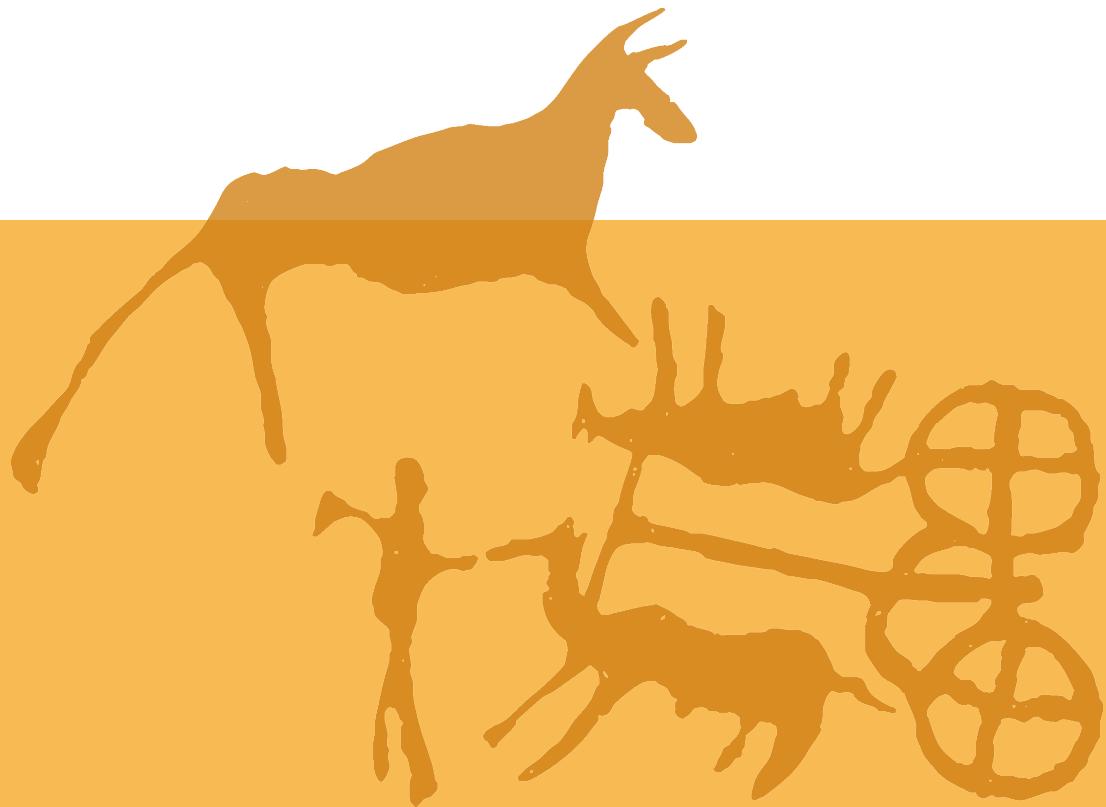


David M. Goldstein, Stephanie W. Jamison, Anthony D. Yates (eds.)

Proceedings of the 34th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference

October 27th and 28th, 2023



BUSKE

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Los Angeles
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Edited by

David M. Goldstein
Stephanie W. Jamison
Anthony D. Yates

with the assistance of

Angelo Mercado



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Wheeled vehicles depicted on Bronze Age vessels and petroglyphs,
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Preface

These Proceedings include papers presented at the Thirty-Fourth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference, held on October 27–28, 2023 in Los Angeles.

Special gratitude is owed, first and foremost, to the graduate students comprising the Indo-European Conference Student Organizing Committee, whose dedicated participation and skilled tech-savvy support helped ensure the success of the conference: most especially the conference coordinators Paolo Sabattini, Laura McLean, and Elisa Migliaretti, as well as Joel Erickson, Nick Guymon, Aidan Holmgren, M. I. Rehan, Alex Roy, Arjun Srirangarajan, and Chengzhi Zhang. We are also grateful for significant administrative help from members of the Dodd Humanities Group: Carolyn Attanucci, Paul Gass, and Lena Hoang—and above all, for crucial help and support, Neli Petrosyan and Audrey Yi. We also gratefully acknowledge the financial support furnished by the A. Richard Diebold, Jr. Endowment in Indo-European Studies.

Naturally, we are especially indebted to the scholars whose papers appear below, not only for their stimulating conference presentations, but also for their co-operation and patience throughout the editing process. We owe special thanks, among those scholars, to our featured speakers Blanca María Prósper and Andreas Willi. (As usual, not all papers presented at the conference appear here, for a variety of reasons, including publication or planned publication elsewhere.)

We are also happy to repeat our annual praise of Angelo Mercado for his consummate skill and professionalism in the preparation of the camera-ready copy. This is, finally, our fourth outing with Helmut Buske Verlag: as with the preceding volume in this series, we are deeply grateful to Managing Director Michael Hechinger for his support and guidance throughout the production process, as well as Tim Oliver Pohl and Henrike Judwitt for their counsel on technical matters.

David M. Goldstein, Stephanie W. Jamison, and Anthony D. Yates
September 2024

Wackernagel’s Law in Vedic and Old Irish

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University of Oxford

This paper presents a comparative syntactic analysis of the left periphery and second-position clitics in Vedic Sanskrit and Old Irish, with a view to reconstructing elements of the syntax of their common ancestor, Proto-Indo-European. While phylogenetically distant, Vedic and Old Irish exhibit a set of inherited functional items, including a relativizer derived from a form of **yó-*; a set of preverbs; a set of clitic (object) pronouns; and, we argue, a null complementizer. The syntactic parallels between the two languages were explored in depth by Watkins (1963:29–30), and have since received sporadic attention by authors such as Hettrich (1988: 758–62) and Lowe (2014:24–6). The aforementioned inherited functional elements are in turn the locus of a syntactic parallel that was observed much earlier, and has since received more substantial scholarly interest: the phenomenon of Wackernagel’s Law. Focusing on these inherited lexical items, we offer a fresh syntacto-prosodic account of Wackernagel’s law in these two languages to shine a new light on this long-recognized feature of Indo-European word order.

1 Introduction

“Wackernagel’s Law” is neither a law nor, in origin, Wackernagel’s. It was in fact Delbrück who first remarked of Sanskrit that “enklitische Wörter rücken möglichst an den Anfang des Satzes” (1878:48).¹ The implication behind Delbrück’s words is that, since enclitics must have a prosodic host to their left, the result of their moving “as far as possible” towards the front of the clause results in their occurrence in second position. Wackernagel (1892) observed that the occurrence of enclitic pronouns in second position was widespread across the ancient Indo-European (IE) languages; though the title of his 1892 article includes the word “Gesetz,” the author never specifies exactly what the “law” is, but the consensus is something like the following (Walkden 2020:5):

1 “Enclitic words move as far as possible towards the beginning of the sentence.”

The Identity of *pīlu* in *Atharvaveda Paippalāda* 7.19: Vedic Arboreal Terminology and Etymology*

JOHN CLAYTON

University of California, Los Angeles

In the newly edited portions of the *Atharvaveda Paippalāda*, many mysterious plants appear and await secure identification. Hymn 7.19 possesses a striking description of a fatty, demon-smiting, salubrious world tree under the obscure name *pīlu*- . Using comparative Vedic and Indo-European mythological and etymological evidence, this paper identifies *pīlu*- as a heavenly fig tree, specifically the sacred fig *aśvattha*- (*Ficus religiosa*). In service of this claim, the words *pīlu*- ‘fatty tree; *Ficus religiosa*’, *medin*- ‘adherent, ally’, *kūla*- ‘stem, family, race’, and *pippala*- ‘sacred fig’ are provided novel etymologies.

1 Introduction

What's brown and sticky? A stick.

— Anonymous

At the risk of excising whatever humor remains in this classic (anti-)joke,¹ a careful autopsy reveals that its comic turn or *paraprosdokian* arises from the plastic semantics of *stickiness*: in English, the word *stick* and its relatives colexify meanings of penetration (*stick a fork in it*), viscosity (*a sticky substance*), abstract adhesion (*let's stick together*), and concrete branch-ness (*I found a good stick*). Etymologically, *stick*, *sticky*, and *stitch* all descend from a root **√(s)teyg-* ‘to be pointed, sharp; to stick’ (cf. Gr. *στίγω* ‘to tattoo’ < **stig-yé/ó-*, Ved. *téjate* ‘to be sharp’ < **téyg-e/o-*, Ved. *tigmá-* ‘sharp’ < **tig-mó-*), showing that *stick(y)* has innovated

* I would like to thank Stephanie Jamison, Alex Roy, Tony Yates, Thomas Motter, and all the participants of the UCLA Indo-European conference for their helpful suggestions and critiques on this paper. Any errors are my own.

1 Lest one doubt the ubiquity and stodginess of the stick joke, note that it was the most frequent submission (300+ times) to the LaughLab survey to find the “world’s funniest joke” (British Association for the Advancement of Science 2002:57). Despite its frequency, only 2% of respondents rated it 4+ on a humor scale of 5.

Non-postnominal Relativization in Old Avestan

SETAYESH DASHTI

University of Oxford

Descriptively, two main types of Old Avestan (OAv.) relative clause (RC) may be distinguished: those that follow an explicit head noun, and those where there is no external head noun. Grammars of OAv. usually treat the latter type as (fully or partly) a stylistic variant of the former. In contrast, this paper seeks to demonstrate that this descriptive distinction is functionally significant, and that the latter type patterns with what are cross-linguistically known as free relatives and correlatives. Free relatives and correlatives have been shown to be semantically maximalizing; this typological association therefore has the potential to aid in interpreting OAv. RCs.

OAv. has one of the most complicated of ancient Indo-European corpora to comprehend. In particular, the poetic nature of the texts raises many problems in understanding the syntax and semantics of the language. In this paper I consider the typology of relativization in OAv., focusing on non-postnominal RCs, that is on RCs where there is no head noun external to the RC (pattern (1a)), contrasting with English-type, postnominal RCs (pattern (1b)).

(1) a. **Non-postnominal:** [Rel ... (N) ...]_{RC}
b. **Postnominal:** NP [Rel ...]_{RC}

An OAv. postnominal, externally-headed, RCs is exemplified in (2).¹

(2) Y.37.1

iθā a yazamaide ahurəm mazdqm
ADV PTCL worship.1PL Ahura.ACC wise.ACC
[*yā gqm>cā ašəm>cā dāt* ...]
REL.NOM cow.ACC=CONJ truth.ACC=CONJ create.AOR.3SG

1 Glosses are given minimally, except for relative pronouns, potential head nouns and potential resumptive pronouns. In these cases, the lack of gender or number marking signifies masculine and singular. Plurality of nouns is always reflected in the plurality of the translated gloss.

Aufugiō, Aspellō, and Āmittō: Why Run Away from Latin *Ab*-*

JESSICA DELISI

Milken Community School, Los Angeles

The Latin preverb *ab*- ‘away from’ and its associated preposition are part of a larger constellation of preverbs with multiple allomorphs. This paper is concerned with tracing the sources of the various allomorphs of *ab*- from Proto-Indo-European into Classical Latin, teasing apart the distributions of these allomorphs in Classical Latin, and explaining the conditioning environments for these allomorphs using phonological constraints on well-formed syllables. Of particular importance will be the Obligatory Contour Principle, which penalizes identical elements in a string, and the Syllable Contact Law, a preference for falling sonority across syllable boundaries.

1 Introduction: allomorphs of Latin *ab*- ‘away from’

In Classical Latin, the preverb *ab*- ‘away from’ is also associated with the preposition *ab* with identical meaning. Both the preverb and preposition are generally derived from Proto-Indo-European **h₂epo* and connected with Gk. ἀπό, Skt. *ápa*, and Goth. *af* (see Beekes 2010:117; de Vaan 2008:19–20; Mayrhofer 1992:82). Given the initial laryngeal in the PIE form, a connection to Hitt. *āppa* is probably to be rejected (see Melchert 2012; Dunkel 2014:336).

Deriving Latin *ab* from PIE **h₂epo* is attractive on semantic grounds, although there are some phonological difficulties reaching the attested Latin form. The final **o* must be lost through an irregular apocope, and the **p* must be voiced to *b* through a process of final or proclitic voicing (Weiss 2020:158 fn. 75, 159, 166–7 n.35).¹ Similar phonological processes are also required in connecting Latin *ob*

* This paper has been improved by the valuable feedback of the participants of the 34th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference, especially Danny Bate, Joe Eska, Ben Fortson, David Goldstein, Ron Kim, Jared Klein, Craig Melchert, and Tony Yates. My analysis of the verbs *auferō* and *aufugiō* owes a great debt to discussions with Brent Vine. Any errors or omissions that remain are my own.

1 As Weiss (2020:166–7 n.35) rightly points out, final voicing is typologically more problematic than final devoicing. The latter is a well-established phonological process, while the former is

Old Irish Nasalizing Relative Clauses^{*}

JASMIM DRIGO

YEXIN QU

Cornell University

No hypothesis proposed so far has been able to account for the historical development of the syntax of Nasalizing Relative Clauses (NRCs) in Old Irish. We describe the chronology of the main usages of NRCs and present a unified analysis of their development: their original locus is as direct objects; NRCs with a *figura etymologica* construction are derived from the object NRCs and became content NRCs; and finally, some content NRCs whose antecedents have temporal, manner, and causal meaning became the most frequent type of NRCs. We argue that Old Irish nasalizing relative clauses originate from a structure involving a relativizer for the arguments in the accusative case, ending in a nasal.

1 Introduction

Scholars have long noticed that Old Irish has two types of relative clauses: leniting relative clauses (LRC) and nasalizing relative clauses (NRC) (*GOI* §§492–511). Leniting relative clauses have been more widely analyzed (Watkins 1963; McCone 1980; Holland 1996; Schrijver 1977:121–9; Jasanoff 1999). They are commonly associated with arguments, being mandatory when the head noun is identical to the subject of the relative clause (*GOI* §494):

(1) Sg. 25b13

sillab nad·sluindi
syllable:NOM NEG-LEN;express:PRES;3SG
a syllable that does not express.

Most scholars agree that the leniting initial mutation of LRCs derives from Proto-Celtic **yo*, a descendant of some form of the PIE relative pronoun **h₂yo-* (Schrijver 1977:121; Jasanoff 1999:207). Meanwhile, there is no consensus about the syntactic and morphological structure of NRCs.

* We are truly grateful for the comments and corrections of Michael Weiss, Lionel Joseph, and Mark Hale. All remaining errors are of course our own.

On Tocharian B *śrāy* pl. ‘men’*

GIULIO IMBERCIADORI

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For the Tocharian B lexeme *śrāy* pl. ‘men’ only plural forms are known thus far. In the present paper I argue that a singular form—namely, the oblique B *śrān* ‘man’—is also attested, in B128a3. I then discuss the inner-Tocharian prehistory of B *śrāy* ‘men’, tracing it back to an *n*-stem Pre-PToch. **gérh₂-ōn-* << **gérh₂-o-n-* ‘the old one’ and showing that all forms attested in Tocharian B can be derived from this pre-form in a regular way. Finally, I address the Indo-European etymology of Pre-PToch. **gérh₂-o-n-* ‘the old one’, which is an individualizing derivative in **-n-* to the **h₁reudh₂-ó-* type adjective PIE **gérh₂-ó-* ‘old’ > Arm. *cer* ‘old (person)’.

1 Introduction

The aim of the present contribution is to shed light on the synchronic and diachronic background of the Tocharian B (TB) lexeme *śrāy* pl. ‘men’. The paper is structured as follows: (i) in section 2 I provide an overview of the attested forms of B *śrāy* and claim that an oblique singular B *śrān* occurs in B128a3; (ii) in sections 3–5 I discuss the etymology of B *śrāy* from both inner-Tocharian and Indo-European perspectives and contend that the traditionally reconstructed pre-form Pre-PToch. **gérh₂-ōn-* regularly explains all forms attested in TB; (iii) in section 4 I summarize the main achievements of the paper.

* My warmest thanks go to Guido Borghi, Olav Hackstein, Athanaric Huard, Stephanie Jamison, Ilya Itkin, Ronald Kim, Sergio Neri, Alexander Nikolaev, Alessandro Parenti, Rosa Ronzitti, Ryan Sandell, and Anthony Yates for their valuable comments on earlier drafts of this paper, as well as to Rémy Viredaz for the enriching discussion of the Armenian material. I would also like to thank the organizers and all participants of the 34th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference. Needless to say, the responsibility for all remaining errors is mine alone.

East Iranian Nominal Inflection Revisited*

RONALD I. KIM

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This paper revisits the dialect geography of some of the earliest identifiable innovations in East Iranian, focusing not only on Sogdian and Khotanese but also on the mostly unattested ancestor of Ossetic. It is shown that pre-Ossetic shares phonological and morphological isoglosses with both Eastern Middle Iranian languages, as well as several with Sogdian alone; by contrast, only one possible isogloss, the treatment of word-final $^{*}\bar{a}h$, may be shared with Khotanese to the exclusion of Sogdian. Ossetic also preserves archaisms such as across-the-board retention of suffixal intervocalic $^{*}-k-$ as $-g$ and retention of pronominal $-m- < ^{*}-hm-$. The picture that emerges is consistent with that suggested by recent studies, of a dialect continuum spanning the Eurasian steppes in which the varieties ancestral to Ossetic occupied a peripheral position and underwent distinctive developments already at an early date, but continued to participate in changes with their eastern neighbors into the Common Era.

1 Introduction

The following remarks are inspired by Paul Tedesco (b. 1898 Vienna, d. 1980 New Haven), whose pioneering studies of the then newly discovered Eastern Iranian languages in documents from Dunhuang and other sites in northwestern China revolutionized Iranian linguistics.¹ In his “Ostiranische Nominalflexion” (1926), Tedesco described the nominal inflection of Sogdian and compared it with that of Khotanese Saka, which had recently been elucidated by Ernst Leumann (1912). Chief among his accomplishments was the identification of the contrast between “light” and “heavy” stems in noun and verb inflection, which he explained by

* I am grateful to the organizers and participants at the 34th UCLA Indo-European Conference for all their assistance and stimulating discussion, especially Stephanie Jamison, Tony Yates, John Clayton, Elisa Migliaretti, Diego Loukota, and Giulio Imberciadori. The research for this article has been supported by grant no. 2019/35/B/HS2/01273: “Ossetic historical grammar and the dialectology of early Iranian” from the Polish National Science Centre (NCN).

1 Where two Ossetic forms are separated by a slash, the first is in the Digor dialect, the second in Iron.

Form and Structure in the Greco-Aryan Octosyllable*

ANGELO O. MERCADO

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In 1923, on the evidence of Indic and Greek, Meillet reconstructed a quantitative system of versification for Proto-Indo-European. West (1973, 2007), taking stock of the whole family, builds the Proto-Indo-European system from a basic octosyllable. Synchronously, the descendant Vedic octosyllable (see Arnold 1905:9–10) consists of two halves with iambic, occasionally trochaic, but generally free rhythm. The Greek cognate was the eight-syllable glyconic /οο-υυ-υυ-/. In light of contemporary theory, both the traditional synchronic and diachronic accounts are unsatisfying. Arnold, Meillet, West, and successors operate with surface strings of light and heavy syllables, flattening potentially meaningful alternations and reconstructing proto-forms essentially identical to Sanskrit. Given hierarchical structure in phonology, morphosyntax, and musical rhythm (see Lerdahl and Jackendoff 1996), it would be surprising if meters could not be represented synchronically as trees. In this paper I propose synchronically binary-branching tree structures for the Vedic octosyllable and Greek glyconic. Verse-final octosyllables from the Rigveda and Greek glyconics from the fragmentary lyric corpus suggest substructures and more precise underlying representations. If the proposed synchronic schemes are correct, the historical comparison of Vedic and Greek becomes more complicated and much more interesting, pointing to an ancestral form closer to Greek than Vedic.

* I thank the audience at “WeCIEC” 34, as well as those at the Grinnell College Data Seminar Series, Cornell University Department of Classics, and the 155th Annual Meeting of the Society for Classical Studies, for their engagement with aspects of this paper. My thanks to Dieter Gunkel and Jesse Lundquist for their helpful feedback. Without Adam Albright, no proposal of mine would be anchored by statistical methods. Finally, I am indebted to David Goldstein and Stephanie Jamison for ensuring the printability of this paper. For any portions that perhaps should not have been printed as is, the blame is mine.

The Rhythmic Basis of Porson’s Bridge: An Explanation of Monosyllabic Words and Clitics*

ELISA MIGLIARETTI

University of California, Los Angeles

Porson’s Bridge is an Ancient Greek metrical rule that forbids word-end after the third heavy anceps in iambic trimeters. It is generally maintained that the rule is observed in iambic poetry and tragedy, but does not apply to the iambic trimeter of comedy. It is also believed that around Porson’s Bridge clitics can incorporate in the opposite direction (proclitics leftward, enclitics rightward) in order not to violate the rule. In this paper, following Devine and Stephens’ theory on Ancient Greek Speech Rhythm, I analyze Porson’s Bridge as a constraint which prevents a clash of rhythmic rules, the Subordination Rule and the Principle of Final Sylable Prominence. I argue that its environment of application is not determined by a binary parameter, but it is a gradient influenced by genre, comedy included. Moreover, I show that this rhythmic analysis offers a principled explanation for apparent violations of Porson’s Bridge by lexical monosyllabic words and clitics. I treat lexical monosyllabic words like monosyllabic feet that are reanalyzed as a part of larger rhythmic units in fast and connected speech. For clitics, I propose a new rule, Subordination by Default, which provides a rhythmic explanation that does not involve a change in the direction of incorporation of clitics.

1 Introduction

In the metrical theory of Classical languages, a bridge is a place in the verse where end of word is forbidden. Therefore, the syllables before and after that place must be part of the same word, or, metaphorically, connected by a bridge. Different bridge rules apply to different meters or to different positions of the verse within

* I would like to thank the audience of the PIES Graduate Seminar for their support with earlier versions of this paper, especially David Goldstein and Tony Yates for their guidance. I would also like to thank Olga Levanouk for her spot-on criticism at the Thirty-Fourth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference. I am beyond grateful to John Clayton for his help with proof-reading.

Old Slavic Dialectology: Salient Features of Old Novgorodian, and Evidence for a North Slavic Subgrouping*

ARTIN NASIRPOUR

University of Georgia

This paper presents evidence that Old Novgorodian (ONov.), a Slavic language found on birchbark documents in northwestern Russia, is a sister to the Slavic subgroup and not, as is traditionally maintained, a member of East Slavic (ESl.). By close examination of unique morphological and phonological features within the earliest birchbark documents (11th–12th c. CE), I propose a reorganization of the internal subgrouping of Slavic, with ONov. or “North Slavic” (NSl.) representing the first branch of Slavic to break away from Common Slavic. Consequently, all other Slavic languages share a more recent common ancestor with one another than they do with Novgorodian. Phonologically, ONov. lacks several features characteristic not only of ESl., but of all other attested Slavic languages, suggesting an early divergence from the rest of the subgroup. Crucially, the lack of the second Slavic palatalization and the inconsistency of other Slavic palatalization events set ONov. apart from neighboring dialects (or languages). These findings challenge the traditional categorization of Old Novgorodian as an East Slavic dialect and its description as “North Russian.”

1 Introduction

Our written record of the Slavic languages begins in the 10th century CE with a South Slavic text known as the Kiev Missal. The presence of West Slavicisms in the text indicates that there already existed dialectal distinctions between the Old Slavic dialects. Between the 7th and 10th centuries CE, Common Slavic gave way

* All photographs of and references to the birchbark documents are taken from gramota.ru. Abbreviations for palatalization events and reconstruction conventions of Proto- and Common Slavic are adopted largely from Collins 2018. Earlier drafts of this paper were reviewed by Jared Klein and David Wilson, both of whom provided invaluable input. Fault for any remaining errors is my own.

The Inscriptions of Todi (Umbria) and Vergiate (Transpadana): A Study in Cisalpine Celtic Epigraphic Habits, Noun Morphology, and the Linguistic Classification of Lepontic

BLANCA MARÍA PRÓSPER

Universidad de Salamanca

This work aims to clarify a number of hitherto insufficiently explained issues related to two Cisalpine Celtic funerary inscriptions on stone, respectively written in Lepontic (Vergiate, Transpadana) and Cisalpine Gaulish (Todi, Umbria). They have one interesting trait in common: the funerary rituals are seemingly divided into two different parts, possibly alluding to two different stages of the obsequies. The etymologies of the four direct objects mentioned will prove instrumental to the understanding of funerary practice in Celtic Italy. Some phonetic and morphological aspects of the studied forms will also illuminate some aspects of the dialectal relatedness of Lepontic and Gaulish.

1 Introduction: the Cisalpine Gaulish inscription of Todi

The funerary inscription of Todi (the ancient Tuder, Perugia, Umbria), first edited in *CIL XI* 4687, is carved on a parallelepiped of Travertine marble and dates back to the 2nd–1st c. BCE. It is opistograph, that is to say, covered by text on both sides. We are apparently dealing with two closely similar bilinguals. In both of them, the Latin text is written in the Latin alphabet and precedes the Celtic text, which is written in the “Lugano script.”

The reasons for the presence of Gauls in Umbrian territory and at such a late date is unknown, but, as Lejeune pointed out as early as 1971 (389–90), they were newcomers to the area, and did not belong to long-established families eager to show off their Celtic ancestry. The fact that the Latin version precedes the Gaulish one is indicative of Latin being the language of prestige and power (see Adams 2003:188), though, given the probably shallow presence of Celtic in this region, it is not possible to ascertain whether the commissioner of the slab had become conscious of this in Umbria or in his original northern homeland. As noted by

Morphological Supply in Response to Systemic Demand: The Greek Past Iteratives from Birth to Death

ANDREAS WILLI

University of Oxford

The Homeric past iteratives in -σκε/o- have been the object of much discussion, notably with regard to their Indo-European background and the question of whether their creation is due to language contact with Anatolian, where the Hittite formations in -ške- seem to play a somewhat similar semantic role. In this article, the focus is shifted towards an exploration of the functional placement of the type within the verbal system of early Greek and its relationship with other tense-aspect categories. After a brief overview of the principal semantic values attached to the past iteratives, it is argued that they may best be conceptualized as originating from imperfectivized perfectives. As such they counterbalanced the emergence of perfectivized imperfectives, realized as augmented imperfects, in a four-slot system that resembles the one found in the synthetic past tenses of Modern Bulgarian. Following the repurposing of the augment as a universal past-tense marker and the extension of the -σκε/o- suffix also to imperfective bases, this four-slot system lost its previous equilibrium and this led to the replacement of the morphological expression of past iterativity by the syntactic alternative construction of classical Greek.

1 Introduction

Among the countless fascinating features of Homeric Greek, several peculiarities of its verbal system feature prominently. Many phenomena in this domain belong to the wide array of *archaisms* that distinguish Homer's language from that of later periods. In other cases we are dealing with *artificial creations* that respond to the needs of versification. And finally, in its verbal grammar as much as elsewhere, Homeric Greek also contains a *recent*, often specifically Ionic, dialect component, which sets it apart from what is attested in other parts of the Greek world.

However, on closer inspection the classification of many phenomena in Homer's language as "archaic," "artificial," or "recent" proves surprisingly difficult. To give just one example, careful research has shown that while certain types of tmesis are indeed matched by linguistic data in other Indo-European languages,