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THE SLAVIC SOURCE OF ALBANIAN *VENIT(EM)* ‘WANE’,
MAHNIT(EM) ‘ASTOUND’ AND CERTAIN OTHER VERBS
Traces of the **-nḡti/*-nyti* split in the Balkan south

Abstract: The shape of Albanian verbs borrowed from Slavic is normally determined by the Sl. infinitive (Sl. **-ati* → Alb. *-at-*; Sl. **-iti* → Alb. *-it-*). Surprisingly, however, the element *-it-* also occurs in certain Alb. verbs whose Sl. source does not have an **-iti* infinitive. Based on methods of external and internal reconstruction, it is argued that some such verbs (*venit(et)* ‘wane’, *mahnit(et)* ‘astound’) may have been borrowed from a Slavic dialect where the respective source verbs had an infinitive in **-nyti* (**vę(d)nyti* ‘wane’, **maxnyti* ‘swing’; cf. e.g. Slovene *vęniti*, *máhniti*) – rather than **-nḡti*, as in most Slavic languages (**vę(d)nḡti*, **maxnḡti* ‘swing’; cf. e.g. Serbian *vęnuti*, *máhnuti*). Since Sl. **y* normally yields *i* in loanwords into Alb., a Sl. infinitive in **-nyti* may be expected to produce an Alb. verbal stem in *-(n)it-*. Subsequently, the type could have spread (through proportional analogy) to some other verbs borrowed from Slavic (e.g. *pjetit* ‘braid’, *bodit* ‘stab’). Since no Sl. varieties of the **-nyti* type are currently found in the zones neighboring Alb., the theory might have interesting consequences for Balkan linguistic geography, perhaps suggesting a different past location of certain Sl. dialects (**-nyti* type ranging further south) and/or of Albanian (further north).

Keywords: Slavic borrowings in Albanian, Slavic nasal presents, Leskien’s class II, **-nyti*, Slavic dialectology

1. Introduction¹

As is well known, Albanian is rich in Slavic loanwords, which have been studied quite extensively: cf. especially Svane 1992 and Ylli 1997, both with references to numerous earlier works, including key studies such as Miklosich 1870, Seliščev/Селищев 1931 or Desnickaja/Десницкая 1963. An excellent, up-to-date overview written in Albanian can also be found in Ismajli 2015.

These loanwords belong to a number of different linguistic strata – which is natural, given that they reflect well over a thousand years of contact between Albanian and various Slavic dialects, beginning with the influx of the Slavs into the Balkans in the 6th century CE. Thus, while some of the items are recent borrowings of words familiar from the neighboring Slavic idioms, certain others are evidently of considerable age and were probably borrowed from Slavic varieties that are not directly attested (as they were never written down and have since been assimilated).

¹ This article has been written under the research project financed by the National Science Centre (Poland), decision number: DEC-2018/02/X/HS2/00411 (*Badania nad morfologią starych zapożyczeń słowiańskich w języku albańskim*). Beside *Polyslav 22* in Łódź, some aspects of this research were also presented at the *Slavic Linguistics Society 13th Annual Meeting* (28-29 September 2018, Eugene, OR) as well as at *Seminari Ndërkombëtar për Gjuhën, Letërsinë dhe Kulturën Shqiptare XXXVII* (20-31 August 2018, Prishtina). I would like to thank the participants of all three events for useful comments. Thanks are also due to Prof. Victor Friedman (University of Chicago). Rafał Szeptyński, MA (IJP PAN, Kraków) provided helpful references. The responsibility for all opinions rests solely with me. [An Albanian-language version of this study, entitled ‘Rindërtimi i morfologjisë së huazimeve sllave-shqiptare: rasti i shq. *venit(em)* dhe *mahnit(em)*’, will be published in the proceedings of the above-mentioned Prishtina conference.]

Items of this latter type may be quite relevant not only for the study of the contacts between Slavs and Albanians (as well as other historical and present populations in the Balkans), but also for Slavic-internal matters: namely, certain features of South Slavic dialects that used to exist in the Balkans may only be known to us through borrowings into the other Balkan languages, such as Albanian. Thus, we know of quite a number of Slavic lexemes attested as borrowings in the non-Slavic Balkan languages (chiefly Albanian, Greek and Romanian) that are not presently found anymore in any Slavic language in the region. Consider examples² such as:

- (1) Alb. *harabel* ‘sparrow’ ← Sl. **vorbljъ* (Pol. *wróbel* etc.; unknown in B/C/S, Mac. and Bg., where **vorbъcb* is found instead [B/C/S *vrábac*, Bg. *vrabèc*]; in SSL., **vorbljъ* is known only in Slovene [Sln. dial. *vrábelj* next to stand. *vrábec*]; Orel 1998:s.v.)
- (2) Alb. *hurbë* ‘sip’ ← Sl. **xъrb-* ‘to slurp’ (unknown in SSL.; attested only in Czech [Cz. dial. *chrbat’*]; elsewhere in Sl., one finds the variants **sъrb-* [Pol. arch. *sarbać*] and **sъrb-* [Ru. *sěrbat’*, Pol. *siorbać*]; Schumacher & Matzinger 2013:259-260³)

We also possibly have some examples of Slavic items not directly attested in any Slavic language at all, and thus only known from borrowings into Albanian. However, such cases are on the whole much less certain⁴. Cf. (Orel 1998:s.vv.):

- (3) Alb. *bolbë* ‘misery’ ← Sl. **bolъba* (unattested in Sl., but analyzable as root **bol-* ‘hurt’ [Ru. *bolét’*, Pol. *boleć*, B/C/S *bòleti*] and suffix **-ъba*)
- (4) Alb. *deltinë* ‘clay’ ← Sl. **del(b)tina* (unattested in Sl., but analyzable as a derivative in **-ina* from the noun **del(b)to* ‘chisel’ [B/C/S *dléto*, Cz. arch. *dletko*], variant of **dol(b)to* [Ru. *dolotó*, Pol. *dluto* etc.])
- (5) Alb. *llacë* ‘ladder’ ← Sl. **lazъca* (unattested in Sl., but analyzable as root **laz-* ‘crawl’ [Ru. *lázit’*, Pol. *lazić*, B/C/S *láziti*] and suffix **-ъca*)

Thus, data from languages such as Albanian allow us to prove that these items once existed in South Slavic dialects – either in varieties which are now lost and were never recorded in writing, or in varieties which are known to us, but which have lost the relevant words.

This approach is most often applied to lexical items and sometimes also to phonological phenomena. But in principle, it may be utilized in the field of historical morphology as well: a given morphological trait, currently absent from the Slavic dialects in the Balkans, may have left some traces in borrowings into Albanian. Thus, we could surmise that this feature once existed in Slavic varieties neighboring Albanian.

The purpose of the present study is to investigate one such case. We shall see that a curious anomaly found in several Slavic verbs borrowed into Albanian may allow us to speculate that a morphological feature currently unknown in the South Slavic dialects adjacent to Albanian once existed in that area.

2. Regular patterns of Slavic → Albanian verbal borrowings

² General note: many of the Albanian examples cited in the present work are dialectal or limited to Old Albanian. Unless extremely poorly documented, they will not be specifically marked as such.

³ In earlier research, this word is frequently treated as an inherited Indo-European item (thus e.g. Orel 1998 s.v.); however, the required phonetic developments are difficult to accept.

⁴ In some instances, we need to reckon with the possibility that a word was formed within Alb. from elements borrowed from Sl.; other cases are generally less clear and Slavic origin is only one of the possible historical explanations (whereas, in fact, no fully convincing etymology exists).

The Slavic source of Albanian *venit(em)* ‘wane’, *mahnit(em)* ‘astound’ and certain other verbs

As is well-known, Albanian borrowings of Slavic verbs usually follow a simple model: “A basis ending in *-t-* was derived from the infinitive of a given South Slavic verb”⁵ (Schumacher & Matzinger 2013:194-195). This pattern is seen very clearly in Slavic verbs with an infinitive in **-ati*⁶, which get borrowed as Albanian verbs in *-at-*⁷, e.g.:

- (6) Alb. *dumat* ‘think out’ ← Sl. **dumati* [Ru. *dúmat’*, Pol. *dumać*, B/C/S *dūmati*]
(7) Alb. *nuhat* ‘smell’ ← Sl. **njuxati* [Pol. *niuchać*, B/C/S arch. *njuhati* (today usually *njúšiti*)]

Similarly, Slavic verbs with an infinitive in **-iti* get borrowed as Albanian verbs in *-it-*, e.g.:

- (8) Alb. *vozit* ‘row, drive’ ← Sl. **voziti* ‘drive, carry by vehicle’ [Ru. *vozít’*, Pol. *wozić*, B/C/S *vòziti*]
(9) Alb. *porosit* ‘order’ ← Sl. **poročiti* [Ru. *poručít’*, Pol. *poręczyć*, B/C/S *porúčiti*]

The above two patterns of borrowings are wholly transparent. Verbal borrowings from Slavic entering other classes in Albanian are rather rare and exceptional; cf. the following Old Albanian examples (Schumacher & Matzinger 2013:195):

- (10) Alb. *grabitën* ‘plunder’ (Variboba) ← Sl. **grabiti* [Ru. *grábit’*, Pol. *grabić*, B/C/S *grābiti*]
(11) Alb. *naçendetë* ‘become smaller’ (Bogdani) ← Sl. inf. **načęti* (pres. **načęne-*) ‘begin (eating)’ [Ru. *načát’ načnět*, Pol. dial. *nacząc nacznie*, B/C/S *náčęti načně*]
(12) Alb. *sticon* ‘incite’ (Budi) ← B/C/S *sřicati* ‘stoke (fire)’
(13) Alb. *bdin* ‘be awake, be vigilant’ (Buzuku) ← Sl. pres. **bъdi-* (inf. **bъděti*) [Ru. *bdít bdét’*, Cz. *bdí bdít*, B/C/S *bdī bděti*]

Finally, there are some rare cases of suffixless borrowings of the type Sl. **zatekti* → Alb. *zatek / zates ~ zatet* ‘encounter, touch’; on these, cf. §7 below.

3. The problem: unexpected *-it-*

Just as it is perfectly clear how Albanian acquired verbs in *-at-* from Slavic verbs in **-ati* and verbs in *-it-* from Slavic verbs in **-iti*, it is far less obvious why the Albanian class in *-it-* also includes some Slavic loanwords that do not display an infinitive in **-iti* in Slavic.

We may distinguish two principal groups of such verbs with unexpected Albanian *-it-*. The first group comprises Slavic simple thematic verbs, in which both the thematic vowel **-e-* of the present tense and the infinitive formant **-ti-* are added to the stem directly (Leskien’s class I; cf. fn. 6):

- (14) Alb. *pjetit* ‘plait, knit’ ← Sl. pres. **plete-*, inf. **plesti* (< **plet-ti*) [Ru. *pletět plesti*, Pol. *plecie pleść*, B/C/S *plētē plēsti*]
(15) Alb. *grebit* ‘scratch, rake’ ← Sl. pres. **grebe-*, inf. **greti* (< **greb-ti*) [Ru. *grebět grestí*, Pol. arch. *grzebie grześć* (today usually *grzebać*), B/C/S *grēbē grēpsti*]
(16) Alb. *bodit* ‘stab, prick’ ← Sl. pres. **bode-*, inf. **bosti* (< **bod-ti*) [Ru. dial. *bodět bostí*, Pol. *bodzie bóść*, B/C/S *bōdē bōsti*] (poorly attested word, found only in Xylander’s Tosk material in Mann; see Svane 1992:251)⁸

⁵ “Vom Infinitiv des jeweiligen südslavischen Verbs wurde eine auf *-t-* auslautende Basis abgeleitet”.

⁶ Leskien’s standard systematization of Sl. verbal types (see Leskien 1990; first published 1871, ‘classic’ 2nd edition 1886) is based on present stems, while – as remarked above in the text – it is the form of the infinitive that is crucial here. Thus, some Sl. verbal types will be identified by the infinitive.

⁷ Usually not umlauted to *-et-* in the paradigm, although there are some exceptions. (The umlaut of *a > e* is a rather productive process in Alb. verbal morphology; cf. 1sg *marr* ‘take’, 3sg *merr* ‘takes’; 1sg *flas* ‘speak’ (*-s < *-tj-*), 3sg *flet* ‘speaks’, etc.).

⁸ Other examples belonging to this class are far less certain; see discussion in Svane 1992: 251–252.

Furthermore, the unexpected Albanian *-it-* items include two verbs with a present stem in **-ne-* in Slavic (Leskien's class II; cf. fn. 6). Such verbs, according to the conventional reconstruction, were normally coupled with an infinitive in **-nōti*:

- (17) Alb. *venit* 'cause to wane' (used more often in the medio-passive voice: *venitet* 'wane, wither') ← Sl. pres. **vę(d)ne-*, inf. **vę(d)nōti* [Ru. *vjānet vjānut'*, Pol. *więdnie więdnąc*, B/C/S *věně vènuti*]
 (18) Alb. *mahnit* 'astound, stupefy' (also medio-passive *mahnitet* 'be astounded') ← Sl. pres. **maxne-*, inf. **maxnōti* 'swing, brandish' [Ru. *maxnēt maxnūt'*, Pol. *machnie machnąc*, B/C/S *māhnē máhnuti*]

The Slavic origin of all these verbs is universally accepted in the etymological literature, so that the fact of the borrowing itself is not controversial; for basic discussion see e.g. Orel 1998, Omari 2012, Topalli 2017 *s.vv.* (As concerns the semantic development of *mahnit* from 'swing, brandish' to 'astound' – where a number of paths are possible – see the above sources as well as Svane 1992:250, with further references. Note that this lexeme was later reborrowed from Alb. and appears in a number of Balkan languages, cf. B/C/S *mahnitati* 'rage', Rom. *māhni* 'grieve'.) However, as was stated above, it is unclear why these Slavic verbs got absorbed into the Albanian class in *-it-*. The verbs do not have an infinitive in **-iti* in Slavic; furthermore, they do not even display a present stem in **-i-* (as is known, Slavic also had some verbs that used a present stem in **-iti* and an infinitive in **-ěti*, or more exceptionally **-ati*: cf. pres. **boli-*, inf. **bolěti* 'hurt' or pres. **sъpi-*, inf. **sъpati* 'sleep'). Thus, Slavic seemingly offers no direct source for the Albanian element *-it-*.

4. Preliminary observations

Let us first focus on the examples *venit(et)* 'wane' and *mahnit(et)* 'astound', because – as we shall see further below – they may hold the key to the solution.

As mentioned above, we would not expect such verbs to produce Albanian verbs in *-it-*. Rather, if we take the infinitive in **-ōti* as the point of departure (let us recall that the shape of the Albanian borrowing normally depends on the Slavic infinitive), the most probable output would have perhaps been a verb with a stem in *-ut-*, *-ot-*, *-und-*, *-ond-* or similar, given that the Sl. nasal vowel **ō* is usually reflected as *u(n)* or *o(n)* in Slavic loanwords in Albanian.

In Serbian, which is the source of a large part of the Sl. borrowings in Albanian, PSI. **ō* regularly develops to *u* (cf. Serb. *vènuti* < **vę(d)nōti*). Therefore, in particular, we would expect the relevant items to yield verbs in *-ut-* in Albanian. In fact, such a stem would have been supported quite well by the native Alb. lexicon, cf. (Orel 1998:*s.vv.*):

- (19) Alb. *lut* 'ask' < Post-PIE **lug^h-tye-* or similar
 (20) Alb. *ngut* 'hurry' < Post-PIE **en-kut-ye-* or similar⁹

Accordingly, for our verbs, we would expect forms like the following:

- (21) Alb. †*venut(et)* (← Serb. *vènuti*) ← Sl. **vę(d)nōti*
 (22) Alb. †*mahnut(et)* (← Serb. *māhnuti*) ← Sl. **maxnōti*

Such forms are not found, however, and instead we have the familiar *venit(et)*, *mahnit(et)*. Why is it so?

⁹ These lexemes do not have a particularly compelling PIE source, but they do not seem to belong to any of the recognizable layers of loanwords in Albanian and they pattern morphologically like inherited items.

The Slavic source of Albanian *venit(em)* ‘wane’, *mahnit(em)* ‘astound’ and certain other verbs

The question has not attracted much attention – which is perhaps not surprising, given that it only concerns a few isolated items. Many authorities are simply silent on the matter; cf. e.g. Topalli 2017:s.v. on *venit*: “Borrowing from Serb. *venuti*”¹⁰. Others state more or less explicitly that no adequate account exists. For example, Svane (1992:250) writes that “A transformation of this type into a type in *iti is unknown in Sl. and must have taken place on Alb. ground”¹¹; he does not explain the postulated Albanian-internal mechanism, however.

5. Possible *ad hoc* solutions

As usual in such cases, it is possible to come up with various provisional explanations that could be resorted to if no truly satisfactory solution were available (to our knowledge, none of these *ad hoc* explanations is invoked in the existing literature, so it will be useful to review them here – imperfect though they may be).

Thus, for example, we could conjecture that the basis of the borrowing was the imperative form of the verb (which, in Slavic, featured the vowel *-i-):

(23) Alb. *venit(et)* ← Sl. ipv. **vę(d)ni!* ‘wane!’ [Ru. *vján!*, Pol. *więdnij!*, B/C/S *vèni!*]

(24) Alb. *mahnit(et)* ← Sl. ipv. **maxni!* ‘swing!’ [Ru. *maxní!*, Pol. *machnij!*, B/C/S *máhni!*]

From the semantic and pragmatic point of view, however, it is hardly credible that these verbs would have been used particularly often in the imperative. Besides, we know of no other examples where a verb borrowed from Slavic into Albanian would be based on the Sl. imperative stem.

Alternatively, we could allude to the fact that the verbal suffix *-it-* borrowed from Sl. became marginally productive in Alb. in denominal formations (Svane 1992:255):

(25) Alb. *djersit* ‘to sweat’ ← *djersë* ‘sweat’, inherited Indo-European item (probably < Post-PIE **swidertyeh₂-* or similar; cf. Gr. *ἰδρώς* ‘sweat’ < **swidrōt-s*; Orel 1998 s.v.)

(26) Alb. *ujit* ‘to water’ ← *ujë* ‘water’, inherited Indo-European item (probably < Post-PIE **ud_h* << PIE **wod_h* **wedn-* ‘water’; Matzinger & Schumacher 2013:236)

Yet we know of no Alb. nouns such as †*ven(ë)* or †*mahn(ë)* that could have served as the basis here. Needless to say, we will also find no such nouns within Slavic (†*vę(d)nъ??* †*maxnъ??*), where the *-n- is clearly part of the verbal suffix.

Finally, one could mention the fact that some Alb. verbs borrowed from Sl. show variation between the suffix *-it-* and *-at-*. This can be seen for example in:

(27) Sl. **šetati* ‘go for a walk’ → Alb. *shetat* (cf. Bogdani /shëtat-/) / *shetit*

(28) Sl. **goditi* ‘hit, strike’ → Alb. *godit/godat*

Although the fact is quite well-known, it has not received particularly much attention. Orel 2000:203-204 only notes that “a few verbs were transformed” from *-at-* into *-it-*; see also Matzinger & Schumacher 2013:195. The cause of this phenomenon is presumably to be sought in the fact that some verbs displayed such ‘doublets’ in Slavic already (which is not surprising, given that both the class in *-ati and the one in *-iti were productive and widespread). Thus e.g.:

(29) Sl. **gьltiti* ‘swallow’ → Alb. *gëlltit* ‘id.’
[B/C/S *gùtiti* ‘press’, Sln. arch./dial. *goltíti* ‘swallow’ (Pleteršnik)]

(30) Sl. **gьltati* ‘swallow’ → hypothetical Alb. ***gëlltat* ‘id.’
[Ru. *glotát!*, Cz. *hltat*, B/C/S *gùtati*]

¹⁰ “Huazim prej sll. (serb.) *venuti*”.

¹¹ “Eine Umwandlung dieses Typs in einen Typ auf *iti ist im Slav. unbekannt und muß auf alb. Boden stattgefunden haben”.

Perhaps, the existence of pairs like these may have enabled the occasional borrowing of Sl. verbs in **-ati* as Alb. verbs in *-it-*, or of Sl. verbs in **-iti* as Alb. verbs in *-at-*, or the Alb. variation between *-it-* and *-at-* in certain examples.

Whatever the ultimate reason for the variation *-it-* ~ *-at-* in a subset of verbs, however, it would be very difficult to use this fact to explain the abnormal shape of *venit(et)* and *mahnit(et)*. Neither of these verbs had a variant in **-ati* in Slavic (such as †*vę(d)nati* or †*maxnati*), which could have yielded an Albanian verb in *-it-* in the indirect way described above. In fact, the only possibility would be to assume that the point of departure was, after all, **vę(d)nōti* and **maxnōti*, and that a Slavic-internal reflex of PSl. **ǫ* was adapted as Alb. *a* before the secondary restructuring to *-it-* set in:

(31) Sl. **vę(d)nōti* > ***venati* → Alb. ***venat(et)* >> *venit(et)*

(32) Sl. **maxnōti* > ***maxnati* → Alb. ***mahnat(et)* >> *mahnit(et)*

The reflex *a* for PSl. **ǫ* is of course well-known from parts of the Mac./Bg. dialectal area (including modern standard Mac.; cf. Mac. *raka* ‘hand’ < PSl. **rǫka*, Mac. *zab* ‘tooth’ < PSl. **zǫbъ*). It is not normally found in old Slavic loanwords in Albanian, however (cf. perhaps *padit* ‘accuse’, if ← Sl. **pǫditi* ‘drive, chase’); in addition, the scenario described above in fact requires a sequence of complicated steps and is not attractive at all.

Thus, we may restate that there is so far no satisfactory explanation for the presence of *-it-* in the Alb. verbs *venit(et)* and *mahnit(et)*, both clear borrowings from Slavic. A convincing account should be based on some independently known circumstance related to either Slavic or Albanian morphology.

6. A new explanation: the PSl. dialectal difference **-nōti* || **-nyti* in class II verbs

As a matter of fact, it seems that an easy solution is at hand. Andersen (1999, with rich further literature) demonstrated beyond all doubt that the ‘standard’ look of Leskien’s class II verbs (present stem in **-ne-* coupled with an infinitive in **-nōti*) was not actually the only pattern in Proto-Slavic – rather, it was only typical of one dialectal zone. Another dialectal zone, however, had a different configuration here, namely a present stem in **-ne-* and an infinitive in **-nyti*. Reflexes of the two types can be seen across different varieties of Slavic; today, the dialects of the **-nyti* type are visibly in the minority, only found in the western parts of the WSl. and SSl. areas:

**-nōti*: OCS *-nōti*, Ru. *-nut’*, Pol. *-nǫć*, stand. B/C/S *-nuti*, etc. etc.

**-nyti*: Sln. *-niti*, dial. B/C/S (chiefly Cr.) *-niti*, USorb. *-nyć*, dial. Pol. / Sil.¹² *-nyć*, Plb. *-nět*

In earlier scholarship, the type in **-nyti* was typically explained as a secondary innovation in all of the areas where it occurred; however, Andersen successfully shows¹³ that it must be considered a variant of **-nōti* of Proto-Slavic age¹⁴.

¹² The controversies surrounding the status of Silesian as a Polish dialect or as a separate Slavic language are well-known; for the competing viewpoints cf. e.g. Kamusella 2004 and Rothstein 1993: 754-756.

¹³ Andersen’s material can be expanded somewhat; for northern WSl., cf. e.g. “notowane na zwartym obszarze dialektów tucholskich i w przyległych zachodnich gwarach środkowego Kociewia bezokoliczniki z *-ny-ć* (...). Infinitywy z *-ny-ć* pojawiają się ponadto w dialektach leżących na pograniczu Wielkopolski, Mazowsza i Małopolski (...)” (Popowska-Taborska et al. 1977: 159-160). For the dialects of B/C/S, see now also e.g. Menac-Mihalić & Celinić / Менац-Михалич & Целинич 2016. We may note that in many of the Sl. varieties where the **-nyti* infinitive is attested, it competes historically and geographically/dialectally with the type in **-nōti* – thus e.g. very clearly in Plb. and USorb. As regards the modern literary languages, only two embrace the infinitive in **-nyti*, namely Slovene and Upper Sorbian.

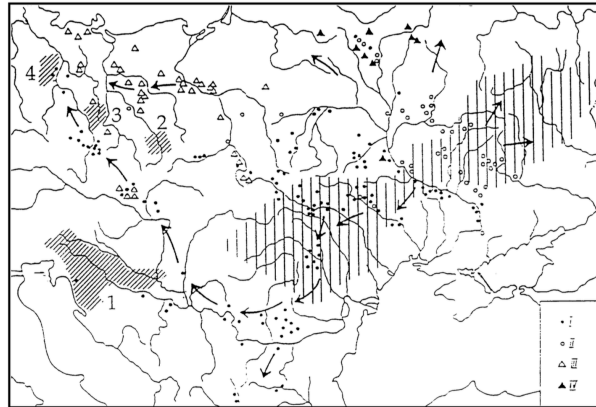
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Thus, it is argued here that Albanian may have borrowed the verbs under discussion from a Slavic dialect of the **-nyti* type, i.e. one in which the relevant infinitives had the form **vę(d)nyti* and **maxnyti* (as e.g. in Sln.: *vęniti*, *máhniti*) rather than **vę(d)nęti* and **maxnęti* (as e.g. in Serb. – *vęnuti*, *máhnuti* – or Pol. – *więdnąc*, *machnąc*). A Sl. infinitive in **-nyti* would have given an Alb. verbal stem in *-it-* entirely regularly, because the substitution of (the SSl. reflex of) Sl. **y* as Alb. *i* is the norm¹⁵; cf.:

- (33) Alb. *píhatet* ‘be exhausted’ ← Sl. **pyxati* ‘pant, blow’ [OCS *pyxati*, Bg. dial. *piha*, Sln. *píhati*]
 (34) Alb. *díhat* ‘be exhausted’ ← Sl. **dyxati* ‘pant, breathe (heavily)’ [Ru. dial. *dyxát*, Pol. *dychać*, B/C/S arch. *díhati díšē* (today usually *dísati díšē*)]
 (35) Alb. *dobít* ← Sl. **dobyti* ‘gain’ [Ru. *dobýt*, Pol. arch. *dobyc*, B/C/S *dòbiti*]¹⁶

The hypothesis that Albanian borrowed *venit(et)* and *mahnit(et)* from a Slavic **-nyti* dialect is especially interesting in view of the fact that no **-nyti* dialects are currently known from the geographic area neighboring Albanian: the closest ones are found in the north-west zone of the B/C/S diasystem, while the remaining ones are located in the WSl. area. Thus, our hypothesis – although it must remain tentative in view of the scanty material – can be compared with the dialect geography and settlement history of the South Slavs in the Balkans. Namely, it would provide some grounds for claiming that the area of the **-nyti* dialects once extended significantly further south in comparison with its current range¹⁷.

The map shown below is reprinted from Andersen (1999:57). The numbered areas marked /// represent the four known areas of **-nyti* dialects (1 – Slovene and dialectal B/C/S; 2 – Silesian; 3 – Upper Sorbian; 4 – Polabian). The arrows represent the reconstructed migration routes of the Slavs as reconstructed by Andersen, while the symbols • ○ ▲ ▲ denote various archeological corollaries of the Slavic spread.



¹⁴ Historically speaking, both **-nyti* and **-nęti* may be seen as equally unexpected modifications of the PIE verbal formant **-new-* ~ **-nu-* (the alternation is apophonic, i.e. morphologically conditioned); cf. Av. *-nao-* ~ *-nu-*, Ved. *-no-* ~ *-nu-*, Hitt. *-nu-*. Interestingly, Gr. *-vū-* ~ *-vū-* is likewise modified *vis-à-vis* the expected ***-veu-* ~ *-vū-*; the alternant *-vū-* appears to match PSI. **-ny-* exactly. Still, the similarity is presumably the product of independent (though to some extent parallel) innovations. Andersen considers the variant in **-ny-* older than **-nę-*, deriving the latter from the former (p. 53-54).

¹⁵ We may note that another apparent substitution of Sl. **y* is found in a number of old borrowings in Albanian, namely *u*; cf. Alb. *karrutë* ‘trough’ ← Sl. **koryto* [Ru. *koryto*, Pol. *koryto*, B/C/S *kòrito*], Alb. *matukë* ‘hoe, mattock’ ← Sl. **motyka* [Pol. *motyka*, Bg. *motika*, Sln. *moťika*]. As is well-known, Slavic **y* originally had the phonetic value [u:]; thus, theoretically, this substitution may be thought to reflect the older Sl. pronunciation. However, it must be borne in mind that a Gr. intermediary is perhaps possible in such cases (cf. Gr. *καρούρα*); see discussion in Ismajli 2015: 495, Svane 1992: 298–299 with further literature. At any rate, the default and most common substitution for Sl. **y* is Alb. *i*. (Note that Sl. **y* is not substituted with Alb. *y*; the similarity here is mostly an artifact of spelling conventions).

¹⁶ In this example, **-y-* is part of the stem and not the suffix; **do-* ‘to, until’ + **by-* ‘be’.

¹⁷ Though cf. also the final paragraph of this section for a competing or concomitant possibility.

Andersen assumes that the variation between **-nǫti* and **-nyti* arose in the Slavic homeland already; “[c]onceivably, in the Slavic Migrations, **-ny-* forms were transported to many other places than the four regions we know of now along the same and other routes. In most localities where there was a **-ny-* ~ **-nǫ-* variation at the end of the period of territorial expansion, the **-ny-* forms were eliminated in favor of **-nǫ-* forms” (p. 58).

Thus, in order to account for the erstwhile existence of **-nyti* dialects in contact with Albanian, we could assume that the stream of Slavic settlement that proceeded further south – appearing as the bottommost vertical arrow in the map – also carried some **-nyti*-dialect speakers, who found themselves in contact with Albanian in the south-western parts of the South Slavic area.

Alternatively – or, in fact, additionally – it could be surmised that the original locus of contact between Albanian and Slavic may have been somewhat further north from its present position, given other indications concerning the historical location of speakers of Alb. (cf. Matzinger 2009:23, Rusakov 2017:556). In effect, the present-day vast geographic gap between Alb. and the Sl. **-nyti* dialects becomes possible to cross.

7. Further implications: influence on simple thematic verbs

In addition, the borrowing of Slavic **-nyti* verbs as Albanian *-it-* verbs may provide an explanation for the remainder of the unclear material mentioned in §3 above. Namely, as we saw, even certain Slavic simple thematic verbs (Leskien’s class I) enter the *-it-* class in Albanian:

- (36) = (14) Alb. *pjetit* ‘plait, knit’ ← Sl. pres. **plete-*, inf. **plesti* (< **plet-ti*)
 (37) = (15) Alb. *gredit* ‘scratch, rake’ ← Sl. pres. **grebe-*, inf. **greti* (< **greb-ti*)

Thus, how can the theory regarding Alb. *venit(et)* ← Sl. **vędnyti* and Alb. *mahnit(et)* ← Sl. **maxnyti* be used for explaining a case like Alb. *pjetit* ← Sl. **plete-*, inf. **plesti*?

As we noted, there was no Slavic †*pletiti*, which would be the easiest direct source for Albanian *pjetit*. Also, no †*pletyti* existed, even in the **-nyti* dialects: since the verb did not belong to the **-nyti*/**-nǫti* type, the infinitive was identical in all PS1. dialects, namely **plesti* < **plet-ti*. Hence, in this case, the form of the borrowed verb in Albanian could not have been based directly on any actual Slavic infinitive.

Nevertheless, borrowings like Slavic **plete-* → Albanian *pjetit* would have been possible owing to a simple proportional analogy with Leskien’s class II verbs like *venit(et)* and *mahnit(et)*. The mechanism of the analogy would have worked as follows:

1. Slavic **maxne-* and **plete-* could be perceived as sharing the same structure of the present stem (‘something followed by *-e-*’);
2. **maxne-* was borrowed as *mahnit-* (owing to its dialectal infinitive **maxnyti*);
3. thus, also **plete-* could be borrowed as *pjetit-*, in spite of the lack of a corresponding infinitive (†*pletiti*, †*pletyti* or similar) in Slavic.

Schematically:

**maxn-e-* → *maxn-it* (based on real infinitive **maxn-yti*)

**plet-e-* → X

X = *pjet-it* (as though from a non-existent infinitive ***pletyti*)

Note that the above-described mechanism apparently did not affect all potential targets. It seems that there are also some examples of Slavic simple thematic verbs (Leskien’s class I) and possibly of **-ne-* verbs (class II) borrowed into Albanian as non-suffixed:

The Slavic source of Albanian *venit(em)* ‘wane’, *mahnit(em)* ‘astound’ and certain other verbs

- (38) Alb. *pip* ‘touch’ (attested 2pl *pipni*) ← Sl. **pypnōti* (*-nyti) / **pypati*, or **pipnōti* (*-nyti) / **pipati*? [B/C/S *pìpnuti/pìpati*, Bg. *pìpna/pìpam*] (probably a younger borrowing)
- (39) Alb. *zatek* ‘encounter, touch’ ← Sl. inf. **zatekti* ‘find, meet’, pres. **zateče-* (< **zateke-*) [B/C/S *zàteći zàtèčēm/zàteknēm*]

The latter verb is usually found in the form *zates* ~ *zatet*, but it is also attested as *zatek* (Mat); cf. Svane 1992:264. Note that *zates* may go back to Sl. **zateče-*, with the usual archaic substitution PSl. **č* → Alb. *s*; *zatet* may be back-formed analogically on the basis of the productive Alb. alternation *s* ~ *t*. As for *zatek*, it may have been abstracted from those (finite and non-finite) forms of the paradigm of PSl. **zatekti* that displayed neither the reflex of palatalized **kt* nor **č*, but retained the **k* – e.g. 3pl pres. **zatekōtь*, *l*-participle **zateklь*, etc. (For certain other explanations of the variation, including possible assimilations etc., see Svane 1992:ibid. with references.)

The above point is significant in that it shows that the creation of Alb. stems in *-it-* was not ‘automatic’: in the light of this evidence, it would be difficult to argue that a stem in *-it-* was simply chosen for the borrowed verbs *ven-* and *mahn-* because no other morphology was available. Rather, a tangible etymological source for the element *-it-* is required, and the hypothesis involving the Sl. variant **-nyti* provides such a source.

Still, although not obligatory, the mechanism of providing the borrowed verbs with a stem in *-it-* was in fact clearly preferred (as shown by the entire material presented in §3 above), and it is easy to understand why: it yielded items which displayed more transparent morphology (the stem-final consonant was ‘protected’ by the verbal stem in *-it-*) and which belonged to a productive inflectional class.

8. Final conclusions

The theory presented above states that the shape of the Alb. verbs *venit(et)* and *mahnit(et)* – with their unexpected *-it-* – can be explained if it is assumed that the words were borrowed from a Slavic dialect that used an infinitive in **-nyti* and not **-nōti* in verbs with a present stem in **-ne-* (Sl. **maxnyti* → Alb. *mahnit(et)*). This corresponds exactly to the typical pattern of verbal borrowings from Slavic to Albanian, where the vowel of the Slavic infinitive determines the shape of the Albanian stem (well-attested Sl. **-ati* → Alb. *-at-* and Sl. **-iti* → Alb. *-it-*; thus, similarly also Sl. **-yti* → Alb. *-it-*).

This might point to the erstwhile existence of Sl. dialects of the **-nyti* type further south of their present range (and/or a more northern historical location of Alb.).

This pattern of providing borrowed verbs with *-it-* could also spread to some simple thematic verbs (Alb. *pjetit* ← **plet-e-*) by means of a clear proportional analogy with the type of *venit(et)*, *mahnit(et)*, based on the similarity of the present stem in **-e-*.

Symbols and abbreviations

*	reconstructed form	←	is borrowed from
**	expected form or insecure / indirectly inferable reconstruction	→	is borrowed into/as
†	unjustified reconstruction (constructed for the sake of argumentation)	Alb.	Albanian
<	phonologically develops from	arch.	archaic
>	phonologically develops into	Av.	Avestan
<<	develops from (including morphological processes)	B/C/S	Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian
>>	develops into (including morphological processes)	Bg.	Bulgarian
⇐	is derived from	Cr.	Croatian
⇒	is the derivational base for	Cz.	Czech
		dial.	dialectal
		Gr.	Ancient Greek
		Hitt.	Hittite
		inf.	infinitive

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ipv.	imperative	s.v(v).	<i>sub verbo/-is</i> ; under the relevant heading(s)
Mac.	Macedonian		
OCS	Old Church Slavic	Serb.	Serbian
PIE	Proto-Indo-European	sg	singular
pl	plural	Sil.	Silesian
Plb.	Polabian	Sl.	Slavic
Pol.	Polish	Sln.	Slovene
pres.	present	SSL.	South Slavic
PSl.	Proto-Slavic	USorb.	Upper Sorbian
Rom.	Romanian	Ved.	Vedic Sanskrit
Ru.	Russian	WSl.	West Slavic

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