Pavia Indo-European Summer School (September 2013)

Introduction to Albanian
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Day 3: *The* Balkan and Indo-European Perspectives on Albanian Negation: Etymology and Usage

I. Goals for today

• to develop an account of the etymology of the Albanian negator(s) *as(-)*
• to explore aspects of the usage and etymology of other Albanian negators, especially *mos*
• to assess contribution of evidence from Balkan languages to the reconstruction of negation markers in Proto-Indo-European
• to distinguish (in so doing) between those aspects of these negators that represent inheritances from Proto-Indo-European and those that represent innovations that Greek participated in, and further, those innovations that are likely to be due to contact within the Balkans
• to place negation in the Balkans within a broader context of intimate contact

II. Preliminaries (mostly on the FORM of negation markers)

1. Proto-Indo-European negation -- generally two types of verbal negation are reconstructed: **ne*, for finite indicative verbs, and **mē* (= **meH₁*) for modal negation, especially prohibitives (negative imperatives) but maybe more (see below)); referred to here as *n-negator and *m-negator

2. This reconstruction is largely based on direct, cf. (a), and indirect, cf. (b), evidence of such a distinction in various branches of IE, both Balkan and non-Balkan (and cf. (**4**) for more indirect evidence):

a. direct (*n- vs. *m-): Indo-Iranian (e.g. Sanskrit *na* vs. *mā*) and Albanian (e.g. *nuk* vs. *mos*)
b. indirect (presumed *n- vs. actual *m-): Armenian (*oč'* vs. *mi*) and Greek (οὐ (and extended forms οὐκ/οὐκί) vs. μή (ModGrk μη(ν)), based on Cowgill 1960

3. Cowgill 1960 on *oč'* and *mi*

a. οὐ(κί) and *oč'* derive from *ne … H₂oyu kʷid, where:

  • *ne = indicative negation marker of IE (Skt. *na*, Goth. *ni*, OCS *ne*, etc.)
  • *H₂oyu = neuter noun for 'long life' (Skt. *āyu-*, etc. and the extended family of adverbs from case forms, e.g. Grk αἰεί 'forever' (< *H₂eyw-es-i) and other derivatives, e.g., Vedic *yuvan-* 'young man', etc. < *H₂yu-Hon-)
  • *kʷid = neuter singular indefinite pronoun (cf. Grk τι, Lat *quid*, Skt. *cid*, etc.)

b. this combination = a PIE negation phrase, presumably originally emphatic (thus semantically like Eng. *not on your life!*, as has been noted (e.g. by Watkins and others) or temporally oriented (i.e., 'never'), and note *never* as a simple negator in Norwich (British) English (Trudgill 2005) and cf. equivalence of *nevertheless/nonetheless*.
c. the absence of a reflex of *ne is the result of a truncation and semantic transfer to remaining elements of the phrase, like the developments that give *pas* as the colloquial French negator from an earlier discontinuous negation *ne …pas* (literally, "not … a step")

d. Thus, "evidence" for *n-negator in *oč'/oὐ* is inferred – how else to get negative meaning out of forms (*H_2oyu k^{w}id) except with some once-overt negative element?

4. Reconstruction in (**1**) is bolstered by the occurrence of each of the elements as the sole "nucleus" for negation in some of the other branches (so that both an *n- and an *m- negator need to be reconstructed anyway), presumably via a generalization of one "nucleus" over the other

a. Tocharian *mā* (note though TochB prohibitive *mar*)
b. Balto-Slavic: Old Church Slavonic *ne*, Lithuanian *ne*
c. Latin *ne* (e.g. in *nolō* 'I do not want' (< *ne-wolō*), *nē* 'that not'

5. So also by similar sorts of distinctions made with different (or altered but related) elements:

a. Hittite: *na* (in *na-tta*) vs. *lē* (prohibitive (most likely a dissimilation from a *nē (not necessarily PIE, though cf. (5b)))
b. Latin *ne* (as in (4c), cf. also combinations like *nōn* 'not' (which took over as normal indicative negator) vs. *nē* 'that not' (in prohibitives (and other modal negation)), perhaps from a lengthened variant of *ne (attested in Vedic *nā* (1x)), but more interesting here if it is due to crossing of *ne with *mē (which might explain its functional range))

6. More Balkan evidence on form of negation: Albanian and *ne …H_2oyu k^{w}id (more grist for reconstructing PIE negation phrase)

a. Albanian *as-* = (prefix-like) negator in compounds, especially with pronominal elements of various sorts, e.g.: *asnjë* 'no one' (cf. *një* 'one'), *asgjë* 'nothing' (cf. *gjë* 'thing'), etc.
b. Also, as a free word, *as* = 'and not', possible by itself (as in *nuk kam adresën time as telefon dhe e-mail* 'not I-have address my and-not telephone and e-mail', i.e. "I don't have my (mailing) address and no telephone and e-mail") but more usually repeated to mean 'neither … nor', e.g. *as mish as peshk* 'neither fish nor fowl' (literally: "and-not meat and-not fish"); relationship between *as-* and *as* is not certain
c. Most discussions of etymology of *as* and *as-* (see below) have focused on the free word *as* (so Pedersen 1900, Cowgill 1960, Borgeaud 1973, and others; cf. Orel 1999 for a summary); a few have explicitly linked *as* and *as-* (Meyer 1891; Hamp 1999)
d. My claim: most likely, prefixal/compound *as-* and free word *as* are **not** to be connected, but in any case, prefixal/compound *as-* has the more secure "interesting" story behind it (though foreshadowed by Pedersen and Cowgill for free word *as*!), from PIE *ne…H_2oyu k^{w}id
e. Applying (d) to Albanian (as Cowgill suggested, but here for prefixal *as-* not *as*):

  i. phonological developments all have solid parallels elsewhere in Albanian historical phonology (despite the doubts voiced by Huld (1984: 37); see Huld 1984 and Orel 1999 for details on the parallel cases cited here):

    • *k^{w}id > *s*, cf. assibilation of *k^w before front vowels (e.g. *si* 'how' from *k^{w}iyV- (cf. Latin *quia* 'why')), *sjell* 'bring' from *k^{w}el-, *sorrë* 'blackbird' from *k^{w}ērsnā, etc.) and Pre-Albanian general final syllable reduction (instantiated as full truncation for at least (some) high vowel syllables, cf. *kam* 'I have' < *kap-mi, *elb* 'barley' < *albhit, cf. Grk ἄλφι 'type of grain', ἄλφιτον 'pearl barley')

    • *H_2oyu > *a*, cf. *tre* 'three' < *treyes (showing final syllable truncation (perhaps after raising of *e => i /y__??) with loss of *-y-) and *natë* 'night' < *nok^{w}t-o-, *asht* 'bone' < *Hosteyo-, and *darkë* 'evening meal' < *dork^w-o-m (showing *o > *a*)

  ii. loss of *ne is like colloquial French (cf. (**4c**), and even this has a parallel within Albanian, based on Hamp's account (e.g. in Hamp 1999) of the Albanian negative *s'* as being from *ne … k^{w}id with truncation of *ne

iii. the function of prefixal/compound *as-* — simple negation in a compound — is consistent with the use posited for *ne … H₂oyu kʷid:

- especially since this use is found in Armenian and Greek (and possibly Germanic), and so is very likely to have been (or, better, to have become) a neutral (non-emphatic/non-temporal) negator even in PIE
- and, there is evidence for such a neutral negation usage from the "question" tag *aspo*, 'n'est-ce pas; nicht wahr; eh?', arguably from *as-* in original neutral sentence negation use (here highly elliptical) plus *po* 'yes', thus "no – yes?")
- thus there very likely *was* a free word *as** in pre-Albanian for simple negation, and it is the source of the prefixal/compound *as-*, but, this early *as** ≠ currently existing free word *as* – NB: this is a reason for being cautious in claiming "grammaticalization" based just on existing forms; under this account, the *re*-creation of an *as* (from *a* 'or' + *s* 'not') gives the *impression* of a connection (an ahistorical one!) between present-day free word *as* and compound/prefixal *as-*

II. On the FUNCTIONAL distinctions in negation (on syntax of *mē especially)

7. On the Multitude of uses of Albanian *mos* (examples in (**10**); key defining features for each in **bold**)
a. **modal** (nonindicative/irrealis) negator (e.g. subjunctives, optatives)
b. negator of **infinitives** and **participle-based nonfinite formations**
c. introducer of **prohibitives** and negative hortatives (with imperatival verb forms or with ives)
d. introducer (as part of **complement-introducing group**) of negatively evaluated clausal complements to verbs and nouns of fearing (that is, with complementizer *se* (as *se mos*), though cf. (g) regarding another interpretation of *se mos*)
e. introducer of main-clause **questions** with a tentative value
f. **prefix-like** negative combining-element in isolated derived word-formations
g. **pleonastic** negator in clausal complements to heads with negative force , e.g., *frikë* 'fear' (unless to be analysed as in (d))
h. negator in **ellipsis**

8. On the Multitude of uses of μή in Ancient Greek (examples given only selectively; key defining features for each in **bold**); most found also in Modern Greek (examples in (**10**))
a. **modal** (nonindicative/irrealis) negator (e.g. subjunctives, optatives, imperatives, and with certain constructions/conjunctions/complementizers (e.g. εἰ 'if', generalizing relative clauses, etc.)
b. negator of **infinitives** (Ancient Greek only) and, in certain uses (e.g. conditional) **participles**
c. introducer of **prohibitives** and negative hortatives (with imperatival verb forms or with subjunctives)
d. introducer (on its own as **complementizer**) of negatively evaluated clausal complements to verbs and nouns of fearing, with parallel use in main clause statements of warning or fear
e. introducer of main-clause **questions** (especially where expectation is for a negative answer), e.g. ἦ   **μή** που φάσθε 'Surely you do not think …?' (*Odys*. 6.200)
        surely μή how say/2SG
f. **prefix-like** negative combining-element in isolated derived word-formations (e.g. **μη**δέ 'and not'; others, such as **μή**τε 'and not', **μή**πως 'lest in any way', are often written with parts together but also written separately (as **μή** τε, **μή** πως, etc.) and since in such combinations the second word is inherently unaccented (note that in **μη**δέ, **μή** loses its accent), these most likely are compounds resulting from univerbation and not real derivation with prefix μη-)
g. **pleonastic** negator in clausal complements to "verbs of negative result" e.g. 'forbid', 'deny' (Liddell & Scott 1968, s.v.)
h. negator in **ellipsis** (e.g. τὶ **μή**? 'Why not (do something)?), sometimes somewhat prohibitive in value (e.g., **μή** μοι σύ 'None of that to me!' (literally: "Not to-me you" (with understood 2SG verb such as 'give' or 'do'))

i. negator of nonverbal **lexical** items and constituents (e.g. δίκαια καὶ μὴ δίκαια 'just (things) and <u>not</u>-just')

9. Indo-European Background to Uses of *mos* in (**7**) and μή in Ancient Greek in (**8**), thus a clue as to which uses are to be reconstructed for PIE and which are innovative in Albanian and Greek) -- Comparanda for these functions
a. Sanskrit *mā*:
  • **modal** negator on a restricted basis in later language (e.g. with injunctive in prohibitions, occasionally with optative, though not usual in that usage; Vedic examples with optative are restricted to one verb (√bhuj- 'enjoy') and seem to be the result of a reanalysis (so Hoffmann 1967))
  • **prohibitive**, usually with a finite verb in Vedic Skt (once however with imperative, though that is perhaps an error) but with imperative in later Skt
  • maybe **question** usage for later Sanskrit, e.g. *mā bhūd āgataḥ* 'Can he not have arrived?' (if this is not just a case of the "misuse" of *mā* for the more general negative *na*, as Monier-Williams 1899 has it; in any case, it is not clear that the *mā* adds dubitative/interrogative value or that this usage is dubitative in the same way as the Greek or Albanian usage)
  • **prefixal** in word-formation, e.g. *mā-kis* '(let/may) no one' (but not usual)
  • **elliptical** *ma:*, e.g. *mā śabdam* 'Not a word!'
b. Armenian *mi* :
  • **modal** negation, e.g. in purpose clauses and final clauses.
  • **prohibitive**, with the imperative (and only the present imperative)
  • **complementizer** to negatively evaluated clauses subordinate to verbs and nouns of fearing
  • **prefixal**, in word-formation (occasionally)
c. Tocharian *mā*:
  • **prefixal** word-formative element, (or constituent negator??), in translation of Sanskrit compounds with *a(n)-* (from *n̥-)
  • in **prohibitive** and general **modal** negator functions, *mar* (a suffixal form from same base as *mā*) is used, combining with optative, subjunctive, or indicative
  (otherwise functions are parallel to those of PIE *ne, that is, nonmodal (indicative) negation)

•• Therefore, **some** of the multi-functionality of Albanian *mos* and Ancient Greek μή is likely to be an inheritance from Proto-Indo-European, since several of the functions in (**7**) and (**8**), specifically modal negative use, prohibitive use, prefixal word-formative use, and elliptical use, and *maybe* the question use (though not specifically dubitative use), find parallel usages in other IE languages •

10. Examples of each Function in (**7**) for Albanian and (**8**) for Greek (here, Modern Greek (to begin to move into Balkan side of the issue), cited in a rough phonemic transcription for MGrk and standard orthography for Alb; (i) examples are from MGrk, and (ii) examples from Alb:
a. i. borí   na   *min* éxun   kimiθí
       can/3SG SUBJUNC *mi*   have/3PL slept
       'It is possible that they haven't gone to bed yet' (lit., "It can that they have not slept")
   ii. sikur të   *mos* jetë   bujku   usta
       if   SUBJUNC *mos*   be/3SG.SUBJ farmer/NOM.DEF craftsman
       'if the farmer were not a craftsman'
b. i. *min* éxondas   iðéa   ja   óla aftá, o jánis   tin   pandréftike
       mi   have/ACT.PPL idea/ACC about all-these the-John/NOM her/ACC married/3SG
       'Not having any idea about all these things, John married her' (Veloudis 1982:22)
   ii. për të   *mos* e marrë / duke *mos* marrë   asgjë
       INFINITIVAL *mos* him take/PPL GRDV *mos* take/PPL anything
       'in order not to take him'   / '(while) not taking anything'
c. i. *min* to   petáksis!
       mi   it/ACC throw/2SG
       'Don't throw it out!'
   ii. *mos* u   bëni   merak
       mos NONACT make/2PL care

        'Don't worry!'

d. i.   to   éskase apó fóvo *min* ton   xtipísun
         it/ACC burst/3SG from fear/ACC *mi* him/ACC beat/3PL
         'He ran off for fear that they might beat him' (Mackridge 1985:300)

    ii. kam   frikë se *mos* na   shajë
         have/1SG fear that *mos* us/ACC scold/3SG
         'I fear lest he scold us'

e. i.   *min* í∂es   to pe∂í?
         mi saw/2SG the-child/ACC
         'Did you perhaps (happen to) see the child?'

    ii. *mos* e   njihni   atë?
         mos him know/2PL him/ACC
         'Do you (perhaps) know him?'

f. i.   **míte** 'not even; neither' (for segmentability of *míte*, cf. *úte* 'not even; neither'); **mi∂én** 'zero' (for segmentability, cf. the finite indicative negator *∂en*); **mi∂é** 'not even; neither' (infrequent; cf. *u∂é* 'not even; neither'); **mípos** (a variant of *mi(n)* in main-clause tentative questions and with verbal and nominal complements of fearing, and note also, with regard to segmentability, the complementizer *pos* 'that'); **miɣár(is)** 'perhaps' (in tentative questions, though rather infrequent; **míɣaris** also occurs, even more rarely)

    ii. **mosbarazi** 'inequality' (cf. *barazi* 'equality'); **mosbesim** 'mistrust' (cf. *besoj* 'I trust'); **mosnjohje** 'ignorance' (cf. *njoh* 'I know'); **mosqeni** 'nonexistence' (cf. *qeni* 'being'); inter alia

g. i'. fováme   na   *min* érθi   (Veloudis 1982:11)
         fear/1SG SUBJUNC *mi* come/3SG
         'I am afraid that he may come' (NB: ≠ 'I am afraid he may
         not come')

    i''. ∂e se   embo∂ízo   na   *min* milás
         NEG you/ACC prevent/1SG SUBJUNC *mi* speak/2SG
         'I do not prevent you from speaking' (NB: ≠ 'I do not prevent you from not speaking')
             (Thumb 1964:200)

    ii. kam   frikë se   *mos* na   shajë
         have/1SG fear that *mos*   us/ACC   scold/3SG
         'I fear lest he scold us'

h. i'. parkarizména ke   *mi* aftokínita   ítan   pandú
         parked/NTR.PL   and *mi* automobiles/NTR were everywhere
         'Parked and unparked cars (i.e. 'cars that are parked and (ones that are) not (parked)') were everywhere' (based on Mackridge 1985:244)

    i''. *mi* ta xérja   su ékso
         mi the-hands/ACC your outside
         'Don't (put) your hands out!' (Mackridge 1985:244)

    i'''. *mi* xirótera
         mi worse/NTR.PL.COMPVE
         'What next? God forbid!' (literally: "(May) not worse (happen)!")

    ii. si   *mos* më   keq
         how *mos* COMPVE bad
         'in a lamentable state' (literally: "how (might) not worse (happen)?")

i. i'. se períptosi *mi* pliromís   tis epitajís
         in case/ACC *mi* payment/GEN the-check/GEN
         '... in (the) case of nonpayment of the check'

    i''. i   *mi* kapnistés   káqonde e∂ó
         the *mi* smokers/NOM sit/3PL   here
         'Non-smokers sit here'

    ii. NO EXAMPLES (UNLESS SOME INSTANCES OF (f) GO HERE)

11. A further use of the "*m*-negator" in Albanian and Modern Greek (and a comparison with Ancient Greek and other languages)

a. independent utterance expressing negative actions (i.e. prohibitions), a one-word prohibition:

    i. *mi*! 'Don't!'
    ii. *mos*! 'Don't!'

b. interestingly (and significantly): there are *no* apparent Ancient Greek instances of independent usage expressing negative actions (prohibitions), nothing directly comparable to the Albanian or Modern Greek usage (except in ellipsis with other words, as in (**8h**) above)

c. there are some seemingly cognate uses elsewhere, but still not a compelling comparison since the meaning is *not* prohibitive: Sanskrit shows independent use of *mā* (though often repeated, *mā mā*) meaning 'Not so!' (perhaps an extension of elliptical usage, since it can also occur in this meaning with emphasizing word, especially *tāvat* or *eva* 'so'); moreover, Sanskrit shows elliptical *ma:* with prohibitive value (cf. (**9a**) above, <u>mā</u> *śabdam* 'Not a word!')

IV. Evaluating Greek-Albanian Shared *m*-Negator Features (and Balkan contribution to the functional reconstruction):

12. The **shared inheritances (retentions)**

a. nonindicative (modal) negator *mē as distinct from an indicative negator

b. much of the wide functional range of *mē (in particular, prohibitives, *fear*-complementizer, prefixal word-formative, pleonastic negator, elliptical negator, constituent negator), though maybe with some innovations in details, e.g. which verb form is used in prohibitives, e.g. subjunctive or imperative

13. The **shared innovations** -- distinguish between "*pre-Balkan* innovations" (= those found in Albanian and Ancient Greek (and continuing into Modern Greek)) and "*Balkan* innovations" (= those found in Albanian and <u>Modern</u> Greek, to the exclusion of Ancient Greek and thus likely to involve language contact and diffusion from Modern Greek to Albanian or from Albanian to Modern Greek); "pre-Balkan innovations" are of potential significance for Indo-European dialectology, whereas "Balkan innovations" are potentially important for the study of the Balkan Sprachbund (linguistic convergence area):

a. introducer of tentative main-clause questions (pre-Balkan innovation) -- found in Ancient Greek (cf. (**8e**)) and Modern Greek (cf. (**10ei**)), and in Albanian (cf. (**10eii**)) and nowhere else (Tocharian B question usage for *mā* involves simple negation of a question, and so is probably a carry-over from a usage of *ne (the PIE ordinary sentence negator) when *mē replaced *ne in Tocharian, and not a special interrogative use of *mā*; see (**9a**) re Sanskrit question usage for its *m*-negator)

b. nonfinite negator (Balkan innovation)— found in Albanian (with participle-based formations (especially gerundives and the infinitival formation)) and in later Greek (in ModGrk with active participles), but not in Ancient Greek (in AncGrk, μή could negate infinitives and participles, but so too could οὐ, the choice depending on the infinitive's or participle's value (modal or factual)). This usage in ModGrk can be seen as an extension of the modal negation inherited from AncGrk, given the often non-indicative value of infinitives and participles; **but** since it is post-Ancient Greek (where either οὐ or μή could be used with the participle versus only μη(ν) being possible with participle in later Greek), it could be a contact-induced feature in later Greek (borrowed from Albanian) or in Albanian (borrowed from Greek)

c. one-word prohibitive utterance (Balkan innovation) – found in Albanian and Modern Greek but not Ancient Greek (cf. (**11**))

14. Actually, the one-word prohibitive **is** found in other languages, but importantly **only** in the Balkans, thus arguably a Balkan diffusion feature; cf. (a), Balkan Romani (with *m*-negator), and (b), Balkan Slavic dialects (a calqued usage not with *mé but with native Slavic material, surely as a secondary development to judge from its absence in non-Balkan Slavic, cf. Greenberg 1996, Joseph 2002):

a. Balkan Romani:
    • *Ma*! 'Don't'

• *Ma* be, Ismet! 'Don't, hey, Ismet!'
b. Balkan Slavic
• (SWBlg) *Nemoj*, ne pipaj 'Hey, don't touch!'
• (SEMac) *Nim* bre, Argíre 'Don't, hey, Argir!'

V. Further Contact Effects with Negation (etc.) in the Balkans

15. How the one-word prohibitive usage of *mos*/*mi* (in (**11**)) developed in the first place: perhaps from a Romanian (most likely, Aromanian) base (cf. Joseph 2002), as a language in which the same negative form is used to introduce a prohibitive verb and as an independent prohibitive utterance (so that a cross-language analogy (i.e., a calque) based on Aromanian could give the usage observed in Greek and Albanian), e.g. with the verb 'do':

	Romn	**nu** face!	:	**nu**! (= NEG 'do!' : NEG!)
::	Grk	**mi** kánis	:	X! (X => **mi**)
::	Alb	**mos** bëj!	:	X! (X => **mos**!)

16. Other Borrowings involving Negation in the Balkans
a. ModGrk γιοκ, Mac. *jok* 'emphatic negation' (< Turkish *yok* 'no! there is no…')
b. Turkish *ba* 'oh!' (< Grk μπα ([ba]) 'ah well' (but also 'unh unh; no way'))
c. Macedonian and Aromanian (in each case, dialects in Greece) *mi* 'particle introducing prohibitive' (< Modern Greek μη)
d. the gestures of an upward head nod to signal negation, found at least in Greek, Romanian, and Turkish — Greek as likely source given what is known about Ancient Greek gestures and the fact that the distribution especially in Italy coincides with geographic limits of Magna Graecia (Morris et al. 1979)

17. Negation is (generally) Discourse-related and the borrowings in (**16**) fit in with a host of forms in the Balkans, showing a pattern of **intimate borrowing**, involving highly colloquial forms (Joseph 1995, 1997), e.g.:

a. 'unceremonious term of address', ultimately from Greek (where there are as many as 55 different variants of this form; see Joseph 1997):
   Turkish: *bre, bire, be*
   Albanian: *o, ore, or, mor, more, moj, ori, mori, moré, mre, voré, bre*
   Romanian: *bre, mà, màri*
   Bulgarian: *more, mori, bre*
   Macedonian: *more, mori, bre*
   Serbian: *more, mori, bre*
   Greek: μωρέ, μπρε, βρε, ρε, αρέ, μαρέ, μαρή, ορέ, βορέ, etc. (the source of practically all the forms elsewhere in the Balkans)
b. exhortative elements: Romanian: *haide* / "2PL" *haideti* / "1PL" *haidem* 'c'mon; gw'an; let's go'; Serbian *hajde* / *hajdemo* / *hajdete*, Albanian *hajde* (SG) / *hajdeni* (PL), Greek άιντε, all probably from Turkish *ay* (interjection) + *de* (from *de-mek* 'to say'); Greek έλα 'c'mon' (source of Bulgarian/Macdonian *ela*)
c. interjections: e.g., Albanian *hopa*, Greek ώπα!) 'oops'; Albanian *pa pa pa* 'alas!', Greek πα πα πα, for disgust); Albanian *aman* 'oh my!', Greek αμάν (from Turkish *aman*)
d. onomatopoeia (and the like): e.g., Albanian *ham-ham* for a dog's noise — cf. Romanian *ham*, Greek γαυ γαυ, Turkish *hav hav*; noise for attracting a cat: Greek ψι ψι ψι, Bulgarian and Romanian *ps ps ps*

VII. Some Conclusions

18. Consequences of (**17**) for IE and Balkan dialectology:
a. *(ne)… H₂oyu kʷid therefore is found in Armenian, Greek, and Albanian (and possibly Germanic) as a neutral negator; given this distribution, it may well **not** represent a shared phraseological/grammatical innovation, but rather may reflect a PIE usage, with the loss of

*ne and the shift to ordinary (as opposed to emphatic or temporal) negation having occurred already in PIE

b. If so, this feature would be a shared retention, something not generally considered probative for subgrouping; yet, following Hamp's 1984 claim that shared retentions can be significant in contact areas, as contact reinforces the occurrence of inherited material that might otherwise be replaced (and cf. Evans 2001 also), the retention in Greek and Albanian, and quite likely Armenian too, can point to a close dialectological link within IE for these languages (and cf. Clackson 1994 (and others before him) on Armenian and Greek alone).

c. Moreover, this feature fits into a network of further shared aspects of negation that link Greek and Albanian (with some connection as well with Armenian), involving both inheritances (= shared retentions) and innovations, and in some cases possibly borrowing (in that some are realized within Greek only in Modern Greek, and so may well be "Balkan" in origin), as outlined above (cf. (**12**) and (**13**))

19. In the end, we have something very positive to say about negatives in the Balkans! (Greek *min* justifies this end!)

VIII. References

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