

'Finite' Infinitives in Ancient Greek

Götz Keydana

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A short prehistory of the Greek infinitive: morphology

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- Gr. ἔχειν, Myc. *e-ke-e* < loc. **seĝ^h-es-en*, cf. Ved. *-sáni* < **-s-én-i* and Lat. *-ere* < **-es-i* (Stüber 2000)
- PIE infinitive based on locative of deverbal *s*-stem → initially used as an adjunct, since locative complements not attested.
- Grammaticalization path: GOAL-case of event noun → PURPOSIVE → adjunct infinitive with modal semantics (Haspelmath (1989), but see Keydana (2013)).
- *-έμεν* and *-εναί / -μεναί* likewise based on locatives.

A short prehistory: adjuncts

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(1) rationale clause

βῆ δ' ἵμεν ἄν τε μάχην καὶ
stride-AOR.3.SG PTCL go-INF through and battle-ACC and
ἀνὰ κλόνον ἐγχειάων
through crush-ACC spear-GEN.PL

He [sc. Aeneas] set out to go through the battle and through the crush of the spears. E 167

(2) purpose clause

τίς τάρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι
who-NOM then both-ACC god-GEN.PL brawl-DAT.SG
ξυνέηχε μάχεσθαι;
drive-AOR.3.SG fight-INF

Who then of the gods forced the two against each other, for a brawl, to fight each other? A 8

Note the absence of a complementizer!

A short prehistory: complements

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(3) hōs d' ar hāi anage^hen op^hēlontes
thus and then in the following way bring-INF obliged-NOM.PL
and thus then in the following way (those) obliged to bring
(men)... Py Aq 218

(4) dāmos de min p^hāsi
parish-NOM.SG and PRON.ACC.SG say-PRS.3.SG
ktoinā^hōn kekemenā^hōn onāton ek^he^hen
land parcel-GEN.PL public[?]-GEN.PL lease-ACC.SG have-INF
The parish declares that she owns a lease of the public land
parcels. Py Ep 704 (similarly Eb 297)

Modal semantics even in the oldest attestations no longer obligatory.

Semantics of the Acl: Content of an utterance / thought / sentiment: "that *q*"

A short prehistory: matrix infinitives

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Matrix infinitive with nominative subject (probably of PIE origin):

- (5) παῖδα δ' ἐμοὶ λύσαιτε φίλην
child-ACC PTCL me-DAT set free-AOR.OPT.2.PL dear-ACC
τὰ δ' ἄποινα δέχεσθαι /
the-ACC.PL PTCL ransom-ACC.PL take-INF
ἄζόμενοι Διὸς υἱὸν
stand in awe-PTCP.PRS.NOM.PL Zeus-GEN son-ACC
ἐκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα
attaining his aim-ACC Apollon-ACC

Set free my dear child! Take the ransom, in awe of the son of Zeus, Apollon, who attains his aim! A 20-21

A second type of matrix infinitive: Homer

- (6) εἰ μὲν κεν Μενέλαον Ἀλέξανδρος
if PTCL PTCL Menelaos-ACC Alexandros-NOM
καταπέφνη / αὐτὸς ἔπειθ' Ἑλένην
kill-AOR.SUBJ.3.SG self-NOM then Helen-ACC
ἔχέτω καὶ κτήματα πάντα... / εἰ δέ κ'
have-PRS.IPV.3.SG and property-ACC.PL all-ACC.PL if PTCL PTCL
Ἀλέξανδρον κτείνῃ ξανθὸς Μενέλαος /
Alexandros-ACC kill-PRS.SUBJ.3.SG blond-NOM Menelaos-NOM
Τρῶας ἔπειθ' Ἑλένην καὶ κτήματα πάντ'
Trojan-ACC.PL then Helen-ACC and property-ACC.PL all-ACC.PL
ἀποδοῦναι
give back-AOR.INF

If Alexander slay Menelaos, then he shall keep Helen and all her properties [...]. But if blond Menelaos slay Alexander, then the Trojans shall give back Helen and all her properties. Γ 281-285

A second type of matrix infinitive: inscriptions

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- (7) αἰ δέ κα μὲ λαγάσει καταδικαδδέτῳ τῷ
if PTCL PTCL not set free-FUT.3.SG condemn-IPV.3.SG the-GEN
μὲν ἐλευθέρῳ στατῆρα [...] τῷ δὲ χρόνῳ τὸν
PTCL free-GEN statēr-ACC the-GEN PTCL time-GEN the-ACC
δικαστὰν ὀμνύντα κρίνεν
judge-ACC swear-PTCP.PRS.ACC decide-INF
If he does not set him free, (the judge) shall condemn him to a
fine of one statēr in case of a free man. . . As to the duration, the
judge shall decide under oath. GDI 4991, 7-10

Unembedded Acl and imperative

stand in free distribution (Schwyzer 1950: 383).

The origin of the matrix ACI

Schwyzler (1950: 383):

Ellipse des Verbum regens.

- 'Ellipsis' understood here as a diachronic process:
 - synchronic ellipsis could not account for free variation with the imperative.
- Verbum regens is a verb of request *vel sim*.
- Part of the grammaticalization path is attested elsewhere:
 - complement(izer) → purpose clause (marker) (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 92). For an example of de-embedding see below.

Examples with verbum regens

Verbum regens: judicial act (8, rare), psych verb (9), simple verbum dicendi (see below) – deontic modal verbs or verbs of request are not attested.

- (8) ἔκρινε ὁ δᾶμος [...] judge-AOR.3.SG the-NOM.SG parish-NOM.SG
Κιμωλίων ἡμεν Πολύαιγαν, Ἑτηρείαν, people of Cimolos-GEN.PL be-INF Polyaiga-ACC.SG Hetēreia-ACC.SG
Λιβείαν Libeia-ACC.SG

The parish judged that Polyaiga, Hetēreia and Libeia belong to the people of Cimolos. IG XII.iii.1295

- (9) τὰδ' ἔφαδε τᾶι πόλι [...] νομίσματι χρῆθαι this please-AOR.3.SG the-DAT town-DAT currency-DAT use-INF
τῶι καυχῶι τῶι ἔθηκαν ἅ πόλις the-DAT copper-DAT the-DAT put-AOR.3.PL the-NOM town-NOM

It pleased the city, that one shall use as currency the copper that the town coined. GDI 5011

Actuation

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Source and target of the change are undisputed.

But:

- How does the AcI acquire a deontic reading?
- Why can it become de-embedded?

To answer these questions we have to look into the actuation of the change:

- What triggers the actual change?
 - Is the change due to structural reasons?
 - Is it routed in usage?
 - Who is responsible: Speaker, hearer, or both?

Actuation in phonology

The role of the speaker: variation

The role of the hearer: categorization

- Hypocorrection (Ohala 2012):
 - /ut/ pronounced as [u₊t],
 - transitions in [u₊t] are ambiguous (Blevins 2004):
 - cues for coronal,
 - cues for /y/ → misparsing.
- Perceptual metathesis (Blevins and Garrett 2004):
 - Ved. /karṣtu-/ pronounced as [karṣtu-],
 - cues for /r/ (F3) are elongated:
 - perception as /karṣtu-/,
 - perception as /kraṣtu-/ → metathesis.
- Hypercorrection (Ohala 2012):
 - [yt] pronounced, /yt/ intended,
 - hearer perceives /ut/ (presupposing coarticulation).

Factors in micro-change

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- Channel bias (Garrett and Johnson 2013):
 - coarticulation effects ([ʉt] above),
 - limits of perception, e.g. elongated cues (perceptual metathesis above).
- Analytic bias:
 - determines sensitivity to variation (Moreton 2008),
 - determines direction of cue-interpretation (Hamann 2009),
 - triggers hypercorrection.

Actuation outside of phonology

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- The speaker
 - makes utterances which are typically not fully explicit,
 - presupposes shared common ground,
 - uses anaphors,
 - is innovative:
 - uses implicatures,
 - thus inviting inferences (Traugott and Dasher 2002).
- The hearer
 - reconstructs the meaning of the utterance,
 - resolves anaphors,
 - accomodates presuppositions,
 - learns generalized invited inferences (GIINs),
 - but avoids pragmatic overload (Eckardt 2009),
 - thus constraining speakers' creativity (Schwenter and Waltereit 2010).

The two uses of verba dicendi + Acl

(10) Reported speech, see example (4).

(11) Deontic speech act (request)

Δᾶμις Βαθυκλεῦς ἤιπε [...]

Damis-NOM Bathuklēs-GEN say-AOR.3.SG

ἀποδόμεν τοῖς Θηραίοις τὰμ
give-INF the-DAT.PL Theraean-DAT.PL the-ACC

πολιτήιαν κατὰ τὰ
citizenship-ACC according to the-ACC.PL

πάτριά
of the native country-ACC.PL

Damis, son of Bathuklēs, requested that one give citizenship to the Theraeans according to the customs of their native country. SEG ix 3+

Lexical vs. conveyed meaning

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- Lexical meaning of εἰπεῖν : “say [that q]_{Acl}” (type 1).
- Conveyed meaning in the context of (11):
“request [that q]_{Acl}” (type 2).
- Note that the innovation targets the embedding verb, the semantics of the Acl remain unchanged!
- Evidence: Same type of inference with other complements!

(11) is a bridging context (Heine 2002),

since a construction 'speech act verb (like εἰπεῖν) + Acl' is ambiguous:

It may be intended as type 1 or as type 2.

The role of the speaker

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- The speaker intends the utterance as type 2, but
- avoids a verb of request, thus
- inviting an inference,
- namely that with the use of the speech act verb a deontic meaning is implied.

The role of the hearer

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- The hearer gets the message, since the context is unambiguous,
- but s/he does not get the invitation to infer a 'Nebensinn' for the verb,
- s/he perceives the utterance as type (1), thus
- inferring the 'wrong' implicature and
- associating the deontic modality with the Acl:
"say [that necessarily q]_{Acl}",
- and finally learns the GIIN that the Acl may express a request.

The hearer as speaker: From pragmatics to syntax

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- The original function of the Acl was to encode subordination.
- The hearer derives a new GIIN in specific contexts:
 - The Acl is associated with deontic modality.
- Conventionalization leads to grammaticalization:
 - The former GIIN turns into the primary function of the Acl.
 - As a consequence the old function is demoted.
- This opens up new vistas for syntax: the Acl can be de-embedded.
- Result: The Acl stands in free distribution with the imperative.

A typological parallel

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A similar (though less cogent) development can be observed in German:

- (12) a. Dass du mir ja um acht zuhause bist!
that you me PTCL at eight at home are
Be home at eight!
- b. Ich verlange, dass du (*mir) (*ja) um acht
zuhause bist.

The change as a hypocorrection

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- The change is hearer-based.
- It is not speaker-invited.
- It is a hypocorrection:
 - deontic modality is correctly inferred, but
 - the implicature is parsed erroneously.
- It depends on channel bias: The implicature is comparable to an elongated cue in phonetics.
- (For a similar approach to grammaticalization see Grossman and Polis (2014).)

δοκέω as a bridge verb

(13) δοκέω, the most frequent embedding verb in inscriptions:

ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλῆι Ἡγέλοχον τὸν
seem-AOR.3.SG the-DAT council-DAT Hēgelochos-ACC the-ACC
Ταραντῖνον πρόξενον εἶναι καὶ εὐεργέτην
Tarantinos-ACC guest-ACC be-INF and benefactor-ACC

It seemed appropriate to the council that Hēgelochos from Tarās be a guest and a benefactor. GDI 5308

- Lexical meaning of δοκέω: epistemic modality.
- Conveyed meaning: deontic modality.
- Meaning intended by the speaker: “it seems necessary [that q]_{AcI}”.
- Meaning perceived by the hearer: “it seems [that necessarily q]_{AcI}”.

Summary

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- The Acl embedded under non-deontic verbs in deontic contexts is the source of the unembedded Acl.
- The message intended by the speaker can be conveyed because the speaker invites an inference:
 - the embedding verb has a deontic side-meaning.
- The hearer misparses the implicature:
 - the Acl is reanalyzed as denoting deontic modality.
- Conventionalization of the GIIN leads to syntactic change:
 - the Acl can be used without embedding.

References I

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References II

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Götz Keydana
Sprachwissenschaftliches Seminar
Georg-August-Universität Göttingen
Käte-Hamburger-Weg 3
D-37073 Göttingen
gkeydan@gwdg.de
www.keydana.de