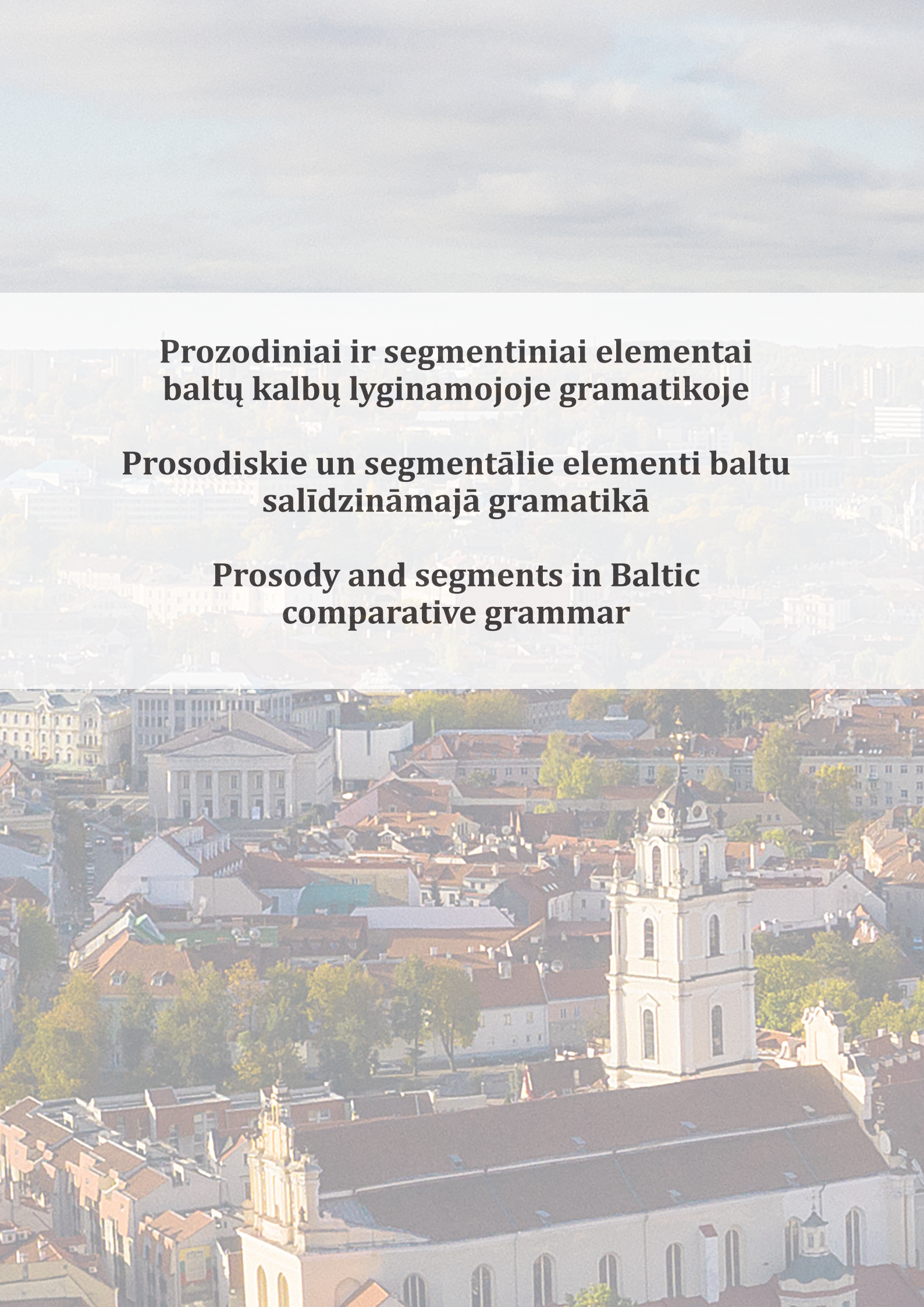


An aerial photograph of a city, likely Vilnius, Lithuania, showing a dense urban landscape with numerous buildings and a prominent white church tower with a dark roof and a cross on top. The sky is overcast with grey clouds. The text is overlaid on the upper half of the image.

**Prozodiniai ir segmentiniai elementai
baltų kalbų lyginamojoje gramatikoje**

**Prosodiskie un segmentālie elementi baltu
salīdzināmajā gramatikā**

**Prosody and segments in Baltic
comparative grammar**

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Proto-East-Baltic *jā and its relation to the Latvian debitive and Lithuanian subjunctive

The source construction of the Latvian debitive as instantiated by forms such as *jā=būt* 'should/must be' (thus e. g. in Valmiera), *jā=iēt* 'should/must go' has always posed a problem to the historical grammar of Latvian. The synchronic description of the debitive is rather straightforward: it has necessitative and originally also had existential semantics and is made up of the prefix *jā=* and the third person present tense form of a respective verb, with the exception of *jā=būt*, where *jā=* seems to be adjoined with the infinitive *būt*.

The diachrony of this construction, however, is not so clear. It has traditionally been assumed that the prefix *jā=* somehow developed from a relativiser/relative pronoun – an assumption that was already voiced by Endzelin in his *Lettische Grammatik* (1923). The exact etymology and form of the alleged relative pronoun, however, remain unclear. Recent research has shown that the Latvian debitive might have shared a common source with forms of the Lithuanian subjunctive paradigm, namely first person singular subjunctive forms of the type 1SG.SUBJ. *būčia* 'be'. Both can reflect the univerbation of a Proto-East-Baltic clitic *jā with either the infinitive like *būti > Lith *būti*, Latv *būt*, as is usually assumed, or a short third person subjunctive form like *būtuñ > *būtu > *būt > Lith *būt*/ *būti*, Latv *būt*, as I would like to suggest (*būt(i)=jā > *būčia* in Lithuanian and *jā='būt(i) > *jā=būt* in Latvian). Forms that show a third person present form as the second element are likely to be based on the pattern of DEB. *jā=iēt* : 3PRES. *iēt* 'go', where the third person present form is identical with the infinitive *iēt*.

The exact morphology and etymology of *jā, however, still remain unclear. This talk seeks to shed light on the history of *jā and the source construction of the debitive and the Lithuanian first person singular subjunctive: it will be demonstrated with the help of comparative evidence from East Baltic and other Indo-European languages that the clitic *jā is indeed originally a form of a relative pronoun as Endzelin assumed, namely the neuter nominative/accusative plural of the Proto-Indo-European relative pronoun *(H)ǵós, i.e. it is a reflex of Proto-Indo-European *(H)ǵéh₂ (cf. Greek ὅ, Vedic Sanskrit यद्). Based on the finding that *jā is indeed the reflex of an original relative pronoun, it can be established that the debitive construction and the first person singular subjunctive in Lithuanian go back to a more original construction consisting of a main clause and a relative clause introduced by *jā in which this was adjoined with either the predicate of the main clause or the predicate of the relative clause. Constructions of the former type led to the emergence of forms like Lith 1SG.SUBJ. *būčia*, while constructions of the latter type developed into debitives. These two particular developments will be discussed against the backdrop of similar constructions in other Indo-European languages.

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The afterlife of ‘simple’ clitics

It is well known that clitics are prone to univerbation with their syntactic and/or prosodic hosts. Univerbation turns a clitic into a bound morph which, from that time on, is just a part of a larger word and, accordingly, develops like bound morphs and/or segment strings of any origin. In my talk, I will argue that this is actually true only for one of the two major types of clitics whereas clitics belonging to the other type may still interact with their etymological source in different ways even after the univerbation has been completed. I will also systematise the different attested patterns of such interaction and address the question of how they may help in reconstructing bound morphology.

In most general terms, two major types of clitics may be distinguished. The so-called ‘simple’ clitics are just prosodically weak variants of stressed word-forms (cf. German 2SG.NOM stressed *du* vs. clitic *=du* ‘you’). By contrast, clitics which may be called ‘special’ clitics deviate from their stressed counterparts not just prosodically but also phonologically and/or syntactically (cf. Vedic Sanskrit 1PL.ACC stressed *asmān* vs. clitic *=nas*). Cf. slightly differently Zwicky (1994), Nübling (1992: 24–34), Anderson (1993: 73–76, 2005: 78), Halpern (1996: ix, 1998), Meklenborg Salvesen & Helland (2013: 5–7), among others.

Clitics of both types may become obligatory in a specific context and ultimately undergo univerbation. The life of a ‘special’ clitic ends at this point. By contrast, the phonological proximity of a (former) ‘simple’ clitic to its stressed counterpart often keeps the new structure synchronically analysable. This allows for a secondary interaction (a) between this structure and the stressed counterpart of the former ‘simple’ clitic, (b) between this structure and its stressed constituent used in different contexts.

In my talk, I will introduce a first preliminary typology of such interaction patterns attested in structures containing (former) ‘simple’ clitics. To this end, I intend to use two different morphological structures in Baltic. The first will be the determinate inflection of adjectives, which is known to have only recently developed by univerbation with a ‘simple’ clitic. The second structure will be the finite verbs only recently univerbated with clitic by-forms of originally independent local adverbs. Cf. on both structures and/or developments most recently Sommer (2018, 2019), Hill et al. (2019).

Using most recent developments of these two structures in Baltic and Slavonic languages (as partially described in Zinkevičius 1957, 1966, 1981; Hock 2016; Gelumbeckaitė 2020; Avanesov et al. 1965; Bromlej & Bulatova 1972 etc.), I will introduce several patterns of interaction between such structures and the independent words which originally provided their constituents. Cf. in particular:

- (a) phonological adjustment of the clitic part (cf. INST.SG.M. Lith *mažúo-ju*, NOM.PL.M. *-ie-ji* → Lith dial. *mažúo-juo*, *-ie-jie*, cf. INST.SG.M. *juõ*, NOM.PL.M. *jiẽ*),
- (b) morphological adjustment of the clitic part (cf. NOM.SG.F. OESlav *dobra-ja*, Lith dial. *mažó-ja* → OPr *pirmo-i*, Lith *mažó-ji*, Latv *mazà-i*, cf. NOM.SG.F. OESlav *ja* ~ Lith *ji*),
- (c) morphological adjustment of the stressed part (cf. LOC.SG.M. OLith *maža-jame* → Lith dial. *mažam-jam*, cf. LOC.SG.M. Lith *mažamè*, *jamè* > Lith dial. *mažam̃*, *jam̃*), etc.

Taking into account these patterns of secondary interaction between a univerbated morphological structure and its (former) constituents explains a great deal of surprising variation typically observed in such structures in different dialects and/or languages. This insight may help to correctly reconstruct the evolution of bound morphology in groups of related languages.

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The origin of fixed prefix stress patterns in Baltic and Slavic

A problem unaddressed in recent diachronic monographs on Balto-Slavic mobile stress (Olander 2009, Jasanoff 2017) and in studies on the prosody of prefixes in the relevant languages (Hill et al. 2019) is the persistent accent-attracting behavior of two (and only two) prefixes: Lithuanian *per-* and Common Slavic **vy-*.

In Lithuanian (Senn 1966: 246–247, 299), *pér-* ‘through, across’ is stressed irrespective of the accentual properties of the verbal stem: hence not only *pér-veda* ‘transfers’ (like *iš-veda* ‘leads out’), but also *pér-rašo* ‘overwrites’ (vs. *į-rāšo* ‘writes in’) and *pér-matė* ‘saw through’ (vs. *nu-mātė* ‘foresaw’). The prefix is likewise always stressed when added to nominals. This is the only prefix with such accent-overriding properties in Li (and Baltic; the other two languages are, for obvious reasons, less informative). OLi and dialectal evidence is variegated (Skardžius 1935: 229–230), but the special behavior of *per-* may by default be treated as conservative and its non-exceptional patterning as due to regularization.

In Sl, the prefix **vý-* ‘out, up’ displays a similar pattern: cf. Russian *ot-brósit* ‘to throw aside’, *ot-bróšu* ‘I will throw aside’ vs. *vý-brosit* ‘to throw out’, *vý-brošu* ‘I will throw out’; *ot-dát* ‘to give back’, *ot-dalá* ‘she gave back’ vs. *vý-dat* ‘to give out’, *vý-dala* ‘she gave out’. This same pattern is observed for **vy-* in Kashubian dialects with free stress (Lorentz 1903: 214) and in South Slavic dialects with residues of **vy-* (Vermeer 1984: 340), which guarantees the CSI pedigree of the phenomenon. Again, it also encompasses nominals.

Synchronically, the two prefixes can be analyzed as accentually dominant as opposed to all others (Lehfeldt 2001: 69, following Zaliznjak etc.), but this does not explain the origin of their unusual status. Approaches tackling the issue from a diachronic point of view are hard to come by. Some remarks can be found in works representing the Leiden school of BSl accentology (Pronk 2013: 109; Vermeer 1984: 340; Ebeling 1967: 585). Even here, however, the problem is only discussed in passing; many questions remain, and the proposed point of departure – the alleged underlying (i.e. not surface automatic/left-marginal) stress of all verbal prefixes – is questionable (cf. Jasanoff 2017: 213). Vaillant (1966)’s explanation invoking the alleged Germanic origin of CSI **vy-* can be rejected.

We attempt to formulate an account that would be broadly compatible with theories on BSl mobility such as those by Olander and Jasanoff. We do this by explicitly tackling several questions which have so far only been implied or even absent altogether in the literature, as well as by formulating new assumptions – some of them highly hypothetical, but at least overt:

- (1) The phenomenon seen in Li *pér-* and CSI **vý-* is so consistent and synchronically ‘out of place’ in both systems that it likely reflects the vestige of a common PBSl pattern.
- (2) Since the behavior is observed in two distinct items, the two likely share(d) a common property that induced the pattern (this would imply that Sl **per-* [and OPr *per-*?] is either not fully cognate with Li *per-* or was regularized).
- (3) This common property is somehow linked to the underlying acuteness, as the respective prefixes are the only acute (verbal) prefixes in both Lithuanian and Slavic. This connection has routinely been made (e.g. Kazlauskas 1968: 72, 87 or the above Leiden school literature), but note that acuteness should, in principle, be entirely independent of stress placement at the PBSl level (skeptically on the link between acuteness and the stress-retracting properties of *pér-* e.g. Schmalstieg 2000: 300–301).

- (4) The concomitant development of acuteness and inhibition of mobility may have something to do with a lost coda and/or second syllable of the prefixes: possibly PIE **ud* > PBSl **ūd*, PIE **pěri* or **perh_x* > PBSl **per-?* (Along similar lines cf. Girdenis & Žulys 1972: 198–199: Li *pér-* < **pěri*.)

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Traces of accentual immobility in Lithuanian disyllabic adjectives

In contemporary standard Lithuanian, disyllabic adjectives typically belong to a mobile accentuation pattern (i.e., accent paradigms 3 or 4), e.g., *báltas* (a. p. 3), *gývas* (a. p. 3), *māžas* (a. p. 4), etc. It has long been known that accentual mobility in some of these adjectives is secondary, and relics of earlier immobile accentuation can still be observed in older Lithuanian texts (cf. K. Donelaitis' instr. pl. *pĩlnoms*) or in modern dialects (cf. Žemaitian nom. pl. *báltĩ*). In some cases, it is further confirmed by comparative evidence (cf. Latvian *baľts*, *pĩľns*; Slavic *pĩľnъ*, a. p. a) or by the accentual patterns of derivatives (cf. dial. *bált-um-as*, *pĩln-at-is*). No systematic effort has yet been made to synthesize data from various sources or to compile a roughly comprehensive inventory of formerly immobile adjectives. This paper aims to do so.

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Old Prussian adverbs in *-i*

In this paper I will deal with Old Prussian adverbs in *-i* like *poklusmingi* ‘obediently’. I will do two things: 1) to argue that adverbs in *-i* constitute a real and separate class of Old Prussian adverbs (in contrast with most grammars, where they are mixed up with adverbs in *-ai/-u*); 2) to argue that *-i* goes back to the instr. sg. masc. **-ijō* of Proto-Baltic *ijō*-adjectives (type Lith. *didelis*, *-ė*) by regular sound change. Both claims crucially depend on close consideration of West Baltic *Auslautgesetze*.