Sam Zukoff

 $samzukoff@gmail.com \cdot www.samzukoff.com$

Curriculum Vitae

October 16, 2025

EDUCATION

2017	PhD, Linguistics (Theoretical Phonology), Massachusetts Institute of Technology Dissertation: Indo-European Reduplication: Synchrony, Diachrony, and Theory Committee: Donca Steriade (chair), Adam Albright, Edward Flemming
2012	MA, Linguistics (Historical Linguistics), University of Georgia
2010	BA, Linguistics and Classical Studies, Georgetown University

PROFESSIONAL APPOINTMENTS

04.2023 - 06.2025	Assistant Adjunct Professor, University of California, Los Angeles, Department of Linguistics
10.2022 - 04.2023	Visiting Scholar, University of California, Los Angeles, Department of Linguistics
08.2021 - 08.2022	Postdoctoral Scholar – Teaching Fellow, University of Southern California, Department of Linguistics
02.2020 - 08.2021	Postdoctoral Researcher in Grammatical Theory, Leipzig University, Institute for Linguistics, "Interaction of Grammatical Building Blocks" (IGRA) Research Training Group
09.2018 - 01.2020	Lecturer, Princeton University, Program in Linguistics
09.2017 - 08.2018	Postdoctoral Associate, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Department of Linguistics & Philosophy

AREAS OF SPECIALIZATION

Phonology, Morphology, Phonology-Morphology Interface, Historical and Comparative Linguistics, Indo-European Linguistics

PUBLICATIONS

Journal Articles

under review Resolving Reduplicative Opacity in Malay Nasal Spreading: An Argument for Base-Reduplicant Correspondence Theory. *Language*. With Jian-Leat Siah* and Feng-fan Hsieh.

in revision Reduplicant Shape Alternations in Tawala: Re-evaluating Base-Dependence. *Phonological Data & Analysis*. Revise & Resubmit. [Ms., UCLA, July 7, 2023. lingbuzz/007412.]

^{* =} student co-author

- The Mirror Alignment Principle: Morpheme Ordering at the Morphosyntax-Phonology Interface.

 Natural Language & Linguistic Theory 41(1): 399–458. doi:10.1007/s11049-022-09537-2.
- The Phonology of Anatolian Reduplication: Synchrony and Diachrony. *Indo-European Linguistics* 6(1):201–270. doi:10.1163/22125892-00601001. With Anthony D. Yates.
- 2018 Prosodic Identity in Copy Epenthesis: Evidence for a Correspondence-Based Approach. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 36(2):637–684. doi:10.1007/s11049-017-9385-9. With Juliet Stanton.
- The Reduplicative System of Ancient Greek and a New Analysis of Attic Reduplication. *Linguistic Inquiry* 48(3):459–497. doi:10.1162/ling_a_00250.

Conference Proceedings

- in press Reduplicative Opacity in Malay Revisited: Preliminary Phonetic Evidence for Variable "Recopying" and BRCT. Proceedings of the 2024 Annual Meeting on Phonology. w/ Jian-Leat Siah* and Feng-fan Hsieh.
- A Phonology-Morphosyntax Interface Explanation of the "Nasal Infix" in (Proto-)Indo-European. NELS 55, edited by Duygu Demiray, Roger Cheng-yen Liu, and Nir Segal, vol. 1:39–52. With Klaus Baki* and Anthony D. Yates.
- A Parallel Approach to Mobile Affixation in Huave. Supplemental Proceedings of the 2020 Annual Meeting on Phonology, edited by Ryan Bennett, Richard Bibbs, Mykel Loren Brinkerhoff, Max J. Kaplan, Stephanie Rich, Nicholas Van Handel, and Maya Wax Cavallaro. Washington, DC: Linguistic Society of America. doi:10.3765/amp.v9i0.4910.
- Deriving Arabic Verbal "Templates" without Templates. *Proceedings of the Linguistic Society of America* 6(1):144–158. doi:10.3765/plsa.v6i1.4955.
- 2020 Reduplicant Shape Alternations in Ponapean: Evidence Against Morphological Doubling Theory.

 NELS 50, edited by Mariam Asatryan, Yixiao Song, and Ayana Whitmal, vol. 3:279–288.

 Amherst, MA: GLSA.
- Arabic Nonconcatenative Morphology and the Syntax-Phonology Interface. *NELS* 47, edited by Andrew Lamont and Katerina Tetzloff, vol. 3:295–314. Amherst, MA: GLSA.
- Actually, Serial Template Satisfaction Does Predict Medial Coda Skipping in Reduplication. Supplemental Proceedings of the 2016 Annual Meeting on Phonology, edited by Karen Jesney, Charlie O'Hara, Caitlin Smith, and Rachel Walker. Washington, DC: Linguistic Society of America. doi:10.3765/amp.v4i0.3983.
- 2016 Prosodic Effects of Segmental Correspondence. *CLS 51*, edited by Ksenia Ershova, Joshua Falk, and Jeffrey Geiger, 501–515. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Stress Restricts Reduplication. Supplemental Proceedings of the 2014 Annual Meeting on Phonology, edited by Adam Albright and Michelle A. Fullwood. Washington, DC: Linguistic Society of America. doi:10.3765/amp.v2i0.3742.
- The Phonology of Morpheme Realization in the Germanic Strong Preterites. *NELS* 45, edited by Thuy Bui and Deniz Özyıldız, vol. 3:39–49. Amherst, MA: GLSA. With Ryan Sandell.
- On the Origins of Attic Reduplication. Proceedings of the 25th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference, edited by Stephanie W. Jamison, H. Craig Melchert, and Brent Vine, 257–278. Bremen: Hempen. [Refereed conference proceedings.]

Book Chapters

2025 Reconstructing the Phonology of Proto-Indo-European Reduplication. The Reduplication in the Indo-European Languages. Studien zur historisch-vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft 22. Hamburg: Baar Verlag, 27–46.

Encyclopedia Entries

2024 Sonority Hierarchy (Ancient Greek). Encyclopedia of Greek Language and Linguistics Online.

Brill

Working Papers

- The Mirror Alignment Principle: Morpheme Ordering at the Morphosyntax-Phonology Interface.

 Papers on Morphology (MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 81), edited by Snejana Iovtcheva and Benjamin Storme, 105–124. Cambridge, MA: MITWPL.
- 2012 Metathesis with /r/ in Classical Armenian: An Optimality Theory Approach. *UGA Working Papers in Linguistics 1*, edited by Marcus Berger. Athens, GA: LSUGA. http://linguistics.uga.edu/wp2012-Zukoff

Manuscripts

- 2022 Reduplicant Shape Alternations in Ponapean and Tawala: Re-evaluating Base-Dependence. Ms., UCLA, October 13, 2022. lingbuzz/006862.
- The Role of Alignment in Moro Affix Mobility: A Friendly Amendment to Jenks & Rose (2015). Ms., USC, October 19, 2021. lingbuzz/006265.
- 2016 Prosodic Identity in Copy Epenthesis and Reduplication: Towards a Unified Model of Transitive Correspondence. Ms., MIT, August 25, 2016. With Juliet Stanton.
- The Distribution of Mutations in the Irish DP. Ms., MIT, May 24, 2014.

Book Notices

Review of *Investigations in Sociohistorical Linguistics: Colonisation and Contact*, by Peter Trudgill. http://journals.linguisticsociety.org/booknotices/?p=1775.

INVITED TALKS

Conferences

- upcoming TBD. Invited keynote talk, International Symposium on Contemporary Phonology, Sichuan International Studies University, Chongqing, Sichuan, China, Summer 2026. [Invitation for 2025 deferred]
- 2022 Structure and Base-Derivative Correspondence in Bantu Affix Ordering. Invited talk, Princeton Phonology Forum 2022: *The Wheres and Whens of Affixation*, Princeton University, December 2–3. [Invitation-only conference.]
- Reconstructing the Phonology of Proto-Indo-European Reduplication. Invited keynote talk, Workshop on Reduplication in the Indo-European Languages (The 12th Jena May Colloquium), Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, Jena, DE, May 3–4, 2022.

- 2021 Reduplication in Ponapean (and Tawala): Re-evaluating "Base-Dependence". Invited talk (with honorarium), Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association 28, McGill University & National University of Singapore, *online*, May 25–28, 2021.
- The Phonology of Anatolian Reduplication. East Coast Indo-European Conference XXXV, University of Georgia, Athens, GA, June 6–8, 2016. With Anthony D. Yates. [Invitation-only conference.]

Colloquia

- Morpheme Ordering Happens in the Phonology. Colloquium, UCLA Department of Linguistics, January 29.
- Deriving the Micro-Typology of Indo-European Reduplicant Shape Alternations. Colloquium, Washington University in St. Louis Program in Linguistics, September 15, 2023. [Canceled due to Covid.]
- Structure and Base-Derivative Correspondence in Bantu Affix Ordering. Colloquium, Fresno State Department of Linguistics, *online*, March 2, 2023.
- Articulated Alignment: Towards a Parallelist Approach to Morpheme Ordering and the Phonology-Morphology Interface. Colloquium, University of Southern California Department of Linguistics, February 28, 2022.
- The Typology of Repetition Avoidance Patterns in Indo-European Reduplication. Lausanne Linguistics Research Seminar, Section des Sciences du Langage et de l'Information, University of Lausanne, Switzerland, *online*, May 4, 2021.
- An Alignment-Based Approach to Arabic Verbal Templates. CRISSP Seminar Series, Center for Research in Syntax, Semantics, and Phonology, KU Leuven, Brussels, Belgium, *online*, April 14, 2021.
- 2017 Reduplication in Ancient Greek. Colloquium (with honorarium), Grinnell College Linguistics Concentration and Classics Department, Grinnell, IA, November 20, 2017.
- 2017 Stress Restricts Reduplication. Colloquium, University of California, Santa Cruz Department of Linguistics, Santa Cruz, CA, February 21, 2017.
- 2017 Stress Restricts Reduplication. Colloquium, Georgetown University Department of Linguistics, Washington, DC, February 17, 2017.

Other talks

- The Mirror Principle and Pseudo-cyclicity in Bantu Templatic Morphology. UCLA Phonology Seminar, Los Angeles, CA, May 31, 2023.
- An Alignment-Based Approach to Arabic Verbal Templates. UCSD PhonCo, University of California, San Diego, San Diego, CA, *online*, April 12, 2021.
- Another Look at Huave Mobile Affixation. Berkeley Zoom Phonology, University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, CA, online, September 10, 2020.
- 2019 Maximally Informative Recursive Constraint Demotion: Anatolian Reduplication and its Impact on Phonological Learning. NYU Phonetics & Experimental Phonology Laboratory, NYU, New York, NY, March 29, 2019.

- 2016 Arabic Nonconcatenative Morphology and the Syntax-Phonology Interface. Berkeley Phorum, University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, CA, October 31, 2016.
- 2015 Repetition Avoidance and the Exceptional Reduplication Patterns of Indo-European. Harvard Graduate School of Arts & Sciences Workshop on Indo-European and Historical Linguistics, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, March 3, 2015.
- 2013 The Origins of Attic Reduplication. Program in Indo-European Studies Graduate Seminar, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA, June 5, 2013.
- The Origins of Attic Reduplication. Harvard Graduate School of Arts & Sciences Workshop on Indo-European and Historical Linguistics, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, May 3, 2013.

REFEREED CONFERENCE ACTIVITY

Panel Organization

2020 Reduplication-Phonology Interactions. Organized session (3-hour symposium). LSA 2020, New Orleans, LA, January 2–5. (Participants: Sharon Inkelas, Ludger Paschen, Donca Steriade, Colin Wilson, Eva Zimmermann, Sam Zukoff.)

Papers

- 2024 Reduplicative Opacity in Malay Revisited: Preliminary Phonetic Evidence for Variable "Recopying" and BRCT. AMP 2024, Rutgers University, November 1–3. With Jian-Leat Siah* and Feng-fan Hsieh.
- 2024 Indo-European Nasal Infixation and the Mirror Alignment Principle. 35th UCLA Indo-European Conference, October 25–26. With Klaus Baki* and Anthony D. Yates.
- A Phonology-Morphosyntax Interface Explanation of the "Nasal Infix" in (Proto-)Indo-European. NELS 55, Yale University, October 17–18. With Klaus Baki* and Anthony D. Yates.
- 2021 Emergence of the Unmarked in Scottish Gaelic Copy Epenthesis. Epenthesis and Beyond Workshop, Stony Brook University, Stony Brook, NY, *online*, September 17–19, 2021. With Juliet Stanton.
- 2021 Contiguity in Tawala Reduplication. Manchester Phonology Meeting 28, Manchester, UK, online, May 26–28, 2021.
- Deriving Arabic Verbal "Templates" without Templates. Linguistic Society of America Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA, *online*, January 7–10, 2021.
- 2020 Reduplicant Shape Alternations in Ponapean. Linguistic Society of America Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA, January 2–5, 2020.
- 2017 The Development of the Germanic Preterite System: Learnability and the Modeling of Diachronic Morphophonological Change. Linguistic Society of America Annual Meeting, Austin, TX, January 5–8, 2017. With Ryan Sandell.
- Variation and Change in Anatolian Reduplication. 28th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA, November 11–12, 2016. With Anthony D. Yates.

2016 Prosodic Misapplication in Copy Epenthesis and Reduplication. Manchester Phonology Meeting 24, Manchester, UK, May 26–28, 2016. With Juliet Stanton. 2015 Repetition Avoidance and the Exceptional Reduplication Patterns of Indo-European. 27th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA, October 23–24, 2015. 2015 Prosodic Effects of Segmental Correspondence. 51st Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL, April 23–25, 2015. With Juliet Stanton. 2015 Poorly-Cued Repetition Avoidance in Indo-European Reduplication. Linguistic Society of America Annual Meeting, Portland, OR, January 8-11, 2015. Title in conference program: Syllable-Level OCP Effects in Indo-European Reduplication 2013 On the Origins of Attic Reduplication. 25th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA, October 25–26, 2013. 2011 Metathesis with /r/ in Classical Armenian: An Optimality Theory Approach. UGA Graduate Linguistics Colloquium, University of Georgia, Athens, GA, November 9, 2011. Posters 2024 A Phonology-Morphosyntax Interface Explanation of the "Nasal Infix" in (Proto-)Indo-European. AMP 2024, November 1–3. With Klaus Baki* and Anthony D. Yates. 2023 "Cyclic" Ordering without Cyclic Derivation: Contiguity-BD and Affix Order Alternations in Chichewa (Bantu). AMP 2023, Johns Hopkins University, online, October 20–22, 2023. 2023 Mirror Principle Effects in Templatic Morphology: Asymmetries in Bantu Suffix Doubling and Morphophonology. MorrisHalle@100 Conference, MIT, September 8–10, 2023. 2022 Less is Moro: Streamlining Jenks & Rose (2015). Linguistic Society of America Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, January 6-9, 2022. 2021 Reduplication in Tawala isn't Base-Dependent. Annual Meeting on Phonology 2021, University of Toronto & York University, Toronto, Canada, online, October 1-3, 2021. 2021 Mobile Affixes Undergo Movement: An Argument from Extended Exponence. 5th American International Morphology Meeting, Ohio State University, Columbus, OH, online, August 26-29, 2021. With Jelena Grofulovic (student, first author) and Gereon Müller. 2020 Huave Mobile Affixation and the Mirror Alignment Principle. Annual Meeting on Phonology 2020, University of California, Santa Cruz, Santa Cruz, CA, online, September 18–20, 2020. 2019 Reduplicant Shape Alternations in Ponapean: A Problem for Morphological Doubling Theory? NELS 50, MIT, Cambridge, MA, October 25–27, 2019. 2019 Reduplicant Shape Alternations in Ponapean: A Problem for Morphological Doubling Theory? Annual Meeting on Phonology 2019, Stony Brook University, Stony Brook, NY, October 11–13. 2019.

A Diachronic Counter-example to the Subset Principle: The Case of Anatolian Reduplication. Annual Meeting on Phonology 2018, UCSD, San Diego, CA, October 5–7, 2018. With Anthony

2018

D. Yates.

2017	Reduplication and the Perception of Consonants under Repetition. Acoustics '17 Boston, Boston, MA, June 25–29, 2017. With Benjamin Storme.
2016	Onset Skipping in the Serial Template Satisfaction Model of Reduplication. Annual Meeting on Phonology 2016, USC, Los Angeles, CA, October 21–23, 2016.
2016	Arabic Nonconcatenative Morphology and the Syntax-Phonology Interface. NELS 47, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA, October 14–16, 2016.
2014	A New Approach to the Origin of Germanic Strong Preterites. NELS 45, MIT, Cambridge, MA, October 31–November 2, 2014. With Ryan Sandell.
2014	Stress Restricts Reduplication: Stress-Reduplication Interactions in Australian and Austronesian. Annual Meeting on Phonology 2014, MIT, Cambridge, MA, September 19–21, 2014.
2014	A Correlation between Stress and Reduplication: Diyari and Beyond. Manchester Phonology Meeting 22, Manchester, UK, May 29–31, 2014.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

UCLA, Instructor

Advanced Phonology (graduate; Winter 2024, Winter 2025)

Phonology II (Winter 2024)

Seminar in Phonology: Phonology-Morphosyntax Interface (graduate; Fall 2023)

Applied Phonology (Fall 2023, Spring 2024, Fall 2024, Winter 2025)

Seminar in Phonology: Reduplication (graduate; Spring 2023)

Introduction to Phonology (Spring 2023, Fall 2024)

USC, Instructor

Advanced Phonology (graduate; Spring 2022)

Phonetics & Phonology (hybrid; Spring 2022)

Field Methods (combined graduate/undergraduate; Spring 2022, with Travis Major)

Morphology (graduate; hybrid; Fall 2021)

Leipzig University, Instructor

"Interacting building blocks in Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax (and Psycholinguistics) I: Excitatory and inhibitory sequential interactions" (graduate; phonology portion; online; Spring 2021, with Paula Fenger, Mike Frazier, and Greg Kobele)

"Interacting building blocks in Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax II: Excitatory and inhibitory simultaneous interactions" (graduate; phonology portion; online; Fall 2020, with Imke Driemel and Gereon Müller)

Princeton University, Instructor

Historical & Comparative Linguistics (Fall 2019)

Language Typology (Fall 2019)

Princeton University, Teaching Assistant ("Preceptor")

Language Typology (Spring 2019)

"Mythbusting Language" (Fall 2018)

Languages of Africa (Fall 2018)

Introduction to Linguistics (2018–2019, 8 sections)

MIT, Instructor

Advanced Phonology (graduate; Spring 2018, with Michael Kenstowicz)

Seminar in Phonology: Reduplication (graduate; Fall 2017)

MIT, Teaching Assistant

Advanced Phonology (graduate; Spring 2015)

Introduction to Phonology (Fall 2014)

Introduction to Linguistics (Fall 2013)

University of Georgia, Teaching Assistant (Instructor of Record)

Introduction to Linguistics (2011–2012, 3 classes)

ADVISING

UCLA, Guidance Committee Member

[Official advising capacity not continued after leaving UCLA]

Zach Metzler (project on templatic morphology in Central Sierra Miwok)

Klaus Baki (project on accent and ablaut in Vedic Sanskrit)

Leipzig University, PhD Qualifying Paper ("Squib") Committee Member

[Official advising capacity not continued after leaving Leizpig]

Furkan Atmaca, Evaluating Intra-speaker Variation of Turkish Agreement and Tense Markers with Markedness Bias: Emergence of the Variant

Leonel Fongang, Agreement and its Intricacies within the Ngemba DP

Jelena Grofulovic, Mobile Affixation in Huave

Razieh Shojaei, Tone in Tokyo Japanese: A Gradient Harmonic Grammar Approach

REVIEWING

Journal Manuscript Reviewing

Natural Language & Linguistic Theory, 2024

LI Squibs, 2023

Natural Language & Linguistic Theory, 2022

Canadian Journal of Linguistics, Glossa, LI Squibs, Natural Language & Linguistic Theory, 2021

Acta Linguistica Academica, Linguistic Inquiry (2 papers), Linguistics, Phonology, 2020

Glossa, Natural Language & Linguistic Theory, Phonology, 2019

Journal of East Asian Linguistics, Linguistic Inquiry, 2018

Poznan Studies in Contemporary Linguistics [PSiCL Certificate of Excellence in Reviewing], 2017

Conference Abstract Reviewing

Annual Meeting on Phonology (AMP), 2020, 2021, 2023

Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association (AFLA), 2022

Chicago Linguistics Society (CLS), 2020, 2021, 2023, 2024

Generative Linguistics in the Old World (GLOW), 2022

Nominal Inflection and Word-Formation at the Phonology-Morphology Interface, 2024

North East Linguistics Society (NELS), 2019, 2020, 2021, 2023

Old-World Conference on Phonology (OCP), 2024

Book Proposal Reviewing

Cambridge University Press ($\times 2$), 2023

Grant Proposal Reviewing

NSF Dissertation Improvement Grant, 2023

DEPARTMENTAL SERVICE

Leipzig (as postdoc)

Postdoc Search Committee (IGRA), 2020

PhD Student Selection Committee (IGRA), 2020

PhD Student Selection Committee (Emmy Noether Research Group), 2020

MIT (as grad student)

Phonology Circle Co-organizer, 2015–2016

Student-Faculty Liaison ("Student Rep"), Spring 2015 – Fall 2015

Open House Committee, 2015

Student Office Assigner, 2014–2016

SUMMER SCHOOLS AND CERTIFICATE PROGRAMS

Graduate Teaching Certificate Program, MIT Teaching & Learning Lab, 2015

Linguistic Society of America Summer Institute, University of Michigan, 2013

Leiden University Summer School in Languages and Linguistics, Leiden University, 2011

Intercollegiate Center for Classical Studies (study abroad program), Rome, 2009

LANGUAGES

Ancient Languages

	Reading knowledge	$Linguistic\ knowledge$
Ancient Greek	advanced	advanced
Latin	advanced	advanced
Classical Sanskrit	intermediate	advanced
Gothic	intermediate	advanced
Classical Armenian	intermediate	advanced
Hittite	beginner	advanced
Old Irish	beginner	intermediate
Old English	beginner	beginner

Modern Languages

	$Reading\ knowledge$	Speaking knowledge
Italian	intermediate	beginner
German	beginner	beginner

Field Methods Languages

Mongolian (Alasha dialect) one semester (in class, as instructor)

Irish (Connacht dialect) one semester (in class), one semester (with consultant)

Tunisian Arabic one semester (in class)

REFERENCES

Eric Baković

Linguistics Department University of California, San Diego 9500 Gilman Dr. #0108 La Jolla, CA 92093-0108 ebakovic@ucsd.edu

Bruce Hayes

Department of Linguistics University of California, Los Angeles 3125 Campbell Hall Los Angeles, CA 90095-1543 bhayes@humnet.ucla.edu

Sharon Inkelas

Department of Linguistics University of California, Berkeley 1203 Dwinelle Hall Berkeley, CA 94720-2650 inkelas@berkeley.edu

Donca Steriade

Department of Linguistics & Philosophy Massachusetts Institute of Technology 77 Massachusetts Avenue, Room 32-D808 Cambridge, MA 02139 steriade@mit.edu