg. *ičen*, gen.sg. *ičē* (= *iče-y*, vs. gen.pl. *iča-y*), dat.I *ičow*, dat.II *ičowx*, abl.II *ičowxoc*. When they are used attributively, their nominal head is usually marked by the definite article. The concept of reflexivity may further be reinforced by the noun *bowl* ‘head’ in the appropriate case; cf., e.g., *bowqana-ba-hanayoenke xišow ičē ičē bowl bowqana-ba-oen* ‘(He) who loves his own wife loves himself (lit. his own head)’ (Ephesians 5.28: A27rb19–22).

¹⁷ Cf. Gippert (2018a: 31).

¹⁸ From here on, the two palimpsest codices Sin. georg. NF 13 and 55 are denoted by “A” and “B”, resp.

¹⁹ The words *eše* ‘there’ and *ešol* ‘over there’ listed in Gippert et al. (2008: I, IV-15) can no longer be upheld.

The pronoun *ič* bears a similar emphatic semantics as English *-self* does. With clause internal reflexive objects, the reduplicated construction **ičen-ičow* (erg. + dat.I) is used; in the palimpsests, the resulting form appears as *ičīnčow* in the Gospel of John and *ičownčow* in the lectionary materials. A derivation of the reflexive pronoun is present in the term *išowičē*, lit. ‘someone of/for himself’ (*išow* + *ičē*), which usually translates Arm. *iwrak’anc’iwr* ‘each’ (a variant is *išow-ičē-išow*, lit. ‘man-own-man’, in Hebrews 11.21: A5va, 7).

The reciprocal pronoun *sowsn-* is obviously shortened from **sunsun* (lit. ‘one-one’, with the oblique stem of *sa* ‘one’, *sown-*). The following forms are documented: gen. *sowsnay*, dat.I *sowsna*, dat.II *sowsnax*, dat.III *sowsnas*, com. *sowsnaxoš*. An example is *acē-ne pāmown sowsnaxoš e ašarkētoṃx* ‘the disciples went away again with each other’ (John 20.10: B7ra, 20–21).

3.3.4 Interrogative pronouns

Most of the interrogatives are marked by an element *ha-* (at least twice used independently in the sense of ‘why, what’, in John 5.28: A100va, 12 and 18.23: B40va, 2).²⁰ The two referential interrogative pronouns are *ha-š(ow)* ‘who’ (erg. *ha-še*; probably < *ha-* + *išow* / *iše* ‘man’) and *ya* ‘what’ (no other case forms known). A locative interrogative stem is *-ma-*, to which case endings can be added; cf. *ha-may* ‘where’ (genitive in *-y?*), *ha-ma-ṭown* ‘how much’ (*-ṭown* ‘up to’), and *ha-m-oṣṭay* ‘whence, from where’ (anteablative I). *ha-moč* ‘when’ seems to be derived from a noun, viz. **moč* ‘time’ (cf. *e-moč-en* ‘then’ and Udi *ṭem-mač-aḡ/me-mač-aḡ* ‘until then, so far’ etc.). The attributive interrogative *ha-nay* ‘which’ is rarely attested as such. Usually it occurs as a relative pronoun, combined with the subordinator *-ke* (probably a borrowing from Middle Iranian, cf. 5.2.1 below) and functioning as a clitic (cf. 3.3.6). In subordinate interrogative clauses, the other interrogative pronouns appear with *-ke*, too, but they do not function as clitics here; cf., e.g., *n-aa-za hamay-ke-oowx-ṣexay* ‘I do not know where (they) put him’ (John 20.2: B14rb, 10–11).

3.3.5 Indefinite and negative pronouns

As indefinite pronouns the two nouns *išow* ‘man’ > ‘someone, anyone’ and *hił* ‘thing’ > ‘something, anything’ are used. Negative pronouns are not attested in

²⁰ For the latter attestation see Gippert (forthc.: I.).

the corpus; instead, the indefinite pronouns are used in combination with a negator (cf. 3.5.5).

3.3.6 Relative pronouns

Relative pronouns are extremely frequent in the palimpsests. The forms are mostly derived from the attributive interrogative pronoun *hanay-* ‘which’, more rarely from *haš(ow)-* ‘who’ and *ya-* ‘what’. When used as a relative pronoun, *hanay-* is always referentialised with the help of the corresponding deictic elements (> *hanay-o-* etc., cf. 3.3.2), followed by the subordinator *-ke*. The choice of the referential elements depends on gender and number. In all cases the relative pronoun has strong clitic properties. It usually takes the position after the verb that pertains to the relative clause but precedes personal markers or auxiliaries such as *hē* ‘was, were’. The basic paradigm can be established as in Table X (note that the absolutive singular form of the masculine and neuter appears always abbreviated as *h~ke* but can tentatively be restored as *h(anay-o)-ke*).

Indefinite (free) relative pronouns add the subordinator *-ke* to the corresponding interrogative pronouns, thus yielding *haš(ow)-ke* ‘whosoever’ and *ya-ke* ‘whatsoever’. The form *hake* appearing in the inscription on Yog’s candleholder (cf. Chapter 3 of this Handbook, 4.2) may be, if not a different abbreviation for *h(anay-o)-ke*, a combination of the basic interrogative element *ha-* with the subordinator (*ha-ke*) in the sense of ‘how, as’. In some cases, the subordinator *-ke* can

Tab. X: The basic case forms of the relative pronoun (singular and plural).

Singular	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Absolutive	<i>h(anay-o)-ke</i>	<i>hanay-aġ-ke</i>	<i>h(anay-o)-ke</i>
Ergative	<i>hanay-o-en-ke</i>	<i>hanay-aġ-en-ke</i>	<i>hanay-t-en-ke</i>
Genitive	<i>hanay-o-ya-ke</i>	<i>*hanay-aġ-ya-ke</i>	<i>hanay-t'a-ke</i>
Dative I	<i>hanay-o-ow-ke</i>	<i>*hanay-aġ-ow-ke</i>	<i>hanay-t-ow-ke</i>
Dative II	<i>hanay-o-owx-ke</i>	<i>*hanay-aġ-owx-ke</i>	<i>hanay-d-owx-ke</i>
Dative III	<i>hanay-o-ows-ke</i>	<i>*hanay-aġ-ows-ke</i>	<i>*hanay-d-ows-ke</i>
Plural			
Absolutive	<i>hanay-ã~r-ke</i>	<i>hanay-aġ-owr-ke</i>	<i>hanay-e-bowr-ke</i>
Ergative	<i>hanay-ã~n-ke</i>	<i>hanay-aġ-r-on-ke</i>	<i>hanay-d-ġ-on-ke</i>
Genitive	<i>hanay-ã~y-ke</i>	<i>*hanay-aġ-r-oy-ke</i>	<i>*hanay-d-ġ-oy-ke</i>
Dative I	<i>hanay-ã~a-ke</i>	<i>*hanay-aġ-r-o-ke</i>	<i>*hanay-d-ġ-o-ke</i>
Dative II	<i>hanay-ã~x-ke</i>	<i>hanay-aġ-r-ox-ke</i>	<i>*hanay-d-ġ-ox-ke</i>
Dative III	<i>*hanay-ã~s-ke</i>	<i>*hanay-aġ-r-os-ke</i>	<i>*hanay-d-ġ-os-ke</i>

be separated from the pronoun by the verbal stem as in *ya-baa-ke-n(ow)n* ‘what you are doing’ (Jo. 6.30: A99ra, 10) or *hamay-iġa-ke-zow* vs. *iġa-hamay-ke-zow* ‘where I go’ (both John 8.22, A20vb, 14 and 19–20); the ratio behind this alternation is unclear.

3.4 Numerals

3.4.1 Cardinal numbers

The Albanian counting system is decimal with respect to the first two decades, and vigesimal from ‘twenty’ onwards; cf. *pa-çe* / pl. *pa-ç-ar* ‘twelve’ (‘two-ten’), *pfa-qâ* ‘forty’ (‘two-twenty’), or *sa-qâ-viç* ‘thirty’ (‘one-twenty-ten’). ‘Hundred’ can be denoted both vigesimally (*xo-qâ*, lit. ‘five-twenty’) and lexically (*baç*). The highest number attested in spelt-out form is 153, which is *vüwġ-qâ-xib-eç-ar*, lit. ‘seven (times) twenty (plus) three (plus) ten-s’ (John 21.11: B5ra, 17–18).²¹ The basic cardinal numbers are displayed in Table XI.

Tab. XI: Basic cardinal numbers.

1	<i>sa</i>	10	<i>viç</i>
2	<i>pfa</i>	12	<i>pa-çe</i> / <i>pa-ç-ar</i>
3	<i>xib</i>	13	<i>xib-eç-ar</i>
4	<i>bip</i>		
5	<i>xo</i>	20	<i>qâ</i>
6	<i>üwḡ</i>	30	<i>sa-qâ-viç</i>
7	<i>vüwġ</i>	40	<i>pfa-qâ</i>
8	<i>müwġ</i>		
9	<i>vowy</i>	100	<i>xo-qâ; baç</i>

The numerals from ‘three’ onwards can be marked by the plural morpheme *-ar* (*xib-ar* ‘the three (ones)’), which is possibly the same as the pronominal plural marker *-ar* (absolutive; cf. 3.3.2). The resulting forms are inflected according to the singular case pattern (note that the ergative ends in *-an* instead of *-en*): abs. *-ar*, erg. *-ar-an*, gen. *-ar-ay*, dat.I *-ar-a*, etc. The plural form of *pfa* ‘two’ is *powran* (e.g., in *powran iṣowy* ‘of two men’, John 8.17: A20va, 13–14).

²¹ Cf. Gippert (2018a: 42).

3.4.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are attested only fragmentarily. Nevertheless, the forms *xib-ar-own* ‘third’, *üwχ-ar-own* ‘sixth’, *vüwġ-ar-own* ‘seventh’ and *müwġ-ar-own* ‘eighth’ as well as *powran-own* ‘second’ suggest that ordinals were derived from the plural of the corresponding cardinal, followed by the derivational element *-own*. The same suffix is also present in *serba-own* ‘first’, which lacks a secured explanation; an alternative term for ‘first’ is *büwa*, which is identical with *büwa* (adverb / postposition) ‘before, in front of’.²²

3.4.3 Multiplicative numbers

Multiplicatives are formed by adding the morpheme *-om* to the cardinals (note **sa-om* > *som* ‘once’), optionally followed by the noun *čar* ‘time(s)”; cf. *som* (*čar*) ‘once’, *xib-om* (*čar*) ‘three times’, *xo-om* (*čar*) ‘five times’, etc. The form *pšaom* ‘twice’ is probably present in Act. 12.6 (A48ra, 16); it also seems to be concealed in the adverb *pāmown* ‘again’ (< **pša-om-own*).

3.4.4 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are *cex* ‘all’ (plural *cex-ar*), *kanay*, *lowśow* ‘all, whole’, *mal* ‘few’, *avel* ‘many’, *žin* (with unclear declension) and *χüwã~r* (pl.) ‘some’.

3.5 Verbs

The Albanian verb is characterised by a rather complex morphology. Its categories include person and number, tense, aspect, mood, direction, location (expressed by preverbs), as well as the dimension of subordination. The following sentence comprises two verbal complexes that exhibit typical features such as the incorporation of clitics and verbal compounding: *nowt-anaķe-išow-ahal vax apiyes-baa-hašķe* ‘lest there be someone who (might) despise you’ (Tit. 2.15: A26ra, 18–19).²³

²² Cf. Gippert et al. (2008: I, II-41) for a discussion.

²³ The clitic *-anaķe-* is written *-ananaķe-* by dittography in A26ra, 18.

3.5.1 Stem formation

Albanian possesses a restricted set of simple verbs such as *ac'-esown* 'perish, be lost' (masdar, hereafter used as the citation form), *aḱ-esown* 'see', *aḫ-esown* 'arrive, come, be present, reach', *bā(h)-esown* 1. 'think', 2. 'go', *baḫ-esown* 'find', *beḡ-esown* 1. 'be necessary, have to', 2. 'look, observe, see', *bes-esown* 'seek, ask', *bit-esown* 'fall', *biṭ-esown* 'sow', *bix-esown* 'create, give birth', *biy-esown* 'do, make', *boḱ-esown* 'lead', *bowḱ-esown* 'love, want', *ef-esown* 'keep, have, hold', *heḡ-esown* 'come', *heḱ-esown* 'take, receive', *iḡ-esown* 'beat, hit', *iḡ-esown* 'go', or *ih-esown* 'be(come)'. The great number of verbs beginning with *b-* suggests that at least some of them might conceal petrified class markers.

Three types of complex verbs can be distinguished:

(a) complex verbs including an auxiliary stem that no longer exists as a lexical verb in its own right. The following root-final consonants may represent former auxiliaries: *ṭ*, *t*, *d*, *ḡ*, *x*, *k*, *ḡ*, and *z*. Examples are *bfai-d-esown* 'release, relinquish', *da-ḡ-esown* 'give' (present stem *low-ḡ-a-* 'give'), *bat-k-esown* 'turn around, return, change', *bas-ḱ-esown* 'sleep', *biḱ-ḱ-esown* 'become clear', *boc-ḱ-esown* 'wash', *bar-t-esown* 'let, leave', *bos-ṭ-esown* 'shut, wrap', *ze-ṭ-esown* 'bind', *bač-x-esown* 'hide', *bic-x-esown* 'show, report', *boḱo-ḱ-esown* 'burn', *čal-x-esown* 'realise, know', *kar-x-esown* 'be saved', *ze-x-esown* 'put, fix, fasten', and *har-z-esown* 'rise';

(b) complex verbs including an existing light verb. Table XII shows the light verbs that are documented in the texts.

(c) compounds incorporating nouns and other elements such as *il'ow-ḱor-biy-esown* 'answer' (lit. 'word-back-do'), *ḡow-baḡal-biy-esown* 'ask' (lit. 'news-taking-do'), *ḱi-boḱ-esown* 'be able' (lit. 'wealth-bring'), *hel-ḡax-esown* 'sigh, groan' (lit. 'spirit-emit'), or *ačam-owk-esown* 'eat unleavened bread'.

Tab. XII: Light verbs.

Intransitive	<i>iḡ-esown</i>	'go/come'
Intransitive, anticausative	<i>ih-esown</i>	'become'
(In)transitive	<i>p-esown</i>	'say'
Transitive(-causative)	<i>biy-esown</i>	'do, make'
Transitive-causative	<i>daḡ-esown</i>	'give'

3.5.2 Agreement

Albanian possesses a paradigm of personal agreement clitics which normally agree with the subject (S and A) but occasionally also with objects. Agreement

Tab. XIII: Verbal agreement.

			Subject (S/A)			Object (O/IO)
			nFOC		FOC	
			S		A	
1SG			-z(ow)			-za(x/s)
2SG			-(n)own			-va(x/s)
3SG	Pres. Stem	m	-Ø	-va	-o-en	-oow(x/s)
		f		-aġ	-aġ-en	-aġow(x/s)
		n		-ya	-t-en	-tow(x/s)
	Past Stem	m	-n(e)	-va	-o-en	-oow(x/s)
		f		-aġ	-aġ-en	-aġow(x/s)
		n		-ya	-t-en	*-tow(x/s)
1PL			-žan			-ža(x/s)
2PL			-nan			-vŋa(x/s)
3PL	Pres. Stem	m	-Ø	-ā~r	-ā~n	-ā~a(x/s)
		f		-aġ-owr	-aġ-r-on	-aġ-r-o(x/s)
		n		-e-bowr (?)	-ed-ġ-on	*-ed-ġ-o(x/s)
	Past Stem	m	-n(e)	-ā~r	-ā~n	-ā~a(x/s)
		f		-aġ-owr	-aġ-r-on	*-aġ-r-o(x/s)
		n		-e-bowr (?)	*-ed-ġ-on (?)	*-ed-ġ-o(x/s)

clitics are strongly bound to verbal stems,²⁴ as long as they do not have a copular function (cf. 4.2.4 below).

The paradigm of agreement clitics for the 3rd persons is divided into two sub-paradigms that are related to stem formation and focus. The unfocused 3rd person does not distinguish the singular from the plural; however, it occurs in two forms, namely, as -Ø with tense/mood forms derived from the present stem, and as -n(e) with tense/mood forms derived from the past stem as well as static presents (e.g., in *bow-ne* ‘(there) is’). The unfocused 3rd person subject clitics may be reinforced with the help of pronominal clitics that copy a deictic pronoun onto the verb (“explicative” or focussing clitics). In this case, subjects in the absolutive (S) are distinguished from ergative subjects (A). In addition, a gender opposition applies

²⁴ Cf. Harris / Duff (2018) for a discussion.

with both the singular and the plural clitics. The distribution of $-\emptyset$ vs. $-n(e)$ is also present when such emphasising clitics follow the verbal stem (e.g. $-oen$ vs. $-n-oen$): $-oen$ alone occurs with those tense/mood forms that normally exclude the clitic $-ne$ (e.g., present *bareta-oen* ‘he leaves’) while $-n-oen$ appears in the other cases (e.g., past *bartay-n-oen* ‘he left’). Therefore it is reasonable to assume that the frequent complex clitic $-na-va$ is a combination of the primary clitic $-ne$ with the explicative clitic $-va$ ($*-ne-va > -na-va$). Distributional criteria further allow us to assume that $-va$ replaces the weak agreement clitic $*-o$ (i.e. the absolutive of the masculine/neuter anaphoric pronoun) with intransitive verbs (as opposed to the ergative form $-oen$ with transitive verbs), even though it is difficult to decide whether $-va$ is a morpheme distinct from $-o$ or whether it has developed from $-o$ via phonetic processes ($*-o > *-awa > -va?$).

The 2nd person singular shows a similar distribution, at least in the Gospel of John, with $-own$ occurring with present tense forms and $-n-own$ in other cases (e.g., *ba-own* ‘you do’ vs. *biyay-n-own* ‘you did’), thus suggesting that the $-n-$ was not restricted to 3rd persons originally; however, there is no such variation with the 2nd person plural clitic, $-nan$. Table XIII lists the clitics for all persons.

All agreement clitics belong to the class of light clitics (cf. 3. above). They follow heavy clitics in case these are present. A typical chain of clitics (introduced by the heavy optative clitic $-qa-$) is given in *karxes-qa-n-oen-žax-biyay* ‘He will save us’ (Isaiah 35.4: A73va, 8–9).

3.5.3 Tense and aspect

Albanian is characterised by a tense system that is based on an earlier aspectual system. Most verbs show a thematic vowel ($-a/-e$) following the root-final consonant. Four stem types are derived depending on the type of the thematic vowel, namely, the present, past, infinitive, and imperative stems. In the infinitive stem, the thematic vowel ($-e$) has merged with an original case marker $*-s$ (dative III) yielding $-es-$. With so-called “weak” verbs, both the present stem and the past stem are marked with the thematic vowel $-a-$, whereas with “strong” verbs the thematic vowel of the past stem is equal to that of the infinitive ($-e-$). The imperative stem is based on that of the infinitive but marked by the thematic vowel $-a-$. The basic pattern is given in Table XIV.

Older patterns of aspectual stem formation are preserved with certain verbs. To which degree they were still productive at the times of the documented language cannot be told for sure. Two types must be distinguished here:

(a) $-a/-i-$ root ablaut (cf. 2.2.4). This ablaut pattern is clearly present with the verbs *ihesown* ‘be(come)’ (present stem *aha-*), *biqesown* ‘seize’ (present stem

Tab. XIV: Tense stem formation (stem final thematic vowels).

		Present	Past	Infinitive	Imperative	
Strong verbs	Thematic vowel	-a-	-e-	-e-	-a-	
	Example	<i>beġ-a-</i>	<i>beġ-e-</i>	<i>beġ-es-</i>	<i>beġ-a-</i>	‘look’
Weak verbs	Thematic vowel	-a-	-a-	-e-	-a-	
	Example	<i>heq̇-a-</i>	<i>heq̇-a-</i>	<i>heq̇-es-</i>	<i>heq̇-a-</i>	‘take’

Tab. XV: Suppletive stem formation.

	Infinitive Stem	Present Stem	Past Stem	Imperative Stem
‘go’	<i>i-ġ-es-</i>	<i>i-ġa-</i>	<i>ace-</i>	<i>ow-kal-</i>
‘come’	<i>he-ġ-es-</i>	<i>he-ġa-</i>	<i>ar-</i>	<i>he-kal-</i>
‘say’	<i>p-es-</i>	<i>(ow)ka-</i>	<i>pe-</i>	<i>(ow)pa-</i>
‘die/kill’	<i>(owp̄-)</i>	<i>bił’a-</i>	<i>powr-</i>	<i>owp̄ar-</i>
‘give’	<i>da-ġ-es-</i>	<i>low-ġa-</i>	<i>da-ġe-</i>	<i>da-ġa-</i>

baq̇a-), and *biyesown* (< **bi’e-*) ‘do, make’ (present stem *ba(a)-* < **ba’a-*). Note that *biq̇esown* once also shows a masdar variant *baq̇esown* (Hebrews 9.6: A78rb, 12), which illustrates that the ablaut may have occurred in the infinitive stem, too. Ablauting verbs can be both weak (*biyesown* > present stem *ba(a)-* < **ba’a-*, past stem *biya-* < **bi’a-*) and strong (*ihesown* > present *aha-*, past stem **ihe-* > *he-*);

(b) infixation of *-r/l(e)-* (with *-l-* changing to *-l’-* after a palatal vowel) in present (and, sometimes, infinitive) stems such as *bi-l’e-ç-a-* (vs. *biç-esown* with variant *bi-l’-ç-esown* ‘dissolve, get rotten’), *a-re-c-a-* (past *ac-ar-i*, **a(r)c-esown* ‘sit’), *i-l’e-g-a-* (*ig-esown* ‘beat’), *ze-l-ṭ-a-* (*zeṭ-esown* ‘bind’), *ze-le-x-a-* (*zex-esown* ‘put, fix’), *a-le-p-a-* (*aṭ-esown* ‘reach’), *ā-le-p-a-* (past stem *āpe-* ‘kindle’), and *bā-l-a-* (probably < **bā-l-h-a-*; *bā(h)-esown* ‘go / think’). With a few verbs, the infix seems to be confined to the vowel *-e-* preceding the stem-final consonant, as in the present stems *bat-e-ka-* (*batk-esown* ‘turn’), *bic-e-xa-* (*bicx-esown* ‘report’), *boc-e-ka-* (*boçk-esown* ‘wash’), *bač-e-xa-* (*bačxesown* ‘hide’), or *čal-e-xa-* (*čalx-esown* ‘realise, know’).

The stem formation of some verbs is characterised by full or partial suppletion as shown in Table XV; note that for ‘dying / killing’ there exists no infinitive stem proper, the noun *owp̄* ‘death’ being used instead.

Two basic tense categories are documented in the palimpsests: present and past. The present tense is marked by the thematic vowel *-a*. From the present tense stem a (periphrastic) imperfect is formed by the addition of the clitic variant of the past of the auxiliary *ihesown* ‘be(come)’, *-hē* (= *-he-y*). The past tense is

Tab. XVI: Elements of tense formation.

	Root	Infix	Thematic Vowel	Suffix	Auxiliary
Present					-Ø
Imperfect	[-a-]	[-r/l(e)-]	-a-	-	+ =hē
Past					-Ø
Pluperfect	[-i-]	-	-a-/e-/Ø	-y-/i-	+ =hē

marked by a morpheme *-y* ~ *-i* added to the past stem. The variant *-i* is restricted to the suppletive past stem of *hegesown* ‘come’, *ar-i*, used both as an independent and as a light verb; cf. *ac-ar-i* ‘sitting, having sat down’ (pres. stem *a-re-ca-*), *powri* < *pow-ar-i* (?) ‘dead, having come to death’ (pres. stem *bil’a-*), possibly also *bowri* < *bow-ar-i* ‘standing, having come into upright position’ < ‘having come to be’ (if the pres. stem *bowra-* is secondary). A secondary past tense form (corresponding to a pluperfect) is again formed with the help of the clitic past of *ihesown* ‘be(come)’, *-hē*, here combined with past forms. The forms *efa-ā~n-ahal* ‘do/will they have’, *il’ow-ka-ā~n-ahal* ‘do/will they speak’, and *targowmanown-ba-ā~n-ahal* ‘do/will they translate’ (I Corinthians 12.30: B26va, 2–6) suggest that the present could also be extended by modal forms of the same light verb (here the subjunctive *ahal* ‘will be’; however, the existing data are too scarce to prove the existence of a distinct category. Table XVI summarises the basic pattern of tense formation.

The following examples illustrate the present, the imperfect, the past and the pluperfect: *žan-al bicexa-žan-vša* ‘We also declare (it) to you’ (I John 1.5: A104va, 18–19); *bāgal-baa-z-ya-hē* ‘I used to ransack it’ (Galatians 1.13: B15vb, 14–15); *il’ow-kor-biyay-n-oen-ā~a* ‘He replied to them’ (John 9.27: A21rb, 21); *xibom nša-žiz-acē-hē-zow* ‘three times I had suffered shipwreck’ (II Corinthians 11.25: A77vb, 1–3).

3.5.4 Mood and modality

The modal paradigm of Albanian includes a (hortative) optative, a (future) subjunctive, a conditional, an imperative, and a prohibitive. Special constructional patterns are used to encode necessity and (in)ability.

The optative, which sometimes functions as a mere future, is based on the heavy clitic *-qa-*. It usually combines with past tense forms and is always followed by the “past” agreement clitics. The basic pattern can be seen in *heqay-qa-n-oen* ‘he shall take’ (Matthew 10.41: A13ra, 4–5 and 8–9) and *ta-pē-qa-žan* ‘let us offer’ (Hebrews 13.15: A2va, 17).

The subjunctive (more regularly used to denote a future tense) is based upon the *-al*-participle (see 3.5.6), regularly (but not always) combined with the clitic element *-anke-*. The clitic most often corresponds to a conjunction '(so) that', thus constituting (final) subordinate clauses. The basic pattern is visible in *baal-anke-zow* '(so) that I should do' (John 6.38: A98vb, 18) and *aḱal-anke-ža* '(so) that we may see' (John 6.30: A99ra, 9).

The conditional is derived from the present tense by adding the clitic *-en'e-*. A past variant is construed like the imperfect by adding the past form of the auxiliary *ihesown* 'be(come)', *-hē*. As the construction is based on the present stem, no agreement clitic appears with 3rd persons (cf. 3.5.2). The basic pattern is illustrated by *efa-en'e-žan* 'if we hold' (Hebrews 3.6: B23va, 9) or *aa-en'e-vša-hē* 'if you had known' (John 8.19: A19rb, 4).

The imperative is derived from the infinitive stem by a change of its thematic vowel to *-a-*. Hence the stem differs from the present stem only in case of vowel alternation, infixation, or stem suppletion (cf., e.g., *beḡ-esown* 'see, look', present stem *beḡa-*, imperative stem *beḡa-*, but *(ow)p-esown* 'say', present stem *(ow)ḱa-*, imperative stem *owpa-*). With many standard verbs, the imperative stem is thus difficult to distinguish from the present stem. With root ablauting verbs, the imperative takes the vocalisation of the infinitive stem, e.g. *ih-esown* 'be(come)' > imperative *iha-* vs. present stem *aha-*, *biḡ-esown* 'take' > imperative *biḡa-* vs. present stem *baḡa-*, and *biy-esown* 'do, make' > imperative *biya-* vs. present stem *ba(a)-*. This rule also applies when the stems are used as light verbs in verbal composition.

The two motion verbs *iḡ-esown* 'go' and *heḡ-esown* 'come' have suppletive imperative stems, viz. *owkal-* 'go!' and *hekal-* 'come!'. Most likely, we have to deal here with two petrified preverbs (*ow-* vs. *he-*) that are added to an imperative stem *kal-* 'move!'. A few verbs show an imperative stem in *-ar-* (*boz-ar-* 'endure!', *hay-z-ar-* 'arise!', *owp-ar-* 'kill!');²⁵ these usually go along with a past stem in *-(a)r-*,²⁶ which may rely on *ar-i*, the irregular past of the light verb *heḡ-esown* 'come' (cf. 3.5.3) used as a light verb.

The imperative stem is usually followed by subject clitics as in *bai-efa-nown* 'keep fulfilled!', *beḡa-nan* 'look!', *oṭana-bowra-nan* 'pray!' (lit. 'stand in prayer!'), *bṣaida-n(ow)n-za* 'leave me alone!', *zahown-iha-nan* 'learn!', *bowxi-iha-nan* 'become strong!', *biya-nown* 'do, make!' or *bowḡana-biya-nan* 'love!'.

²⁵ II Timothy 4.5 (A28ra, 13); Acts 12.7 (A57vb, 4); Matthew 5.21 (A9ra, 20).

²⁶ *boz-ari*- John 4.38 (B18rb, 12) and Hebrews 12.3 (A67vb, 6); *hay-z-ari*- John 13.4 (A66va, 7) etc.; the frequent *powri-* 'died' (Romans 8.34: B33rb, 4 etc.) may represent an underlying **pow-ari-*, cf. *owp* 'death'. The form *batar-nown* 'leave!' in Matthew 5.24 (A9rb, 21–22) is likely to be misspelt for **barta-nown*, given that the past of *bartesown* 'leave' is *bartay* throughout.

A periphrastic necessitative is based on a constructional pattern that uses the word *beġa* ‘necessary’, originally probably the present stem of *beġ-esown* ‘be necessary, have to’. The obliged person is marked by one of the datives, whereas the lexical verb appears in the infinitive (in *-es-a*, cf. 3.5.7). An example is *beġa o owsbos bowqana-biy-es-a ičay čibowx* ‘the husbands must love their wives’ (Ephesians 5.28: A27rb, 15–17). Another way of expressing necessity is the use of the form in *-esown*, probably the genitive of the infinitive (*-es-own*, cf. 3.5.7), as a quasi-predicate (cf. Engl. *I am to do s.th.*); cf., e.g., *haše-žax baćow-biyesown e bowqanaaxoc k’si* ‘who (is) to separate (lit. make fragmented) us from the love of Christ’ (Romans 8.35: B33rb, 10–11).

Ability is expressed by the verb *ķi-boķesown* ‘prevail, conquer, be victorious’, which is likely to have developed from ‘bring wealth’. It is generally followed by the verb in the infinitive.²⁷ An example is *ķi-boķa-oen řařesownaxă~a-al heć-ihe-sa* ‘He can also help those (who are) in temptation’ (Hebrews 2.18: A29rb, 5–6).

3.5.5 Negation

In Albanian, negation is expressed by the elements *te-*, *now-*, *nowt-*, and *ma-*. The element *te-* is the inherited Lezgc negator, whereas *ma-* and *now-* are most likely loan elements (cf. 5.2.1 below), and *nowt-* may have resulted from a combination of *now-* and *te-*. Different from the other negators, *te* can be used independently, with its function coming close to that of a negative copula; it is also used as a sentential negator (‘no’). As a negative copula as well as with finite verbs, *te* functions as a clitic host followed by agreement clitics as in *vić-ġăar daizowzn’a řowm te-n-ă~a řow* ‘bread for (lit. of) two hundred dinars is not enough for them’ (John 6.7: A101vb, 11–12). With verbs, the use of *te-* seems to be restricted to past tenses and stative expressions; cf., e.g., *te-ne-biyay* ‘He did not do (it)’ (John 8.40: A55vb, 17), *te-ne-soma-ari-hē* ‘He had not yet come’ (John 6.17: A107vb, 14) or *te-zow-zaown-hē* ‘I was not taught (it)’ (Galatians 1.12: B24rb, 6).

The negator *now-* is the preferred element with tense/mood forms that are not based on the past. In this respect it stands in complementary distribution with *te-*. *now-* often assimilates to, or merges with, a subsequent vowel (> *na-*, *ni-*, *n-*). Contrary to *te-* it is normally not followed by agreement clitics but by the verbal stem,²⁸ cf. examples like *n-aa-za* ‘I do not know’ (John 9.12: A18ra, 13), *now-ba-aġen-hűwķel* ‘she does not remember’ (lit. ‘does not do on heart’; John 16.21: A24rb, 16–17) or *now-břax-baa-z* ‘I do not judge’ (lit. ‘do judgement’; John 8.15: A19ra, 4–5).

²⁷ Cf. Ganenkov (2015: 121–122).

²⁸ Cf. Gippert et al. (2008: I, II-61).

Both *now-* and *nowt-* are used in derivation. This is especially true of *nowt*, which can be used as a suffix in the sense of an *alpha privativum* (cf. *ġar-nowt* ‘child-less’ and *ķi-nowt* ‘poor’, lit. ‘wealth-less’).²⁹ It further appears in negating subordinate verbs, conditionals, and forms based on the participle in *-al*. Like *te-*, it usually takes the first place in the verbal chain and hence serves as a primary host for clitics such as *-anaķe-* and *-anķe-*; cf. examples like *nowt-anaķe-nan-heqay* ‘for you have not received’ (Romans 8.15: B25rb, 13–14), *nowt-anķe-ten-efal* ‘that it may not have’ (Ephesians 5.27: A28vb, 9–10) or *nowt-hamaṭownķe-va-hē* ‘as long as he was not’ (Luke 7.6: A42rb, 6–7).

Albanian possesses two types of prohibitives (here named strong and weak). Both forms are based on the proclitic negation particle *ma-*. The strong prohibitive is built upon the imperative; cf. *biya-nown* ‘do!’ > *ma-biya-nown* ‘do not!’. Here, *ma-* is always followed by the verbal stem. The weak prohibitive is the negated equivalent of the optative. In its formation, the hortative particle *-qa-* follows immediately after the negation particle *ma-*, the verbal base being shifted to the end of the clitic chain. The basic pattern is *biyay-qa-nown* ‘you should do!’ > *ma-qa-nown-biyay* ‘you should not do!’. Note that the cluster *ma-qa-* cannot be separated by other clitics and that in contrast to the strong prohibitive, the forms are not restricted to 2nd person subjects. Examples are *ma-qa-n-bitē* ‘(it) will not fall’ (Matthew 10.29: A12vb, 13–14), *ma-qa-n-eṭiš-hē* ‘there shall not be’ (Isaiah 35.8: A73vb, 8) or *ma-qa-zow-če-biyay* ‘I shall not cast out’ (John 6.37: A98vb, 15). A peculiar use of *ma* is found in phrases introduced by *meçiṭay* ‘really, perhaps; lest’; cf. *meçiṭay ičē bowl bił’a-ma-ķe-oen-ahal* ‘will he perhaps *not* kill himself (lit. his own head)?’ (rhetorical question, John 8.22: A20vb, 17–18) or *meçiṭay heḡa-ma-ķe vṣal hala pēo marḡavenowḡoy* ‘lest the (word) spoken by the prophets might come over you’ (Ephesians 5.28: A27rb19–22). The element *ma* is also contained in *qūw-ma-ne* ‘consolation’, lit. ‘(may) fear not be (there)’, which appears in *qūw-ma-ne-pesown* ‘console’ and *qūw-ma-ne-heqesown* ‘be consoled’, lit. ‘speak’ and ‘take consolation’ (cf. 5.2.5 below).

3.5.6 Participles and converbs

The two basic participles of Albanian are identical with the pure forms of the present and the past. The present participle is zero-marked (present stem with

²⁹ Possibly, the obscure adjective *ašnowt* appearing as a variant reading in the letter from bishop Giwt to St Vache in Movses Kalankatuatsi’s *History of the country of the Albanians* as an epithet of Arm. *ašown* ‘autumn’ (book I, chapter 11; Emin 1860a: 19, l. 14 / 1912: 32, l. 13; Arakelyan 1983: 24, l. 15 note) represents Albanian *aš-nowt* ‘workless’, chosen by the author because of the alliterative similarity to its head-noun; Dowsett (1961a: 14, l. 23) translates “parched” as the

thematic vowel *-a*), whereas the past participle is marked by the suffix *-y ~ -i* added to the past stem. The simple present stem is but rarely used as a participle, however. In attributive function, it is rather replaced by a secondary formation containing the element *-al* (i.e. thematic vowel *-a-* + *-l*). The *-al*-participle, here styled a present-future participle, is also used for the derivation of *nomina agentis* and forms the basis for the *an̄ke*-subjunctive (cf. 3.5.4 above). In addition, there are two marginal participle formations documented in the texts, namely, a present participle in *-ala*, an extension of the *-al*-participle (most probably a dative variant), and a participle in *-ana* (as well built upon the present stem).

All participles are labile with respect to diathesis in that they do not exhibit any clear affinity to either active or passive voice. Most of the formations can be referentialised with the usual elements (cf. Table VII in 3.2). Examples are *bow-ḡana-o* ‘the beloved one, friend’, *pē-o* (< *pe-y-o*) ‘what was spoken’, *hebiyay-oya* ‘of the sent one, apostle’, *beḡa-eṭxoc* ‘from what is necessary’, *go-karxē-ā̃y* ‘of those who have sinned, sinners’, *aana-edḡoy* ‘of the known (things)’, or *ser-ḡexay-edḡoy* ‘of the established (things)’.

The Albanian texts do not show any systematic converbial structures, conjunction-based subordination being used instead. In a few cases, a plain verbal form (without person reference) is used like a converb preceding a fully inflected form as in *hoći biyay bisay-n-oen* ‘having made clay, he anointed’ (John 9.11: A18ra, 7–8), *angelos ḡē ari bowri-ne hala* ‘an angel of the Lord, having come, stood above’ (Act. 12.7: A48ra, 20–22) or *ḡowmowx biḡa ḡe-bāha-nown* ‘hold(ing your) tongue (lit. mouth) go out!’ (Luke 4.35: A43vb, 11–12); note that the conjunction *own* ‘and’ is usually not used between two verbal forms (but cf. 4.2.6). Certain case forms of masdars may function in terms of converbs, too (cf. 3.5.7).

3.5.7 Infinitives and action nouns

There are two formations of *nomina actionis* in Albanian. The primary formation is based upon the infinitive stem in *-es*. Historically, the formation in *-es* must have had a goal function which, however, has been lost by and large in Albanian. Instead, it has developed more nominal functions, which can be inferred from the fact that it can be inflected as a noun; cf. genitive *biy-es-own* ‘of making’ (> masdar ‘the making’, see below), dative I *biy-es-a* ‘(in order) to make’, dative II *biy-es-ax* ‘in making’, and ergative *biy-es-en* ‘by making’; absolutive forms (**biy-es* ‘the making’) are only attested in derivational causatives (see 3.5.8). The ergative

equivalent of Arm. *eraštowt* which is one of the other variant readings at the given position (reading preferred in Arakelyan 1983: 24, l. 15).

form in *-es-en* often functions like a manner converb; cf. *eša-ig-es-en* ‘by persecution’, lit. ‘by going behind’, *gal’-ih-es-en* ‘by being alert’ > ‘with containment’, *hūwḱ-ih-es-en* ‘by being heart(ful)’ > ‘by mercifulness’, *ifown-ih-es-en* ‘with being angry, menacing’ > ‘with strictness’, and *qāç-aḱ-es-en* ‘by being troubled’ (lit. ‘seeing strait’). The primary dative of the formation in *-es* (> *-es-a*) has developed into an infinitive expressing purpose. Examples are *axa-ep-es-a* ‘to exhort’, *hala-kaç-p-es-a* ‘to circumcise’ (lit. ‘cut above’), *harz-es-a* ‘to rise’, *heḡ-es-a* ‘to come’, *iḡ-es-a* ‘to go’, *horo-iḡ-es-a* ‘to go around, behave’, *aḱowḱ-ih-es-a* ‘to be visible’, *aḱaṭ’i-ih-es-a* ‘to be bared’, *būwi-ih-es-a* ‘to be burdened’, *ćacaows-ih-es-a* ‘to be confronted’, *ḡowy-ih-es-a* ‘to live’, *heḡ-es-a* ‘to receive’.

The secondary action noun, here named *masdar*, is built with a suffix *-esown* which probably derives from the genitive of the infinitive (*-es-own*). It has even stronger nominal properties than the primary formation and can be inflected just as any other polysyllabic noun; cf. absolutive *biy-esown* ‘making’, ergative *biy-esown-en* ‘by the making’, genitive *biy-esown-own* ‘of the making’, dative I *biy-esown-a* ‘for the making’, etc.

3.5.8 Diathesis

Albanian does not have inflectional means of foregrounding or backgrounding subjects or objects in terms of diathesis. Diathesis-like processes are basically derivational, involving the use of special light verbs. One of them is the light verb *iḡ-esown* ‘go’ which has valence-reducing properties. An example is *žiz-iḡ-esown* ‘be shaken, tossed’. Nevertheless, paucity of data does not permit of describing this derivational pattern as a systematic way of forming passives. Causatives are generally based on the light verb *biy-esown* ‘do, make’, which is often opposed to its intransitive (anti-causative) counterpart *ih-esown* ‘become’; cf. *za(h)own-biy-esown* ‘teach’ vs. *za(h)own-ih-esown* ‘learn, be taught’, *bai-biy-esown* ‘fill’ vs. *bai-ih-esown* ‘be filled, full’, *bân’i-biy-esown* ‘enlarge’ vs. *bân’i-ih-esown* ‘be(come) large, grow’, etc. When combined with the plain infinitive stem in *-es* (cf. 3.5.7), *biy-esown* derives true causatives; cf. *ac’-es-biy-esown* ‘cause to perish’ > ‘destroy’ (vs. *ac’-esown* ‘perish, be lost’), *batk-es-biy-esown* ‘turn s.th. around/away’ (vs. *batk-esown* ‘turn, be turned’), *bowr-es-biy-esown* ‘make s. o. stand’ (vs. *bowr-esown* ‘stand’), *harz-es-biy-esown* ‘raise’ (vs. *harz-esown* ‘rise’) or *karx-es-biy-esown* ‘save’ (vs. *karx-esown* ‘be saved, live’). The basis of *apiy-es-biy-esown* ‘despise, disdain’ is not attested as such.

3.5.9 Preverbs

Albanian verbs can be combined with preverbs that encode directional and locational specifications. Two types can be distinguished here in correspondence with

Tab. XVII: Directional preverbs.

Plain verb		* <i>ta-</i> ‘thither’		* <i>he-</i> ‘hither’	
<i>boķesown</i>	‘lead’	<i>ta-boķesown</i>	‘row’ < ‘lead away’	<i>he-boķesown</i>	‘bring’ < *‘lead hither’
<i>iķesown</i>	‘go’			<i>he-ķesown</i>	‘come (hither)’
<i>bāhesown</i>	‘go’	<i>ta-bāhesown</i>	‘go thither, pass away’		
* <i>pesown</i>	‘put, beat’	<i>ta-pesown</i>	‘put off’ > ‘offer, approach, close’		
				<i>he-ķesown</i>	‘take’ < *‘get hither’?
<i>biķesown</i>	‘take, receive’			<i>he-beķesown</i>	‘gain’ < *‘take hither’?
<i>daķesown</i>	‘give’	<i>ta-daķesown</i>	‘give away’		
<i>biyesown</i>	‘do, make’			<i>he-biyesown</i>	‘send’ < *‘make hither’?
<i>batkesown</i>	‘turn’	<i>ta-batkesown</i>	‘exchange’		
<i>biķesown</i>	‘sow’	<i>ta-biķesown</i>	‘preach’ < *‘sow out’		

Tab. XVIII: Locational preverbs.

<i>aci-bāhesown</i>	‘go down, descend’	<i>hala-bowresown</i>	‘stand above, reign’
<i>aci-biķesown</i>	‘be swallowed, drowned’	<i>hala-kač-pesown</i>	‘circumcise’
* <i>aci-řaxesown</i>	‘be covered, hidden’	<i>hala-pesown</i>	‘put on, dress’
<i>aci-heķesown</i>	‘take down’	* <i>hala-zesown</i>	‘stir up’ (only in <i>hala-zari</i>)?
<i>aci-pesown</i>	‘stoop, bend down’	<i>hay-bāhesown</i>	‘go up, ascend’
<i>aci-sak-pesown</i>	‘cast down’	<i>hay-boķesown</i>	‘lead up’
<i>baha-bāhesown</i>	‘go inside, enter’	<i>hay-heķesown</i>	‘take up, raise’
<i>če-axay-boķesown</i>	‘put away, discard’	<i>hay-pesown</i>	‘speak up, aloud’
<i>če-bāhesown</i>	‘go out, pass away’	<i>hay-zesown</i> / <i>ha-r-zesown</i>	‘get up, rise’
<i>če-beķesown</i>	‘look out, hope’	<i>hay-zexesown</i>	‘fix upon, crucify’
<i>če-boķesown</i>	‘thrust out’	<i>horo-iķesown</i>	‘walk around, follow’
<i>če-heķesown</i>	‘look out, see’	<i>ķor-iħesown</i>	‘return, go back’
<i>če-sak-pesown</i>	‘lay aside’	- <i>ķor-biyesown</i>	‘return, give back’
<i>eš-boķesown</i>	‘search after, examine’	<i>owq-ow-pesown</i>	‘talk low, murmur’
<i>eša-iķesown</i>	‘persecute’	<i>owq-a-biyesown</i>	‘put under, subdue’
<i>eša-iķesown</i>	‘go behind, follow’	<i>owřa-he-ķesown</i>	‘be added’
		<i>owřa-he-boķesown</i>	‘enrich, increase’

the case/series distinction of locative case forms (cf. 3.1.3 above). The first type consists of the ‘directional’ preverbs *ta-* ‘thither’ (itive) and *he-* ‘hither’ (ventive), both referring to motion with respect to the basic deictic opposition of ‘here’ and ‘there’. Examples are given in Table XVII; note that the preverb of *he-ķesown* ‘come’ is dropped in the suppletive past stem *ar-* (instead of **he-ar-*). The pair (ow)*p-esown* vs. *-ep-esown* ‘speak, say’ (only in combinations such as *hekal-epesown* ‘call’, lit. ‘say

“come”!), or *axa-epesown* ‘exhort’) suggests that there might have been another set of directional preverbs, namely **u-* vs. **e-*; **u-* may also be present in *owp-* ‘death’ (cf. the past *powr-i* ‘died, dead’) and *owk-esown* ‘eat’ (past *ka-y*).

Preverbs related to the concept of “series” refer to locational circumstances. They include *aci-* ‘down’, *baha-* ‘in(to)’, *çe-* ‘out, away from, toward’, *eś(a)-* ‘behind, after’, *horo-* ‘around’, *hay-* ‘up’, *hala-* ‘on(to)’, *kor-* ‘back’, *owq(a)-* ‘under’, and *owxa-* ‘on top’. Table XVIII lists some examples. One more preverb (of uncertain meaning but cf. *go* ‘sin, fault, spot’) may be present in the three verbs *go-bicxesown* ‘command’ (vs. *bicxesown* ‘show’), *go-boķesown* ‘hurt’ (vs. *boķesown* ‘bring, carry’), and *go-karxesown* ‘sin’ (vs. *karxesown* ‘be saved, live’).

3.6 Adverbs

As far as our data go, no genuine class of adverbs can be established for Albanian. Local and temporal adverbs are, e.g., *eme-* ‘here’, *eṭiš* and *eṭe* ‘there’, and *emočen* ‘then’ (< *e-moč-en* erg. ‘that-time?’), all built upon the demonstrative *e-*, as well as *eśin* ‘then’ (< *eś-in* ‘finally, eventually’ < erg. ‘end?’); as an adverb of manner we may note *yanķe* ‘thus’ (< **ya-anķe* ‘what-as’). A sort of deadjectival adverbs is formed with the (comitative?) suffix *-eś* as in *ebraown-eś*, *dalmaṭaown-eś* and *yovnaown-eś* ‘in Hebrew, Latin and Greek’ (John 19.20: A17vb, 12–13, cf. Chapter 3 of this Handbook, 2.2.2); in *ser-ḡexay-eś* ‘more fixed, certain’ (II Peter 1.19: A3ra, 6) the same suffix seems to carry the function of a comparative (corresponding to Arm. *hastata-goyñ*, Gk. βεβαιότερον, and Georg. *u-mṭḱic-ēs-i*).

3.7 Postpositions

Quite in accordance with the general typology of East Caucasian languages, Albanian can specify locative functions by using postpositions. Table XIX lists the postpositions that are documented in the texts.

Tab. XIX: Postpositions.

Postposition	Meaning	Origin	Governed case
<i>būwa</i>	‘in front of’	<i>*bū</i> ‘front’ (dat.I)?	Dative
<i>būwga</i>	‘in the middle, among’	<i>*būg</i> ‘middle’ (dat.I)?	Genitive
<i>čacaows</i>	‘against, towards, facing’	<i>ča</i> ‘face’ (abs. + dat.III ‘face to face’?)	Dative
<i>eśa</i>	‘behind’	<i>*eś</i> ‘end’ (dat.I) ?	Genitive
<i>gāen</i>	‘for (the sake of), because of’	<i>go</i> ‘guilt’ (erg.) ?	Genitive
<i>hala</i>	‘on, upon’	<i>ha-</i> ‘up’ + <i>*la</i> ‘above’	Superessive I

Tab. XIX (continued)

Postposition	Meaning	Origin	Governed case
<i>heğala</i>	'together (with)'	<i>heğesown</i> 'come' (participle in <i>-ala</i>)	Comitative
<i>lamen</i>	'like'	* <i>lam</i> 'picture' (erg.)?	Genitive
<i>owq̃a</i>	'under'	* <i>owq̃</i> 'ground' (dat.I)?	Subessive
<i>-town(-ke)</i>	'until'	Non-derived?	Superessive I

3.8 Conjunctions

Coordinating conjunctions are *own* and (rarely) *üwxa* 'and', *bowen'e* 'or' (< *bow-en'e* 'if it is', 'be it'), *sa* 'but' (= *sa* 'one, alone?'), *i* 'now', and *eṭ'(a gâe)n* 'because, therefore, for' < **eṭ-ya gâ-en* ('because of that'; always abbreviated as *eṭ'n* but cf. pleonastic *eṭ'n gâen* in II Corinthians 9.14: A56vb, 4).

Subordinating conjunctions generally comprise the subordinator *-ke*, which is also present in the relative pronouns (cf. 3.3.6). Most subordinating conjunctions are based upon the corresponding interrogative pronouns. Examples include *hamatownke* 'until' (< *ha-ma-town-ke* 'up to where/when that'), *hamočke* 'when' (< *ha-moč-ke* 'this time that'), *haṭenke* 'if' (< *ha-ṭen-ke* 'by what that?'), and *hačinke* 'as, how, like' (< *ha-čin-ke* 'what sort that'); the origin of *-anaḱe-* 'that (complementiser); because, for (causal)' and *-anḱe-* 'when, as; so that, in order to (temporal, consecutive, purposive)' is unclear. With the exception of *haṭenke* 'if', the subordinating conjunctions are generally placed in the position of a heavy clitic after the lexical verb or a phrase-initial element. The two subordinators *-anḱe-* and *-anaḱe-* are extremely frequent.

3.9 Particles and Interjections

The Albanian texts do not exhibit a broader set of particles. Nevertheless, the following items can be mentioned: *soma* 'yet' (dative of *som* 'once?'), *himi* 'moreover, still, otherwise' (also used as an indefinite pronoun '(an)other'), and *meçiḱay* 'really, perhaps, lest' (mostly used to introduce rhetorical questions, cf. 3.5.5 above); clitic particles are *-ka* (phrase-final quotative, < (*ow*)*ka* 'saying'), *-al* ('also, too', additive focus clitic), and *-oṣom* ('as well', 'very', additive focus clitic appearing with pronouns and adverbs such as *ič-oṣom* 'the very same', *eṭiš-oṣom* and *eme-oṣom* 'at the same place', and *owhow-oṣom* 'likewise', with unclear basis *owhow* 'just'). Except for *aha* 'behold', no explicit interjections are documented for Albanian; however, *hi-pesown* 'cry out' is likely to be based on an unattested inter-

jection **hi* ('say *hi*', cf. also *hihi* 'lamentation' with *hihi-pesown* 'lament' and *voe* 'woe' with *voe-pesown* 'weep, mourn').

4 Syntax

The syntax of the Albanian biblical texts is heavily influenced by the models used by the translators. This holds especially true for word order phenomena, probably also for the use of articles. In addition, we cannot exclude the possibility that the means of syntactical subordination are, at least in parts, as well motivated by the translators' efforts to stick to their originals as closely as possible.

4.1 Noun phrase and postpositional phrase

Noun phrases usually exhibit the order *determinans–determinatum*, i.e. article–noun, adjective–noun, genitive–noun, pronoun–noun, numeral–noun, noun–postposition, etc. Except for the number and gender distinction of the article (see 3.3.2), no noun phrase-internal agreement patterns are documented for the language. Note, however, that numerals can combine with nouns in both the plural and the singular. The basic patterns are illustrated by the following examples: *e ba xown'-ex* (article–adjective–noun) 'in that dark place' (II Peter 1.19: A4va, 11–12); *e owpen(ow)n kowl-aþesown* (article–genitive–noun) 'the power of death' (Hebrews 2.14: A29ra, 3–4); *ič ġiya* (pronoun–noun) 'on the same day' (Matthew 22.23: A42vb, 4); *pša čobalo[w]x* (numeral–noun) 'two sparrows' (Matthew 10.29: A12vb, 10–11); *xib bowze* (numeral–noun) 'three months' (Hebrews 11.23: A2ra, 21); *müw-qen(ow)n eša* (noun–postposition) 'after Easter' (Acts 12.4: A57va, 4). Nevertheless, attributes may also follow their *determinatum*, which most likely represents a calque of Armenian syntax; cf., e.g., *himiġanaown e mowç'owrã'y* (noun–article–genitive) 'the need of the saints' (II Corinthians 9.12: A56va, 12–13) or *e bfaḡ-al bezi* 'my judgement, too' and *hüwkeġaown bezi* 'my intention' vs. *bezi biyexoc* 'from myself' (lit. 'from my head'; all John 5.30: A97ra, 21–A100vb, 5).

In general, indefiniteness is not marked on nouns or within noun phrases; cf., e.g., *hē-ne bân'i bows lowśow aśalal hala* 'There was a great famine in (lit. on) all the land' (Luke 4.25: A43rb, 6–7). The example also illustrates that definite noun phrases are not necessarily marked specifically, although the language possesses definite articles (see 3.3.2). Obviously, the use of the definite article, which always introduces the noun phrase, adds a specific notion, perhaps in terms of emphasis, and it probably depends on the use of articles in Armenian. The following examples illustrate its use: *bowġa-ža çe-bâhesa e marmin'axoc* 'we want to go

out of the body' (II Corinthians 5.8: A39va, 2–4); *o dex bezi-al a(a)-anaḳe-vṣa-hē* 'for you would also know my father' (lit. 'the father of mine'; John 8.19: A19rb, 3–4). Another way of indicating definiteness is possibly involved in the use of the dative II to indicate direct objects (cf. 4.2.2 below).

4.2 Sentence structure

4.2.1 Word order and information structure

Due to the nature of the existing texts, nothing precise can be said about word order preferences. To which extent the word order in the palimpsests deviates from that of the possible models (Greek, Armenian, Georgian, Syriac) remains an unstudied matter up to now. The same holds true for strategies of structuring information such as clefts; but cf., e.g., *zow-zow powlaygan-aha-h~ḳe-zow zaloc* 'it is me who bears (lit. who I bear) witness to myself' (John 8.18: A20va, 15–16). Albanian possesses at least one clitic that clearly has focal functions, namely, the additive clitic *-al* 'also, too'. A typical passage is *de bowḳana-baa-anaḳe ḡarax cex hil'-al bicexa-oen oows iḱen baa-h~ḳe-oen* 'for the father loves the son (and) also shows him everything (lit. every thing, too) that he himself does' (John 5.20: A97va, 16–18).

4.2.2 Case assignment and verbal agreement

The underlying system of case assignment is basically ergative, with agents of transitive verbs (A) being encoded differently from subjects of intransitive verbs (S). This is valid for 3rd persons; cf., e.g., *eṭ'a eṣa acē-ne y~s eṭow-ḳown ḱax gali-laowḡoy* 'after this Jesus went across the lake of the Galilees' (John 6.1: A101va, 11–12) with S (y~s) in the absolutive, and *il'ow-ḳor-biyay-ne y~n pē-n-ā~s* 'Jesus replied and said to them' (John 6.29: A99ra, 4–5) with A (y~n) in the ergative. In contrast to this, 1st and 2nd person pronouns do not distinguish absolutive and ergative forms; cf., e.g., *zow ari-zow ḱiyen deya bezi* 'I have come in (lit. by) the name of my father' (John 5.43: A101rb, 12–13) with *zow* 'I' = S, and *aha zow baa-z-vṣax bṣeowḱ-anḳe owlowḡox būwḡa* 'Look, I send (lit. make) you like sheep among the wolves' (Matthew 10.16: A12ra, 1–3) with *zow* 'I' = A. At the same time, the latter sentence shows that personal pronouns in the function of the direct object (O) appear in the dative II (vṣax 'you'), not in the absolutive (vṣan). The same may apply to 3rd person objects as in *ta-ḳa-n-daḡē viḱiye viḱiy-ex owṗa* 'A brother will deliver (his) brother to death' (Matthew 10.21: A12rb, 7–9) with O

(*vičiyex* ‘brother’) being marked in the dative, thus contrasting with the ergative *vičiyē* representing A. In all these cases, the verbal predicate agrees primarily with S or A (with *-ne* for 3rd persons and *-zow* for the 1st person), not O.

The exact conditions under which the dative II can be used for 3rd-person direct objects are not fully transparent; it seems that it was restricted to animate or even human objects. This is possibly a calque of Old Armenian, given that the Albanian dative II matches the original directional semantics of the Armenian *nota accusativi* (*z-*), which is somehow also related to definiteness. Nevertheless the distribution is not balanced: within the lectionary texts, roughly 75 % of all Armenian terms marked with the *nota accusativi* are rendered by the Albanian dative, whereas 25 % show the absolutive. Personal pronouns and anaphorics in object function are always marked by the dative II, except for the neuter clitic *-ya* ‘it’; cf., e.g., *he-biyay-hanayoenke-zax de* ‘the father who sent me’ (John 8.16: A19ra, 10–11) and *he-biyay-qa-z-ya vřaxow* ‘I will send it to you’ (John 16.7: A31ra, 12–13). The dative II can appear with both definite and indefinite human objects as in *haypē-baa-hamočke-nan ġarax iř(o)wy* ‘When you lift up the son of man’ (John 8.28: A19vb, 2–3) and *efa-hanayoenke margavenax margavenown çiyen* ‘He who receives a prophet in (lit. by) the name of a prophet’ (Matthew 10.41: A13ra, 1–3). In contrast to this, the absolutive usually appears with inanimate objects, but also with humans; cf., e.g., *dağē-qa-z-va kılřowx cōwdown üwxownown* ‘I shall give you the keys (abs.) of the kingdom of heaven’ (Matthew 16.19: A37va, 18–19), *bartay-n-oen ičē xiřow vičiyē ičē* ‘He left his wife (abs.) to his brother’ (Matthew 22.25: A35ra, 1–2), or *ič e řowrnowl hala biyay-qa-zow eklesi bezi* ‘On this very rock I shall build my church (abs.)’ (Matthew 16.18: A34ra, 13–14) vs. *k̄sen bowqana-biyay-hačinke eklesix ičē* ‘(just) as Christ loved his church (dat.II)’ (Ephesians 5.25: A27ra, 20–22). As far as data go, dative II-marked non-human objects only occur in case they are definite. Most likely, we have to deal with the beginnings of a grammaticalisation process which has been stabilised later on in Udi.

A peculiar setting is found in experiencer constructions (with *verba sentiendi*). Here, the object (“stimulus”) is either in the absolutive or in the dative II, whereas the experiencer is marked by the dative I; cf., e.g., *ma-qa-n-oow-aķē owp* ‘he (dat.I) will not see death (abs.)’ (John 8.52: A51ra, 11–12), *iha-hamočke-ā-a-hē ee* ‘when they (dat.I) heard this (abs.)’ (Luke 4.28: A44vb, 21–22), *aķē-n-oow sa kaçi iřow bixēaxoc* ‘he (Jesus, dat.I) saw one man (abs.) blind from birth on’ (John 9.1: A51va, 6–7) vs. *hařenke zax aa-en’e-vřa-hē dex bezi-al a(a)-anaķe-vřa-hē* ‘for if you (dat.I) knew me (dat.II), you (dat.I) would also know my father (dat.II)’ (John 8.19: A19rb, 2–4). In the verb, the experiencer is indicated by a set of clitics that correspond to the dative of the personal pronouns as shown in Table XX. Obviously, the pattern is bipersonal with 3rd-person experiencers and stimuli; cf., e.g., *aķē-n-oow* in John 9.1 (see above, with *-n-* agreeing with the object in the absolutive,

Tab. XX: Verbal experiencer clitics.

	Stimulus		Experiencer		Stimulus		Experiencer
	3 rd person						
	nFOC	FOC			nFOC	FOC	
1.SG	-z(ow)-		-za	1.PL	*-žan-		-ža
2.SG	-own-		-va	2.PL	*-nan-		-vfa
3.SGm	-n-	-	-o-ow	3.PLm	-n-	-	-ã~a
3.SGf	-n-	-	-aġ-ow	3.PLf	-n-	-	-aġ-r-o

the blind man, and -oow with the experiencer in the dative, Jesus) vs. *išow... te-za-aġē* ‘I did not see anyone’ (Galatians 1.19: B24vb, 2–3) or *hüwkel-qa-v’a-hē e il’ow* ‘you should remember the word’ (John 15.20: A30rb, 12–13). Bipersonal combinations with non-3rd-person stimuli are rare. Probably *ahownza* ‘I know you’ in Luke 4.34 (A44ra, 7–8) represents **a(a)-own-za* (with “hypercorrect” *h* in the hiatus), with -own- representing the 2nd person singular as the stimulus and -za, the 1st person experiencer in the dative I; similarly, *nowt-aa-z-vfa* (‘you (pl.) do not know me’) in John 8.19 (A19rb, 1–2) contains -z- (< -zow-) for a 1st person sg. stimulus and -vfa for the 2nd person pl. experiencer.³⁰ At least one example (*aġē-n-ā~n* ‘they saw’; John 21.9: B1va, 10–11) illustrates that experiencer verbs could also be aligned to the transitive pattern, with the experiencer in the ergative (*ā~n* ‘they’ instead of *ā~a* ‘id.’ dat.I).³¹

4.2.3 Comparative constructions

In Albanian, the standard of comparison is marked by the ablative as in *nowt-anake naišow beg ž~exoc ičē* ‘that the servant is not greater than (lit. great from) his master’ (John 15.20: A25vb, 13–14); the ablative may be accompanied by *ixoy* ‘more’ as in *bân’i-n-oen-bâē qfa k’si qiyeaxoc ixoy boc’e-kod’in egiptosowğoy* ‘he esteemed the reproach of Christ greater than (lit. great more from) the rich(es) of the treasury of the Egyptians’ (Hebrews 11.26: A2rb, 13–15).

³⁰ Cf. Gippert (2018a: 37) for a discussion.

³¹ Cf. Gippert (2018a: 41–42).

4.2.4 Non-verbal predicates

Albanian has three strategies for expressing copular concepts: a) the use of the defective verb *bow* ‘be, exist’, which appears in the present stem only; b) the use of the verb *ihesown* ‘be(come)’ (strong verb with ablaut, cf. 3.5.3); c) the use of agreement clitics that replace (or incorporate) the copula function. The verb *bow* usually has a local connotation (‘there is’) as in *bow-žax(o)š-hē vüwğ išebowr* ‘there were seven brothers with us’ (Matthew 22.25: A45rb, 19–20). The past of *ihesown* ‘be(come)’ (**ihē* > *hē*) generally supplies the missing past stem of *bow*, cf. *hē-ne bân’i bows lowšow ašalal hala* ‘there was a great famine in (lit. on) all the land’ (Luke 4.25: A43rb, 6–7). Identifying and qualifying copula constructions are usually formed with the mere agreement clitics as in *zow-zow e šowm ġowy-own(ow)n* ‘I am the bread of life’ (John 6.35: A99rb, 5–6); these, however, can also be omitted as in *hē e yal oya biki xaš-anke* ‘his raiment was white like light’ (Matthew 17.2: A13vb, 1–2).

Although Albanian can express possession verbally with the help of *efesown* ‘keep, hold, receive’, it occasionally employs constructional patterns that are based on a nominal strategy. Here it is the copula *bow* which relates the *posses-sum* to a *possessor*; the latter stands in either the adessive I (*-ak(a)*) or the genitive. An example is *cex hil’ bow-h~ke deya bezio-ne* ‘everything that the father has (lit. is of the father) is mine’ (John 16.15: A24vb,21–A31va, 1).

4.2.5 Interrogative sentences

Polar questions are generally unmarked; cf., e.g., *vown bezi towrmowx bocek-own* ‘are you washing my feet?’ (John 13.6: A59ra, 19–20) and *ari-nown ac’es-biyesa žax* ‘have you come to destroy us?’ (Luke 4.34: A43vb: 6–7). A negative reply is formed with the negator *te* ‘no!’, no secured data are available for ‘yes’ in positive replies (the word was most probably *al’e* as appearing in John 11.27: A65vb, 8). Rhetorical questions may be introduced by *meçiğay* followed by a verb in the subjunctive as in *meçiğay cexaran mowzron il’owka-â~n-ahal* ‘will perhaps all speak in languages?’ (I Corinthians 12.30: B26va, 2–4; cf. also John 8.22 and Ephesians 5.28 in 3.5.5 above).

Content questions use the corresponding interrogative pronouns. They do not differ syntactically from affirmative clauses; cf., e.g., *ya řsegowr ba-own?* ‘what signs do you do?’ (John 6.30: A99ra, 8–9), *i ya zow pâmown owpesown* ‘now, what again am I to say?’ (Hebrews 11.32: B42ra, 21–22), or *vown hašow-n(ow)n* ‘who are you?’ (John 8.25: A19va, 11).

4.2.6 Coordinated predicates

As far as data go, Albanian lacks the systematic use of a clausal coordinating conjunction, asyndetic coordination being preferred as in *aḱē-n-oow hāya-hē-na-va* ‘He saw it (and) he believed’ (John 20.8: B7ra, 16–17). Nevertheless, the conjunction *own* occasionally appears in this function as in *sa besē-ḱa-n-oen hāyaḱownen own ma-na-va-p̄ṣa-hūwḱ-hē* ‘But he may beg in faith, and he should not be in doubt!’ (James 1.6: A57ra, 1–3), even though its primary domain is the coordination of noun phrases (cf. 3.8).

4.2.7 Relative clauses

Due to the nature of the underlying texts, the Albanian palimpsests are marked by an extremely rich set of relative clauses. Relativisation is carried out mainly with the forms of the relative clitic *hanay-* *-ḱe* (cf. 3.3.6). These relative clitics are case-marked according to the role the pronoun plays in the relative clause; cf., e.g., *o bowḱana-biyay-hanayoenḱe-ḱax* ‘he who loves us’ (Romans 8.37: B33va, 1–2) or *cex ifown-aha-h~ḱe vičiyel ičē amčenen* ‘everyone who is angry about his brother without a cause’ (Matthew 5.22: A14vb, 4–6). If the role of the relative pronoun is not subjective or agentive, the actual subject of the relative clause is usually cross-referenced with the help of agreement clitics following later on in the clitic chain as in *o ihē-hanayooowlocke-ḱa : ešin piye aḱal-aal-hanayoyake-ḱan : o begē-hanay-oowsḱe-ḱan* ‘that about which we have heard, then (that) of which we are eye-witnesses (lit. seeing with the eye), (and) that which we have looked upon’ (I John 1.1: A104rb, 16–20). When a 3rd person, but not the relative pronoun, serves as the subject of the relative clause, subject agreement is usually missing as in *sa b~e hay-heḱay-hanayooowxḱe te-n-oow-aḱē bičesown* ‘but (he) whom God raised (again), (he) did not see corruption’ (Acts 13.37: A70va, 16–18). A co-referential non-3rd-person subject agreement clitic is always placed after the relative pronoun as in *e ašowr baa-h~ḱe-zow* ‘the works that I do’ (John 5.36: A101ra, 7).

4.2.8 Complement clauses

Clausal complements are introduced with the clitic *-anaḱe-* as in *aḱē-n-oow bow-ḱa-anaḱe vačarowḱos* ‘He saw that (it) pleased (lit. pleases) the Jews’ (Acts 12.3: A48vb, 14–15). Reported speech can be marked by the clitic particle *-ḱa* as in *ihē-vṣa pē-anaḱe būwaā~s ma-owḱar-nan-ḱa* ‘You have heard that it was told to the first ones: “You shall not kill!”’ (Matthew 5.21: A9ra, 19–20).

4.2.9 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are generally introduced by subordinating conjunctions (cf. 3.8) such as *-anaķe-* ‘because’ as in *ee cam-ķa-z vřaxow p(ow)l-efa-anaķe-zow iřadowř heķesa vaxow* ‘This I write unto you (pl.) because I expect (lit. hold eye) to come to you (sg.) shortly’ (I Timothy 3.14: A27vb, 16–19).

5 Lexicon

Our knowledge of the Albanian lexicon has increased remarkably with the new readings of the palimpsests that have become possible by applying the technology of transmissive light imaging (see Chapter 3 of this Handbook, 1.5). E.g., the newly deciphered passage of John 21.8–12³² has brought about the first attestations of words like *et* ‘net’, *řow* ‘fish’, *kown-* ‘coal’, *beg-beg* ‘very big’, *barřesown* ‘tear apart’, *řap-pesown* ‘dine’, and *kowl-ihesown* ‘dare’ (lit. ‘become hand(y)'). In general, we can distinguish elements that pertain, as inherited words, to the common East-Caucasian (Lezgitic) stratum and are usually shared with Udi, and elements that have been borrowed from neighbouring languages.

5.1 Inherited words

The share of Albanian lexical units that have clear matches in Udi is roughly 40 %.³³ Of these, at least one third has secure correspondences in at least one of the Lezgitic subgroups.³⁴ The matches with Udi include, among others, personal and possessive pronouns (e.g., Albanian *zow* ‘I’ ~ Udi *zu* ‘id.’, *beři* ‘our’ ~ *beři* ‘id.’, *vē* ‘your’ (sg.) ~ *vī* ‘id.’); other pronouns such as, e.g., *ha* / *ya* ‘what’ ~ *e* ‘id.’, *ha-may* ‘where’ ~ *ma* ‘id.’, *ha-řow* ‘who’ (< **ha-iřow* ‘what a man?’) ~ *řu* ‘id.’, *ič* ‘self’ ~ *ič* ‘id.’, *sowsna-* ‘one another’ ~ *sunsuna-* ‘id.’, probably also *řüwã~r* (pl.) ‘some’ ~ *qi* ‘half’ (cf. Arm. *kēsk* ‘some’, plural of *kēs* ‘half’); numerals such as, e.g., *sa* ‘one’ ~ *sa* ‘id.’, *řřa* ‘two’ ~ *řa* ‘id.’, *xib* ‘three’ ~ *xib* ‘id.’, *řoçe* ‘fifteen’ ~ *qoççe* ‘id.’, *řřa-řã* ‘forty’ ~ *řa-řo* ‘id.’, but also *řowran-own* ‘second’ ~ *řuran* ‘again’; adjectives such as, e.g., *aqat* ‘i’ ‘naked’ ~ *aqači* ‘id.’, *ařay* ‘open’ ~ *qay* ‘id.’, *bai* ‘full’ ~ *bui* ‘id.’, *bãgal-* ‘deep’ ~ *bořga~l-* ‘id.’, *boči* ‘dense’ ~ *boçu* ‘id.’, *büwi* ‘heavy’ ~ *bi* ‘id.’,

³² Cf. Gippert (2018a: 41–43).

³³ Cf. the list in Gippert et al. (2008: I, II-75–76).

³⁴ Cf. Gippert et al. (2008: I, II-66–74).

dai ‘green’ (in *dai-xown* ‘marsh meadow’, possibly also *dai-zde* ‘gold’ and *dai-zowzn’a* ‘denarius’) ~ *däy(i)* ‘fresh, green, wet’, *en’eg* ‘other’ ~ *ene(x)* ‘more’, *en’i* ‘new’ ~ *ini* ‘id.’, *қаңи* ‘blind’ ~ *қаңи* ‘id.’, *mal* ‘little’ ~ *mal* ‘id.’, *mii* ‘cold’ ~ *mi* ‘id.’, *nowğowr* ‘awake’ ~ *moğor* / *muğur* ‘id.’, *owsi* ‘soon, fast’ ~ *usin* / *usum* / *usun* ‘id.’, **pas* ‘scattered’ in *pas-iğesown* ‘be scattered’ ~ *pas* ‘destroyed’ with *pas-besun* ‘destroy, spread’, *қаç* ‘narrow’ (in *hüwke-қаç* ‘sorrow’, lit. ‘narrow in the heart’, and *қаç-ağesown* ‘be troubled’, lit. ‘see narrow(ness)’) ~ *қаç* ‘id.’, *qari* ‘dry’ ~ *qari* ‘id.’, *šel* ‘good’ ~ *šel* ‘id.’, *ser* ‘true’ ~ *seri* ‘id.’, *ḡalay* ‘pregnant’ ~ *qela* / *xela* ‘id.’, and *zamara* ‘wicked, fool’ ~ *zamaru* / *zamaroy* ‘numb’, probably also *açpē* ‘false’ (originally the past of a verb **aç-pesown* ‘lie’) ~ *apçi* ‘lie’ and *mowç’owr* ‘pure, holy’ ~ *muçur* ‘clear, bright’.

Among nouns, we find kinship terms and other words denoting persons such as, e.g., *de* ‘father’ ~ Udi *-de* (only in *sey-de* ‘father-in-law’), *ne* ‘mother’ ~ *-ne* (only in *sey-ne* ‘mother-in-law’), *ğar* ‘son, child’ ~ *ğar* ‘id.’, *işow* ‘man’ ~ *işu* ‘id.’, *viçi* ‘brother’ ~ *viçi* ‘id.’, but also *ž-ğ* ‘Lord’ and *b-ğ* ‘God’ if they are to be read as *ž(ow)ğ* and *b(ixa-žow)ğ*, lit. ‘creating Lord’, corresponding to Udi *žowx/ğ* in *bixažug* / *buxažug* ‘id.’ and *konžux* / *qonžug* ~ Albanian *kođin-ž-ğ* ‘house lord’. Albanian *xifow* ‘woman, wife’ ~ is probably concealed in Udi *xuni* ‘female’, *xun-çi* ‘sister’ (< **xun-içi*) and *xinar* / *xuyär* ‘girl, daughter’ (< **xun-ğar*); its suppletive plural *čibowx* appears in Udi as *čibux* / *čubux* / *čuhux* ‘woman’ (pl. tant.). Other common nouns are terms denoting body parts such as, e.g., *ča* ‘face’ ~ *čo* ‘id.’, *d’ed’er* ‘lip’ ~ *žežer* ‘id.’, *hüwķ* ‘heart’ ~ *uķ* / *üķ* ‘id.’, *hüwqen* ‘bone’ ~ *u’qe’n* ‘id.’, *fi* ‘ear’ ~ *imux* / *u’mu’x* ‘id.’ (pl. tant.), *mowz* ‘tongue, language’ ~ *muz* ‘id.’, *pi* ‘blood’ ~ *pi* ‘id.’, *tol* ‘skin’ ~ *tol* ‘id.’, *towr* ‘foot’ ~ *tur* ‘id.’, and *žowmowx* ‘mouth’ (pl.tant.) ~ *žomox* ‘id.’; this set includes *bowl* ‘head’, *powl* ‘eye’ and *kowl* ‘hand’ with their peculiar case forms *biin*, *piin* (genitive), *biye-*, *piye-* (ergative, dative), and *kowin* (ergative) and *kowya-/kowyo-* (dative) ~ Udi *bul*, *bin* / *biin*, *b(iy)e-*, *pul*, *pin* / *piin*, *p(iy)e-*, and *kul*, *kin* / *kiin*,³⁵ *k(iy)e-* / *kula-*. Further terms relating to humans are, e.g., *aš* ‘work’ ~ *aš* ‘id.’, *bows* ‘hunger’ with *bowsa-ihesown* ‘be hungry’ ~ *busa* ‘hungry’, *çi* ‘name’ ~ *çi* ‘id.’, *hel* ‘spirit, soul’ ~ *elmux* (pl.tant.) ‘id.’, *helas* ‘oath’ ~ *elas* ‘id.’, *kal* ‘voice’ ~ *kal* in *kal-psun* ‘call’, *kođ* ‘house’ ~ *kož* ‘id.’, *lašqay* ‘marriage’ ~ *laško(y)* ‘id.’, *müwxen* ‘feast’ ~ *mu’q* ‘joyful’, *nep* ‘sleep’ ~ *nep* ‘id.’, *qar* ‘tribe, kind’ ~ **qar* in *iš-qar* ‘man’, lit. ‘man-kind’, *oť* ‘shame’ (in *oť-ihesown*³⁶ ‘feel ashamed’) ~ *oť* ‘id.’, *qüw* ‘fear’ ~ *qi* / *qə* ‘id.’, *šov* ‘trumpet’ ~ *čov* ‘sound’, *tog* ‘price’ ~ *tog* / *toy* ‘id.’, *üwğ* ‘roof’ ~ *u’ğ* ‘id.’, possibly also *xowl* ‘shoe’ ~ *qo’lo’x* ‘pants’ (pl. tant.). Common terms for food are, e.g., *açam* ‘unleavened bread’ ~ *açam* N. ‘fresh lavash’, *el* ‘salt’ (only in *elen-biyesown* ‘salten’,

³⁵ The ergative form *kin* is already attested in a candleholder inscription; cf. Chapter 3 of this Handbook, 4.6.

³⁶ There is no primary verb *oťesown* as assumed in Gippert et al. (2008: I, IV-34).

lit. 'make with salt') ~ *el* 'id.', *fī* 'wine' ~ *fī* 'id.', *mowhenown* 'of barley' ~ *mu* 'barley', and *sowm* 'bread' ~ *śum* 'id.'. Concerning nature and the environment we find, e.g., *aśal* 'earth, ground' ~ *ośal* 'id.', *ayz* 'world' ~ *ayz* 'village',³⁷ *bśeġ* 'sun' ~ *be'ġ* 'id.', **bowrowx* 'mountain' ~ *burux* 'id.' (pl.tant.), *çiçik* 'flower' ~ *çiçik* 'id.', *čobal* 'sparrow' ~ *čoval* 'id.', *ex* 'harvest' ~ *ex* 'id.', *tāxan'in* 'fig tree' ~ *to'xa'n* 'fig', *kśaban* 'desert' ~ *qa'va'n* / *qavun* 'meadow', *l'aq* 'way' ~ *yaq* 'id.', *mowś* 'wind' ~ *muś* 'id.', **o* 'grass' ~ *o(y)* 'id.', *owl* 'wolf' ~ *ul* 'id.', *owsen* 'year' ~ *usen* 'id.', *śan* 'den' ~ *śan* 'ground, bottom', *śow* 'night' ~ *śu* / *śü* 'id.', *xaś* 'light' ~ *xaś* 'id.', and *xod'i* 'shadow' ~ *xoži* / *xoži* 'id.'; this includes words with irregular stem formations such as *ġi* 'day' vs. *ġe* 'today' ~ *ġi* / *ġe* 'id.', **ka* 'morning' with erg. *kaen* 'early' > *kaeni-xal'owm* 'morning star' ~ *kay* / *käy* 'dawn', *xe* 'water' with gen. *xene*, erg. *xenen* and dat. *xena* ~ *xe*, *xene*, *xenen*, *xena* 'id.', and *že* 'stone' with gen. *žene*, erg. *ženen*, dat. *žena* ~ *že*, *žene*, *ženen*, *žena* 'id.', as well as case formations such as *baenaq*, subessive of *ba* 'darkness', ~ *be'i'nq* 'darkness', or *tāowġol*, superess. pl. of *tā* 'side, region' ~ *to'ġo'l*, postposition 'aside, near by', from *to'ġ* 'region' (pl. tant.). Common abstract nouns are rather rare; cf., however, *cam* 'writing' with *cam-pesown* 'write' ~ *cam*, *cam-pesun* 'id.' and *za(h)own* 'teaching' in *za(h)own-biyesown* and *za(h)own-ihesown* 'teach / be taught' ~ *zom* in *zom-besun* and *zom-baksun* 'id.'.

Among preverbs, adverbs, postpositions and other particles we may note, e.g., *aci* 'down, under' ~ *ci* 'id.', *baha* 'in' and *bahoc* (abl.) 'from inside' ~ *bay*- and *boś* 'inside', *büwġa* 'between, among' ~ *bi'ġ* / *bə'ġ* 'middle', *če*- 'out' ~ *če*- 'id.', *eśa* 'after' ~ *ośa* 'id.', *iśa* 'near' ~ *i'śa* / *ə'śa* 'id.', *faxi* 'far' ~ *a'xi'l* (superess.) 'id.', *hala* 'above' ~ *ala* 'id.',³⁸ *horo*- 'around' ~ *furu*- 'id.', *owġa* 'under' ~ *oġa* 'id.', as well as *pon'e* 'then' ~ *poy* 'id.', the negator *te* ~ *te*, and the frequent focus particle *-al* 'also, too' ~ *-al* 'id.'.

Common verbs are, e.g., *aķesown* 'see' ~ *aķsun* 'id.', *baresown* 'shed' ~ *barsun* 'id.', *bartesown* 'leave' ~ *bartesun* 'id.', *bakesown* 'sleep' ~ *bakşun* 'lie down', *beġesown* 'look' ~ *be'ġsun* 'id.', *bśeġesown* 'count, select' ~ *bo'qa'l-besun* 'id.', *besesown* 'search, ask for' ~ *bessun* 'id.', *biķesown* 'seize' ~ *biķsun* 'id.', *bitesown* 'fall' and *biķesown* 'sow' ~ *bişun* / *biķsun* 'id.', *bixesown* 'give birth' ~ *bixsun* 'id.', *biyesown* 'do, make' ~ *besun* 'id.' (also as a light verb), *boķoķesown* 'burn' ~ *boķsun* 'id.', *bowġesown* 'love, want' ~ *buġsun* 'id.', *čalxesown* 'know, realise' ~ *čalxesun* 'id.', *čow-pesown* 'spit' ~ *ču-psun* 'id.', *dāgesown* 'give' ~ *ta-desun* / *ta-sūn* 'id.' (also *-desun*, *-tesun* etc. as a light verb forming causatives), *efesown* 'hold, have' ~ *efsun* 'id.', *heġesown* 'take' ~ *aķsun* 'id.', *karxesown* 'live' ~ *karxsun* 'id.', *sak-pesown* 'throw' ~ *sakşun* 'id.', *üwġesown* 'drink' ~ *uġsun* 'id.', possibly also *batkesown*

³⁷ For the semantic shift cf. Old Georgian *sopel-i* 'world' > Modern Georgian *sopel-i* 'village'.

³⁸ Probably the later form without initial *h*- is already attested in the inscription on the pedestal of Sudaġılan (see Chapter 3 of this Handbook, 4.1).

‘turn’ ~ *batksun* ‘sink, drown’ (if not ~ *baksun* ‘become, be’), *baxesown* ‘find’ ~ *ba’ğa’-psun* ‘id.’, *oresown* ‘spring up (water)’ ~ *orein* / *orayin* ‘source, spring’, *parpesown* ‘release’ ~ *far-pesown* ‘play (instrument), lift up and throw down’, and *ṭap-biyesown* ‘shut, close’ ~ *çap-besun* ‘hide’ or *ṭap-besun* ‘hit’. This includes irregular formations such as *bow* ‘be, exist’ (present only) ~ *bu* ‘id.’, **heçesown* ‘bring’ (in *il’owx-heçal* ‘messenger’, lit. ‘bringing words’) with past *heçari* ~ *eçsun/esçun* with past *eçeri* ‘id.’, *hegesown* ‘come’ with imperative *hekal* and past *ari* ~ *esun* with imperative *eke* / *eki* and past *ari* / *hari*, **a(r)cesown* ‘sit’ with present *areca* and past *acari* ~ *arcesun* with imperative *arca* and past *arci* ‘id.’, *harzesown* ‘rise’ with past *hayzari* ~ *ayzesun* with past *ayzeri* ‘id.’, *iğesown* ‘go’ with past *acē* ~ *taysun* ‘walk’ with past *ta-ci*, (*ow*)*pesown* ‘say, tell’ with present stem (*ow*)*ka* and past *pē* ~ *pesun* with subjunctive stem *uḱa* and past *pī*, *owkesown* ‘eat’ with past *kay* ~ *uksun* with past *kāy*, and *owp* ‘death’ with present stem *bi’la* and past *powri* ~ *bi(y)esun* / *bisun* with *puri* ‘dead’. In some cases, Albanian and Udi verbs are differentiated by the presence of a petrified class marker *b-* as in *aḱesown* ‘arrive, reach’ vs. *bapsun* ‘id.’ and *bāpes-besun* ‘deliver’ or *boçkesown*³⁹ ‘wash’ vs. *oçkesun* ‘id.’, possibly also in *aa-* ‘know’ (present stem) ~ *aba/ava-* ‘id.’.

To the many correspondences that were already established in the first edition of the palimpsests, we may now add, among others, *ac’esown* ‘perish, get lost’ and *ac’es-biyesown* ‘lose, destroy’⁴⁰ ~ *açesun* / *açtun* and *açes-besun* ‘id.’, *elem* ‘donkey’ (John 12.15: B11rb, 13) ~ *elem* ‘id.’, *hoçi* ‘lump’ (John 9.6: A51vb, 6 e.a.) ~ *oçi* ‘dirt’, *kap-pesown* ‘hurry’ (II Peter 1.15: A4rb, 1) ~ *kapsun* ‘id.’, *kaši* ‘finger’ (if read correctly in John 20.25: A23ra, 18) ~ *kaša* / *kāšā* ‘id.’, *koçoc* ‘cock’ (John 18.27: B35ra, 20) ~ *koçoc* ‘hen’,⁴¹ *kowr* ‘hole’ (John 4.11: A46rb, 21) ~ *kur* ‘id.’, *müwḱay* ‘bridegroom’ (John 3.29: A41ra, 10 e.a.) ~ *mu’qu* ‘id.’, *oqoy* ‘vinegar’ (John 19.29: B8vb, 14–16) ~ *oqo(i)* ‘id.’, *owše* ‘evening’ ~ *üşe* ‘id.’ (John 20.19: A16rb, 6), *qowṭ’-pesown* ‘swallow’ ~ *quç’pesun* ‘id.’ (I Corinthians 15.54: B34va, 10), possibly also *bosṭesown* ‘wrap’ (Luke 2.7: A35vb, 6 e.a.) ~ *bossun/bosṭun* ‘throw, hurl’, *owd* ‘leaf’ (Matthew 24.32: A8vb, 19) ~ *uda* ‘mulberry leaf’, and *bowla* ‘pot (for manna)’ ~ *bula* ‘corn measure’ (Hebrews 9.4: A75va, 18).

5.2 Loanwords

Beyond this, the Albanian lexicon is characterised by a remarkable number of words which have counterparts in non-related languages such as Armenian,

³⁹ In the edition of 2008, this verb was still read with initial *f-*, not *b-*.

⁴⁰ Both verbs were read with *ṭ* instead of *c* before.

⁴¹ The reading **kowḱowç’in* proposed in the edition for ‘bird’ in Isaiah 35.7 (A70ra, 21) can no longer be maintained.

Georgian, Greek, Syriac, or (Middle) Iranian and which are likely to have been borrowed from one of these languages, either in the course of Christianisation and text translation or in every day usage. The exact source and the route of borrowing is not always easy to determine though, esp. when the same etymon is present in more than one of the languages concerned.⁴²

5.2.1 Iranianisms

Iranianisms shared with neighbouring languages are, among others, *afre-pesown* ‘praise’ (> Udi *afu/ere-psun* ‘bless, pray’) ~ Arm. *awrhnel* < Mİran. *āfrī-* ‘id.’, *abazak* ‘robber’ ~ Arm. *awazak*, Georg. *avazak-i* < Mİran. **ā-wāzak* (?) ‘id.’,⁴³ *ašarkeṭ* ‘disciple’ ~ Arm. *ašakert* < Mİran. **ašākert* ‘id.’, *avazan* ‘pond’ ~ Arm. *awazan*, Georg. *avazan-i*, Syr. *āwzānā* < Mİran. **āwāzan-* (?) ‘id.’,⁴⁴ *bod’var* ‘censer’ ~ Arm. *bowrivar*, Georg. *bervar/i-* < Mİran. **bōdiwar* ‘id.’,⁴⁵ *çaṭar* ‘temple’ ~ Arm. *tačar*, Georg. *tažari* ‘id.’ < OPers. *tačara-* ‘palace’, **dagin* (superess. *dagnowl*) ‘assarius’ ~ Arm. *dang*, Georg. *dang-i*, Syr. *dānqā* ‘id.’ < MPers. *dāng* ‘grain’, *daxtaḳ* ‘tablet’ ~ Arm. *taxtak* < MPers. *taxtag* ‘id.’, *dev* ‘demon’ ~ Arm. *dew*, Georg. *dev-i* < Mİran. *dēw* ‘id.’, *d’ip* ‘book, scripture’ < OPers. *dipī* (> Arm. *dpir* ‘writer’), *garazman* ‘grave, sepulchre’ (> Udi *gārāmzā*) ~ Arm. *gerezman* < Oİran. **zəmarkana-* ‘id.’,⁴⁶ *hambaw* ‘rumour’ ~ Arm. *hambaw*, Georg. *(h)ambav-i* ‘id.’ < Mİran. **ham-bāw* (?),⁴⁷ *harik* ‘tribute’ ~ Arm. *hark*, Georg. *xark-i* < Mİran. **hark* (MPers. *harg*) ‘id.’, *mog* ‘mage’ (pl. *mogowr*) ~ Arm. *mog*, Georg. *mogu-* < MPers. *mog* ‘id.’, *nfa* ‘ship, boat’ ~ Arm. *naw*, Georg. *nav-i* < Mİran. *nāw* ‘id.’, *pačar* ‘reason’ ~ Arm. *patčar* ‘id.’ < Mİran. **pat-čār*, *powsak* ‘crown’ ~ Arm. *psak* ‘id.’ < Mİran. **pusak* (Sogd. *pusak*, MPers. Parth. *pusag*), **šad* ‘open, free’ (in *šad-biyesown* ‘loosen’, *šad-ihesown* ‘be loosened’, *kowl-šad* ‘generous’, lit. ‘with a free hand’) ~ Arm. *šat* ‘much, rich’ in *marda-šat* ‘populous’ etc. < Mİran. *šād* ‘happy’, *taḷavar* ‘tabernacle’ ~ Arm. *taḷawar*, Georg. *taḷavar-i* < Parth. *talawār* ‘id.’, *vašamak* ‘cercloth, napkin’ ~ Arm. *varšamak*, Georg. *varšamag-i* < Mİran. **wāšamak* ‘id.’ (cf. Sogd. *w’smy*, NPers. *bāšāma*), *vard/taṭeṭ* ‘teacher’ ~ Arm. *vardapet* ‘id.’ < Mİran. **wardapet*,⁴⁸ *xartaḳ* ‘piece, bit’ in *xartaḳ-biyesown* ‘break, crack’ ~ Arm. *xortakel* < Mİran. **xwartak* ‘tiny’ (vs. MPers. *xwurdag*, NPers. *xurda*),

42 Cf. Gippert et al. (2008: I, II-79–84) and Gippert (2011c: 3–6) for a first survey.

43 Cf. Andronikashvili (1966: 217): **āvāzak*.

44 Cf. Andronikashvili (1966: 218): **ā-vāz-āna*.

45 Cf. Gippert (2007b: 105–106).

46 Cf. Gippert (2011c: 8, n. 26).

47 Cf. Andronikashvili (1966: 222): **hambav*.

48 Cf. Benveniste (1929: 10).

xořak ‘heat’ ~ Arm. *xorřak*, Georg. *xorřak-i* ‘id.’ < Mİran. **xwar-řak* (cf. MPers. Parth. *xwar-(x)řed* ‘sun(light)’) or, less likely, **hōřak* (cf. MPers. *hōřag* ‘hot, parching wind’), and *xoran* ‘tent’ ~ Arm. *xoran* ‘id.’ < Mİran. **xwa-řan* (cf. Arm. *vran* ‘id.’ < Parth. *wi-řan* ‘id.’).⁴⁹ To these terms we may now add *mīřtik* ‘bundle (of hyssop)’ ~ Arm. *mřtik* ‘id.’ (John 19.29: B8vb, 17) < Mİran. **mus/řtik* ‘fist(ful)’⁵⁰ (cf. MPers. *mus/řt* ‘fist’),⁵¹ *řam* ‘hour, time’ (John 11.9: A65ra, 8 e.a.)⁵² ~ Arm. *řam*, Georg. *řam-i* ‘id.’ < Mİran. **řam* (cf. Parth. *řamān* vs. MPers. NPers. *zamān*)⁵³ and *asparez* ‘stadion’ (John 11.18: A60vb, 20) ~ Arm. *asparēs*, Georg. *asparez-i* ‘id.’ < Mİran. **asparēs*, lit. ‘turning point of horse (races)’,⁵⁴ possibly also *biřowan* ‘stadion’ (if read correctly in John 6.19: A107vb, 17–18) ~ Arm. *vtawan*, Georg. *uřevan-i* ‘id.’ < Parth. *wi-tāwan* ‘bowshot’⁵⁵ and *řapan gidagowřoy* ‘ark of the covenant’ (Hebrews 9.4: A75va, 14–15) ~ Arm. *arł ktakaranac*, Georg. *řidoban-i řřulisay* ‘id.’ if this contains *řapan* ~ Arm. *řapan* ‘coffin, large chest’ < Mİran. **řapan* (Sogd. *tp’n, tpn*; cf. MPers. *ta-pang*)⁵⁶ ~ Arm. *řapanak* ‘small chest’, and NPers. *tabangōy* ‘box, chest’) and *gidagowřoy*,⁵⁷ gen.pl. of *řidag-* ‘testament’ ~ Arm. *ktak-* and Syr. *geřřā* ‘testament, writ of divorce’ < Akkad. *giřtu*⁵⁸ via Mİran. **gitak* ‘id.’.

Iranianisms that are peculiar to Albanian are, e.g., *asam* ‘peace’ < Mİran. **āsām* ‘id.’ (MPers. *āsān*), *banžen* ‘blessed’ < Mİran. **bāngēn* ‘splendid’,⁵⁹ *bazmacown* ‘dinner party’ vs. Arm. *bazmakan* ‘id.’ < Mİran. *bazm* ‘meal’, perhaps also *bazman* ‘dish, plate’ (Matthew 14.11: A103ra, 15) if this is derived from the same Mİran. term, *dowrowd* ‘beam (of the Cross)’ (> Udi *durut* ‘log’) < Parth. *dārūβδ-* in *dārūβδ-ag* ‘crucified’, and *margaven* ‘prophet’ < Mİran. **marya-wēn-* ‘augur’, lit. ‘bird-seeing’, vs. Arm. *margarē* < **marya-řē-* ‘id.’,⁶⁰ possibly also *asef* ‘shepherd’ if this corresponds to Avestan *ařše* ‘who owns sheep’⁶¹ and *mowřak* ‘worker’ ~ Arm. *mřak*,

49 For the latter terms cf. Gippert (2009).

50 Cf. Acharyan (1977: 336b s. v. **mřtik*).

51 Cf. MacKenzie (1971: 57 s.v. ²*must* and *muřt*).

52 Alb. *řam* is also concealed in *iř řamil* ‘already’, lit. ‘at the same time’ corresponding to Gk. ἤδη, Arm. *ayn inř*, Georg. *munkues oden* and Syr. *men kaddū* in John 19.33 (B8ra, 19); the former reading *ikēamil* must be corrected.

53 Cf. Panaino (2017: 179–180 n. 31) as to Armenian *řam* and its relation to Iranian.

54 Cf. Gippert (1993: 16–23).

55 Cf. Gippert (1993: 273–279).

56 Attested in the Pahlavi translation of Vidēvdād 7.48 (Jamasp 1907: 273, 10).

57 The form *gidagowřoy* can also be restored a second time at the end of Hebrews 9.4 (A75va, 21).

58 Cf. Brockelmann (1928: 113b).

59 Cf. Gippert (2007b: 100–102).

60 Cf. Gippert (2005: 155–165).

61 Cf. Gippert (2016a).

Georg. *mušak-i* < MIran. **mūšāk* (cf. NPers. *mušāq* ‘servant’).⁶² To these terms we may now add *qowr* ‘foal, colt’ (John 12.15: B10vb, 14) ~ MPers. *kurrag* ‘id.’ (Udi *kuruk* ‘id.’). A remarkable doublet is represented by *varz* ‘reward, salary’ ~ Arm. *varj* ‘id.’ and *bo(w)rzown* ‘labour’, *bo(r)zar(i)* ‘tired, having endured’ if both rely upon MIran. **warz* ‘labour, gain’ (MPers. *warz* ‘work, agriculture’, NPers. *warz* ‘gain’, *warzīdan* ‘win, gain’, *barz* ‘agriculture’, *barzīdan* ‘sow’). Unclear remains the relationship of *qaravar* ‘camp’ with Parth. *kārwan* ‘army on the march’⁶³ (cf. also Georg. *qarav-i* ‘tent’ and *qaraul-i* ‘donkey’) and of *tabig* ‘similar, equal’ (if read correctly in John 5.18: A100ra, 6) with Parth. *tabang* ‘image, prototype’, NPers. *tabank*, *tubnak* ‘crucible, mould’, and Syr. *tāpniḳ* ‘prototype’.⁶⁴ The Iranian privative prefix *a-* (corresponding to Greek *ἀ-*) may be hidden in *amowz-hiçe* ‘animal’⁶⁵ if this can be analysed as *a-mowz-hiçe* ‘being without tongue, language’ (*mowz*) in agreement with Armenian *an-a-sown* / *an-ban*, Gk. *ἄ-λογος* and Georgian *ṗir-u-tṗu*, all denoting animals as being ‘without reason / word’ or ‘with a non-speaking mouth’;⁶⁶ Iranian loans are probably also the negators *now-* (< MIran. *na*) and *ma-* (< MIran. *mā*) as well as the subordinator *-ke* (< MIran. *kē* ‘which’, replaced in Udi by *-te* < Arm. *(e)t’e*).⁶⁷

5.2.2 Semitisms

As in the neighbouring languages, there are several Hebrew and Aramaic words that have entered Albanian in the context of Bible translation. Leaving personal names aside,⁶⁸ this is true, e.g., of *aba* ‘Abba, father’ ~ Gk. *αββα*, Arm. *abba*, Georg. *abba*, Syr. *abbā*, *rabbi* and *rabbowni* ‘my / our master’ ~ Gk. *ραββί* / *ραββουνι*, Arm. *ṙabbi* / *ṙ/rabbowni*, Georg. *(h)rab(b)i* / *(h)rab(b)o(w)ni*, Syr. *rabbān* / *rabbūlī*, *belzebowl* ‘Beelzebub’ ~ Gk. *Βεελζεβούλ*, Arm. *beelzebowl*, Georg. *berzebul-i*, Syr. *b’el-zəbūb*, *saṭanay* ‘Satan’ ~ Arm. *satānay*, Georg. *saṭana-y*, Gk. *Σατανᾶς*, Syr. *sāṭā-nā*, *manana* ‘manna’ ~ Arm. *mananay*, Georg. *manana-* vs. Gk. *μάννα* and Syr. *mannā*, and *pasek* ‘Passover’ ~ Gk. *πάσék* (alongside *πάσχα*), Arm. *pasek*, Georg. *ṗasek-i*, Syr. *paseḳ* (alongside *paskā*). A transmission via Middle Iranian is probable for *šam/nbaṭ* ‘Sabbath’ ~ Parth. *šambat* vs. Arm. *šabat*, Georg. *šab/pat*, Syr. *šabtā*, and Gk. *σάββατον*.

⁶² Cf. Gippert (2009: 132–133).

⁶³ Cf. Durkin-Meisterernst (2004: 203 s.v. *q’rw’n*, *k’rw’n*).

⁶⁴ Cf. Durkin-Meisterernst (2004: 323 s.v. *tbng*) after W. B. Henning.

⁶⁵ The reading *amowm-hiço* in the edition (Gippert et al. 2008: I, IV-5) must be corrected.

⁶⁶ Cf. Gippert (2022: 137).

⁶⁷ Cf. Gippert (2011b: 209).

⁶⁸ Cf. Chapter 3 of this Handbook, 2.2 and 3.3 for a discussion.

A possible candidate of an Aramaism is the name of the coin corresponding to the *dēnarius*, which appears as *daizowzn'a* in John 6.7 (A101vb, 11–12),⁶⁹ possibly also in Matthew 20.10 (B6va, 16–17) and 13 (B3rb 9–10) where only *da-* has survived, and in John 12.5 (B9rb, 17) where the word is lost entirely. The element *-zowz-*, here probably composed with *dai* ‘fresh, green, yellow’, matches Syriac *zūzā* which denotes ‘half a shekel’ or a ‘drachm’ in Exodus 30.13,⁷⁰ and the Aramaeogram ZWZN’ which stands for the drachm coin in Middle Persian;⁷¹ the Syriac word was also borrowed into Armenian (*zowzay*)⁷² and Georgian (*zuza-y*), but there are no attestations of these terms in Bible translation⁷³ so that they cannot be taken to have served as a model for Albanian *-zowz-*.⁷⁴ Another Aramaeism that Albanian shares with Armenian and Georgian is *ḫilinz* ‘bronze, copper, brass’ ~ Arm. *ḫlinj*, Georg. *(s)ḫilenz-i* < Aram. *ḫlizzā*, Syr. *ḫlezzā*, vs. Pers. *brinj* etc. A Syriac basis (*krūḫā*) is probable for the name of the Cherubs, which appears as *kroba* in Albanian matching Arm. *k'rovbē* vs. Georg. *kerobin-i* < Gk. Χερουβίμ. To these cases we may now add *zoḫa-* (gen. *zoḫaown*; John 19.29: B8vb, 18) ‘hys-sop’ ~ Arm. *zovpay* < Syr. *zōḫā* vs. Georg. *usup-i* < Greek ὕσσωπος ‘id.’, and *dol* ‘vessel, bucket’ (John 4.11: A46rb, 20) ~ Armenian *doyl* ‘id.’ < Syriac *dawlā* ‘id.’⁷⁵ vs. Greek ἀντλημα and Georgian *sarçqul-i* / *savsebel-i*. A transmission via Armenian is probable for *kahana* ‘priest’ ~ Arm. *k'ahanay* < Syr. *kāhnā* ‘id.’. Unclear is the actual source of *kalak* ‘city’ ~ Arm. *k'alak*, Georg. *kalak-i* vs. Syr. *karḫā* ‘id.’⁷⁶ as well as *targowman-own* ‘translation’ ~ Arm. *t'argman-owt'iwn*, Georg. *targman-eba-* ‘id.’, which presuppose an agent noun **targumān* ‘interpreter’ as present in Mīran. *targumān*⁷⁷ and Syr. *targmānā*, lastly deriving from Akkad. *tar(u)gumānu* ‘id.’.⁷⁸

69 Cf. Gippert (2012b: 243 with n. 12), correcting the former reading *mezaizowz* (Gippert et al. 2008: I, I-30).

70 The Aramaic word is likely to go back to Akkad. *zūzu*, cf. Brockelmann (1928: 191); in the NT passages quoted above, all Syriac witnesses use *dīnārā* < *dēnārius* instead.

71 Cf. MacKenzie (1971: 27).

72 Cf. Acharyan (1973: 107b) s. v.

73 The translation ‘didrakma’, i.e. ‘didrachm’ given in the lexicon by Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani (Abulaḫe 1965: 292b s. v. *zuza*) may be taken to refer to Exodus 30.13 (see above) which actually speaks of ‘half of a didrachm’, thus suggesting that the word might have appeared in this verse in an unknown OT witness.

74 Cf. Akopyan (2021a: 106–115) for a thorough discussion of “the Sasasian *zūzā*”, which still relies upon the former reading (*me*)*zai-zowz-*; however, the reading with *dai-* has now been confirmed and is also matched by the occurrences of *da-* in Matthew 20.10 and 13.

75 If this is not an Iranianism as proposed by Hübschmann (1895: 144 s. v. *doil*).

76 Cf. Bielmeier (1985: 38–41).

77 Cf. Durkin-Meisterernst (2004: 325 s. v. *trkw̄m'n*, *trqwm'n*, *trqwm'n*).

78 Cf. Brockelmann (1928: 834a).

5.2.3 Grecisms

Greek words in Albanian are usually shared with the neighbouring languages, too. This is true, e.g., of *katolikeown* ‘Catholic’ ~ Arm. *kat’olikē*, Georg. *katolike* < Gk. καθολική or *iskapōs* ‘bishop’ ~ Arm. *episkopos*, Georg. *episkopos-i*, Syr. *episqūpā* < Gk. ἐπίσκοπος. A transmission via Armenian is probable for *salmos* ‘psalm’ ~ Arm. *sałmos* < Gk. ψαλμός vs. Georg. *psalmun-i* < Gk. acc. ψαλμόν, and *hetanos* ‘heathen, Gentile’ ~ Arm. *het’anos* ‘id.’ < Gk. ἔθνος vs. Georg. *čarmart-i*. In contrast to this, a transmission via Georgian can be claimed for *angelos* ‘angel’ ~ Georg. *angeloz-i* ‘id.’ < Gk. ἄγγελος vs. Arm. *hreštak* (< Mİran. **frēštak*) and *eklesi* ‘church’ ~ Georg. *ek(k)lesia* ‘id.’ < Gk. ἐκκλησία vs. Arm. *ekelec’i*, probably also for *kēsar* ‘emperor’ ~ Georg. *keisar-i* ‘id.’ < Gk. καῖσαρ (< Lat. *Caesar*) vs. Arm. *kayser*; and *kil̥t* ‘key’ ~ Georg. *kl̥iṭe* ‘id.’ < Gk. κλείς, gen. κλειδός. To the latter words we may now add *paraske* ‘Friday, preparation day’ (John 19.31: B13va, 4–5) ~ Georg. *paraskev-i* < Gk. παρασκευή ‘id.’ (vs. Arm. *owrbat’*), which has survived into Modern Udi as *paraski* with the variants *paraski* and *paraski*, and *laḡana* ‘basin’ ~ Georg. *laḡana*-, *la(n)kna*-, Syr. *laqnā* < Gk. λακάνη ‘id.’ (> NPers. *lagan* > Udi *lāgān*). An older Greek loanword in Albanian is possibly *-zde* ‘metal, iron’ (only contained in *dai-zde* ‘gold’ and *ḡai-zde* ‘sword’) < Gk. σίδηρος ‘iron’, cf. Udi *zido* ‘id.’.

5.2.4 Armenianisms

The share of Armenian loanwords in Albanian is rather small if we leave aside words of different origins that were transmitted via the neighbouring language. The most striking Armenian term is certainly *marmin* ‘body, flesh’ < Arm. *marmin* ‘id.’ which translates Gk. σῶμα, σάρξ, σκῆνωμα, etc. Another frequent element is the word for ‘people, crowd, synagogue’ which always appears abbreviated as *ẓ̌d*; this is likely to represent its Arm. counterpart, *žolovowrd*. Other candidates for borrowings from Armenian are *avel* ‘much, many’ ~ Arm. *aṛ-awel* ‘plus’, *kor-* (preverb) ‘back(wards)’ (> Udi *kori* ‘id.’) < Arm. *kor* ‘bent, crooked’, *ḡala* ‘lame’ (> Udi *ḡala*) < Arm. *kał* ‘id.’ ~ Arm. *kał* ‘id.’, possibly also *hač-* ‘right (hand)’ in *hač-ḡown* ‘right side’⁷⁹ (> Ud. *ača* with *ača-čo* ‘right side’, lit. ‘right face’) and *hačex-biyesown* ‘make succeed’, lit. ‘make (al)right’) ~ Arm. *aḡ* ‘right (hand)’ > *yajōtel* ‘make succeed’. A calque of an Armenian concept is visible in *powl-efesown* ‘wait, expect, hope’, lit. ‘hold (the) eye’, which clearly matches Arm. *akn ownel* ‘id.’. A Proto-Lezgian loan from Armenian may be represented in Alb. *lowf* ‘dove’ ~

⁷⁹ The analysis provided in Gippert et al. (2008: I, IV-24) s.v. *hačex* must be corrected: *ḡown* is an independent word meaning ‘side, direction’.

Aghul / Tabassaran *luf*, Lezgian *lif*, Kryts *ləf*, and Rutul *lirx*^w ‘id.’ if they derive from a preform of Arm. *alawni*⁸⁰ and not MPers. *āluf* / *āluh* ‘eagle’⁸¹ which, of course, deviates semantically.

5.2.5 Georgianisms

Most of the few terms that are borrowings from Old Georgian belong to basic concepts of Christianity such as *axsibay* ‘Easter’, also spelt *axçibay*, < Georg. *ağvsebay* ‘id.’, lit. ‘fulfilment’; this term has survived into Modern Udi (in the forms *axsibay* and *axçima*). Other such terms are *madil* ‘grace, mercy’ < Georg. *madl-i* ‘id.’, *sabowrzel* ‘seat, see’⁸² < Georg. *savrzel-i* ‘id.’, and *saxē* ‘vision’ < Georg. *saxē* ‘id.’. A candidate is also *xexer* ‘saw’ ~ Georg. *xerx-i* ‘id.’ if the two words are not merely onomatopoeic. A calque of Georgian may be seen in the two verbs *xaš-dağesown* ‘baptise’ and *xaš-heğesown* ‘be baptised’ which clearly mirror Georg. *natlis-cema*, lit. ‘give light’, and *natlis-ğeba*, lit. ‘take light’, with *xaš* ~ Udi *xaš* ‘light’, contrasting with Udi *xač* ‘cross’ in *xačesun* ‘be baptised’ and *xačdesun* ‘baptise’ which obviously reflects Russian *krest* ‘cross’ in *krestit* ‘baptise’.

A calque of both Armenian and Georgian may be assumed for *qūw-ma-ne* ‘consolation’, lit. ‘(may) fear not be (there)’, in *qūwmane-pesown* ‘console’, lit. ‘speak consolation’, and *qūwmane-heğesown* ‘be consoled’, lit. ‘take consolation’, which corresponds to Arm. *m-xit’ar-* and Georg. *nu-gešinis-* ‘do not fear’ in *m-xit’ar-el* and *nu-gešinis-cema-* ‘console’ (lit. ‘give consolation’).

5.3 Unexplained elements

All these examples notwithstanding, a larger part of the Albanian lexicon still lacks a secured etymological explanation, which might hint at earlier contacts with hitherto unknown languages. This is true, e.g., of words like *al’eg* ‘cloud, sponge’, *axal* ‘nurse’, *bal* ‘ill’, *beteown* ‘cave’,⁸³ *bicxesown* ‘show’, *biki* ‘white’, *bis-esown* ‘smear, anoint’, *bfaχ* ‘judgement, court’, *ē* (= *ey*) ‘good’, *gow* ‘rod, stick’, *kaɬ’ak* ‘own, proper’ (if not pertaining to Mİran. *kadag* ‘household’), *qod* ‘jar, jug’, *xal’owm* ‘star’, *zexesown* ‘put, place, fix’ (if this is not concealed in *ex-*, present stem of Udi *pesun* ‘say’), and many abstract nouns such as, e.g., *ɬafesown* ‘tempta-

⁸⁰ Cf. Gippert (2017: 185–188).

⁸¹ Cf. Durkin-Meisterernst (2004: 5 s. v. *ʾlwp*) and McKenzie (1971: 7 s. v. *āluh*).

⁸² The reading *sašowrzel* in the edition (cf. Gippert et al. 2008: I, IV-37) must be corrected.

⁸³ The reading *beçeown* in the edition (cf. Gippert et al. 2008: I, IV-8) must be corrected.

tion', *cegowown* 'splendour', *gāxown* 'glory', **ki* 'wealth, power' (in *ki-nowt* 'poor', *kiye* 'rich' and *ki-boķesown* 'be able', lit. 'bring wealth'), or *oṭan* 'law, prayer'. Among the newly detected words, this is true, e.g., of those appearing in John 21.8–12 as mentioned above (*et* 'net', *šow* 'fish', etc.), but also for *aṣaown* 'garment' (John 13.4: A66va, 9) and *aṣa-pesown* 'put on (clothes)' (Acts 12.8: A57vb, 12–13), *ṣagāown* 'rejection' (John 8.49 and 12.48: A55rb, 18 and A59va, 15), *bowmbež-* 'neighbour' (John 9.8: A54rb, 14), *čaraḱos* 'towel' (John 13.4: A66va, 10), *čidi* 'breast' (John 21.20: B39rb, 11), *giin* 'bile, gall' (if not < Arm. *gini* 'wine'; John 19.29: B8vb, 16), *gowāhown* 'alms' (John 9.8: A54rb), *hačowl* 'girdle' (John 21.18: B39rb, 1 and Acts 12.8: A57vb, 9),⁸⁴ *he-beṣesown* 'acquire' (if not < **he-biṣesown* 'seize hither'; John 5.40: A101rb, 4), *hüwl* 'alien' (II Corinthians 5.6: A39va, 20), *mowč'in* 'reconciliation' (in *mowč'in'a-ihā-nown* 'be reconciled', Matthew 5.24: A15ra, 2–3), *nfa ta-boķesown* 'row' (lit. 'boat lead-thither'; John 6.19: A107vb), *qirmir* 'care, attention' (John 21.22: B36vb, 20),⁸⁵ *vol'a* 'wave' (James 1.6: A57ra, 6–7),⁸⁶ *xown* 'place' (e.g., Luke 4.37: A34vb, 13) and *ṣown* 'side, direction' (e.g., John 20.7: B14va, 12).⁸⁷

5.4 The Albanian month names

In the Albanian text materials that are available today, there are no month names attested. However, as early as 1832, the French scholar Marie-Félicité Brosset published a list of Albanian month names that is preserved, in Armenian script, in an 18th-century Armenian manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris (*ancien fonds* 114, now *arménien* 252, f. 43v), which contains calender treatises. Variants of the same list, which is arranged synoptically in tabular form with month names of six other traditions (Egyptian, Ethiopian, Athenian, Bithynian, Cappadocian, and Georgian; see Fig. 2),⁸⁸ were later revealed in Armenian manuscripts containing the works of Anania Shirakatsi and Hovhannes Imastaser,⁸⁹ as

⁸⁴ The reading *vakahačown* proposed in the edition (Gippert et al. 2008: I, II-15 with n. 64 and IV-38 s. v.) must be corrected; *vaka* is an adessive form of the 2nd person pronoun.

⁸⁵ The reading is not certain; instead of *qirmir*, *qirqir* could also be assumed.

⁸⁶ Gen. pl. *vol'arowḡoy*, erroneously read *vocarowḡoy* in the edition; in the given form the *-r-* is more likely to be the plural suffix than part of the stem as assumed in Gippert et al. (2008: I, IV-39 s. v. *vocar*).

⁸⁷ The two words are clearly distinguished by *x* vs. *ṣ* and *n'* vs. *n*; the edition (Gippert et al. 2008: I, IV-22 s. v. *xown/n*) must be corrected accordingly.

⁸⁸ Brosset (1832: 526): "concordance entre les mois égyptiens, éthiopiens, athéniens, bithyniens, cappadociens, géorgiens et albanien".

⁸⁹ Manuscripts 1971, 1973, 1999, 2001, 2068, and 2180 of the Matenadaran, Yerevan and arm. 178 of the K. Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi.

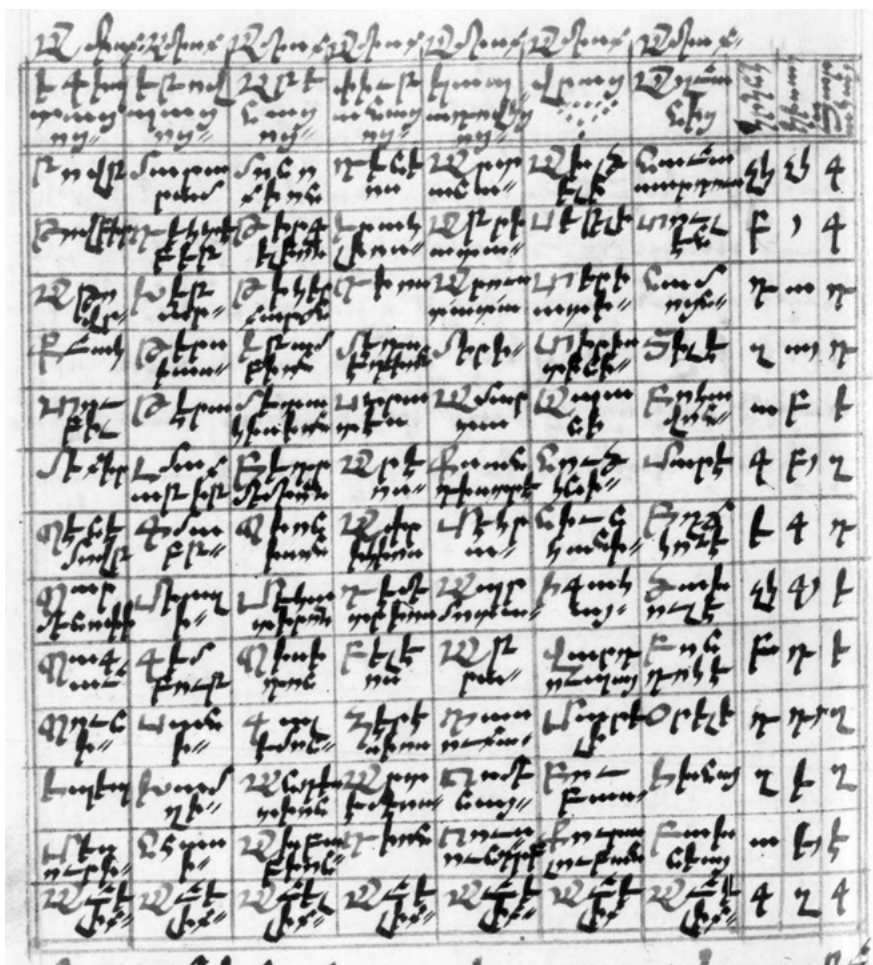


Fig. 2: The list of month names in ms. Paris, BNF, arm. 252 (ancien fonds 114), f. 43v.

well as in Georgian manuscripts containing the lexicon of the 17th-century scholar Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani;⁹⁰ the diverging appearance of the names is illustrated in Table XXI.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Manuscripts A-288, A-873 and S-277 of the K. Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi.

⁹¹ The columns contain the lists according to the following manuscripts: a) Paris 114=252, fol. 43v as read by Brosset (1832); b) the same as re-read by Dulaurier (1859: 167; cf. also Patkanov 1871: 42); c and d) Matenadaran 1999, fol. 217 and 1973, fol. 34 as part of the works of Anania Shirakatsi, quoted after Abrahamyan (1944: 118); e through h) Matenadaran 2001, fol. 41 / 2068, fol. 358 / 2180, fol. 265 / 1971, fol. 17 as part of the works of Hovhannes Imastaser, quoted after

Table XXI: The Albanian month names in Armenian and Georgian manuscripts.

	Par.114-B	Par.114-D	M 1999	M 1973	M 2001	M 2068
1	<i>Navasardos</i>	<i>Nawasardows</i>	<i>Nawasardon</i>	<i>Nawasardown</i>	<i>Nawasardown</i>	<i>Nawasardon</i>
2	<i>Toulen</i>	<i>Towlēn</i>	<i>Towlen</i>	<i>Towen</i>	<i>Towlēn</i>	<i>Towlini</i>
3	<i>Namotsn</i>	<i>Namoc`n</i>	<i>Namoc`</i>	<i>Kamoc`</i>	<i>Namoc`</i>	<i>Nama</i>
4	<i>Hile</i>	<i>Yilē</i>	<i>Šili</i>	<i>C`ilē</i>	<i>C`ilē</i>	<i>C`ili</i>
5	<i>Bocavon</i>	<i>Bokavoh</i>	<i>Bokawon</i>	<i>Bokawon</i>	<i>Bokawon</i>	<i>Bokaon</i>
6	<i>Maré</i>	<i>Marē</i>	<i>Marē</i>	<i>Bičowkēn</i>	<i>Marē</i>	<i>Marē</i>
7	<i>Bodjconé</i>	<i>Bdčkowē</i>	<i>Bočkonē</i>	<i>Mreli</i>	<i>Awčakonē</i>	<i>Bočkon</i>
8	<i>Tzukhoulé</i>	<i>Caxowlē</i>	<i>Caxolen</i>	<i>Caxowli</i>	<i>Cakowlēn</i>	<i>Caxowlēn</i>
9	<i>Bontocé</i>	<i>Bondokē</i>	<i>Bowndokē</i>	<i>Bondowkē</i>	<i>Bondokēn</i>	<i>Bondokē</i>
10	<i>Orili</i>	<i>Ōreli</i>	<i>Orelin</i>	<i>Orelin</i>	<i>Orēlin</i>	<i>Orelin</i>
11	<i>Ikhnaí</i>	<i>Exnay</i>	<i>Exnea</i>	<i>Exna</i>	<i>Exna</i>	<i>Exnea</i>
12	<i>Bakhniaí</i>	<i>Baxneay</i>	<i>Xabnea</i>	<i>Xibna</i>	<i>Xebna</i>	<i>Xaba</i>

	M 2180	M 1971	Arm. 178	A-288	S-277	A-863
1	<i>Nawasardown</i>	<i>Nawasardown</i>	<i>Nawasardown</i>	<i>navasartun</i>	<i>navasartun</i>	<i>navasartun</i>
2	<i>Towlēn</i>	<i>Towlēn</i>	<i>Towlēn</i>	<i>t'ulen</i>	<i>t'ulen</i>	<i>tulen</i>
3	<i>Namoy</i>	<i>Namoy</i>	<i>Namoy</i>	<i>namuc</i>	<i>namuc</i>	<i>namuc</i>
4	<i>C`ilē</i>	<i>C`ilē</i>	<i>Yilē</i>	<i>cile</i>	<i>cile</i>	<i>cile</i>
5	<i>Bokawon</i>	<i>Bokawon</i>	<i>Bokawon</i>	<i>bak'aon</i>	<i>bok'aon</i>	<i>bokaon</i>
6	<i>Bočoykēn</i>	<i>Bočokēn</i>	<i>Bočokēn</i>	<i>mare</i>	<i>mare</i>	<i>mare</i>
7	<i>Marili</i>	<i>Mareli</i>	<i>Mareli</i>	<i>avč'uk'ine</i>	<i>avbuk'ine</i>	<i>avč'uk'ine</i>
8	<i>Caxowli</i>	<i>Caxowli</i>	<i>Caxowli</i>	<i>nak'ulion</i>	<i>c'ak'ulin</i>	<i>c'ak'ulin</i>
9	<i>Pondowk</i>	<i>Pontowkē</i>	<i>Pontokē</i>	<i>bunt'ok'e</i>	<i>bont'ok'e</i>	<i>bondoke</i>
10	<i>Arelin</i>	<i>Arelin</i>	<i>Arelin</i>	<i>vorsilin</i>	<i>vorsilin</i>	<i>vorsilin</i>
11	<i>Exneay</i>	<i>Exneay</i>	<i>Exneay</i>	<i>iexan</i>	<i>iexan</i>	<i>ivxan</i>
12	<i>Xebnay</i>	<i>Xebnay</i>	<i>Xebnay</i>	<i>xebna</i>	<i>xebna</i>	<i>sebna</i>

It will be clear from this conspectus that in quite a similar way as the letter names in the alphabet list, the month names must have been distorted to a considerable extent in the manuscript tradition yielding the given spelling variation. Nevertheless, half of the items can be restored with a sufficient degree of probability, either by applying an Udi etymology⁹² that matches the semantics of the Old Armenian or Old Georgian counterparts of the names, or by identifying them directly with the latter. This is especially true for those names that reflect the

Abrahamyan (1956b: 75); i) through k) mss. arm. 178 and (Georgian) A-288 and S-277 of the K. Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi, containing Saba's lexicon, quoted after Shani-dze (1960: 177–178: mss. 'H', 'T', 'K'); l) ms. A-873 of the Centre, containing the same lexicon, quoted after Janashvili (1908: 119). Broutian (2021: Tabl. 2) adds the list (in Armenian letters) contained in ms. 817 of the Matenadaran, which mostly matches that of ms. 2068.

⁹² For previous attempts cf., among others, Ingorova (1931–32: 300–315), Aghayan (1946: 61–64), Shani-dze (1960: 175–178 and 1963: 513–514), Gukasyan (1969: 73), and Schulze (1982: 284–285).

Tab. XXII: Reconstruction of six month names.

Albanian	meaning	source	Armenian	meaning	Georgian	meaning
1. <i>*nawasard-own</i>	'New Year's (m.)'	Iranian	= <i>nawasard-i</i>	'id.'	<i>axalçl-isay</i>	'id.'
2. <i>*towl-en</i>	'(m. of the) grape'	Udi <i>tul</i>	~ (<i>kt'-oc':</i> 3.)	'vintage'	<i>stul-isay</i>	'vintage'
5. <i>*boqa-own?</i>	'(m. of the) plucking?'	Udi <i>boq-sun</i>	~ <i>k'al-oc'</i>	'pluckings'		
7. <i>*marekon-ē?</i>	'(m. of) Mithra's feast'	Iranian	= <i>mehekan-i</i>	'id.'	<i>mihraḳn-isay</i>	'id.'
10. <i>*marel-in?</i>	'(m. of) Mid-Year'	Iranian	= <i>marer-i</i>	'id.'	<i>marial-isay</i>	'id.'
11. <i>*ex-n'a</i>	'(m. of the) harvest'	Udi <i>ex</i>	~ <i>marg-ac'</i>	'meadows'	<i>tib-isay</i>	'hay-crop'

Middle Iranian festival calendar. In all cases, the Albanian names are genitive formations ('month of the X') in just the same manner as their Armenian and Georgian equivalents; Table XXII resumes the results thus achieved.⁹³ The remaining six items are hard to account for, even in the light of the lexical and grammatical evidence provided by the palimpsests; the corresponding considerations are summarised in Table XXIII. Only two of the names have successors in Vartashen Udi, namely, **exn'a* (no. 11) which is contained in *exna-xaš* 'June', lit. 'month (*xaš*, Alb. *xaš* 'light') of the harvest', and **towl-en* '(month) of the grape' (no. 2) which reappears in *tul-aferekal-xaš* 'August',⁹⁴ lit. 'grape-blessing month' (cf. 5.2.1 above as to Udi *afu/erepsun* ~ Alb. *afre-pesown* 'bless, praise'). In Nij Udi, the names *navars* 'January', *namoç* 'February', *xibna* 'March' (cf. *xib* 'three'), *biḫna* 'April' (cf. *biḫ* 'four'), *mayis* 'May', *exna* 'June', *eçna* 'July' (cf. *eç* 'threshing floor'), *boḳna* 'August' (cf. *boḳsun* 'burn?'), *ereḳna* 'September' (cf. *ereḳ* 'walnut'), *tule* 'October', *sile* 'November' and *ə'žna* 'December' (cf. *ə'ž* 'snow') are used today.⁹⁵ To what extent these names represent an unbroken tradition or were remodelled after the Albanian month names (besides *exna* ~ **exn'a* and *tule* ~ *towl-en* cf. *navars* and *nawasardown*, *namoç* and *namoy/namoc*, *xibna* and *xebnay*, *boḳna* and *boḳa-won*, *sile* and *cilē/yilē*), must remain open.

⁹³ Cf. Gippert (1988) and Gippert et al. (2008: I, II-95) for more details.

⁹⁴ Cf. Gukasyan (1974: 123 and 211).

⁹⁵ E.g., in the calendars published annually by the Udi community in recent years; cf. <https://www.mobili.az/news/0471.html> (last accessed 14. 2. 2023).

Tab. XXIII: Considerations on the remaining six month names.

Albanian	Comment
3. <i>*nam-oy?</i> <i>*sam-oy?</i>	Genitive formation of either Ud. <i>nam</i> ‘humid, moist’ (not attested in the palimpsests) or a stem <i>*sa(h)m-</i> also present in the Arm. counterpart, <i>sahm-i</i> ? ⁹⁶
4. <i>*cil-ē?</i>	Genitive formation of <i>cil</i> ‘seed’ (now attested in II Cor. 9.10: A49vb, 20)?
6. <i>*boč-oy?</i>	Genitive formation of a noun underlying <i>boči</i> ~ Ud. <i>boçu</i> ‘dense’?
8. <i>*žagowl-in?</i>	Genitive formation of a noun corresponding to Ud. <i>žogul</i> ‘spring’ (not attested in the palimpsests)?
9. <i>*bowndok-ē?</i>	Genitive formation of a noun related to <i>*bownaḡown</i> ‘dwelling, housing’ (~ Arm. <i>bnakowt’iwn</i> ‘id.’ < Mĭran.)? In connection with Arm. <i>ahekan-i</i> (‘month of the Sun feast’), we would rather expect <i>*areḡon-ē</i> which might have left its traces in the following name beginning with <i>are-</i> instead of <i>*mare-</i> .
12. <i>*xib-n’a?</i> <i>*bāḡ-n’a?</i>	Genitive formation of the cardinal number <i>xib</i> ‘three’ or the adjective <i>bāḡn’i</i> ‘worthy’? None of the proposals would match Arm. <i>hrotic’</i> , lit. ‘(month of the) souls of the dead’ (< Iran. <i>*frawarti-</i>) or Georg. <i>kueltob-isay</i> (‘month of the underworld feast’?).

References

- Abrahamyan, Ashot. 1944. Ա[շոտ] Գ[արեգինի] Աբրահամյան. *Անանիա Շիրակացու մատենագրությունը. Ուսումնասիրություն*. [The Literary Work of Anania Shirakatsi. A Study]. Yerevan: Matenadaran.
- Abrahamyan, Ashot. 1956b. Ա[շոտ] Գ[արեգինի] Աբրահամյան. *Յովհաննես Իմաստաստերի մատենագրությունը*. [The Literary Work of Hovhannes Imastaser]. Yerevan: University of Yerevan.
- Abrahamyan, Ashot. 1964. А[шот] Г[арегинович] Абрамян. *Дешифровка надписей кавказских албан.* [The Decipherment of the inscriptions of the Caucasian Albanians]. Yerevan: Mitk.
- Abuladze, Ilia. 1965. სულხან საბა ორბელიანი, *ლექსიკონი ქართული (თხზულებანი IV/1)*. ავტოგრაფული ნუსხების მიხედვით გამოსაცემად მოამზადა ილია აბულაძემ. [Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, *Georgian Dictionary* (Works IV/1). Ed. by Ilia Abuladze. Tbilisi: Sabchota Sakartvelo.
- Acharyan, Hrachya. 1973. Հր[աչյա] Աճառյան. *Հայերեն արմատական բառարան*. Բ. [Armenian Root Dictionary. II]. Yerevan: University of Yerevan. <https://archive.org/details/Hrarm2>.
- Acharyan, Hrachya. 1977. Հր[աչյա] Աճառյան. *Հայերեն արմատական բառարան*. Գ. [Armenian Root Dictionary. III]. Yerevan: University of Yerevan. <https://archive.org/details/Hrarm3>.
- Aghayan, Eduard. 1946. Էդ[ուարդ] Աղայան. Աղվանից ամսանունները. [The Month Names of the Albanians]. *Տեղեկագիր Հաձկական ՍՍՌ Գիտությունների Ակադեմիայի*.

⁹⁶ Cf. Gippert (1988: 39) for this proposal which presupposes the confusion of the Armenian majuscules Ն and Ս as elsewhere, and Gippert (1989: 3–12) as to the etymology of the Armenian name.

- Հասարակական գիտություններ / Известия Академии Наук Армянской ССР. Общественные науки [Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR. Social Sciences] 5. 61–64. <https://arar.sci.am/dlibra/publication/117359/edition/107010/content>.
- Akopyan, Alexander Vladimirovich. 2021a. Revisiting the Question of the Time and Place of Writing of the Caucasian Albanian Palimpsest According to Numismatic Data (Part I). *Восток. Афро-азиатские общества: история и современность / Oriens*. [Afro-Asian societies: history and modernity] 5. 106–115. <https://doi.org/10.31857/S086919080016817-5>.
- Andronikashvili, Mzia. 1966. შზია ანდრონიკაშვილი, ნარკვევები ირანულ-ქართული ენობრივი ურთიერთობიდან / Мзия Андроникашвили. Очерки по иранско-грузинским языковым взаимоотношениям / Studies in Iranian-Georgian Linguistic Contacts. Tbilisi: Tbilisi University Press. <https://dspace.nplg.gov.ge/handle/1234/338744>.
- Arakelyan, Varag. 1983. Մովսէս Կաղանկատուացի. Պատմութիւն աղուանից աշխարհի. Բնական բնագիրը և ներածությունը՝ Վարագ Առաքելյանի [Moses Kalankatuatsi. History of the Country of the Albanians. Ed. by Varag Arakelyan]. Yerevan: Academy of Sciences. <https://archive.org/details/PatAghuanitsGrabar1983>.
- Benveniste, Émile. 1929. Titres iraniens en arménien. *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 9. 5–10. <http://tert.nla.am/archive/NLA%20AMSAGIR/REA/1929-1.pdf>.
- Bielmeier, Roland. 1985. Zu iranischen Lehnwörtern im Georgischen und Armenischen. In Hermann M. Ölberg & Gernot Schmidt (eds.), *Sprachwissenschaftliche Forschungen. Festschrift für Johann Knobloch*, 33–42. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Gesellschaft zur Pflege der Geisteswissenschaften.
- Brockelmann, Carl. 1928. *Lexicon syriacum*. 2nd edn. Halle: Niemeyer. <https://archive.org/details/32882013057610-lexiconsyriacum> ; <http://www.dukhrana.com/lexicon/Brockelmann/>.
- Brosset, Marie Félicité. 1832. Extrait du manuscrit arménien n° 114 de la Bibliothèque royale, relatif au calendrier géorgien. *Journal Asiatique* 21 (= 2^e sér. 10). 526–532. <https://www.retronews.fr/journal/journal-asiatique/01-dec-1832/339/1998201/46>; <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb10248826>.
- BROUTIAN, Grigor H. 2021. Georgian and Aluanian Calendars as presented in Anania Shirakouni's Tomar (Calendar). *Восток. Афро-азиатские общества: история и современность / Oriens*. [Afro-Asian societies: history and modernity] 5. 94–105. <https://doi.org/10.31857/S086919080016471-5>.
- Dowsett, Charles J. F. 1961a. *The History of the Caucasian Albanians* by Movsēs Dasxurancī. Translated (London Oriental Series 8). London / New York / Toronto: Oxford University Press. https://archive.org/details/Binder1_201404.
- Dulaurier, Édouard. 1859. *Recherches sur la chronologie arménienne technique et historique*. 1: *Chronologie technique*. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale. <https://archive.org/details/recherchessurla01dulagoog>.
- Durkin-Meisterernst, Desmond. 2004. *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (Dictionary of Manichaean Texts III/1). Turnhout: Brepols. <https://archive.org/details/DictionaryOfMMP>.
- Emin, Mkrtich. 1860a. Մովսէսի Կաղանկատուացոյ Պատմութիւն աղուանից աշխարհի. Ի լոյս ընծայեաժ Մկրտիչ Էմին. [Moses Kalankatuatsi's History of the Country of the Albanians. Ed. by Mkrtich Emin]. Moscow: Lazarean Institute. <https://digitale-sammlungen.ulb.uni-bonn.de/content/titleinfo/273919>. Repr. 1912. Tiflis: Aghanean.
- Ganenkov, Dmitry. 2015. Infinitival complementation from Caucasian Albanian to Modern Udi. *Journal of Historical Linguistics* 5. 110–138. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jhl.5.1.04gan>.
- Gippert, Jost. 1988. Old Armenian and Caucasian Calendar Systems [III]. The Albanian Month Names. *Annual of Armenian Linguistics* 9. 35–46. <https://www.academia.edu/67484703>.

- Gippert, Jost. 1989. Old Armenian and Caucasian Calendar Systems II.: Armenian *hori* and *sahmi*. *The Journal of the Society for the Study of Caucasia* 1. 1–14. <https://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/personal/jg/pdf/jg1987a.pdf>.
- Gippert, Jost. 1993. *Iranica Armeno-Iberica*. *Studien zu den iranischen Lehnwörtern im Armenischen und Georgischen*. (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Iranistik 26 / Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 606). Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. http://publikationen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/opus4/frontdoor/deliver/index/docId/7101/file/Gippert_Iranica_1.pdf; <https://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/personal/jg/pdf/jg1990b1.pdf>.
- Gippert, Jost. 2005. Armeno-Albanica. In Günter Schweiger (ed.), *Indogermanica. Festschrift Gert Klingenschmitt*, 155–165. Tübingen: Schweiger VWT-Verlag. <https://www.academia.edu/21815861>.
- Gippert, Jost. 2007b. Albano-Iranica. In Maria Macuch, Mauro Maggi & Werner Sundermann (eds.), *Iranian Languages and Texts from Iran and Turan. Ronald E. Emmerick Memorial Volume*, 99–108. (Iranica 13). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. <https://www.academia.edu/21820973>.
- Gippert, Jost. 2009. An etymological trifle. In Werner Sundermann, Almut Hintze & François de Blois (eds.), *Exegisti monumenta. Festschrift in Honour of Nicholas Sims-Williams*, 127–140. (Iranica 17). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. <https://www.academia.edu/21820973>.
- Gippert, Jost. 2011a. The script of the Caucasian Albanians in the light of the Sinai palimpsests. In Werner Seibt & Johannes Preiser-Kapeller (eds.), *Die Entstehung der kaukasischen Alphabete als kulturhistorisches Phänomen. The Creation of the Caucasian Alphabets as Phenomenon of Cultural History. Referate des Internationalen Symposiums, Wien, 1.–4. Dezember 2005*, 39–50. (Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung 28). Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. <https://www.academia.edu/77040864>.
- Gippert, Jost. 2011b. Relative Clauses in Vartashen Udi. Preliminary Remarks. *Iran and the Caucasus* 15. 207–230. <https://www.academia.edu/20005654>.
- Gippert, Jost. 2011c. The linguistic background of Caucasian Albanian literacy. In Vittorio Springfield Tomelleri, Manana Topadze, Anna Lukianowicz & Oleg Rumjancev (eds.), *Languages and Cultures in the Caucasus. Papers from the International Conference ‘Current Advances in Caucasian Studies’ Macerata, January 21–23, 2010*, 3–21. (Studies on Language and Culture in Central and Eastern Europe 16). München/Berlin: Otto Sagner. <https://download.e-bookshelf.de/download/0000/3540/65/L-G-0000354065-0002317146.pdf>; <https://www.academia.edu/20005702>.
- Gippert, Jost. 2012b. Fragments of St. John’s Gospel in the Language of the Caucasian Albanians. In Christian-Bernard Amphoux, John Keith Elliott & Bernard Outtier (eds.), *Textual Research on the Psalms and Gospels / Recherches textuelles sur les psaumes et les évangiles*, 237–244. (Supplements to Novum Testamentum 142). Leiden/Boston: Brill. <https://www.academia.edu/20005579>.
- Gippert, Jost. 2016a. Albano-Iranica II: Avestan *āfše. In Eric Pirart (ed.), *Études de linguistique iranienne: in memoriam Xavier Tremblay*, 185–193. (Acta Iranica 57). Leuven: Peeters. <https://www.academia.edu/28173581>.
- Gippert, Jost. 2017. Armeno-Albanica II: Exchanging doves. In Bjarne Simmelkjær Sandgaard Hansen, Adam Hyllested, Anders Richardt Jørgensen, Guus Kroonen, Jenny Helena Larsson, Benedicte Nielsen Whitehead, Thomas Olander & Tobias Mosbæk Søborg (eds.), *Usque ad radices. Indo-European Studies in Honour of Birgit Anette Olsen*, 179–192. (Copenhagen Studies in Indo-European 8). Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press. <https://www.academia.edu/45112390>.
- Gippert, Jost. 2018a. When person overcomes class. The case of Caucasian Albanian. *International Journal of Diachronic Linguistics and Linguistic Reconstruction* 15. 25–43. <https://www.academia.edu/37069670>.

- Gippert, Jost. 2018b. Sound systems in diachrony: Sibilants and affricates in Udi. In Klaus Beyer, Gertrud Boden, Bernhard Köhler & Ulrike Zoch (eds.), *Linguistics across Africa. Festschrift for Rainer Vossen*, 113–132. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. <https://www.academia.edu/40687120>.
- Gippert, Jost. 2022. The Protevangelium of James in Georgian. In Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev (ed.), *Sharing Myths, Texts and Sanctuaries in the South Caucasus: Apocryphal Themes in Literatures, Arts and Cults from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, 122–166. (Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha 19). Leuven: Peeters.
- Gippert, Jost. Forthcoming. New Light on the Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests of St. Catherine's Monastery. To appear in Claudia Rapp, Giulia Rossetto, Jana Grusková & Gregory Kessel (eds.), *New Light on Old Manuscripts: The Sinai Palimpsests and Other Advances in Palimpsest Studies*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Gippert, Jost, Wolfgang Schulze, Zaza Aleksidze & Jean-Pierre Mahé. 2008. *The Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests of Mount Sinai*. I–II (Monumenta Palaeographica Medii Aevi. Series Ibero-Caucasica 2/1–2). Turnhout: Brepols.
- Gukasyan, Voroshil. 1969. Ворошил Гукасян. Опыт дешифровки албанских надписей Азербайджана. [Attempt of a Decipherment of the Albanian Inscriptions of Azerbaijan]. *Азербайджан ССР Елмлар Академијасынын хәбәрләри. Әдәбијат, дил вә инчәсәнат сәријасы / Известия Академии Наук Азербайджанской ССР. Серия литературы, языка и искусства [Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences of the Azerbaijanian SSR. Series Literature, Language and Art]* 1969/2. 52–74. <http://udilang.narod.ru/gukasjan-papers/Gukasjan1969-deshifr.pdf>.
- Gukasyan, Voroshil. 1974. Ворошил Гукасян. *Удинча-азербайджанча-русча лүгәт / Ворошил Гукасян. Удинско-азербайджанско-русский словарь. [Udi-Azeri-Russian Dictionary]*. Baku: Elm. https://mobili.az/pdf/Udince-azerbaycanca-rusca_luget-G-Voroshil.pdf.
- Harris, Alice & John Duff. 2018. Relation of agreement clitics to verb stems in Caucasian Albanian. *International Journal of Diachronic Linguistics and Linguistic Reconstruction* 15. 45–70. https://people.ucsc.edu/~jduff/PDF/Harris&Duff_2018.pdf.
- Hübschmann, Heinrich. 1895. *Armenische Grammatik*. I. Theil. *Armenische Etymologie*. I. Abtheilung: *Die persischen und arabischen Lehnwörter im Altarmenischen*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel. <https://archive.org/details/ArmenischeGrammatik>.
- Ingoroqva, Pavle. 1931–1932. პავლე ინგოროყვა. ძველ-ქართული წარმართული კალენდარი მე-5–8 საუკუნეების ძეგლებში. წერილი პირველი (2.). [The Old-Georgian Pagan Calendar in Monuments of the 5th–8th centuries. First Issue (2.)]. *საქართველოს მუზეუმის მოამბე [Herald of the Museum of Georgia]* 7. 260–336. <http://dspace.gela.org.ge/handle/123456789/6363>.
- Jamasp, Hoshang. 1907. *Vendidad. Avesta Text with Pahlavi Translation and Commentary, and Glossarial Index*. I: *The Texts*. Bombay: Government Central Book Depôt. <https://archive.org/details/vendiddavestate00jmgoog>.
- Janashvili, Mose. 1908. М[осе] Г[еоргиевич] Джанашивили. *Описание рукописей церковного музея Духовенства Грузинской Епархии*. 3. (Издание церковного музея 13) [Description of the Manuscripts of the Church Museum of the Clergy of the Georgian Diocese. 3. (Edition of the Church Museum 13)]. Tiflis: Shroma. <http://dspace.gela.org.ge/handle/123456789/5090>.
- Jeirani, Theodore & Mikhak Jeirani. 1934. Çejrani Tëdër, Çejrani Mixaki këmægen. *Samçi dës*. [First Lesson]. Sukhumi: Abgiz. <https://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/cauc/udi/sd/sd.htm>.
- Lolua, Roman. 2018. К уточнению фонологической системы языка кавказско-албанских палимпсестов. *Journal of Language Relationship / Вопросы языкового родства* 16/2. 119–137. <https://doi.org/10.31826/jlr-2018-161-210>.
- MacKenzie, David Neil. 1971. *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*. London: Oxford University Press. <http://www.parsianjoman.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/A-Concise-Pahlavi-Dictionary.pdf>.
- Mouraviev see Murav'ev

- Murav'ev, Sergey. 1980. Serge N[jikitch] Mouraviev. La forme interne de l'alphabet albanais caucasien et la phonologie de l'Oudien. *Le Muséon* 93. 345–374.
- Murav'ev, Sergey. 1981. С[ергей] Н[икитич] Муравьев. Три этюда о кавказско-албанской письменности. [Three Studies on the Caucasian-Albanian Script]. *იბერიულ-კავკასიური ენათმეცნიერების წელიწადი / Ежегодник иберийско-кавказского языкознания / Annual of Ibero-Caucasian Linguistics* 8. 222–325.
- Panaino, Antonio. 2017. The Origins of Middle Persian *Zamān* and Related Words: A Controversial Etymological History. *Iran and the Caucasus* 21. 150–195. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44631114>.
- Patkanov, Kerovpe. 1871. К[еропэ] П[етровичъ] Паткановъ. *Нѣсколько словъ о названіяхъ древнихъ армянскихъ мѣсяцевъ*. [Some Words about the Names of the Ancient Armenian Months]. St Petersburg: Academy of Sciences. <https://armeniansite.ru/books/Drevnie%20arm.mecyaci.%20Patkanov.pdf>.
- Schulze, Wolfgang. 1982. *Die Sprache der Uden in Nord-Azerbajdžan*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Shanidze, Akaki. 1938. А[какий] Шанидзе. Новооткрытый алфавит кавказских албанцев и его значение для науки. [The Newly Discovered Alphabet of the Caucasian Albanians and Its Significance for Science]. აკად. ნ. შანიდზის სახელობის ენის, ისტორიისა და მატერიალური კულტურის ინსტიტუტის მოამბე / *Bulletin de l'Institut Marr de Langues, d'Histoire et de Culture Matérielle / Известия Института Языка, Истории и Материальной Культуры им. Акад. Н. Я. Марра* 4. 1–68. <https://dspace.nplg.gov.ge/handle/1234/317424>.
- Shanidze, Akaki. 1957. А[какий] Г[аврилович] Шанидзе. Порядок букв грузинского, армянского и албанского алфавитов. [The Order of the Letters of the Georgian, Armenian and Albanian Alphabets]. *Материалы по истории Азербайджана [Materials on the History of Azerbaijan]* 2. 33–44.
- Shanidze, Akaki. 1960. А[какий] Шанидзе. Язык и письмо кавказских албанцев. [Language and Script of the Caucasian Albanians]. საქართველოს სსრ მეცნიერებათა აკადემიის საზოგადოებრივ მეცნიერებათა განყოფილების მოამბე / *Вестник отделения общественных наук Академии Наук Грузинской ССР [Bulletin of the Department of Social Sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian SSR]* 1. 168–189. <https://dspace.nplg.gov.ge/handle/1234/210543>.
- Shanidze, Akaki. 1963. А[какий] Шанидзе. Язык и письмо кавказских албанцев. [Language and Script of the Caucasian Albanians]. In *Труды двадцать пятого международного конгресса востоковедов Москва, 9–16 августа 1960. III: Заседания секций X, XI, XIII. [Proceedings of the 25th International Congress of Orientalists Moscow, August 9–16, 1960. III: Meetings of Sections X, XI, XIII]*, 507–518. Moscow: Eastern Literature. https://books.google.de/books/?id=nq0_zgEACAAJ.
- Voroshil see Gukasyan.

Picture credits

Figure 1: Jost Gippert.

Figure 2: Microfilm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100871574/f50.item>).

