

The Method Works

Studies on Language Change in Honor of Don Ringe

Edited by Joseph F. Eska · Olav Hackstein · Ronald I. Kim · Jean-François Mondon

> pəlgrəve _{macmillan}

The Method Works



Joseph F. Eska • Olav Hackstein Ronald I. Kim • Jean-François Mondon Editors

The Method Works

Studies on Language Change in Honor of Don Ringe

> pəlgrəve macmillan

Editors Joseph F. Eska Department of English Virginia Tech Blacksburg, VA, USA

Ronald I. Kim Faculty of English Adam Mickiewicz University Poznań, Poland Olav Hackstein Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München Munich, Germany

Jean-François Mondon Global Studies Muskingum University New Concord, OH, USA

ISBN 978-3-031-48958-7 ISBN 978-3-031-48959-4 (eBook) https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-48959-4

@ The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s), under exclusive licence to Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2024

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, expressed or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG. The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Paper in this product is recyclable.

Foreword

Over the past several decades, Indo-Europeanists have felt increasingly compelled to justify their 'old-fashioned' line of work to colleagues in theoretical, computational, and other 'modern' branches of linguistics. Unfortunately, as more than one scholar has bemoaned, it is a daunting task for any one person to master the methods of Indo-European historical and comparative linguistics along with the requisite philologies, while also keeping up with contemporary phonological, syntactic, and semantic theory. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that most researchers have shied away from this dilemma, preferring either to concentrate on traditional problems and methods or to abandon their focus on ancient and medieval languages for more general issues of language acquisition and change.

Our honorand, by contrast, has confronted this challenge from the very beginning of his career and, thereby, carved out a name as one of very few Indo-Europeanists in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries to make an impact on multiple subfields of linguistics. After receiving training in classical languages and Indo-European linguistics from some of the foremost names in the field such as Anna Morpurgo Davies at the University of Oxford and Warren Cowgill at Yale University, Don taught classics at Bard College for two years; and then, in 1985 he joined the faculty of the Department of Linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania, where he has remained ever since. He quickly made a name for himself with publications on Ancient Greek dialect grammar, the topic of his dissertation, as well as pioneering studies of Tocharian historical phonology and morphology, culminating in his 1996 monograph on the relative chronology of sound changes from proto-Indo-European to proto-Tocharian. At the same time, Don did not hesitate to respond to the overblown claims of long-range comparison and linguistic macrofamilies that were then being hyped in the popular press, always taking care to explain the principles and mathematics behind the Comparative Method and the demonstration of genetic relationships among languages.

Don's career in the twenty-first century has been marked, above all, by two trends: his enormous contributions to English and Germanic historical linguistics; and his increasingly fruitful collaboration with computer scientists in developing models to test phylogenetic hypotheses of the relationships among the Indo-European languages. It is no exaggeration to say that the appearance of From proto-Indo-European to proto-Germanic (2006; ²2017) caused a sensation in Indo-European and Germanic linguistics, and the follow-up volume The development of Old English (2014, with Ann Taylor) is, without doubt, the most thorough historical grammar in existence of Old English and its many dialects up to ca. 900 CE. He also put in print many of his views on language change in general, particularly in Historical linguistics. Toward a twenty-first century reintegration (2013, with Joseph F. Eska), and composed a series of pedagogically oriented guides such as An introduction to grammar for language learners (2018) and A historical morphology of English (2021). At the same time, he continued to investigate problems of linguistic classification and phylogenetic relationships from a mathematical and computational perspective. His work with Tandy Warnow and her associates, which stretches back to the 1990s, yielded a stream of publications in leading journals that have captured global attention and, in no small part, furthered the current upsurge of research in computational phylogenetics.

Throughout his career, Don has been inspired by a fervent belief that historical linguistics, and, for that matter, linguistics as a whole, is a science guided by scientific methods and principles. His statements to that effect and responses to disbelieving audiences not infrequently come across as pointed, even polemic; but all who have witnessed him in the lecture hall can testify to his genuine passion for the intellectual enterprise of studying language change. Whether the tried-and-true Comparative Method or the newly emerging computational methods for investigating language relationship, Don teaches that 'the method works' (on precisely controlled data, that is) and that the results are not only to be taken seriously even when they contradict expectations, but are themselves of intrinsic interest above and beyond what they can reveal about human prehistory. To a bored undergraduate's in-class query 'Why should we bother reconstructing dead languages?', only Don could respond with enthusiastic gestures of both arms and the honest retort: 'Because we can!'

We are proud to present this volume of original studies by 18 of Don's colleagues and former students as a small token of our admiration for his numerous achievements. In addition to the contributors themselves, we would like to thank Michael Weiss and especially Amy Forsyth for invaluable assistance in preparing the bibliography of Don's publications; Alisha George of the *Penn almanac* for furnishing the photo of Don; and Cathy Scott of Palgrave Macmillan for her help at every stage of the process, from proposal to publication. Please join us in congratulating Don on reaching this milestone in his life and career and wishing him many more productive years to come!

Blacksburg, VA, USA Poznań, Poland Munich, Germany New Concord, OH, USA March 2024 Joseph F. Eska Ronald I. Kim Olav Hackstein Jean-François Mondon

Bibliography of the Publications of Don Ringe¹

Monographs

1984

1. The perfect tenses in Greek inscriptions. Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University.

1992

2. *On calculating the factor of chance in language comparison*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.

1996

3. On the chronology of sound changes in Tocharian i, From proto-Indo-European to proto-Tocharian. New Haven: American Oriental Society.

2006

4. A linguistic history of English i, From proto-Indo-European to proto-Germanic. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

¹N.B. that our honorand has published variously as Donald A. Ringe, Jr., D. A. Ringe, Jr., Don Ringe, Jr., and Don Ringe.

- 5. A new introduction to Old English. MS, University of Pennsylvania.
- 6. Ringe, Don, & and Joseph F. Eska. *Historical linguistics. Toward a twenty-first century reintegration.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

2014

7. Ringe, Don, & Ann Taylor. *A linguistic history of English* ii, *The development of Old English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

2017

8. A linguistic history of English i, From proto-Indo-European to proto-Germanic². Oxford: Oxford University Press.

2018

9. An introduction to grammar for language learners. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

2021

10. *A historical morphology of English.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Articles

1977

11. The accent of adverbs in $-\theta\epsilon\nu$: a historical analysis. *Glotta* 55: 64–79.

1981

12. Tzotzil affect verbs. Journal of Mayan linguistics 3: 61-86.

- 13. Ionic ὀνονημένα. Glotta 62: 45-56.
- 14. Germanic ' \bar{e}_2 ' and **r*. Die Sprache 30: 138–155.
- 15. Εἴληφα and the aspirated perfect. *Glotta* 62: 125–141.

1987

- 16. A closer look at Tocharian *e* and *o* and the Indo-European mediopassive. *Tocharian and Indo-European studies* 1: 98–138.
- On the prehistory of Tocharian B accent. In Studies in memory of Warren Cowgill (1929–1985). Papers from the Fourth East Coast Indo-European Conference, Cornell University, June 6–9, 1985, ed. Calvert Watkins, 254–269. Berlin: De Gruyter.

1988

- Laryngeal isoglosses in the western Indo-European languages. In Die Laryngaltheorie und die Rekonstruktion des indogermanischen Lautund Formensystems, ed. Alfred Bammesberger, 415–441. Heidelberg: Winter.
- 19. Two notes on Greek epigraphical perfects. *Glotta* 66: 80-87.

1988/1990

20. Evidence for the position of Tocharian in the Indo-European family? *Die Sprache* 34: 59–123.

- 21. Doric ἴσαντι. Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft 50: 123–157.
- 22. Tocharian B ausu, aușu, aultsu. Tocharian and Indo-European studies 3: 35–50.
- 23. The imperative prefix /pə-/ in the Tocharian B dialects. *Tocharian and Indo-European studies* 3: 51–63.

24. The Tocharian active *s*-preterite. A classical sigmatic aorist. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 51: 183–242.

1991

25. Laryngeals and Sievers' Law in Tocharian. Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft 52: 137–168.

1993

26. A reply to Professor Greenberg. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 137: 91–109.

1995

- 27. New directions for IE linguistics. Report on Mathematical Modelling Workshop. *Friends and alumni of UCLA Indo-European Studies newsletter* 5/1: 3–4.
- 28. Nominative-accusative syncretism and syntactic case. University of Pennsylvania working papers in linguistics 2/1: 45–81.
- 29. 'Nostratic' and the factor of chance. Diachronica 12: 55-74.
- 30. The 'Mana' languages and the three-language problem. *Oceanic linguistics* 34: 99–122.
- 31. Tocharians in Xinjiang. The linguistic evidence. *Journal of Indo-European studies* 23: 439–444.

- 32. The mathematics of 'Amerind'. Diachronica 13: 135–154.
- 33. Warnow, Tandy, Don Ringe, & Ann Taylor. Reconstructing the evolutionary history of natural languages. In *Proceedings of the 7th Annual ACM-SIAM Symposium on Discrete Algorithms, SODA 1996,* 314–322. New York: Association for Computing Machinery / Philadelphia: Society for Industrial and Applied Mathematics.

34. On the origin of 3pl. imperative -ντον. In *Festschrift for Eric P. Hamp*, ed. Douglas Q. Adams, ii 129–143. Washington, DC: Institute for the Study of Man.

1998

- 35. Probabilistic evidence for Indo-Uralic. In *Nostratic. Sifting the evidence*, ed. Joseph C. Salmons & Brian D. Joseph, 153–197. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- 36. Schwa-rounding and the chronology of sound changes in Tocharian. In *Mír curad. Studies in honor of Calvert Watkins*, ed. Jay Jasanoff, H. Craig Melchert, & Lisi Olivier, 611–618. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.
- 37. Some consequences of a new proposal for subgrouping the IE family. In Proceedings of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society, February 14–16, 1998. Special session: Indo-European subgrouping and internal relations, ed. Benjamin K. Bergen, Madelaine C. Plauché, & Ashlee C. Bailey, 32–46. Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society.
- 38. Ringe, Don, Tandy Warnow, Ann Taylor, Alexander Michailov, & Libby Levison. Computational cladistics and the position of Tocharian. In *The Bronze Age and early Iron Age peoples of eastern Central Asia*, ed. Victor Mair, 391–414. Washington, DC: Institute for the Study of Man.

- 39. How hard is it to match CVC-roots? *Transactions of the Philological Society* 97: 213–244.
- 40. Language classification. Scientific and unscientific methods. In *The human inheritance. Genes, language, and evolution*, ed. Bryan Sykes, 45–73. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- 41. Some relevant facts about historical linguistics. In America past, America present. Genes and languages in the Americas and beyond, ed. Colin Renfrew, 139-162. Cambridge: The McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- 42. Tocharian class II presents and subjunctives and the reconstruction of the proto-Indo-European verb. Tocharian and Indo-European studies 9: 121–141.
- 43. Kroch, Anthony, Ann Taylor, & Don Ringe. The Middle English verb-second constraint. A case study in language contact and language change. In Textual parameters in older languages, ed. Susan C. Herring, Peter van Reenen, & Lene Schøsler, 353-391. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- 44. Taylor, Ann, Tandy Warnow, & Don Ringe. Character-based reconstruction of a linguistic cladogram. In Historical linguistics 1995. Selected papers from the 12th International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Manchester, August 1995 i, General issues and non-Germanic languages, ed. John Charles Smith & Delia Bentley, 393-408. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

2002

- 45. Syncopated present indicative forms in Old English. In Verba et litterae. Explorations in Germanic languages and German literature, ed. Alfred R. Wedel & Hans-Jörg Busch, 125-156. Newark, DE: Linguatext.
- 46. Tocharian B sp 'and'. In Indo-European perspectives, ed. Mark R. V. Southern, 265-266. Washington, DC: Institute for the Study of Man.
- 47. Ringe, Don, Tandy Warnow, & Ann Taylor. Indo-European and computational cladistics. Transactions of the Philological Society 100: 59-129.

xiv

- An early rule of syncope in Tocharian. In Language in time and space. A festschrift for Werner Winter on the occasion of his 80th birthday, ed. Brigitte L. M. Bauer & Georges-Jean Pinault, 359–362. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- 49. Internal reconstruction. In *The Blackwell handbook of historical linguistics*, ed. Brian D. Joseph & Richard D. Janda, 244–261. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- 50. Erdem, Esra, Vladimir Lifschitz, Luay Nakhleh, & Donald Ringe. Reconstructing the evolutionary history of Indo-European languages using answer set programming. In *Practical aspects of declarative languages. 5th international symposium, PADL 2003, New Orleans, LA,* USA, January 2003, ed. Veronica Dahl & Philip Wadler, 160–176. New York: Springer.
- Historical linguistics. Methods. Computational methods. In International encyclopedia of linguistics², ed. William J. Frawley, ii, 169–171. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Old English mapelian, mæplan, mælan. In Indo-European perspectives. Studies in honour of Anna Morpurgo Davies, ed. J. H. W. Penney, 417–435. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 53. Reconstructed ancient languages. In *The Cambridge encyclopedia of the world's ancient languages*, ed. Roger D. Woodard, 1112–1128. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 54. Some problematic consonant clusters in Tocharian. In *Per aspera ad asteriscos. Studia indogermanica in honorem Jens Elmegård Rasmussen sexagenarii idibus martiis anno MMIV*, ed. Adam Hyllested, Anders Richardt Jørgensen, Jenny Helena Larsson, & Thomas Olander, 469–473. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck.
- 55. Eska, Joseph F., & Don Ringe. Recent work in computational linguistic phylogeny. *Language* 80: 569–582.

- 56. Brooks, Daniel R., Esra Erdem, James W. Minett, & Donald Ringe. Character-based cladistics and answer set programming. In *Practical aspects of declarative languages. 7th international symposium, PADL 2005, Long Beach, CA, USA, January 10–11, 2005*, ed. by Manuel Hermenegildo & Daniel Cabeza, 37–51. Berlin & Heidelberg: Springer.
- 57. Nakhleh, Luay, Don Ringe, & Tandy Warnow. Perfect phylogenetic networks. A new methodology for reconstructing the evolutionary history of natural languages. *Language* 81: 382–420.
- 58. Nakhleh, Luay, Tandy Warnow, Don Ringe, & Steven N. Evans. A comparison of phylogenetic reconstruction methods on an Indo-European dataset. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 103: 171–192.

- 59. A sociolinguistically informed solution to an old historical problem. The Gothic genitive plural. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 104: 167–206.
- 60. Erdem, Esra, Vladimir Lifschitz, & Don Ringe. Temporal phylogenetic networks and logic programming. *Theory and practice of logic programming* 6: 539–558.
- Evans, Steven N., Don Ringe, & Tandy Warnow. Inference of divergence times as a statistical inverse problem. In *Phylogenetic methods and the prehistory of languages*, ed. Peter Forster & Colin Renfrew, 119–129. Cambridge: The McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- 62. Warnow, Tandy, Steven N. Evans, Don Ringe, & Luay Nakhleh. A stochastic model of language evolution that incorporates homoplasy and borrowing. In *Phylogenetic methods and the prehistory of languages*, ed. Peter Forster & Colin Renfrew, 75–90. Cambridge: The McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

- 63. Old Latin -minō and 'analogy'. In Verba docenti. Studies in historical and Indo-European linguistics presented to Jay H. Jasanoff by students, colleagues, and friends, ed. Alan J. Nussbaum, 301–306. Ann Arbor: Beech Stave Press.
- 64. Brooks, Daniel R., Esra Erdem, Selim T. Erdoğan, James W. Minett, & Don Ringe. Inferring phylogenetic trees using answer set programming. *Journal of automated reasoning* 39: 471–511.

2008

65. Ringe, Don, & Tandy Warnow. Linguistic history and computational cladistics. In *Origin and evolution of languages. Approaches, models, paradigms*, ed. Bernard Laks, 257–271. London: Equinox.

2010

66. 'Thorn' clusters and Indo-European subgrouping. In *Ex Anatolia lux. Anatolian and Indo-European studies in honor of H. Craig Melchert on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday*, ed. Ronald Kim, Norbert Oettinger, Elisabeth Rieken, & Michael Weiss, 330–338. Ann Arbor: Beech Stave Press.

2011

67. A pilot study for an investigation into Atkinson's hypothesis. *Linguistic typology* 15: 223–231.

- An early 'Ingvaeonic' innovation. In Multi nominis grammaticus. Studies in classical and Indo-European linguistics in honor of Alan J. Nussbaum on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday, ed. Adam I. Cooper, Jeremy Rau, & Michael Weiss, 285–288. Ann Arbor: Beech Stave Press.
- Cladistic principles and linguistic reality. The case of West Germanic. In *Laws and rules in Indo-European*, ed. Philomen Probert & Andreas Willi, 33–41. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

xviii Bibliography of the Publications of Don Ringe

70. The *hi*-conjugation as a PIE subjunctive. In *Linguistic developments along the Silk Road. Archaism and innovation in Tocharian*, ed. Olav Hackstein & Ronald I. Kim, 121–140. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

2013

- 71. The linguistic diversity of aboriginal Europe. In *Grammatica et verba* / *Glamor and verve. A festschrift for Hans Henrich Hock*, ed. Shu-Fen Chen & Benjamin Slade, 202–212. Ann Arbor: Beech Stave Press.
- 72. What is Old English? NOWELE 66: 127-140.
- Barbançon, François, Steven N. Evans, Luay Nakhleh, Don Ringe, & Tandy Warnow. An experimental study comparing linguistic phylogenetic reconstruction methods. *Diachronica* 30: 143–170.

2015

- 74. Levelling and rule restructuring in Old English adjectives. *Indo-European linguistics* 3: 73–83.
- 75. Response to Kassian et al. 'Proto-Indo-European-Uralic comparison from the probabilistic point of view.' *Journal of Indo-European studies* 43: 348–356.
- 76. Anthony, David W., & Don Ringe. The Indo-European homeland from linguistic and archaeological perspectives. *Annual review of linguistics* 1: 199–219.

- 77. Phonological rules and dialect geography in Ancient Greek. In *Sahasram ati srajas. Indo-Iranian and Indo-European studies in honor of Stephanie W. Jamison*, ed. Dieter Gunkel, Joshua T. Katz, Brent Vine, & Michael Weiss, 378–384. Ann Arbor: Beech Stave Press.
- 78. The nature of the South Greek dialect group. In *Tavet tat satyam. Studies in honor of Jared Klein on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, ed. Andrew Miles Byrd, Jessica DeLisi, & Mark Wenthe, 278–283. Ann Arbor: Beech Stave Press.

79. Indo-European dialectology. In *Handbook of comparative and historical Indo-European linguistics*, ed. Jared Klein, Brian Joseph, & Matthias Fritz, i 62–75. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

2018

 Indicative-subjunctive syncretism in West Germanic. In Vina diem celebrent. Studies in linguistics and philology in honor of Brent Vine, ed. Dieter Gunkel, Stephanie W. Jamison, Angelo O. Mercado, & Kazuhiko Yoshida, 390–396. Ann Arbor: Beech Stave Press.

2020

 Legate, Julie Anne, Faruk Akkuş, Milena Šereikaitė, & Don Ringe. 2020. On passives of passives. *Language* 96: 771–818.

2022

- 82. Stative perfects. In शब्दानुगम: Indian linguistic studies in honor of George Cardona ii, Historical linguistics, Vedic, etc., ed. Peter M. Scharf, 85–98. Providence: The Sanskrit Library.
- 83. What we can (and can't) learn from computational cladistics. In *The Indo-European language family. A phylogenetic perspective*, ed. Thomas Olander, 52–62. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 84. Ringe, Don, & Charles Yang. 2022. The threshold of productivity and the 'irregularization' of verbs in Early Modern English. In *English historical linguistics. Change in structure and meaning. Papers from the XXth ICEHL*, ed. Bettelou Los, Claire Cowie, Patrick Honeybone, & Graeme Trousdale, 91–111. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Forthcoming

85. A new argument from old principles: Tocharian A *cmol* and its implications.

Technical Report

1995

86. Warnow, Tandy, Don Ringe, & Ann Taylor. 1995. *Reconstructing the evolutionary history of natural languages*. IRCS Report 95-16. Philadelphia: Institute for Research in Cognitive Science, University of Pennsylvania.

Reviews

1986

87. N. E. Collinge, *The laws of Indo-European*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1985. *Diachronica* 3: 107–113.

1988

88. Alan J. Nussbaum, *Head and horn in Indo-European*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1986. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 108: 186–187.

1990

- 89. Douglas Q. Adams, *Tocharian historical phonology and morphology*. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1988. *Language* 66: 400–408.
- Sydney M. Lamb & E. Douglas Mitchell (eds), Sprung from some common source. Investigations into the prehistory of languages. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991. Anthropological linguistics 32: 376–380.

1993

91. Peter Schrijver, *The reflexes of the Proto-Indo-European laryngeals in Latin.* Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1991. *Diachronica* 10: 285–289.

92. Helmut Rix et al., *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1998. *Diachronica* 18: 184–187.

2002

- 93. Joseph Greenberg, *Indo-European and its closest relatives. The Eurasiatic language family* i, *Grammar.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000. *Journal of linguistics* 38: 415–420.
- 94. April McMahon, *Change, chance, and optimality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. *General linguistics* 39: 156–159.

- 95. *The Routledge handbook of historical linguistics*, ed. Claire Bowern & Bethwyn Evans. London: Routledge, 2015. *Language* 91: 488–491.
- Classification and evolution in biology, linguistics, and the history of science, ed. Heiner Fangerau, Hans Geisler, Thorsten Halling, & William Hartin. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2013. Historische Sprachforschung 128: 316–320.

Contents

Par	t I Subgrouping and Phylogeny	1
1	The Continental Celtic Dialect Continuum Joseph F. Eska	3
2	On the Phylogenetic Status of East Germanic <i>Ronald I. Kim</i>	21
3	Progress on Constructing Phylogenetic Networks for Languages <i>Tandy Warnow, Steven N. Evans, and Luay Nakhleh</i>	45
Part	t II Linguistic Reconstruction	63
4	Rethinking Stang's Law, with a Note on Gk. πότνια Jay H. Jasanoff	65
5	The Sources of the *-ono- 'god' Suffix Lionel S. Joseph	79

6	The Final Glottal Stop of the Kurux Verb Bases Masato Kobayashi	99
7	Very Old Latin Michael Weiss	113
Par	t III Theoretical Approaches to Language Change	141
8	Iceberg Phenomena and Synchronic Rules <i>Olav Hackstein</i>	143
9	Forced to FORCE? Remarks on the Architecture of the Left Periphery of Early Irish and Absolute/ Conjunct Morphology Jean-François Mondon and Joseph F. Eska	179
10	On the Functional Superstructure of the Noun Phrase in Indo-European <i>Augustin Speyer</i>	195
11	Understanding Translation Effects: Lessons from the Old English Heptateuch <i>Ann Taylor</i>	217
12	Phonological Regularity and Breakdown. An Account of Vowel Length Leveling in Middle English <i>Charles Yang</i>	237
Par	t IV Indo-European Philology and Etymology	261
13	Guests. Welcome or not Sara Kimball	263

Contents	XXV

14	Asyndetic Verbal Pairs in the Classical Armenian Gospels and Their Treatment in the Other Five First Millennium CE Indo-European Versions Jared S. Klein	279
15	Celt. * <i>meh</i> ₂ - <i>ró</i> - 'large, great' versus Gmc. * <i>meh</i> ₁ - <i>ró</i> - 'made known, spoken of' H. Craig Melchert	297
16	'Between uneducated and educated, or hot and cold, or bitter and sweet there's a middle point': Varro and the Middle Accent Philomen Probert	307
17	Obscured figurae etymologicae and Word Origins. Two Examples Involving Gothic <i>Patrick Stiles</i>	327
18	South Oscan κλοπουστ (with an Appendix on [Osco-?]Lat. BVRVS) Brent Vine	351
Ind	ex	369

Notes on Contributors

Joseph F. Eska is Professor of Language Sciences at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. His work focuses on the diachronic linguistics of the Celtic languages. He is the editor of the *North American Journal of Celtic Studies* and co-editor of *Indo-European Linguistics*, as well as co-editor of the forthcoming *Palgrave Handbook of Celtic Languages and Linguistics*.

Steven N. Evans was born in rural Australia. He received his undergraduate education (B.Sc., Hons. I & Medal) at the University of Sydney and Ph.D. at the University of Cambridge. After a brief stint as a banker in Australia and a postdoc at the University of Virginia, he joined the University of California at Berkeley, where he is a member of the Departments of Statistics and Mathematics with interests in probability and stochastic processes. He has been a Presidential Young Investigator and a Sloan Fellow, and he is a member of the National Academy of Sciences.

Olav Hackstein (visiting lecturer University of Pennsylvania 1989, Dr. phil. Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg 1993; Habilitation Martin-Luther-Universität Halle 1999) is a professor and Chair of Historical and Indo-European Linguistics at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. His research interests focus on the historical phonology, morphology, and syntax of the ancient Indo-European languages, including Germanic dialectology, Latin, Greek, Albanian, and Tocharian. **Jay H. Jasanoff** is a historical linguist and Indo-Europeanist best known for his work on the proto-Indo-European verbal system. He holds a Ph.D. in Linguistics from Harvard (1968) and has held long-term teaching appointments at Harvard University and Cornell University. Along with numerous articles on problems around the Indo-European family, he is the author of *Stative and Middle in Indo-European* (1978), *Hittite and the Indo-European Verb* (2003), and *The Prehistory of the Balto-Slavic Accent* (2017).

Lionel S. Joseph, PhD, PsyD studied with Calvert Watkins, Jochem Schindler, and Jay Jasanoff at Harvard University, where he earned his first doctorate in 1980. He then had a second career as a clinical psychologist. Since his retirement, he has enthusiastically returned to Celtic and Indo-European studies.

Ronald I. Kim is an associate professor in the Department of Older Germanic Languages of the Faculty of English at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland. He holds a Ph.D. in Linguistics from the University of Pennsylvania (2002) and has also taught at Swarthmore College and Charles University in Prague. He is the author of the monograph *The Dual in Tocharian* and over 75 articles and co-editor of *Indo-European Linguistics* (Brill). His research focuses on the historical grammar of Indo-European languages, especially Tocharian, Iranian, Germanic, and Balto-Slavic, as well as language contact and morphology.

Sara Kimball A transplanted Yankee, Sara Kimball taught in the Department of English at the University of Texas at Austin for 29 years. Most of her research has been in Anatolian and Greek.

Jared S. Klein is Distinguished Research Professor of Linguistics, Classics, and Germanic and Slavic Languages at the University of Georgia, where he teaches courses on comparative and historical Indo-European linguistics. His publications include books, articles, and reviews on Vedic Sanskrit, Old Persian, Homeric Greek, Gothic, Classical Armenian, Old Church Slavic, and Latin. Most of his work deals with aspects of discourse structure, including conjunction, anaphora, deixis, and stylistic repetition.

Masato Kobayashi is Professor of Linguistics at the University of Tokyo. He earned his M.A. in Sanskrit from Kyoto University and his Ph.D. in Linguistics from the University of Pennsylvania in 2000 under the guidance of Dr. George Cardona. He has worked on Sanskrit, Pāṇinian grammar, and Dravidian tribal languages. His publications include *Historical Phonology of Old Indo-Aryan Consonants* (2004), *Texts and Grammar of Malto* (2012), and *The Kurux Language* (2017, co-authored with Bablu Tirkey).

H. Craig Melchert is Distinguished Professor of Linguistics and A. Richard Diebold Professor of Indo-European Studies Emeritus, University of California, Los Angeles. He previously taught at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, for 29 years. His research centers on historical linguistics, with special emphasis on the Anatolian sub-family of Indo-European. His interests include the modeling of language change, reconstruction of the culture and society of the proto-Indo-European speech community, and application of modern formal linguistic theories to ancient Indo-European languages and their prehistory.

Jean-François Mondon is Associate Professor of Global Studies at Muskingum University. He primarily researches quagmires in Celtic languages, offering synchronic solutions couched in Distributed Morphology. He also actively writes pedagogical materials for various Indo-European languages.

Luay Nakhleh is the William and Stephanie Sick Dean of the George R. Brown School of Engineering at Rice University. He holds three degrees in computer science: Bachelor of Science from the Technion (Israel), Master of Computer Science from Texas A&M University, and Ph.D. from the University of Texas at Austin. His research interests include computational phylogenetics in biology and historical linguistics. He is a fellow of the International Society for Computational Biology and a recipient of Sloan and Guggenheim Fellowships among other honors.

Philomen Probert is Professor of Classical Philology and Linguistics at the University of Oxford and a fellow of Wolfson College. She has written *A New* Short Guide to the Accentuation of Ancient Greek (2003); Ancient Greek Accentuation. Synchronic Patterns, Frequency Effects, and Prehistory (2006); Early Greek Relative Clauses (2015); Latin Grammarians on the Latin Accent. The Transformation of Greek Grammatical Thought (2019); and together with Stephanie Roussou, Ancient and Medieval Thought on Greek Enclitics (2023). She is also the co-editor, with Andreas Willi, of Laws and Rules in Indo-European (2012).

Augustin Speyer studied Classics and German Language and Literature at the University of Tübingen and University of Oxford and afterward Linguistics (with a focus on Comparative Philology) at the University of Pennsylvania. He holds two Ph.D.s in Classics (Tübingen 2002) and Linguistics (UPenn 2008). After having held various positions in Saarbrücken, Tübingen, Frankfurt, Marburg, and Göttingen (Full Professor 2012), he was appointed Full Professor

for German Linguistics at the University of Saarland in 2013. His main research areas are historical and synchronic syntax of German, information structure and information theory, and aspects of formal Indo-European syntax.

Patrick Stiles studied English at Oxford University and, after a spell at the University of Oslo, filled posts at the Universities of Manchester and Edinburgh. He then became a journalist for the *Financial Times*, while holding an honorary research position at University College London. His main field of activity is Old Germanic linguistics, with occasional forays elsewhere in Indo-European.

Ann Taylor has research focuses on variation and change in the history of English with a primary focus on syntax. She works within a framework that applies quantitative methodology first developed within variationist sociolinguistics to the structural analysis of historical data and combines formal syntactic analysis, statistical methods, and techniques of corpus linguistics. She is co-creator of three parsed corpora of historical English, the PPCME2, YCOE, and PCEEC, and continues to be interested in the creation and exploitation of annotated corpora for linguistic analysis.

Brent Vine is Distinguished Research Professor Emeritus, Department of Classics and Program in Indo-European Studies, at the University of California, Los Angeles. His research is mainly devoted to phonological, morphological, and etymological problems in Classical and Indo-European linguistics, with attention also to metrics, stylistics, and Latin literature and with occasional forays into English literature. Some work in progress includes studies of Latin accent and etymology, a textual problem in Petronius, prose rhythm in Apuleius, and a linguistic/stylistic analysis of Herman Melville's punctuation in his manuscript of *Billy Budd*.

Tandy Warnow (Ph.D. Mathematics, University of California Berkeley 1991) is the Grainger Distinguished Chair in Engineering in the Department of Computer Science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Tandy's research focuses on reconstructing complex and large-scale evolutionary histories, both for languages and for biological species and genes. She was awarded the David and Lucile Packard Foundation Award (1996), a Radcliffe Institute Fellowship (2003), and the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation Fellowship (2011). She was elected a fellow of the Association for Computing Machinery in 2015, of the International Society for Computational Biology in 2017, and of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 2021.

Michael Weiss is Professor in the Department of Linguistics at Cornell University. He is the author of *Language and Ritual in Sabellic Italy* (2010), *Outline of the Historical and Comparative Grammar of Latin* (2nd ed. 2020), *Kuśińńe Kantwo. Elementary Lessons in Tocharian B* (2022), and articles on various topics in Indo-European linguistics.

Charles Yang works on mathematical models of child language acquisition which, at least at the University of Pennsylvania and according to Don Ringe, qualifies him as a historical linguist.

List of Figures

Fig. 3.1 Panel (a) shows a genetic tree with leafset $\{A, B, C, D, E, F\}$. Panel (b) shows the tree-based phylogenetic network formed by adding two contact edges to the genetic tree. Panel (c) shows an unrooted version of the rooted network in (b). Panel (d) shows all four rooted trees contained inside the rooted network from (b), with the first being the genetic tree from (a). Panel (e) shows the unrooted versions of the rooted trees in (d). Panel (f) shows three quartet trees; q_1 is displayed in T_1 and T_2 , but not in T_3 or T_4 ; q_2 is displayed in T_3 and T_4 , but not in trees T_1 or T_2 ; and q_3 is not displayed in any of these trees. Because q_1 and q_2 are each displayed by at least one tree in the network, the set $Q(N_r)$ of all quartet trees displayed by trees in the network N will contain both q_1 and q_2 , but will not contain q_3 49 Fig. 3.2 Character evolution on a rooted tree. Panel (a) shows evolution without any homoplasy, panel (b) shows homoplasy due to parallel evolution (i.e., two $0 \rightarrow 1$ transitions), and panel (c) shows homoplasy due to back-mutation (note the $1 \rightarrow 0$ transition, where 0 is the ancestral state) 50