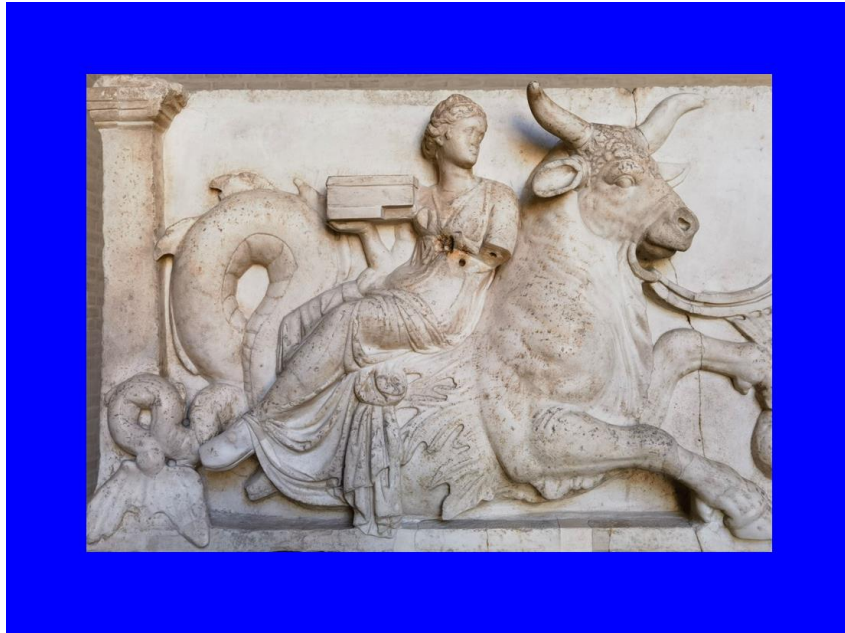# East Coast Indo-European Conference XLIV (ECIEC 44)

June 20–22, 2025, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

LMU München, Lehrstuhl für Historische und Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft

ABSTRACTS

Europa mit dem Stier

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Syntactic Quirks of Adjectives

In many Indo-European languages, adjectives can appear in a range of syntactic contexts: attributively (*a black cat*), predicatively (*The cat was black*), as secondary predicates (*She painted the room black*), and in appositive constructions (*The common raven, black, large, and unusually intelligent, is the most widely distributed of all corvids*). However, not all adjectives can be used freely in all positions. This talk explores some of the constraints and distributional quirks of adjectives across several Indo-European languages, with a particular focus on languages that maintain (or have only recently lost) definiteness marking on adjectives.

The second half of the talk turns to Greek adjectives that show feminine agreement forms in both -η/-α and -ος. These, too, display an uneven syntactic distribution, with -ος forms disproportionately occurring in predicative or secondary predicate positions. I will argue that this pattern reflects a diachronic link to earlier indefinite forms. Moreover, the distribution may provide additional support for the view that the adjectival formative *-e-h₂-* originally marked definiteness before being reanalyzed as the feminine agreement marker.

Mark Hale (Concordia University–Montreal)

*Why can Christ wash his disciples' feet with his palms (*fôti mid is folmun 4506*), but not with his hands (**fôti mid is handun*) in the Old Saxon Heliand*?

This paper explores the relationship between syntax, prosody, and meter in West Germanic alliterative verse, with a special focus on the Old Saxon *Heliand* and *Genesis* poems. The central claim is that the focus on "metrical types" and the taxonomic classification of lines, coupled with an inadequate understanding of syntax, has led to an undervaluing of the critical role of the syntax-prosody mapping in the language of these texts in recent work on the meter of Old Saxon and Old English.

Craig Melchert

Hittite šiye/a-[mi] *'to throw, shoot' vs.* šai-[hhi] *'to impress, seal'*

The *CHD Š* (2002) 15–21 gives a single entry for **šai- B, šiye-** with meanings deriving from 'to impress, seal' *or* 'to throw, shoot' and tentatively concludes that the attested mixed inflection and two quite distinct senses probably represent conflation of a *mi*-verb with the second meaning and a *ḫi*-verb with the first, but avers that we cannot separate the two in the attested averbo. *EDHIL* (2008) 695, *GrHL*[1] (2008) §13.30, and still *GrHL*[2] (2024) §13.30 essentially agree. They follow Kimball, *GSCowgill* 163–81, in deriving the *mi*-verb from *$h_1és$-ye/o-*, while Oettinger (*Stammbildung* 473–74) and Melchert (*HS* 102 [1989] 37–38) start from a *sh_1-yé/ó-[mi]* to the root *$seh_1(i)$-* 'to let go, release from the hand'. *LIV*[2]: 242–43 & 518 allows for both possibilities.

A reexamination of the attestations shows that all unambiguous *ḫi*-forms of šai- in clear contexts (including NH) mean 'to impress' etc. Total evidence is limited, but confirmed by the fact that its expected pluractional stem *šišša-[ḫḫi]* also shows only senses based on 'to impress'. Only in late NH do we find *šiya-* 'to impress' and the like with either *ḫi-* or *mi*-inflection (as with most other *ḫi*-verbs in -*i*-!). We must follow Kimball with minor adjustments. If Hittite ever had a verb stem *šai-[ḫḫi]* 'to release, let go' related to Luwian *šā-[ḫḫi]* and Lycian *ha-[di]*, it has been totally replaced in all uses by *tarna-*.

Anthony Yates (University of California at Los Angeles)

*The development of Hittite ḫi-verbs in –(a)i– and the ablaut of the *h_2e-conjugation*

It is generally assumed that Hittite –($\breve{a}$)*i*-ablauting *ḫi*-verbs continue PIE *h_2e-conjugation *i*-Presents, but the ablaut of this category is disputed. I provide new evidence in support of Kimball's (1998) and

Melchert's (2022) reconstruction of these verbs with *ó/é*-root ablaut (rather than root *é/ø* per Jasanoff 2001; suffixal *ó/ø* per Kloekhorst 2008, 2014). Crucial evidence for this reconstruction comes from plural forms like Hittite [*p*]*ĭšten* 'give!' and *prīwani* 'we blow', which I argue continue *péh₁-i-sten* and *préh₁-i-weni* via a new(-ish) proposed Hittite sound change whereby *[é] was raised to *[í] when it preceded a single [+continuant] consonant followed by *[i] (cf. Eichner 1973, 1980).

David Goldstein (University of California at Los Angeles)
Articles are inversely associated with case in Indo-European

One of the central goals of linguistic theory is to identify the boundaries of cross-linguistic variation and the factors that constrain the space of possible languages. The relationship between nominal case marking and the development of definite and indefinite articles in Indo-European languages is a critical test case for this inquiry. While some researchers argue that the loss of case facilitates the grammaticalization of articles, others view this claim as empirically unfounded and theoretically unmotivated. Previous studies have relied on limited samples and have failed to control for Galton's problem---that is, the non-independence of linguistic data due to shared ancestry and geographic proximity. This study offers the first large-scale statistical investigation of this issue across Indo-European. The results reveal a robust inverse correlation: articles tend to emerge as case is lost. Although this association has served as the basis for theoretical proposals linking case loss to article emergence, such proposals risk conflating correlation with causation. This investigation underscores the difficulty of making causal inferences from typological data and contributes to a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between linguistic change and grammatical theory.

Gerd Carling (with Nour Efrat-Kowalsky; Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt a. M.)
Building a model for a phylolinguistic inference of grammaticalization

Grammaticalization is a well-known principle of language change. The process, first observed by Meillet (Meillet 1912), involves a linguistic change where content words of open classes, such as nouns and verbs, gradually lose their semantic content (semantic bleaching) and become function words of closed classes. In the procedure, the form of the words often become weakened (phonological erosion) (McMahon 1994). Due to the importance of grammaticalization in language change, it is considered vital to the reconstruction of principles of language evolution (Heine and Kuteva 2011). It is also important to general theories on the speed of language change. However, to set up a quantified model, testing the evolutionary principles of grammaticalization is a challenge, in particular due to the patterns of behaviour of grammaticalization: a grammaticalized item may continue to exist in a language, side by side with its grammaticalized form. In the current presentation, we start by analysing a database of grammaticalization, digitized from the Dictionary of Grammaticalization (Heine and Kuteva 2004). Evidently, nouns (27%) and verbs (34%) are the most common starting points for grammaticalization. In nouns, some semantic classes are overrepresented, most commonly BODY PARTS (42%), PERSON (17%) and PHYSICAL WORLD (17%). Verbal meanings are also restricted. Exemplified on Indo-European, we will focus first on the evolutionary behaviour of the source items, including their substitution rates, propensity for colexification, and borrowability. Further on, we will present a model for how the procedure of change from content word to function word can be analysed by a quantified model.

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Hans Henrich Hock (University of Illinois –Urbana-Champaign)

Subversion, convergence, chance – Shooting from the hip or gnarly investigation?

This presentation argues that investigations of language contact need to devote detailed attention to historical evidence and that, moreover, the traditional unidirectional "substratum" approach must in principle be replaced by a bi- or multidirectional "convergence" approach, in which languages, or rather their speakers, are actively involved in bi- or multilingual oral interaction.

I begin with a brief discussion of the problem of German-Czech contact. In the early editions of *Principles of historical linguistics*, I took a "shoot-from-the-hip" approach arguing for unidirectional influence of German on Czech. Closer investigation and more recent publications (e.g. by Berger 2009) raise questions about this approach and suggest a more complex interaction. What deserves more detailed, "gnarly" investigation is the question of which German dialects were spoken in early Czechia and how German and Czech speakers interacted.

I continue with a discussion of the synchronic proposal of a (Western) European Sprachbund, with French and German as core languages (e.g. Haspelmath 2001) and the historical argument of Drinka (2011, 2017) that the Sprachbund developed under the "elite roofing" of Latin and the Carolinian Empire. Focusing on word order and auxiliary selection in the perfect, I show that the "European Sprachbund" is synchronically not as well defined as proposed, but that there is a fair amount of commonality at earlier historical stages. The earlier commonality, however, extends beyond the Carolinian Empire and most likely reflects developments in the late Roman Empire, spreading through vernacular interaction in the multilingual setting of that Empire.

The bulk of my presentation focuses on retroflexion in South Asia, with detailed discussion of the problem of chance similarities and of uneven chronological attestation, and with an argument that replaces the traditional unidirectional "substratum" influence of Dravidian on Indo-Aryan with a more nuanced two-step scenario of bi- or multidirectional "convergence", first in the transition zone between South and Central Asia and then in peninsular South Asia.

I conclude with a brief discussion of the implications of these findings for investigations of proposed prehistoric contact interactions; and I argue for the principle of accommodation by speakers engaged in bi- or multilingual oral interaction as the foundation of linguistic convergence. This approach acknowledges the central role of speakers – "languages" don't interact, speakers do!

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Jesse Lundquist (Princeton)

Once More on 'Der griechische Verbalaccent'

In his seminal proposal, Wackernagel (1877) equated the Ancient Greek "recessive" accent in finite verbs (i.e., as far left as the Law of Limitation allows; Gunkel 2014) with the Vedic verbal accent of finite verbs in main clauses. The latter are marked and heard as *anudātta* 'not having the high tone', which Wackernagel understood as enclitic. On the strength of the Vedic evidence and the hypothesis that Greek could be derived from it, Wackernagel posited that verbs in the proto-language were prosodically like Vedic; Wackernagel (1892: esp. §12, p.427) corroborated with Germanic evidence, primarily in the verb-second syntax of German(ic), which he equated with the "second"-position clitics of his eponymous law. That the Ancient Greek verbal accent should be derived from an erstwhile enclitic verb continues to be maintained (Dieu 2022, critical review Lundquist *fthcm.*).

However, nearly every step of this argument is problematic and will be revisited in my talk. In the wake of Klein (1992) and especially Hock (2014), (2019), we can agree with Weiss (2020: 117) that "[t]he non-accentuation of verbs in main clauses in Vedic has nothing to do with enclisis of the more general sort" (cf. Fortson 2008: 266). First, I will work through arguments that the Vedic verbal accent largely reflects intonation (so too Keydana 2021, Sandell 2023: 294–305) and at least the *anudātta* should not be taken to mean "clitic." Next, I will turn briefly to the Germanic evidence, which, I object, does not support a clitic verb in PIE (contra Dieu 2022: 197): German verb-second linearization is better handled by syntax (verb or tense raising to C) than by prosodic movement of clitic verbs. I show that some evidence does positively indicate a weaker prosodic status of verbs relative to nominals in the metrical evidence of Sievers' rule of precedence (Minkova 2017); but this fact tracks the cross-linguistic typology of nouns being prosodically privileged over verbs (Haspelmath 2012: with ref.).

We return to the Greek evidence and do *not* begin from an enclitic verb. Instead, Proto-Greek inherits a verbal accent directly akin to that seen in Indo-Iranian. I build on the proposal by Probert (2012), (2023) that takes an accented verb as the starting point for the recessive accentuation of Greek: The Law of Limitation arose through a reanalysis of existing forms that "obeyed" the law before it had come into force. The Law of Limitation must have a synchronic analysis in order for learners to construct it in the first place; I will formalize the law in a metrical model based on Steriade (1988) and especially the constraint-based framework of Probert (*fthcm*). Finally, I ask why the verb became all but uniformly recessive while the noun did not. I answer this question by investigating how many verbal categories were inherited into Proto-Greek with inherently accented suffixes (such as thematic *-sḱé/ó-* or athematic *-né-*) and find the answer is surprisingly few (recent overviews of some Greek verbal categories in Willi 2018, Ringe 2024). This paper contributes, then, to establishing new views of verbal prosody in PIE, of diachrony in prosodic systems, and of the changes leading up to the specificities of Ancient Greek's recessive accentuation.

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Michaël Peyrot (Universiteit te Leiden)
Primary and secondary functions of the Tocharian middle voice

In the literature, the Tocharian middle is described as having a large number of different functions. Among these are categories that are difficult to define such as "Eventiv" and "Intensiv" in Schmidt, *Die Gebrauchsweisen des Mediums im Tocharischen* (1974). In this paper, I will focus on the functions of the Tocharian middle when it is contrastive to the active. I will try to show that the primary function of the contrastive middle seems to have been indirect reflexive, with several further functional developments, in particular functional bleaching, refunctionalisation and lexicalisation. Passive function is the most frequent, but probably secondary.

Vicky Reiter & Angelo Mascheroni (Universität Wien)

Tocharian AB täṅk- *'check, stop, hinder' and PIE* *teng^h- *'pull'*

The Tocharian A and B verb *täṅk-*, meaning 'check, stop, hinder, withhold' (DTB: 306; DThTA: 209), _Reiter.pdf_ ally derived from the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) root *$teng^h$* 'pull' (reconstructed as *t^heng^h* in LIV²: 657). This root is also attested in Iranian, Balto-Slavic, and Germanic, with possible evidence in Italic (Kümmel 2016). The Tocharian verb is well-represented in both languages (cf. Malzahn 2010: 648 for an overview of its attested forms), appearing with both concrete (1) and abstract (2) direct objects:

(1) A 63 a4+ (CEToM)
[…] *wotār*   *ārkyant*   *wätsyās*
   put.VERB.3.PL.CAUS.PRT.A   white.ADJ.ACC.PL.FEM.   parasol.NOUN.ACC.PL.FEM.
   śāwaṃ   **caṅkär**   **swāñceṃ**
   big.ADJ.ACC.PL.FEM.   hinder.VERB.3.PL.PRT.A.ray of light.NOUN.ACC.SG.FEM.
   ko(ñ-ñäktes)
   sun-god.COMP.NOUN.GEN.SG.M.

"[…] (they) put [up] large white sunshades [and thus] **stopped the ray[s] of the sun**."

(2) IOL Toch 155 b1 (CEToM)
/// – *no*   **ceṅkeṃ**   *mäntaññeṃ*
   but.CONJ.   hinder.VERB.3.PL.PRS.A.   destroy.VERB.3.PL.PRS.A.
   krent   *ṣamāññe* […]
   good.ADJ.ACC.SG.M.   monkhood.NOUN.ACC.SG.ALT.

"… but (they) **stop** [and] disturb the good **monkhood** […]"

However, the synchronic meaning of *täṅk-* poses a challenge for its connection to PIE *$teng^h$* since it does not match the semantics supposed by the Core IE languages. Explanations such as a shift from 'being heavy, pulling (and thus obstructing progress)' (LIV²) or 'making something difficult for someone' (Heidermanns 1993: 630) have been proposed, but these rely solely on semantic reasoning and lack morphological or cross-linguistic support. As a result, the etymology has been met with scepticism (cf. de Vaan 1999: 16; Majer 2017: 263).

In this talk, we present a comprehensive investigation of all attested verbal and nominal formations of AB *täṅk-*, drawing on the CEToM database, including newly discovered texts. By considering both semantic and morphological features, as well as their philological contexts, we aim to identify potential *Scharnierformen* or specific constructions that could explain the semantic shift from 'pull' to 'hinder'. This approach is supported by the evidence from other branches, where the reflexes exhibit alternating semantics between agentive 'to pull (vel sim.)' and stative 'be heavy', which calls for a more detailed explanation as well. We propose that at least in Slavic, where both 'pull' and 'heavy' are attested, the semantic shift may have originated from a neuter *s*-stem abstract *$t\k{e}go, t\k{e}\check{z}ese$* that originally meant 'pulling' or 'what is pulled' and from which 'weight, heaviness, burden' was derived. Stüber (2002) and Höfler (2023) have shown similar developments in other IE *s*-stems, and additional support comes from the individual Slavic languages, where abstract formations from the root can mean either 'traction' or 'weight' or *both* (cf. EDSIL: 493). Finally, derived nominal formations showing 'heavy/weight'-semantics are also found in Iranian (cf. Kümmel 2016: 220).

For Tocharian, this reassessment furthermore contributes to a clearer interpretation of the noun *teṅke* (n.) '(sheep)fold, pen' (DTB: 322; Malzahn 2013: 168), traditionally seen as an ethnic or tribal name (Ching & Ogihara 2010: 85), but more plausibly an abstract noun meaning 'checkpoint', thus aligning with the root's semantics (cf. Peyrot 2015: 224).

Building on a fresh evaluation of the Tocharian evidence, we can refine our understanding of the fundamental meaning of the PIE root itself. By reassessing the semantic and morphological patterns, we gain a more precise reconstruction of the root's original sense, its range of meanings, and its potential developments across different Indo-European branches.

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Norbert Oettinger (Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg)

Hittite -*want*-, PIE *-μont- and PIE chronology

In Hittite, *pittalwa*- and *pittalwant*- 'untreated, unseasoned' stand side by side as variants with the same meaning. The suffix -*want*- of *pittalwant*- has, of course, always been regarded as an *nt*-extension of *pittalwa*-. In adjectives such as Hitt. *samankurwant*- 'bearded', on the other hand, -*want*- has been regarded as a continuation of an inherited possessive suffix *-μent- or *-μont-. An attempt is made to show that an inherited possessive suffix of this kind never existed in Anatolian. If this is true, then it naturally has consequences for our image of the PIE Grundsprache.

José Luis García Ramón (Universität zu Köln)

Phraseology, Onomastics, *indogermanische Dichtersprache*

Greek and Vedic (and partly also Avestan) share a number of collocations, with CHARIOT, WHEEL, PATH and JUSTICE ~ TRUTH as constitutive elements, which, although expressed by different lexemes, can only be inherited, namely [CHARIOT – of JUSTICE ~ TRUTH] (ἅρμα δίκης Sim. [MN Ἁρμό-δικος] : *rátha- r̥tásya* RV) and [WHEEL – of TRUTH] (εὐκυκλής Ἀλήθεια* Parm. : *cakrá- r̥tásya* RV, probably reflected in Hitt. *ḫurki-* 'wheel' as 'legal procedure'), [STRAIGHT – PATH] (ἰθεῖα ὁδός/κέλευθος : Ved. *sādhú- pánthā-* : Av. *ərəzu- paṇtā-*) and [PATH – of JUSTICE~TRUTH (δίκᾱς κέλευθος Bacch., Ἀληθείας ὁδός Eur. : Ved. *pánthā- r̥tásya* : Av. *paṇtā- aṣ̌ahiiā*). The rather discontinuous evidence for these correspondences may be understood as *disiecta membra* of a complex of metaphors in which JUSTICE ~ TRUTH is conceptualised as a well-fitted chariot travelling on a straight path. On the other hand, the collocation [STRAIGHT (RIGHT) – JUSTICE] (εὐθεῖα/ἰθεῖα (ὀρθή) – δίκη] (MN Εὐθύ-δικος / Ἰθύ-δικος, Ὀρθό-δικος) is a specific creation of Greek, based on the aforementioned inherited patterns.

Jeremy Rau (Harvard University)
Greek Miscellanea

Jay Jasanoff (Harvard University)
Two kinds of IE thematic presents
A distinction can be drawn between two kinds of thematic presents in the early IE languages — the "simple" type, with accented *e*-grade of the root and no derivational suffix beyond the thematic vowel itself; and the "derived" type, where the stem ends in an inherently thematic suffix (*-i̯e/o-*, *-sḱe/o-*, *-ei̯e/o-*, etc.). The first goal of this paper is to study in detail the formal difference(s) between the two types, which are most salient in the middle. This leads to a new perspective on the disputed question of whether the simple type existed in undivided PIE.

Tim Barnes (University of Oxford)
Old Avestan hiiaṯ

The form of the Old Avestan neuter sg. nom.-acc. relative pronoun *hiiaṯ* is an enigma. In the first part of the paper, I examine the evidence of the manuscripts themselves. Whilst it is well known that the Iranian mss. tend to read *hiiaṯ* or replace it with Young Avestan *yaṯ*, less well known is the orthographic practice of the oldest Indian mss., which attest, in addition to *hiiaṯ*, a form *yiiaṯ* (as indeed was edited by Westergaard). The practice of Rōstam Mihrābān can be reconstructed as follows (on the basis of a complete survey of the attestations in the ms. **J2 = 500**): the *h-* form is optional within the verse, whilst at verse- or pada-initial position, *yiiaṯ* alone is found (and a similar distribution obtains in the YH). This distribution must reflect a real recitational distinction; *yiiaṯ* is not a graphic compromise between *hiiaṯ* and Young Avestan *yaṯ* , as is sometimes thought; nor is it a sporadic Indian "loss of h"; both explanations which should have obtained without regard to the position in the verse. These orthographies reflect two recitational solutions to what may be reconstructed as the Sasanian (and earlier) pronunciation of this particular form of the relative pronoun, as it appears in the Old Avestan texts, as disyllabic **iiaṯ* . Since the form undoubtedly scans as a monosyllable in the Gāthās, an explanation for the disyllabic recitational form must be sought in earlier stages of the recitational tradition.
The next step is to look for parallels. A descriptively similar disyllabic initial is attested in Middle and New Persian forms of the root *yaz-* (MP *ēzišn* 'sacrifice', Cl. NP *ēzad* 'divinity' < **íi̯ az-°*, cf. *mēzd < *míi̯ azd-°*); while these have no counterparts in Old Avestan orthography,

they do point to a solution. Even more tantalising is the fact that the form of the neuter sg. relative pronoun itself, in non-Achaemenid Western Iranian (viz., what will become the ezāfe), is best modelled as deriving from unaccented *$i\underset{\circ}{i}$ a > ī (for the phonology cf. MP *anīz*, NP *nīz* 'also, too' < *$\acute{a}ni\underset{\circ}{i}$ a(d)-cid, MP *mahīg* 'fish' < *$m\acute{a}\vartheta i\underset{\circ}{i}$ aka-, etc.), thus presupposing a form *$i\underset{\circ}{i}$ ad identical in its disyllabism to the Old Avestan. In the second part of the paper, a scenario is offered to account for all of these obviously related facts.

Martin Kümmel (Universität Jena)

Taking the tree seriously: Sievers' Law in Iranian?

Sievers' Law (SL) has, since Sievers (1878), normally been assumed to be of PIE age, based on the agreement of Indic with Germanic and further evidence from many other branches. However, it has also been known that Indic and Germanic do not agree completely, and that sequences arisen only by specifically Germanic sound changes can be the input of SL. One solution to this problem could be that SL was a living rule surviving from PIE into Proto-Germanic and hence reapplied to new sequences (thus, e.g., Ringe 2017: 144f.). But a parallel innovation in both branches is also conceivable, considering that SL in other branches has not generally been investigated more closely. If we want to apply the comparative method rigorously, we should reconstruct according to the tree, i.e. establish the state of affairs at least for every secure node. In the case of SL, already the (uncontroversial) Indo-Iranian node presents problems, since SL is rather hard to establish for Iranian. Schindler (1977) found only very few potential relic cases in Old Avestan, and otherwise there are lots of counterexamples. It has never been properly investigated whether this can be explained from an older stage with SL, and this turns out to be difficult, since Old Iranian clearly preserved the difference of inherited *CyV and *Ci(y)V, and thus, a loss of SL could not simply be due to a change like *CiyV > CyV as in later Vedic. The aim of my talk is to present the problematic data and two possible solutions.

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Zachary Rothstein-Dowden (Harvard University)

The long seṭ *vowel of Ved.* grabh$^{\mathrm{I}}$ *'seize'*

Alexander Nikolaev (University of Cyprus)

Lycian lada- *'wife'*

Following a review of previously proposed etymologies, it is argued that Lyc. AB *lada-* 'wife' goes back to Proto-Anatolian *$u\underset{\circ}{l}\acute{a}da\underset{\circ}{H}$ < *$u\underset{\circ}{l}\acute{e}h_1$-teh₂- (c.) 'the chosen one', made from the PIE root *$u\underset{\circ}{e}lh_1$- 'to choose', cf. Hitt. $^{(\mathrm{L\acute{U}})}k\bar{u}\check{s}a$- 'bride; daughter-in-law; groom; son-in-law' < *$\acute{g}(e)us$-ó- 'chosen; chooser'. The continuants of PIE *$u\underset{\circ}{e}lh_1$- are well attested in Indo-Iranian in the meaning 'to choose for marriage', cf. Ved. *vará-* (m.) 'suitor' (cf. Parāčī $\gamma ara(-b\bar{a}l\bar{o})$ 'bridegroom'), $v\underset{\circ}{r}\underset{\circ}{n}\bar{\imath}$-^{te} referring to the choice of a husband (Jamison 2001), and, perhaps, OAv. 1 sg. aor. subj. *niuuarānī*, used in a marital context in Y. 53.4, the Gāthic wedding hymn. In Greek, the name of Helen (Lac. Fελένᾱ), the quintessential bride, may go back to *$u\underset{\circ}{e}len\bar{a}$, formed from the same root as Ved. $v\underset{\circ}{r}$-, although alternative etymologies have been proposed. The "State II" allomorph *$u\underset{\circ}{l}eh_1$- appears not only in Ved. *vrā́-* (f.), denoting a female chooser, but also in Venet. *leno* 'wish$^?$', Lat. *lēnō* 'pimp' (*'the purveyor of the desired thing / *$u\underset{\circ}{l}eh_1$-no-'), as

well as in Gk. (Dor.) λῆν 'to want' < Proto-Greek *$u̯lḗi̯e/o$-, continuing a thematized h_2e-conjugation *i*-present *$u̯leh_1$-*i*- with descriptive Schwebeablaut, as expected in these formations. (Sequences of the type *CREHU* are argued to be exempt from the so-called "Rix-metathesis"). The verbal stem *$u̯leh_1$-*i*- 'choose' may also be directly continued in Anatolian.

Ron Kim (Adam Mickiewicz University – Poznań)
Gothic nominal inflection and problems of relative chronology

As in the other older Germanic languages, Gothic exhibits parallel reflexes of Proto-Germanic *ja*-stem nominal inflection for light and heavy stems, e.g. *harjis* 'army', gen. *harjis* vs. *sipōneis* 'follower, disciple', gen. *sipōneis*. The standard view holds that *-j-* in the former has been taken over from the oblique cases, but the selective restoration of *-j-* in *harjis*, but not in acc. *hari**, *sipōni* or neuter nom./acc. *kuni* 'kin', has never been properly motivated; contrast the systematic leveling of *-j-* in *jan*-stems (e.g. *gudja* 'priest', gen. *gudjins*; *gudjinassus** 'priesthood') and Class I weak presents (e.g. *ganasjan* 'save', pres. 3sg. *ganasjiþ*).

The inflection of *ja*-stems in Gothic is best explained by assuming that (1) word-final [ã] < Proto-Germanic (PGmc.) *-a^n was lost earlier than [ə] < *a in PGmc. *-*az*, and (2) *[ə] was lost in *[-əz] > -*s*, but not in *[-jəz] > -*jis*. Hence PGmc. *$harjaz$ > *$harjəz$ > harjis*, but PGmc. *$harja^n$, *$kunja^n$ > *$harjə^n$, *$kunjə^n$ > hari**, *kuni*. Alternative explanations for the absence of yod are examined and found wanting, e.g. generalization of PGmc. voc. sg. *-*i* (< PIE *-*(i)ye*) to the acc. sg., which is inherently improbable and would not account for neuter *ja*-stems such as *kuni*.

The paper closes with a look at the variable inflection of neuter *ja*-stems such as *waldufni* 'authority', gen. *waldufnjis* (3×) ~ *waldufneis* (1×) or *gawairþi* 'peace', gen. *gawairþjis* (8×) ~ *gawairþeis* (7×). Despite the limited number of tokens, the statistical contrast between these two types indicates that pre-Gothic neuter *ja*-stems did inherit the same split of light and heavy stems as their masculine counterparts, but since they differed only in the gen. sg. the contrast was in the process of being lost at the time of Bible Gothic.

Elisabeth Rieken (Philipps-Universität, Marburg)
More Vestiges of the Dual in Hittite?

Hittite and Luwian feature lexicalized relics of the nominal dual reanalyzed as derivational suffixes (Hittite neuters in -i- << *-ih_1) but also petrified forms such as CLuw. nouns for paired body parts in -a < *-oh_1(e)). In the presentation, putative reflexes of duals in *-$ōu̯$ will be discussed. The issue becomes more complicated by the existence of au-stems that are assumed to go back to u-stems of the amphikinetic type.

Laura Grestenberger (Universität Wien)
*onto-logical problems

In this contribution, I will discuss the Old Avestan aorist form *xšə̄ṇtā* as an instance of a particular type of Indo-Iranian *media tantum* verbs with 3PL aorist injunctives in *-*anta* < PIE *-*onto* and the relevance of this type for understanding the development of the Indo-Iranian passive aorist on the one hand and the prehistory of the (middle) thematic aorist in inner-Indo-European on the other. This paper thus contributes to ongoing research that seeks to understand how the PIE "proto-middle" evolved into various inner-Indo-European inflectional categories, and to what extent this development can be integrated into the "Brugmannian" view of the Indo-European verbal system.

Yexin Qu (Cornell University)

Precursor of the izafe construction in Germanic

[Integrate PDF here / ask for .tex file]

Philomen Probert (University of Oxford)

Secondary stress in Latin?

Did a long Latin word, like *superbiloquentia* 'proud talk', have a secondary stress on its initial syllable (*sùperbiloquéntia*)? Or on every other syllable to the left of the main stress (*sùperbìloquéntia*)? Or on the syllable where the simplex *superbus* 'proud' has its main stress (*supérbiloquéntia*)? Or was the portion of *superbiloquentia* before the syllable with main stress, i.e. *superbilo-*, given a secondary stress where it would have primary stress if it were a word (*supérbiloquéntia* again)? Or was *superbiloquentia* parsed into moraic trochees from right to left, as exhaustively as possible, with final-syllable extrametricality and a secondary stress on the leftmost syllable of each foot that does not bear main stress (*su(pèr)(bìlo)(quén)ti<a>*)? Was there any secondary stress at all? Did this depend on the date or the variety of Latin?

Secondary stress has been posited for Latin in many different ways (including but not limited to all of the above), and on the basis of many kinds of evidence. These include Saturnian verse (e.g. bibliography items 6, 19); early Latin word-initial stress vs. classical Latin stress (e.g. 7, 8, 10, 15); iambic shortening (e.g. 15, 18); classical versification (e.g. 9, 10, 14, 15, 16); medieval versification (e.g. 12); classical prose clausulae (e.g. 9); medieval prose cursus (e.g. 4, 13); statements by medieval metrical theorists (e.g. 4, relying on but misunderstanding 2); plain chant (4); Romance reflexes of Latin forms (e.g. 5, 6, 11, 15, 17); typological comparisons (e.g. 1); and synchronic and diachronic phonological analyses of the Latin prosodic system as a whole (e.g. 17, 18, 20). The elusive doctrine of the Latin 'middle accent' has also been brought to hear on this question (e.g. 1, 3, 7, 8, 21), as has a fragment of Varro preserved in Gellius (3, 21), and a sentence of Martianus Capella (3).

Different proposals have tended to be made in isolation from one another, but an integrated critical evaluation ought to be of interest for debates on the diachrony of the Latin prosodic system and the details of the Saturnian metre, among other areas. My talk will aim to get such a ball rolling, and will have three components:

(a) Firstly (and mostly via the handout), I provide an overview in the form of an annotated bibliography. This will include the items below, and at least some of the works offering counterarguments.

(b) Secondly, I consider the extent to which 'secondary stress' (or 'Nebenakzent', etc.) means the same thing to different scholars. In particular, is 'secondary stress' understood to be by definition something directly audible, or an abstract property of the phonological system that may or may not have a directly audible phonetic realisation? Relatedly, where scholars assume that their evidence—if accepted—points to directly audible 'secondary stress', is this necessarily the case?

(c) Thirdly, I focus on a type of evidence which may be of particular interest if we want to know whether Latin had audible secondary stresses: metalinguistic statements by ancient authors. Clear examples are very hard to find, and this point is noteworthy in itself, but I will consider the implications of the few passages that may be relevant, and suggest—with much caution—that late antique discussions of prose rhythm may provide an addition to this dossier.

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Ben Fortson (University of Michigan)
Two words in Festus: Philological and etymological notes

The entries for two words in Sextus Pompeius Festus' *De uerborum significatu* are discussed, with a focus on textual reconstruction and etymological proposals.

Brent Vine (University of California, Los Angeles)
Latin paene 'almost' *and Related (?) Forms*

This paper elaborates on "personal communication" notices (recorded at Neri 2007:78–9, *LIPP* 2.81n97) about the etymology of Latin *paene* 'almost' (Pl.+). Also discussed are other forms often thought to be related to *paene*: *paenitet* 'it causes regret/dissatisfaction', *paenūria/pēnūria* 'lack, want, need', and *pēminōsus/paeminōsus* 'cracked, with chinks'.

These forms intersect with a Latin problem involving *-ae-* ~ *-ē-* alternations (Leumann 1977:68–9), already noted by Varro (*L.* 5.97, 7.96–7). Leumann registers *paene* under "*ae* für *ē*" among examples with "hyperurbane Aussprache", but this judgment is probably based on the traditional etymology (which operates with inherited *-ē-) and is to be rejected. In fact, MS and inscriptional data favor *-ae-* for *paene*. The traditional etymology (Walde-Pokorny II.8, *IEW* 792–3, *LEW* s.v.) is based on an adverbially used neuter *pēne* of an adjective *pēnis* 'damaged' to PIE *peh_1i- 'tadeln, schmähen' (Ved. *pī́yati* 'scorns', Go. *fijands* 'Feind'); but de Vaan (*EDLIL* s.v. *paene*) registers two cogent objections: "the semantics do not match well" (since "[t]he basic meaning of the stem *paen-* seems to be 'missing, lacking'") and "the root … does not explain Latin *-ae-*". Moreover, a *peh_1-ni- is distinctly unhelpful for the *-ū-* of *paenūria*.

The new proposal: *paene* consists of preverb (or adverbial particle) *pe* 'away' + 2 sg. imper. *$ai̯nu$ of the verb seen in Gk. αἴνυμαι 'take' (cf. TB *ai-*/TA *e-* 'give, mid. take') < PIE *$h_1ai̯$- or *$h_2ei̯$-, attested in Italic as a *ti*-stem (O. *aeteis*, **a]íttíúm** 'part'). For PIE *pe* collocated with verbal roots (Weiss 1993:49–59, Neri 2007:65–79, *LIPP* 2.74, 81, Hackstein 2023:3–4): e.g. *pe* + *h_2erk- 'hold (off), restrain' (Hitt. *harzi*, *harkanzi*, Lat. *arceō*) in Hitt. *pē har(k)-* 'offer', Lat. *parcō* 'spare, refrain from', *pe* + *h_2elh_2- 'wander' (Gk. ἀλάομαι 'wander', Lat. *ambulō* 'walk around') in Lat. *pālor* 'wander', as well as isolated nominal forms in Latin (*pe* + *h_1ed- 'eat, bite' > Lat. *pēdis* 'louse'; *pe* + *$d^hg^{wh}ei̯$- 'perish': *pe-sitis* [cf. Gk. φθίσις 'perishing, decay'] > Lat. *pestis* 'destruction'). Thus pre-Lat. *p(e)ai̯nu 'take [s.th.] away!' > *p'ai̯nu (with elision) > *paene* regularly (with PIE *-ŭ # > Lat. *-e* #; Weiss 2015, 2020:159). The typical Plautine usage, with perf. or pluperf. indic. ('almost X-ed'), could arise directly from such a deimperatival source (*'X-ed, [but] take [s.th.] away' ~ 'almost X-ed'); but it may be preferable to assume an early reinterpretation of Ital. *pai̯nu as a *u*-stem (roughly 'lack' or 'lacking'). This allows for analysis of *paenūria* (Ter.+) as derived from a *ro*-adjective based on instr. *$pai̯nu$-h_1, with *paene* and *pai̯nū- strikingly reminiscent of Lat. *rīte* 'duly' beside *rītū* 'in (such-and-such) manner' (Weiss 2015), a parallel already noted by Höfler (2020:120n17).

For Lat. *paenitet* (connected with *paene* and *paenūria* since Gell. 17.1.9): "la parenté avec *paene* (et sans doute avec *paenūria*) est très vraisemblable, car le sémantisme de tous ces mots implique l'idée d'un 'manque'" (Hocquard 1981:156, similarly *TLL* s.v. and *EDLIL*, above, on *paene*). One can thus operate with a basis *pai̯nu-to- 'lacking', whence (impersonal) *pai̯nu-t-ē-, with influence from other 2nd conj. impersonal verbs (*piget* 'it disgusts', *licet* 'it is permitted', etc., cf. *pigito-*, *licito-*) and perhaps also from semantically proximate *lh_2-tó- 'hidden' ~ *latē- 'is hidden'.

In contrast to *paene*, *paenūria*, and *paenitet*: MS evidence favors *pēminōsus* (Varro *R.R.* 1.51.1); thus the word is unrelated to *paene* etc. and plausibly (also given its meaning) based on the traditional etymology via *peh_1i- 'blame, revile', and more specifically the *$péh_1$-mn̥ of Gk. πῆμα 'distress' and its counterparts in IIr. (e.g. AV+ *pāmán-* m. 'skin disease, scabies', cf. *EWAia* II.121 s.v.: "~ lat. *paeminōsus* [für *pēm^o*])").

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Stefan Schaffner (Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg)

Georges-Jean Pinault (École Pratique des Hautes Études)
Defining the Apsaras and her Indo-European background

The Vedic noun *apsarás-* (RV +), fem., has not yet received a cogent account; see the two dictionaries by Mayrhofer (KEWAi I:40-41, III:629; EWAia I: 89-90) and Neisser (1924:61), where the previous literature can be found. Previous etymologies, which all proved to be unsuccessful, will be reviewed. In particular, the analysis *a-psarás-* with privative prefix did not yield any convincing clue. This noun has no match in Iranian. Nonetheless, some connection with 'water', Ved. *áp-/ā́p-*, fem. (instr.sg. *apā́*, nom. pl. *ā́pas*, acc.pl. *apás*, gen. pl. *apā́m*, loc.pl. *apsú*, etc.) would make sense from the mythological point of view; cf. Macdonell 1897:134-136, Oldenberg 1917: 254-257. This is warranted by the phrase RV *áp(i)yā (ca) yóṣā* (10.10.4c), *áp(i)yā (ca) yóṣaṇā* (10.11.2a) 'the watery maiden' referring to the *apsarás-*, partner of the Gandharva (*gandharvá-*), condensed as *áp(i)yā* (10.95.10b), referring to the Apsaras Urvaśī. Then, it will be proposed to connect the second member *-sarás-*, animate, with a neuter **sáris-* 'womanhood', which would be matched by the basis of YAv. *hāiriṣī-*, fem. 'woman' < **hä̆riš-ī-* (Oettinger 1986). The latter is related to the PIE noun reconstructed as **sór-/*sr-*, and found barely as second compound member, as marker of the feminine in Anatolian (type Hitt. *išḫa-šš(a)ra-* 'mistress, lady'), and in the PIE feminine of the cardinal numerals 'three' and 'four'; see Pinault (2013), with discussion of the material and of previous literature. The pattern **-sarás-* 'woman' vs. **sáriṣ-* 'womanhood' is parallel to *tavás-* adj. 'strong, powerful' vs. Av. *təuuiš-* 'power' = Ved. **taviṣ-*, basis of *taviṣá-* adj. 'powerful', abstract *táviṣī-* 'power' = Av. *təuuišī-*, and *-mahas-*, animate, as second compound member (e.g. RV *mitrá-mahas-*) vs. *máhas-* nt. 'greatness', and **máhiṣ-*, basis of *máhiṣī-* 'lady, first wife'. It will be explored if a

compound *$h_2ép$-sor-/-s(e)r- 'water-woman' may have a PIE pedigree, by turning to the first member of the theonym Gk. Ἀφροδίτη, Aeol. Ἀφροδίτα. The interpretation as 'shining from the foam' (cf. ἀφρός), although repeated since antiquity, is based on folk-etymology, as generally approved. A Semitic source remains dubious (pace West 2000). The variants (cf. Cret. Ἀφορδίτα) point to a proto-form *$Aph\d{r}$-$d\bar{\imath}t\bar{a}$, the first member of which may be traced back to *$h2ép$-$s\d{r}$-, rather than to *$h_2éb^h\d{r}$ (> Gk. ἄφαρ 'swiftly, forthwith'), as per van Beek (2022:315-318). This goddess would be an avatar of the IE 'flying watery maiden', as known in Slavic, Baltic and Germanic mythologies, often represented as bird-like, or in company of birds.

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Melanie Malzahn (Universität Wien)

O no! Final vowels in Bactrian

Bactrian is distinctive among Iranian languages in that it is primarily written in the Greek alphabet. While this provides a phonetic basis, the Greek script was not perfectly suited for representing all Bactrian sounds. This phenomenon gives rise to ambiguities, including variations in vowel length. The small number of Manichaean Bactrian texts may offer some insight into this matter; however, the defects inherent in the Manichean script also limit the value of these texts. A notable characteristic of Bactrian orthography is the consistent use of the letter omicron at the end of words. While the earliest inscriptional Bactrian documents allow for other vowels, omicron appears in almost every form in the bulk of the documented corpus, regardless of their etymology. The prevailing assumption posited by Sims-Williams, namely that this final letter was most often a mere silent orthographic marker, is recently met with skepticism. This is due to the postulation of a sprachwirklich, reduced vowel rendered by omicron. The present paper will undertake a renewed examination of the question of final vowels. To this end, the evidence from the early and later Bactrian corpus will be reviewed. The results of this analysis will demonstrate that the corpus exhibits greater variation than was previously recognized. The argument will be made that final omicron is more often indicative of a real vowel than it is a mere graphic convention. This would place Bactrian in connection with neighboring Middle Iranian languages and differentiate it from them in this regard.

Michael Weiss (Cornell University)
Ved. vayúna- *and its IE background*

This talk examines the meaning and etymology of the Vedic word *váyuna-* n. I argue that the meaning of the word is best captured by the Jamison and Brereton rendering 'pattern'. This meaning is consistent with a derivation from PIE $*\mu ei̯h_1$- 'braid, 'plait'. The semantic range, nominal derivatives, and morphophonological peculiarities of this root are examined. *Vayúna-* falls into a class of paroxytone nouns derived from *u*-stems and an exact match to the *u*-stem underlying *vayúna-* is found in PGmc. *wajju-* 'wall' (< 'plaiting'). Finally, the paper examines a partial match to the Vedic formula *víśvā vayúnāni vidvā́n* in Old Avestan.

Daniel Kölligan (Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg)
Thoughts on $*h_1ned^h$-

Gr. (Dor. Arc.) ἐνθεῖν 'to come, go' and Hom. ἐνήνοθε 'comes forth' are traced back to a root PIE $*h_1ned^h$- 'hervorkommen' in LIV² 249 (cf. Rix 1970) and usually further connected with Ved. *ádhvan-* 'way' and Germ. *andura-* (ON *ǫndurr* 'snow-shoe', etc., cf. EWAia I 68). The paper discusses further possible connections in Greek including νόσφι 'away/far from' (cf. Dieu 2010) and νόθος (cf. Hackstein 2016) and in other languages.

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Dieter Gunkel (University of California–Los Angeles)
Remarks on the syntax and information structure of sentences involving evá and tád in Vedic prose

The syntax and information structure of sentences involving *tád* 'thereby, thus'
in the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa
Dieter Gunkel (UCLA), dgunkel@humnet.ucla.edu
My ECIEC talk explores the syntax and information structure of sentences involving the Vedic adverb *tád* 'thereby, thus' in Caland's *Das Jaiminīya-brāhmaṇa in Auswahl*. The corpus of ca.

35,000 words yields ca. 135 relatively secure examples of the adverb. I am especially interested in determining whether the adverb can help us diagnose the syntactic structure of the sentences that it inhabits. According to my current analysis (which is subject to change), *tád* 'thereby' sits between the syntactic positions dedicated to Topic and Focus. Adding *tád* to Hale's 2018 sketch of the left periphery of the clause thus yields this.

EMPHASIS C_{wh} cl_{pro} TOPIC *tád* FOCUS ...

Assuming that is correct, on the basis of distributional evidence alone (e.g. How many constituents occur above/left of *tád*?), we can conclude more about relatively short sentences. For example, we can conclude about the sentence below that *prāṇān=eva* occupies either the "Emphasis" or "Topic" position.

prāṇān evasmiṃs tad adadhāt (JB 1.151)

breaths:acc ptcl_him:loc thus put:3sg

"Thereby, he put breath in him."

By complementing that distributional evidence with attention to information structure as well as what sorts of expressions typically occupy the Emphasis and Topic positions (cf. Hale 1991), we can say more. For example, in the sentence above, we can say with a fair degree of certainly that *prāṇān=eva* occupies the Emphasis position.

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Kazuhiko Yoshida (Kyoto Sangyo University)

Hittite *ur-ki-i̯a-IZ-zi*

The Hittite 3 pl. pret. forms in *-i̯aer* of the *i̯e/a*-class were created in and after the Middle Hittite period, when the suffix *-i̯a-* largely replaced *-i̯e-*. The 3 sg. pres. active *-i̯aizzi*, 3 sg. pret. active *-i̯ait*, and 2 sg. imper. active *-i̯ai* were analogically introduced from the corresponding forms of the *āi-/ā*-class in and after Middle Hittite, when the 3 pl. *-i̯aer* came to have the same sequence *-ae-* as the 3 pl. *-aer* of the *āi-/ā*-class. However, the verbal form *ur-ki-i̯a-IZ-zi* 'traces' recorded in an Old Hittite original manuscript cannot receive the same analogical explanation. It is argued that *ur-ki-i̯a-IZ-zi* is the result of scribal error induced by the sequence *-Ca-IZ-zi* of *ḫa-ap-pa-ra-IZ-zi* 'sells' in the preceding line.

Hannes Fellner (Universität Wien)

Tocharian 萬歲 *wànsuì*

Research on linguistic contact between ancient Indo-European languages and Old Chinese remains underdeveloped. With few exceptions, existing studies often suffer from methodological shortcomings. These include limited expertise in IE linguistics—especially in the languages adjacent to ancient China—or in Old Chinese itself; reliance on superficial similarities; and insufficient attention to the philological, historical, and cultural contexts of potential contact. Recent progress in the study of Tocharian as well as

advances in Old Chinese linguistics and early Chinese philology, now allow for a reassessment of linguistic contacts between Tocharian and Old Chinese. Such findings contribute to our understanding of the position of Tocharian. In particular, they offer insights into the relative chronology and pathways of the Tocharian migration. Moreover, the identification of loan words provides an independent means of evaluating current reconstructions of Old Chinese phonology. This talk examines loanword data and presents new evidence for early contact between Proto-Tocharian and Old Chinese.

Sunday, June 22
(10:00 am–3:00 pm, Philologicum)

10:00–10:15	REFRESHMENTS AT CONFERENCE SITE

10:15-11:30 *Session 10*

10:15 Georges-Jean Pinault (École Pratique des Hautes Études)
"*Defining the Apsaras and her Indo-European background*"

10:45 Melanie Malzahn (Universität Wien)
"O no! Final vowels in Bactrian"

11:15 Michael Weiss (Cornell University)
"*Ved.* vayúna- *and its IE background*"

11.45-13:00	LUNCH BREAK

13:00-15:00 *Session 11*

13:00 Daniel Kölligan (Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg)
"*Thoughts on* $*h_1ned^h$-"

13:30 Dieter Gunkel (University of California–Los Angeles)
"*Remarks on the syntax and information structure of sentences involving evá and tád in Vedic prose*"

14:00 Kazuhiko Yoshida (Kyoto Sangyo University)

"Hittite *ur-ki-i̯a-IZ-zi*"

14:30   Hannes Fellner (Universität Wien)

"*Tocharian* 萬歲 *wànsuì*"