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# THE PHONETICS OF ALBANIAN 

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The Albanian language constitutes a distinct branch in the Satem division of the Indo-European languages. It is the direct descendant of the ancient Illyrian of Roman times, together with some Thracian influences. Since Albania is an isolated and mountainous region, and there has been no attempt at standardizing a literary language until very recent years, the number of local dialects, varying in grammar and syntax, in vocabulary, and in phonetic structure, is enormous. At the present time, two principal dialectal divisions exist, Geg or Northern, and Tosk or Southern, which are more or less mutually intelligible. The inhabitants of Albania number one million, and at least another million speakers of the language live in the surrounding countries or across the seas.

The earliest sample of the language is a short baptismal text of 1462, and the earliest connected texts are religious texts of the seventeenth century. No real literature existed until about 1890 when the printing presses of Scutari and towns outside Albania began publishing material in a uniform alphabet, based on the Roman one. At the present time there is a tendency for Central Albanian to become accepted as the standard language. It is spoken in Tirana, which is the present capital city, and it belongs to the Northern or Geg division of the language.

In the course of Albanian history many foreign influences have come to play their part in making the language what it is today. Although the essential structure of the language, and a fair share of the words in common use are of native origin, the vocabulary has been borrowed from outside sources to a far greater extent even than in the case of English. In 1891 Gustav Meyer stated in his etymological dictionary that of 5,140 root-words only 400 were of the original Albanian stock, that 1,420 were Romance, 540 Slavonic, 1,180 Turkish, 840 Greek, and over 700 indeterminable. Later scholars, however, have proved that a considerably larger proportion of words are truly Albanian. To what
extent the inclusion of so many foreign words in the language has affected its phonetic history is difficult to say.

The observations which follow are based upon the spoken dialect of Mr. Rifat Tirana, who is a native of Scutari in the far north of Albania. Brief notes are included of the differences shown by three other speakers who are natives of Scutari. About twice as many of the inhabitants of Scutari are Moslems as are Roman Catholics in religion. Since the latter, who are represented in this study by Professor Kol Rrota of Vienna, and Mr. Simon Daragjati of Paris, present certain important differences in the distribution of their phonemes, it is necessary to make this religious distinction. The other speaker is Mr. Qazim Kastrati, a Moslem.

The city of Scutari naturally draws its population from the surrounding territory. To what extent the differences found between the speech of Moslems and Catholics may represent original regional dialects, and not merely social differences is uncertain. The plain lying immediately to the north of Scutari is inhabited chiefly by Moslems, whereas the mountains beyond the plain are the stronghold of the Catholics. But in view of the fact that under Turkish rule only Moslems were allowed to own land of any importance, the dialects may be purely social ones, and may have existed side by side for a long time, as is the case in present-day England.

## I. Stress

There are three significant degrees of stress in Albanian, primary, secondary, and 'unstressed'.

The primary stress-accent in Albanian is very strong. It may be given to any syllable of a word, but usually falls on the penult in dissyllables or polysyllables. In a particular word the stress does not vary with the different inflectional forms but remains fixed on the same syllable. The prominence of the stress leads to a considerable obscuration of vowels in unstressed syllables, especially in those syllables occurring immediately before or after the stress when another unstressed syllable lies still farther from the stress. A distinct tendency for these unstressed syllables to drop out has manifested itself in the history of the language. In poetry words may change their stress under the influence of the meter. Not every syllable stressed in isolation need bear the sentence stress.

The effect of the manner in which the stress falls on a vowel is rather peculiar to an English ear. In the word ['i:Ste], for instance, one almost
feels that there are two vowels at the beginning with the stress on the second. This feeling is due to the fact that in Albanian, as in some Indian languages, the stress is weak at the beginning of a vowel but during the vowel gradually increases to a point of prominence, and then declines. In languages such as English, on the other hand, where an initial vowel may be preceded by a glottal stop for emphasis, the most prominent part of the stress comes at the beginning and the force gradually diminishes throughout the course of the vowel. In Albanian the glottal stop is never used in this manner as an auxiliary for the sake of emphasis.

The secondary stress-accent occurs in some words, chiefly compounds, when they are pronounced in isolation. Example: kundershtim 'contrast' [,kunr'Stim]. But its chief function is in connected speech, where primary word-stress frequently becomes secondary sentence-stress under the influence of the rhythm of the sentence, as may be seen upon reference to the texts. Secondary word-stress may also, under the influence of the rhythm of speech, become primary sentence stress. Example: gjithfarë 'of many' [Ji $\theta^{\prime} \mathrm{fa}$ :r], but gjithfarë zanesh 'of many noises' ['Ji $\left.\theta, f a: r^{\prime} z a ̃: n e \int\right]$.

## II. Consonants

There are thirty-three consonant phonemes in Mr. Tirana's dialect. They are represented in International Phonetic symbols by [p, b, t, d,
 $h, j]$.

## [p]

The breathed bi-labial plosive is slightly aspirated, but less so than in the usual Southern English pronunciation. The degree of aspiration, which is a very weak puff of breath like a short [h] following the stop, is roughly the same in all positions, and is not increased when the sound occurs finally, as it is in English speech, or even more markedly in French. In very emphatic speech the degree of aspiration may be somewhat increased. Examples: po 'yes' [po], vrapin 'running' ['vra:pin], kep 'point' [kep]. Before plosives there exists a subsidiary member of the phoneme which is unexploded. Example: Shqyptar 'Albanian' [Scyp'ta:r].

## [b]

The voiced bi-labial plosive when occuring initially is slightly unvoiced as in Midwestern American speech, but not to the same degree that is
usual in Southern English. In emphatic speech, however, it is frequently fully voiced. After a vowel in the same syllable it is voiceless, except in emphatic speech when it is only partially unvoiced, or even occasionally fully voiced. It rarely occurs finally, and when it does is likely to be unexploded. Examples: biba 'turkey' ['bi:ba], babë 'father' [ba:b].

## [t]

The breathed dental plosive is slightly aspirated in all positions. It is very dental but is rather a 'dark' or velarized sound, formed with the body of the tongue lying well back in the mouth and somewhat raised toward the soft palate. It is articulated chiefly by means of the advanced tongue-tip, thus avoiding the slight affrication which is inevitable when the entire blade of the tongue is expanded laterally in the region of the upper teeth, as in French or in most languages where the 'clear' quality of the dental [ t ] is characteristic. The only noticeable affrication in Albanian occurs before [r], because of the necessity of assuming the tongue position of the following sound. Examples: tash 'now' [taS], mati 'measured' ['ma:ti] zhyt 'headlong' [3yt]. A double [ t$]$ may occur at the end of a word. Example: ditet 'day' ['di: t ' t$]$.
[d]

The voiced dental plosive is the voiced counterpart of the breathed [t]. In common with all voiced plosives and fricatives this phoneme has two subsidiary members as described under [b], a slightly unvoiced one initially, and a voiceless one after vowels in the same syllable; these are distinct from the medial fully voiced principal member of the phoneme. Examples: det 'sea' [de:t], vedin 'oneself' ['ve:din], odë 'room' [o:d].

## [k]

The breathed velar plosive is about cardinal in its place of formation, but perhaps a little farther back than the ordinary English one. It is slightly aspirated, and followed by just a faint trace of affrication. Examples: $k a$ 'he has' [ka:], buka 'the bread' ['bu:ka], tokë 'land' [to:k].
[g]
The voiced velar plosive is the partner to the breathed one. This phoneme has the usual unvoiced and voiceless subsidiary members. Examples: gunë 'cloak' [gũ:n], shtegu 'the fence' ['Ste:gu], larg 'far' [larg].

The glottal plosive occurs in only one position in Albanian. It is immediately followed by a vowel, and immediately preceded by the initial consonant, or consonant group, of the syllable in which it stands. It is found in compound words. In cases where the last sound of a final consonant group of one word is carried over, in connected speech, to begin the first syllable of the following word, it may either appear or not appear, depending on the style of speech employed. Examples: c'âsht 'what is it?', 'what's the matter?' ['tऽ9ãSt], çarmatosë 'to disarm' [t t '9arma'to:s], s'ishte 'wasn't' ['s'i : Ste], n'erë 'in air, nonsense' [n'e:r], m'erdhi 'to me' ['m'erði], të dnuemtë ishin ['t dnu : :m,t $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{i}}$ : Sin], të kryemtëe asaj ['t kry::m, t Pe a,sa:j], me bishë t'egra [me,bi:S't?e:gra], but të pruemtë e atyne ['t pru::m,t e a,ty:ne].

It should be remembered that the glottal stop is not used as in English as an auxiliary device to separate two words or syllables, one ending in a vowel, the other beginning with a vowel, or to bring added emphasis to a syllable with an initial vowel. The glottal stop is used in Albanian only as a separate phoneme or speech sound of the language. Its presence or absence may be used for the purpose of distinguishing words. Compare cifte 'gun' ['tSi:fte] with c'ishte 'what was it?' ['t'si:Ste].

When the same speaker adopts a somewhat more rapid and casual style, the sequence [ ${ }^{?}$ ] + vowel is replaced by a single sound, a glottalized vowel. The glottalization is not of the type known as creaky or intermittent voice, which occurs so commonly, though quite without phonemic significance, among English speakers, and where a number of distinct pulsations are heard as the vocal cords periodically cease their vibration momentarily. It is rather of a type giving the impression of a certain tightness running throughout the vowel. This effect is produced by a manner of vibration of the vocal cords which allows only a limited amount of air to pass between them. The preceding consonant is also affected by this type of vibration. If a plosive or fricative, it loses all trace of aspiration, and is represented by a completely unaspirated subsidiary member of its respective phoneme.

Each glottalized vowel sound constitutes a separate phoneme from the same vowel unglottalized in the same style of speech. The example ['t't': Ste] is still to be contrasted with ['t $\mathrm{Si}_{\mathrm{i}}: \mathrm{fte}$ ], which has the normal type of vowel sound during whose course a greater volume of air passes through the glottis, producing a somewhat breathier effect.

$$
[\mathrm{ts}]
$$

The breathed alveolar affricate is made with the tongue-tip down, resting on the lower teeth, and with the blade of the tongue raised to the forward part of the gums. There is loose contact during the stop, as in all Albanian affricates. A slight aspiration occurs which is of the same strength as that following [p, t, k]. Examples: cucë 'girl' [tsu:ts], daci 'tom-cat' ['da:tsi]. The affricate has to be distinguished from the group [t-s]. Examples of [t-s] are botës 'people' [bo:t-s], ditës 'day' [di:t-s].

$$
[\mathrm{dz}]
$$

The voiced alveolar affricate is the partner to the breathed. It is unvoiced under the same conditions as a plosive. Examples: xixë 'spark' [dzi:dz], xixa 'the spark' ['dzi:dza].

$$
\left[\mathrm{t} \int\right]
$$

The palato-alveolar affricate is made with the tongue-tip down, and is not very palatal in character. There is loose contact during the stop, and slight aspiration follows the sound. It may be described as somewhat 'dark', and is formed with rounded lips. The tongue is laterally contracted, not laterally spread as in English. Examples: çerdhja 'the nest' ['tSerðja], paçim 'if we had' ['pa:tSim]. The affricate [ t ] ] has to be distinguished from the group [t-S]. Examples of [t-S] are fitëshin 'they were speaking' ['fli:t-Sin].

$$
\left[\mathrm{d}_{3}\right]
$$

The voiced palato-alveolar affricate has otherwise the same characteristics as the breathed, except of course for the aspiration. Examples: xhixhë 'glass' [dzi:d3], xhixhillue 'to glitter' [dzidzi'łu:], Xhoxha, a surname, [dzo:dza].

## [c]

The breathed alveolo-palatal affricate, which might in 'narrower' transcription be represented by the group [cç], is formed with the tip of the tongue pressing against the lower teeth, and the blade of the tongue pressing tightly against the alveolar ridge at either side. The point of contact of the central part of the tongue is in the alveolo-palatal region. The contact of the tongue during the stop is rather weak as in the case of the affricates. There is the slight degree of aspiration that is usual in the language, and of course a noticeable off-glide, both going
on at the same time. Examples: qen 'dog' [cēn], faqe 'cheek' ['fa:ce], $a q$ 'as much' [ac].

## [J]

The voiced alveolo-palatal affricate corresponds in its mode of formation to the breathed affricate, and in 'narrower' transcription might be represented similarly. Examples: gjith 'all' [jï], përgjegje 'answer' [рәr'је: је], zogj 'birds' [zoj].
[m]

The 'clear' bi-labial nasal, although it is not palatalized, requires that the front of the tongue be held not so low nor in so relaxed a manner as is customary in making the English [m], or the ordinary [m] used in most languages. The use of muscles controlling the movement of the lips and the exhalation of the breath must not be too forceful. The duration of the sound is rather short. Examples: mat 'more' [mã:], mas 'I measure' [mas], rremi 'oar' ['rré:mi], kam 'I have' [kam], shum 'much' [Sũm]. A syllabic [m] occurs in words like kandshem 'pleasing' ['kã:m\{m], which is preceded by a very short neutral vowel glide not counting as a vowel sound in Albanian.
[m]

The 'dark' or velarized bi-labial nasal has a secondary articulation with the back of the tongue raised toward the soft palate. It is somewhat longer than the 'clear' [ m ], and there is especially rapid and vigorous movement of the labial muscles during the last part of the sound, with a correspondingly increased force of exhalation of the breath. The nasal passages are wide open, and a much greater volume of air appears to pass through the nose than in the case of [m]. In very emphatic utterance the lips may be turned inward through the effort of producing the sound. This sound is never followed by [b] or [p], presumably because it was originally pronounced [mb], as is still the case in the South of Albania. Examples: mbret 'king' [mret], mbas 'after' [mas], kambë 'foot' [ka:m], shemba 'I destroyed' ['کॄَ:ma], shembë 'to destroy' [ [ $\bar{\epsilon}: \mathrm{m}]$.

There are two [n]-sounds belonging to different phonemes in Albanian. These sounds are distinguished chiefly by the amount of velarization.
[ n ]
The clear alveolar nasal is made with the tip of the tongue slightly turned back, and resting on the alveolar ridge. It is only neutrally clear, but has none of the dark quality of [ n$]$. It is rather a short sound, and not too forcefully made. Examples: nuk 'not' [nuk], neni 'ankle,
wrist' ['ne:ni], kan 'they have' [kan]. There are two important subsidiary members of the phoneme, one rather dental occuring next to a dental plosive, and the other made with the tip down and alveolar blade-contact before [J]. Examples: $t$ 'na 'to us' [tna], ngjau 'happens' [njau]. A syllabic [n] occurs in words like plepen 'poplars' ['ple:pn], which is preceded by a slight neutral glide not counting as a vowel sound in Albanian.

## [ B ]

The 'dark' dental nasal is distinctly velarized, and very dental, with a rather large area of contact of the tongue. The sound bears a resemblance to [ m ] in employing during its final stage especially strong contraction of the lingual muscles followed by a very rapid release, while a large volume of air is forcefully exhaled through the nose. It is also of rather long duration. It is never followed by [d], presumably because it was originally pronounced [nd] as is still the case in the South of Albania. Examples: ndoshta 'maybe' ['во: Sta], kand 'angle' [kan], $n d u k$ 'suck' [nuk], fundi 'the bottom' ['fũ-ni].
[n]
The alveolo-palatal nasal is formed with the same tongue position as the alveolo-palatal affricates and with the soft palate lowered. Examples: nji 'one' [ni], rranja 'the root' ['rrã:na], shenj 'sign' [Sen].

> [ŋ]

The velar nasal, like the English one, is somewhat advanced from the cardinal tongue position, especially when it is initial. It never stands next to [ k ] or [g], presumably because it was originally pronounced [yg] as it still is in the South of Albania. Examples: nga 'to run' [ $\mathfrak{y}$ :], kanga 'the song' ['kã: $\mathfrak{\mathrm { a }}$ ], peng 'hostage' [р $\mathfrak{q}$ ]].

## [1]

The 'clear' alveolar lateral is non-fricative and may be followed by a slight glide finally. The tip of the tongue is in contact with the alveolar ridge, and the air passes out bilaterally. Examples: lule 'flower' ['lu:le], fil 'elephant' [fil].

## [7]

The 'dark' or velarized, very dental lateral is non-fricative and is sulcalized by the rounding upwards of the edges of the back of the tongue. When final after a long vowel the degree of this sulcalization is more noticeable. Then, also, the characteristic unrounded [w] reso-
nance is replaced by a somewhat lower vocalic resonance. When voice begins initially before there is tongue contact, a momentary sulcalized half-close back vowel is heard. A glide of this kind, frequently a very long one, occurs especially after long vowels before the contact of the $[7]$ is completed. Examples: llullë 'pipe' [łu:ł], qielli 'the sky' ['ci: : il ].
[r]
The one-tap alveolar rolled consonant may be slightly unvoiced initially, and even more so finally. It tends to become rather fricative, especially initially and in the vicinity of [i], when unvoiced. Examples: re 'young' [re:], era 'wind' ['e:ra], kurë 'when' [ku:r]. Syllabic [r]: per 'for' [pr], perkundë 'to rock' [pr'kũ: n ], kapercye 'to cross' [kapr'tsy:], voter 'hearth' ['vo:tr], moters 'of the sister' ['mo:trs]. Syllabic [r] is preceded by a slight neutral vowel glide.
[rr]

The fully-rolled alveolar sound normally consists of two taps with the tongue-tip, although more taps may be added for emphasis. It is a sound somewhat 'darker' perhaps than [r], and is especially likely to be unvoiced finally, when it may become a bit fricative. Examples: rreth 'round' [rre日], burri 'the husband' ['bu:rri], barrë 'load' [ba:rr]. Syllabic [rr]: simërr 'bug' [tJi:mrr].

The breathed labio-dental fricative is very slightly aspirated in all positions. A weak puff of breath of this kind resembling a momentary [h] follows all the plosives, affricates, and fricatives of the language. Furthermore, the exhalation of the breath required for the sound begins before the lower lip is brought close to the edge of the upper teeth, so that while the lower lip is moving in that direction there is a sort of breathy on-glide which is distinctly noticeable to English ears. This on-glide is more or less characteristic of the mode of formation of all fricative sounds in the language. Examples: fyell 'flute' [fy::ł], fëtofa 'I cooled' ['fto:fa], fëtofë 'cold' [fto:f].
[v]
The voiced labio-dental fricative resembles the breathed one except that the vocal cords are in vibration, the aspiration is missing, and the breathy on-glide appears in the form of a voiced $h$, sometimes even a faint obscure vowel, before the [v] actually begins. Examples: voe 'egg' [vø:], java 'the week' [ja:va], rravëshue 'to level' [rrav'Su:].
[ $\theta$ ]
The breathed interdental fricative is very slightly aspirated: [ $\theta^{*}$ ]. The breathy on-glide is especially noticeable in this sound, since the tongue must move all the way from a vowel-position to the extreme interdental position while the stream of air from the lungs is constantly coming forth. An Englishman might almost transcribe the word thithë as $[\mathrm{h} \theta \mathrm{i}: \mathrm{h} \theta]$. The sound is rather darker than the English one. The front of the tongue is held low in the mouth, moving with the tip straight forward and back again. When the sound is final, the quick recoil of the tongue is especially noticeable. Examples: thithë (to suck) [ $\theta \mathrm{i}: \theta]$, gjitha 'all the' ['נi: $\theta \mathrm{a}$ ].

The voiced interdental fricative is a distinctly dark (i.e. a somewhat velarized) sound. Otherwise it corresponds to the breathed fricative except for the vibration of the vocal cords. Examples: dhane 'to give' [ $\delta a ̃: n]$, edhe 'and' ['e: $\delta \mathrm{e}]$, udhë 'road' [u: $\delta$ ].

## [s]

The breathed alveolar fricative is produced with the tongue-tip down and the blade raised toward the forward part of the gums. It is slightly aspirated, and has a short breathy on-glide before the tongue assumes the required position for the fricative sound. Examples: sa 'how much' [sa:], masa 'the measure' ['ma:sa], kos 'sour milk' [kos].

The voiced alveolar fricative is the voiced partner of the breathed one. Examples: zâ 'voice' [zã:], mezi 'the hip' ['me:zi], zezë 'black' [ze:z].

## [S]

The breathed palato-alveolar fricative is made with the tip of the tongue down, is slightly aspirated, and has a short breathy on-glide. Examples: shishe 'bottle' ['Si: §e], presh 'onions' [pre§].
[3]
The voiced palato-alveolar fricative is the voiced partner of the breathed one. Examples: zhyt 'headlong' [zyt], vazhdojë 'continued' [va3'do:j], lvozhe 'hull, shell' ['lvo:3e].

## [h]

The breathed glottal fricative is accompanied by some contraction in the velar region, which is especially noticeable near back vowels and finally. The point of constriction of the breath is not greatly advanced when front vowels are in close proximity. Examples: ha 'I eat' [ha:], thehet 'breaks' ['0e:het], kohë (time) [ko:h], nxeht 'warm' [ndzeht].

## [j]

The palatal semi-vowel is quite without friction and not at all high in its tongue-position. Except initially it might easily be mistaken for [i], and be regarded as forming a falling or rising diphthong respectively with the preceding or following vowel. However, the manner in which stress falls upon the vowels in Albanian shows that it should be treated as a consonant and distinguished from diphthongs formed by the combinations of [i] with other vowels. The varying length of vowels before the semi-vowel brings one to the same conclusion. Initially a fricative member of the phoneme is used. Examples: ju 'you' [ju], atje 'there' [a'tje], prroje 'streams' ['prro:je], aj 'he' [aj], shkruejnë 'they write' [Skru::jn]. After rounded vowels the lips are rounded during the glide. After nasalized vowels the semi-vowel is nasalized as well, thereby frequently giving the impression of an [ $n$ ] before a following consonant, as in shtrêjt 'expensive' [ $\left.\int \operatorname{tr} \mathrm{\epsilon} j \mathrm{t}\right]$ ].

## III. Vowels

The Albanian language in the dialect here studied employs thirteen vowel phonemes: [i, e, $\epsilon, \mathrm{a}, \mathrm{o}, \mathrm{u}, \mathrm{y}, \emptyset, \tilde{\mathbf{i}}, \tilde{\epsilon}, \tilde{\mathrm{a}}, \tilde{\mathrm{u}}, \tilde{\mathrm{y}}]$.

The [i]-phoneme has two principal members, one being used when the sound is long and the other when it is short. The former has a tongue position that is high but not cardinal. The latter has approximately the tongue position of Southern English [r] in tin. When the sound is short there are two important subsidiary members of the phoneme, one a higher member that occurs in an open syllable immediately before the stress-accent of a word, and the other a much lower member occurring in final unstressed position. Other subsidiary members with a more retracted and somewhat lower tongue position are employed before and after [ $\mathrm{m}, \mathrm{m}, \ngtr, \theta, \delta]$. Examples: $p i$ 'to drink' [pi:], pinë 'they drink' [pi::n], dielli 'the sun' ['di: :łi], thikë 'knife' [ $\theta \mathrm{i}: \mathrm{k}$ ], fmija 'the child' ['fmi:ja], pin 'he drinks' [pin], porsi 'as' [por'si], filloj 'he begins' [fiło:j].
[e]
The [e]-phoneme has two principal members. When the sound is long it has a tongue position about one third of the distance between cardinal vowels [e] and [ $\epsilon$ ]. When it is short it is somewhat lower. An important subsidiary member with a still lower and almost central tongue position is used when the short sound occurs unstressed finally. Another related subsidiary member, but not so low, exists before [n] in a final unstressed syllable. Of the not so central subsidiary members two may be distinguished, one slightly lower before labials, and the other still lower and a little retracted before $[\theta]$ and $[\delta]$, when a distinct glide off toward the center is heard. Examples: re 'young' [re:], letë 'you were born' [le::t], xetë 'warm' [dze:t], fena 'religions' ['fe:na], vet 'one's' [vet], me 'with' [me], ishte 'was' ['i: Ste], ene 'yet' [e'ne], gunen 'cloak' ['gũ:nen], edhe 'and' [e'ðel, kep 'point' [kep].
[ $\epsilon$
The [ $\epsilon$ ]-phoneme has only one member, which is always long. It is heard finally in monosyllables, chiefly in the second person singular of a few verbs. It is believed to have arisen originally from the contraction of [a:e]. The sound is situated about one third of the way toward cardinal [a], and sounds very much like some long varieties of English [æ]. The mouth is held rather wide open, and there seems to be a sort of breathiness about the vowel accompanied by some pharyngeal contraction. Examples: he 'food' [h $\epsilon$ :], re 'thou didst fall' [r $\epsilon$ :], pe 'thou didst see' $[p \epsilon$ :], the 'thou didst say' $[\theta \epsilon$ :].
[a]
This phoneme contains two rather divergent principal members. When long it is somewhat diphthongal, moving from a low tongue position (nearer to cardinal [a] than to cardinal [a]) back towards cardinal $[\Lambda]$. When short it has a tongue position varying with different subsidiary members between a centralized [a] and approximately Southern English [ $\Lambda$ ] in but. It is especially central before [r] and $[\theta]$ so that it is not far from the likewise centralized short [e] before these sounds. An important subsidiary member occurring finally unstressed is a true central vowel, although lower than half-open in its tongue position. In connected speech this member is distinguished with difficulty from the very low and centralized short final unstressed [e]. Examples: ha 'I eat' [ha:], danë 'they agreed' [da::n], danë 'pincers' [da:n], mali 'the mountain' ['ma:li], dan 'name' [dan], şa 'what' [tSa], atje 'there' [a'tje], era 'wind' ['e: :ra].

## [o]

This phoneme has two principal members. The long one is intermediate between cardinal vowels [ 0 ] and [ 0 ]. The short one is advanced from the position of cardinal [ 0 ], though not to the same extent as in modern colloquial French. This sound never occurs with extra-length, and it never stands in final unstressed syllables. Examples: vonë 'late' [vo:n], molla 'the apple' ['mo:ła], lot 'a tear' [lot], po 'yes' [po], oroe 'attention' [o'rø:], porsi 'as' [por'si].

## [u]

The [u]-phoneme has two principal members, a long one which is intermediate between cardinal vowel $\left.{ }_{\mathrm{i}} \mathrm{u}\right]$ and $[\mathrm{o}$ ], and a short one which has approximately the value of Southern English [u] in book. An important subsidiary member with a somewhat higher tongue position is used for the short vowel in open syllables. Other subsidiary members with lower tongue positions are employed after [rr] and [ 1$]$. Examples: shkue 'to go' [ऽku:], kuej 'to whom' [ku::j], detyrueme 'obliged' [dety'ru::me], ujë 'water' [u:j], gruni 'the wheat' ['gru:ni], buk 'bread' [buk], bukur 'beautiful' ['bu:kur], mundue 'to suffer' [mu'nũ:], zogu 'the bird' ['zo:gu].

## [y]

The long member of this phoneme is much more central than the cardinal sound, and somewhat lower. The lip rounding is rather weak. The short member has an even lower and more central tongue position, especially in its unstressed subsidiary form. This sound never occurs finally unstressed. Examples: krye 'head' [kry:], kryet 'the head,' (acc.) [kry::t], bylbyli 'bulbul' [byl'by:li], kryene 'finished' [kry::me], $y j$ 'stars' [yj], zhyt 'headlong' [3yt], detyrueme 'obliged' [dety'ru::me], $k y$ 'this one' [ky].

## [ $\varnothing]$

This phoneme is present in only three words and their various case forms. It never occurs short. The sound is lower than cardinal [ø], distinctly central, and very weakly rounded. It gives the impression of an American pronunciation of the vowel in fur and verse which is widely spread in the Southern States, and which might be described as an advanced half-close central vowel weakly rounded. Examples: voe 'egg' [vø:], voes 'egg's' [vø::s], oroe 'attention' [o'rø:], voesë ‘dew, a fruit' [ $v \varnothing: s$ ], voesave 'of the fruit voesé' ['vø:save].

## Vowel Glide

There occurs in Albanian an intrusive vocalic glide which cannot be considered a separate phoneme of the language, since its presence or absence is not used to distinguish one word from another. It serves in an auxiliary capacity as a means of making more easily audible those consonants occurring in combinations where their distinctive character would not otherwise be so readily heard.

It has been noted earlier that breathed consonants tend to keep their aspiration in all positions except finally in a syllable, when the following syllable begins with another consonant. Now similarly the neutralvowel glide above mentioned does not occur after a consonant that is final in the syllable, when the following syllable begins with another consonant. Just as it is not necessary to indicate as a separate speech sound this aspiration, which serves as a means of distinguishing consonants occurring in combination with other consonants, so likewise it is not necessary to indicate as a separate sound the voiced vocalic glide which occurs after a voiced consonant followed by another voiced consonant, as in [dnu:], which in more precise transcription should be represented as [ $\left.d^{d} n u:\right]$. The [d] in this example is not exploded nasally. In [ n do:r], the glide following the preposition $n e \ddot{e}$ is lost only in rapid speech, but in any case the two words constitute one syllable.

This intrusive vowel glide also occurs after breathed consonants followed by voiced ones, as in ['t dy:ve, 't mða:jt, 't dnu::mt] (in more precise transcription [tə 'dy:ve, tə m'ða:jt, tə də'nu::mt]). The prominence of the glide depends on the style of speech employed. In some kinds of slow, careful, or emphatic speech this sound is used where it would not be used in more ordinary speech: ['t la:rta, t na]. Before breathed consonants there is ordinarily no voiced glide but merely the aspiration in the case of a preceding breathed consonant: ['t' psalmve]. The intrusive vowel glide always occurs before syllabic [ $\mathrm{m}, \mathrm{n}, \mathrm{r}, \mathrm{rr}$ ].

## Nasal Vowels

The type of nasalization in the following vowels is rather peculiar. There is no great contraction of the nasal passages as in French or in some colloquial American speech, but rather the nasal passages are wide open, so that a large volume of air may pass out quite freely, thus producing paradoxically an effect on the ear of much weaker nasality.

The tongue position of this sound is somewhat more retracted and a little lower than that of the principal member of the unnasalized [i]
phoneme. When short, a still lower member of the phoneme is used. The short member never stands finally. Examples: $f \hat{\imath}$ 'soap solution' [fî:], p̂̂më stiff' [pî:m], shpinda 'the back' ['Spî: na ], rrin 'he sits' [rrĩn], pîtë 'cramped' [pi:t].

## [द]

This phoneme has approximately the same tongue positions as the [ $\epsilon$ ] phoneme, but the soft palate is lowered. A slightly more retracted and lower member is used when the sound is short. Examples: rê 'clouds' [ré ], kênë 'to be' [kẽ:n], frêni 'bridle' ['fré:ni], brêz 'sash' [brẽz], Prêk (a given name) [prë:k].
[ã]
When long this sound is a very narrow diphthong similar in tongue position to the long [a] but farther back. When short it is farther back but no higher than the short [a]. Examples: mâ 'more' [mã:], fâmë 'fame' [fã:m], dhânun 'given' ['סã:nun], âsht 'is' [ã̊t].

When long this sound is somewhat lower than the long principal member of the [u]-phoneme, and when short it is somewhat lower than the short [ u ] in closed syllables. Examples: gjû 'knee' [jũ:], pranduetë 'you accepted' [pra'вũ::t], prandueme 'accepted' [pra'nũ::me], h $\hat{u} j$ 'stakes' [hũ:j], huni 'the stake' [hũ:ni], kshtu 'so' [kJtũ], shum 'much' [Sũm].
[ỹ]
The tongue positions of this phoneme are slightly more central and lower than those of the corresponding principal members of the [y]phoneme long and short. Examples: frye 'to blow' [frỹ:], syet 'eyes' [sỹ:t], fryete 'blew' ['frỹ::te], hyni 'he entered' [hỹ:ni], mbys 'I kill' [mỹs].

## IV. Diphthongs

There are four diphthong phonemes in the Albanian spoken by Mr. Tirana. They are [iu, eu, $\epsilon \mathrm{u}, \mathrm{au}$ ]. They are not of frequent occurrence in the language. Some speakers do not use them at all, but treat the two elements as separate syllables. These diphthongs have arisen in spoken Albanian from the running together of two continuous short vowels. The manner in which the stress-accent falls upon the sounds serves to give these sequences diphthongal character. The stress rises gradually to its most prominent part approximately in the middle of the diphthongal glide. The tongue positions of the elements
making up these diphthongs are like those of a rather high member of the phoneme represented by the symbols occurring separately when they are short. Examples: e veriut 'of the north' [e ve'riut], Zeus (Zeus) [zeus]', pelqeu 'he liked it' [pel'cєu], dau 'he decided' [dau].

## V. Length

There are three significant degrees of vowel length, a short chroneme, a long chroneme, and an extra-long chroneme, which are used to distinguish words. The last two are limited to the stressed syllable of a word, although in connected speech they need not bear the sentence stress. The degrees of length are only relative, not absolute. They vary with the vowel phoneme, the surrounding consonants, the stressaccent, and the intonational devices employed to express the exact meaning and the emotional connotation. For example, the short vowel in pin is not really very short because it can be distinguished from a hypothetical word *pinë not only chronemically but by the very different member of the [i]-phoneme which is employed in a long position. There is a tendency for the extra-long chroneme to be distinctly shorter than might be expected where there are not actually words which must be distinguished by three degrees of length. Not every vowel-phoneme employs all three chronemes: [ $\epsilon$ ] is always long, [ 0 ] is only long and short, and [ø] is only long and extra-long. Examples: dan 'name' [dan], danë (pincers) [da:n], danë 'they agreed' [da::n]; huj 'temper' [huj], ujë 'water' [u:j] huej 'foreign' [hu: :j]; qet 'he brings into the open' [cet], qetë 'you were' [ce:t], qetë 'quiet' [ce:t], qetë 'oxen' [ce: :t];
kot 'uselessly' [kot], kotë 'useless' [ko:t];
rrit 'he grew' [rrit], rikë 'duck' [ri :k], rritë 'you grew' [rri: :t];
$y j$ 'stars' [yj], lyjë 'I paint' [ly: j ], lytë 'you painted' [ly: :t];
myt 'kill!' [myt], mytë 'dead' [my:t];

myk 'mould' [mỹk], mykë 'mouldy' [mỹ:k], shtyet 'you pushed' [ $\mathrm{Stỹ} \mathrm{y}: \mathrm{t}$ ].

## VI. Syllable Division

If two or more consonants occur between vowels in a polysyllabic word, the syllable division appears to be determined by the stress at a fixed point which is always the same. It is usually between the consonants, but a fricative followed by a single non-fricative consonant

[^0]always belongs to the following syllable. Examples; Shqyptarë [Scyp'ta:r], hasmve ['ha:s-mve], Shkodra ['Sko:-dra], meshtari [me'Sta:ri], nxehtsisht [ndzeht'siSt], mrapshtim [mrap'Stim].

In connected speech, a word beginning with more than one consonant may have its initial consonant attached to the preceding syllable, unless the words are given special prominence in the sentence. Examples: tha pteshu [ $\theta \mathrm{a}$ 'p't'eऽu, $\theta \mathrm{a}$ p'teSu], pe ftyren ['p $\epsilon$ : 'f't'y:rn], mi ftyrë [mï f'ty:r].

Similarly a word may have its final consonant attached to the following syllable, if the words are given special emphasis. Example: âsht ftofë $\left[a \tilde{S^{\prime}} \mathrm{t}^{\prime} \mathrm{f}^{\prime} \mathrm{t}^{\prime} \mathrm{o}: \mathrm{f}^{\prime}\right]$.

## VII. Assimilation

The assimilation in Albanian is sometimes regressive as in French. Example: t'bijvet ['t bi:jvet]. Through progressive assimilation a final breathed consonant may be partially voiced, under the influence of the preceding vowel, provided only that the following is stressed. The following syllable may begin with either a voiced or a breathed consonant. Such breathing occurs (though not marked here) in: me hjekë gunen [me 'hje:k 'gũ:nen], mos drueni [mos 'dru::ni], tokë dhuna [to:k 'סũ:na], se ç' vetue ['se tS-ve'tu:], si të fitëshin [si t'fli:t'Sin], mi $k t e ̂$ [mik'tē].

## VIII. Pronunciation of Other Speakers

Mr. Qazim Kastrati ['ca:zim kas'tra:ti], who is also a native of Scutari ['Sko:dra] and a Moslem, differs in a few particulars in his pronunciation. To what extent this difference represents a variation existing among speakers of the dialect in Scutari, and to what extent it has been caused by his residence for a few years in Tirana, the capital of Albania, is uncertain. The important points of difference are as follows:

Final $\left[p, t, k_{」}\right.$ are distinctly affricated, at the same time preserving the slight degree of aspiration that is usual elsewhere: [-p $\varphi,-\mathrm{t} \theta,-\mathrm{kx}]$.

The interdentals $[\theta]$ and $[\delta]$ are not as dark. When [ $\delta$ ] is final, the contact is ordinarily very weak and may not occur at all. In this case there is only a dark glide which gives a distinct impression of [1], although it is not a member of the [ I ]-phoneme of the language which is pronounced much more vigorously and with contact. The [ 7$]$-sound is not so dark or sulcalized, and a faint fricative quality frequently creeps in.

The affricates [ $\mathrm{d}_{3}$ ] and $[\mathrm{t} \mathrm{f}$ ] are perhaps very slightly more forward in their point of articulation. At any rate the tip of the tongue is more arched so that a faint trace more of the quality of the English affricates [ $\left.\mathrm{d}_{3}\right]$ and $[\mathrm{t} 5]$ enters into these sounds.

The articulation of $[\mathrm{n}]$ is a little farther back, and the tongue assumes a slightly retroflex position. Since the vocalic resonance of [n] is not especially clear, this tongue position undoubtedly assists materially in distinguishing acoustically [ n ] from [ n ]. After a vowel, especially after [a], there is a slight retroflex glide on to the [ n ] such as occurs in the Madurese language of East Java before a mildly retroflex $n$ or even more markedly in many languages of India. For the Albanian word [da::n], Mr. Kastrati is more willing to accept the Midwestern American diphthong in darn [darn] than the pure vowel in Don [da:n], provided that the retroflexion of the second element of this diphthong is kept very mild. However, the member of the phoneme occurring after [ t ] and [d] is rather dental, and that before [J] is given blade articulation with the tongue-tip down.

The very clear [l] is made with rather arched tongue-tip so that it might almost be mistaken at times for the Lettish or Russian palatalized [r].

The rolled [r] and [rr] on the other hand seem always to have a certain fricative quality, and are thereby further distinguished from [1].

All the vowels have slightly higher tongue positions. The [a] and [ã] phonemes are farther back, and are never quite on the lower line of the cardinal vowel figure.

There is a distinct tendency for the extra-long chroneme to disappear and to be identified with the long chroneme, even where homonyms would thereby be created.

Professor Kol Rrota [ko:l'rro:ta] differs in his pronunciation from Mr. Tirana in several ways which are not brought out in the appended texts. He is a native of Scutari and is a Roman Catholic.

All his vowel sounds are slightly higher in tongue position, agreeing more nearly with those of Mr. Kastrati.

The breathed $[\theta]$ is a dark sound made with a protruded tongue and rounded lips so that it might be described in some respects as an interlabial fricative.

The voiced $[\delta]$ and the dark $[7]$ have fallen together in one phoneme. It is a labialized interlabial fricative velarized lateral.

Final [b, d, g] are voiceless, but are aspirated fairly strongly by a puff of breath which takes the form of a voiced $h$.

The dental plosives have no tendency to darkness. The [n]-phoneme is rather dental but with the tongue-tip turned slightly back. It is not so very clear, since it must be distinguished from [n].

When nasalized vowels follow them, the nasalization usually begins during the formation of the consonants [rr] and [ I$]$.

The form [ $\mathrm{u}: \mathrm{e}$ ] is used where Mr. Tirana would use [u:].
Mr. Daragjati [dara'ja:ti], (but in his own pronunciation [daradja:ti]), is also a Catholic native of Scutari. He differs from Mr. Tirana in the following important points:

The vowels are more nearly like those of Mr. Kastrati, except that the nasalized [ã] has a far back tongue position somewhat raised and accompanied by a certain degree of lip-rounding. The sound [e] is used in [per], and not a syllabic [r]. The ending [u:e] is used where Mr. Tirana would have [u:]. All short vowels are very short and long vowels are not very long.

The plosives [ $\mathrm{p}, \mathrm{t}, \mathrm{k}$ ], the affricates [ $\mathrm{ts}, \mathrm{t}$ ], and the fricatives [ $\mathrm{f}, \theta, \mathrm{s}, \mathrm{S}]$, are unaspirated, except finally when they have a fairly strong degree of aspiration. Final $[b, d, g]$ are voiceless and aspirated in the same manner as those of Professor Rrota.

For the [c]-sound he uses an aspirated [tSh] which must be distinguished from the unaspirated [ty]. For the [J]-sound he uses an almost completely unvoiced [dS] which must be distinguished from the fully voiced [d3]-sound. All four of these sounds are articulated at a point slightly farther back and are clearer than Mr. Tirana's [t5'].

The [n]-sound is not so forward but is a farther back palatal as in French. The [ y$]$-sound is very far back, sounding almost like the uvular nasal [ n$]$. The [ n$]$-sound is rather dental.
For the $[1]$-sound there is substituted a fricative dental lateral which is a dark variety of $\left[l_{3}\right]$, and for the [ $\left.\delta\right]$-sound the same sound is used nasalized. These are distinct phonemes and are not confused as they are by Professor Rrota. The nasalized sound is even darker and more sulcalized than the unnasalized one.

## IX. Texts

Fable of the North Wind and the Sun translated and pronounced by Mr. Rifat Tirana
'e:ra e ve'riut e'di: :łi po u 'ha: Sin se 'tsi:łi, i: Ste mã: i'fo:rti, ku:r 'erð ni ư'ta:ri'pStje:łun n ni'gũ:n't dze:t. 'da::n se'aj ci do t, i: Ste i'pa:ri me ،bã: ư̌'ta:rin me ,hje:k 'gũ:nen, do tu Si'co:te si, mã: i
'fo:rt se 'tje:tri. ،mã: 'vo:n, e:ra e ve'riut ja fi'ło:j me 'frỹ: me
 , PStje:łte 'gũ:nen rre e ،rre ${ }^{\prime}$ 've:dit. e n 'fũn 'e:ra e ve'riut 'dau , mos me u mu, $\mathbf{n u}$ 'mã:. , taS 'di::łi ja fiło:j me Skel'cy: ,ndzeht'siSt,
 dety'ru::me me pra'nũ: se 'di::łi 'i:Ste mã: i 'fo:rti i 't dy:ve.
Mr. Kastrati would differ from the above version in three particulars:
(1) The words $d a u$ and veriut would be treated as containing two short vowels in succession, ['da-u] and [ve'ri-ut], rather than the dipthongs [au] and [iu].
(2) The intrusive vowel-glide would be used in [n ni], thus: [ $\mathrm{n}^{\circ}$ ni], and a syllabic [1] in [Skl'cy:].
(3) Unnasalized [u] would be used in [gu:n, Sum, fun, kStu].

Fable of the North Wind and the Sun as revised and pronounced by Professor Rrota
[In this text [1] stands for the peculiar lateral sound described in section VIII.]
 'kur 'ce 'erł ni uł'ta:r 'pStjeł n ni 'gun 't dze:t. at'he:r 'da:ne se 'aj ci 'ka: me 'kẽ:n i 'pa:ri 'me e 'bã: uf'ta:rin'me e 'hje:k 'gu:nin 'ka: me u Si'kju:e se 'mã: i fo:rti i't dy:ve. 'mã: 'vo:n 'e:ra e 've:rit 'ja fi'ło:j me 'frỹ: me 'fiө fu'ci:: $n$ e'vet, 'por'sa: mã: 'Sum ci'frỹ: :te, 'ac mã: 'Sum uł'ta:ri e 'pStjełte 'gu:nin 'rra日' 've:dit. ne 'mram 'e:ra e've:rit 'da-u 'mos me u mu'nũ: 'mã:. 't $\bar{\epsilon} \int$ pra: 'di: :łi 'ja fi'ło:j me Skel'zy: 'mã: 'dze:t 'e m at 'ko:h uł'ta:ri e hoc 'gu:nin. 'kStũ'e:ra e 've:rit 'kje e Ster'gu::me me pra'nu: se 'di::łi 'i:Ste 'mã: i fo:rti i 't dy:ve:

Fable of the North Wind and the Sun as revised and pronounced by

## Mr. Daragjati

'e:ra e ve'riut e'di::łi u 'ha: Sin 'nē:ni me 'tje:trin se 'tsi:łi 'do t 'i:Ste 'mã: i fo:rti me i'hje:k'gũ:nen uf ta:rit'tShi 'i:Ste 'pStje:łun atSh 'dze:t. 'tsi:łi 'do 'tShi t'i:Ste 'mã: i 'pa:ri 'me i 'hje:k'gũ:nen ur'ta:rit 'u 'ni:fte 'per 'mã: i fo:rt. 'e:ra e ve'riut ja fi'fo:j me

 fi'fo:j me Skel'tShy: me 'rre:zet e 'fo:rta 'e detu'ro:j uf ta:rin me 'hje:k'gũ:nen. 'k Stu'du:el fi'tu:es.

```
        'pa:ter'\jmatherj 'fi:Sta
epo'pe:ja e'fi:sit Scyp'ta:r
    'kã:\eta
'ene 'bre:Stet 't kapi'to:lit
'da:l nuk 'ki:St e'mũ:rrt ul'ko:ja
'pr me i '\deltaã:nun 'tsi:ts rro'mo:lit
'masi 'Sã:m kje pr'\deltae: 'tro:ja
e'a:tje 'larg po 'ka:h u'ra:li
'npr a'to za'be:le't la:rta
'si:łej 'Skjau si Skr'be: 'ma:li
'tu:j kr'ku: pr 'mo:ła't 0a:rta
'pse kũ 'rra:ni 'turr \intcyp'ta:ri
'mi:r aj 'li:\delta me'be:s'fe:
'a:tje 'lu:fta 'mo:rri 'za:ri
'a:tje 'ға:ku 'rrme:j npr '\deltae:
e'as u '\jmathet kun 'mal a 'rrmo:re
'ci ati:j 'ho:vin 'me ja 'ma:lun
'i ra: '3yt aj 'va:ls mi'zo:re
me 'a:rm 'n do:r npr 'fla:k ka: 'da:lun
'po:rsi 'naj ta'ła:zi i 'de:tit
ci 'dy:n'mal e 'ba:r` prej 'Sku:me
'de:k e'mne:r tu:j 'lã:n mas 've:tit
'vjen e'0e:het 'm kep t no:j 'gu:me
'na:Stũ 'fo:rtsa e 'tsi:łdo an'mi:ku
ci 'de\intt 'dam t na i 'sje:ł li'ri:s
'er\delta e u'0y:'m pa:rsme t\inte'li:ku
't bi:jvet 't ma:levet 't Scyp'ni:s
'por n ket 'pũ:n u'\jmathet ga'bu:
'skender'be:gu i 'rrfe: prej 'ci::łit
'pa:łen 'dzjerr a'tje 'n kru:
'se t\int ve'tu: ka:'n rre:ze 't di::łit
'e si lu'ã: tu:j'bulu'ri:tũn
'Scypta'ri:s ja 'lSon ku'Strĩ:min
'ci tSkã 'bu:rr'n lu:ft me'zbri:tũn
'ty:rkut 'm a:rm m ja 'Sty:p gu'dzĩ:min
```

```
ga:j'ret 'pra: 't bi:jt e Scyp'ni:s
'eðe 'kurr most ju 'ISo:j 'Spne:sa
'pse me'mi::m't pere'ri:s
'e me at 'fo:rts ci jau 'sje: ł 'be:sa
ju e'Xe'n ko:h ci 'kan me'a:rð
'do t'je:ni ji \(\theta^{\prime}\) mo:n't li:r
'riөmo:n'n zã: e me'fa:ce t'ba:rð
'n balkan 'fi:si mã: i mi:r
' n at \(\mathrm{pa}^{\prime}\) ris so'do:m flig'Sti:je
't mða:jt e 'bo:ts e 'kan plec'nũ:
'ha:s-mve'tu::j me u 'bã: ju 'fî:
'si ata'zo:ti i 'pa:st mã:'rru
'por mos'dru::ni 'mi: to:k \(\boldsymbol{\delta}^{\prime}\) ũ:na
'te:pr 'ja:t 'kurr s mun t va3'do:j
'taS e:ts 'mo:ti'taS mrron 'pũ:na
'prap Scyp'ta:ri i li:r do 't rro:j
```

A number of words occurring in the text would have a different form when standing alone uninfluenced by the meter of the poetry. They are:

| ene | [ $\mathrm{e}^{\prime} \mathrm{ne}$ ] | me | [me] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| kishte | ['ki:Ste] | njashtu | [na'Stũ] |
| mbasi | [ $\mathrm{ma}^{\text {'si] }}$ | edhe | [ $\mathrm{e}^{\prime} \mathrm{J}$ e] |
| atje | [ $\mathrm{a}^{\prime}$ tje] | gjithmonë | [die $\theta^{\prime} \mathrm{mo}$ : n ] |
| nepër | [ ne 'pr] | Balkan | [bal'kan] |
| atij | [a'ti: ${ }^{\text {] }}$ | ata | [ $\mathrm{a}^{\prime}$ ta] |
| porsi | [por'si] |  |  |

kũ’ŋi:mi ${ }^{\text {pr }}$ Steg'tim
po'te:ra e 'mner-Sme, 'riө,fa:r 'zã:ne§, ci 'mï:hej pr'ja:-Sta, i:--Ste 'krejt ،n kūnr'Stim me tS-ka'mo:łte ،mrẽ:na'bur-gut. a,tỹ mret'no:te 'pa:ja, cet'si:ja, 'gzi:mi. a'ty a ta Ska'mi:t e 'mu:reve u'Sto:jSin ,prej 'kã: ŋet't psalmve.

 'na:ta para se 't kry:hej ,kjo mizo'ri: i: Ste 'ko:h li,ri:jet 't plo:t. mũn, t vi: Sin 'prin e ,mic me i 'pa:. , vi: Sin 'grũ:muł te 'burgu 1 pr
 'mēn , pr 'ta ،para'zo:tit n mret'ni: 't ci: :łve.
u 'Stro:hej bot,niSt ni 'da:rk, ci ' $\theta$ i:rrej da:rk e 'li:r, tu:j u 'vũ:

 ,do: Sin me 'no:ft 't prũ:m,t e a,ty:ne 't mjerve, ,ci do 't mỹ:te, Sin




،bu:ka ،e Sugu'ru::me i:Ste 'ga:ti, me,Sta:ri mũ::rr me ,sje:ł 'sỹ:nin pr ،rre ${ }^{\prime}$ lte:rit, tu:j kr'ku: se ,ku::j'mũ:jte ،mã: me ,sugu'ri: me ja , lã:n'n do:r't kry::m, t ${ }^{\text {Pe }}$ a,sa:j'zy:re ac me ran'si: in at

 ,kuS , para 'ti:, i 'ra: me, Sta:rit 九nr 'jũ:j. nuk 'bã:ni ,vr me 'go:j.

 'не:ren ,me u pra'nũ: ،para ،ji ${ }^{\prime}$ tje:rve.
 po i, Si:ffin'sỹ::t.
,t ri::t't $\bar{m}, ~$ o ،a:t i 'da:Stun, ،ka: me 'kë:n ,sugu'ri:ja mã: e'mi:ra. 't lu:tem, mos ma،bãn't mã:ŋut ni، re:r kac't ma: סe.


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Note: This diphthong occurs chiefly if not wholly in words of foreign origin.

