

To appear in *Papers from Joint Pisa-Oxford Indo-European Conference* ([“Variation and Contact in the Ancient Indo-European Languages: Between Linguistics and Philology” (Joint Colloquia in Indo-European Linguistics, University of Pisa – University of Oxford) Pisa 20 April 2018]. Leiden: Brill (2021)

Here’s to a Long Life! Albanian Reflections of Proto-Indo-European Semantics

Brian D. Joseph

The Ohio State University

1. Introduction

The study of diachronic semantics, taking in both semantic reconstruction and semantic change, has long been one of the less systematic enterprises in historical linguistics. While some advances have been made in the area of shifts in grammatical meaning, diachronic lexical semantics is perhaps less well understood. Metaphor appears to be a powerful force in semantic change, and both the linguistic context and the pragmatic/social milieu (Christiansen and Joseph 2016) can play a key role as well. These observations have meant that some seemingly unusual changes have to be recognized that would be inexplicable without an understanding of the cultural milieu in which the change takes place; the shift of earlier English *bede* (later *bead*) from ‘prayer’ to ‘small round glass or ceramic object with a hole through it’ is a classic case of this sort. Nonetheless, a confounding aspect in the study of semantic change is the fact that proper attention to the cultural and pragmatic milieu can also reveal instances of semantic persistence (see immediately below), sometimes over long stretches of time. In what follows, I examine a far-reaching example of such persistence in the Balkans, with particular attention to Albanian.

First, though, by way of providing some background, I present some known instances of such lexical reflections of earlier semantics, and then zero in on the details of usage for various present-day Albanian and Balkan words and phrases that reveal aspects of what can plausibly be reconstructed as Proto-Indo-European cultural semantics having to do with an interest in longevity, as reflected in continuations of the language more than six millennia later.

The semantic “reflections” — “echoes”, to use another metaphor — referred to here can be defined as traces in later usage of earlier semantics (whether directly attested or reconstructed). Such reflections are seen in change leading to new grammatical semantics, as with Albanian nonactive (medio-passive) *-h-* (e.g. *la-h-em* ‘I wash myself / I am washed’) from the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) stem-forming suffix **-sk-*, which seems to have had a presential orientation in PIE, based on its inchoative/iterative sense in, for instance, Latin, Hittite, and Ionic Greek, but also its function as a simple marker of present tense, as (ultimately) in Sanskrit and Avestan. In Albanian, despite the clear shift in the value of this *-h-* morpheme, from presential marker to nonactive marker, nonetheless it betrays its original present-oriented semantics in that it is restricted to non-past forms.¹ There thus has been persistence of the presential orientation despite the shift in the primary function of **-sk-*.

The occurrence of such semantic reflections — traces in a certain sense — is akin to what Hopper 1991 calls the “principle of persistence”, whereby original lexical semantics “persist” after an item enters the grammatical arena. But we can also see semantic persistence in the purely lexical domain. For instance, as discussed in Joseph and Karnitis (1999, 2006) there is an

¹ The past nonactive is marked rather by a particle *u* (see footnote 6) occurring together with the active forms, e.g. *u la* ‘I washed myself / I was washed’).

Indo-Iranian root *muč- with the meanings ‘loosbinden/untie; abstreifen/strip off’ (*LIV* 443; *IEW* 744), that gives rise to a wide range of meanings in Indic:

- Vedic Sanskrit: ‘untie, loosen, unfasten, loosen, set free; release (streams); undo, dissolve; cause to disappear, strip off’
- Classical Sanskrit: ‘loosen, set free, release, let go, let loose, deliver; relax (the throat); slacken (reins); let live, spare; leave, quit, give up; die; set apart; dismiss; cast, throw, hurl, discharge; emit, drop, shed, let fall; utter, give forth; give away, grant, bestow; put on (middle voice); void (excrement); sacrifice; deceive, cheat’...

But, Proto-Indo-Iranian (PIIr) *muč- is highly restricted in Iranian, occurring in only two forms in Avestan, both, significantly, it is argued, with shoe-/foot-related meanings:

framuxti- ‘taking off of footwear’ (1x: *Fragments* 6.27)

paitišmuxta- ‘having shoes’ (3x: *Yashts* 5.64, 5.78, 10.125)

And, there is some shoe-/foot-related meanings for derivatives of this root in Sanskrit, e.g.

Classical Sanskrit *vi-ava-*√muc- ‘take off shoes’, but also in late Vedic, with *upa-*√muc-

kārṣṇī upānahau upa muñcate (TS 5.4.4, repeated 5.6.6)

‘(two) black-antelope leather-sandals he-puts on’

vārāhī upānahau upamuñcate

(TB 1.7.9)

‘(two) pig’s leather-sandals he-puts-on’

vārāhyā upānahā upamuñcate

(ŚB 5.4.3.19)

‘(two) sow’s leather-sandals he-puts-on’

Based on these facts, Joseph and Karnitis make the suggestion that PIIr *muč- had the range of meaning seen in Sanskrit, but among those was a use referring specifically to shoes/feet, as with *upa-√muc-* and *vi-ava-√muc-*; echoes of that original shoe-/foot-related meaning then carried over into Iranian, giving the Avestan distribution of derivatives of this root. In this account, there is thus “persistence” of earlier lexical semantics, and a distributional “echo” of that original meaning.²

2. An extended case study from Albanian: Etymological details

Albanian has a negative prefix *as-*, with the meaning ‘no-, not (in compounds)’, as in *asnjë* ‘none’ (cf. *një* ‘one’), *asgjë* ‘nothing’ (cf. *gjë* ‘thing’), *askund* ‘nowhere’ (cf. *kund* ‘somewhere’). It can be equated etymologically with Ancient Greek οὐ ‘not’, as argued explicitly in Joseph 2002 and 2005,³ fleshing out a suggestion for the Albanian free word *as* ‘and not; neither’ made in Pedersen 1900 and in Cowgill 1960, though with no details. Now, Greek οὐ, especially in its

² In §5 below, some further thoughts are offered on the nature of semantic persistence.

³ Many of the etymological and derivational details from these earlier works concerning *as-* and *ne ... H₂oyu k^wid are repeated here for the sake of completeness in the exposition, but some new material is added here and the overall thrust of viewing these developments through the lens of semantic persistence.

extended prevocalic form οὐκ, is argued by Cowgill to derive from a PIE emphatic negative phrase *(ne) ... H₂oyu k^wid ‘not ever; not on your (long) life’, consisting of the negative marker *ne, the noun *H₂oyu meaning ‘long life; vital energy’ (cf. Vedic Sanskrit *āyu-* ‘long life’, Greek ἄεί/αἰεί ‘always’), and *k^wid (as in the Sanskrit particle *cid* ‘even’), serving as an emphatic; he argues also for connecting Armenian *oč* ‘not’ with οὐκ as well, so that he derives it from this same PIE collocation.⁴

All of the elements needed to make this etymological connection work for Albanian *as-* are available. For instance, the several phonological developments needed to go from PIE *H₂oyu k^wid to Albanian *as-* all have solid parallels elsewhere in Albanian historical phonology:

- loss of initial *H₂, e.g. *ag* ‘dawn’ < *H₂eug- (cf. Grk αὐγή ‘sunlight; dawn’)
- assibilation of *k^w before front vowels; e.g.:
 - si* ‘how’ from *k^wiV- (cf. Latin *quia* ‘why’)
 - sjell* ‘bring’ from *k^wel- ‘turn’
 - sorrë* ‘blackbird’ from *k^wērsnā (cf. Sanskrit *kṛṣṇa-* ‘black’)
- final syllable reduction, instantiated as full truncation for at least (some) high vowel syllables, e.g. *kam* ‘I have’ < *kap-mi, *elb* ‘barley’ < *albhit (cf. Grk ἄλφι ‘type of grain’, ἄλφιτον ‘pearl barley’)

⁴ Pedersen (1900: 321) mentions Latin *haud* ‘not’ in the context of a discussion of the etymology of Albanian negation, including *as*, but he claims to be uncertain about whether it belongs, and in any case does not develop the idea at all. See now Garnier 2014 for a fully developed account of *haud* as belonging to the family of Greek οὐκ, etc. Adding Latin into the equation gives a solid basis for viewing *(ne) ... H₂oyu k^wid as being an element in PIE and not just a dialectally created collocation within the family.

- loss of intervocalic *-y-, e.g. *tre* ‘three’ < *treyes (with final syllable truncation too)
- *o > a, e.g.

natë ‘night’ < *nok^wt-i-

asht ‘bone’ < *Hosteyo-

darkë ‘evening meal’ < *dork^wom (cf. Greek δόρπον ‘evening meal’)

- *oØu > a, with loss of labial glide in diphthong, e.g.:

hedh ‘throw’ < *skëwd- (cf. OEng *sceotan* ‘shoot’)

ag ‘dawn’ < *H₂eug- (cf. Grk ἀνγή ‘sunlight; dawn’)

ar ‘gold’ (borrowing from Latin *aurum* ‘gold’)

Putting these developments together, we get:

| | | | | | | |
|----|----------|---|---|----------------|----------|----------|
| *2 | o | y | u | k ^w | <u>i</u> | <u>d</u> |
| ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ |
| Ø | <u>a</u> | Ø | Ø | <u>ɣ</u> | Ø | Ø |

The loss of *ne in this collocation can be likened to the loss of *ne* in colloquial French, as in *J’aime pas ce restaurant* ‘I do not like this restaurant’, with only *pas* marking negation, from an earlier bipartite negation marking *ne ... pas*. Moreover, even this loss has a parallel within Albanian, based on the etymology of the Albanian verbal negation marker *s’* ‘not’ as being from *ne ... k^wid (or possibly *ne ... k^we) with truncation of *ne.⁵

⁵ This account would mean that *s’* is not derived from the present-day negative word *as* ‘and not’ (even if it might show some connection to it); see also footnotes 7 and 8.

An important detail here is that the function of prefixal/compound *as-* is to mark a simple negation within a compound.⁶ In this way, this usage is consistent with the use posited for **ne ... H₂oyu k^wid*. Furthermore, there is evidence for such a neutral sentential negation usage in Albanian from the question tag *aspo*, ‘n’est-ce pas; nicht wahr; eh?’, arguably from *as-* in an original (highly elliptical) neutral sentence negation use plus *po* ‘yes’, thus literally “no – yes?”. Thus, under the analyses offered here, the simple negative function of *as-* matches Greek οὐκ and Armenian ոչ, and so the source of these three forms, PIE **(ne) ... H₂oyu k^wid*, is very likely to have been (or, better, to have become) a neutral (non-emphatic/non-temporal) sentential negator even in PIE.

It can thus be concluded there very likely was a free word *as** in pre-Albanian for simple negation, and that it is the source of the prefixal/compound *as-*, an element that has that same function of signaling simple negation (as seen with *gjë* ‘thing’ ~ *asgjë* ‘nothing’), albeit restricted now to certain compounds. This early free word negator *as** should be kept distinct from the currently existing free word *as*, which although a marker of negation, nonetheless functions quite differently, inasmuch as it has a different meaning, namely ‘and not; neither; not even’, and shows semantics that go beyond simple negation due to its coordinative sense.⁷ This modern free word *as* may thus well have an entirely different etymological source from prefixal/compound *as-*, and

⁶ By “simple negation”, I mean negation serving simply as a logical operator, i.e. giving from X the reading ‘not X’ (in logical notation, $\neg X$).

⁷ Hackstein 2020: §1b also details several specialized uses of the free word *as*, such as the doubled use (*as ... as*) for ‘neither ... nor’ and what he calls the “inchoative negative focus particle” meaning ‘not even’. All of these uses go beyond the simple negation function of *s’*, and thus suggest separating it from the compound negator *as-*.

in fact can be seen as a univerbation of *a* ‘but’ (a borrowing from Latin *aut*) with *s* ‘not’. Such an derivation offers a better account of the semantics of *as*.⁸

Thus on a phraseological level, prefixal/compound *as-* shows that both Albanian and Greek share an ancient metaphor involving ‘long life’ in negation. What is relevant for the issue of persistence of original meaning is that there are traces of Indo-European ‘long life’ phraseology to be found in the present-day Balkans, centering on Albanian. In particular, there are numerous indications — reflections, i.e. echoes or persistences — of an interest in longevity on the part of early Balkan Indo-European speakers, as revealed through various lexical items and phrases. I turn now to these echoes.

3. Albanian and Balkan Reflections concerning Longevity

3.1. The first reflection is the Albanian word itself for ‘life’, namely *jetë* ‘life’. While it may reflect an internal Albanian etymology from *jes-/jet-* ‘exist’, Hamp 1968 argues that it shows some influence from, with reanalysis triggered by, Latin *aetas* ‘age’; thus, via those contact effects, *jetë* belongs to the lexical family of **H₂oyu*, inasmuch as *aetas* is related to *aevus* ‘period of time’. Interestingly, and perhaps importantly, *jetë* offers a further reflection, or perhaps even a renewal, of the ancient “long life” semantics in the Albanian composite form *përjetë* ‘forever’ (literally “for

⁸ As an aside, I note that the need to distinguish compound prefixal negator *as-* from the present-day free word *as* is a reason for being cautious in claiming evidence of “grammaticalization” based just on existing forms; in this account, the *re*-creation of a free word *as* (from *a* ‘or’ + *s* ‘not’) gives the impression of a connection (ultimately an ahistorical one) between the present-day free word *as* and the (present-day) compound/prefixal *as-*.

life”) and the derivative *përjetësi* ‘eternity’. Admittedly, there is surely a degree of some “naturalness” of semantic extension involved here, as there are independent instances with similar composition and similar semantics, such as German *fürs Leben* ‘for life; forever’, but still this expression shows the possibility of longevity semantics being associated with *jetë* in Albanian.

3.2. A second and perhaps more overt reflection is the Albanian phrase *për (në) jetë të jetëve* ‘for eternity’. This phrase is literally “for (a) life(time) of lifetimes”, with the lexeme *jetë* repeated in different cases, first accusative (singular) and then genitive (plural). Structurally, this expression is reminiscent of Old Persian “king of kings” phraseology, though it may well be independent of it (note that it is a Biblical usage; cf. Revelations 17:14). Even more telling, however, this structure with an accusative and genitive of the same word repeated and having a meaning suggestive of the endurance of an entity, or in the case of negation, of the absence of an entity, over a long stretch of time, provides a link to the use of “long life” in negation (**(ne) ... H₂oyu k^wid*). The connection comes via a colloquial expression in Albanian, *kurrën e kurrës* ‘never at all; not in a million years’, an emphatic ‘ever’-based negative phrase which is literally the adverb *kurrë* ‘never’, treated as a noun and occurring in accusative and then repeated in a genitive, i.e. ‘never.ACC of a-never.GEN’. Thus one sees here both parallel structure to *për (në) jetë të jetëve* and parallel “eternal” semantics.

Interestingly, this Albanian phrase *kurrën e kurrës* is matched semantically by the Modern Greek expression *ποτέ των ποτών* (*poté ton potón*) ‘never at all’, which is literally “never of-the nevers.GEN.PL”. The Greek phrase itself actually matches *për (në) jetë të jetëve* structurally, through its repetition of the ‘ever’ word — here ‘never’ (*ποτέ*) — and also through

its use of the genitive plural, and through the order of the words, with the genitive form occurring second.⁹

Moreover, the synchronically odd nominalization of the adverbs Albanian *kurrë* and Greek *ποτέ* in these apparently linked phrases ties in with ‘ever’ and *H₂oyu in another way besides the parallel accusative-genitive(plural) structure. In particular, Hamp 1983 draws attention to the grammatical oddity in English of *for ever* — it is significant that *ever* is based ultimately on PIE *H₂oyu- — with *for* apparently as a preposition and *ever* as a noun. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (s.v.) talks about a “quasi-substantive” *ever* and there is some evidence that it was somewhat noun-like, via the reanalysis of *for ever and ay* — where *ay* originally meant ‘always’ and is ultimately connected to the *H₂oyu complex of forms — as *for ever and a day*, where both *ever* and *day* would be nouns if one follows the usual assumption in syntactic studies that coordination is possible only between like categories. It can be speculated, therefore, that the Balkan nominalization process is picking up on an old property of *H₂oyu, as seen in English (quasi-substantive) *ever*, even if these Albanian and Greek phrases are just the result of a playful nonce formation; the effect of these phrases, after all, is stylistically like English expressive *never in a million years!*

In this regard, an important detail is that there are adverbials from case forms of *H₂oyu-, e.g. Aeolic Greek *αἰέν* ‘always’ (from an endless locative) and from case forms of derivatives of **H₂oyu-, e.g. *αἰεί* ‘always’ (from a locative of an *s*-stem form, *He/oy-w-es-i), but no clear evidence of an adverbial use of *H₂oyu directly, e.g. in Vedic. Still, the hypothesis can be put

⁹ There is no way to tell directly what case the first word, *ποτέ* ([poté]) ‘never’ is in, as there is no indication of case (unlike the overt accusative case marker *-n* in the Albanian *kurrën*), but many adverbs in Greek have the same form as accusative plurals, so it is not unreasonable to think of *ποτέ* as an accusative here, like its Albanian counterpart.

forward, admittedly quite speculatively, that some instances of Greek αὖ, an adverb of ‘repeated action’, could possibly be from *H₂oyu or *H₂eyu where the meaning ‘again, anew, further’ might be construed as deriving from ‘continued/sustained activity’ (of the sort associated with longevity); this would contrast with the more ‘standard’ etymology (e.g. as in Beekes 2010: s.v.) connecting it with Sanskrit preverb *ava-*.

One can wonder too about the Sanskrit *jātu* (1x in Rigveda, more frequent in later texts) as a parallel for a bare *u*-stem (admittedly a *-tu*-stem) neuter used adverbially; in its one Rigvedic occurrence (10.27.11) it seems to mean ‘from birth’ (so Jamison and Brereton 2014, given below), but that in a sense is a way of saying “forever” or at least for an individual’s “forever”; Griffith 1896 translates it as ‘ever’, and Monier-Williams (1899: s.v.) gives the translation for Classical usage as ‘ever’):

yasyānakṣā duhitā jātu āsa
kastām vidvānabhimanyāte andhām |
kataro meniṃ prati taṃ mucāte
ya īṃ vahāte ya īṃ vā vareyāt

‘(A father) who has a daughter blind from birth – who, knowing her (as) blind will have designs on her. (On the other hand, not knowing her state), which of the two will unleash (the power of) violated exchange against him – the one who marries her or the one who woos her (on the

bridegroom's behalf)' (cf. Griffith: 'When a man's daughter hath been ever eyeless ...')

A speculative interpretation here is that *jātu*, from $\sqrt{j}an-$ (thus $*\acute{g}nH_1-$, zero-grade to $*\acute{g}enH_1$) could point to an (unattested) adverbial $\bar{a}yu^*$, based on the shared neuter *-u*-stem morphology and the shared meaning 'ever'; possibly relevant here is the fact of meanings for the two forms that are in the same semantic sphere — 'life' for $*H_2oyu$ and 'birth' for *jātu* — coupled with the fact that forms with parallel meanings in PIE often have parallel morphology, as with shared $*-u$ -stem inflection for words for 'sweet', from different roots, seen in Sanskrit *madh-u-* and Greek ἡδ-ύ-.

3.3. A third reflection of the original 'long life' semantics of $*H_2oyu$ can be seen in the Modern Greek greeting $\gamma\epsilon\iota\alpha\ \sigma\upsilon\upsilon$ ([ja su]), literally, "health to-you" (or "(to) your health"). The first part, $\gamma\epsilon\iota\alpha$, is from Ancient Greek $\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\iota\epsilon\iota\alpha\upsilon$ 'health.ACC', and thus is connected (ultimately) to $\acute{\upsilon}-\gamma\upsilon\eta\varsigma$ 'long-lived; healthy' and therefore, in the analysis of Weiss 1994, indirectly to the 'long life' nexus. Moreover, this greeting is also used as a drinking toast in Greek, in fact the most common toast, a detail which becomes important once some additional considerations are discussed.

3.4. A fourth reflection is evident in the Albanian greeting *tungjatjeta* 'hello'. This expression is literally "*të u ngjattë jeta*" "for-you may be-lengthened life-the", with a 2SG dative of interest *të*, the past nonactive marker *u*,¹⁰ the 3SG form of the optative of a causative/factitive verb *ngjat-*

¹⁰ The nonactive *u* derives from old reflexive marker ($*we$, the regular Albanian form of the PIE reflexive $*swe$) contracted with the augment; see Hamp 2019 for details.

‘lengthen’ derived from *gjatë* ‘long, broad’, and definite form of *jetë* ‘life’). This greeting shows, by overt juxtaposition of ‘long’ and ‘life’, a union of the semantics of the pieces in the metaphor underlying *as-* in the account given above (*ne...H₂oyu k^wid). There is more, however, since *tungjatjeta* has also been used dialectally as a toast in drinking,¹¹ so that functionally it has the exact same range as Greek γεια σου. This suggests a persistent, perhaps millennia-old, Balkan interest in ‘long life’, expressed through everyday exchanges among acquaintances and friends, and in the sharing of drink.

Admittedly a wish for long life is a likely universal of humanity, though it is not always expressed in exactly this way in Indo-European circles. In Vedic, for instance, a similar wish is expressed via reference to *śatam śarādas* ‘hundred autumns’, thus with a different trope. Possibly relevant here is the suggestion by Southern 2004 that the Vedic interjected call *śam yoḥ* ‘health (and) blessing’ might have been a drinking toast; if correct, this phrase would be of interest here since *yoḥ* is relatable to the base of *āyu*, from *H₂y-ew-, and thus to Greek οὐκ and ὑγιεῖαν, as well as Albanian *as-*.

It can be noted here, with regard to both γεια σου and *tungjatjeta* as toasts, that archaisms are found in toasts in Slavic; Friedman (2012: 33) observes:

At some late stage in Common Slavic ... what was the *l*-participle developed an optative usage in the third person singular to replace the third singular imperative which ... was lost. ... The popular Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian/Montenegrin toast

¹¹ I have this on the authority of Eric P. Hamp (p.c.), who witnessed this use of *tungjatjeta* during fieldwork in northwest Geg territory.

živ(j)eli [‘may we/you live!’] as well as the use of invariant *bilo* in the meaning of ‘any’ ... are examples of such [archaic] optative usage.

This typological parallel means that finding an archaic semantic reflection in these Greek and Albanian toasts should not be considered unexpected.

4. One further closing example: (From drinking to ...) Eating

With all the discussion of drinking, it is perhaps appropriate to turn to reflections of earlier semantics in the Albanian verb for ‘eat’, present tense *ha* with suppletive participle *ngrënë* ‘eaten’ and suppletive past tense *hëngra* ‘(I) ate’. The present stem derives from a preverb *Ho- with the root *H₁ed- (as in English *eat*, Latin *edō*, etc.) and the participle *ngrënë* derives from a preverb *en- with the root *g^wrō- (as in Latin *vor-ō* ‘swallow’, Greek βι-βρώ-σχω ‘devour’, a formation also seen in the past tense (Hamp 1971). Suppletion here may reflect a different aspect or other nuance of what eating involves; given the meanings associated in Greek and Latin with *g^wrō-, *ngrënë* (and *hëngra*) may reflect some sort of completed aspect, swallowing to complete the act of eating or taking in a large quantity or mass as a whole, leaving *ha* to some other dimension of the act.

A suggestion here is that originally *ha* was something like ‘take a bite’, either as a momentary aspectual sort of thing or referring to the biting part of eating. This meaning can be motivated by the connection between *H₁ed- and the word for ‘tooth’ as a present participle (cf. Greek variant ἔδοντ- for ‘tooth’) with ‘tooth’ as “the biting (thing par excellence)”, and other connections between *H₁ed- and ‘pain’ words, as argued by Schindler (1975: 62), shown in derivatives such as Greek ὀδύνη, ὠδίν- for ‘pain’, ‘birth pangs’; the German metaphorical *es*

beisst (literally “it bites”) for ‘it stings’ or ‘it is painful’ points to the same linkage of pain with biting.

In this case, then, even though *ha* and *ngrënë* do not preserve the original semantics, since both mean simply ‘eat’, the suppletion would be a reflection of an original semantic distinction between the roots involved, a distributional fact of present-day Albanian that has an explanation in ancient semantics.

5. Conclusion

By way of concluding, it is perhaps sufficient to turn to Dunkel 1993, who discusses various ways in which the Hittite lexicon reveals its Indo-European heritage. He points to several instances of what he calls (p. 105) “new forms but old meanings” in which we see “the preservation of the structure of old phraseology despite the formal renewal of its surface expression”. He goes on to suggest (p. 115) that “semantic structure is at times more stable than form, i.e. meaning may survive while its morphic realisation shifts”. That sums up succinctly what is shown here by the several examples from the Balkans that began with a PIE semantic structure of ‘long life’ and underwent various shifts in their realization while nonetheless retaining echoes, traces, reflections — what have you — of their original semantics, and thus showing a certain stability — persistence — over long stretches of time.¹²

References

Beekes, R. 2010, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, Leiden: Brill.

¹² Joseph 2019 is a companion piece to this paper, with other instances of persistence in Albanian of PIE semantic features.

Christiansen, B. and B. Joseph. 2016, On the Relationship between Argument Structure Change and Semantic Change, «Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America» Vol. 1, 26: 1-11 (URL:

<http://journals.linguisticsociety.org/proceedings/index.php/PLSA/article/view/3726>; DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3765/plsa.v1i0.3726>).

Cowgill, Warren. 1960, Greek *ou* and Armenian *oč*‘, «Language» 36: 347-350.

Dunkel, G. 1993, *Periphrastica homerohittitovedica*, in Bela Brogyanyi – Reiner Lipp (edd.), *Comparative-Historical Linguistics. Indo-European and Finno-Ugric. Papers in honor of Oswald Szemerényi III*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 103-118.

Friedman, V. 2012, Conjunction Calquing — A Heartland Balkanism, in T. Kahl – M. Metzelin – H. Schaller (edd.), *Balkanismen heute – Balkanisms Today – Balkanizmy segodnja*, Vienna: Lit Verlag, 31-37.

Garnier, R. 2014, Italice commun **né=χe=ájud* « jamais de la vie », «Wékwos» 1: 95-110.

Griffith, R. 1896, *The Hymns of the Rigveda Translated with a Popular Commentary*. Kotagiri (Nilgiri).

Olav Hackstein 2020. The System of Negation in Albanian: Synchronic Constraints and Diachronic Explanations, in B. Demiraj (ed.), *Altalbanische Schriftkultur – aus der Perspektive der historischen Lexikographie und der Philologie der Gegenwart. Akten der 6. Deutsch- Albanischen Kulturwissenschaftlichen Tagung (27. September 2019, Buçimas bei Pogradec, Albanien)* [*Albanische Forschungen* Bd. 44], Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 13-32.

Hamp, E. 1968, *Albanian jetë* ‘life’, in J. Corominas (ed.) *Essays in Romance Philology from the University of Chicago in honor of the XII International Congress of Romance Linguistics and*

- Philology, București, 15-20 April 1968*, Chicago: Departments of Romance Languages and Literatures and of Linguistics, University of Chicago: 41-47.
- Hamp, E. 1971. I. *ha* = Indo-European *ed-; II. ‘viscum album’, «*Studia Albanica*» 8: 153-155.
- Hamp, E. 1983. *for()*ever and *ever*. «*American Speech*» 58: 374-376.
- Hamp, E. 2019. *Albanian and the Proto-Indo-European Augment*, in B. Joseph – D. Dyer – M. Johnson (edd.), *The Current State of Balkan Linguistics: Celebrating Twenty Years of the Kenneth E. Naylor Lectures* (= *Balkanistica* 32.1), Oxford, MS: University Printing Services: 223-232.
- Hopper, Paul. 1991, On some principles of grammaticalization, in E. Traugott – B. Heine (edd.), *Approaches to Grammaticalization Volume I*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 17-35.
- IEW = Pokorny 1959.
- Jamison, S. and J. Brereton. 2014, *The Rigveda. The earliest religious poetry of India*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Joseph, B. 2002, *More on the PIE and post-PIE dimensions to Albanian-Greek negation parallels*, paper presented at 21st Annual East Coast Indo-European Conference (ECIEC), University of Pennsylvania 13 June 2002.
- Joseph, B. 2005, Some ancient shared metaphors in the Balkans, «*Studia Albanica*» 42: 45-48.
- Joseph, B. 2019. Echoes of Indo-European Cultural Semantics in Albanian, in A. Balas, S. Giannopoulou, and A. Zagoura (edd.), *Proceedings of the 5th Patras International Conference of Graduate students in Linguistics (PICGL5), Patras, May 27-29, 2018*, Patras: Department of Linguistics, University of Patras: 23-33 (https://13090d2d-5e38-4d98-93e7-47a01aa1c4b4.filesusr.com/ugd/69b6b1_13334a5abde14258abecb06fa588cc3e.pdf)

- Joseph, B. and C. Karnitis. 1999, Evaluating Semantic Shifts: The case of Indo-European *(s)meuk- and Indo-Iranian *muc-, «Ohio State University Working Papers in Linguistics» 52: 151-158.
- Joseph, B. and C. Karnitis. 2006, The Specialized Semantics of *(s)meuk- in Iranian. «Indogermanische Forschungen» 111: 355-364.
- LIV = Rix 2001.
- Monier-Williams, M. 1899, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary, etymologically and philologically arranged with special reference to cognate Indo-European languages*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Pedersen, H. 1900, Die gutturale im Albanesischen, «Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung» 36: 277-340.
- Pokorny, J. 1959, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bern: Francke.
- Rix, H. 2001, *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben* (2nd edn.), Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- Schindler, H. Jochem. 1975, Armenisch *erkn*, griechisch ὀδύνη, irisch *idu*, «Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung» 85: 53-65.
- Southern, M. 2002 [2006], Grain, the staff of life: Indo-European *(h₂)yew-os, «Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft» 62: 173-217.
- Weiss, M. 1994, Life Everlasting: Latin *iūgis* “everflowing”, Greek ὑγιής “healthy”, Gothic *ajukdūþ* “eternity” and Avestan *yauuaējī-* “living forever”, «Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft» 55: 131-156.