Die Indogermanischen Forschungen erscheinen jährlich im Gesamtumfang von 24 Bogen. Preis des 85. Jahrganges 98,— DM.

Alle für die Indogermanischen Forschungen bestimmten Aufsätze und kleineren Beiträge (größere Arbeiten nicht ohne vorherige Anfrage) sowie alle Rezensionsexemplare sind an Prof. Dr. Wolfgang P. Schmid, Schlädeberg 20, 3403 Friedland 5, OT. Niedernsija, zu richten.

Inhalt

LXXXV. Band

I. Aufsätze:

Wiele Werner. Zur Syntax, Semantik und Pragmatik exklamatorischer Vokative .................................................. 1
Hamp Eric P. IE. *kro- 'dog' .................................................. 35
Normier Rudolf. Nochmals zu *isor- ................................. 43
Neu Erich. Hethit. man(n) iquinwa- 'meine' ...................... 81
Melchert H. Craig. The Hittite Word for "Son" .................. 90
Connolly Leo A. "Grammatischer Wechsel" and the Laryngeal Theory ................................................................. 96
Isebaert Lambert. Tocharisch B *ukyuktes 'etwa' gewandt, schlauf' ................................................................. 124
Weber Dieter. Beiträge zur historischen Grammatik des Ossetischen ................................................................. 126
Darcus Sullivan Shirley. How a Person Relates to *umoci in Homer ................................................................. 138
Lincoln Bruce. On the Imagery of Paradise ...................... 151
Stephens Laurence. Latin *gn-: Further Considerations .... 165
Joseph Brian D. A New Convergence Involving the Balkan Loss of the Infinitive .............................................. 176
Meid Wolfgang. Altbritannisch *dat "feet" ............................ 188

Latin *gn-: Further Considerations

tensively to voiced stops. We might formulate the process leading from *kn and *gn to n as follows:
a) *gn > g*hn > g*nhf > *ŋn > *ŋn > n
b) *kn > k*hn > k*nhf > *ŋn > *ŋn > n

with the sequence a) perhaps beginning before b).

Department of Classics, Laurence Stephens
Stanford University,
Stanford/California 94305

Re: Copying in the USA:
The appearance of the code at the bottom of the first page of an article in this journal indicates the copyright owner's consent that copies of the article may be made for personal or internal use, or for the personal or internal use of specific clients. This consent is given on the condition, however, that the copier pay the stated percopy fee through the Copyright Clearance Center, Inc., P.O. Box 765, Schenectady, New York 12301 for copying beyond that permitted by Sections 107 or 108 of the U.S. Copyright Law. This consent does not extend to other kinds of copying, such as copying for general distribution, for advertising or promotional purposes, for creating new collective, or for resale. For copying from back volumes of this journal see 'Permissions to Photo-Copy: Publisher's Fee List' of the CCC.
A New Convergence Involving the Balkan Loss of the Infinitive

One of the primary grammatical parallels holding among the Balkan languages is the complete or partial absence of an infinitive, a feature included by Sandfeld in his classic 1930 work, Linguistique Balkanique. The outline of the Balkan situation regarding the infinitive, as given by Sandfeld, was that the more southerly languages, especially Greek and Albanian, showed no productive infinitive at all, and as one moved northwards in the Balkans, one could find increasingly more systematic traces of an infinitive in the languages. For example, as Reichenkron (1962:102–105) and Schaller (1975:156–157) note, the infinitive is more productive in the northern Croatian dialects of Yugoslavia than in the southern Serbian dialects.

From the geographical distribution of this feature, as well as from the cultural influence of Greek in the Balkans, Sandfeld concluded that Greek was the original locus of the loss of the infinitive, and that this feature spread northward to the other Balkan languages, losing steam, as it were, as it made its way up the Balkan peninsula. Recent work, though, has cast doubt on this conclusion—the pre-eminent place accorded Greek cultural influence has been questioned, e.g. by Reichenkron (1962:121–122), and also many researchers have attempted to show that the loss of the infinitive can be motivated on language-internal grounds for many of the Balkan languages, e.g. Demiraj (1970) for Albanian. ¹ Thus it is perhaps safest to say at this point that

² One may suppose, though, that even if the other languages did not borrow this feature per se from Greek and rather developed it on their own, contact with a language like Greek may still have enhanced the generalization of one option (finite complementation) over another (infinitival complementation) within each language.

³ There are actually one “productive” use left in Greek of a form which continues an old infinitive; this is in the perfect tenses formations with ἔχω ‘have’ as an auxiliary verb, e.g. ἔχω γράψει I have written’ in which γράψει continues the Medieval Greek form γράψατο, an analogical replacement for the Ancient Greek aorist infinitive γράψα. This is the only use of this form in Modern Greek, but it is a formation possible for nearly all verbs. Thus this represents the anomalous situation of a “productive remnant” of an older form. See Joseph (1980) for some discussion of such definitional problems in this area of Balkan linguistics.

⁴ The actual role of Greek in the Balkan infinitive-loss phenomenon is unclear and as yet undecided.

Nevertheless, the position of Greek in the Balkan infinitive-loss continuum is clear. Greek shows the complete lack of a productive verbal category “infinitive,” and furthermore, clearly had an infinitive in earlier stages of its history. Moreover, the process of infinitive-loss is well-documentable in Greek owing to the large number of texts in the colloquial language from the relevant periods. Thus the study of the infinitive-loss in Greek can be of general interest for the overall Balkan situation, since it provides a basis from which one can gain an understanding of how this process manifests itself in a natural language.

In this paper, one aspect of the way in which the infinitive-loss process manifested itself in Greek, namely the order in which it diffused through the grammar, is shown to have a parallel in Romanian, a Balkan language still in the process of losing its non-finite verbal forms. This parallel is not mentioned in the literature on Balkan linguistics. Therefore it not only provides further insight into the general Balkan infinitive-loss phenomenon, but it also represents a new correspondence holding between individual Balkan languages. Thus the Balkan languages, in addition to showing a general convergence regarding the loss of the infinitive, also show a convergence on some of the particular details of this phenomenon as well.
The various stages of the infinitive-loss process in Greek can be recovered from the historical documentation available, and thus the sequence in which infinitive-loss proceeded through the grammar of Greek can be reconstructed. The Greek loss of the infinitive took place gradually throughout the period between Hellenistic Greek and Medieval Greek of the 12th to 15th centuries. The exact dating of this change is hindered by problems in the nature of the texts, especially since influence from the learned, archaising language was possible at all times. Nonetheless, certain facts are clear.

In Hellenistic Greek, especially Greek of the New Testament, the domain of the infinitive was reduced from what it was in Classical Greek, and replacements consisting generally of the particle των plus a finite verb (usually a subjunctive) are frequently found where infinitives once were used. Still, the infinitive is very much a living part of the NT Greek language, and in fact, one infinitival construction, the infinitive of purpose after verbs of motion:

(1) ζησομεν προσκυνήσαι κυτωκ. (Matt. 2:2)
‘We have come to pay homage to him’

is more prevalent in NT. Greek than in Classical Greek (Blass-Debrunner, 1961:196).

By early Medieval Greek, roughly the 10th to 12th centuries, the domain of the infinitive was even more sharply reduced, though enough traces of its systematic usage remain to warrant positing such a verbal category for the grammar of Greek at this time. By the 15th century, though, with the exception of its very common use with the verb ἂνθων ‘want’ as a future periphrasis (another widespread Balkan feature) and in perfect tense formations with ἠμεν ‘have’, the infinitive was effectively non-existent, i.e. with much the same status it holds in Modern Greek today.

This gradual “demise” of the infinitive was not just gradual in a temporal sense. It was gradual also in the manner in which it affected the constructions of Greek which utilized an infinitive in earlier stages of the language. That is, some such constructions were affected by the loss of the infinitive before others. And, within particular construction types, some lexical items participating in a construction were affected before others in the same class.

This diffusion of the effects of infinitive-loss through the grammar of Greek can be illustrated by the following facts. In NT, verbs which governed an object-complementary infinitive (i.e. V(erb) + S(entence)) where the subject of the infinitive was identical to the subject of the main verb and thus was left unexpressed on the surface, e.g. τολμα ‘dare’, ἐπιθυμεῖ ‘wish’, ἂνθων ‘want’, could govern either an infinitive or a finite clause as complement. Some verbs in this class, e.g. the three just mentioned, are found exclusively with an infinitive in NT, Greek while others are found with either type of complement (Blass-Debrunner, 1961:196–212).

Similarly, when the subject of such a verb was different from the subject of the infinitive, again both infinitival complementation (the so-called “Accusative-plus-Infinitive” construction) and finite complementation are to be found, and the verbs in this class are split as to usage. The two complement-types could even occur conjoined:

(2) ἂνθων ἔτει πάντες ὑμᾶς λαλεῖν γλώσσας μᾶλλον ἔτε ἐνα προφητεύοντες (1Cor. 14:5)

‘I want you all to speak in tongues or rather to preach’
(Literally: “. . . or rather that you preach”)

These constructions could be distinguished in terms of the different Deep Structures they have and the different syntactic rules by which these deep structures are transformed into Surface Structures; for example, for verbs like μᾶλλον one could posit a deep structure with a sentential subject and a rule of Subject-to-Subject Raising to produce the necessary surface forms. However, such an approach, while providing a useful descriptive and classificatory schema, does not necessarily shed any new light on the problem discussed here. Thus a more traditional account is adopted here.

---

4 See Joseph (1978: Chapter 2.3) for details and footnote 7. Hesseling (1892) also shares this opinion.

5 For further details about the loss of the infinitive in Greek, see Hesseling (1892), Burguière (1960), Jannaris (1968), Joseph (1978: Chapter 2).
Also, verbs which governed a bare complementary infinitive but had what might be called superficial "auxiliary-like" status, e.g. μέλλει 'be about to', δύναμαι 'can', ὄφειλον 'ought', are found with the infinitive at this stage of Greek, with no class-internal variation as with the other classes discussed above.

By Medieval Greek, the demise of the infinitive is more complete. Accusative-plus-Infinitive construction verbs occur only with a finite-verb complement, and the complementary infinitive verbs like τολμάω all occur either with a finite verb only or with an occasional infinitive, but none at this stage occur only with an infinitive. Similarly, the μέλλω-class shows the same pattern as the τολμάω-class, most often occurring with a finite verb complement, but sporadically occurring with an infinitive.7

This brief sketch, then, shows how the infinitive-replacement process affected some classes of verbs, i.e. some construction-types, before others, and within each class, affected some verbs before others.

One of the last infinitival constructions to be affected in this way by the spread of the loss of the infinitive was a construction involving an infinitive dependent on an adjective, in which the surface subject of the main clause was the logical object of the infinitive. This is the construction known as Tough-Movement in the generative-syntactic literature, and is exemplified by English sentences such as (3) or Ancient Greek sentences such as (4):

(3) a. Mary is tough to beat at tennis.
   b. That word is impossible to define.
   c. French is hard for me to understand.

(4) a. ἡμέραν πολεμίζειν ἦσαν οἱ Ἀχαιοί (II. 18.258)
   'The Achaeans were easier to fight against'

8 One slight difference is that in Post-Classical Greek, one can find Tough Movement sentences (e.g. (6b) from Medieval Greek) in which the particle τοί occurs along with the infinitive — this is the neuter genitive singular of the definite article generalized as a subordinating conjunction. It is common in Post-Classical Greek with infinitives and is essentially a redundant marker of infinitival complementation. For details, see Kesseling (1966).

b. τέρας μὲν θαυμάσσον προσέδισθαι (Pl. P. 1.26)
   'A wondrous marvel to behold . . .'

9 Since no collection of such sentences exists for any stage of Greek, these examples were collected from a survey of concordances, lexicons, and grammars for Hellenistic Greek, and from a reading of the relevant vernacular Medieval Greek corpus (see Joseph (1978: Chapter 1; Bibliography) for details). Thus while some examples may have been missed for Hellenistic Greek, the listing in (6) for Medieval Greek purports to be exhaustive.

The Balkan Loss of the Infinitive

8 Examples from NT Greek and from vernacular literature in later stages of Greek include the following:

(5) a. καλὲν ἥνη ὑπὲρ . . . τὸ ἔργον . . . ἀνεπόθανοι τοῖς ὑπελήπτοις ἕδεν (Gen. 3:6)
   'And the woman saw that the tree (was) pleasing to (her) eyes to see'

b. περὶ οὗ πολὺς ἦμιν ὁ λόγος καὶ διηκρῆσθαι εἶναι
   (Heb. 5:11)
   ' . . . about which we have much to say, and (it is) hard to explain'

10 This example is from the Septuagint (Old Testament), which existed in Greek as early as 100 B.C., though the earliest extant versions date from 400 A.D. Thus it is roughly contemporaneous with NT (Hellenistic) Greek, though possibly somewhat more archaic.
‘And the work was especially-wondrous for people to see and to hear of’ (Literally: ‘And the work was especially wondrous that someone should see it and hear (of)’)

By this time, the infinitive had all but completely disappeared from colloquial usage. Even Hesseling (1892), who advocates a rather late date (c. 1500) for the ultimate loss of the infinitive from colloquial usage (as opposed, for example, to Mirambel (1961) who advocates a much earlier date, c. 10th century), holds that the infinitive would have been lost by that time. Thus the evidence of (6) and (7) suggests that Tough Movement was one of the last, if not the very last, of the inherited constructions with an infinitive to be affected by the infinitive-loss process.

The chronological sequencing of the effects of the loss of the infinitive through the grammar of Greek is of particular interest for the general Balkan phenomenon for it seems that the same sequencing is to be found in Romanian, a language which is currently in the process of losing its non-finite verbal complements much as Greek did. In standard spoken Romanian, the infinitive proper, for example the so-called ‘short’ form a face ‘to do’, is restricted in use to negative imperatives and certain compound tenses (such as the future with a vrea ‘want’)—in places where infinitives occurred more freely in earlier stages of Romanian, one finds finite clauses, generally headed by the particle să. This situation is reflected also in synchronic variation, for there are some verbs which can take either an infinitival complement or a finite complement (cf. Sandfeld and Olsen, 1936: 253ff., Pop, 1948: 398-400, Guillermou, 1962: 18-19):

(8) a. știu a o face / știu să o fac
 ‘I know how to do it’

11 There is variation in the manuscripts which attest this line with respect to the το. Two manuscripts (Parisinus Suppl. gr. 1034 f° 169r-175v and Adrianoπ 1237 f° 1r-7r) have το, the generalized subordinating particle (see footnote 8), and two (Parisinus grec 1310 f° 429r-434r and Parisinus Coislin 382 f° 142r-148v) have the nominative/accusative article το. το seems to have been used in Post-Classical Greek only with infinitives used as subjects and objects of main verbs, not with infinitives dependent on adjectives. Thus it appears that some scribe(s) read this passage as being Tough Movement and so wrote το, while others read it as ‘I consider to carry the mud (to be) a nuisance’ (with ‘to carry the mud’ as sentential subject of ‘be a nuisance’) and so wrote τά.

12 This form of Tough Movement sentence, with an object pronoun in the (finite) subordinate clause, still occurs in Modern Greek, though such sentences are only infrequently used:

(i) τά ἄγγιξα εἶναι δύσκολα νὰ τὰ καταλάβω
 ‘English is hard for me to understand’
 (Literally: ‘The English (things) are hard that I understand them’).

13 Uses of the infinitive after this period, especially with forms of δέξω to indicate futurity and with forms of ἔξω in the perfect tenses, represent non-inherited uses of the infinitive, i.e. appear to be Byzantine or Medieval Greek innovations.

14 Although the number of examples of Tough Movement sentences in Medieval Greek texts is small, the fact that this construction occurs at one stage (early Medieval Greek) still with only an infinitive is the crucial point and can be taken to be significant.
b. apucă a scrie / se apucă să scrie

‘He begins to write’

Romanian has other non-finite verbal complements as well, the most common of which is de plus the past participle (or “supine”), such as de făcut ‘to do’. These also are being affected by the same movement away from non-finite complementation towards finite complementation that has resulted in variation such as (8).

For example, a complement of the type de făcut, when used as a logical subject as in (9), (cf. Kazazis, 1965:68):

(9) e cam greu de călătorit singur

‘It’s somewhat difficult to travel by oneself’

can be replaced by a finite șă-clause:

(10) e cam greu șă se călătorească singur

‘It’s somewhat difficult to travel by oneself’

Similarly, it alternates with a finite șă-clause when it is the complement to a head noun (Kazazis, 1965:81–82):

(11) a. poate-i nevoie de făcut ceva iute

‘It may be necessary to do something fast’

b. poate-i nevoie șă se facă ceva iute

‘It may be necessary that something be done fast’

One very common use of the de făcut-type of complement is in Tough Movement sentences (cf. Togeby, 1962.; Sandfeld and Olsen, 1936:278–279), as in:

(12) asta nu-i greu de făcut

‘This is not difficult to do’

Moreover, in this construction, as in those of (8) through (11), a finite clause is possible in place of the non-finite complement de făcut (with the complement apparently obligatorily in a reflexive passive construction with se):

(13) asta nu-i greu șă se facă

‘This is not difficult to do’ (Literally: “This is not difficult that it be done”)

The interesting fact about this construction is that despite the finite/non-finite alternation as in (12) and (13), the non-finite complement is by far the more frequent and preferred mode of expression. As Kazazis (1965:91) notes: “Some adjectives occur much more often with de + past participle complements [e.g. like (12)] than they do with M-clause complements [e.g. like (13), with a finite verb]. The adjectives șesnu ‘easy’, usor ditto, and greu ‘difficult’ are cases in point.” The particular adjectives he mentions are those adjectives which occur in the Tough Movement construction in Romanian.

Thus even though Tough Movement in Romanian is participating in the movement away from non-finite complements, it is doing so only to a limited degree, much less so than any other construction. This limited movement away from non-finite complementation in the case of Tough Movement can be taken to mean that the introduction of finite complementation in this construction is a relatively recent development in Romanian, a change which has not yet had the opportunity to run to completion.

Thus in both Romanian and Greek, the Tough Movement construction appears to be among the last constructions to either have lost or still be in the process of losing its non-finite verbal complement. The duplication of this phenomenon in these two languages under similar conditions of the replacement of non-finite complements by finite ones suggests that there is some regularity to the order in which such a process moves through the grammar of a language.

Moreover, this parallel between these two languages establishes another Balkan convergence, not mentioned heretofore in the literature. In this case, the convergence is actually a subconvergence, falling under the general rubric of a correspondence involving the complete or partial lack of an infinitive—were it not for the infinitive-loss phenomenon, this new correspondence either would not exist or would not be of any general interest.
It is clear at this point that the detailed properties of each of Sandfeld’s original correspondences must be investigated carefully, with an eye to finding more specific sub-convergences holding among Balkan languages within each larger correspondence, just as the study of the properties of infinitive-loss has revealed this new Balkan convergence.

References


The Balkan Loss of the Infinitive


