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THE EXTERNALIZATION OF INFIXES IN THE INDO-EUROPEAN ROOTS

Summary

The article discusses the problem of the diachronic externalization of inflection in Indo-European on the basis of three Indo-European infixes: (1) the durative (nasal) morpheme **-n-*; (2) the augment **h₁e* and (3) the iterative (frequentative) morpheme **-t(e)h₂-*.

Ad 1: The nasal infix **-n-*, which is believed to be Indo-European's only infix, creates a variant of the basic root, e.g. PIE. **li-n-k^w-* ← **leik^w-* 'to leave'. The Indo-European nasal infix presents have not been explained so far from the semantic point of view. The present author proves that the infix **-n-* originally expressed the feature of durativity. Due to the diachronic externalization of inflection this nasal morpheme later evolved into a suffix added to the verbal root. *Verba durativa* with the nasal marker *-an-* are attested as early as in the 2nd millennium BC in the Anatolian languages, cf. Hittite *iy-ann-a/i-* 'to march, to go long', Palaic *iyannnai* 'he marches (long)' vs. Hitt. *i-* 'to go', Luw. *i-*, Hier. Luw. *i-*, Lat. *eō, īre*, Lith. *eīti*, OChSl. *iti* 'id.' < PIE. **h₁ei-* 'to go'. The durative verbs in question, as well as the related nouns with the durative suffix **-ano-*, also appear in other Indo-European languages, cf. Toch. B *yanem* 'they walk, go long'. Numerous Greek presents (e.g. ἀνδάνω, θιγγάνω, λαμβάνω, λανθάνω, λιμπάνω, μανθάνω, πυνθάνομαι and so on) document the same nasal morpheme not only infixed into a verbal root, but also in the form of the suffix *-an-*. These verbal forms, indicating the durativity of the action, should be treated as intermediate, i.e. hybrid. See below table 1.

Basic verbal root	(1) Old model	(2) Intermediate (hybrid) model	(3) New model
PIE. <i>*leik^w</i> - ‘to leave’	PIE. <i>*li-n(e)-k^w</i> - ‘to leave (for the long time)’	<i>*li-n-k^w-nH-</i> (verbum durativum)	IE. <i>*lik^w-n-</i> (verbum durativum)
Gk. λείπω	Lat. <i>linquō</i> , OInd. <i>riṅákti</i> (3 pl. <i>riñcánti</i>), Avest. <i>irinaxti</i>	Gk. λιμπάνω	Arm. <i>lk’anem</i>

Table 1: Three phases of externalization of the nasal infix.

Ad 2: Indo-Europeanists have generally followed the traditional theory according to which the augment, i.e. the initial particle **h₁e* expressing past tense, represents a relatively late innovation attested in the central group of Indo-European languages. The present author demonstrates that the particle **h₁e* was an old morpheme originally infixes within the verbal root, e.g. PIE. **sed-* ‘to sit’ (*praesens*) → PIE. **se-h₁e-d-* (*praeteritum*) > IE. **sēd-* (past tense), cf. Lat. *sedeō*, perf. *sēdī*. The translocation of the augment from medial to initial position was probably motivated by analogy to the very frequently used verbal roots PIE. **h₁es-* ‘to be’, **h₁ei-* ‘to go’ and **h₁ed-* ‘to eat’, which were phonologically similar to the augment **h₁e*. In these roots, the original structure, namely PIE. **h₁e-* + (infixes augment) **h₁e* + *-C-*, was reinterpreted differently, viz. as the indeclinable augment preceding the verbal root (**h₁e-* + **h₁eC-*). By analogy, the particle **h₁e* started to be placed in initial position (i.e. before the verbal root) in other cases too. Intermediate (hybrid) forms of the past tense, like Gk. Hom. *ἔειπον* < **h₁e-we-h₁e-k^w*- (← PIE. **wek^w-*), may also be found in some Indo-European languages belonging to the central group.

Ad 3: The iterative infix **-th₂-* is attested in Ancient Greek, e.g. Gk. *παταγέω* and *πλαταγέω* should be treated as *verba iterativa* (*frequentativa*) derived from Gk. *πήγνυμι* and *πλήσσω* (Att. *πλήττω*, aor. pass. *ἐπλήγην*), respectively. They were created from the basic verbal roots by the iterative (dental) infix, e.g. PIE. **ph₂-th₂-ĝ-* ← PIE. **peh₂ĝ-*; PIE. **plh₂-th₂-ĝ-* ← PIE. **pleh₂ĝ-*. Latin and other languages attest the suffix **-teh₂-*, which creates verbs with iterative or frequentative meaning, e.g. Lat. *itō*, *itāre* ← *eō*, *īre*, see also Greek adiectivum verbale *ιτητέον* (< PIE. **h₁i-teh₂-* ← PIE. **h₁ei-* ‘to go’). Ancient Greek presents both the older model and the newer one; other Indo-European languages show only the new model created by the externalization of the iterative morpheme **-t(e)h₂-*.