

## Univerbation, prosody and syntax in the history of Slavic aspect

The rise of Slavic aspectual oppositions was a matter of repeated discussions (cf. e.g. Maslov 1961, Andersen 2013, Dickey 2015). Following Gankrelidze and Ivanov (1984), Dickey assumed recently (2015) the following order of changes: (1) change of word order by which postpositions became preverbs, (2) univerbation of preverb-verb sequences, (3) semantic reorganization of univerbated preverbs as markers of perfective aspect. Concerning change (1) we must state, however, that preverbs basically originated from adverbs and were not characterized by postposition in any systematic way, as can be illustrated by the following Hittite example:

- (1) š=āš šarā URU-ya pait  
and up city-to went  
, and he went up to the city'

The how and why of univerbation requires further explanation. It is clear that it arose before Old Church Slavic came into being. As Baltic developed neither full univerbation nor grammatical aspect comparable to Slavic, the rise of univerbation can be hypothesized to belong to a Slavic, not too distant prehistoric period.

My presentation takes into account the development of prosody and syntax in Slavic, which had an impact on the crucial stages of this development.

Starting from the late Indo-European stage at which (originally adverbial) preverbs came to be associated with verbs with the capacity to fill an internal argument of the verb, the development went in different directions in the different Indo-European languages. In my reconstruction, it was Pedersen's law of early Slavic that gave the impetus to univerbation. By Pedersen's law (described as one of the relevant accentual changes by Kortlandt since 1975), the stress was retracted from inner syllables in accentually mobile paradigms, e.g. Ru. *ná vodu* 'onto the water', *né byl* 'was not', *pródal* 'sold', *póvod* 'rein' (by syllable-internal retraction, the initial syllable of barytone forms in paradigms with mobile stress became falling; all the other stressed syllables became rising by opposition). The crucial point about this law was that it referred to syntactic units including clitical elements. This yielded the first stage of univerbation of preverbs with verbs.

Univerbation proceeded in Slavic due to another change independent of this, namely the generalization of the aorist *-s-* morpheme as an aspectual morpheme. This happened in Slavic, Celtic and Greek (cf. Watkins 1962), i.e. those Indo-European languages that subsequently proceeded to develop a grammatical aspectual system (with different outcomes due to different chronologies and circumstances).

Syntax was another determining factor in this development, as univerbation triggered a change of valency schemata (details are mentioned in Gvozdanović 2016, forthcoming).

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