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GREEK DURATIVE VERBS WITH THE NASAL INFIX AND SUFFIX

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*The Indo-European nasal infix presents have so far not been explained from the semantic point of view. The author of this paper argues that the infix *-n(e)- 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. Numerous durative verbs with the nasal marker -an- are attested as early as the 2nd millennium BCE in the Anatolian languages; cf. Hittite iy-ann-a/i- 'to march, go a long distance', Palaic iyannnai 'he marches (a long distance)' vs. Hitt. i- 'to go', Luw. i-, Hier.Luw. i-, Lat. eō, ire, Lith. eiti, 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 (for a long time)'. Numerous Greek present forms (e.g., ἀνδάνω, θιγγάνω, λαμβάνω, λανθάνω, λιμπάνω, μανθάνω, πυνθάνομαι and so on) document the same nasal morpheme not only infixed into the verbal root, but also in the form of the suffix -αν-. This is to be explained as the effect of the diachronic externalization of the durative (nasal) morpheme. Greek verbal forms with the nasal infix and the nasal suffix should be treated as intermediate forms or hybrids. Newer forms (indicating the durativity of the action) in Greek contain only a nasal suffix (e.g. αὐξάνω, ἰζάνω, ἰσχάνω, κευθάνω, ληθάνω, οἰδάνω, ῥοφάνω).*

Key words: Ancient Greek; durative verbs; externalization of inflection; Indo-European languages; nasal infix

1. Introduction

There are two competing forms of the verbal roots in the Indo-European languages. One is in the full grade, e.g. Gk. λείπω < IE. **leik^u-ō* < PIE. **leik^u-eh₃(i)* ‘I leave’. The other has the root in the zero grade (i.e. PIE. **lik^u-*) combined with the nasal infix **-n(e)-*, e.g. Ved. *riṇákti*, Av. *irinaxti* ‘s/he leaves’ < PIE. **li-né-k^u-ti* 3rd pers. sg. pres. ind.; Lat. *linquunt* ‘they leave’ < PIE. **li-n-k^u-onti* 3rd pers. pl. pres. ind., cf. the Greek verb λμπάνουσι ‘id.’ with the additional nasal suffix (Danka & Witczak 1990: 317). We note that the semantic difference between the verbal roots with and without the nasal infix has not been hitherto explained.¹ In his excellent survey of the relevant scholarship Manuel García Teijeiro (1970: 146) states that the exact original function (“significación fundamental”) of the *n*-infix at the Indo-European level is unclear and irrecoverable, though the formal identity of the attested *n*-infix verbal forms appears to be obvious. And more recent research typically arrives at much the same position (cf. Milizia 2003; Bertocci 2014: 482–483; Scheungraber 2014: 18–27). The present author seeks to explicate the matter by showing the durative character of Indo-European verbs containing the nasal morpheme (infix or suffix or both).

2. Durative verbs with the nasal suffix in the Anatolian languages

In Hittite and its Anatolian relatives (such as Luwian, Palaic and Lydian) there are numerous *verba durativa* formed by adding the durative suffix *-an-* to the basic verbal root, e.g. Hitt. *ḫattanna-* ‘to cut through, pierce, cut into pieces’ (< Hitt. *ḫatta-* ‘to pierce, cut, wound’), *ḫuittiyanna-* ‘to pull’ (< *ḫuittiya-* ‘to tear, pull’), *išḫuwanna-* ‘to pour in, throw’ (< *išḫuwa-* ‘to pour, throw’), *lahḫiyanna-* ‘to conduct a war campaign’ (< *lahḫiya-* ‘to set out for war’), *nanna-* ‘to rush’ (< *nai-* ‘to lead, send’), *paršiyanna-* ‘to break, tear into pieces’ (< *paršiya-* ‘id.’), *šipandanna-* ‘to make a liquid offering’ (< *išpant-* ‘id.’), *tuḫšanna-* ‘to cut off, separate’ (< *tuḫša-* ‘to cut, divide’), *walḫanna-* ‘to beat (a slave); play (a musical instrument)’ (< *walḫa-* ‘to hit’);² Luwian *uppanna-* ‘to fetch, bring’ (< Luw. *uppa-*), Luw. *mammanna-* ‘to inspect,

¹ Standard references on this subject include Strunk 1967; García Teijeiro 1970; Meiser 1993: 280–313; Milizia 2003; 2004: 337–359; Gorbachov 2007; Bertocci 2014: 481–484.

² The Hittite examples are quoted from the following: Friedrich 1952: 82; Kronasser 1956: 198; Jasanoff 2003: 122; Kloekhorst 2008: 175–176.

view, evaluate' (< Luw. *mana-* 'to see'); Lydian *sawên-* 'to watch, experience' (< Anat. **saw-* 'to look'), Lyd. *wc-baqên-* 'to tread on sth, trample (?)' (< Lyd. *baq-* and Hitt. *pakk-* 'to squeeze, destroy').³

The most spectacular durative verbal forms are Hittite *iyanna-* 'to march, walk a long distance' and Palaic *i-ya-an-na-a-i* (3rd pers. sg. pres. act.) 's/he marches (a long distance)', which derive from the root Hitt. *i-*, Luw. *i-*, Hier. Luw. *i-* 'to go'; cf. Lat. *eō, ire* 'to go', Lith. *eĩti*, OChSl. *iti* 'to go' (Friedrich 1958: 82; Rikov 1997: 9–10; 2001: 191; Kloekhorst 2008: 375) < PIE. **h₁ei-* 'to go' (Pokorny 1959: 293–296; Rix & Kümmel 2001: 232–233).

3. Verbs with the nasal suffix in the other Indo-European languages

The same durative suffix is found in other Indo-European languages, such as Tocharian; e.g. Toch. B *yanem* 'they walk, go (for a long time)' is the exact cognate of Hitt. *iyannai* 's/he marches, walks a long distance' and Pal. *i-ya-an-na-a-i* (3rd sg. pres. act.) 's/he marches (a long distance)' (Rikov 1997: 14–17; Jasanoff 2003: 122).

The verbal formations with the nasal suffix are fairly well attested in Armenian, e.g. Arm. *lk'anem* 'I leave behind': *elik* '3rd pers. sg. aor. 's/he left' (cf. Gk. *λιμπάνω* 'I leave': *ἔλυε* 3rd pers. sg. aor. act. 's/he left', Ved. *áricat* 'id.'). Other Armenian examples are *anicanem* 'I chase', *gtanem* 'I find, discover', *dizanem* 'I create, form'; *usanim* 'I learn'; *lucanem* 'I solve'; Arm. *lucanim* 'I am freed' (< PIE. **ǵu-ne-g-*, **ǵu-n-g-*, cf. Ved. *yunákti*, 3rd pers. pl. *yuñjánti*; Lat. *iungō*, 3rd pers. pl. *iungunt*).⁴

4. Hybrid forms of durative verbs in Ancient Greek

Greek *verba durativa* can be formed both from a verbal root with an infix (type A) and from a root without one (type B). The first type (A) is firmly attested in Ancient Greek, e.g.:

4.1. Gk. *ἀνδάνω* 'appeal, be nice' vs. Gk. *ἤδομαι*;

³ An extensive review of the Anatolian lexical material with the suffix *-anna-* can be found in Oettinger (1992: 133–154) and Melchert (1998: 413–418).

⁴ Further Armenian instances are to be found in the other publications (Klingenschmidt 1982: 124; Rikov 1992: 94; Kočarov 2008: 254–258).

- 4.2. Gk. θιγγάνω ‘touch, embrace, move’ vs. Lat. *fungō* ‘form, fashion’;
- 4.3. Gk. κλαγγάνω ‘call (of birds)’ vs. Lat. *clangō* ‘cry’, ON. *hlakka* ‘cry’;
- 4.4. Gk. dial. κυνθάνω ‘hide, conceal’ (cf. Arm. *suzanem* ‘I dive, hide’) vs. κεύθω ‘hide, cover, conceal’;
- 4.5. Gk. λαμβάνω ‘keep, have (for a long time, forever)’ (aor. ἔλαβον);
- 4.6. Gk. λανθάνω ‘hide oneself’ vs. Gk. λήθω (aor. ἔλαθον);
- 4.7. Gk. λιμπάνω ‘leave, forsake’ (aor. ἔλιπον) vs. Lat. *linquō* ‘leave’, Ved. *riñcānti* 3rd pers. pl. pres. ind. ‘they evacuate, leave, resign’, OPruss. *po-linka* ‘s/he stays’;
- 4.8. Gk. μανθάνω ‘learn, get to know, experience’ (aor. ἔμαθον);
- 4.9. Gk. πυνθάνομαι ‘get to know, know, hear’ vs. Lith. *bundū* ‘I wake up’ vs. Gk. πεύθομαι (aor. ἐπυθόμην), Cret. πεύθω ‘announce, cite’, Ved. *bhódati* ‘s/he watches, perceives, understands’, Av. *baodāti* ‘id.; s/he smells’;
- 4.10. Gk. τυγγάνω ‘happen’ vs. τεύχω ‘make’ (aor. ἔτυχον);
- 4.11. Gk. φυγγάνω ‘flee, escape, avoid’ vs. φεύγω, Ion. φύζω (aor. ἔφυγον);
- 4.12. Gk. χανδάνω ‘include, take up, house’ vs. Lat. *prae-hendō* ‘grasp, seize’, Alb. *gjëndem* ‘I am found’.

Ancient Greek has a considerable number of durative verbs that have both a nasal infix and a nasal suffix (Brugmann & Thumb 1913: 335–337; Schwyzler 1939: 699–700; Rix 1976: 211; Willi 2018: 18), whereas Latin and other cognate languages demonstrate only verbs with the nasal infix (see 4.2; 4.3; 4.7; 4.9; 4.12). This phenomenon is not attested in any other Indo-European language and requires a separate explanation (cf. sect. 6).

Also type B of the durative verbs is securely attested in Ancient Greek, but it is less frequent and less productive than type A (Rix 1976: 211).

- 4.13. Gk. Dor. ἀδάνω ‘please’ (< **ad-an-ō*) vs. Att.-Ion. ἡδομαι;⁵
- 4.14. Gk. αὐξάνω ‘enlarge, multiply’ vs. ἀέξω, αὐξω;
- 4.15. Gk. ἰζάνω ‘seat’ vs. ἴζω ‘sit’ (< PIE. **s-i-sd-* ← PIE. **sed-* ‘sit’);
- 4.16. Gk. ἰσχάνω ‘keep, hold back, have (permanently)’ vs. ἴσχω ‘keep, hold fast, wield’ (< PIE. **s-i-sg^h-* ← PIE. **seg^h-* ‘hold, have’, cf. Gk. ἔχω ‘possess, retain, have’);

⁵ The Doric verbal form represents a younger variant of ἀνδάνω derived from ἡδομαι (Beekes 2010: 100).

4.17. Gk. Hom. κευθάνω 'hide' vs. κεύθω 'hide, cover, conceal';

4.18. Gk. ληθάνω 'hide oneself' vs. λήθω (aor. ἔλαθον);⁶

4.19. Gk. Hom. οιδάνω 'inflate, distend' vs. οιδέω 'swell' (Chantraine 1958: 315);

4.20. Gk. ροφάνω 'lap, slurp' vs. ροφέω.

It can thus be readily concluded that the Ancient Greek language replaced the *n*-infix verbal forms of Indo-European origin (cf. Lat. *clangō*, *fungō*, *linquō* and so on) by a number of productive items containing both the nasal infix and suffix (type A; e.g. Gk. κλαγγάνω, θιγγάνω, λιμπάνω etc.). The infix is completely lost in type B (see 4.13–20), which represents a late innovation (cf. 4.13; 4.17; 4.18), also attested in Anatolian, Armenian and Tocharian.

5. Nominal formations in -ανο- with durative meaning.

The nominal suffix -ανο-, which creates numerous Greek nouns and adjectives (e.g. Gk. θήγανον, κοίρανος, ὄρφανός), appears to be identical in origin with the verbal suffix -αν- (Brugmann & Thumb 1913: 335), cf. Gk. θηγάνη f. 'whetstone' and θηγάνω 'I sharpen (for a long time)'.⁷ Two Greek agent nouns in -ανος demonstrate exact equivalents in some related languages (including Armenian and Old Phrygian),⁸ as well as in North Indo-European ones (Witczak 2018: 28–29):

5.1. Gk. ὄρφανός m. 'an orphan', adj. 'orphan, fatherless, without parents', Arm. *arbaneak* 'footman, servant, groom' (-*eak* is a diminutive suffix) vs. Gk. dial. *ὄρφός m. 'orphan' registered in the compound ὄροφο-βόται m. pl. 'protectors of the orphans' (< PIE. **h₃orb^hós*); Arm. *orb* (*o*-stem) 'orphan'; Ved. *ārbha-* adj. 'little, small, unimportant', *arbhá-* m. 'child, boy'; Lat. *orbis* adj. 'bereaved, bereft; destitute; orphaned, fatherless; childless; widowed', m. 'orphan'; OIr. *orb* m. (*o*-stem) 'heir, inheritor'; OChSl. *rabъ* 'servant', Czech *rob*

⁶ It is worth emphasizing that this Greek verb ληθάνω seems to represent a contamination of both λήθω and λανθάνω 'hide oneself' (see 4.6).

⁷ According to Brugmann & Thumb (1913: 335), "Dieser Suffix [= the verbal suffix -άνω] war wohl identisch mit dem Nominalsuffix -ανο-".

⁸ Both Phrygian and Armenian, spoken in Asia Minor and Caucasus, originally belonged to the Palaeo-Balkan subgroup of the Indo-European languages. In my opinion, Greek, Phrygian and Armenian represent descendant languages which derive from the so-called "Balkan-Indogermanisch" (Witczak 2008: 17–28).

‘slave’ (< Slavic **orbъ* m. ‘servant, slave’). The noun **h₃orb^hós* and the adjective **h₃órb^hos* are securely motivated by the Hittite verb *harp-* ‘to separate oneself’ (< PIE. **h₃erb^h-*). The Greek agent noun ὄρφανός derives from PIE. **h₃orb^hós* by means of the durative suffix *-avo-*. It must originally have meant ‘a person who is separated from his family for a long time’.

5.2. Gk. κοίρανος m. ‘ruler, leader, commander (in war or peace)’, generally ‘lord, master’, also ‘king’ in the Boeotian dialect; OPhryg. *kuryaneyos* adj. ‘belonging to the army; leader’ (or ‘chief, king’, according to Lubotsky 1988: 23); ON. *Herjann* ‘Heervater’ (Odin’s by-name); Lusitanian feminine PN *Coriana* vs. Lith. *karỹs* m. (*io*-stem; 4th accentual paradigm) ‘warrior, soldier’ (< PIE. **koriós* m. ‘warrior’ ← PIE. **ker-*). It is necessary to reconstruct an agent noun **korianos* m. ‘warrior fighting for a long time’ (hence ‘commander, ruler of the army’), derived from the noun **koriós* m. ‘warrior’ by means of the durative suffix *-ano-*. Obviously, a commander of the army (**korianos*) should be a warrior with a lengthy military experience and not just a simple warrior (PIE. **koriós*).

The semantic analysis of two Greek nouns ὄρφανός and κοίρανος clearly demonstrates that the Greek nominal suffix *-avo-* reflects the same durative aspect, which can be observed in Ancient Greek verbs in *-ávω*. Close or exact cognates, attested in Armenian, Old Phrygian, Old Norse and Lusitanian, seem to suggest the Indo-European origin of the two Greek agent nouns in question (Witczak 2018: 29). It is worth emphasizing that the durative aspect of the discussed nouns was created (or introduced) by analogy to the durative verbs as early as the Late Indo-European period.

6. The externalization of the nasal infix in Greek

At this point I would like to propose a hypothesis that offers an explanation of infixation with the morpheme **-n-* and, at the same time, the origin of the Indo-European durative verbs having a nasal suffix.⁹

In my opinion, the Greek verb *λείπω* has the general meaning ‘I leave, forsake’ (< PIE. **leik^h-*) and does not carry any further semantic value. The Latin form *linquō* is completely different in this respect: Its root is in the zero grade and it exhibits the nasal infix **-n(e)-*, which I would argue introduces the feature of durativity. In other words, the infix verbal root

⁹ The hypothesis that the nasal infix was originally a suffix (cf. Kuryłowicz 1964: 106) is not supported by lexical data.

**li-n(e)-k^u*- differed from the basic root **leik^u*- precisely in having the morpheme **-n-*, which marked the duration of the action. Thus, originally the Proto-Indo-European verbal form **li-n-k^u-eh₃(i)* had a typically durative meaning: ‘to leave, forsake (for a long time, forever)’. By analogy, I treat not only Lat. *pingō* ‘I paint [for a long time]’ (hence perf. *pīnxi* ‘I have painted [for a long time]’) as a durative verb, but also the Sanskrit form *piṅkte* ‘paints [for a long time]’ and Toch. B *piṅkām* ‘paints, writes [for a long time]’ (< PIE. **pi-n-k-* < **peiḱ-* ‘to write, paint’). The Latin example discussed above shows clearly that the infixation was possible not only in the present stem, but also in the preterite. Other verbs usually lose the nasal infix in the past tense.

As was stressed earlier in the paper, infixation had become a rare phenomenon in the historical Indo-European languages. Furthermore, it became completely unproductive in stark contrast to prefixation or suffixation. This leads us to the assumption that all the verbal roots with the nasal infix are archaic and stem from Proto-Indo-European. Their durative meaning might well have been lost in the course of the long development of the individual Indo-European languages. The externalization of inflection was responsible for the relocation of the nasal morpheme which then became a suffix.

It is likely that the externalization of the nasal morpheme **-n-* had two additional stages.¹⁰ Three models of the creation of durative verbs are attested in the Indo-European languages:

Table 1. Three models of creating durative verbs

Basic verbal root	(1) Older model	(2) Transitional (or hybrid) model	(3) Newer model
PIE. * <i>leik^u</i> - ‘to leave, forsake’ (Rix & Kümmel 2001: 406–408)	PIE. * <i>li-n-k^u</i> - (* <i>li-né-k^u</i> - in sg. forms)	Late IE. * <i>li-n-k^u-ŋ-</i> (a hybrid durative verb)	Late IE. * <i>lik^u-ŋ-</i> (a new durative verb)
Gk. <i>λείπω</i> ‘I leave’, Goth. <i>leihvan</i> ‘to lend’, Lith. <i>lieku</i> ‘I leave, put’	Lat. <i>linquō</i> , Ved. <i>riṅákti</i> (pl. <i>riñcánti</i>), Av. <i>irinaxti</i>	Gk. <i>λαμβάνω</i>	Arm. <i>lk’anem</i>

Source: Own work.

¹⁰ The problem of externalization of inflection in the Indo-European languages is presented in detail by Witczak (2017: 93–111).

In the older model of inflection (type 1) the verbal root in the zero grade with the nasal infix is the variant of the root in the present tense (PIE. **leik^u*- vs. PIE. **li-né-k^u*-, **li-n-k^u*-). The original character of nasal infixation has not been precisely explained to date. In the newer model (type 3) the nasal morpheme appears as a suffix to the verbal root (in the reduced grade) and the resultant verbal forms have the meaning of an action with a long-time span: 'to leave for a long time, forsake forever'. In other words, the nasal morpheme (with the durative meaning) was relocated from the inside of the root to the outside, precisely to the position at the end of the root.

What seems to be an uncontested proof of the correctness of the analysis given above is the transitional hybrid model (type 2), in which the nasal morpheme **-n-* with durative meaning appears twice, as an infix within the verbal root and as a suffix after the root. In Greek we can find numerous durative verbs with the doubled **-n-*, e.g. Gk. λαμβάνω, λιμπάνω, μανθάνω, πυνθάνομαι, τυγγάνω, which evidently represent innovative formations (Milizia 2003: 182). These Hellenic forms can surely be called "hybrids"¹¹.

All the provided derivational variants are well attested in the Indo-European languages and there is no doubt that type (1) represents the older model, type (2) the transitional (hybrid) model, and type (3) the newer model. In the older model the nasal affix **-n-* with a durative meaning is infixed into the verbal root and is always mid-word. In the newer model, the nasal morpheme is added as a suffix to the verbal root, and thus it is placed externally in relation to the root. The change from type (1) to type (3) should be called the externalization of the durative morpheme. This process clearly proves that the verbal roots without the nasal infix are to be considered as basic and unmarked, while the forms with the infix are marked, durative variants.

¹¹ Willi (2018: 18) explains the hybrid forms differently. He says: "Because synchronically suffixed nasal presents predominated over infixed ones, a mixed type was created on this basis by addition of **-n[H]e/o-* – realised as **-ne/o-* > *-ave/o-*". In my opinion, the suggested hypothesis of the nasal-infix externalization constitutes a more convincing explanation of the origin of the productive Greek verbs with the nasal infix and suffix.

7. Conclusions

The analysis conducted in the present paper leads to the following conclusions:

7.1. In the Indo-European languages we can observe the process of externalization of the nasal morpheme, which was initially an infix inserted into the verbal root, and eventually became a suffix, added to the root.

7.2. Indo-European verbs with the nasal suffix have a durative meaning, which on the basis of the proposed process of the externalization of the nasal morpheme allows us to posit the same meaning for the archaic verbs with the nasal infix.

7.3. The externalization of the nasal infix was a productive process in the Indo-European languages. It is attested not only in Ancient Greek, but also in Armenian, Anatolian, Tocharian, Italic and many other languages of the Indo-European family.

7.4. Greek verbs of the type *θιγγάνω*, *λιμπάνω*, *τυγγάνω* represent the transitional (hybrid) stage of the development. There is no doubt that these forms denote actions with a long-time span.

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List of abbreviations

Alb. = Albanian; Anat. = Anatolian; Arm. = Armenian; Av. = Avestan; Cret. = Cretan dialect of Ancient Greek; Gk. = (Ancient) Greek; Goth. = Gothic; Hier. Luw. = Hieroglyphic Luwian; Hom. = Homeric; IE. = Indo-European; Ion. = Ionic dialect of Ancient Greek; Lat. = Latin; Lith. = Lithuanian; Luw. = Luwian; Lyd. = Lydian; OChSl. = Old Church Slavic; OIr. = Old Irish; ON. = Old Norse; OPhryg. = Old Phrygian; OPruss. = Old Prussian; Pal. = Palaic; PIE. = Proto-Indo-European; Toch. A = Tocharian A or East Tocharian; Ved. = Vedic.

List of glosses

act. = active; aor. = aorist; ind. = indicative; pers. = person; pl. = plural; pres. = present; sg. = singular.

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SAŽETAK

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GRČKI DURATIVNI GLAGOLI S NAZALNIM INFIKSOM I SUFIKSOM

Indoeuropski glagoli u prezentu koji sadrže infiks još uvijek nisu objašnjeni sa semantičkog gledišta. Autor ovoga rada zastupa tvrdnju da je infiks *-n(e)- izvorno izražavao svojstvo durativnosti. Zbog dijakronijske eksternalizacije fleksije ovaj se nazalni morfem kasnije razvio u sufiks koji se dodaje glagolskome korijenu. Brojni durativni glagoli s nazalnim markerom -an- mogu se pronaći u anatolijskim jezicima još u 2. tisućljeću prije Krista; usp. hetitski *iy-ann-a/i-* 'marširati, prijeći veliku razdaljinu', palajski *iyannai* 'on maršira (marširanjem prelazi veliku razdaljinu)' nasuprot hetitski *i-* 'ići', luvijjski *i-*, hijeroglifski luvijjski *i-*, latinski *eō, ire*, litavski *eīti*, staroslavenski *iti* 'id.' (< PIE. **h1ei-* 'ići'). Durativni glagoli u pitanju, kao i imenice izvedene iz njih koje sadrže durativni sufiks *-ano-, također se javljaju i u drugim indoeuropskim jezicima., usp. toharski B *yanem* 'oni hodaju, idu (dugo vremena)'. Brojni grčki prezentski oblici (npr. *ἀνδάνω, θηγάνω, λαμβάνω, λανθάνω, λιμπάνω, μανθάνω, πονθάνομαι* itd.) sadrže isti nazalni morfem, ne samo kao infiks u glagolskome korijenu, već i u obliku sufiksa -an-. Ovo se objašnjava učinkom djakronijske eksternalizacije durativnoga (nazalnoga) morfema. Grčke glagolske oblike s nazalnim infiksom i nazalnim sufiksom treba smatrati prijelaznim oblicima ili hibridima. Noviji grčki oblici (koji izriču durativnost) sadrže samo nazalni sufiks (npr. *αὐζάνω, ἰζάνω, ἰσχάνω, κευθάνω, ληθάνω, οἰδάνω, ῥοφάνω*).

Ključne riječi: starogrčki; durativni glagoli; eksternalizacija fleksije; indoeuropski jezici; nazalni infiks