

ARCHAISMS VS. INNOVATIONS

TOPICS IN RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY

Arbeitstagung of the Indogermanische Gesellschaft

Charles University, Prague
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ABSTRACTS

CONTACT AND VENUES

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Institute web page	uspv.ff.cuni.cz
Location	https://maps.app.goo.gl/JQEHfRRtt8CqtXvf6

The conference will take place in the main building of the Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Náměstí Jana Palacha 2, Praha 1, in rooms P300 and P301. They are situated on the 3rd floor to the right of the staircase. The floor can be accessed by stairs or elevator.

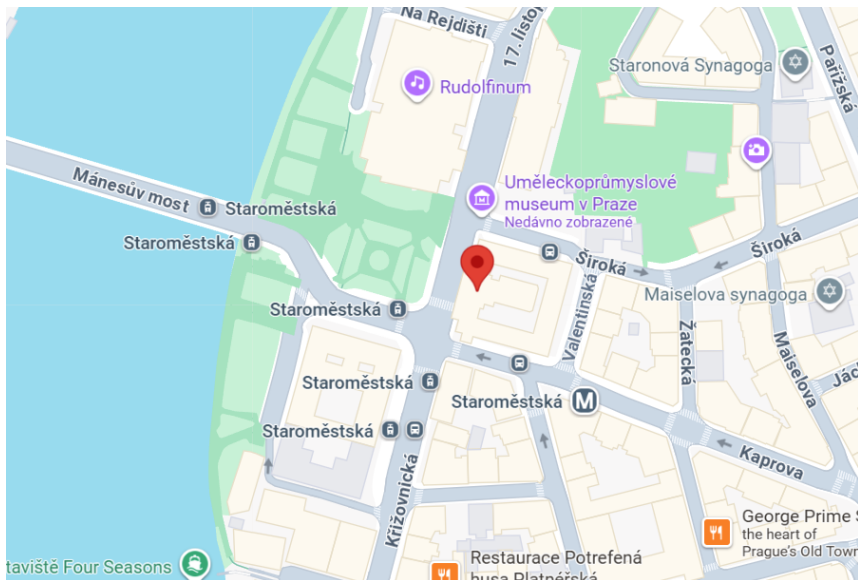
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Contact and venues

INFORMAL GET-TOGETHER: Anyone interested is most welcome to meet on Sunday evening, 14 September 2025, from 6 p.m. onwards. Location TBA. You can join us for dinner or/and drinks (at your own expense). There's no need to register; just come and enjoy!

CONFERENCE DINNER: The conference dinner will be held on Tuesday, 16 September, 2025, from 6 p.m. in the Main Hall of Prague City Hall, Mariánské náměstí 2, Praha 1. It will be hosted by the City of Prague Council. The price can be paid together with the conference fee (75 Euros total) or at the conference registration desk (30 Euros).

Location <https://maps.app.goo.gl/tazs8VZwdKs74goEz>



Conference venue: map.



Conference venue: entrance.

Insubordination across ancient Indo-European languages: An analysis of the NEG + THAT-clause construction

Giuseppina di Bartolo & Simon Fries

Recent research has shown that linguistic data from different diachronic layers and earlier stages of languages can contribute to our understanding of both the nature and the historical development of insubordination (cf. among others, Wiemer 2019; Ruiz Yamuza 2020; la Roi 2021 and 2024; Sideltsev 2024).

The goal of this talk is to contribute to this strand of research through the presentation of some preliminary results of a broader investigation aiming to (i) provide a comprehensive analysis of a specific syntactical construction across several ancient Indo-European languages; (ii) explain why and to what extent this specific construction exhibits features of insubordination; (iii) shed light on the distribution and diachrony of insubordinate constructions across ancient Indo-European languages; (iv) establish a series of parameters that can be adopted for addressing insubordination in historical corpus data.

The investigation focuses on the construction of a complement clause combined with a negation in the extra-clausal position, i.e. a NEG + THAT-clause (provided that in general negation occurs in intra-clausal position, immediately after the complementizer). Constructions of this type are attested in the older stages of some Indo-European languages; cf. example (1) from Ancient Greek (cf. di Bartolo 2022) and example (2) from Vedic Sanskrit (cf. Fries In prep.).

- (1) Δ[ι]ηρᾱς· **μὴ εἶνα** πάλιν τοὺς καρποὺς βαστάσωσι μετὰ τὴν σὴν κρίσιν. (P. Fam. Tebt. 19 ll. 25–26)

Dīērās mē heína pálin toùs karpou̓s
 Dieras-NOM.SG NEG COMP again ART.ACC.M.PL fruit-ACC.M.PL
bastásōsi metà tēn sēn
 collect-3PL.AOR.SBJV PREP ART.ACC.F.SG your-ACC.F.SG
krísin
 decision-ACC.F.SG

Dieras: In order to prevent that they will collect the fruits once more, after your decision.

- (2) **néc chátruḥ prāśaṃ jayāti sáhamānābhibhūr asi** (AV 2,27,1a-c)

néd [ná ít] chátruḥ prāśam jayāti
 that_not enemy-NOM.SG.M dispute-ACC.SG.F win-3SG.PRES.SBJV
sáhamānābhibhūḥ asi [...]
 overpowering+superior-NOM.SG.M COP-2SG.PRES.ACT

May my enemy not win the dispute! Thou art overpowering and superior [of a herb] [...]

Our usage-based investigation is based on qualitative analyses of corpus data from different branches of the Indo-European language family, viz. Indo-Iranian, Germanic, Italic, Ancient Greek, and Anatolian, enriched by quantitative observations on the data extracted from the various databases available for these languages.

It combines a diachronic, a synchronic, and a cross-linguistic approach, and aims to answer the following research questions:

- (i) Is this construction synchronically attested across the different language stages?
- (ii) Is it the product of a diachronic development?
- (iii) How did it originate?
- (iv) Are we dealing with an insubordinate construction in the proper sense or a subordinate construction? Which are the markers of insub-

ordination at the different linguistic levels (i.e., prosody, phonology, morphology, syntax, discourse)?

- (v) What do the different languages indicate regarding this phenomenon?

These research questions eventually contribute to set up a series of parameters for addressing the phenomenon of insubordination in historical corpora.

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Revisiting the relative chronology of the First Compensatory Lengthening in ancient Greek: a two-wave model

Roberto Batisti & Stefan Hoefler

In the historical grammars of Ancient Greek, the term ‘First Compensatory Lengthening’ (1st CL) describes the phenomenon whereby the clusters **-VsR-* and **-VRs-* (with *R* = {r, l, m, n}) were simplified with lengthening of the preceding vowel (Batisti 2014). This development affects all Ancient Greek dialects of the first millennium BCE except for Thessalian and Lesbian, where the vowel retains its original quantity while the resonant is geminated. Other dialects agree in showing a long vowel, but differ in its quality as far as the mid vowels **e* and **o* are concerned: Attic-Ionic, as well as North-West Greek and the so-called ‘mild Doric’ dialects (*Doris mitior*), show the long close-mid vowels /ē/ and /ō/ (written <ει> and <ου>), as in ἔστειλα /éstēla/ ‘I sent’ < **éstelsa*, εἰμί /ēmí/ ‘I am’ < **esmí*, or κουρά /kōrā/ ‘haircut’ < **korsā*; the so-called ‘strict Doric’ dialects (*Doris severior*), as well as Boeotian, Arcado-Cypriot and Pamphylian show the long open-mid vowels /ē/ and /ō/ (written <η> and <ω>), identical to the reflex of inherited **ē* and **ō*, compare Cretan ἡμί /ēmí/ ‘I am’ < **esmí* or Insular Doric ἄῤῥεν /áēren/ ‘lifted’ < **áwerse*.

However, a couple of 1st CL words involving a nasal exhibit /ṽ/ and /ṽ/ even in Attic-Ionic instead of the expected long close-mid vowels /ē/ and /ō/. To these words belong, among others, ὤμος /ōmos/ ‘shoulder’ < **óm-sos* (cf. Vedic *ámśa-*, Proto-Germanic **amsa-*, etc.), κῶμος /kōmos/ ‘song of praise’ < **kómsos* (Vedic *sámśa-* m. ‘praise, invocation’, etc.), and δήνεα /dēnea/ ‘counsels’ < **dénsesa* (cf. Vedic *dámśas-* n. ‘clever deed, skill’, etc.); cf. Kretschmer 1909: 123–124, 1921: 242; Hermann 1923: 48–49; Buck 1955: 30; Frisk 1960–1972 II: 1148–1150 (s.vv. ὤμος and ὠνος); Slings 1975: 15 note 71; Peters 1984: 86 n. 9; Seldeslachts 1991: 256; Dunkel 1995; Hackstein 2002: 190–191.

This paper proposes a more fine-grained analysis of 1st CL. We argue that two consecutive waves of 1st CL occurred, each producing distinct outcomes in Attic-Ionic. The first wave was triggered by a debuccalization of **s* to **h* and affected unaccented sequences **-VRs-* and **-VsR-*, resulting in long close-mid vowels <ει> /ē/ and <ου> /ō/ (i.e., 1st CL as we know it, exemplified by such words as **esmí* > εἰμί /ēmí/ ‘I am’, **korsā* > κουρά /kōrā/ ‘haircut’). Throughout this first wave, we assume **s* was retained in the accented sequences **-ṼRs-* and **-ṼsR-*, which is rather uncontroversial for the former (at least with **R* = **l*, **r*), but perhaps not so for the latter. According to us, there then was a second wave of debuccalization of **s* to **h* in **-ṼNs-* (but not in **-Ṽls-* or **-Ṽrs-* as evidenced by **k^wēlsom* > τέλσον ‘headland’, **kórsā* > κόρση /kórsē/ ‘temple; (pl.) hair’) and in **-ṼsR-* and subsequently a second wave of “1st” CL, yielding long open-mid vowels <η> /ē/ and <ω> /ō/ (as in such words as **dénseha* > δήνεα /dēnea/ n. ‘plans, counsels, wiles’, **ómsos* > ὤμος /ōmos/ m. ‘shoulder’, etc.). Despite certain speculative assumptions, this revised relative chronology aligns more consistently with the available linguistic evidence. In addition, it might help explain irregularly preserved intervocalic **s* in words like *δασύς* /dasús/ ‘hairy, shaggy’ < **d_hsús*.

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Zur relativen Chronologie der Umlauterscheinungen im Baktrischen

Maria Carmela Benvenuto & Harald Bichlmeier

Umlautphänomene begegnen in den iranischen Sprachen häufig, besonders in den ostiranischen. Trotzdem sind sie bislang noch nicht ausreichend erforscht, so ist etwa noch nicht eindeutig geklärt, ob der Umlaut hauptsächlich oder ausschließlich die Vokale betonter Silben betrifft – oder auch die unbetonter.

Einige interessante Beobachtungen finden sich bei Kümmel (2014a, b), der kurz alt- und mittelliranische Sprachen (mit Ausnahme des Baktrischen) behandelt.

Das Ziel unseres Vortrags soll sein, die Umlauterscheinungen des Baktrischen genauer zu fassen. Einige jüngere Arbeiten (Benvenuto/Bichlmeier 2022a, b) konnten eine genaue Beschreibung dafür liefern, unter welchen Bedingungen und in welcher chronologischen Abfolge etwa auslautendes iran./urbaktr. **-u* bzw. inlautendes iran./urbaktr. **-u-* Umlaut auslöst. Andererseits ist die Forschung noch weit davon entfernt (Gholami 2014; Benvenuto/Bichlmeier 2022a, b; Michetti, F. 2024), zu einem Konsens darüber zu gelangen, wie und wann der *i*-Umlaut funktionierte (**a > i / _ya, _i*), da es eine Reihe von Beispielen ohne Umlaut gibt (z.B. γαρο ‚Berg‘ < uriran. **gari-*, νοζδο ‚nahe‘ < uriran. **nazdiyah-*).

Unser Beitrag versucht, der Lösung des Problems näher zu kommen und eine relative Chronologie auch für den *i*-Umlaut vorzulegen, wobei auch die Silbenstruktur bzw. die Phonemstruktur der Silbe einen wichtigen Faktor darstellt. Tatsächlich werden geschlossene Silben offenbar nicht vom *i*-Umlaut erfasst (vgl. βαρζο ‚Kissen‘ < uriran. **barziš-*, jav. *barāziš-*; μαρδο ‚Mann, Sklave‘ < uriran. **martiya-*, νοζδο ‚nahe‘ < uriran. **nazdiyah-*, jav. *nazdiiah-*; αστο ‚ist‘ < uriran. **asti*). Die Synkope von Kurzvokalen nach geschlossener/schwerer Silbe impliziert, dass wohl auch der Akzent(sitz) eine Rolle spielt. Dieser ist ebenfalls noch nicht

endgültig geklärt, lag aber, auch wenn vielleicht kein reiner Erstsilbenakzent vorlag, zumindest sehr oft auf der ersten Silbe bzw. auf der Wurzel (etwa bei präfigierten Verben). Manche umlautlosen Beispiele können fallweise auch anders zu erklären sein (z.B. παρτο, 'Übereinkunft, Vertrag', meist zurückgeführt auf uriran. **pašti-*, kann vielleicht besser in Verbindung mit mparth. *pšig, pštq* /paštag/ erklärt werden). Außerdem soll gezeigt werden, dass uriran. **ā* > *ē* /_ *ya* recht regelmäßig stattfindet, während **i* hier keinen Umlaut auszulösen scheint. Die Hebung **ā* > *ē* impliziert eine frühe Synkope von kurzen mittleren Vokalen (z.B. uriran. **dāraya-* > frühurbaktr. **lāraya-* [lāraja-] > späurbaktr. **lārya-* [lārja-] > [lērja-] > baktr. ληρ- /lēr/ 'haben'). Solche Fälle implizieren die folgende Chronologie: (1) Synkope kurzer mittlerer Vokale; (2) Umlaut. Die Synkope der mittleren Silbe in dreisilbigen Wörtern wie auch der generelle Schwund der auslautenden Silbe deuten jedenfalls hier auf Erstsilbenbetonung – die aber nicht generell geherrscht haben muss.

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Greek $\tau\alpha\rho$ and Luwian $-tar$: archaism, innovation, or an εἶδωλον γραμματικῶν?

Michele Bianconi

In a famous lecture on Indo-European poetic language and clitic placement, Jacob Wackernagel argued, among other things, that in Homeric passages such as A 8 (τίς τ' ἄρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι; «Who then of the gods was it that brought these two together to contend?»), one should read $\tau\alpha\rho$ instead of $\tau'\acute{\alpha}\rho$ (Wackernagel 1892). There is no agreement in the textual tradition, since the Venetus A and the grammarians Apollonius Dyskolos and Herodian have $\tau\alpha\rho$, while the majority of the other manuscripts have $\tau'\acute{\alpha}\rho$. Modern editions disagree as well: just to give a few examples, the 'standard' text by Munro and Allen in OCT has $\tau'\acute{\alpha}\rho$, while the Teubner text by West and the Belles Lettres edition have $\tau\alpha\rho$ all in one word (cf. Reece 2009: 217–218 for a complete overview of the treatment of this particle in modern editions).

In his 1995 book, Watkins supported Wackernagel's reconstruction by observing that Homeric τίς $\tau\alpha\rho$ would find a striking parallel in Cuneiform Luwian *kuiš-tar*, found in one of the so-called 'Songs of Istanuwa' (Watkins 1995: 150–1):

KUB 9,6 iii 25–7; STARKE 1985: 115

kuiš-tar malḫaššaššanzan EN-ja ādduḫala ānniti a-an DINGIRMEŠ-inzi āḫḫa nātatta tatarḫandu

“Whoever acts evil against the celebrant (lit. the lord of this rituals), may the gods crush him like reeds”

The enclitic particle $-tar$ is found in “Wackernagel position” in other Luwian texts, but there is no consensus on its meaning, as it is usually regarded as a *Satzeinleitende* particle without particular connotations. Furthermore, this particle is also found attached to a clause-initial finite verb

in Luwian. According to Watkins, if one decides to read other Homeric instances of τ'ṓρ as ταρ, there could be a pattern consisting of initial verb + enclitic *-tar*, which would be a construction only shared by Greek and Luwian in the second millennium. This reconstruction has had some success in recent scholarly literature (e.g. MELCHERT 1994: 260, 2004: MARTIN 2000: 56–7, PULLEYN 2000: 123, REECE 2009: 217–30; KATZ 2007), but also found some strong criticism: in particular, the Luwian origin of the Greek particle is doubted on morphological, functional, and positional grounds (DUNKEL 2008, YAKUBOVICH 2010, HAJNAL 2018).

Through a reanalysis of the primary data, with a specific focus on the Greek textual tradition and evidence from grammarians, I will first argue that Greek ταρ is genuine and not a creation of grammarians, and, therefore, comparison with Luwian *-tar* should be undertaken. I will then assess the possibilities of the two particles being inherited from PIE and the Greek particle being the product of language contact. By re-evaluating the latter hypothesis in light of the current discussion on Graeco-Anatolian contacts, I will argue that, in the case of Luwian *-tar*, the traditional etymology (suggested by WATKINS 1995; against: DUNKEL 2008) should be retained; in the case of Greek ταρ we are in front of a case of pattern replication.

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Die relative Chronologie slawischer und deutscher Lautgesetze und ihre Rolle bei der Erklärung von Ortsnamen slawischer Herkunft in Nordostbayern

Harald Bichlmeier

Mittelalterliche schriftliche Quellen zur Slawizität der Siedler in Nordostbayern sind selten. Slawen werden im Mittelalter dort allenfalls im Rahmen der Christianisierung und damit verbundener Kirchenbauten. Die Hauptquelle, die die Anwesenheit von Slawen in der Region im Mittelalter beweist, sind Hunderte Gewässer-, Orts- und Flurnamen.

Die Texte sind zunächst ausschließlich in Latein verfasst, ab dem 13. Jh. allmählich auch auf Deutsch. Die Schreiber waren wohl durchweg deutschsprachig. Deshalb werden diese Namen meist in eingedeutschter Form wiedergegeben. Quellen für die Zeit vor 800 sind äußerst selten, in vielen Gebieten beginnen sie erst ab dem 10. Jh. beständig zu fließen. Die Archäologie hilft auch nicht immer weiter; so konnte kürzlich gezeigt werden, dass die traditionell mit Slawen verbundene Keramik Prager Typs in Nordostbayern gerade dort gehäuft auftritt, wo man die ältesten Schichten der slawischen Toponyme gerade *nicht* findet.

Da die relative (und mittlerweile oft auch die absolute) Chronologie der Lautgesetze, die im Mittelalter im Slawischen und im Deutschen abgelaufen sind, recht gut kennen, können wir oft auf ein halbes Jahrhundert genau sagen, wann die Eindeutschung eines slawischen Namens erfolgt sein muss. Slawen waren in Böhmen und den Lausitzen um 600 n. Chr. fest etabliert, könnten sie also wohl ab dieser Zeit auch nach Nordostbayern gelangt sein. Aus namenkundlicher Sicht gibt es für eine Einwanderung im 7. Jh. keine direkten Beweise. Die Eindeutschung der in den Quellen bezeugten Namen hat nur in Ausnahmefällen vor 800 stattgefunden. Das lässt sich nachweisen, wenn etwa in einem Namen die sla-

wische Liquidametathese (gewöhnlich datiert auf ca. 775–825) noch nicht stattgefunden hat (so etwa bei 798 (Fälschung 11. Jh.) *Bersana*, heute *Per-schen* < *berž/z-). Weiter kann auch die Entnasalierung der slawischen Nasalvokale (um 950) zur Datierung der Eindeutschung verwendet werden (*Guttenthau* < slaw. **God-ęt-ovъ* muss also vor 950 übernommen worden sein). Kaum eine Rolle spielt hingegen eine Erscheinung auf deutscher Seite, die etwa zur Bestimmung der Eindeutschung slawischer Namen in Österreich wichtig ist: bis etwa 1050 erhalten slawische (und in Österreich auch romanische) Namen bei der Eindeutschung unabhängig davon, wo sie akzentuiert sind, die deutsche Erstsilbenbetonung, nach ca. 1050 wird bei der Übernahme der Akzentsitz des Ausgangsworts beibehalten. In Nordostbayern gehört zu den späten Übernahmen vielleicht *Schirnaidel* (< slaw. *čbrnídlo*). Belege für Namen, die nach 1100 eingedeutscht wurden, existieren nicht, allgemein wird davon ausgegangen, dass die Slavophonie in Nordostbayern im 12. Jh. erloschen ist.

Nordostbayern wurde von Norden aus altsorbischem Sprachgebiet und von Osten aus altschechischem Sprachgebiet besiedelt. Diesen Unterschied kann man zum Teil noch an den unterschiedlichen Reflexen der Liquidametathese greifen (urslaw. **TerT/Tart* > ursorb. **TreT/TroT* vs. > urtschech. **TrěT/TraT*): So zeigt etwa (*Markt*-) *Graitz* ([1071] (Kop. 1294–1296) *Grodez*) klar den sorbischen Reflex von urslaw. **gard*- (vs. tschech. *hrad*).

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PIE ‘both’ and ‘all’ – which comes first?

Jan Bičovský

Though rarely identified as such, the quantifier ‘both’ is most accurately interpreted as the suppletive form of ‘all’, and while for English, one could argue that the motivating factor is not grammatical *per se*, this is inevitably true in languages such as Vedic, Greek, or OCS, where the dual agreement is still fully functional, i.e. where *ubháu*, ἄμφω, and *oba* replaces **viśvau*, **πάντε*, or **vsa* in the dual context. Once this is acknowledged, it follows that e.g. Ved. *ubháu* and *viśva-* should be both glossed as ‘all’ unless it can be argued persuasively that each represents a semantic prime – but were this the case, independent ‘both’ should be almost universal. As it is, it is extremely rare.

In diachronic terms, this implies that either one or the other stem is a relatively recent intruder into the paradigm. Deciding on the relative chronology here is not an easy matter. On the one hand, the very presence of the various reflexes of PIE **-bho-* in the quantifier in seven out of ten IE branches easily trumps any other stem for ‘all’ present in more than one branch as the most securely reconstructable stem of PIE ‘all’ and in analogical situations would mark the pl. ‘all’ as innovative (for the pl. ‘all’, cf. cf. Kimball 2007). If this were accepted, it can be added that from the perspective of the extensive typological sample (Bičovský, forthc. chap. 2), PIE **bho-* with its function and its dual morphology fits best with the group of languages where ‘both’ is realized as the non-suppletive dual form of ‘all’, e.g. Semitic, and deserves to be analysed accordingly, i.e. as *all.du*. On the other hand, this would run against two objections. First: there is already a generally (though not universally) accepted etymological analysis for PIE ‘both’ which contradicts this scenario. Second, the general (and again, not universal) approach to the suppletive relations is one where the functional markedness serves to identify the respective

form as ‘innovative.’ I hope to demonstrate that neither objection can stand.

So far the only serious attempt to provide a lexical etymology for PIE ‘both’ and its descendants is Jasanoff (1976, repeated with slight modification in 2009 and 2017), whose attempt to derive e.g. Greek ἄμφω ultimately from PIE **h₂énts* ‘face, side’ (demonstrably the physical body part ‘forehead’, Bičovský 2023) has met with little criticism and has been accepted to such extent that Jasanoff’s original article is often not even referenced. However, for various reasons, which have to do with the structure of his argument as well as with neglect of typology and newer competing accounts of individual pieces of evidence he provides for support, his hypothesis is untenable. Insisting that the TB form *antapi* ‘both’ must reflect an original PIE stem, Jasanoff (and others, e.g. Neri 2013: 196, Hill 2012: 184) attempted to interpret the quantifier as descended from a purely hypothetical **h₂ntbhí* ‘on the two sides’, ‘on both sides’ (even as ‘on the two fronts’!), ‘sideways’ etc. and make it a basis for a hypostatic or back-formed adjective **h₂ntbho-* ‘that which is on (both/two) sides’, or, alternatively, proposing for the back-formation the model of e.g. **duuo-* ‘two’ × **dui-* ‘twi-’, finally to arrive at ‘both’ by appending the dual endings. I will only briefly address the major problems with this account, since the very basis for this assumption, namely, the meaning of **h₂mbhí* from **h₂ntbhí* as ‘on both sides’, cannot be supported by textual evidence and is simply a matter of an analytical bias based mostly on Gk. ἄμφί (Bičovský 2024 and Bičovský, forthc. chap. 4). At face value then, if there is no difficulty not in *reconstructing* but in *recognizing* Gk. ἄμφω for what it is functionally: *all*. du., projecting this state of affairs based on other such pairs into PIE is almost inevitable and the same analysis obtains for PIE **-bho-h_i* accordingly. Whether it is possible, even probable, that at some distant point ***bho-* was the Pre-PIE ‘all’ – even, for instance, before the grammaticalization of the dual, or may have been one of the allomorphs within a suppletive paradigm – is an independent question. But the immediate fact of late PIE is exactly this.

An important component of an anticipated reluctance to accept this point is that the dual form is the *suppletive* counterpart to the less marked plural quantifier and in terms of relative chronology should be the later intruder. After all, the common practice is to refer to a relation of e.g. Eng. *I* vs. *me* as one where the latter supplies the oblique cases to the former which then at some point was defective, for whatever reason. However, there is abundant evidence that, diachronically, it is the synchronically least marked part of the suppletive relation which turns out to be an intruder, e.g., Slavic pers. pron. nom. *on* ~ obl. *je-*, the OE present stem *gá-* ‘to go’ vs. *éode* ‘went’ from the PIE default **h₁ei* ‘go’, or the unrelated Eng. *much* and Germ. *viel* suppleting the related comparatives *more* and *mehr*. Unfortunately, the only direct evidence for replacement in the quantifier ‘all’ comes from Indo-European. Even if this limits its typological value, the simple fact that it is the unmarked plural form which is repeatedly replaced (what is more, to supplete the diverse innovated pl. stems of ‘all’) is significant.

Since the element **aN-* is not present in all the branches, Jasanoff faces a problem of relative chronology of replacement or recreation. Jasanoff assumes that at least some of the forms are more recent recreations and replacements, e.g. the form shared by Greek, Italic, Celtic (and tentatively, Tocharian) would appear to be a replacement of the precursor of the BSL forms (Jasanoff 2009, incidentally, based on the same adverb-to-adjective-to-quantifier chain of hypostatic creations based in **-bhi*; yet another account is necessary for Ilr. **ubha-*, here cf. Bičovský 2024b). However, the minimum required by evidence is the simultaneous existence of **-bho-* and some extended form yielding later **am-*, and it is not difficult to find parallels for such dimorphism in this quantifier across Indo-European, nor to understand that the extended stem prevailed over time in some branches (cf. It. *ambedue* and *entrambi* largely replacing the simple Lat. *ambo*). There can be no principled objection to accepting that Gmc. **bai* reflects the bare stem, especially as Germanic also displays a certain level of dimorphism with the pronominal stem **pa-*. It would be

most economical to accept, with Jasanoff 1976, TB *antapi* as reflecting the original PIE form most faithfully, but given the time-span, it can just as easily represent some other element, similar to the rest of the group merely by accident.

The most economical account of PIE ‘both’ is that it is the dual form of ‘all’. A lexical etymology is quite possibly beyond our reach, but given the propensity of ‘both’ to withstand the pressure to be levelled and its continued presence in the systems where pl. ‘all’ is repeatedly replaced, the most economical conclusion is again that **-bho-* reflects an original quantifier, and the real (and hypothetical) question is: is this the original stem, preserved in the dual and replaced in the plural due to some systemic pressure, or was PIE before the grammaticalization of the dual one of the few languages where ‘both’ and ‘all’ are suppletive?

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Innovationen und Archaismen im altwestnordischen Verbalsystem. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Vergleichs zum Altenglischen

Ramón Boldt

Der Vortrag beruht auf ersten Ergebnissen einer detaillierten Untersuchung der Wortbildung der schwachen Verben des Altwestnordischen. In ihm soll der Frage nachgegangen werden, welche Innovationen und Archaismen das altwestnordische respektive altnorwegische Verbalsystem aufzeigt. Im Mittelpunkt stehen dabei die schwachen Verben der Frostapingslóð (= F, nach NGL I), der umfangreichsten altnorwegischen Rechtssammlung.

Zunächst soll das Problem erörtert werden, welche der in der Frostapingslóð belegten schwachen Verben als alte, welche als junge Bildungen gelten müssen. Dies soll vor allem durch einen systematischen Vergleich mit dem verbalen Wortschatz der anderen germanischen respektive indogermanischen Sprachen geleistet werden. Auf diese Weise kann eine einzelsprachliche von voreinzelsprachlichen Schichten getrennt werden. So hat das schwache Verb der Klasse I *meiða* ‚verstümmeln‘ (belegt u. a. in F IV, 35) nicht nur eine Entsprechung in got. *maidjan* (< urg. **maidjan-*), sondern auch in lat. *mūtō* ‚ändern‘ und khot. *ha-mīhāte* ‚ändert‘, setzt also eine bereits uridg. Kausativbildung **moīth₂-éiē-* zur Wurzel **meiθ₂-* ‚wechseln, austauschen, entfernen voraus‘ (zum Lautlichen und einer Alternative für lat. *mūtō* s. LIV 430). Dagegen beruht awn. *benda* ‚(an-)zeigen‘ (F IV, 43), wie es die einzige Entsprechung got. *bandwjan* ‚ein Zeichen geben, andeuten‘ ausweist, auf einer jüngeren Bildung urg. **bandwjan-*, eine desubstantivische Ableitung von urg. **bandwō(n)-* ‚Zeichen‘. Schließlich ist awn. *lykja* ‚(ab-)schließen‘ angesichts fehlender germanischer Entsprechungen wohl

als rein nordgermanische deverbale Bildung zu *lúka* ‚schließen, beenden‘ zu verstehen.

Der letzte sowie vergleichbare Fälle sprechen dafür, dass die deverbale *jan*-Bildung, deren einzelsprachliche Produktivität im Germanischen immer wieder bezweifelt worden ist (aktuell etwa von García García 2016: 191), nordgermanisch noch eine Zeit lang produktiv gewesen sein muss. Im Vergleich zum Westgermanischen, für das im Vortrag exemplarisch das Altenglische herangezogen werden soll, wäre dies als explizit konservativer Zug des nordgermanischen Systems zu verstehen.¹

Im weiteren Verlauf des Vortrages soll gefragt werden, ob sich mit diesem konservativen Zug zugleich semantische Innovationen verbinden. Beispielhaft sei hier zum einen awn. *gera* (Kl. I) erwähnt, das neben den Bedeutungen ‚(bereit) machen, herstellen‘, wie sie auch in den anderen germanischen Sprachen (ae. *gearwian*, ahd. *gar(a)wan*), as. *garwian*) belegt sind, auch die rechtssprachliche Konnotation ‚schaden, Unrecht tun, sich vergehen‘ zeigt (F I, 1). Die westgermanische Bedeutung ‚kleiden, schmücken‘ hingegen ist offensichtlich verloren gegangen.

Zum anderen soll kurz das Schicksal derjenigen Verben, die im Altenglischen im Zuge der fortgeschritteneren Desintegration des Systems der schwachen Verben zu *labile verbs*² sich entwickelt haben, in den Blick genommen werden. Zu erwarten wäre, dass sich diese angesichts des die archaischen Oppositionen des Systems der schwachen Verben besser bewahrenden Zustandes im Altwestnordischen nicht in dem Maße herausbilden konnten, wie es für das Altenglische charakteristisch ist (van Gelderen 2018: 91).

1 Für den Schwund der *jan*-Kausativa im Altenglischen siehe García García 2012.

2 D. h. Verben, die eine kausative wie antikausative Lesart aufweisen, etwa engl. *to grow* ‚wachsen; anbauen (eigtl. wachsen machen)‘. Besonders häufig sind dies *change of state*-Verben wie engl. *to melt*, *to turn*, *to change*, *to cool*, *to fold*.

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Schreibvarianten im Venetischen – diatopische, diastratische, diachrone Variation?

Svenja Bonmann

Das Venetische ist eine fragmentarisch überlieferte indogermanische Sprache, die bereits in der Antike ausstarb. Dokumentiert ist diese Trümmersprache über einen durchgängigen Zeitraum ungefähr vom sechsten bis ins erste vorchristliche Jahrhundert durch einige hundert kurze, stereotype Inschriften in Nordostitalien und angrenzenden Gebieten (siehe u. a. Pellegrini und Prodocimi 1967; Lejeune 1974; Prodocimi 1978: 270ff.; Fogolari und Prodocimi 1988: 245ff.; Marinetti 1997, 1999a, 1999b, 2005a, 2005b, 2009, 2013; Gambacurta und Marinetti 2019). Venetische Inschriften können mangels exakter archäologischer Datierungsmethoden nur relativ datiert werden; man unterscheidet hierbei anhand paläographischer Kriterien zumindest im Hauptfundort Este vier Phasen (Lejeune 1974: 13, 21; Wallace 2004: 842), deren erste drei sich durch die Verwendung einer lokalen Variante eines nordetruskischen Alphabets auszeichnen und deren letzte durch den Gebrauch des lateinischen Alphabets definiert ist. Die relative Chronologie der Quellen des Venetischen basiert also auf äußerlichen Unterschieden wie der Form und Punktierung einzelner Schriftzeichen und nicht etwa auf sprachlichen Erwägungen. Trotz der geringen Anzahl an Inschriften finden sich nun aber Schreibvarianten ein- und desselben Wortes, da das Inschriftencorpus stark repetitiv ist. In meinem Vortrag möchte ich besprechen, inwiefern sich bestimmte Schreibvarianten diatopisch, diastratisch oder diachron erklären lassen und ob diese linguistische Varianz mit unterschiedlichen Buchstabenformen und Schriftsystemen, Fundorten oder Inschriftentypen und -kontexten korreliert. Relevant und im Vortrag zu thematisieren sind dabei Varianten folgenden Typs:

- Schreibungen wie **vhasto** (Marinetti 1999a, Nr. 14) gegenüber **vha.g.s.to** (Pa 16) oder **hva.g.s.to** (Pa 15) (< **dh_h1-k-s-to*).
- VSEDICA. (Tr 3) gegenüber VPSEDIA (Es XXVII).
- Schreibungen wie **he[--]torio.i.** (*Es 121, mit sicher zu restituierendem <ge>) gegenüber EGETOREI (Es 112) oder vergleichbar **ho.s.tihavo.s.** (Pa 7) gegenüber **.o..s.t..s.** (Vi 2) < **ghosti-*.
- Das Wort *ekvopetaris* begegnet in mehreren Inschriften auf Grabsteinen, die durch Abbildungen von Streitwagen oder Reitern verziert sind (Brewer 1985; Pinault 2016). Schreibvarianten reichen von **ekvopetari[.]s.** (*Es 121) über **e.kupetari.s.** (Pa 1), EQUIPETARS (Pa 6) und **e.p.petari.s.** (*Pa 21) bis hin zu **e.petari.s.** (*Pa 20).

Der Vortrag wird systematisch diese und weitere Varianten präsentieren und die relative Chronologie unserer Quellen des Venetischen und deren Korrelation mit innovativen und archaischen Merkmalen der Sprache thematisieren (Apokope/Synkope, Assimilationen in Konsonantenclustern, Schwund von Lauten in bestimmten Positionen; Bewahrung einer Sequenz *-tl-* anstelle eines Wandels zu *-kl-* etc.). Insbesondere soll gefragt werden, ob sich eine rein auf linguistische Kriterien gestützte relative Chronologie venetischer Sprachwandelprozesse mit einer relativen Chronologie der Quellen deckt, die auf paläographischen Kriterien basiert.

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Hesiod, the Gortyn Law Code, and the problem of accusative plurals in Greek

Chiara Bozzone

The text of Hesiod shows eight metrically guaranteed instances of first declension acc.pl. in *-ās*, next to the more common acc.pl. in *-ās* attested in Homer and Attic-Ionic. These “short accusatives” have been variously interpreted as dialectal features, poetic creations, or, influentially, as archaisms (Morpurgo Davies 1964; for a history of the problem see Capotos 2024).

In Morpurgo Davies’ view, Hesiod preserved both the prevocalic and preconsonantal variant of an ancient external sandhi alternation for the acc.pl. ending (*-ās* C, *-ās* V < Proto-Greek **-ans*), of which the first-millennium dialects generalized only one variant (e.g., *-ās* in Thessalian, *-ās* in Attic-Ionic). This view in turn is based on recognizing the situation of the fifth-cent. Gortyn Law code (thematic acc.pl. prevocalic τὸνς ἐλευθέρονς vs. preconsonantal τὸς καδεστάνς) as a deep archaism, continuing the Proto-Greek situation (Schwyzer 1939, Lejeune 1972).

After arguing that the archaism interpretation of both Hesiod’s evidence and the Gortyn Law code encounters several obstacles (the τὸνς/τος treatments in Gortyn are not examples of external sandhi, because they take place inside a prosodic word; in Hesiod, none of the *-ās* accusatives appear in fixed phraseology), this paper proposes a novel solution to the origin of the long and short acc.pl. in Greek altogether, rooted not in external sandhi, but in prosodic phonology.

Sandell (2023) has argued that many differences between the accentuation of Attic-Ionic and Aeolic Greek on one hand and Doric Greek on the other can be explained through the parameter of *final consonant extrametricality* (FCE), whereby the last consonant in a word is “invisible” to the prosody. FCE was present in PIE (Byrd 2015), Attic-Ionic, and Asiatic Aeolic, but was lost in other dialects. This paper argues that FCE can

explain why some Greek dialects chose “short accusatives”, and why some chose “long accusatives”. Starting from Proto-Greek **-ans*:

- 1 Some dialects (like Cretan) tolerated *-ns* at word-end, and preserved it unchanged (*-ans*). Other dialects dispreferred *-ns* at word-end, and went about fixing the problem in different ways:
- 2 Asiatic Aeolic changed **-ans* > *-ais*.
- 3 Dialects like Attic-Ionic deleted *n* with compensatory lengthening of the previous vowel, yielding *-ās*.
- 4 Thessalian, Arcadian, and some Doric dialects deleted *n* without compensatory lengthening, yielding *-ās*.

The difference between (3) and (4) can be explained by FCE: in a dialect with FCE (3), a change **-an⟨s⟩* > *-a⟨s⟩* would result in loss of prosodic weight, since **-an⟨s⟩* is heavy, but *-a⟨s⟩* is light (since extrametrical consonants do not contribute to syllable weight): this motivated compensatory lengthening. In a dialect without FCE (4), the change **-ans* > *-ās* does not result in loss of prosodic weight, since both sequences are heavy; thus, no compensatory lengthening is needed. As a confirmation, the literary Doric of Theocritus, whose accentuation points to absence of FCE, also shows short accusatives in *-ās* (Μοῖρᾱς 2.187).

Beyond *-ās* accusatives, this account provides a new unified explanation of all treatments of final **-Vns* in Greek, including thematic acc.pl. (**-o-ns*) and athematic active participles (nom.sg. **-V-nt-s*).

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The chronology and environments of $*wr > *ru$ metathesis

John Clayton

Since Brugmann² I:260–1, the sequence $*-/wr-/$ has been recognized to undergo a metathesis to $*[-ru-]$ in unclear circumstances in a variety of Indo-European languages. Traditional examples with and without this metathesis appear in (1):

(1)

- a. $*[k^w\text{et}wr-]$ > $*[k^w(e)\text{tur-}]$ > Ved. *catur-*, Goth. *fidur-*
‘four-’ $*[k^w(e)\text{tru-}]$ > Av. *caθru-*, Gaul. *petru-*, Lat. *quadru-*
- b. $*[swēk-wr-h_2]$ > $*[swēkúr_h_2]$ > Gk. *ἐκυρά*, OArm. *skesur*, Alb. *vjehrrë*
‘mother-in-law’ $*[swēkrúh_2]$ > Ved. *śvaśrū*, OCS *svekry*, Lat. *socrus*
- c. $*[smók-wr]$ > $*[smókur]$ > Hitt. *zama(n)kur*
‘beard’ $*[smókru]$ > Ved. *śmáśru*

Despite the general acceptance of this metathesis (Lipp 2009:I 81–2²³², II 343–50; Fritz & Meier-Brügger 2021:109) and language-specific scholarship on the change (Indic: Tedesco 1957:200; Hoffmann 1980:94–5; Clayton 2023:9–10, 39–99; Tocharian: Del Tomba 2021), only one environment has been proposed for the change: $*wr > *ru$ / {#, C} (Mayrhofer 1986:161–2). Since the metatheses in (1) do not pattern according to language branches (with Sanskrit for instance showing both metathesized and unmetathesized forms), Mayrhofer resorts to analogy to explain the unpredictable mixture of reflexes.

Two major chronological proposals for the metathesis exist. Lubotsky (1994:98–100) argues that the metathesis must have been “fairly recent, probably Vedic only”, since the derivatives of Ved. $\sqrt{hvar}$ - ‘to deviate’ with root zero- grade show predictable metathesis depending on whether another *r* appears in the prefix (*á-hru-ta*- ‘not crooked’ vs. *á-pari-hvr̥-ta*-

‘unafflicted’). On the other hand, Kloekhorst (2011:267–9) argues that **wr* > **ru* metathesis occurred after the split of Anatolian (i.e., in Proto-Nuclear-Indo-European) and that the change counterfed Weise’s Law, the claim that PIE palatovelars depalatalized before **r* (as in **/smók-wr/* > Ved. *śmáśru*, not *†smákru*). Kloekhorst does not address the three potential (though problematic) examples of **wr* > **ru* metathesis in Hittite, however: *išḫaḫru* ‘tears’ (if from **sk^w-h₂éék-wr* ‘eye-sharpness’), *kutru-wa/en-* ‘witness’ (if from **k^w_etru-ó/én-* ‘fourth (party of a legal case)’), and *šarkuruwe/o-* ‘to water (horses)’ (if from PA **srog^w-ur-ye/o-*).

This paper argues that the data do not support a single chronological application of this metathesis rule but instead argue that metathesis must have been a viable phonotactic repair throughout the prehistory of the Indo-European languages. To this end, I provide an Optimality Theoretic analysis of the environments which promoted and blocked the metathesis as well as specific commentary on problematic forms in Anatolian and Indic.

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Alignment, subjecthood and transitivity prominence in Indo-European

Eystein Dahl, Tania Ahmad & Krzysztof Stroński

This paper explores the relationship between alignment, subjecthood features and transitivity prominence in the different branches of the Indo-European family. In the present context, alignment refers to the morphosyntactic realization of core arguments. Subjecthood is a cover term for the morphosyntactic properties of the argument referred to as subject, which in this context is defined as the generalized syntactically privileged argument, a notion borrowed from RRG (cf. Van Valin and Lapolla 1997, Van Valin 2005). Transitivity prominence is understood as the degree to which predicates in a language select the pattern characteristic of core transitive verbs (cf. e.g. Haspelmath 2015, Creissels 2018). These three morphosyntactic dimensions are taken to constitute the argument realization system of a language. The empirical data are drawn from the oldest attested stages of representative languages of each of the branches of Indo-European by means of a three-tiered typological questionnaire, which is designed to capture fine-grained differences in each of the three dimensions. The subjecthood properties represent a subset of the ones identified by Falk (2006). Relative transitivity prominence is measured by means of the predicate list in Creissels (2018b), which comprises 30 verb meanings, each of which is assigned a score based on three variables (voice marking, case marking of first argument, case marking of second argument), the scores being summarized for each language, cf. Table 4 below. Taken together, this questionnaire enables a multivariate comparative analysis of the argument realization systems in the languages under scrutiny (e.g., Bickel 2015). It is unclear, however, whether the three morphosyntactic dimensions are diachronically interrelated, so that changes in one dimension may cause changes in another dimension, or not.

Assuming that each of the variables in each of the dimensions represent independent features, we aim to establish whether there are any observable correlations between features. To this aim, we submit the combined data to Principal Components Analysis (PCA), which allows for examining the correlations between variables, cf. Figures 1a and 1b (Le et al. 2008). These figures indicate that certain subjecthood properties tend to cluster, e.g., control and raising constructions, but are weakly associated with certain alignment features, e.g., ergative agreement. Figure 2 plots the resultant clustering of the languages in our sample, indicating that there is a fundamental distinction between languages where control and raising represent subject properties, notably Latin, Greek and Lithuanian (in Hittite, only raising) and languages where they don't (Le et al. 2008). Interestingly, neutral agreement, which is found in Greek, Lithuanian and Hittite, seems to play an almost equally important role in the distribution of the languages. Moreover, raising and control constructions are not subject properties in the languages showing tense/aspect-based split ergative alignment, i.e., Vedic Sanskrit and Classical Armenian. These brief observations are indicative of considerable variation within the languages under consideration and may seem to suggest that language-specific developments within one of the three abovementioned dimensions may condition or restrict developments in the other dimensions.

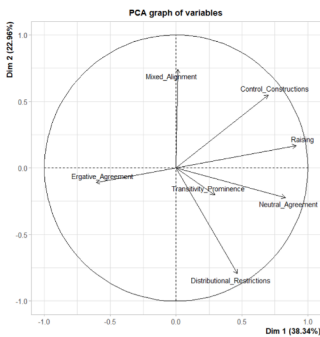


Figure 1a.

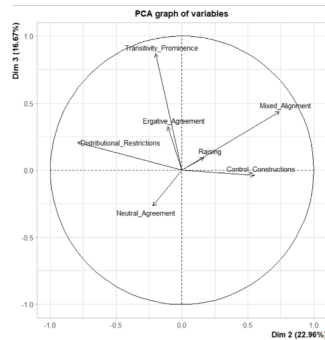


Figure 1b.

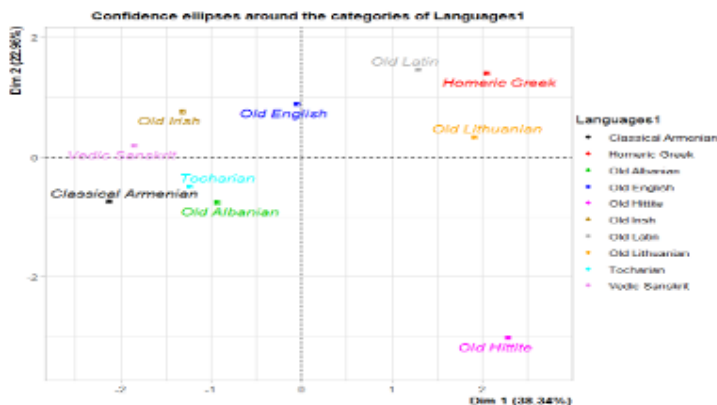


Figure 2.

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On some participial constructions in Hittite: absolute constructions or converbs?

Paola Dardano

The aim of this paper is to analyse the adverbial use of the genitive of a Hittite participle (singular or plural) in the expressions GUB-*aš* ‘standing’ and TUŠ-*aš* ‘sitting.’ These genitives are frequently attested in Hittite festival texts. The following examples show their use in the fixed expressions ‘to toast a deity (lit. to drink (to) a deity) sitting/standing’:

LUGAL-*uš* MUNUS.LUGAL-*ašš* *za* TUŠ-*aš* 4 *akua*[*nzi*] ‘The king and queen drink (to) four (deities) while sitting’ (KBo 25.12 IV16’')

LUGAL-*uš* GUB-*aš* dLAMMA KUŠ*kuršan* *ekuzi* ‘The king toasts standing the tutelary god [of] the fleece’ (KBo 19.128 V 50)

Phonetic spellings indicate that TUŠ-*aš* and GUB-*aš* represent the genitive singular forms *ašant/daš* and *arant/daš* (KUB 43.26 I 5’; KBo 25.61+KBo 40.79 III 8’).

The hypothesis that these constructions should be interpreted as genitives absolute was proposed by Carruba (1966: 41), but this is not widely accepted, since it is generally assumed that the distinctive feature of an absolute construction is the absence of coreference links between the nominal of the absolute construction and any constituent of the matrix clause. The hypothesis proposed by Neu (1982: 147 note 75) of a head noun ellipsis of the phrase ‘in the posture/manner of someone standing/sitting’ is also plausible, but remains hypothetical in the absence of a suitable head noun. Conversely, Hoffner and Melchert (2004, § 16.50) suggest an adverbial use of the genitive of the participle.

It is noteworthy that these participles are employed in a manner analogous to the utilisation of converbs in numerous contemporary lan-

guages. Converbs are not typically used as arguments but rather as modifiers, typically modifying verbs, clauses or sentences, though not nouns or noun phrases. Converbs represent a category of subordinate construction that is neither argumental nor adnominal. According to Haspelmath (1995: 3), a converb may be defined as “a nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination”, i.e. they are verbal adverbs, just as participles are verbal adjectives. Converbs (gerunds, gérondifs, adverbial participles) have attracted significant interest in recent years within the domain of typological studies, with analyses of these constructions being conducted from a cross-linguistic perspective. Converbs are recognised for their lack of specification for tense(-aspect) and mood, as well as for agreement with their arguments, and are thus classified as nonfinite. Furthermore, the subject of the converb is coreferential with the subject of the superordinate clause, and thus can be left implicit.

The objective of this paper is to elucidate the formal and semantic properties of the forms GUB-*aš* ‘standing’ and TUŠ-*aš* ‘sitting’ in the context of typological studies on converbs, trying to determine whether they are archaisms or innovations.

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The etymology of Lyc. A *qehñ(n)*- and the paradigm of PIE neuter *n*-stems

Jonas Döll

Lyc. A *qehñ(n)*- ‘fee, loan’ is attested three times, namely as *qehñni* (D/L. sg.) in TL 44b.35 and N 337.12, as well as *qehñnedi* (A/I.Sg.) in TL 44b.31. Its meaning was retrieved from the derived verb Lyc. A *qehñni-(ti)* ‘to buy, to rent’ by Neumann (1979:27). Neumann (2007:299) was also the first one to suggest that Hitt. *kuššaniye/a-(mi)* ‘to rent, to hire’ and thus implicitly Hitt. *kuššan-* n. ‘wage, hire, rental price’ were related. Sasseville (2021:160) also compared Lyd. *qašāni-(t)* ‘to rent, to hire’, which is derived from an unattested Lydian neuter *n*-stem **qašān-*. On the basis of the Hittite, Lycian A and Lydian nouns, Sasseville reconstructs **kueh_{2/3}s-on-*.

Further Germanic cognates for Hitt. *kuššan-* had already been suggested by Goetze (1954:403), i.e. OE *hȳr(i)an* ‘to hire’, OSax. *hūria* ‘id.’ and OFris. *hēra* ‘id.’ Leaving out Lyc. A *qehñ(n)*- and Lyd. **qašā-*, Kloekhorst (2008:498) reconstructs a preform **kuh_{1/3}s-n-* (cp. HED K:290–293 and HEG I:671ff.).

Based on the data, I reconstruct the underlying root as **kueh₃s-* because (a) Lyc. A *qehñ(n)*- allows us to determine the exact position of the vowel and (b) only the third laryngeal colors **e* to **o*, leading to Lyc. A *q* from **kū*. Furthermore, I will argue that the zero-grade of the root in Hitt. *kuššan-* and the full grade in the Lycian and Lydian cognates are indicative of a proterokinetic paradigm, i.e. **kueh₃s-ŋ/*kuh₃s-én-*.

A similar case is Lyc. A **haxā(n)*- ‘(family) bond’ that can be seen in Lyc. A *hax[ā]na-* c. ‘in-law’ (TL 94.2). Together with its Anatolian cognates Hitt. *šahḫan-* n. ‘liege service, duty’, CLuw. *šahḫan-* n. ‘liege service, fief’ and HLuw. */sahan-/* n. ‘service(?)’ it can also be traced back to a proterokinetic neuter *n*-stem **séh₂-ŋ/*sh₂-én-* of the unextended root for ‘to bind’. The oblique stem of this paradigm is seen in Hitt. *išḫanittar-* c. ‘in-law’ (s. Rieken 1999:287 and cp. Kloekhorst 2008:691f.).

The Anatolian data dovetails with the reconstructed forms **sh₃eg-ŋ* (Hitt. *šāgan* and CLuw. cognate *dāin-*) (cp. Melchert 2007/2008:187 fn. 14), **h₂leḫbh-ŋ* (Gk. ἄλεια) and **h₃engu-ŋ* (Lat. *ungen*). Thus, I will argue that these primary Proto-Indo-European neuter *n*-stems inflect according to the proterokinetic paradigm.

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Relative chronology of anticausative strategies in Icelandic

Thórhallur Eythórsson & Sigríður Sæunn Sigurdardóttir

This paper argues that different morphosyntactic strategies used to form anticausatives in Icelandic are productive in different time periods. We establish a relative chronology of anticausative strategies for Icelandic, showing how shifts in such strategies coincide with factors in other domains of grammar (cf. Cennamo 2022). Our analysis is carried out based on the diachronic variation exhibited by selected predicates in historical corpora (e.g. ONP, RMH). Expanding on Ottosson (2013), we identify five different causative-anticausative patterns in Icelandic (1a–e); the case frames for the relevant predicates are given within square brackets.

- (1) a. Weak-strong alternation: caus. *sökkti* ‘sank’ [Nom–Acc] : anticaus. *sökk* ‘sank’ [Nom]
b. *na*-verbs: caus. *braut* ‘broke’ [Nom–Acc] : anticaus. *brotnaði* ‘broke’ [Nom]
c. Case-Preserving Anticausatives (CPA): caus. *hvessti* ‘sharpened’ [Nom–Acc] : anticaus. *hvessti* ‘got windier’ [Acc]
d. Morphologically Unmarked (MU): caus. *lokaði* ‘closed’ [Nom–Dat] : anticaus. *lokaði* ‘closed’ [Nom]
e. *st*-predicates: caus. *opnaði* ‘opened’ [Nom–Acc] : anticaus. *opnaðist* ‘opened’ [Nom]

All of the patterns in (1) are attested in Modern Icelandic as well as in Old Norse (ON). Two of these strategies, (1a) and (1b), ceased being productive already in pre-Old Norse (before 10th century AD). Their unproductivity is reflected in the fact that occasionally some predicates may form an anticausative in more than one way (2a), or occur with double marking simultaneously (2b):

- (2) a. ON *sökk-ti-st* ‘sunk’, a weak form with *-st* for an older strong form *sökk* in (1a)
- b. ModIcel *brot-na-ði-st* ‘broke’, with both *-na-* and *-st* instead of *brot-na-ði* in (1b)

The remaining three strategies (1c–e) show productivity to a varying degree in Modern Icelandic, engaging in a “micro-level conflict” against each other. We posit a hierarchy of strategies for the modern language such that the *st*-strategy (1e) is selected provided the relevant *st*-form does not already have another function (e.g., reflexive, reciprocal, denominal). The productivity of this strategy is boosted by the ubiquity of the *st*-suffix with all kinds of verb formations. In cases where the *st*-form is dispreferred or unavailable, a different strategy (CPA or MU) is selected. The strategy of MU verbs (1d) seems to be gaining ground in Modern Icelandic, having previously been rather limited (witness new verbs in the semantic domain of technology like *hlaða* ‘charge’ and *starta* ‘start’). In some cases, its rise may be “accidental”, due to a common change called Nominative Substitution, whereby an oblique subject is replaced by a nominative (e.g. Svavarsdóttir 1982). However, even in Modern Icelandic, the emergence of new oblique subjects can still be triggered by CPA (1c).

In conclusion, we propose a relative chronology of anticausative strategies in the history of Icelandic. The weak-strong alternation and *na*-verbs were productive before Old Norse. Case Preserving Anticausatives shows some signs of productivity in Modern Icelandic whereas the Morphologically Unmarked option and, in particular, *st*-predicates have enjoyed productivity since the Old Norse period.

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Late Achaemenid Scribes and Old Persian Language. On judging conservation, innovation and error in a tiny handful of texts

Marco Fattori

The most widespread idea on the language of the few Old Persian inscriptions dating later than Xerxes's reign is that they represent a very late linguistic stage. Some scholars have gone so far as to assume that, in the Late Achaemenid period, people already spoke a form of Proto-Middle Persian, characterized, for example, by the total collapse of inflectional morphology after the loss of final syllables and the tendency to generalize an "ergative" preterite built with the past participle [Brandenstein 1956, Schmitt 1999, Skjærvø 1999]. This contradicts any reasonable expectation from the evolution of a language in terms of glottochronology: we would be dealing with a sudden and massive grammatical simplification happened between the end of Xerxes's reign (465 BC) and the beginning of Araxerxes II's reign (404 BC), followed by almost seven centuries of practically insignificant changes leading to the stage witnessed by Sasanian Middle Persian.

In this paper, I will argue that this judgement on Late Old Persian is flawed by an underestimation of the interpretative problem posed by the few extant texts. First, I will show that the traditional approach of interpreting supposed errors by later scribes as evidence of the loss of specific linguistic features often necessitates assuming a degree of grammatical simplification that surpasses that of early Middle Persian, which is clearly impossible. In these cases, I believe that an extra-linguistic interpretation, connected to the formulaic compositional technique of these late inscriptions, can better account for the facts. Then, I will provide a couple of examples of actual linguistic innovations shown by Late Old Persian, both in the field of historical phonology and morphology, which were previ-

ously unnoticed due to the above-mentioned projection of this linguistic stage onto an alleged Proto-Middle Persian.

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Archaisms vs. innovations and relative chronology in the reconstruction of IE phraseology

José L. García Ramón

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José L. García Ramón

The two verbs of 'pouring' *par excellence* in Anatolian allow to state a clear-cut distribution: (a) Hitt. *lāḫ(h)u-ḫḫi* (iterative *lilḫu(ḫa)-ḫḫi*, also CLuv. *lūḫa-* and *lilūḫa-*), restricted to liquids (and secondarily to metals), as against (b) Hitt. *išḫuḫai-ḫḫi* 'to sprinkle', *šuhḫai-ḫḫi* 'to poor, scatter', restricted to dry objects [corn, barley, wheat...]. The distribution is a clear-cut one (e.g. KBo 39.8 +, Rs. iii 23/4 ... *n=ašta ḫ-an anda laḫui ... karaš=kan anda šuhḫai* 'he pours oil into it, and scatter grain into it'), apart from isolated slips only in mixed lists. This reflects a secondary distribution within Anatolian, where PIE **ḡheṽ-* 'to pour' (with no restriction as to its object) is not attested as a verb (only residual Hitt. *kutt-* 'wall', CLuv. NA4*kut-as(sa)ri-* 'orthostat' (: "having the likeness of a wall", Melchert DLL s.v.). The situation of (a) *lāḫ(h)u-ḫḫi* with liquid objects continues the pattern of PIE **leh₃u-* 'to poor out' (only liquids), which lives on in (metathesized) **leuH-* 'to wash' in Core IE: Gk. *λούο/ε-*, Lat. *lauāre* (Melchert 2011). Contrarily, (b) the restriction to dry objects of *išḫuḫai-ḫḫi* 'to sprinkle' (**sh₂eṽ-*) and *šuhḫai-ḫḫi* 'to poor out, scatter' (metathesized **suh₂-*: paradigm split), is a innovation as against PIE **sh₂eṽ-/sh₂u-*, which is limited to liquids: Gk. *ύο/ε-* 'to rain', Toch. B */su-/*, */swa-s-/*, A *su-*, *swās-* 'id.', and *ύετός* 'rain', Toch. B *swese-*, A *swase* 'id.' (pace Melchert 2011:131).

The assumption that the restriction of *išḫuḫai-ḫḫi*, *šuhḫai-ḫḫi* 'to poor, scatter' to dry objects is an Anatolian, at least Hittite innovation, casts light on the relative chronology of the expression *uttār iḫuḫai-* 'to sprinkle words' (*hapax*) in the ritual VBoT 58 A iv (OH/NS), on which attention has been drawn by Dardano (2018)

VBoT 58 A iv.rev.5–6 ... DINGIRMEŠ-*an uddār nezza[n]* / [o o]x
šuhḫahḫun

“le parole sono degli dei. / Le ho solo pronunciate (lett. versate)” (Dardano 2018: 52–4; “I took the god’s words. And I poured them out” (Hoffner 1990:28).

Hitt. *uttār iḫuḫai-* ‘to sprinkle words’, surely a metaphoric collocation as against non-marked expressions like *uttār appa tarkummai-* ‘to convey words’, *parā arnu-* ‘to forward words’, is the only instance of the phraseological collocation [POUR – (liquid) WORDS], i.e. the conceptualisation of the human voice and words as a flowing liquid (Kurke’s 1989 “liquid poetics”), expressed by a verb of pouring in Hittite (no instance with *lāḫ(h)u-*, the *Ersatzkontinuante* of **ḡheḫ-*). The collocation is well attested in different Core IE languages with the reflexes of IE **ḡheḫ-* and synonyms (e.g. RV VIII 39.3ab ... *mánmāni túbhyam ... juhva* ‘...I pour out thoughts to you’, *Od.* 19.521 ἦ τε θαμά ... χέει πολυηχέα φωνήν ‘she continually pours her much-resounding voice’, Verg. *Aen.* 6.55 *funditque preces rex* ... ‘the king pours forth prayers’; also OIr. *guth* ‘voice’: **ḡhutu-* ‘act of pouring’) and may now be traced back to Proto-IE.

In conclusion: *uttār iḫuḫai-* ‘to sprinkle words’ (i.e. a *liquid*), in contrast with the restriction of the verb to solid objects in Hittite, reflects the original meaning of IE **sh₂ey-/ *sh₂u-* ‘to pour out (a liquid), rain’, i.e. an archaism which did not live on in Hittite. The phraseme Hitt. *uttār iḫuḫai-* ([POUR – WORDS]) can have been created only at a time when the verb had still liquids as object, i.e. in a prehistoric phase, previous to the split of Proto-Anatolian: it reflects an archaism, to be traced back to Proto-Indo-European.

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Innovation or persistence?

The inflection of Hittite *talugi-* ‘long’ revisited.

Gabriele Giannecchini

The Hittite adjective meaning ‘long’ is usually held to be an original *-i/-ā(y)*-ablauting stem (Neu 1983: 187; EDHIL: 819–20; Frantíková 2022: 79; GrHL2: 139; but cf. Kronasser 1966: 248–9; HEG III: 61–2). Accordingly, the adjective stem is commonly cited as *talugi-* (or *daluki-*), despite never being attested as such. In the nom.sg. and acc.sg., where one would expect the zero-grade stem allomorph ***talugi-*, only thematic forms are actually found (i.e., *taluga-*).

The current analysis of *talugi-* as an original *-i/-ā(y)*-stem is based on the chronological distribution of the attestations. The unambiguous thematic forms (acknowledged so far) all occur on NS tablets: e.g., acc.sg.c. *ta-lu-kán*; nom./acc.sg.n. *da-lu-ga*. Conversely, the OH/OS attestations are all said to belong to an *-i/-ā(y)*-ablauting stem: nom.pl.c. *ta-lu-ga-e-eš*; acc.pl.c. *ta-lu-ga-ú-uš*; dat./loc.pl. *ta-lu-ga-aš*. Thus, Kloekhorst (EDHIL: 820) dismisses thematic *taluga-* as a NH analogical innovation based on a reanalysis of the oblique case forms: e.g., gen.sg. ***ekunaš* : *dalugaš* (< **talug-aṣ-as*) = nom.sg.c. *ekunaš* : ***dalugiš* → GÍD.DA-aš.

Quite strikingly, this alleged analogy seems to apply to all and only the nom.sg. and acc.sg. forms. Not only are these never built on a stem ***talugi-*, but one also never finds unambiguous thematic forms outside the nominative and accusative singular. Particularly noteworthy is the persistence of the *-i/-ā(y)*-inflection in the acc.pl.c. throughout the MH period (*da-lu-ga-uš*; *ta-lu-ga-uš*) and well into NH times (*da-lu-ga-e-eš*).

Abstracting away from the chronology of attestations, one notices what appears to be a number-conditioned paradigmatic split in the nominative and accusative, i.e. *a*-stem singular vs. (*-i/-*)-*ā(y)*-stem plural. This pattern is highly reminiscent of the inflection

of *ḥatūga*(/i)- ‘frightening’. Here, however, the *-a/-ā(y)*-stem allomorphy must be projected back to OH times already, as shown by the co-occurrence of nom./acc.sg.n. *ḥat*(/d)āg(/k)an and acc.pl.c. *ḥatuk*(/g)auš on OS tablets.

In fact, the thematic stem *taluga-* is already attested in OS beside *talugā(y)-*, just like *ḥatūga-* beside *ḥatūgā(y)-*. Contrary to repeated assertions (for the latest, see GrHL2: 139), the OS form *talugaš* in KBo 17.22 iii 8’ is nom.sg.c., as witnessed by the following duplicate:

KUB 28.8 + KBo 37.48 rev. 6’-8’ (CTH 736.1.B; NS; ed. Klinger 2000: 158; restored after KBo 17.22 iii 7’-9’)

[...] [*a-ru-na-aš*] *ma-aḥ-ḥa-an ta-lu-ga-aš*

pal-ḥi-iš la-b[(a-ar-na-ša MUḪI.)]A QA-TAM-MA ta-lu-ga-e-eš

pal-ḥi-e-eš [a-ša-a]n-du

‘[...] As [the sea] is long and wide, so shall the [(years of)] Lab[(arna) be] long and wide!’

The OH thematic nom.sg.c. *talugaš* shows that what was assumed to be a secondary analogical development is actually an instance of a remarkably resistant allomorphy attested throughout the history of Hittite.

The present finding raises interesting questions as to the origin of this unusual *-a/-ā(y)*-stem alternation, which is only observed in the two phonologically similar adjectives *talugā(y)-* and *ḥatūgā(y)-*. Furthermore, it can help reconcile Hitt. *talugā(y)-* with its IE cognates (e.g., Skt. *dīrghá-*, Gr. *δολιχός*, OCS *dlъgъ*, Lith. *ilgas*), which, regardless of the serious difficulties with the formal reconstruction of the root (see, e.g., EWA I: 728–9; EDHIL: 820; Rau 2009: 132; Pinault 2017: 650–4; Frantíková 2022: 80–1), all clearly point to an original thematic stem.

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Archaisms and innovations in the Old Prussian sources: verbs in *-ā / -ai* and *-ē / -ei*

Sander van Hes

This study investigates orthographic variation and verbal stem formation in documents from the 14th to the 16th century written in Old Prussian (OPr.), an extinct West Baltic language. The documents show two verbal types with variant spellings in their third person ending that have continued to puzzle scholars up to the present day: one type has third-person forms in *-ā / -ai*, while the other has *-ē / -ei*, as shown respectively in (1) and (2).

- (1) a. *billa* ‘say’, *imma* ‘take’, *giwa* ‘live’, *islāika* ‘get’, *perbānda* ‘try’.
b. *billai* ‘said’, *ebimmai* ‘take’, *engaunai* ‘receive’, *postānai* ‘become’, *signai* ‘bless’.
- (2) a. *druwe/druwē* ‘believe’, *gēide* ‘wait’, *līse* ‘crawl’, *mile/milē* ‘love’, *segge/seggē* ‘do’.
b. *etwiērpei* ‘forgive’, *perlānkei* ‘belong’, *turei* ‘have’.

One school of thought interprets these forms as reduced variants of former **āja-* and **ēja-*stems. This is the approach taken by, for instance, Palmaitis (2013) and Smoczyński (1990, 1997; followed by Ostrowski 1994), although there are differences in the details of their theories. Smoczyński’s ideas on apocope in Old Prussian and on the use of the macron as an abbreviation sign in word-final diphthongs form the cornerstones of his interpretation of the language’s conjugation system in his comprehensive and oft-cited 2005 dictionary of the Old Prussian verb.

Yet, not all of these ideas are commonly accepted. The interpretation of the macron as an abbreviation sign, for instance, is not followed by most other scholars (cf. e.g., Rinkevičius 2009: 69, Petit 2010: 235–8). What is more, the framework as a whole sometimes leads to some less-

than-convincing choices in the classification of verbs. To take one example, the forms cited in (3) find a more ready explanation as an *a*-stem than as an *āja*-stem (i.e., as reflecting **gīvāja* per Smoczyński 2005: 157–9, cf. Lith. *gyvóti*), especially in light of the thematic present attested in BCMS dial. (Dubr.) *živēm* ‘id.’ (to *živjeti*, cf. Kolln 1977: 107–10). Likewise, the forms in (4) are more easily explained as an *i*-stem than an **ēja*-stems, as *tur* < **turēji* can hardly be *lautgesetzlich*.

- (3) 1 SG *gīwu*, 3 P *giwa*, *giwe*, 1 PL *giwammai*, *giwemmai*, to *giwīt* ‘live’
 (4) 1 SG *turri*, 2 SG *tur*, *turri*, *turei*, 3 P *turri*, *turei*, *turrei*, *ture*, to *turrīt-wei* ‘have’

This paper aims to give a new and more convincing analysis of these two Old Prussian verbal types, one that allows for multiple origins and takes into account all the comparative evidence. It will be argued that while some verbs in *-ā* / *-ai* and *-ē* / *-ei* do indeed reflect original **āja*- and **ēja*-stems, others may be simple *a*- or *i*-stems whose theme vowel underwent diphthongisation. To this end, a statistical analysis will be applied to the Old Prussian material (comparable to, e.g., Levin 1976), taking into account the source of attestation of the respective forms. As the study of Old Prussian is still riddled with uncertainties and hence its relevance for comparative purposes is often put to question, the wider repercussions of the findings for our understanding of the language – especially in relation to the underspecified *Auslautgesetze* – and for its contribution to Baltic, Balto-Slavic, and Indo-European historical morphology will also be considered.

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Baltic prosody: archaisms and innovations

Eugene Hill

The Baltic languages (Lithuanian, Latvian and the extinct Old Prussian) are famous for their complex prosodic systems. The evidence shows that Proto-Baltic not only preserved the PIE dynamic word-stress but also developed new prosodic contrasts on stressed and unstressed syllables. At the same time, the individual Baltic languages exhibit numerous prosodic innovations. Currently, the prosody is a core issue of Baltic comparative grammar (cf. Olander 2009, Yamazaki 2016, Jasanoff 2017, Villanueva Svensson 2023). The core aspects of the Proto-Baltic prosodic system are well understood. However, the reconstruction remains incomplete. As in no other domain of Baltic comparative grammar, the theory of prosody is beset with problems most of which have been known since generations of scholars but still remain unresolved.

All such problems exhibit a similar structure. A theoretical assumption implied by the relevant phenomena and also accepted by all experts, is at the same time contradicted by a part of the evidence, which is again accepted by all experts.

For instance, in all Baltic languages finite verb forms are capable of hosting proclitics. In Lithuanian, the word-stress can be retracted from the verb itself on a proclitic in a part of the inflectional paradigm. This proclitic stress retraction is traditionally attributed to a special prosodic status of the relevant verbs which are assumed to be the Baltic counterpart of Slavonic “mobile” verbs (Stang 1957: 155–157; 1966: 449–451; Derksen 1991: 69–70, 81–82; Jasanoff 2008: 345, 354–375, 2017: 115–116, 229–230). That such verbs once existed in Baltic seems corroborated by evidence in other domains of grammar (Majer 2017). It follows that proclitic stress retraction of Lithuanian must be inherited from Proto-Balto-Slavonic.

However, this traditional assumption is clearly contradicted by the following facts:

- (a) synchronic correlation with root structure (Stang 1957: 155–156; 1966: 449–450; Senn 1966: 247–249; Rinkevičius 2015: 43–44);
- (b) lack of retraction in particular inflectional categories (Stang 1957: 155–156; 1966: 449–450; Senn 1966: 249–251; Rinkevičius 2015: 43–44);
- (c) special status of *pér=* (Senn 1966: 246–247);
- (d) evidence for a recent prosodic boundary following *pri=, nu=, pa=, pra=* (Hill et al. 2019: 160–172);
- (e) failure of *pà=, prà=* to participate in the recent lengthening of stressed *a* (Derksen 1991: 81).

It follows that we have reasons to attribute the Lithuanian proclitic stress retraction to Proto-Balto-Slavonic times. At the same time, we have evidence in favour of its recent origin within Lithuanian itself. As it seems, no substantial progress has been made in resolving this contradiction since Torbiörnsson (1924: 26–44).

In my talk, I will analyse this and two similar anomalies in Baltic prosody and argue that our difficulties result from the fact that we traditionally consider only a part of the available evidence. This pertains to the following two domains:

- East Baltic texts from pre-modern times (mid-16th–mid-19th c.);
- East Baltic dialect recordings (from mid-19th c.–present).

I will demonstrate that, as soon as the data are taken into account more comprehensively, the problems in question begin to look dramatically different. This must be the way to their solution.

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“Revisiting Verner’s Law in Gothic: the distribution of *s* and *z*”

Ronald I. Kim

A notorious problem of Germanic linguistics is the frequent absence of expected outcomes of Verner’s Law (VL) in Gothic, including the nearly complete elimination of VL alternations in strong verb inflection. Although many scholars have interpreted this absence in terms of an early divergence of Gothic from the rest of Germanic, others have attributed it to paradigmatic or lexical analogy and/or set up Gothic-specific sound changes (Miller 2019:30–32 with refs.). Bernhardsson (2001) offers the most comprehensive treatment of the problem and identifies a set of residual cases that cannot be explained by analogy, e.g. *hausjan* ‘hear’ or *fulla-fahjan* ‘satisfy, serve’, for which he proposes a change $*[z], *[y] > *[s], *[x]$ before voiced fricatives. Such voicing dissimilation is crosslinguistically paralleled, but requires the survival into pre-Gothic of the Proto-Germanic (PGmc.) distribution of VL alternations in the verbal endings, for which there is no independent support.

This paper reexamines the Gothic continuants of PIE $*s$, which underwent phonemic split by VL to PGmc. $*s$ and $*z$. A review of the evidence reveals that the latter is regularly continued as *z* after short vowels, e.g. in the comparative suffix *-iz-*; the 3SG pronoun F.GEN.SG *izōs*, M/N.GEN.PL *izē*, F.GEN.PL *izō*; *tuz-wērjan* ‘doubt’, PRT *uz-ōn* ‘breathed out’; and *hatiz-* ‘hate’, *riqiz-* ‘darkness’, *hazjan* ‘praise’. In contrast, we find *s* after long vowels and diphthongs (*hausjan* ‘hear’, *us-gaisjan** ‘frighten’, *laisjan* ‘teach, learn’) except in the adjective endings F.GEN.SG *-aizōs*, M/N.GEN.PL *-aizē*, F.GEN.PL *-aizō* and comparative *-ōz-*, which can have been influenced by respectively *izōs*, *izē*, *izō* and *-iz-*. Exceptions to the first category reflect Thurneysen’s Law (TL) of voicing dissimilation after a voiced consonant: *agis-* ‘fear’, *rimis-* ‘rest’, *sigis-* ‘victory’, *nasjan* ‘save’, *wasjan* ‘clothe; wear’ (for the reverse change cf. *aqizi* ‘ax’, *arhvaznōs* ‘ar-

rows’). This removes the need for analogical accounts of *wasjan* or *hausjan*, and also of a noun like *ausō* ‘ear’, which therefore does not require positing PGmc. stem variants **aus-* ~ **auz-* in an originally mobile *n*-stem paradigm (pace e.g. Schaffner 2001:575–84). The only remaining cases are *bariz-eins* ‘of barley’ and *ubizwa** ‘hall’, which pose problems for any model of VL and TL, and *wizōn** ‘live one’s life’.

These observations suggest that the dialects ancestral to Gothic did fully participate in VL, but the contrast between **s* and **z* (probably distinguished as [-sg] and [+sg]) was then neutralized after long vowels and in TL environments, significantly reducing its functional load. The present hypothesis furthermore offers a starting point for the elimination of VL alternations in strong verbs, as a Class V verb like *wisan* ‘be’ would have had PRT.3SG *was*, PRT.3PL *wēsun* (< **wēz-*), PRT.PTCP *wisan* (< **wiz-*) by the rules above.

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A tree or not: An East Iranian experiment

Simon Poulsen & Agnes Korn

In this talk, we present a novel approach to exploring the relationship of East Iranian languages. We look at the East Ir. Sprachbund (Sims-Williams 1989: 165, 1996: 651) by using a computational phylogenetic Maximum Parsimony analysis, and investigate to which extent there is an underlying family tree structure in (parts of) the East Ir. continuum.

Our analysis uses the traditional phonological and morphological isoglosses (which we interpret as potentially shared innovations) across 17 East Iranian languages (ancient and modern) as summarised in Wendtland 2009. These altogether nine phonological and 19 morphological “characters” include the development of Ir. **b/d/g/č-*, **θ(r)-*, *-θr-*, *-xt-*, *-ft-* and grammatical traits like the nominal plurals, the 2PL pronoun, the 3PL verbal ending, the demonstratives and affixed pronouns. The coding of our data mimics the traditional judgement of significant innovations, as we assign different weights to the characters (inter alia morphological characters more salient than phonological ones) and (typologically informed) costs to all possible changes within each isogloss. We use the app *LinguiPhyR* (Canby 2024) to perform a Maximum Parsimony analysis and generate the most economic phylogenetic tree, i.e. the tree that requires the lowest cost to get from Proto-Iranian (as the ancestral state) to the outcomes in the individual languages.

The result are several family trees, not one; furthermore, our best trees do not entirely agree with any of the widely diverging sub-groupings of East Iranian that have been suggested in the literature (for which see Wendtland 2009, Korn 2016: 403–405, 2019: 248f.). We use the app’s post-processing tools to evaluate the trees and the relative chronology of each character under different scenarios, and the influence of each character on the configuration of the trees. Unexpected results include Khotanese as an outlier against more innovative groups; and Parachi and Ormuri are

rarely grouped together and never as an outlier (despite their *b/d/g-*) as they diverge in most morphological characters. Sogdian does not come out as a close relative of Yaghnobi (because of Sogdian innovations shared with Bactrian and Chorasmian, Yaghnobi innovations shared with Pamir languages and its originally middle 3PL ending in *-tā* lost in Sogdian).

Our results highlight that most of the traditionally assumed subgroups rest on narrow (and often typologically trivial) phonological evidence. Most morphological isoglosses are consistently incompatible, and the software must infer large-scale loss or parallel innovations to fit them onto a tree. While the restructuring of the plural case system and of the deictic pronominal systems are compatible with some trees, the 3PL verbal ending does not follow the same pattern. Moreover, the innovated nominal plural from the collective in **-tā-* goes against all other isoglosses, indicating that some bundles of isoglosses did not develop genetically, but should probably be regarded as areal features of the “Sprachbund” that East Iranian (as well as some of its subgroups) has been suggested to represent. We argue that our approach, combining traditional and computational analysis, offers insights to help further the long-standing debate on the relationship between the East Iranian languages.

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Through fire and butter – Indo-European etymology and ritual reconstruction

Tore Kristoffersen

In the present paper, I will argue that the IE word for ‘(active) fire, god of fire’ reflected in Ved. *agní-*, Lith. *ugnis*, OCS *ognь*, and Lat. *ignis*, is derived from the word for ‘butter, fat’ reflected in Lat. *unguen*, OIr. *imb*, and OHG *anko*, and reconstruct the ritual context in which this derivation originates.

As is well-known, the Indo-European proto-language contained two words ‘fire’, one signifying ‘(active) fire, god of fire’ (masculine), the other, **peh₂ur/n-*, signifying ‘(passive) fire’ (neuter) (cf. Meillet 1920). What has not before been noted is the fact the ‘(active) fire’ does not have reflexes in Anatolian and Tocharian and cannot therefore be reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European proper. If this form is an innovation in core-Indo-European, it will be possible to etymologize the word beyond mere cognate equations.

After discussing the comparanda, I conclude that the reconstruction **(H)ng(w)ní-* (e.g. Hamp 1970), rather than **Hó/ég(w)ni-* (e.g. Schindler 1975), best explains the attested reflexes. I then discuss earlier attempts at connecting this word with a group of words for ‘charcoal’ (Ved. *āṅgāra-*, Lith. *anglis*, etc.); this is found to be unsatisfactory, as the connection amounts to no more than a shared root **Heng(w)-*, for which there is no independent evidence.

If indeed the word, as commonly assumed since Meillet (1920), had inherently religious or divine connotations, it is reasonable to assume that it was coined a religious context. Coupled with the fact that words for ‘fire’ may derive from the thing burnt (e.g. “tree; firewood” > “fire”, cf. Schapper, Roque & Hendery 2016), the religious origin may suggest derivation from the thing ritually sacrificed into the fire. When considering the Vedic ritual, where the sacrifice of butter into the fire was a central ritual (Gonda

1980: 176; Oberlies 2023: 223), we may note the striking similarity between $*(H)ng(w)ní-$ and the IE word for ‘fat, butter’, reconstructed as $*h_3éngʷn̥$ (Lat. *unguen*, OIr. *imb*, OHG *anko*). I posit the following derivation, which conforms to well-known patterns (cf. Höfler 2015; 2020 with references):

$*h_3éngʷn̥$ / $*h_3ngʷén-$ ‘butter, fat’

→ $*h_3ngʷn-ó-$ ‘having butter/fat; of butter; buttery’ (possessive adjective in *-ó-*)

→ $*h_3ngʷn-í-$ ‘the one having butter/fat’ (*i*-substantivization)

The remainder of the paper is dedicated to reconstructing the IE ritual context. I argue that, given the similarities in subsistence strategies between Vedic society and that of the pastoral communities associated with the speakers of Proto-Indo-European (Anthony 2023), it is highly probable that the Vedic practice of butter/fat sacrifice reflects inheritance. This is supported by the fact that the practice of making ritual libations into fire can be securely reconstructed for core-Indo-European may be reconstructed through comparative poetics and mythology (cf. Ginevra 2023); further, it finds support in the widespread conception of fire as a living being that “eats” (West 2007: 268; Kaliff & Oestigaard 2023: *passim*), and the practice, attested in ancient as well as living Indo-European traditions, of “feeding” the ritual fire fat or butter.

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The primary palatals in Proto-Iranic: Still palatal?

Martin Kümmel

Some 50 years ago, the previously usual reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-Iranic and Proto-Iranic outcome of the (Satem) IE palatals as *ś, *ž (very similar to Sanskrit) was replaced by a reconstruction as affricates, based on the Nuristani reflexes and inner-Iranic arguments. E.g., Klingenschmitt (1975: 77 n. 2) and Mayrhofer (1983: 2; 1989: 6) reconstructed PIr. *ć and assumed a depalatalization to *c [ts] in Nuristanic and Iranian; this was supported by the detailed investigations of Lipp (2009). However, rather soon this common innovation of Nuristanic and Iranian was called into question by others, pointing to the “palatal” outcome of the cluster *ćw in Saka ś(ś) and Wakhi š, cf. *áćwa- > Khot. aśśa-, Wakhi yaš ‘horse’. This “palatal character” was assumed to be most likely an archaism (Emmerick 1989: 216), and Sims-Williams (1998: 136) concluded that the Proto-Iranic affricate had to be reconstructed as (unchanged) *ć, followed by a number of other scholars (e.g., Windfuhr 1999: 18; Skjærvø 1999: 50f.; Peyrot 2018). Tremblay (2005: 678f., 684f.) used this even as a supporting argument against Iranian as a valid subfamily. Recent investigations of borrowings from Iranian appear to have brought additional arguments for retention of *ćw in Proto-Iranic and even Proto-Saka, in contrast to *cw elsewhere, including “Old Steppe Iranian” (Peyrot, Dragoni & Bernard 2022). Recently, Hock (2023) has discussed the pathway to the more palatal reflexes of PIr. *ćw in the Saka branch and a similar change in Armenian; he proposed to explain these by palatalization of *w triggered by the palatal affricate before its general depalatalization, i.e. *ćw > *ćwⁱ > *cwⁱ. Thus the Saka branch could have inherited *cwⁱ > *cy in contrast to *cw elsewhere in Iranian. However, while this approach might work in Saka where *ćw and *cy > *cy merge in ś(ś), it is problematic for Wakhi where *cy yielded depalatalized (retroflex) ṣ (e.g., *naćya- > naṣ- ‘disappear’) while *ćw led to (palatal) š. This failure of original *ćw to get depal-

atalized in Wakhi seems to require an additional feature which can hardly be anything else but rounding. This could mean that rounding of sibilants itself can be a factor favouring a “palatal” outcome, and some supportive evidence might come from the development of labialized sibilants and affricates in Northwest Caucasian. Thus, the question arises whether we really need an Iranian archaism here, or whether the relative chronology actually disfavours this solution.

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Distinguishing archaisms, innovations and errors in Hittite manuscripts

H. Craig Melchert

The ability to chronologize Hittite manuscripts pioneered in the early 1970s revolutionized synchronic and diachronic study of the language. However, prioritizing the evidence of earlier manuscripts has sometimes been applied too mechanistically, and the crucial role of assured New Hittite compositions in establishing New Hittite grammar has been greatly underappreciated. I will illustrate with concrete examples not only archaisms in NH compositions, but also how only a correct understanding of NH grammar enables us to distinguish archaisms, innovations and unreal creations of copyists in the copies of older compositions that comprise the bulk of our corpus, focusing on the Hittite- Akkadian Bilingual, the Middle Script copy of the Myth of Telipinu, and the notorious KBo 39.8 that has erroneously been used as the basis for Middle Hittite grammar.

Latin verb-object compounds: deep archaism or (failed) borrowing?

Elisa Migliaretti

In book VIII of his historiographic work (15.12), Valerius Maximus mentions the dedication of “an image” (*simulacrum*, a statue?) to Venus *Verticordia* in order to convert the women’s hearts “from pleasure to composure” (*a libidine ad pudicitiam*). The context supports the analysis of the form *Vertii-cordiaj* as a left-headed Verb-Object (VO) compound with a governing verb, meaning ‘Heartj-converteri’.

This attestation poses an interesting chronological problem: the facts mentioned are dated by the historians to the 3rd cent. BCE (Schilling 1959:226–33), but the author writes in the 1st cent. CE. Can the form *Verticordia* be traced back to the 3rd cent. BCE, or did the author employ a 1st cent. BCE word anachronistically? If *Verticordia* were an original 3rd cent. BCE form, it would be the earliest example of a VO compound, and the only example containing a present stem (*verte-* ‘to turn’; *φερέοικος* type). Another handful of examples of verb-initial compounds exist in Archaic and Classical Latin, but they all share the *-si-* morpheme typically associated with the Greek *τερψίμβροτος* type (Tribulato 2015).

In this paper, I analyze the evidence for VO compounds in Latin and I propose that the attested VO compounds are not inherited, but represent an attempt at borrowing the compositional structure of Ancient Greek (Oniga 1988; Bork 1990; Lindner 2002: 38–9; *contra*, Leumann 1977: 396–7). In particular, I argue that our evidence is scarce because the borrowing process encountered a failure and I model this failure following the Resistance Principle developed by Guardiano and colleagues (2016; 2020). According to the Resistance Principle, a foreign structure – here, the Ancient Greek VO compounds – can be borrowed into a target language – here, Latin – because the target language already generates similar struc-

tures that provide a point of contact and facilitate the adoption of foreign syntax.

Therefore, I argue that Latin could borrow the Ancient Greek VO compound structure because its syntax already allowed VO structures in some configurations of the deponent verbs, more specifically in VOAux sequences as in (1).

- (1) *consules praetoresque sortiti_V provincias_O sunt_{Aux}*
 (from Danckaert 2017:133)
 ‘the consuls and the praetors exited the provinces’

These VOAux deponent sequences, however, ceased to be productive around the 1st cent. CE (Danckaert 2017:209–13). The disappearance of the structural point of contact blocked the borrowing process and caused its failure.

As a consequence, I conclude that a VO compounding category cannot be reconstructed for Proto-Latin, and that *Verticordia*, far from being a deep archaism, is among the first literary attestations of the VO type which is going to become a robust compounding strategy in Late Latin and Romance languages (Nielsen Whitehead 2012).

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Laryngeal colouring in Indo-European

Thomas Olander

One of the most successful hypotheses of post-Brugmannian Indo-European linguistics is the laryngeal theory. After a rough start, around fifty years ago the hypothesis established itself as mainstream and is now almost universally accepted in the form that reconstructs three laryngeals for Proto-Indo-European.

Ultimately disappearing in almost all attested daughter languages, the laryngeals leave various traces, including the colouring effects they have on a neighbouring **e*: while **e* is not affected by a preceding or following **h₁*, it is coloured to **a* and **o* by a neighbouring **h₂* and **h₃*, respectively.

Departing from this generally accepted assumption, the present paper examines the relative chronology of laryngeal colouring, attempting to answer a simple question based on the observation that laryngeal colouring affects all known Indo-European languages: did it take place before or after the dissolution of Proto-Indo-European? That is, was it a process that was completed already in the Indo-European proto-language, or did it take place in separate pre-stages of the individual branches?

I examine the arguments for and against both views, arguing that considerations of economy make it a priori more likely that laryngeal colouring was a pre-Proto-Indo-European process, and that the arguments for post-Proto-Indo-European colouring are not weighty enough to change the initial assumption.

Relative chronology in the development of palatal ($*\acute{c}$, $*j^{(h)}$) clusters in Indo-Iranian

Axel Palmér

While no one disputes the possibility that archaic features could be preserved in younger varieties even though they are absent from the earliest attested texts, such proposals tend to meet more resistance, since there is a risk that secondary developments are misinterpreted as archaisms.

The development of the palatals ($*\acute{c}$, $*j^{(h)}$ < PIE $*\acute{k}$, $*\acute{g}^{(h)}$) is an area where Old Indo-Iranian in some ways are more innovative than later attested languages. For example, the palatals must have been affricates in Proto-Indo-Iranian, even though the Old Indo-Iranian languages do not preserve them as such in most environments. This is evident from cases like Khot. *dasta* ‘hand’ etc. < $*j^h asta-$, where $*j^h$ has been dissimilated to $*d$ because of the following $*s$, which makes sense if $*j^h = [d\acute{z}]$. Similarly, the fact that Skt. h becomes j if affected by Grassmann’s law shows that h was an affricate at the time when this law operated. Yet, only Nuristani languages preserve an affricate as the default outcome of $*\acute{c}$, cf. K *cyur* ~ Skt. *śiras* ‘head’.

Furthermore, Khotanese and Wakhi have been argued to preserve traces not only of the affricate pronunciation of Proto-Indo-Iranian palatals, but also of their palatal place of articulation (Sims-Williams 1998; Peyrot 2018). This is based on the outcome of the cluster $*\acute{c}u$, cf. Khot. *aśśü*, Wakh. *yaš* ‘horse’ < $*Ha\acute{c}ua-$. Consequently, under this interpretation, Proto-Iranian must have preserved the palatal affricate pronunciation of PIr. $*\acute{c}$, $*j^{(h)}$, rather than turning these phonemes into dental affricates $*\acute{t}$, $*\acute{d}$. The difference may seem trivial, but has substantial implications for the stratification of loanwords from Iranian into Tocharian and Uralic languages (e.g., Kümmel 2019). In this presentation, I will discuss the Khotanese and Wakhi evidence in light of related sound changes in these languages.

However, besides the outcome of *ću, there are other arguments supporting the view that Proto-Iranian preserved a palatal place of articulation of *ć, *ǰ^(h). Kellens (1976) argued that Avestan, Sogdian, and Bactrian preserve the difference between PIIr. *-št- and *-ćt-, the latter yielding -xšt-, which would indicate that *ć cannot have been a dental affricate in this position in Proto-Iranian. The claim has been challenged by Lipp (2009: 206ff).

The outcome of so-called thorn-clusters as well as clusters of palatal + -n- in Iranian is also relevant for this discussion, as there are indications of palatal articulation here, cf. Av. š < *tć, *ćs, Av. (x)šn, žn < *ćn, *ǰn.

In this presentation, I will attempt to work out the relative chronology of these sound changes, taking into account evidence from different Indo-Iranian languages. I will pay special attention to those cases where Middle and Modern Indo-Iranian languages may preserve archaic features. The goal is to better understand the phonetic realization of the Indo-Iranian palatals at various stages of development, particularly in Proto-Iranian.

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Issues about PIE ‘horse’

Georges-Jean Pinault

The understanding of the PIE etymon for ‘horse’ is tied with scenarios pertaining to the nominal derivation and to the etymology of this lexeme, as well as to the relative position of Anatolian in the phylogeny of the Indo-European language family. The present-day most popular account takes **h₁ékuo-* as an innovation of Core IE through thematicization, hence more recent than **h₁éku-*, which would be present in Anatolian, cf. Hitt. and CLuw. nom.sg. ANŠE.KUR.RA-uš, HLuw. *á-zu-*, pointing to Luwian *azzu-*, Hitt. **ekku-*, c. The alleged meaning would be ‘the swift one’ > ‘horse’, substantivized from an adjective meaning **h₁ék-u-* ‘quick, swift’. To the picture has been added for long the adjective reflected by Ved. *āśú-*, Gk. *ὠκύς*, etc. ‘swift’ < post-IE **ōkú-*, rewritten as **h₁o-h₁k-u-* (Kloekhorst 2008: 239) This occurs as epithet of horses, which has inspired alternative scenarios, such as the one proposed by Schindler (in several conferences), whose arguments are best summarized by Schaffner (2004: 490–491 n.15): ‘horse’ < substantivized adj. ‘provided with swift-ness’ **h₁ék-u-ó-*. Schindler’s account will be deconstructed. The adjective **ōkú-* < **HoHkú-* should be explained independently from the noun ‘horse’, since it applied to other animals, such as birds. The Graeco-Indo-Iranian poetic phrase ‘swift horses’ has no bearing on the respective pre-history of the two associated items. The paper will review the Anatolian data which are far from excluding the inheritance of a thematic form of ‘horse’, as testified by Lyc. *esbe-* ‘horse’ and *esbēt(i)-* ‘horseman’ (Sasseville 2017). The etymology will be explored afresh by connecting further nouns which have been overlooked until now, such as Ved. (RV +) *abhśu-* masc. ‘rein’, which points to a second member **-Hkú-* < stem **h₁k-u-*, derivative from a PIE root **h₁ék-*, meaning ‘to throw down’, applied to the straps or rope which belong to the headgear used for controlling and riding the horses. This new etymology would imply that the PIE zoonym **h₁ékuo-*

referred specifically to the domesticated horse, as belonging to the PIE lexicon of stockbreeding.

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Relative chronology and the reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European stop system(s)

Alwin Kloekhorst & Tijmen Pronk

The last few years have seen an increase in discussions about the branching of the Indo-European language family. Although there is still room for a lot more research in this regard, it seems fair to conclude the following:

1. The view that Anatolian was the first branch to split off from Proto-Indo-European seems to be widely accepted.
2. The view that Tocharian may have been the second to split off is considered as a good possibility by most specialists, but generally not regarded as proven.
3. The following pairs of branches probably form sub-branches together: Indic and Iranian (Indo-Iranian); Baltic and Slavic (Balto-Slavic); Italic and Celtic (Italo-Celtic); and Greek and Phrygian (Graeco-Phrygian). The concepts of an Italo-Celtic sub-branch and a Balto-Slavic sub-branch have traditionally been controversial, but these groupings seem to be accepted by most scholars nowadays.

For a discussion of these issues we refer to Kloekhorst & Pronk (2019) and the relevant chapters in Olander (2022).

In this paper, we will discuss to what extent these recent new insights into the branching of the Indo-European language family has repercussions for the reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European stop system. Are there indications that the stop system of Early Proto-Indo-European (“Proto-Indo-Anatolian”) may have to be reconstructed differently from the stop system of one or more later stages of Proto-Indo-European? In other words: can we set up a relative chronology of the stop system(s) of different stages of the Indo-European ancestor language? We will engage with earlier literature on this topic (e.g. Weiss 2009; Kümmel 2012; Kloek-

horst 2016), as well as present novel considerations based on a bottom-up approach, i.e. providing reconstructions of the stop systems of the pre-stages of the individual sub-branches, and discuss their relationships to each other within the framework of a branched family tree of Indo-European.

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De-prefixed truths miscalled simplicia? Simplex versus prefixed secondary verbs in Old Church Slavonic

Viktoria Reiter

This paper investigates the distribution of simplex vs. prefixed deadjectival verbs in Old Church Slavonic (OCS). In the literature on Slavic languages, verbal prefixes are primarily discussed in the context of the Slavic aspect system, as their main function is to mark perfectivity. Apart from possible slight modification of the lexical meaning, prefixed verbs realise perfective verbal aspect as opposed to simplex verbs that are, with some semantically determined exceptions, imperfective (cf. e.g. Leskien 1909: 219–223 for OCS data). Far less clear is the potential role of prefixes in word formation – a question left unaddressed, for instance, by Birnbaum & Schaeken (1997: 85) – particularly in the context of secondary verb formation. It remains largely unexplored whether prefixes in such cases serve solely aspectual and lexical functions or whether they are obligatory in deriving verbs from nominal bases in Slavic. Put differently: Are secondary verbs built as simplicia and get prefixed when they need to be perfective, or is prefixation a necessary device in their formation, i.e., do denominative verbs originate as prefixed perfectives, with corresponding imperfectives emerging through de- prefixation?

The first assumption implicitly prevails within the secondary literature, where examples for secondary verbs are usually given as simplex forms like in (1) as opposed to prefixed ones like in (2):

(1) OCS *běliti*, *-i-* ‘to whiten, to bleach’ ← *bělъ* ‘white’ (SJS) vs.

(2) OCS *o-*, *po-*, *u-běliti*, *-i-* ‘id.’

However, the diachronic distribution within the given language – that is, which form appears earlier – is rarely addressed. As an exception, Šaur

(1981, 52) has drawn attention to some examples where only prefixed forms are found, as in (3):

(3) OCS *is-*, *naplbniti* ‘fill up’ ← *plbnǫ* ‘full’, no simplex attested (ibid.)

Šaur takes the prefixed perfective deadjectivals in (3) as the bases from which imperfective counterparts were derived by de-prefixation. This mechanism can be understood as a type of back-formation and has been studied to some extent for Slavic (Vaillant 1946, 1963) and Baltic (Ostrowski 2014), where the necessity of a philological analysis in determining whether the simplex or the prefixed form occurred first is highlighted.

In this talk, I will present a survey of deadjectival verbs in OCS and the diachronic distribution and frequency of their simplex vs. prefixed forms by using the GORAZD online database to determine if one strategy is older than the other. I will also pay special attention to whether certain prefixes are found systematically earlier than others. In a subsequent step, the findings will be compared across other Slavic languages to identify potential textual biases. Since OCS is largely composed of translated texts, the occurrence of perfective versus imperfective aspect may also reflect the aspectual value of the source verb. Consequently, it is essential to consider how the textual nature and chronology of OCS might shape our interpretation of diachronic processes such as word formation – for instance, how to evaluate a verb attested only in its prefixed form within the canonical OCS corpus but as a simplex form in the individual Slavic languages.

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Affix ordering in Hittite

Elisabeth Rieken & Marco Ammazzini

Seit der Jahrtausendwende hat sich die Diskussion zum *Affix Ordering* aus der Anglistik gelöst und ist zu einem viel diskutierten Gebiet linguistischer Forschung geworden (zum Forschungsstand s. Manova 2015, Peter 2015, Mithun 2016). Ausgangspunkt ist die Erkenntnis, dass im Falle von Mehrfachsuffigierung sprachübergreifend eine starke Tendenz der Derivationssuffixe besteht, in einer einzelsprachlich festgelegten Reihenfolge aufzutreten und somit hierarchisch geordnet zu sein. Dies wird vor allem durch morphologische, semantische und weitere Selektionsbeschränkungen (Fabb 1988) und *Processing Constraints* (*Complexity Based Ordering*, s. auch Plag 2002) erklärt.

Die historische Perspektive ist auch in jüngerer Zeit nur selten einbezogen worden (Mithun 2016, Ryan 2010), kann aber vielversprechende Erklärungsansätze bieten – nicht zuletzt die zeitlich begrenzte und sich nicht oder kaum überlappende Produktivität von Suffixen, durch die manche Suffixkombinationen von vornherein ausgeschlossen sind. Hierfür sind langzeitchronologische Großkorpusuntersuchungen notwendig.

Der Beitrag hat zum Ziel, das sprachspezifische Schema des Suffix Ordering im Hethitischen aufzustellen. Dies soll einer genaueren und adäquateren grammatischen Beschreibung der nominalen Wortbildung des Hethitischen dienen, indem hierdurch Entscheidungen zwischen alternativen Analyseoptionen ermöglicht oder widersprechende Deutungen ausgeschlossen werden. Wenn Zeit bleibt, bildet ein kurzer Vergleich mit dem keilschrift-luwischen Suffix Ordering den Abschluss des Vortrags.

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Sense perception and evidentiality in Galen's medical works

Theresa Roth & Matteo Macciò

Introduction

Verbs of perception can have evidential readings in languages where evidentiality is not grammatically encoded. Their primary lexical meaning refers to direct evidence, but they can develop a cognitive metaphorical meaning and thus express indirect inferential evidence (Willet 1988; Dik & Hengeveld 1991).

We approach evidentiality in a broad sense, considering diverse linguistic means which convey the source or kind of information the speaker draws upon in stating something (van der Auwera/Plungian 1998:85 as opposed to Aikhenvald 2004:3). As such, evidentiality has significant implications for epistemic modality and speaker's stance.

Evidentiality in Ancient Greek

Ancient Greek does not encode evidentiality via grammar. Therefore, research has focused recently on its evidential strategies (for older approaches see van Rooy 2016:9–10).

Luraghi 2020's monograph briefly addresses evidentiality in Homeric Greek within a constructionist approach, focusing on predicates of visual and auditive perception. Notably, she finds inference based on perception (type III in Dik & Hengeveld 1991) to be absent in Homeric Greek.

Van Rooy 2016 makes a general attempt at pointing out the relevance of evidentiality by assessing possible linguistic means in two of Plato's works. Based on his case study, he proposes a direct sensory evidential value for the participle+genitive-construction vs. a hearsay value for the participle+accusative-construction, whereas ὄτι-complementation points to mediated information and ὡς- to personally observed information.

Masliš 2023 adopts evidentiality as a parameter to investigate distributional patterns in participial, ὅτι- and ὥς-complementation of verbs of sight and knowledge in Attic oratory (but see Cepraga 2024 for the analysis of a broader corpus of classical prose). Thus, participial complementation can either encode direct perception or – in contrast with Homeric Greek – circumstantial inference, while ὅτι and ὥς always introduce propositional content, but with different implications on intersubjectivity.

Aim of the paper

Galen's medical oeuvre presents thematic and linguistic features that enable us to investigate the encoding of evidential and epistemic contents in a broader scope. Accordingly, our paper aims at the following.

First, we intend to analyse visual and other than visual (example 1) types of perception in Galen's medical texts and map them to their evidential function and epistemic value. We expect the range of perceptual sources to be especially broad and relevant to knowledge acquisition because of

- thematic content: diagnosis and prognosis based on symptoms equals to circumstantial inference;
- textual function: for didactic or polemic purposes Galen is often explicit about perception and inferring processes.

This last point makes the question of intersubjectivity particularly interesting and occasions the combination of direct and inferred evidential content or evidential content and stance-taking, with different modes of complementation (examples 2–3).

This leads us to our second goal, i.e. to examine variation in verbal construction depending on the perceptual source, seeking to detect

- semantic (state of affairs vs. propositional content) and syntactic (participial vs. finite complementation) patterns;
- how predicates of knowledge are construed when they arise from verbs other than visual (example 4);
- the role of noun phrases (not only nominalisations) in the expression of propositional content (example 5).

Appendix: Examples

1. *De pulsibus ad tirones* 8.454 Kühn

ἐκτακέντος δὲ τοῦ σώματος σφοδρῶς, ἥ τε κατὰ τὴν ῥάχιν ἀρτηρία πολλάκις **τοῖς ἀπτομένοις** τοῦ ἐπιγαστρίου τὴν κίνησιν διασημαίνει

On the other hand, if the body is very emaciated, the movement of the artery adjacent to the spine is often clearly discernible **to those palpating** the epigastrium. (Johnston & Papavramidou 2024)

2. *De locis affectis* 1.1.5 Gärtner

Καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἀγγεῖου τι μόριον οὐ σμικρὸν ἀναβηχθὲν ἐθεασάμεθα σαφῶς ἐνδεικνύμενον καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς ἐμπείροις ἀνατομῆς, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ πνεύμονός ἐστι. [...] οὕτως γ' οὖν ἐν δυσεντερίᾳ **θεασάμενός** τις ἐντέρου χιτῶνα διαχωρηθέντα καὶ πάχει καὶ πλάτει μείζονα τῶν ἐν τοῖς λεπτοῖς ἐντέροις, οὐκ ἂν ἀλόγως **τεκμαίροιτο** τὴν ἔλκωσιν ἐν τοῖς παχέσιν ἐντέροις εἶναι.

Und tatsächlich haben wir auch gesehen, dass ein nicht kleiner Teil eines Gefäßes ausgehustet wurde, wobei auch dies für die in der Sektion Erfahrenen ein deutliches Zeichen ist, dass er aus der Lunge stammt. [...] So dürfte nun wohl jemand, wenn er bei der Ruhr **sieht** [DIRECT EVIDENTIAL CONTENT], dass die Wand eines Darms abgegangen ist, die sowohl in der Dicke als auch in der Breite größer ist als die (Wände) im Dünndarm, nicht grundlos **schlussfolgern** [INFERENTIAL EVIDENTIAL CONTENT], dass das Geschwür im Dickdarm vorliegt. (Gärtner 2015)

3. *De locis affectis* 1.1.9 Gärtner

τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἀναπνοαῖς τοῦ θώρακος ἐκφυσώμενον πνεῦμα τὸν ὑπεζωκότα τὰς πλευρὰς ὑμένα τετρῶσθαι σημαίνει, τὸ δ' ἐξακοντιζόμενον αἷμα σφυγμωδῶς ἀρτηρίαν· [...] ἐὰν ἐπίπλους ποτὲ **ὀφθῇ** προπεσὼν διὰ τραύματος ἢ τι τῶν ἐντέρων, **ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι** διηρῆσθαι τὸ περιτόναιον.

Denn die Luft, die bei den Atembewegungen des Brustkorbes ausströmt, zeigt an, dass die die Rippen auskleidende Haut verletzt ist, schießt pulsierend Blut heraus, eine Arterie. [...] **ist es notwendig** [STANCE-TAKING], dass das Bauchfell zerrissen ist, wenn man **sieht** [DIRECT EVIDENTIAL CONTENT], dass das Netz oder einer der Därme durch eine Verletzung hervorkommt. (Gärtner 2015)

4. *De libris propriss* 19.13–14 Kühn

ἀκούσας δ' ὅτι δούλους ὀνομάζω τοὺς ἐαυτοὺς ἀναγορεύσαντας Ἱπποκρατεῖους ἢ Πραξαγορείους ἢ ὅλως ἀπὸ τινος ἀνδρός, ἐκλέγοιμι [14] δὲ τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις καλὰ, δεύτερον ἤρετο, τίνα μάλιστα τῶν παλαιῶν ἐπαινοῖμι <...>.

Having heard that I call slaves those who call themselves Hippocratean or Praxagorean or after some man in general, but I rather pick from each of them the good, secondly he asks, whom I would praise the most among the ancients. (Our translation)

5. *De anatomicis administrationibus* 2.645 Kühn

θαυμάζοντες οὖν αὐτοῦ τὴν τόλμαν οἱ **τεθεσμένοι παρ' ἐμοὶ τὴν ἐγγχείρησιν** ἡρώτων, εἶποτ' αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν αὐτὴν, ἢ διηγουμένου τινὸς ἀκούσας ἐπίστευσεν.

Those who **had observed my experiment** [PROPOSITIONAL CONTENT?] were astonished at his temerity and asked him if he had ever performed it himself or merely relied on hearsay. (Singer 1956)

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Die geschlechtigen n-Stämme im Hethitischen und Palaischen: Analogie und Chronologie

David Sasseville

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David Sasseville

Es ist eine bekannte Tatsache, dass die einfachen n-Stämme des Genus commune in der hethitischen Sprache eine zu beobachtende paradigmatische Analogie aufweisen. Das Paradebeispiel ist das Wort für ‚Adler‘ *ḫāra* (Nom. Sg.) : *ḫāranan* (Akk. Sg.) neben *ḫāran* (Akk. Sg.), das, nach dem Verlust des suffixalen Nasalen vor der Nominativendung -š, den Druck erhielt, eine thematisierte Flexion auf Kosten der konsonantischen Flexion durchzusetzen. Für ein anderes Beispiel wie *aliya(n)*- c. ‚Rehbock‘ wird eher die Notwendigkeit gesehen, das Suffix -n- im Nominativ Singular zurückzugeben; vgl. *aliyaš* (Nom. Sg.) : *aliyanaš* (Nom. Sg.). Dieser paradigmatische Ausgleich in der einen oder anderen Richtung hat sich allerdings selbst im Jung- oder Spätjunghethitischen nie vollzogen. Der erste Schritt der vorliegenden Untersuchung ist es, alte und neue Daten zu diesem Stammbildungstyp zu sammeln, zum Beispiel heth. *ḫāra(n)*- c., *aliya(n)*- c., *alkišta(n)*- c., pal. *māra(n)*- c. und die neue Gleichsetzung zwischen den hethitischen und den palaischen Nomina *išpa(n)*- c. bzw. *šapa(n)*- c. Dann werden die Formen hinsichtlich ihrer Übereinstimmung mit den verschiedenen Phasen der hethitischen und palaischen Überlieferung (Alt- bis Spätjunghethitisch) untersucht. Ein weiterer Schwerpunkt liegt auf dem Verhalten von Abschriften älterer Kompositionen im Vergleich zu originalen Verfassungen der verschiedenen Textgattungen. Der vorliegende Beitrag zielt darauf ab, mehr Gewissheit über die Chronologie des hier behandelten paradigmatischen Ausgleiches zu schaffen und gleichzeitig neue morphologische und etymologische Erkenntnisse über einige hethitische und palaische einfache geschlechtige n-Stämme zu gewinnen.

The rise of periphrastic perfects in Hittite

Andrey Shatskov

According to the standard grammar by H. Hoffner and H.C. Melchert (2024, 411ff.) there are two types of periphrastic constructions in Hittite: ‘analytic perfect’ and ‘stative’ constructions. In both constructions two auxiliaries can be used – *ḫark-* ‘to have’ and *eš-* ‘to be’. The constructions with *ḫark-* were studied in detail by É. Benveniste (1962) and especially J. Boley (1984), but at that time the theory and typology of perfects had not yet been sufficiently developed. Recently it has been shown that the analytic perfect type, that is, a periphrastic perfect, developed from the ‘stative’ type, which can also be called a resultative, see Inglese, Luraghi 2020, 405f. and Shatskov 2021. The rise of periphrastic perfects in Hittite provides a very interesting parallel to a later development of periphrastic perfects in Indo-European languages of Europe. These independent innovations are especially striking as perfects with the auxiliary ‘to have’ are cross-linguistically very rare (see e.g. Haspelmath 2001, 1495).

The proposed talk will focus on two aspects of grammaticalization of *ḫark-* and *eš-* perfects in Hittite.

First, the functions of perfects in Hittite will be discussed. The typical uses are those of resultative and experiential perfect (for the classification see e.g. Ritz 2012, 882f.). Nevertheless, there might be cases when the periphrastic perfect has the meaning of a simple preterite, e.g. *nu TÚGNÍG. LÁMMEŠ kue apēdani U4-ti waššan ḫarkun ANA GIŠGIGIR=ya=kan kuedani apēdani U4-ti ārḫaḫat* ‘the festive dress that I wore that day and on which chariot I stood that day, (that dress and the yoked chariot they took)’ KUB 12.31 rev. 14-15. The form *waššan ḫarkun* theoretically can also be seen as a past resultative, ‘which I had put on’, but the parallelism with *ārḫaḫat* in the next clause favours the preterite interpretation for *waššan ḫarkun*.

Second, the timeline of the development of *eš*-perfects seems to differ from that of *ḫark*-perfects. The *ḫark*-constructions in indicative are usually periphrastic perfects, only in Old Hittite texts there are a few instances that can be interpreted as resultatives. Imperative forms of resultatives with *ḫark*- are attested also in Middle and New Hittite, e.g. *karuššiyan ḫark* ‘keep quiet’ (KUB 14.4 IV 11). By contrast, there are no proper instances of periphrastic perfects with the auxiliary *eš*- in Old Hittite. Subsequently, the neuter plural participles in the *eš*- + participle constructions started to be replaced with singular ones, see van den Hout 2001. This can be interpreted as a development of a periphrastic perfect, as plural neuter subjects took singular predicates in Hittite (for this rule see Hoffner, Melchert 2024, 318f.). Nevertheless, even in New Hittite there are instances of *eš*- + participle constructions in indicative that are certainly resultatives rather than perfects.

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The Phrygian 3rd person singular active secondary ending *-t*

Aljoša Šorgo

The Phrygian 3rd person singular active ending *-t* is the most common verbal ending found in the Phrygian corpus. Most commonly it appears in thematic formations in conditional clauses (δακετ, βερετ) (cf. Obrador-Cursach 2020: 99ff.), but is found in at least one other formation, the sigmatic optative (cf. εγεσιν), an athematic formation (Šorgo fthc.), where it stands in opposition to the primary ending *-ti* (cf. *egeseti*).

The ending *-t* appears at first glance to be a direct descendant of the PIE 3sg secondary ending **-t* (see, e. g., Obrador-Cursach 2020: 100ff., Orel 1997: 399–400). A closer examination of the phonological developments of Phrygian, however, shows that final stops were lost in the prehistory of Phrygian, as evidenced by, e. g., the pronoun *si* < **kid* or the thematic optative 3sg desinence *-oi* < **oih₁-t* (Šorgo fthc.). The ending, then, must have some other source.

The proposal that *-t* developed from a 3sg primary ending **-ti* with loss of final **-i* (Haas 1966: 204; Sowa 2007: 83) is untenable, since the ending *-ti* does still appear in synchronic Phrygian (e. g. *egeseti*, πεννιτι). Likewise untenable is the suggestion that *-t* is a reflex of the 3sg secondary middle ending **-to* with loss of final *-o* (cf. Ligorio & Lubotsky 2018). Final **-o* is preserved in Phrygian in at least one secure instance: gen. sg. *-ovo* < PIE **-oso* (Ligorio & Lubotsky 2018: 1827). This speaks strongly against the likelihood of its loss.

The only conclusion we may draw is that the Phrygian 3sg ending *-t* is an innovation. It presumably developed in opposition to the primary ending *-ti* through analogy. In the Early Proto-Phrygian era, the thematic 3sg ending was **-ei*, a direct reflex of Proto-Graeco-Phrygian **-ei* (> Gr. *-ει*); this ending is still preserved in the subjunctive by the Old Phrygian period in the form *podaskai* < **po(s)-d^heh₁-skei* (Šorgo fthc.). As such, the

analogical process that led to the creation of *-t* must have been based on the athematic paradigm.

The opposition of the primary and secondary endings in 2sg forms of vowel-final athematic verbs and in 1sg forms of all athematic verbs would have yielded no usable proportions that could result in the creation of *-t* (2sg prim. *-V-hi* (< PIE **-V-si*) : 2sg sec. *-V-s*; 1sg prim. *-mi* : 1sg sec. *-n/-ā* (< PIE **-m/-mm*) (for the phonetic developments cf. Obrador-Cursach 2020: 66–67, 70). On the other hand, an analogy based exclusively on the proportion with 3pl forms would not have produced the attested ending (3pl prim. *-nti* : 3pl sec. *-n* = 3sg prim. *-ti* : 3sg sec. X, X = ****-∅).

A possible proportional relationship would be one utilizing 2sg forms of consonant-final athematic verbs (2sg prim. *-C-si* : 2sg sec. *-C-s* = 3sg prim. *-C-ti* : 3sg sec. X, X = *-C-t*). Another such relationship is one utilizing the 3sg middle endings (3sg mid. prim. *-toi* : 3sg mid. sec. *-to* = 3sg act. prim. *-ti* : 3sg act. sec. X, X = *-t*), though this hinges on **-toi* being the canonical 3sg primary middle ending in Early Proto-Phrygian.

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When innovation cannot prevent the collapse of the system: the case of the ablative third person pronouns of Old Albanian

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In Standard Modern Albanian, separate ablative forms exist for the first and second person pronouns: *prej meje* ‘from me’, *prej teje* ‘from you’, *prej nesh* ‘from us’, *prej jush* ‘from you’ (Demiraj 2002: 222). In the dialects, these forms are rarer, especially the plural forms *nesh* and *jush*. For the third person pronouns (originally distal demonstratives), however, no separate ablative forms exist in either Standard Albanian or the dialects, but the genitive-dative forms are used: *prej (a)tij* ‘from him/that (one)’, *prej (a)saj* ‘from her/that (one)’, *prej (a)tyre* ‘from them/those (ones)’.

In Old Albanian, or more specifically Old Geg, the situation was different; a separate set of ablative forms of the third person pronouns existed, but the exact forms differed per author. Compare the forms as attested in the 16th-17th century from the Old Albanian authors Buzuku, Budi and Bogdani in *Table 1*.

	ABL.3SG.M	ABL.3SG.F	ABL.3PL.M	ABL.3PL.F
Bogdani (1685)	(a)si	(a)so(je)	(a)sish	(a)sosh
Budi (1618)	(a)nci	(a)nco(je)	(a)ncish	(a)nco(sh)
Buzuku (1555)	(an)si	(an)so(je)	(an)sish	(an)so(sh)

Table 1: Comparison of ablative third person pronouns in Old Albanian.

These forms existed both with and without the prefix *a(n)-*. This corresponds to the forms of the third person pronoun in the accusative and dative, where forms with *a-* are used without a preceding preposition and forms without *a-* with a directly preceding preposition. Colloquially, this is still the case in Modern Albanian, e.g. ACC *atë* ‘him/her’, *me të* ‘with him/her’, DAT *atyre* ‘to them’, *përpara tyre* ‘in front of them’ (Demiraj

2002: 223). The forms with *-n-* in Buzuku and Budi are usually not mentioned in historical grammars, e.g. in Demiraj (1993: 182–185), Orel (2000: 243), Bokshi (2004: 117–118), Likaj (2006: 106–113), Topalli (2008: 83,88).

The irregularity of Buzuku's ablative forms with the prefix *an-*, combined with the relative chronology, could point to an archaism. However, in this presentation I will analyze the use of these pronouns by all three authors and argue that Buzuku's forms were a recent innovation, in which the preposition (*ë*)*n* 'from' was remodeled to a prefix *an-* when the pronoun was used demonstratively or as an impersonal pronoun. The reason for this change was a lack of prefixed ablative forms not long before Buzuku's time, since ablatives only occurred after the prepositions *prej*, *ën* and *ënbas* (cf. e.g. Buz. *pjesë ën meje* 'part of me' vs. Budi *pjesë nesh* 'part of us'; Buz. *jashtë muo* (ACC) 'besides me' vs. Bogd. *jashtë meje* (ABL) 'besides me'). The resulting inconsistency of the prefixes within the paradigm (*an-* and *a-*), as attested in Buzuku, was solved by analogy in different ways by Budi and Bogdani, before the entire system collapsed and the ablative forms were replaced by the genitive/dative forms.

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On the expansion of the Germanic weak preterit: the preterite-presents

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The origin of the Germanic weak preterit is arguably the most discussed topic of historical linguistics altogether (cf. Tops 1974; see Ringe 2017, 191–194, Jasanoff 2019 for discussion of recent literature). Most mainstream scholars assume that it arose in a periphrasis with the verb ‘to do’ (OE *dōn*, OHG *tuon*; PIE **dheh₁-* ‘put’), but the consensus probably stops here. The purpose of this paper is not to make a contribution on the origin of this formation, but on its early expansion.

The standard theory of the weak preterit implies, reasonably enough, that it arose in the derived verbal formations (denominatives, causatives, iteratives) that made the core of the about-to-be Germanic weak verbs of Classes I, II, III and, perhaps, IV (Go. *nasida*, *salbōda*, *skamaida*, *fullnōda*), and later spread to some subtypes of primary verbs (e.g., statives and inchoatives of Classes III and IV). A major problem for this approach comes from preterits without a medial vowel. These sometimes display **-d-*, as expected (Go. *munda*, *wilda*, to *munan* ‘think’, *wiljan* ‘want’), but **-t-* is far more common (Go. *þaurfta*, *ohta*, *mahta*, *brūhta*, to *þaurban* ‘need’, *ogan* ‘fear’, *magan* ‘can’, *brūkjan* ‘use’), and three verbs have **-þ-* (Go. *kunþa*, OE *cūþe*, to **kunnan* ‘know (how to)’; OE *ūþe*, to **unnan* ‘love, grant’; ON *olla* < **wulþ-*, to **waldanan* ‘rule’). The preterits in **-t-* are usually explained as back formed to the past participles (PIE **-tō-*), an account that works well for some verbs, but not for others (e.g., for intransitives). The reliquary (and, therefore, probably archaic) group of *þ*-preterits has never been satisfactorily explained.

Preterits without a medial vowel are particularly prominent in the preterite-presents. There is some evidence suggesting that this class kept the original preterit of the PIE perfect, the pluperfect, down to a relatively recent stage of pre-Germanic (Go. *ni ogs þus* ‘fear not!’; cf. Jasanoff 2003,

34–43), crucially involving the secondary endings **-m*, **-s*, **-t* > pre-Gmc. **-un*, **-z*, **-þ* (**-t* after most obstruents). The spread of the weak preterit to the preterite-presents, I submit, did not entail replacement of a moribund formation with a new one. At some point the increasingly isolated 3 sg. **-þ* (**-t*) was recharacterized as **-þ-ē(-þ)/*-t-ē(-þ)* (or **-þ-ai/*-t-ai*), with (part of) the now productive weak preterit ending. The whole preterit paradigm of the preterite-presents was built on this renewed 3rd sg. ending.

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Non-Hittite Anatolian verbal stem formation and relative chronology

Ilya Yakubovich

The Luwian, Lycian, and Lydian reflexes of the Proto-Anatolian verbal suffixes **eye/o-* and **-āye/o-* < *-ah₂ye/o-* share a non-trivial innovation. The glides of the suffixes are reflected as second elements of diphthongs before the following morphemes beginning with nasal consonants and dropped/contracted in other positions. For the reflexes of the suffix **-eye/o-*, contrast Luwian *tub-i-di* / *tub-ai-nta* / *tub-ai-mmis* ‘(s)he strikes’ / ‘they stroke’ / ‘striking (acc.sg)’, Lycian *tub-i-di* / *tub-ei-ti* < **tub-ei-nti* ‘(s)he strikes’ / ‘they strike’, Lydian *qišr-e-d* / *qišr-ed-ν* < **qišr-ey-ν* ‘she takes care’ / ‘I took care’. The reflexes of the Proto-Anatolian suffix **-āye/o-* are in general more scarcely attested, but contrast Luwian *hizz-a-wun[ni]* / *hizz-ai-ndu* ‘we deliver’ / ‘may they deliver’, Lydian *ši-law-a-d* ‘may he be reverend’ vs. *un-ad-ν* < **un-ay-ν* ‘I acknowledged’. Although the position before a nasal consonant as the conditioning factor in this distribution was already noticed in Morpurgo-Davies 1982/1983: 267, this observation played little role in the subsequent discussion (see, e.g., Melchert 1997: 133, Rieken 2005/06: 69, Sasseville 2020: 248–250). This is presumably due to the fact that the preservation of the glide /j/ only before nasal consonants is hard to account for in terms of phonological naturalness.

The reconstruction becomes more straightforward if one assumes the existence of nasal vowels as inter-consonantal allophones of nasal consonants for the prehistory of the respective languages. Such allophones are, of course, postulated for Proto-Indo-European, but more relevant for our case is their synchronic presence in Lycian, e.g., *trm̃mili* ‘Lycian’, *ta-s-ñti* ‘they place’. From the perspective of phonotactics, the nasal vowels probably behaved just as the other vowels did; for example, if we assume that /j/ was preserved in intervocalic position in a given language, this

would include by default the position before a nasal vowel. If so, the distribution outlined in the previous paragraph can be motivated by a sequence of phonologically natural sound changes. The relative chronology presented below illustrates the development of the pair *tub-i-di* / *tub-ai-nta*; *mutatis mutandis* it can be also applied to the other cases cited above.

1. */toubéjedi/ ~ */toubéjonto/ - non-Hittite Anatolian reconstruction
2. */taubájidi/ ~ */taubájäta/ - nasal vowel formation
3. */taubáidi/ ~ */taubájnta/ - posttonic syncope
4. */tu:bí:di/ ~ */tu:bájnta/ - contraction of diphthongs
5. /tubídi/ ~ /tubäintæ/ - elimination of vowel length and re-syllabification

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Inheritance, not innovation: the (morpho)syntax of motion verbs in Hittite, Anatolian, and Indo-European

Anthony D. Yates

This paper is concerned with the (morpho)syntax of motion verbs in Hittite and its diachronic development. There is general agreement that in Hittite unergative and unaccusative verbs exhibit distinct morphosyntactic behavior, the latter (i) obligatorily co-occurring with subject-marking enclitic pronouns in the absence of an overt nominal subject and (ii) selecting the verb *ēš/aš-* ‘be’ rather than *har(k)-* ‘have’ in the periphrastic perfect construction (Garrett 1990, 1996; cf. Hoffner and Melchert 2014: 359–62, 411–2). There is debate, however, about the membership of each set, and in particular, Luraghi (2010:139–42) has argued that *pāi-* ‘go’, *ēš/aš-* ‘sit down’, and other verbs of motion underwent a syntactic change within Hittite from unergative to unaccusative (cf. Goedegebuure 1999). Specifically, she claims that “[i]n Old Hittite most verbs of motion were still partly treated as unergative: at the time when special syntax for unaccusative verbs was being established, they were the last to acquire it” (2010:142; recently followed and extended by Inglese 2020:81).

I argue that no such change occurred: the unaccusative syntax of Hittite motion verbs was rather an inherited feature at least from Proto-Anatolian. I advance three main arguments in support of this claim. First, I show that Luraghi’s proposal is founded on a false premise – namely, that motion verbs co-occur with subject clitics less frequently than other unaccusative verbs in Old Hittite (cf. Goedegebuure 1999, 2014:4). A comprehensive reassessment of the Old Hittite corpus reveals that, while motion verbs occasionally appear without expected subject clitics, e.g. in *ār-* ‘arrive’ in (1), they do so no more frequently than other unaccusative verbs, e.g., *āk(k)-* ‘die’ in (2) (data):

- (1) KBo 22.2 obv. 8 (OS; CTH 3 – “Tale of Zalpa”):

mān *Øi* URU*Tama[rmara]* *arēr*

when they city.of.T arrive:3PL.PST.ACT

‘When they_i arrived at the city of Tamarmara’

- (2) KBo 22.2 rev. 6 (OS; CTH 3 – “Tale of Zalpa”):

su=wa *Øi* *kuit natta* *aker*

CONN=QUOT they why NEG die:3PL.PST.ACT

‘(But were the sons of Zalpa_i, 100 troops, not there with me?) Why didn’t they_i die?’

Second, Luraghi’s (2010) proposal fails to explain why motion verbs – just like other unaccusative verbs but unlike unergative or transitive verbs – consistently undergo “voice reversal” (Melchert 2017; Yates and Gluckman 2020), switching from active to middle inflection in the context of “imperfective” suffixes like *-ške-* – e.g., in KBo 17.1 iv 11–13 (OS) *pā-un* (go-1SG.PST.ACT) vs. *pai-šga-hat* (go-IPFV-1SG.PST.MID). Third, it requires that the same development occurred independently in (˜the prehistory of) Luwian, since the Luwian cognates of Hittite motion verbs regularly co-occur with subject clitics (cf. Giusfredi 2020:105). By contrast, these Hittite and Luwian facts fall out straightforwardly under the assumption that the relevant motion verbs were unaccusative already in Proto-Anatolian.

Having established their unaccusative status at this stage, I consider the deeper historical back-ground of Hittite motion verbs. In view of new evidence for unaccusative motion verbs in Tocharian (Onishi 2022:262–3), I propose that the unaccusative syntax of these Hittite verbs was inherited from Proto-Indo-European, then conclude by briefly considering some broader implications of this finding.

