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# Language contact and morphosyntax in ancient Indo-European languages

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## **Observations on linguistic convergence in several areas of multilingual contact in ancient Southeastern Europe and Asia Minor. Selected cases from work in progress**

Katsiaryna Ackermann (FAU Erlangen-Nürnberg, Austrian Academy of Sciences),  
Joachim Matzinger (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

Southeastern Europe, Eastern Mediterranean as well as Asia Minor have been notorious spaces of interaction: for millennia groups of different cultures and languages encountered each other, mixed into larger multilingual communities and dissolved again. Having in focus the role of the Indo-European-speaking groups in the processes shaping the linguistic, cultural and genetic landscape of the region and drawing on our recent three-disciplinary results<sup>1</sup> alongside prior scholarship<sup>2</sup>, we have selected three cases of structural linguistic convergences indicative of intense interaction of various IE groups in situ. In our talk, we present new insights into the following cases of crosslinguistic transfer:

1. A Bronze Age (presumably south-central Balkans) contact and convergence area involving speakers of Proto-Greek (and Proto-Phrygian) and half-satem Balkan IE languages<sup>3</sup>, of which—given the fragmentary record—only Albanian and Armenian provide conclusive structural data. In particular, we examine common developments in the reanalysis of the inherited aspectual system yielding various types of suppletion and focus on instances where all three languages share paradigmatic choices and differ in those from the rest of the IE family. We further discuss tentative pathways of transfer and the paradigmatic contexts that conditioned subsequent developments in each language.

2. A somewhat younger cycle of contact in south-central Balkans involving speakers of Greek and Albanian. In this case, we examine the context and mechanisms of transfer and trace the routes of areal diffusion of a recurrent phrasal unit meaning “there is”<sup>4</sup> across language boundaries.

3. A Hellenistic Asia Minor contact and convergence area involving speakers of Phrygian, Greek and Galatian, among others, who were in profound cultural and linguistic interaction for several centuries. We focus on Phrygian, which obviously developed a number of new features during this period of sustained multilingual communication. In particular, we consider the putative traces of interaction between various linguistic codes left in the verbal system of Phrygian.

The above traces of contact in morphology and morphosyntax make up just one aspect of the multifaceted convergence and diffusion situations in the respective areas comprising lexical and conceptual transfer, phonological interference, etc. and are corroborated by further evidence of cultural and genetic exchange.

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<sup>1</sup> Ackermann et al. 2026a, 2026b, forthc.

<sup>2</sup> Fiedler 2004, Klingenschmitt 1982, Kölligan 2007, Sowa 2008, Schumacher & Matzinger 2013, Obrador-Cursach 2020.

<sup>3</sup> Ackermann 2023.

<sup>4</sup> Schumacher & Matzinger 2013, Holton 2019.

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**The Nasalic-Theory:  
A new account of the PIE stop system, with a note on language contact**

Alan Avdagić (Freie Universität Berlin)

Since the rise of the laryngeal theory, Proto-Indo-European (PIE) has conventionally been reconstructed with three series of stops: voiceless (T), voiced (D), and voiced aspirated (D<sub>h</sub>). Already in the mid-twentieth century, however, it had been noted that a system of this type is typologically unusual, if not unattested (Jakobson 1957). Outside Indo-European, comparable systems appear only marginally and only as a transitional stage, as shown for Madurese (Blust 2006). With the increasing influence of linguistic typology, scholars began reconsidering the phonetic interpretation of the three PIE stop series. The two most prominent alternatives today are the so-called glottalic theory (Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1973; Hopper 1973; Kortlandt 1985) and the implosive theory (Weiss 2009; Kümmel 2012).

Both approaches are motivated in part by peculiarities in the distribution and behaviour of the PIE mediae (\*D). These include the so-called “b-gap,” the absence of the mediae from suffixes and endings, and dissimilatory constraints suggesting that the \*D series carried a marked feature that could not co-occur twice within a root. While the glottalic and the implosive reïnterpretations address some of these issues, they introduce new difficulties. These problems have been summarised in detail by Kümmel (2007: 299–310) and are reviewed comprehensively in the new handbook volume on the reconstruction of Indo-European stop systems by Kloekhorst and Pronk (2026), particularly regarding the reconstruction of stop systems in the individual daughter branches.

This paper proposes an alternative reconstruction in which the PIE mediae are analysed as pre-nasalised stops (\*<sub>N</sub>D). The resulting system (<sub>N</sub>D–D–T) is typologically well supported and comparable systems are found in Insular Indo-Aryan (Sinhalese, Dhivehi) and Vedda, in several Senegambian languages (Fula, Serer, Wolof), in Northeastern Bantu (Hehe, Bena), and in the Markham languages of Papua New Guinea (cf. Holzknecht 1989).

First, one must assume the loss of pre-nasalisation (<sub>N</sub>D > D) without trace in Anatolian, Indo-Iranian, Greek, Celtic, and Albanian, which is securely attested in the pre-history of Japanese and modern Greek. Second, a Grimm-type shift such as those in Germanic, Armenian, and Phrygian finds typological parallels in Eastern Bantu (e.g., Makuwa), where pre-nasalised stops develop into voiceless stops, while the old voiceless stops get aspirated (<sub>N</sub>D > T; T > T<sup>h</sup>). Third, the Tocharian affrication of PIE \*d > ts may presuppose an intermediate aspirated stage \*t<sup>h</sup>, comparable to developments found in Nguni languages (<sub>N</sub>d > d<sup>h</sup> > t<sup>h</sup> > \*t<sub>s</sub>). Fourth, although typological parallels for Winter’s (Balto-Slavic) and Lachmann’s Law (Latin) remain less clear, compensatory lengthening before pre-nasalised consonants seems plausible. The proposal may also explain the TeND<sub>h</sub>-exception to the \*TeD<sub>h</sub>-root-structure constraint (cf. De Vaan 1999), which could reflect neutralisation of mediae before nasals (Kümmel 2017a).

Finally, the reconstruction accounts for a PIE–Proto-Uralic sound correspondence, that of PIE media to PU Nasal, as this correspondence may reflect a Uralic rendering of PIE pre-nasalised stops (Kümmel 2017b, 2019). I argue that reconstructing pre-nasalised stops can account equally well for the phonotactic behaviour of the mediae while avoiding the typological issues of the traditional and glottalic model.

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## **From Adposition to Differential Object Marker: The Grammaticalization of *rā* in Iranian in Light of Aramaic Contact**

Maria Carmela Benvenuto (Sapienza University of Rome)

This paper investigates the diachronic emergence and distribution of differential object marking (DOM) in the Middle Iranian domain, with particular attention to the Middle Persian *rāy*, a postposition ‘for, because of, about’, itself continuing Old Persian *rādi* ‘for (the sake of)’. While *rāy* is widely attested in Middle Persian with its inherited lexical semantics, it also appears in object-marking function with comparable frequency in both accusative and ergative constructions (Jügel 2015, 2019).

The paper further considers the directive preposition *ō* ‘to(wards), in the direction of’, whose Parthian and Bactrian cognates (*ō* and *aβ*, respectively) share the same spatial semantics and, significantly, also serve as markers of direct objects (Durkin-Meisterernst 2014; Sims Williams 2011). The coexistence in Middle Iranian of inherited postpositions and prepositions undergoing functional extension into object marking raises the question of whether these developments represent independent instances of parallel grammaticalization or reflect contact-induced convergence. The Middle Iranian evidence has not yet been systematically interpreted with regard to the possibility that postpositional and directional markers were reanalyzed as DOM markers under external influence.

The central hypothesis advanced here is that the Iranian developments must be evaluated against the backdrop of long-standing contact with Aramaic, in which nominal object marking is a structurally entrenched feature. Semitic languages display overt object marking from the earliest attestations. In Old Western Aramaic, the only pre-nominal DOM marker attested in the corpus is *ʔt*. However, in post-700 BCE Western Aramaic (including the three so-called “Middle” varieties), the regular encoding strategies for nominal direct objects consist either of zero marking ( $\emptyset$ ) or of the preposition *l-*, while *ʔt* in this position becomes marginal and demonstrably artificial. The preposition *l-*, originally marking addressee or recipient, was extended to DOM function—an extension that is typologically unremarkable and cross-linguistically frequent (Kalinin, Loesov 2014).

Against this comparative background, the Iranian data can be reinterpreted as reflecting a contact-facilitated grammaticalization pathway, whereby spatial or benefactive adpositions were reanalyzed as markers of affectedness and definiteness in object position. The extension from directional or benefactive semantics to DOM function constitutes a semantically motivated shift along a well-attested cline of grammaticalization, but its diffusion and stabilization in Iranian may have been reinforced by syntactic calquing from Aramaic administrative and literary models. The emergence of dedicated object marking in Iranian, therefore, represents not merely an internally motivated reanalysis of adpositional constructions, but a contact-sensitive restructuring of argument encoding within a multilingual imperial ecology.

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## Greek eyes and Persian mouths

Chams Bernard (Leiden University)

The topic of Greek borrowings remains understudied in some languages. That of Greek borrowings in the Iranian world is still *terra incognita*, so to say, lacking any systematic study.<sup>1</sup> These borrowings are found in most Middle and New Iranian languages, as well as in Perso-Arabic.<sup>2</sup> Throughout my research on this topic, pertinent patterns of sound correspondences between Greek, Persian and Perso-Arabic have been found. In particular, I have developed a coherent system which permits us to see where the accent was in the original Greek donor form.

Variations from the attested accented forms are due to three main reasons: they are either 1. dialectal forms, 2. casual forms (for instance, in my view, Pers. *ḫīlsōf* ‘philosopher’ is from the genitive φιλοσόφου) or 3. internal Greek variations. In this presentation, I will concentrate on how Greek phytonyms are rendered in Persian and Perso-Arabic. These forms often represent unattested variants and, sometimes, unexpected Greek forms. Greek botanic knowledge, as well as Greek medicine in general spread across the entire Iranian world from Alexander’s time on. For instance, in Afghanistan, to this day, traditional physicians, healing through plants, are called *Yūnānī*, literally ‘Greek’.

Examples of phytonyms include Perso-Arabic *uṣṭūxūdūs* ‘French lavender, *lavandula stoechas*’, borrowed from the genitive στοιχάδος of Gr. στοιχάς, and which underlies a form \*στοίχαδος, with retraction of the stress, like in Aeolic. A retraction of the stress with a totally different origin is seen in Persian *tiryāk*, Perso-Arabic *tiryāq* ‘remedy, opium’ which is usually taken to reflect Greek θηριακή ‘(a type of) remedy’ (which is of course not Aeolic). Formally, however, it should be taken from a form \*θηριάκη, with recessive accent triggered by substantivization. There are also examples of independent borrowings in Middle and New Persian: New Persian *sīsambarūn* ‘water minth’ supposedly from Greek σισύμβριον vs. Middle Persian *sīsīmar*. The latter reflects either \*σισύμβρος or σισύμβριον, while New Persian *sīsambarūn* clearly reflects a form \*σισυμβρών.

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<sup>1</sup> Richter Bernburg (2002) has written a very basic entry on Greek words in Iranian, an entry lacking the necessary degree of linguistic reflection.

<sup>2</sup> Perso-Arabic, in the context of my research, is the name of a strata of Persian which contains a number of Arabicized words, either of Greek or Persian origin, which are mostly found in Arabic medical texts written by Persians, or as borrowings in Persian. In itself, it is a learned type of Arabic, which is very deeply influenced by Persian, and which was never common among Arabic speakers.

## Zur Frage von Lehnaffixen in Ortsnamen in Nordostbayern

Harald Bichlmeier (Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig)

In Nordostbayern, besonders in Oberfranken und den nördlichen Teilen der Oberpfalz, gibt es eine ganze Reihe von Ortsnamen, die auf *-itz*, *-atz* u.ä. enden. Traditionell wurden diese meist auf slawische Namenbildungen mit den Suffixen gemeinslaw. *\*-ićb*, Pl. *\*-ići*, *\*-bnikb*, Pl. *\*-bnici* (zur Bezeichnung von Einwohnern), Nomina agentis des Typs gemeinslaw. *\*-akb*, Pl. *\*-aci* oder *\*-ačb*, Pl. *\*-ači* oder Ableitungen auf gemeinslaw. *\*-(bn)ica* (i.d.R. Flur- und Gewässernamen) zurückgeführt. Diese Lösungen gehen durchweg auch problemlos auf.

Dagegen regte sich nun in den letzten 10 Jahren ein gewisser Widerspruch v.a. auf Seiten von Historikern, denen es oft ein wenig an sprachhistorischer Kompetenz mangelt: Es wurde für mehrere Dutzend Namen vorgeschlagen, sie auf letztlich westgermanische Bildungen zurückzuführen, die mit dem germanischen Kollektivsuffix *\*-ītiā-* gebildet seien, das wiederum sekundär nasalisiert worden sei. So habe sich ein Suffix ahd. *\*-inza*, mhd. *\*-enze* f. herausgebildet. Problematisch an dieser Lösung bleibt zweierlei: dass sich die Ableitungsbasen dieser Namen praktisch nie sauber aus dem Westgermanischen erklären lassen, und dass außerdem das Suffix ahd. *\*-inza*, mhd. *\*-enze* offenbar nur in Nordostbayern (und angrenzenden Regionen) in Orts- und Flurnamen begegnet, aber nie appellativisch belegt zu sein scheint.

Sieht man das Material durch (eben die mehreren Dutzend o.a. Ortsnamen), erkennt man rasch, dass die Annahme einer westgermanischen Grundlage für das Suffix ahd. *\*-inza* ein Phantasma ist. Doch gibt es mindestens drei Namen, zwei in Nordostbayern, einen in Thüringen, deren Ableitungsbasis wohl westgermanisch ist. Es sind dies (ahd. *\*buochinza* [zu ahd. *buocha* 'Buche'] >) mhd. *\*būchenze* > *Püchitz* (Kr. Staffelstein, ObFrk.), vielleicht auf *\*wīdinza*/*\*wīdenze* (zu ahd. *wīda* 'Weide') rückführbares *Weidnitz* (Kr. Lichtenfels, ObFrk.) sowie in Südthüringen, ein auf *\*forhinza* (zu ahd. *for[a]ha* 'Föhre') zurückgehendes *Föritz*. Hier wurde das offenbar für Toponyme slawischen Ursprungs als typisch empfundene Suffix bereits in althochdeutscher Zeit in der Gestalt *\*-inza* (< gemeinslaw. *\*-bnica* etc.) von Bildungen zu slawischen Basen abstrahiert und an westgermanische Basen angefügt. Hier wurde also ein Bildungsmuster aus dem Slawischen als in sehr geringem Maße produktives Muster in einer begrenzten Region auf das Deutsche übertragen.

Die Mehrzahl der Eindeutschungen slawischer Ortsnamen in Nordostbayern erfolgte vom 9. bis zum 11. Jh. n. Chr. Eine genauere Datierung ist nicht in allen Fällen möglich, immerhin sind aber die Namen Einzelfälle, für die eine Eindeutschung vor 800 (*Perschen*) oder nach 1100 (*Schirnaidel*) angesetzt werden muss. Im Zuge dieser Eindeutschungsprozesse lassen sich zwar weitere ‚volksetymologische‘ Angleichungsprozesse beobachten, Suffixübertragungen wie die oben geschilderte finden sonst offenbar aber nicht statt.

Die bekannten Hierarchien bei Entlehnungsprozessen scheinen hier ausgehebelt zu sein: Anders als in den Gebieten östlich von Saale und Elbe, wo es (freilich nicht zuletzt aufgrund der teils etliche Jahrhunderte länger währenden Slavophonie) zu zahlreichen lexikalischen Übernahmen aus dem Slawischen in die dortigen Mundarten gekommen ist, fehlen Beispiele dafür in Nordostbayern; hier lässt sich nur die o.a. vorgestellte Übernahme eines Suffixes nachweisen.

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## Zur Erstellung eines digitalen Corpus der (Issyk-)Kuschana-Inschriften

Svenja Bonmann (Universität zu Köln)

Seit den 1950er Jahren wurden in Zentralasien mehrere Dutzend Inschriften in einem bisher unbekannten Schriftsystem gefunden. Dieses konnte trotz einer seit Jahrzehnten bekannten mehrsprachigen Inschrift lange nicht entziffert werden (vgl. u. a. Maricq 1958: 417; Fussman 1974; Livšić 1978; Vertogradova 1982, 1995, 2002). Erst der Neufund einer bilingualen Inschrift im Hissar-Gebirge in Tadschikistan (Bobomullov, Xodžajev & Bobomullov 2022; Cribb 2023) ermöglichte im Jahr 2022 einer Kölner Forschungsgruppe die partielle Entzifferung des Schriftsystems (Bonmann et al. 2023). Durch eine systematische Analyse und einen Abgleich mehrsprachiger Inschriften konnten Lautwerte für ca. 60 % aller Zeichen bestimmt werden. Die Sprache, die mit dieser Schrift aufgezeichnet wurde, wurde provisorisch als *Eteo-Tocharisch*, die Schrift als (Issyk-)Kuschana-Schrift bezeichnet.

Die weitere Forschung, die auf diesem Erfolg aufbaute (vgl. u. a. Falk 2023, 2025; Halfmann et al. 2023; 2026; Lur'e 2024; Fries et al. 2025; Sims-Williams 2025), zeugt von der hohen Relevanz des Themas. Basierend auf der 2022er-Entzifferung wird gegenwärtig an der Universität zu Köln durch die Fritz Thyssen Stiftung ein Drittmittelprojekt zur (Issyk-)Kuschana-Schrift gefördert.

Unser Projekt verfolgt ein zweiteiliges Arbeitsprogramm, das aus Feldforschung in Zentralasien zur Datenerhebung und weiterführenden Analysen in Deutschland besteht. Übergeordnetes Ziel ist die Erstellung eines digitalen Corpus aller veröffentlichten (Issyk-)Kuschana-Inschriften. Im Jahr 2025 konnte der erste Programmabschnitt im Rahmen einer Reise nach Tadschikistan (neue photographische Dokumentation von Inschriften in Museen und im Feld) vorläufig abgeschlossen werden. Aktuell arbeiten wir an der Fertigstellung des digitalen Corpus. In unserem Vortrag möchten wir Einblicke in die laufende Arbeit dieses Drittmittelprojekts zur (Issyk-)Kuschana-Schrift bieten und dabei auch die praktischen Schwierigkeiten beim Entstehungsprozess des digitalen Corpus ansprechen (Software-Umgebung, Zugänglichkeit von Inschriften usw.).

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## **Spuren einer (un)bekannten Kontaktsprache? Das Hunnische und die indogermanischen Sprachen Europas**

Svenja Bonmann (Universität zu Köln), Simon Fries (University of Oxford)

Obwohl die Hunnen ein außerordentlich einflussreiches – wenngleich kurzlebiges – multiethnisches Reich im Südosteuropa des 4. und 5. Jh.s errichteten (vgl. Sinor 1990; Heather 1996; Bóna 2002; Halsall 2007; Schmauder 2009; Kim 2013; Maas 2014; Pohl 2022) und ihre Herkunft aus Innerasien unbestritten ist, herrscht über ihre ethnische und sprachliche Identität weiter Uneinigkeit (vgl. Doerfer 1973; Pritsak 1982; Bonmann & Fries 2025).

Dies ist nicht zuletzt auf den Mangel an autochthonen Schriftzeugnissen der Hunnen zurückzuführen. Das wenige von der Sprache der Hunnen auf uns gekommene Material weist jedoch unmissverständlich darauf hin, dass zu einer bislang noch unbestimmten Zeit intensiver Sprachkontakt zwischen dem Hunnischen und den indogermanischen Sprachen Europas bestanden hat. Die antike Geschichtsschreibung überliefert drei vermeintlich hunnische Wortformen (vgl. Doerfer 1973: 14-19): 1. *strava* ‚Feierlichkeit im Zusammenhang mit einer Bestattung‘, belegt bei Iordanes, *Getica* 49, 258; 2. μέδος ‚Getränk‘, belegt bei Priskos 8,65; 3. κάμιν ‚Getränk‘ nach Priskos 8,65.

Diese Wortformen sind in der Forschung auf verschiedenste Weise gedeutet worden. Gewöhnlich wird ein slavischer, germanischer oder türkischer Ursprung angenommen, ohne dass jedoch die spezifische Lautgeschichte der jeweiligen Sprachen hinreichend berücksichtigt werden würde (vgl. Doerfer 1973: 14-19). In unserem Vortrag möchten wir daher die vermeintlichen Spuren möglichen Sprachkontakts europäischer Sprachen mit dem Hunnischen erneut einer kritischen Prüfung unterziehen und vor dem Hintergrund unseres Wissens über die Lautgeschichte der indogermanischen und nicht-indogermanischen Sprachen Europas neu bewerten. Insbesondere wollen wir dabei der Möglichkeit, den Bedingungen und der Richtung des Sprachkontakts (Hunnisch > indogermanische Sprachen, indogermanische Sprachen > Hunnisch oder Hunnisch <> indogermanische Sprachen) nachspüren.

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# Proto-Germanic and Proto-Finnic contacts in the prehistoric Circum-Baltic area? A view from the Partitive of Quantification construction

Giacomo Bucci (Ghent University)

The present paper examines the “Partitive of Quantification” (PartQuant, cf. Bucci 2023), across the languages of the prehistoric Circum-Baltic area (CBA), i.e. Germanic, Baltic, and Finnic. The PartQuant is a morphosyntactic construction whereby a numeral NP head governs a partitive- plural-marked nominal complement without establishing part-whole relationship:

Old Norse-Icelandic

- 1) *og voru þeir fjórir tigir manna*  
and be-past.3pl they-nom.pl **forty** **man-gen.pl**  
‘And there were 40 men’ (not \*\*40 of the men), *Brennu-Njáls saga*

The construction is well documented within the CBA: in Finnish, it is invariably expressed with the partitive singular for all numerals above ‘one’ (Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Walchli 2001: 699), while in Old Lithuanian, the genitive plural government is restricted to numerals from ‘ten’ onwards, with concord otherwise prevailing (Ford 1969: 130). These differences in the triggering environment and case form assigned have long complicated the identification of the donor language and have led to a multi-focal contact scenario in the prehistoric CBA (cf. Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Walchli 2001: 701)

While the study of partitive-related constructions in the CBA has generated a substantial body of scholarship (cf. Seržant 2015 a.o.), the role of early Germanic has been largely overlooked, in part due to the absence of the same partitive constructions in the modern Germanic languages. While this exclusion is methodologically unwarranted (Bucci 2023; Arkadiev & Kožhanov 2025), the inclusion of Germanic data poses new challenges for the reconstruction of the contact scenario and the spread of the construction in the prehistoric CBA.

On the one hand, the Germanic data show clear similarities with the Finnic ones. Contrarily to what it is generally suggested in the grammars of the individual Germanic languages (cf. Bucci 2023: 437ff.), the present paper will show evidence that the PartQuant could not only occur with numerals lower than ‘ten’, but also with the partitive genitive singular, thus showing more similarities to Finnic languages than to Baltic.

On the other hand, while the partitive singular constitutes the default option in Finnic, the Germanic data show that the use of the partitive genitive singular in the PartQuant construction, while almost exclusively relegated to countable nouns headed by a high numeral, could exert semantic coercion on the quantified noun, changing its status from [+count] to [+collective], which does not occur in Finnic.

Old High German

- 2) *gab follon múases fínf thúsonton mánnes*  
give.PST.3SG enough food.GEN.SG five thousand.DAT man.GEN.SG  
‘[Jesus] gave enough food to five thousand **people**’, O\_Otfr.Ev.3.6

From the perspective of the “Triangulation method”, which requires the cross-referencing of typological, contact-historical, and internal-developmental evidence (Wiemer *et al.* 2014), the paper shows that the distribution of the PartQuant construction in the prehistoric CBA is more intricate than previously suspected. While it does not challenge existing major contact hypotheses (cf. Koptjevskaja-Tamm and Walchli 2001: 728), it provides further evidence for a closer Germanic-Finnic contact situation which must have took place between the arrival of the Finnic population during the Nordic Iron Age (500 BCE, Saag *et al.* 2019) and the subsequent dispersal of Germanic languages after the 200 CE.

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## **Valency patterns and alignment frames in Tocharian: innovation or areal adaptation?**

Gerd Carling (Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main)

The presentation will focus on a complicated feature of Tocharian morphosyntax: the valency-changing mechanisms of the verbal system and their interaction with the alignment frames through cases and clitic pronouns. The Tocharian verb is built upon a system in which every verb—at least in theory—can take two or more stem variants of the present (and following subjunctive and preterit), which represent different valency options (intransitive, transitive, ditransitive) (Malzahn 2010). The case system, on the other hand, is layered into two, primary (fusional) and secondary (agglutinating) cases. These have mainly core versus peripheral functions in the alignment structure (Kölver 1956, Pinault 2008). However, the system of valency-changing mechanisms and the impact of the alignment frames is complex and has lot of exceptions, where syntax does not always match morphology. The presentation will look at the valency patterns and alignment frames of Tocharian in the perspective of Indo-European alignment structure. It is obvious that the Tocharian system does not represent the Indo-European system, such as it is reconstructed based on Indo-Aryan or Greek (Schmidt 1982). Both the valency-changing system and the cases system are innovations, most likely due to local adaptation. On the other hand, most verbal morphology is of Indo-European origin (Friis 2024), only the system is seemingly an innovation. The presentation will first give an overview of how the system of valency-change coordinates the alignment frames by the systems of cases and clitic pronouns, with a focus on default patterns and deviations. Second, the presentation will tease apart the inherited morphological parts from the adapted typological parts of the system, of which the latter likely emerged from areal impact and secondary innovation.

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## **Egyptian interference or language-internal drift? Reassessing relative clause realization in the Greek Magical Papyri**

Saverio Dalpedri (Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg)

While extensive research has concentrated on the evolution of the phonological system of the Ancient Greek variety spoken in Egypt – which developed diatopic-specific features due to contact with Egyptian – comparatively little attention has been paid to interference phenomena in the realm of syntax. This disparity likely stems from the assumption that while phonological interference appears to be a widespread phenomenon characterizing Egyptian Greek as a whole, syntactic interference is often understood as restricted to specific bilingual individuals (with Egyptian as their L1) who had not sufficiently mastered Greek.

This paper examines relative clause realization within a well-defined yet linguistically understudied type of technical literature: the so-called Greek Magical Papyri, consisting of both magical handbooks and activated texts (curses, amulets). These documents originated in a bilingual milieu, likely within Egyptian temples whose priesthood – under the pressure of societal changes after the Hellenistic and Roman conquests – lost its elite status and attempted to cater to the needs of the Greek-speaking minority.

Vierros (2003, 2012) suggested that number and gender mismatches between the antecedent and the relative pronoun may be due to interference with Egyptian (specifically Demotic, though this also applies to the later Coptic phase). In Egyptian, when the subject of the relative clause differs from that of the matrix clause, the language employs a subordinator – also called a “relative converter” – with a suffixed personal pronoun indexing the subject of the relative clause. Since this group is postnominal in both Egyptian and Greek, it can be equated with the Greek relative pronoun, potentially explaining the incorrect gender and/or number of the latter. Accordingly, an English equivalent would be *the house who the girls bought it is red* – note here the use of a resumptive anaphoric pronoun within the relative clause referring to the antecedent in the matrix clause, rather than the antecedent being indexed on the relative pronoun itself).

In addition to gender and number mismatches, this paper also deals with non-canonical case assignment of the relative pronoun (i.e., *attractio relativi*), the use of default invariable neuter forms, and the licensing of anaphoric pronouns that clarify the role of the antecedent within the relative clause – a feature which, as just mentioned, is pleonastic in standard Greek. Within the corpus at issue, relative clauses are particularly frequent in the metronymic formula (‘NN<sub>1</sub> whom NN<sub>2</sub> bore’, NN<sub>2</sub> being the name of the mother) used to identify unambiguously the victim of a spell.

Ultimately, this paper reassesses the extent of variation in relative clause realization, suggesting that the degree of divergence from the standard is so diverse that it cannot be attributed to Egyptian interference alone. Instead, it reconsiders the role of language-internal developments by identifying parallel drifts in other varieties of Post-Classical Greek.

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## On some uses of the accusative in Hittite: evidence of language contact with Akkadian?

Paola Dardano (Università per Stranieri di Siena)

It is widely accepted that grammatical distinctions of various types can be transferred from one language to another, either through the borrowing of forms or independently. In some cases, an additional distinction is added to an existing grammatical category, leading to a particular category being used in contexts where it was not previously used. This could be the case with two uses of the accusative that are common in the Hittite language. The first of these is the accusative of relation (GHL<sup>2</sup> § 16.20). As demonstrated in (1), the construction consists of a noun in the accusative (ZI-an, Hitt. *ištanžanan* ‘mind’), accompanied by an intransitive predicate which denotes a condition or a situation:

(1) KUB 13.4 I 25’-26’ – CTH 264.A

25’        *nu-za a-pa-aš* EN-ŠU *az-zi-ik-ke-ez-zi ak-ku-uš-ke-ez-zi ku-i[t]*

26’        *na-aš* **ZI-an** *ar-ḫa la-a-an-za*

“Since he, his master, eats (and) drinks, (in) his mind he (i.e., the servant) is relieved.”

A similar construction occurs in Old Babylonian. The following is an Old Babylonian incantation:

(2) LB 2001 1-4

1 *ur-ru-uk* **bi-ir-ki-šu**

2 *a-ru-uḫ* *la-sa-ma-am*

3 *i-iš* **bu-bu-tam**

4 *et-nu-uš* **a-ka-lam**

“He is long of leg,

quick at running.

He is short of sustenance,

poor in food.”

The forms *bi-ir-ki-šu*, *bu-bu-tam* and *a-ka-lam* are accusatives of relation because they depend on a stative verbal form, i.e. *ur-ru-uk*, *i-iš*, and *et-nu-uš*. The accusative of relation applies to nouns that specify the applicability of a predicative adjective (i.e. a stative) (see GAG<sup>3</sup> § 147a; Wasserman 2003: 29-43 (“Tamyīz”).

The second construction is known as the internal accusative, or the cognate accusative (or *figura etymologica*) (see GHL<sup>2</sup> § 16.21). As illustrated in (3), the noun *išḫiul* ‘treaty’ and the verb *išḫiya-* ‘to bind; to obligate with’ are both derived from the same root. However, the nominal element should not be regraded as a mere repetition of the content of the verb:

(3) KBo 14.12 IV 29-31 – CTH 40.IV

*nu-kán* <sup>d</sup>10-aš (30) [A-NA] KUR <sup>URU</sup>*mi-iz-ri* Û A-NA KUR <sup>URU</sup>*ḪA-AT-TI* *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an*

(31) [**iš-ḫ**]**i-ú-ul** *iš-tar-ni-šum-mi* **iš-ḫi-ia-at**

“When the Storm-God concluded a treaty between them, the land of Mizri and the land of Ḫatti.”

The Hittite locution *išḫiul išḫiya-* finds a direct parallel in the Akkadian locution *riksa rakāsu* ‘to set up a binding agreement’ (see CAD R 99a-b), which is attested at Ḫattuša:

(4) KBo 1.1 obv. 1-2 – CTH 51

1        <sup>r</sup>*e-nu<sup>1</sup>-ma* *it-ti* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ši <sup>m</sup>[Šu<sup>1</sup>-u[p-p]i-[lu-l]i-u-ma] LUGAL.GAL UR.SAG  
LUGAL KUR URU <sup>URU</sup>*Ḫa-at-ti* *na-ra-am* <sup>d</sup>10 <sup>m</sup>*Ar-t[a-ta-m]a*

2        LUGAL KUR *Ḫur-ri* *i-na* *be-ri-šu-nu* **rik-sà** **ir-ku-sú**

“When His Majesty Šuppiluliuma, the Great King, the Hero, the King of the land of Ḫatti beloved from the Storm-God, and Artatama, the King of the land of Ḫurri, concluded a treaty with each other.”

The accusative of respect and the cognate accusative can be analysed as an additional distinction that Hittite acquired through the reanalysis of the existing forms during a period of contact with other languages. In contact with Akkadian, Hittite reorganised the functions of the accusative case to match those of Akkadian, without borrowing any forms, but rather by reanalysing the existing accusative forms. The presence of structural interference implies that speakers of the recipient language are sufficiently familiar with the source language's structures and syntax to copy these patterns using the linguistic material of the recipient language (without necessarily borrowing material from the source language). Such contact-induced changes enable us to make broader claims about the sociolinguistic landscape and understand not just the results of language contact, but also the social, historical, or cultural processes that led to them.

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## A look at some (alleged) contact-induced Graeco-Anatolian morpho-syntactic isoglosses

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Some scholars argue that the Indo-European languages of Anatolia formed a *Sprachbund* and adduce isoglosses for this: while Puhvel 1991 and to a lesser extent Romagno 2015 seem convinced such an area existed, Bianconi 2015 is less outspoken. Isoglosses include phonology, morphology and syntax.

In this presentation I discuss the morphosyntactic isoglosses between Greek and Anatolian and argue that they can all be explained from within Greek itself and that there are several problems as to the geographic contiguity and the time-depth (for the issue of Graeco-Anatolian contact, see the more skeptical assessments by Watkins 2001, Hajnal 2018, Coticelli-Kurras & Giusfredi 2018).

The following morphosyntactic isoglosses have been suggested:

the use of a (“modal”) particle to distinguish between the realis and counterfactual construction in the indicative

- ⇒ it is true that the difference between a normal past indicative and a modal indicative in Hittite is marked by the presence of a particle (Melchert & Hoffner 2008: 314-316), but in Greek, the modal particle did not mark modality but had a semantic function and the use of the indicative is an inner-Greek innovation (Chantraine 1953: 226-228, Hettrich 1998, De Decker 2021); moreover, within Greek the use of the modal particle is by no means uniform, as the use in Homer seems to have been governed by semantic and syntactic factors, whereas Classical Greek rigidly regulates the use, besides differences between the dialects;

the use of preverbs to mark perfectivity

- ⇒ this is not specific to Greek and Anatolian, as it can be found in Latin as well, *finire* and *de-finire*;

the absolute construction with the genitive

- ⇒ it is uncertain whether Hittite had an absolute construction (Carruba 1966: 41 argued in favour of it, but Holland 1986: 165-166 was much more hesitant) and it is more likely that the Greek construction was initially a case complement with a *participium coniunctum* that evolved into an independent syntagma (Delbrück 1897: 494);

the “iterative” suffix *-sk-* to mark imperfectivity (Puhvel 1991)

- ⇒ the suffix can only have been borrowed from Hittite, which never came into contact with (Ionic-)Greek, it is not attested in everyday Ionic and only in poetry and Homer-imitating prose, and it may mark imperfectivity in Hittite, but in Greek it is subject to the same aspectual distinctions as other verb forms (in De Decker 2023 I showed that the iterative forms in the *Iliad* are subject to the same aspectual distinctions as the “normal” verb forms).

During the presentation I will adduce examples to show that these four isoglosses can be explained as evolutions that evolved/started within Greek itself and that there is no need to assume contact-influence from Anatolian languages.

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## Proto-Albanian accentual mobility: internally motivated or contact-induced?

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Stress placement in Old and Modern Albanian can roughly be characterized as follows: the stressed syllable of the word continues: (a) The PIE root syllable in the case of nouns and verbs, excluding preverbs; (b) The stressed syllable in the donor language, such as Latin or Slavic (this includes a number of stressed suffixes); (c) A non-initial syllable in a number of exceptions, such as present stems with a suffix \*-Vnj-, present stems with a suffix \*-Vtj-, and nominal plurals with a suffix \*-Vnj-, as well as some other words.

It seems clear that PIE accent mobility had been given up in Pre-Proto-Albanian before the influx of Latin loanwords. The accentual mobility of type c has been explained in different ways: Orel (2000: 123) claims that the Proto-Albanian ictus became linked to the penultimate and antepenultimate syllable because of the large number of Latin loanwords which had this feature, whereas Klingenschmitt (2000) and Schumacher/Matzinger (2013) reconstruct a language-internally motivated, rightward accent shift.

The aim of my talk is to test the hypothesis that Albanian stress placement shifted under Latin influence by discussing the rules and exceptions of accent placement. While stress is a (supra)phonological feature, its influence on the nominal and verbal morphology of Albanian is considerable, which warrants its treatment here.

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## Updating the Notion of Sprachbund: Perfects and Resultatives in the Circum-Baltic “Stratified Convergence Zone”

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The languages of the Circum-Baltic area share a complex array of features due not to genetic relationship or typological similarity but to long-term, persistent language contact among contiguous languages. In earlier examinations of the dynamic areal relationships in the Circum-Baltic area, scholars such as Stolz (1991), Nau (1996), and Koptjevskaja-Tamm and Wälchli (2001) called into question the overly-simplistic application of the concept of “Sprachbund” to this area: they recognized that the centers of influence for these languages are constantly in flux, with continually-changing borders, and that these dynamic relations could best be characterized by a chronologically-stratified model of feature-bundling. Koptjevskaja-Tamm and Wälchli (2001: 728) coined the term “Contact Superposition Zone” to recognize that convergence among the Circum-Baltic languages occurs at the micro level, across bilingual or multilingual communities, but also at the “global” level, as a result of trade, invasion, religious difference, or realignment of political dominance. As a synthesis of the insights of these scholars and others concerning the essential role of micro- as well as macro-level contact across the entire convergence zone and in recognition of the layered nature of that contact across time and space, I have proposed “Stratified Convergence Zone” as the most appropriate designation.

In this paper, the validity of this redefined, multi-layered notion of the Sprachbund is analyzed through an examination of the shared, stratified histories of the perfects and resultatives in contiguous varieties of Baltic, Slavic, and Finno-Ugric, sometimes in contact with other languages, as well. The following developments are analyzed in some detail:

- The BE perfect of Baltic Finnic is not ancient, but developed in contact with Baltic or Germanic languages (Laakso 2001: 191):

|         |                                        |
|---------|----------------------------------------|
| Latvian | <i>Te ilgi nav būs</i>                 |
|         | here long be.PRES.NEG be.PPP.NOM.SG.M  |
|         | ‘One hasn’t been here for a long time’ |
| Finnish | <i>On oltu huolimattomia</i>           |
|         | be.PRES.3SG be.PPA careless.PRTV.PL    |
|         | ‘One has been careless’                |
|         | (Holvoet 2001: 370)                    |

- These examples also illustrate the fact that both Latvian and Finnic have come to share exactly parallel impersonal constructions with non-referential indefinite zero subjects, which both Lithuanian and East Slavic lack (Holvoet 2001: 386).

- The possessive resultatives, using BE + (Finnic-like) oblique possessors, as in Latvian, or a (western-like) HAVE auxiliary, as in Lithuanian, may have been influenced, directly or indirectly, by western European languages:

|            |                                                       |
|------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| Latvian    | <i>viņam viss jau bija izteikts</i>                   |
|            | him.DAT all.NOM.SG.M already be.PRET.3PS say.PPP.SG.M |
|            | ‘He has already said everything (he had to say)’      |
|            | (Holvoet 2001: 375)                                   |
| Lithuanian | <i>Stalčiuje jis turi pasislėpęs butelį</i>           |
|            | In_drawer he have.3PS hide.PAP bottle                 |
|            | ‘In the drawer he has a bottle hidden’                |
|            | (Wiemer and Giger 2005: 48-9)                         |

Based on evidence like this, and on other evidence provided by Lindström and Tragel (2010), I claim that Estonian, Latvian, and N. Russian all developed possessive structures based on the Baltic Finnic model of oblique possessor + BE, and that, on this foundation, all

three varieties built a possessive resultative structure, calqued on the Low German model of the HAVE perfect. Contact with Low German was extensive in Riga, Reval (Tallinn), and Novgorod, all of which were important trading centers in the Hanseatic League. The arguments and alternative explanations of Jung (2007), Stassen (2009), and Seržant (2012) are also examined in some detail.

Sociolinguistic pressures will foster the sharing of features during times of intense interaction, but centers of influence will shift when these pressures change. The two-dimensional image of a Sprachbund only succeeds in presenting the end product of these complex changes, in synchronic fashion, but does not account for the sources of these similarities. Only a three-dimensional, chronologically-stratified model can adequately represent such a development.

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## Pertinentive *\*-eĵjo-*: Areal Continua and IE Inheritance

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Evidence for adjectival formations in *\*-eĵjo-*, *\*-eĵjā-* (*\*/-eĵjo-/-eĵjā-/*: *\*-eĵjo-* in what follows) with coherent notation of intervocalic /i/ in the different graphic systems, is attested, at different scales and with different functions, which may be subsumed as APPURTENANCE, in Greek, Phrygian, in Messapic and Venetic, as well as in Latin and Sabellic languages:

Greek -εἶος (Myc. *-e-jo/a-*: pertinentive *da-da-re-jo(-de)* /*Daidal-eion*/ ‘(shrine) of Daidalos’, GN *po-si-da-e-ja* /*Posidā<sup>(h)</sup>-eiā-*/ (partner of *po-se-da-o-* /*Poseidā<sup>(h)</sup>ōn*/), *pu<sub>2</sub>-ke-qi-ri-ne-ja* /*P<sup>h</sup>u<sub>2</sub>geg<sup>w</sup>rīn-eiā-*/ ‘female worker depending of /*P<sup>h</sup>ugeg<sup>w</sup>rīns*/’ (vs. patronymic! only *-i-jo-*: *e-te-wo-ke-re-w-i-jo* /*Etewo-klewe<sup>h</sup>ios*/, *ku-sa-me-ni-jo* /*°men-ios*/). – Thess. -εἶος (e.g. *Ἰασον-εἶος*, *Μενουν-εἶος*, *Φιλοχαρ-εἶος* (but -ἶος on *-ā-* and *-s-*stems: *Παυσαννια-ἶος*, *Δαμοσθενε-ἶος*; also *Πουταλα Πουταλεια κορα*, *Τιτυρεια γυναι*), as well as cletic *Ανφιδωνει/α α σταλ(λ)α / τουφρον/ετος*, *θηκαια Αυτονοεια* (vs. genitive: *Φιλομβροτοι τῶπισαμα*)

Phrygian: WN *Agipeia* (cf. Ἀγίππος, prob. Greek against expected Phrygh. *\*-<kk->*, cf. Neumann 1988:7f.,21), *Imeneia* (*-n-*stem), (*matar*) *kubeleya* (ethnic from toponym Κυβέλα St.Byz.), *Voineios* (: *voines*), cf. Obrador-Cursach 2020: 84f.

Messapic: gentilic *<-eΨia->* (*<BaleΨias>*: *<-ehia->*) beside *<-AHIA>*, *<ohia->* (“vielmehr *-a-ĵia-*, *-e-ĵia-*, und *-oĵia-* cf. Matzinger 2014: 73).

Venetic: patronymic: *<-Ceio>*, *<-Ce.iio>*: nom. *vo.t.te.i.iio.s*, gen. *...u.ur.kleii.o.i* (Lejeune 1974: 55 “*-aĵyo-*, *-eĵyo-*”).

Italic: Names, gentilics in *-eus* (e.g. Lat. *Tarp-eius*, *Apul-eius*, if not from wakening of *\*-aĵjo-*; Umbr. *<-eiio>*, if not from weakening of *\*-aĵjo-*), WN *tupleia* (Um 30 *tupleia puplece* /*tupleiā popliker*/ ‘of husband's gentilic), gen. **teteies** TI Ib 45 **tītis teteies** ‘Titus, son of Tetteio-’ or dat. **kureiate** /*-ātei*/ (*-āti-*-derivative from gentilic *\*kor-eĵjo-* (M. Weiss p.c.).

The evidence is rather discontinuous (and very scanty in some of the languages), but allows two statements: (a) The coherence of the notation of /ij/ in *\*-eĵjo-* (especially in languages where intervocalic *\*j* underwent changes and/or has been eliminated, as is the case of Greek, Messapic and Proto-Italic [no sure evidence in Venetic]; *\*-j-* is coherently noted only in Phrygian): this makes clear that *\*-eĵjo-* is different from inherited *\*-e-ĵo-* (*\*-jō-*-derivative from *-o/e-*stems, cf. the adjective of materials of the type Ved. *hiranyā-ya-* ‘golden’, Myc. *wi-ri-ne-jo* beside *wi-ri-ne-o* /*wrīne<sup>h</sup>o-*/ : ῥίνεον ‘leather’, ἀργύρεος, Lat. *argenteus*.— (b) The restriction of *\*-eĵjo-* to some few languages in a relatively well defined geographical area, broadly covering a part of the so-called Paleo-Balkan domain, as well as Adria and North of the Italic peninsula: not being a historical continuum proper, this may point to a contact-related innovation due to interactions between protolanguages in a prehistoric phase.

Two questions remains open, namely (1) what the proto-form (or forms) underlying “pertinentive” *\*-eĵjo-* /*\*-eĵjā-* could be, and (2) whether their reflexes may be traced back to one prehistoric, contact-induced isogloss and, eventually where did it originate.

As to (1), and on the assumption that an origin from a “Sub- oder Adstratsprache des Balkan- oder Mittelmeerraums” (Hajnal 2005:204f.) is unnecessary, two possible origins come into consideration.

(a) *\*-esjo-*, i.e. *\*-es-ĵo-* (athem. gen.sg. *\*-es* + *\*jō-*, with inflection as *\*-jō-*-adjective), parallel to themat. *\*-osjo* → *\*-os-ĵo-*, whence Luv. *-ašša/i-* (Melchert 2013, who has given it up, p.c.), could be a parallel to that assumed for Luvian. It implies *\*-sĵV-* > *-ĵjV-*, which is phonetically in order only in Greek, but not in Proto-Italic (Weiss, fthc.), nor in Messapic (<AIHI> for *\*-osjo*, cf. Matzinger 2014:29,34-6) or Venetic (Lejeune 1974:155). The possibility of a Greek origin of *\*-eĵjo-* with subsequent spread to the other languages remains open, but a proto-form *\*-esjo-* has little in its favour

(b) *\*-eĵ-ĵjo-* [-e.ĵjo-] (mentioned as possible by Peters 1986), i.e. an *-ĵjo-*-adjectivalisation of the original athematic dative *\*-eĵ-* (not locative!). This possibility is preferable, as it fits

with the fact that dative is indeed one of the default ways of indicating appurtenance, as seen in the syntagm with ‘be’, e.g. Hom. *Il.* 9.144 τρεῖς δέ μοί εἰσι θυγατρὲς ‘three daughters are to (:of) mine’, Hdt. 1.34 ἦσαν Κροίσω δύο παῖδες (alternatively, with genitive: Xen.*An.* 1.1.1 Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδος γίνονται παῖδες δύο); Plaut. *Men.* 1117 *uos tum patri filii quot eratis?* ‘and how many sons were you then to your father’, *Phoen.* 84 *illi ... duae fuere filiae* ‘he had two daughters’, *Amph.* 861 *Amphitruo, cui est seruus sosia* (beside genitive in .47 *mei eri sum seruus*); Hatt. Iii 40/1 ... *mahḥan* (ANA ŠEŠ=YA) ... DUMU-aš [(ŪL) ēš(ta)] ‘since there was not a son (belonging) to my brother’).

One can also assume for *\*-eĵio-* an adjectivalisation of *\*X-eĵ-io-* as follows

[to *\*X-ei* DATIVE – ([there] is) – ‘son, daughter, servant ...’]

→ pertinentive adjective *\*X-eĵ-io-* (epithet of son, daughter, servant)

A parallel is found in Italic, namely adjective *\*kʷoi-ĵio-* (Osc. **púiu-**, Lat. *cuiio-*), an *\*-ĵio-* derivative of the pronominal stem *\*kʷoi-* (Hitt. nom.pl. *kue*) as per Weiss (fth.).

As to (2): Pertinentive *\*-eĵio-* may have been created in in one (or more) language(s) in the different areas (Paleo-Balkan, Adria, Northern Italy) and have been extended to the others: the scarcity of the evidence from some of the languages makes it difficult to answer this question. Greek (especially North Greece), where the creation of *\*-eĵio-* could be triggered by the existence of secondary *\*-eĵio-* from other origins (*\*-esĵio-*: Σωφόκλειος, *\*-em-ĵio-*: Ἀχίλλειος), is one of the areas from the innovation which could spread to adjacent languages.

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## “May the Oaths (pur)sue you”: Semitic calques in Hittite and Luwian

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This paper offers a reassessment of Semitic calques in Second-Millennium Hittite and First-Millennium Hieroglyphic Luwian. Loan translations have been widely surveyed by DARDANO (2018:357–358), for instance Hitt. *auriyaš išḫa-* ‘district commander, provincial governor’ (lit. ‘lord of the watch-post’) from Akk. *bēl madgalti*; Hitt. *ešḫanaš išḫa-* ‘heir of a murdered man, kinsman avenger of blood’ from Akk. *bēl dāmi*; Hitt. *ḫannešnaš išḫa-* and *uttanaš išḫa-* ‘opponent in court’, respectively from from Akk. *bēl dīni* and Akk. *bēl awāti*. This long-range paper also deals with *phraseological* loan translations from Akkadian to Hittite, such as “to make the (conquered) countries the borders of the sea” (*ibid.*:358–362); “to see the eyes of the king” (*ibid.*:362–365); “to speak before his own heart” (*ibid.*:365–367).

My contribution to this field will focus on phraseology and syntaxis:

(i) Hitt. *nu=tt[(a)] NĪŠ-DINGIR.MEŠ* (= Hitt. *\*lingiyantes*) *pār-ḫi-iš-kán-du* (KUB 21.5 iii 17) “may the oath deities pursue you continuously” is reminiscent of Akk. *adē ša šarri lu EN* (= Akk. *\*bēl*) *di-ni-šu* (CAD D:155) “the oath deities (by the name) of the king shall be his opponent in court”.

(ii) Hitt. *peran ḫui(ya)-* ‘to walk before’ (= Akk. *pāni alākum*) ‘to lead’. [(LÚ-LUM=ma kui)]š *pé-ra-an ḫūiyanza ē[(šta)]...GIM-an kuenun* (KUB 1.1 ii 39–40) “when I killed the man who was the(ir) leader”. Cf. Akk. *ālik pāni* [m.] ‘leader’, *ālik pānūtum* [f.] ‘leadership’.

(iii) HLuw. *\*/appanni hwinuwa-/* ‘to make walk behind’ = ‘to place under the service or protection of a god’ (cf. Akk. *(w)arki alākum* ‘to walk behind; to follow; to be subject to’), TELL AHMAR 5 · § 4 *a-wa/i za-a-ti-i* [POST-ni] *ḫwa/i-nu-wa/i-tá* “and (my father) made these (granaries) \*walk behind this one (*scil.* the Tarhunt of Aleppo).” Not †“and he made them *run after* this one” (*pace* HAWKINS 2000:232).

(iv) Hitt. *nu auwariyaš EN-aš* (61)[*ḫūma*]ndašša IGL.HI.A-ŠU *šer ḫuyanza ēštu* “let the border lord, his eyes [partitive apposition!], be trained on everyone too” (KUB 31.84 iii 60–61) = Akk. *\*iṣṣēr kalī-ma bēl madgalti en-šu līlik* (lit. “the commander, let his eye[s] move toward everyone too”), cf. Akk. *iṣṣēr awēltim en-ka līlik* ‘keep your eye[s] on the lady’ (CAD A/1:310). Note that Hitt. *šer* ‘over’ is a wrong calque of Akk. *iṣṣēr* (= *ina šēr*) ‘over; toward’. The partitive apposition is seen in phrases such as Akk. *šumma amēlu* IGL.II-šú “if a man, his eyes” (CAD A/1:310).

(v) Hitt. *nu=wa úwami* (26)*kardiyaš=taš iyami* “I will come [and] do what you desire” (CTH 321 § 8 A i 25–26) could be rendered as Akk. *\*illak ippuš ša libbi-ki* “I will come I will do what [is] of your heart”. Here, both the asyndeton and the genitive are likely to be syntactical calques of Akkadian.

(vi) Hitt. *memiyaš...kuiš iyauwaš* “a thing which [is] to be done” (lit. *\*‘of doing’*) would be a calque of Akk. *\*awātum ša epēšim* (Akk. *epuš sa epēšim* “do what is of doing!” = ‘to be done’).

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CAD = Chicago Akkadian Dictionary.

CHT = Catalogue des textes hittites.

KUB = Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköy.

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## On the supines in Eastern Romance and (Proto-)Albanian

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The Eastern Romance verbal system has a verbal noun, the *nominal supine*, that is formally identical to the masculine singular of the past participle, and is distinct from the *verbal supine* in its origin (Maiden et al. 2021: 9, 328–329, 331, 419). The *nominal supine* can display definiteness, case inflexion, and takes genitive or *de*-constructions based on definiteness, contrary to the *verbal supine* (Maiden et al. 2021: 329), cf. Example (1). The *nominal supine* in Old Romanian was second to other deverbal formations, such as the *long infinitive* (Maiden et al. 2021: 418–420). The proposal that the Eastern Romance *nominal supine* is inherited from the Latin *supinum II* (Dragomirescu 2013a; 2013b; Maiden et al. 2021: 329) is not attractive due to the already relatively rare usage of the *supine II* in Classical Latin and its functions that do not correlate with those in Eastern Romance, cf., e.g., Weiss 2020: 472f., 475. Additionally, a Proto-Albanian influence on the Eastern Romance *nominal supine* has been deemed unlikely due to the outdated presumption that Proto-Albanian and Eastern Romance were not in contact (cf., e.g., Dragomirescu 287).

Turning to Old Albanian, the *masdar* as defined by Schumacher & Matzinger (2013: 90f. incl. fn 85), following Hetzer 1995: 29, is a deverbal nominal formation, formally equivalent to the n.sg. of the participle (Schumacher & Matzinger 2013: 90f. incl. fn 85). The *masdar* can, similar to the Eastern Romance *nominal supine*, be marked for definiteness, be joined with prepositions, have direct objects in the genitive or accusative, and is unmarked for diathesis, cf. Example (2). It often appears in Buzuku (1555) and Budi (ca. 1620), with the preposition *për* ‘for’ to express purposive semantics (also called the Old Albanian *supine*). In Bogdani (1685), the *supine* has already been fully grammaticalised and can be analysed as /*për të*/ + participle, and its direct object is generally in the accusative (Schumacher & Matzinger 2013: 93–95). It has thus been postulated by Schumacher & Matzinger (2013: 95) that already Proto-Albanian had a *masdar* that could stand alone or also appear with an array of prepositions as in Old Albanian.

Thus, as Proto-Albanian and Eastern-Romance had contact in the Early Middle Ages, it can be proposed that besides lexical loans and the influence of the postposition of the definite article

(Schumacher 2009: 56–58), a further morphosyntactical influence can be presupposed, namely that the Albanian *masdar* influenced the formation, emergence, and productivity of the Eastern Romance *nominal supine*.

- (1) *de la ieşitul jidovilor până la Saul*  
from exit.DEF Jews.GEN.PL.DEF until Saul

‘from the exodus of the Jews until Saul’

DÎ LXXI (1587–1588), cited from Maiden et al. 2021: 418

- (2) a. *një të përrallunë e të qëll dhunë tënëzotnë*  
a defamation and mockery our.God.ACC

‘a defamation and mockery of God’

Speculum Confessionis 43.15–16, cited from Schumacher & Matzinger 2013: 91

- b. *për të ushqyem të korpi-t*  
for nourishment LNK body.GEN.SG-DEF

‘for the nourishment of the body’

Buzuku’s *Meshari* 246.71–72, cited from Schumacher & Matzinger 2013: 92

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## The role of pragmatics in morphosyntactic innovations: how do new inflectional forms spread?

Eugen Hill (Universität zu Köln)

We know that change in grammar may be triggered by language contact. This follows from the fact that languages and/or dialects with more contact to other languages tend to develop on a faster pace than those with less contact. Specifically in the domain of inflection, we observe, for instance, a difference between the conservative Icelandic and Faroese on the one hand and the innovative Norwegian on the other. A similar difference is observed between the conservative south-east of South Slavic (Bulgarian and Macedonian) and its conservative north-west (Slovene). More pairs of the given kind may be named.

It follows that change in inflection is often generated by language contact. One of the key questions which remains to be answered is how new inflectional forms, once emerged in the grammar of a (potentially multilingual) individual, spread from one speaker to another, until they are eventually used by the entire language community. In my talk, I will argue that the key role in this spread of new inflectional forms is played by a particular pragmatic feature which is typically very unevenly distributed among languages.

The relevant feature is the conventionalised strategy of answering the most prominent category of questions, the so-called ‘polar’ or ‘yes/no-questions’. In many languages, such questions are typically answered by using a particle meaning ‘yes’ or ‘no’. In other languages, such questions are typically answered by repeating (parts of) the question. This pragmatic contrast is illustrated in (1) by referring (a) to modern spoken Lithuanian for the first strategy and (b) to Middle Vedic Sanskrit for the second.

(1)

- a Lithuanian (source: *Corpus of Contemporary Lithuanian Language*)

*Ji tau uždraudė?*  
3.NOM.SG.F 2SG.DAT forbid:PST3 ‘She forbade you?’  
*Taip.*  
so  
‘Yes.’

- b Vedic Sanskrit (source: *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* 3,4,3,22)

*agnīnmadantīyāpā 3 iti* —  
[agnīd mādanti āpās iti]  
agnidh:VOC.SG boil:PRS.3PL water:NOM.PL QUOT  
‘Agnidh, does the water boil?’

*madantītyagnīdāha*  
[mādanti iti agnīd āha]  
boil:PRS.3PL QUOT agnidh:NOM.SG speak:PRF.3SG  
‘It boils,’ the Agnidh says.

I will argue that having to verbatim repeat in order to answer a question facilitates adaptation of new inflectional forms also by conservative speakers and, accordingly, promotes the spread of such new forms through language community.

The talk will proceed by investigating whether and in which parts of grammar this hypothetical effect can be expected to leave an observable trace in historical linguistic data. I will identify a series of partly universal and partly language specific repeat-induced asymmetries (such as 3SG vs. 1SG and 2SG or simplex verbs vs. verbs containing preverbs, etc.) and look into the development of the relevant parts of grammar in several languages which (a) are known to use repeats in different pragmatic settings and, (b) are sufficiently attested since many centuries.

In a first approximation, my findings seem to confirm the theoretical expectation of a faster pace of change in those inflectional forms which the polar questions are answered by repeating and, therefore, may have a self-priming effect on the answering interlocutor. The talk is a contribution to a comprehensive theory of inflectional change and its implementation in grammar.

## (In)Dependence of Gothic Valency Decreasing Strategies

Henrik Hornecker (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

The syntactic dependence of the Gothic Bible on the Greek *Vorlage* remains a topic of ongoing debate: “Scholarship is divided on how much Gothic syntax is genuine” (Miller 2019: 379 – also for an overview of references). Usually, divergences of the Gothic syntax are interpreted as attesting authentic Gothic language use, when the Greek syntax could not be imitated.

However, the extent to which Gothic morphosyntax—especially verb valency—depends on Greek is underexplored. To close this gap, this talk investigates the influence of the Greek *Vorlage* on Gothic valency decreasing strategies, where Gothic and Greek differ morphologically. Greek has a rich voice system to perform valency decreasing operations (cf. Sausa 2016; Luraghi & Mertyris 2021), while in Gothic the Indo-European Middle is restricted to a present passive, and new analytical passives are used in the past system. There is only one active infinitive contrary to Greek.

This caused problems in the translation. (1–3), e.g., attest three different strategies to render the same passive Greek infinitive:

(1)

- a. *skal manag gabulan jah uskiusada fram þamma kunja*
- b. δεῖ αὐτὸν πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης.  
“he must suffer much and **is rejected** by this generation” (Lk. 17:25)

(2)

- a. (...) *þatei skal sunus mans manag winnan jah uskusans fram sinistam wairþan*
- b. (...) ὅτι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων  
“(…) that the son of man must suffer many things and **be rejected** by the elders” (Lk. 9:22)

(3)

- a. (...) *þatei skal sunus mans filu winnan jah uskiusan skulds ist fram þaim sinistam*
- b. (...) ὅτι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων  
“(…) that the Son of man must suffer many things, and **must be rejected** by the elders” (Mk. 8:31)

In (1), the Greek infinitive was changed into a finite verb. In (2), we find an analytic passive infinitival construction. The fact that the same Greek infinitive is translated differently three times points to the assumption, that this analytic construction was not completely grammaticalized in Gothic yet and may instantiate a calqued strategy. However, this is not the only example of this construction. In (3), the active Gothic infinitive, dependent from the passive construction *skulds ist*, is used. Although the passive morphology of the Greek infinitive is rendered through that, the formally active Gothic infinitive acquires a passive sense here, too. This raised questions about the voice properties of the Gothic infinitive (u.a. Miller 2019: 219–224; Peeters 1974).

But before conclusions about Gothic are drawn, it must be asked, how authentic such examples are or whether they were rather coined in contact with Greek, stretching what was possible in Gothic. By comparing the Gothic valency decreasing strategies to the Greek strategies they translate (primarily Middle and Passive), this talk investigates, where variance in the translation points to new strategies being found through the influence of Greek.

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## The Rise of NP-Internal Adjective-Noun Agreement in Finnic: Evaluating Contact and Internal Mechanisms

Stefan Höfler (Universität Wien)

Proto-Uralic is generally reconstructed as lacking NP-internal adjectival agreement: attributive adjectives occurred in an uninflected nominative singular form and did not copy case or number morphology from their head noun (Aikio 2022: 22). Compare the data in (1) from Hungarian.

- |     |           |          |                          |                      |
|-----|-----------|----------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| (1) | Hungarian | <i>a</i> | <i>vörös rózsá</i>       | ‘the red rose’       |
|     |           | DET      | red rose                 |                      |
|     |           | <i>a</i> | <i>vörös rózsá-k</i>     | ‘the red roses’      |
|     |           | DET      | red rose-PL              |                      |
|     |           | <i>a</i> | <i>vörös rózsá-k-kal</i> | ‘with the red roses’ |
|     |           | DET      | red rose-PL-INST         |                      |

This pattern is retained in most Uralic branches and idioms, e.g., in Mari (Bradley & Luutonen 2019: 541), Komi (Blokland 2019: 627), Mansi (Virtanen & Horváth 2019: 675), Khanty (Csepregi 2019: 720), Selkup (Klumpp & Budzisch 2019: 911), or Moksha (Rueter 2019: 497).

Finnic, however, displays full NP-internal concord, with adjectives regularly agreeing with their head nouns in case and number (Grünthal 2019: 469). Within Uralic, this development is typologically exceptional.

- |     |         |                  |                   |                                    |
|-----|---------|------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|
| (2) | Finnish | <i>iso</i>       | <i>talo</i>       | ‘a big house’                      |
|     |         | big              | house             |                                    |
|     |         | <i>iso-t</i>     | <i>talo-t</i>     | ‘big houses’                       |
|     |         | big-PL           | house-PL          |                                    |
|     |         | <i>iso-i-ssa</i> | <i>talo-i-ssa</i> | ‘in big houses’ (Rießler 2016: 35) |
|     |         | big-PL-INESS     | house-PL-INESS    |                                    |

The rise of adjectival agreement in Finnic has often been attributed to sustained contact with Indo-European languages, namely Baltic and/or Germanic (e.g., Stolz 2015: 288–295), whose NP structure is characterized by obligatory concord. While contact undoubtedly shaped the Finnic linguistic area in multiple domains (especially the lexicon; e.g., Kallio 2008; Junttila 2016), the structural pathway by which NP-internal agreement emerged remains to be clarified. By comparing the distribution, morphological structure, and degree of obligatoriness of adjectival agreement across the individual Finnic languages, this paper evaluates two competing explanations: contact-induced restructuring of the noun phrase versus endogenous grammaticalization of concord constructions inherited from earlier Uralic stages.

From a contact-linguistic perspective, contextual inflection — including agreement morphology — is generally regarded as one of the least borrowable domains of grammar (Gardani, Arkadiev & Amiridze 2015). Although agreement transfer is not entirely unattested, it is typically described as rare and associated with exceptional contact settings (Aikhenvald 2000: 388; Thomason 2001: 70–71). The assumption of structural borrowing in the Finnic noun phrase therefore requires clear structural evidence.

At the same time, the expansion of concord through affix copying or alliterative/“rhyming” agreement (cf. Corbett 2006: 87; Aikhenvald 2019: 124), i.e., the morphotactic replication of nominal markers on adjacent modifiers, is cross-linguistically attested and does not presuppose transfer of an entire agreement system. Finnic may thus reflect the independent grammaticalization of a pattern already incipient in earlier Uralic stages (cf. Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Wälchli 2001: 693–694; Rießler 2016: 215–218). Evidence from other Uralic branches supports this possibility, as non-agreeing attribution and sporadic suffix copying or partial agreement of adjectives may coexist (e.g., optional

plural agreement in Udmurt; Suihkonen 2019: 587, 600; Edygarova 2022: 513; restricted case agreement in Samoyedic; Wagner-Nagy 2019: 760; Mus 2019: 869–871).

For a comparative perspective, selected Indo-European cases of concord expansion and rhyming agreement will be discussed, illustrating that the stabilization of morphologically explicit agreement patterns is not typologically isolated.

The Finnic attributive adjective thus offers a test case for broader methodological questions concerning contact-induced change in inflectional morphology.

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## The polyptotic reciprocal construction ‘other ... other’ in Gothic: A case of calque?

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Indo-European languages showcase four ways of encoding reciprocal situations (Krisch 1999, Inglese 2025): (i) voice alternation, (ii) reflexive markers used as reciprocals, (iii) reciprocal pronouns (including polyptotic constructions), (iv) reciprocal preverbs. Polyptotic constructions involve, at least historically, the repetition of the same item in two different case forms (Kulikov 2014).

While several early IE languages feature polyptotic constructions/pronouns based on the reflex of PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>el-yo/a-* (Beekes 2010: 72), e.g. Greek ἀλλήλων and Latin *alius alius* (see Inglese 2025 with references), Gothic and Old Church Slavonic feature similar strategies by using etymologically distinct material, namely Go. *anþar* ‘other, second’ (cf. Skt *ántara-* ‘other’) and OCS *drugъ* ‘other, friend’.

Also on account of the lack of etymological connection with PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>el-*, Plank (2008: 356) and Kulikov (2014: 147) have suggested that, since the Gothic and the OCS constructions first occur in translations of the Gospels, they may constitute a calque of Greek ἀλλήλων (or possibly Latin *ali- ... ali-*), hence instantiating *pattern replication* (Matras & Sakel 2007). This proposal has thus far not received dedicated attention. In this paper, we explore its validity for Gothic. Indeed, there are reasons to suspect that the calque hypothesis does not tell the whole story.

Reciprocity in Gothic is mostly expressed by the reflexive pronoun + *misso* (1a) (Miller 2019: 392–393), whereas *anþar...anþar* occurs in its reciprocal reading only in 5 cases (1b). Moreover, West (2) and North Germanic (3) only testify to distributive uses of *other*-based constructions.

- (1a) *jah wopjandam seinā misso*  
and call.APRT.DAT.M.PL REFL.GEN.PL ADV  
καὶ προσφωνοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις  
‘(like children) ... and calling one another.’ (Luke 7:32)

- (1b) *jah wopjandam anþar anþaris*  
and call.APRT.DAT.M.PL other.NOM.M.SG other.GEN.M.SG  
ἃ προσφωνοῦντα τοῖς ἑτέροις  
‘(like children) ... and calling one another.’ (Matthew 11:16)

### Old Norse

- (2) *Tvennar hqfoðskepnor gerðe goð*  
two.ACC.F.PL main\_creature.ACC.PL make.PRET.3SG God.NOM  
Duas principales creaturas fecit Deus  
*aðra andlega en aðra líkamlega*  
other.ACC.F.SG spiritual.ACC.F.SG but other.ACC.F.SG physical.ACC.F.SG  
unam spiritualem alteram corpoalem  
God made two main creatures: one spiritual, and the other physical. (*Elucidarius*)

### Old English

- (3) *Óðer is se áresta*  
other.NOM.M.SG be.PRS.3SG dem.NOM.M.S early.SPRL.NOM.M.SG.DEF  
G  
*apostol óðer se néhsta*  
apostle.NOM other.NOM.M.SG dem.NOM.M.S near.SPRL.NOM.M.SG.DEF  
G

One is the first of the apostles, the other the last one (*The Blickling Homilies*)

Since the distributive reading is diachronically prior (see Inglese 2017), this hints at an ongoing process of grammaticalization within Germanic. The question is whether this process was an instance of contact-induced grammaticalization (Heine & Kuteva 2003). To further explore the issue, we offer a reassessment of the available Gothic evidence and compare it to the situation in other major old Germanic languages, Old Norse and Old English. As the Gothic corpus is limited, we proceed by mapping all renderings of Gk ἀλλήλων in Gothic to assess its degree of translational independence. Data is extracted from the PROIEL corpus.

We contend that, given the distribution of the construction in Germanic and the availability of another reciprocal strategy in Gothic, it is worth challenging the calque hypothesis, and see, whether the construction can instead be considered an independent Germanic-internal development.

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## Remarks on the nominal morphology of Greek loanwords in Jewish Aramaic

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The major linguistic encounter during the Post-Classical times in Roman Palestine concerns in the first place two Großkorpussprachen, namely Greek (Indo-European) and Aramaic (Semitic), both of which have been well-attested for over three millennia. In our paper we primarily deal with two specific varieties in contact: the “donor language” known as Post-Classical Greek (323 BCE–1453CE), and in particular the linguistic stages Hellenistic Koine and Early Byzantine Greek (~1st c. – 6th CE), as well as the Late Aramaic (200–700 CE) variety called Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (JPA) as the “recipient language”. In most cases the occurring Latinate loanwords must have entered Aramaic via Greek. Although the contact between Aramaic and Greek did not involve a case of “heavy borrowing”, nevertheless, it resulted into the largest set of loanwords that amount to over two thousand items in the entire Hebrew/Aramaic lexicon, the investigation of which has been very poorly investigated in the past. The only overview to date is limited to a few paragraphs from Dalman’s Grammar (1898).

This linguistic material -recently investigated by two projects funded by Austrian Science Fund (FWF)- primarily regards aspects of nominal morphology as well as of word formation, and indicates a “low position” of these Greek items within the borrowing hierarchy (cf. Katsikadeli/Slepoy 2019). However, the study of their morphological integration according to different nominal morphemes (native vs Greek) and various borrowing strata still remains a desideratum. We contrast Greek loans into Aramaic dialects displaying Hebrew/Aramaic plural endings or derivational affixes vs. replicated ones and highlight their respective chronological distribution, along the lines of diastratic, diatopic as well as diaphasic factors. Furthermore, we examine some rare cases of Greek nominal suffixes on Aramaic lexemes and highlight cases of “Greco-Aramaic” nominal compounds.

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## Ignorance is bliss. Does structure constrain loan syntax?

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“La langue n’accepte des éléments de structure étrangères que quand ils correspondent à ses tendances de développement” (Jakobson 1938: 54). In various guises, this claim has been central to the study of pattern loans since its origin (e.g. Whitney 1881, Lightfoot 1981, van Gelderen 2022). One would expect, then, that syntactic loans, being pattern borrowings par excellence (Sakel 2007), are confined by structural constraints of the recipient language. In this talk, we present data that show that this is not necessarily the case (cf. Harris & Campbell 1995: 120ff.): syntactic patterns can be borrowed even if the acquired new pattern is structurally illicit in the recipient language at the time of the loan. The data presented in this talk are thus further evidence that it is possible for linguistic change to be triggered exclusively by generalizations of surface patterns. While this does not challenge the assumption of structural speaker knowledge, it relativizes its role in language use and language change: a structural change is indeed possible. We illustrate this idea with examples from two IE languages.

The first one is the Gothic absolute dative. *Pace* Dewey & Syed (2009) we follow Lühr (2005: 352ff.) in assuming that this construction did not originate in Germanic itself. It was, however, slightly adapted to Germanic case syntax, even if, as we will show, the adaptation was probably not successful. The astructural nature of the loan is most striking when it comes to semantics as an anterior reading of the absolute construction was not derivable from the TA semantics of the Gothic participle. The loan thus conflicts both with syntactic and semantic constraints of the Germanic system.

The second and more detailed case study is devoted to the nominative object with infinitives in Lithuanian. While e.g. Holvoet (2018: 1677) argues that this pattern can be explained as an inner-Lithuanian development, careful analysis shows that the emergence of nominative objects is not structurally licensed in the system of Lithuanian syntax. We therefore follow Timberlake (1974) in assuming that they are a loan from Finnic, but we add the important qualification that what was borrowed is a surface pattern incompatible with the structural “tendances” of the recipient language.

In an outlook we discuss the consequences of astructural loans for our understanding of speakers’ knowledge of language.

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## Nuristanische Verbalmorphologie zwischen Ererbtem und Entlehntem: Ein Beitrag zur Genese der Nuristansprachen

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Die Stellung der Nuristansprachen innerhalb des Indoiranischen wird meist aus lautlicher und/oder lexikalischer Sicht bewertet. Von den wenigen morphologischen Unterschieden zwischen dem Iranischen und Indischen, die gleichzeitig auch für die Nuristansprachen von Relevanz sind, möchte ich aus Platzgründen ein Morphem herausgreifen, nämlich die Primärendung der 2. Person Plural, die im Avestischen auf  $-\theta\check{a}$  < iir.  $*-tha$  lautet, im Altindischen jedoch neben  $-tha$  auch  $-thana$  < iir.  $*-thana$  sein kann. Dasselbe gilt, mutatis mutandis, für die Sekundärendungen der 2. Person Plural (< iir.  $*-ta$  bzw.  $*-tana$ ). Trotz gelegentlicher, wenig überzeugender, Bemühungen, das nasale Element auch in iranischen Sprachen (z.B. Geldner 1885: 249, Persson 1893: 255 für das Avestische; Morgenstierne 1973b: 355 für das Neupersische und Sangletschi, Tremblay 2005: 61 für das Sangletschi) nachzuweisen, scheint es sich dabei um eine Neuerung zu handeln.

Nur in den Nuristansprachen wurde ein Kognat des vedischen  $-thana$  gefunden: Z.B. Prasun  $-n$ , Kati  $-e\check{r}/-u\check{r}$  (mit  $\check{r}$  <  $*n$ ), Waigali  $-e$ ,  $-\tilde{e}$ , alles Endungen der 2.Pl, die sich aufgrund des vorhandenen Nasals bzw der Nasalisierung eher mit dem Vedischen denn mit avestisch  $-\theta\check{a}$  verbinden lassen (Buddruss 1977: 24). Dadurch entstünde – sollte die Analyse richtig sein – ein gewichtiges morphologisches Argument für die Nähe der Nuristansprachen zum indischen Zweige. Allerdings ist die Ableitung nicht in allen Nuristansprachen problemlos; v.a. Aschkun  $-k$  sowie Waigali (Nischeigram)  $-w \sim -o$  sind nur schwer mit  $-thana$  zu vereinbaren. Waigali  $-w \sim -o$  hat Entsprechungen in benachbarten dardischen Sprachen wie Schumaschti und Gawar-Bati. Eine (rezente?) Entlehnung ist hier wohl wahrscheinlicher als die Annahme, dass in modernen Nuristansprachen – noch dazu in Subdialekten einer einzigen Sprache, nämlich des Waigali – sowohl iir.  $*-tha$  wie auch  $*-thana$  überleben könnten. Dazu käme die Unklarheit, ob ein Dental in dieser Stellung im Waigali überhaupt als  $-w$  auftauchte; Beispiele wie Waigali  $j\ddot{o}w$  ‚Harz‘ (vgl. aind.  $jatu-$  ‚Lackharz‘) könnten darauf hindeuten, falls der Approximant nicht doch Überbleibsel des auslautenden  $u$  ist.

Wie dem auch sei: Es bleibt die Frage, wie die Fortsetzung von  $*-thana$  in den anderen Nuristansprachen zu behandeln ist, da ja in jüngster Zeit neue lexikalische Evidenz für eine frühe Abspaltung des Nuristanischen vom Iranischen vorgelegt wurde (Halfmann 2025).

Der Beitrag will deshalb dreierlei klären: 1. Ob die Derivation Prasun  $-n$  usw <  $*-thana$  aus lautlichen Gründen ihre Richtigkeit besitzt. 2. Sofern letzteres zutrifft, inwieweit  $*-thana$  als gemeinsame ererbte Form sowohl des Nuristanischen als auch des Indischen zu gelten habe, ob es sich auch um eine sekundäre Diffusion etwa aus dem Indischen handeln könnte bzw. ob das nasale Element doch älteren Ursprungs ist als bisher angenommen. 3. Ob es überhaupt weitere Beispiele aus der Verbal- oder Nominalmorphologie gibt, die auf eine frühe Beeinflussung des Nuristanischen durch das Altindische hindeuten könnten.

Die angestrebte Analyse und Trennung altererbter von sowohl eigenständig geneuerter als auch entlehnter Morphologie soll einen Beitrag zur historischen Erforschung der Nuristansprachen darstellen, der explizit weder auf lautlichen noch auf lexikalischen Isoglossen beruht.

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## **Wahrnehmung und Kognition in lateinischen Galenübersetzungen: die Konstruktion von Wahrnehmungsverben zwischen Zielsprachengrammatik und Übersetzungseffekten**

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Die Konstruktion von Verben visueller und auditiver Wahrnehmung zeigt im Altgriechischen Variationsmöglichkeiten durch die Verwendung infiniter (AcP, AcI) gegenüber finiter (ὄτι, ὥς) Satzkomplemente. Zuletzt wurden diese vermehrt im Zusammenhang mit evidentiellen und diskurspragmatischen Werten diskutiert (Cepraga 2024; Masliš 2023; Huitink 2009): Partizipiale Komplemente bilden grundlegend Prädikate direkter Wahrnehmung mit ihren Matrixverben, aber können unter noch nicht völlig geklärten Umständen Propositionsinhalt tragen und dadurch inferenzielle Lesarten ihrer Matrixverben auslösen; andererseits tragen AcI, ὄτι- und ὥς-Komplementsätze stets Propositionsinhalt, allerdings mit unterschiedlichen Implikationen hinsichtlich ihrer (nicht-)intersubjektiven Akzeptanz im Diskurs. Im Lateinischen erlaubt die Verwendung von AcP- bzw. AcI-Komplementsätzen eine eindeutige Unterscheidung zwischen direkter Wahrnehmung bzw. inferenziell (Verben des Sehens) oder reportativ (Verben des Hörens) erlangtem Kenntnisgewinn (Bolkestein 1976). Diachrone Untersuchungen weisen eine Zunahme der AcP-Konstruktion vom 2. Jh. v. bis ins 6. Jh. n.Chr. nach (Greco 2013), wobei durchgehend bestimmte Eigenschaften, wie die Erzeugung von Immersivität oder Lebendigkeit des Geschilderten, literarisch oder rhetorisch genutzt werden und so Autoren- oder Genre-Effekte bewirken. Generell nimmt die AcP-Konstruktion bei Wahrnehmungsverben aber ab dem 2. Jh. n. Chr. stark zu und erreicht bei christlichen Autoren und in der Vulgata einen Höhepunkt. Hierbei spielen spezifische neue Verwendungen (Ausdruck „geistiger Schau“ bei videre; autoritativ-reportative Bibelverweise bei audire) eine Rolle, daneben wurde aber auch der Einfluss des Griechischen als ein Faktor vermutet (Calboli 2009). Parallel werden AcI-Konstruktionen im Spätlatein abgebaut und zunehmend durch finite Satzkomplemente mit quia, quod, quoniam und ut ersetzt (Herman 1989), besonders, wenn sie einem Matrixverb des Denkens, Sagens und Wahrnehmens nachgestellt sind. Basierend auf diesem Befund der griechischen und lateinischen Wahrnehmungsverbskonstruktionen und ihrer Bedeutungen widmet sich unser Vortrag der Untersuchung der lateinischen Wiedergabe von griechischen Konstruktionen in der Übersetzung des griechischen Arztes und Autors Galen von Pergamon (2.–3. Jh. n.Chr.). Die lateinische Galenüberlieferung ist frühestens ab dem 6. Jh. n.Chr. greifbar, bleibt in der vorsalernitanischen Periode jedoch punktuell – obwohl auch in dieser Phase eine prägende Rolle Galens für die westliche medizinische Tradition anzunehmen ist. Lateinische Übersetzungen zentraler Werke Galens nehmen ab dem 11. Jh. deutlich zu und erstrecken sich weiter bis in die frühe Neuzeit. Mithin repräsentiert „das Latein“ der historischen Galenübersetzungen nicht einen homogenen Zustand. Die lateinischen Konstruktionen von Wahrnehmungsverben müssen daher einerseits mit der griechischen Vorlage verglichen werden, um Aufschluss über die Wiedergabe von evidentiellen Bedeutungen in der Übersetzung zu gewinnen, andererseits sind sie aber in die lateinische Grammatik und ihre diachrone Entwicklung einzuordnen. Galens autoritativ-subjektive Sprache steht zudem möglicherweise gerade denjenigen Texten nahe, die im Lateinischen ein hohes AcP-Aufkommen begünstigen; auch hierin sind deshalb u.U. weitere Vergleichspunkte zu suchen. Im Rahmen des Vortrags soll also beantwortet werden,

- ob und in welchen Fällen Auswirkungen der griechischen auf die lateinische Syntax infolge des Übersetzungsprozesses vermutet werden können;
- wie sich die Konstruktionen der frühmittelalterlichen bis renaissance-zeitlichen Übersetzungen in die diachronen Tendenzen des Lateinischen einordnen;
- unter welchen Umständen sich entweder die griechische Vorlage oder die lateinische Grammatik durchsetzt;

- ob in der kommunikativen Gestaltung von Galens Texten ein textsorten- oder genrespezifischer Parameter zu sehen ist, der auch die Wahrnehmungskonstruktionen der Zielsprache beeinflusst.

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## DOM in Old Armenian and putative Iranian parallels

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Like other Indo-European languages, Old Armenian conventionally marks direct objects with the accusative case. Possibly owing at least in part to a lack of distinction between nominative and accusative in the nominal paradigm (where *nom.sg* = *acc.sg*), Old Armenian has also developed Differential Object Marking (DOM) to indicate specific objects (see Scala 2011; Müth 2011; Müth 2014); such objects are usually also marked with a definite clitic =*s*, =*d*, or =*n*. Example (1) illustrates this behaviour.

- (1) *ew patmeac' mez orpēs etes z=hreštak=n*  
and tell.3SG.AOR 1PL.DAT how see.3SG.AOR OBJ=angel.ACC.SG=DET  
*i tan iwrum*  
in house.LOC.SG refl.POSS.LOC.SG  
'And he told us how he saw the angel in his house' (Acts 11:13)

Historically, the dom-marker *z*=is a preposition governing a number of different cases and with different meanings (Jensen 1959: 129–30), as in (2). In its dom-function, it can be repeated before different members of the object phrase, including words or phrases in different cases, as example (3) shows (cf. Meyer 2023a).

- (2) a. *luaw kin mi z=nmanē*  
hear.3SG.AOR woman.NOM.SG INDF about=3SG.ABL  
'a woman heard about him' (Mk. 7:25; ablative)
- b. *katakesk'en z=novaw*  
mock.3PL.AOR.SBJV about=3SG.INS  
'they will laugh about him' (Mk. 10:34; instrumental)
- (3) *varesc'ē z=tiezerakan išxanut' iwn=d z=or*  
use.3SG.AOR.SBJV OBJ=comprehensive power.ACC.SG=DET OBJ=REL.NOM.SG  
*awandēal ē dma y=Astucoy*  
give.PTCP be.3SG.PRS 3SG.DAT by=God.ABL.SG  
'He will use his comprehensive powers, which were given to him by God' (Elišē II.130)

While it is not unusual for dom-markers to evolve from adpositions (e.g. Span. *a*, Hindi *ko*, Farsi *râ*, etc.; see contributions in Seržant and Witzlack-Makarevich 2018) two aspects warrant an enquiry into the history and origin of this marking pattern beyond 'simple' internal development: firstly, the fact that Old Armenian has undergone well-evidenced influence from the neighbouring West Middle Iranian languages (cf. Hübschmann 1875; Bolognesi 1960; Schmitt 1983), including in its morphosyntax (cf. Meyer 2023b); secondly, that said Iranian languages themselves show indications of object marking by means of adpositions (see Jügel 2019 on MP *rāy*, Durkin-Meisterernst 2014: 330–40 on MP/Pth. *ō*; other adpositions are also employed thus), as example (4) suggests.

- (4) a. *ud ham ō žirīft, čē pad frēštag-ān wiḫrāšt bawēd*  
and also OBJ wisdom REL by apostle-PL proclaim.PTCP be.3SG.PRS  
*isxandēnd ud ō adāwift iškārēnd*  
mock.3PL.PRS and OBJ community-of-righteous prosecute.3PL.PRS  
'and they also mock the wisdom, which is proclaimed by the apostles, and prosecute the  
Community of the Righteous' (Pth., MKG 1682-6; object marking)
- b. *ud abāg ardaxšīr ō kōxšīšn ēstād*  
and with Ardaxšīr for battle stand.3SG.N-PRS  
'and he stood with Ardaxšīr [ready] for battle' (MP, KAP 10,16; purpose)

This paper sets out to explore the potential contribution of language contact between Armenian and the West Middle Iranian languages to the establishment of *dom* in Old Armenian by exploring the functional overlap of the relevant adpositions, both as regards their adpositional and their object-marking functions. It will investigate to what extent pivot matching and polysemy copying (Matras and Sakel 2007) from the Iranian model could have catalysed natural, language-internal developments, since the relevant adpositions share at least some functions (e.g. marking of direction, purpose, context), and what precedents there are for such influences in other languages.

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## Contact-Induced Morphosyntactic Change: Verb-Initial Compounds in Latin

Elisa Migliaretti (UCLA)

Classical Latin compounds are usually head-final:

- (1) *agri<sub>j</sub>-cola<sub>i</sub>* ‘who tends<sub>i</sub> the fields<sub>j</sub>, farmer’

Only a few forms attest a head-initial structure, traditionally analyzed as a *bahuvrīhi*'s with a participial first member (Oniga 1988:162 fn. 50; Bork 1990:209; Nielsen Whitehead 2012:114-29):

- (2) *versi<sub>i</sub>-pellis<sub>i</sub>* (Cic. *De finibus* 3.18.13+) ‘werewolf’

This analysis posits the interpretation ‘who possesses changed<sub>j</sub> skin<sub>i</sub>’, where the semantics of the perfect participle is regularly resultative and passive. However, the desired meaning for this form is ‘who changes its skin’ with habitual and active semantics (a werewolf does not change its skin once forever, but changes it back and forth). The current analysis, then, arbitrarily assumes that the first meaning can develop into the second, even though the semantics of the latter (habitual, active) is incompatible with a perfect participle (resultative, passive).

Therefore, I propose an alternative analysis of these forms as a case of borrowing of a syntactic structure from Ancient Greek, where head-initial compounds with first verbal members (3) are productive.

- (3) *terpsi<sub>j</sub>-mbrotos<sub>i</sub>* ‘who delights<sub>j</sub> the mortals<sub>i</sub>’

Since Latin authors had extensive contact with this language, the influence of Greek on these forms has been posited before (Pisani 1934:125). The details of this process, however, have yet to be clarified in a principled way. The present paper offers an analysis of this syntactic borrowing as a case of application of the Resistance Principle (RP; Guardiano *et al.* 2016, 2020).

In Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993; Harley 2009), compounds are treated as syntactic structures that are subject to the same conditions as phrases. On this view, the syntactic structure of verb-initial compounds as (3) violates the Final-Over-Final Condition (FOFC). As shown by Biberauer *et al.* 2014, the FOFC is a strong cross-linguistic tendency to avoid head-initial structures dominated by head-final structures (4). Such structures are only acceptable when they undergo a change in category (from nominal to verbal or the reverse as in (5)).

- (4) 

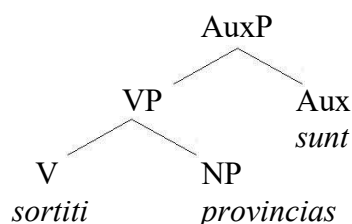
(5) 

Greek avoids this undesirable structure by employing dedicated morphology (e.g., *-si-*) that clearly identifies the first element as verbal; the change of category saves the structure from violating FOFC (Michos 2025; Migliaretti and Michos 2025).

- (6)
- ```
graph TD
    nP --> VP
    nP --> n0[n0]
    VP --> V[V]
    VP --> NP[NP]
    V --- sortiti[sortiti]
    NP --- provincias[provincias]
```
- sortiti*      *provincias*

Because Latin does not have a productive head-initial category, its Lexicon does not store specialized morphology that prevents the compound structure from violating FOFC. Latin does have, however, a phrasal environment in which FOFC can be violated, which is the perfect tense of deponent structures with an object:

(7) *sortiti provincias sunt* ‘they obtained the provinces by lot’ (Liv. *AUC* 40.1.1.2+)



According to the RP, a syntactic structure can only be borrowed from a source language if the target language already has comparable structures that can be repurposed (Guardiano *et al.* 2020:180-1). For this reason, the FOFC violating environment above provides Latin with a syntactic point of contact with Greek that allows the borrowing of head-initial structures even without category-changing morphology. Noticeably, the verbal element employed in (7) is a deponent perfect participle with transitive semantics which explains why perfect participles are employed in this construction in Latin.

Crucially, the FOFC violating environment is only productive in the Classical period until around 40 CE (Danckaert 2017:209-13), at the same time when these few cases of Latin verb-initial compounds are found as well. In conformity with the RP, the borrowing of the head-initial structure stops when the syntactic point of contact provided by the deponent structures is lost.

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## Morphosyntactical interferences between the indigenous languages of ancient Sicily and Siceliot Greek

Carlo Maria Pertica (Università per Stranieri di Siena)

This paper aims to explore some instances of morphosyntactical interference between the indigenous languages of ancient Sicily and Siceliot Greek, in particular, the spread in the use of the dative in place of the genitive to express plain possession.

Pre-Greek indigenous languages of ancient Sicily – Sikel, with respect to the evidence coming from the eastern part of the island, and Elymian, from the western one – are known through a small epigraphical corpus dating to the 6<sup>th</sup> - 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC (Agostiniani 1977; 1992; 2021; Poccetti 2012; Prag 2020). The reconstruction of these *Trümmersprachen* (Prosdocimi 1989; Agostiniani 2003; Baglioni & Rigobianco 2024) remains, to date, quite problematic due to the highly fragmentary nature of their corpora. Some clues can be inferred on combinatory, typological and phylogenetic grounds (these languages are likely Italic), while some others can be retrieved thanks to the records of the Greek varieties spoken by the colonists who arrived on the island from the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC onward.

In this regard, from a morphosyntactical perspective, it has been observed a rather unexpected use of the dative instead of the genitive in some archaic Greek ownership inscriptions from Sicily (ex. 1-2).

- Ν]ενδαί εἰμι Καριμαῖοι (SEG 29:872, from the acropolis of Gela, 550-500 BC)
- Ποῦι (SEG 34:939,2, from the shore at Camarina, 5<sup>th</sup> century BC)

This seems to bear some relation (Agostiniani 1988-1989; 1991) with the fact that Elymian and Sikel mark possession by means of endings that, from a comparative-historical perspective, appear as outcomes of Indo-European singular and plural datives.

This article aims to evaluate and analyze the body of evidence pertaining the inter-linguistic spread of a *dativus possessivus* trait in archaic Sicily. Ancient Greek already employed a εἶναι + dative construction to express possession, but its use was restricted to “existential-presentative clause[s] whose function [was] to predicate the existence of a relation between a Possessor and a Possessee” (Benvenuto & Pompeo 2012, p. 99). It is likely that contact with non-Greek languages of ancient Sicily acted as a trigger for a change, or rather an extension, in the morphosyntactic use of the dative case instead of the genitive, Ancient Greek ownership default case of (certainly in epigraphic texts).

This approach will allow us to further explore some aspects related to the reconstruction and history of both Elymian and Sikel, in particular their historical morphosyntax, as well as the phylogenetic and areal relationships between the two languages.

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## **Evaluating language contact as a driver of grammatical change: Case studies from Ancient Central Asia**

Michaël Peyrot (Leiden University)

In Indo-European studies, an objective evaluation of the effects of language contact often turns out to be difficult. In etymology this problem is frequent and well known: while some scholars prefer borrowing or substrate origin when sound correspondences are not smooth, others will always want to “save” an Indo-European etymology as long as it is somehow possible. In such cases, objective judgment is hard if not impossible, and the evaluation seems to depend largely on preference of method. Grammatical effects of language contact are even more difficult to evaluate, because the same problem of preference holds, while in the absence of borrowed matter it is less usually less clear if grammar is similar or the same, or similar enough to assume grammatical change because of language contact. In this talk, I will explore the problems of evaluating language contact as a driver of grammatical change with cases studies from Ancient Central Asia.

## Luwian Verbs in Hittite

Elisabeth Rieken (Philipps-Universität Marburg)

In recent years, it has become clear that the lexical influence of Luwian on Hittite is considerably greater than previously assumed. For the nominal domain, Starke identified several principles according to which the relevant lexemes were integrated into the Hittite lexicon, for example through the thematization of neuter consonantal stems (1990: 27f.) or through the adoption of Luwian inflected forms (1990: *passim*). This also led to morphological interference in genuinely Hittite words which—albeit sporadically—replicated the Luwian *i*-mutation (Rieken 1994).

For the verb, however, we are not yet in the same position. Although Sasseville (2021) has now provided a classification of the Luwian stem-class system (see most recently also Yakubovich & Rieken 2026: 221–234), the verbs considered there are, for methodological reasons, primarily those preserved in Luwian transmission. Additionally, Giusfredi and Pisaniello (2023: 384–393) devote a chapter in their recent handbook on Anatolian language contact to this topic, focusing primarily on the identification of borrowed verbs. Finally, the relevant lexica contain numerous individual observations on specific verbs.

By contrast, the paper aims to identify tendencies, or even principles, governing the morphological adaptation that applied when Luwian verbs were borrowed into Hittite.

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## Baltic and Finnic Local Cases in Light of Early Language Contact

Vytautas Rinkevičius (Vilnius University)

Old Lithuanian possessed four local (spatial) cases forming a system based on the features INTERIOR/EXTERIOR and LOCATION/DIRECTION: the inessive (*laukè* ‘in the field’), illative (*laukañ* ‘into the field’), adessive (*laukiep* ‘at the field’), and allative (*laukóp* ‘towards the field’). Their common East Baltic origin is confirmed by relics in Latvian (cf. OLatv. *cietuman* ‘into prison’ or the adverb *kuŗp* ‘whither’). As for their disputed existence in the West Baltic languages, cf. the Old Prussian hapax *andangonsvñ* ‘in(to?) heaven’. A typologically similar system is found in the neighboring Finnic languages, which employ six local cases structured according to the features INTERIOR/EXTERIOR and LOCATION/SOURCE/DIRECTION: inessive (Fin. *talossa* ‘in the house’), elative (Fin. *talosta* ‘from the house’), illative (Fin. *taloon* ‘into the house’), adessive (Fin. *talolla* ‘at/on the house’), ablative (Fin. *talolta* ‘from the vicinity of the house’), and allative (Fin. *talolle* ‘onto/to the house’).

The structural similarity between the Baltic and Finnic systems has long prompted discussion of possible Uralic influence on the emergence of Baltic local cases. While such influence is frequently mentioned in the literature (cf. Rinkevičius 1984: 180; Thomason, Kaufman 2000: 242f.; Balode, Holvoet 2001: 44; Villanueva Svensson 2020: 6; Seržant 2025), the mechanism of contact-induced change is rarely examined in detail and, in some accounts, even doubted or explicitly rejected (e.g., Stang 1966: 228f.; Petit 2007: 360f.; Koptjevskaja-Tamm, Wälchli 2001: 671f.; Vykypěl 2010: 50ff.), usually on the grounds of incomplete structural correspondence and the availability of internally motivated Baltic explanations.

Baltic local cases are traditionally derived from postpositional constructions, e.g., ill. sg. *laukañ* ‘into the field’ < \**laukanà* < PBalt. acc. sg. \**laukan* ‘field’ + \**nā* ‘on(to)’. By contrast, Finnic local cases were until recently analyzed in Uralic scholarship as the result of morpheme fusion (e.g., Fin. iness. sg. *-ssa* < PFin. \**-sna* < Ural. “lative” \**-s* + locative \**-na*; Fin. adess. sg. *-lla* < PFin. \**-lna* < derivational suffix \**-la* + Ural. loc. \**-na*; cf., among others, Collinder 1960: 291ff.; Abondolo 1998: 187). However, the recent proposal that Finnic local cases likewise originate in postpositional constructions (Aikio, Ylikoski 2016; Ylikoski 2019) substantially alters the comparative picture, thereby enabling a reassessment of Baltic–Finnic structural parallels and shedding new light on the role of early language contact in the emergence of the Baltic local case system.

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## The Bactrian syntactic pattern “demonstrative + article + noun” A calque from Greek?

Niels Schoubben (Leiden University)

Bactrian is a Middle Iranian language once spoken in the region corresponding roughly to present-day Afghanistan. Since it is primarily written in Greek script, and its chancellery tradition continues Hellenistic practices, it is unsurprising that Bactrian borrowed a number of lexical items from Greek (Sims-Williams 2002: 228f.; Gholami 2018: 29f.). More controversial, however, is the question of structural influence.

It has been suggested that occasional instances of a syntactic pattern “demonstrative + article + noun” in Bactrian are calqued on Greek constructions of the type οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ‘this man’ (literally: ‘this the man’) or τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ‘this work’ (literally: ‘this the work’). This proposal was first advanced by Gershevitch (1966: 69 fn. 6; 76 fn. 22) with reference to the Great Surkh Kotal inscription (SK4), which opens with the sequence εἶδο μα λιζο ‘this citadel’ (literally: ‘this the citadel’). In a recent reappraisal of this passage, Sims-Williams (2025a: 169) likewise considers it “very likely” that the Bactrian construction is calqued on Greek, though he does not argue in detail for this conclusion (similarly Sims-Williams 2025b: 209, where he writes “probably calqued”).

Although combinations of demonstrative pronouns with articles are occasionally also found in Sogdian (Yoshida 2019: 271; 273), the Greek-Bactrian parallel is indeed noteworthy. However, several structural and functional mismatches between the two constructions have not yet been addressed: e.g., (i) in Greek, the addition of an article after an adnominal demonstrative is almost compulsory in prose (CGCG: §29.27), whereas in Bactrian the article is added only sporadically; (ii) the Greek construction occurs with all demonstratives, while the Bactrian one seems restricted to the proximal demonstrative εἰο ‘this’ < OIr. \**ayam*; and (iii) in Greek, the construction is pragmatically flexible, whereas in Bactrian it typically appears at the beginning of a text or paragraph.

These discrepancies suggest the need for a comprehensive reassessment of the hypothesis of Greek syntactic influence and of the sociolinguistic conditions under which such influence might have arisen. Would the calquing be the result of Greek-Bactrian bilingualism, or did it originate in the translation of established epigraphic and/or administrative formulae from Greek into Bactrian?

In my talk, I wish to present the results of a systematic investigation of all published attestations of the construction in Bactrian. Adopting a synchronic perspective, I first analyse the deictic and discourse-pragmatic functions of the combination of demonstrative and article, building on earlier work by Gholami (e.g. 2009; 2011) and Bonmann (2023: 147–159). To identify possible factors governing the presence or absence of the article, I also examine passages—primarily in Bactrian, but comparing them to similar sentences in neighbouring languages—in which the demonstrative occurs without an article. In a second step, I compare the Bactrian data with Greek examples of the “demonstrative + article + noun” construction from Hellenistic and Early Roman inscriptions and papyri, in order to assess the structural, functional, and contextual overlap between the two corpora. Proceeding in this way, I seek to determine whether the evidence supports a hypothesis of Greek syntactic influence, and if so in what form, or whether it points instead to an independent development within Bactrian.

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## Nuristani alignment systems in the geographic and historical context of the Eastern Hindu Kush

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Many modern Indo-Iranian languages, like Indo-Aryan Hindi-Urdu and Iranian Pashto, have introduced split-ergativity into the verbal system through the grammaticalization of a perfect passive periphrasis to a perfective past tense (cf. Dahl 2016; Dahl and Stroński 2016b; Jügel 2015). A region of particular interest in this regard is the Eastern Hindu Kush area, where the Nuristani, some Iranian and a subgroup of Indo-Aryan languages known as ‘Dardic’ are spoken. Scattered across various villages up in the mountains, these cultures have long escaped the reach of the surrounding Buddhist and Islamic states, forming the Peristani “counter-civilization” based on self-government, egalitarianism and flat social hierarchies (Cacopardo 2022). Due to their cultural isolation, those languages have retained a number of archaisms, such as in the case of the Nuristani languages the affricate articulation of the Proto-Indo-Iranian primary palatals (e.g. Kt. *duç* vs. OIA *dáśa*, Av. *dasa* < PIr. *\*dā́ca* ‘ten’), dating their emergence as an independent group to the earliest stages of the Indo-Iranian dialect continuum (Halfmann 2025), or the retention of some OIA features in the Dardic languages (Bashir 2003: 905f.). Nevertheless, many of the Eastern Hindu Kush languages show split-ergativity: it is found in three of the four core-Nuristani languages, namely Katë, Nuristani Kalasha and Ashkun (cf. Kreidl 2024), and e.g. the Dardic language Pashai, which is spoken further down the valleys, separating the Western Katë dialects and the Ashkun speaking area from each other. In these languages, verb forms derived from the stem encoding perfective aspect, which is derived from the Proto-Indo-Iranian perfect participle in *\*-tá-*, have ergative alignment and agree morphosyntactically with the patient of the transitive verb while the agent is marked with the oblique case. Forms from other stems encoding progressive or imperfective aspect have accusative alignment, including tense forms with past reference. In detail however, there is considerable variation, as is shown by Liljegren (2014) who provided a typological and functional analysis of the alignment systems of the Indo-Aryan languages from the Eastern Hindu Kush. In some languages, even pure nominative-accusative alignment is found, including the remaining major Nuristani language Prasun and e.g. the Dardic languages Khowar and Kalasha, which is seen as an archaism by Bashir (2003: 940) and Morgenstierne (1947: 82).

Despite the Nuristani languages’ early independence from a genetic perspective, a substantial period of close contact with their Indo-Aryan neighbors is evident from the large number of loanwords and typological similarities (Liljegren 2023). This warrants an investigation into whether some of their grammatical features can be explained by means of contact linguistics. Khowar and Kalasha e.g. agree with the Nuristani languages insofar as they have a grammaticalized expression of evidentiality (Bashir 2010). In my talk, I will conduct a survey of the Nuristani languages with a focus on their alignment systems, putting them into their geographic and historical context amidst their Indo-Aryan neighbors. Since much of the historical phonology and morphology of the Eastern Hindu Kush languages is still unclear, I hope to make a meaningful contribution to the historical grammar of the Nuristani languages.

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## The *i*-mutation in Carian: inheritance or language contact?

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Several Anatolian languages have a class of stems called *i*-mutated stems. The spread of these stems in the Anatolian languages is not fully clear: Kloekhorst 2022: 68, 71-72, 73 assumes two phases of shared innovations (first that of Proto-Luwic-Palaic-Lyidian, then that of Proto-Luwic). However, based on the mismatch of the relevant Luwian and Lydian stems as well as on the relative chronology of Lydian sound changes and the introduction of *i*-mutation, Yakubovich 2022: 207-209, 217 pointed out that the *i*-mutation is secondary in Lydian and probably resulted from areal contact.

This talk examines Carian, another Anatolian language with *i*-mutation, from this point of view. I argue that the Carian situation is similar to that of Lydian: First, despite the limited evidence, there is clearly only a partial overlap between the Luwian and Carian *i*-mutating stems, since the Carian cognate of some Luwian *i*-mutating stems do not show *i*-mutation (or its effect, the palatalization, see below), such as κόον / κοῖον ‘sheep’ vs. HLUwian *haw(i)-*, *otr* ‘self’ (without palatalization) vs. HLUwian /*atr(i)-*/, and *\*kbo-*, if it really means ‘river’, vs. HLUwian /*hab(i)-*/. Second, at least in one case, the ‘ethnic’ suffix *-y/yn-* (< Proto-Luwic *\*-wannV-* < *\*-wénV-*, cf., e.g., CLuwian *-wann(i)-*), a Carian sound change (the monophthongization of *\*wa > u*) preceded the transfer of this suffix to the *i*-mutating stems, which, in turn, led to the palatalization of *\*u* (Proto-Luwic *\*-wann(i)-* [the usual reconstruction] would have led to *†wen*). Obviously, this scenario works only if the Carian change *\*u > y* was triggered by the palatal vowel of the next syllable (as it is traditionally assumed [e.g., Adiego 2007: 257]), instead of a general *\*u > y* change in Carian (except secondary *u*-s, proposed in Melchert 2021). However, the general change is contradicted, e.g., by *us(o)* ‘year’ < Proto-Luwic *\*ussó-* ‘year’ (cf., e.g., CLuwian *ušš(i)-* ‘year’) and by *-y/yn-* since a secondary *u* should not have been palatalised. Melchert was led to this idea by the alleged lack of any palatalising factor in the case of *ybt* ‘dedicate, donate (3<sup>rd</sup> sg. pret.)’ < *\*uboto*, but its palatalization could have been caused by the preterite plural endings all containing a palatal vowel (he retracted his other example, *tyn*, in Melchert 2025: 182).

For these reasons, the Carian *i*-mutation cannot be inherited; instead, it is to be explained by the influence of a language with *i*-mutation. While the Carian change could be attributed to its neighbour, Lycian, and the Lydian change to an unknown Luwic neighbour, we do have a historic situation that can simply explain this change in *both* languages in a sociolinguistic way: this is the period when the Hittites conquered Western Anatolia, where the forerunners of both Carian and Lydian were spoken. By that time, the Hittite elite was bilingual, Luwian – Hittite (Yakubovich 2010: 303-416), and thus, this Luwian speaking conquering elite in Western Anatolia could have been source of this change in the local vernaculars.

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## Morphosyntactic changes to the nominal and adjectival system of Proto-Albanian

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Two of the more exotic aspects of Albanian morphosyntax are the postposed/suffixed definite article and the so-called linking article, which is an element that connects adjectives and genitives to the noun and is declined for case, number, gender and definiteness. See Sentences (1) and (2) for examples of the definite article and of the linking article with an adjective and a genitive.

- |     |                                                             |                          |                                     |
|-----|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (1) | <i>qen-i</i><br>dog-NOM.SG.DEF.M<br>'the good dog'          | <i>i</i><br>NOM.SG.DEF.M | <i>mirě</i><br>good                 |
| (2) | <i>qen-tě</i><br>dog-NOM.PL.DEF.M<br>'the dogs of the girl' | <i>e</i><br>NOM.PL.DEF.M | <i>vajžě-s</i><br>girl-GEN.SG.DEF.F |

Much research has already been published about the postposed definite article in Albanian, especially in comparison to what is found in other Balkan languages (e.g. Bokshi 1984; Sh. Demiraj 1993: 120-141; Orel 2000: 246; Likaj 2006: 58-94). Although we are clearly dealing with morphosyntactic changes driven or pushed by language contact and the last word has definitely not been written about the origin and chronology of these changes, this presentation will focus on the inner-Albanian developments that can be observed and reconstructed. By diachronically examining the forms, positions and uses of the article, a new scenario is proposed for the morphosyntactic changes to the nominal and adjectival system of Proto-Albanian. It is argued that not only the Albanian definite paradigm arose by attaching the linking article of the adjective to the noun, but also part of the indefinite paradigm.

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## Isolation or language contact? Deverbal verb derivation in Baltic

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Interactions between the Finnic and Baltic languages constitute a recurrent area of research for students of language contact (see e.g. Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001, Junttila 2015). Prehistoric contacts present us with a curiously imbalanced picture. The Finnic languages present an impressive number of lexical borrowings from Baltic, including core vocabulary, but grammatical influence is at most limited to a few syntactic phenomena. The Baltic languages have almost no Finnic loanwords, but appear to have suffered a deeper impact of Finnic in their grammatical structure (handbook examples include the secondary local cases or the loss of number distinctions in the 3rd person).

In this paper I will focus on a topic that has received some attention in typologically oriented literature (e.g., Nau & Pakerys 2016), but not in Indo-European studies: a possible impact of Finnic on the development of Baltic deverbal verb derivation. The issue can be formulated as follows. Baltic inherited from Balto-Slavic a complex system of deverbal derivation encompassing productive classes of causatives, iteratives, anticausative-inchoatives and, perhaps, statives. In an Indo-European perspective the system is largely unremarkable. What is remarkable (and, therefore, in need of a historical explanation) is what happened after the breakup of Balto-Slavic. Slavic, like Germanic and Romance, tended to eliminate deverbal verb derivation altogether (except for derivation with prefixes, of course). If inherited formations remained productive, it was only as part of a new system of grammatical aspect. By contrast, in Baltic deverbal verb derivation was not just preserved, but actually reinforced. All Balto-Slavic types remained productive, but, in addition, new types were added ('diminutives', 'intensives', etc.). Secondary contamination between suffixes was widespread, and most suffixes have expressive variants. Perhaps most surprising, the major Balto-Slavic suffixes (e.g., *ē*-verbs or *ī*-verbs) split into several formations. Thus, corresponding to the unitary class of Slavic *ē*-verbs we do not only have a richer system of primary verbs (Lith. *budėti*, *būdi* 'be awake', *tekėti*, *tėja* 'run, flow', *gėlbėti*, *-mi* 'save'), but also derived classes like duratives (*stėipėti*, *-ėja* 'lie dying' ← *stipti* 'die'), intensives, (*svėrdėti*, *-i* 'stagger' ← *svirti* 'bend down'), or diminutives (*pa-ėjėti*, *-ėjį/-ėjėja* 'go a little' ← *eiti* 'go'), in addition to extended suffixes like *-alėti*, *-elėti*, *-erėti*; *-tel(ė)ti*, *-ter(ė)ti*, *-inėti*, *-sėti*.

This rich derivational system is clearly in decline in Lithuanian and Latvian. Thus, the impression one gets is that the system of deverbal verb derivation experienced a period of expansion in Proto-Baltic, at the time in which Baltic was in close contact with Finnic. It is therefore tempting to attribute this development to Finnic influence. On the other hand, there is no principled reason why Baltic, unlike Slavic or Germanic, may not have complicated the system of deverbal verb derivation without foreign influence. The purpose of this paper is to examine whether concrete arguments can be produced in one or another direction.

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## Tocharian gerunds in their Central Asian context

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This paper discusses the structural and functional features of absolutes or gerunds in Tocharian, considering their use in texts as well as their geographical setting and cultural background, which often involves translation from Sanskrit and contact with other languages of Asia. In Indo-European linguistics, gerunds have received limited attention compared to other morphosyntactic categories, and only recently they have been studied in light of typological findings, where gerundial constructions are usually included in the category of converbs (cf. Cotticelli-Kurras, Dahl & Živojinović 2025). Our study will present the main syntactic, semantic and pragmatic functions of gerunds in Tocharian A and B as they can be identified in a corpus of Tocharian texts belonging to different genres and subjects (cf. CEToM). On the one hand, we will analyse Tocharian gerunds according to the criteria commonly used for this category in general linguistics: their syntactic position in the sentence, their co-reference with constituents other than the subject of the main clause, their temporal functions of simultaneity or anteriority, the other adverbial meanings they can convey (manner, cause, condition, etc.), as well as the association of these different functions with different pragmatic contexts (cf. Haspelmath & König 1995). On the other hand, we will highlight the functional competition between Tocharian gerunds and other related non-finite forms in this language, such as verbal adjectives and participles—in particular, the uninflected *m*-participle, which can function as a gerund (cf. Pinault 2008: 617; Peyrot 2018: 333). We will see that Tocharian gerunds share functional similarities with Sanskrit gerunds and with converbs in other Central Asian languages, such as Turkic languages, Mongolic languages, and Uralic languages.

In the literature, it is recognized that the use of converbs in these languages differs markedly from gerundial constructions used in English and in many other languages of Europe (e.g., in most Asian languages, converbs primarily denote events that precede the main clause situation, whereas in most European languages converbs primarily express simultaneity, cf. Nedjalkov 1995). We will therefore use the results of linguistic typology and areal linguistics to situate Tocharian in this context. Furthermore, we will relate these differences in usage to some historical and cultural factors underlying different narrative practices developed in European literary traditions, heavily influenced by Greco-Roman stylistic models, and by oral traditions linked to the spread of Buddhism along the Silk Roads. Our analysis will not only allow us to delve deeper into a relatively neglected category of Tocharian morphosyntax, but also to shed light on the areal relationships of Tocharian with other Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages of Asia and, more generally, to assess the geographical and cultural factors involved in historical language contact.

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## The Four Encounters between the Hittites and the Hurrians

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It is commonly acknowledged that the contacts with the Hurrians impacted both the Hittite language and the culture of the kingdom of Hattusa, aka the Hittite kingdom. The minimalist view would match them with the two encounters that are reflected in Hittite historical sources. In the early 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE, the Hittite king Hattusili III married the Hurrian woman Puduhepa. A testimony to her programmatic efforts to reform the state cult of Hattusa is the YAZILIKAYA monument, where the divine images are accompanied with Hurrian legends recorded in Anatolian hieroglyphic script. Some 150 years earlier, the annexation of Kizzuwadna by Hattusa brought the Hurrian queen Nikkalmati and her retinue to the Hittite capital. Late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 14<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE witnessed the translation of Hurrian texts into Hittite, the composition of new Hurrian rituals in Hattusa, Hittite-Hurrian code-switching in cuneiform texts, and numerous technical borrowings from Hurrian into Hittite.

A more controversial issue is the Hurrian impact on the rise of Hittite literacy. Although this option is flatly rejected in Giusfredi et al. 2023: 164–167, it is known since the publication of Draffkorn 1959 that Hurrians constituted a significant part of the population of Alalakh, from there the first cuneiform scribes were supposedly imported to Hattusa. I intend to argue in my talk that the Alalakh scribes read Akkadian with a Hurrian accent, which in turn influenced certain values assigned to syllabic signs in Hittite cuneiform. I will also argue that the importation of Hurrian scribes to Hattusa provides a suitable sociolinguistic context for the borrowing of some key Hittite religious terms from Hurrian or from Akkadian via Hurrian.

Yet, neither the Hurrian queens nor the Hurrian scribes at the court of Hattusa could explain the phenomena that plead for structural interference between Hittite and Hurrian, some of which have already been addressed in Watkins 2001. For example, the Hurrian clitic personal pronouns are restricted to the absolutive case, which is logical given the ergative pattern of Hurrian morphosyntax. It is more difficult to explain through language-internal factors why Hittite and the other Anatolian languages feature accusative 3sg clitic pronouns in transitive clauses and nominative 3sg clitic pronouns in intransitive clauses but no nominative 3sg clitic pronouns in transitive clauses. If one attributes this and other structural innovations of Hittite to Hurrian influence, this supports the eastern trajectory of Anatolian migrations to Asia Minor.

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