

On Some Cases of Interaction

between the Germanic Non-Finite and Finite Verbal Forms

To Academician Prof. Dr., Dr. h. c.
V. M. Schirmunsky on the occasion of
his 75th birthday.

By G. S. Sčur

As is known, in all the Germanic languages, first of all in the group of modal verbs, there exist non-finite forms derived from finite verbal forms. In these languages are also observed changes in the finite forms determined by the nature of non-finite forms. This testifies to the existence in these languages of the interaction between the non-finite and finite verbal forms. Among the non-finite forms, derived from the finite ones, are the forms of inf. I and II in -u and in -i in Icelandic. Cf. inf. I *skulu*, *skuli*, inf. II *skyldu*, *skyldi*; monosyllabic inf. I in Danish *kan*, in Afrikaans *kan*, in Scottish *can*; the forms of inf. I, derived from preterite: Danish *mätte*, Swedish *måsta* and the forms of inf. II in Scottish *cood*, *cuid*; in German dialects inf. II *waren* and the mutated forms of inf. I in High German *können*, *mögen*, etc. which were discussed by many scholars¹⁾. All these cases give reason to suppose the exi-

¹⁾ H. Kuhn. Die altnordischen Infinitive Praeteriti. »Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum«, Bd. 76, 1939; L. L. Hammerich. Über die Modal-

stence in all the Germanic languages of the connection between the non-finite and finite forms which is of common Germanic nature²). The effect of this connection can be observed not only in the above cases and languages, but also in other Germanic languages and dialects. In these languages it determines the shape and character of the forms both of infinitive and of participle. The aim of the present paper is to discuss some of such cases.

Of definite interest are some dialectal forms, in particular North-Frisian. Cf. the secondary forms of inf. I of preterite-present verbs, the appearance of which just as in other Germanic languages is determined by the forms of plural present of indicative. Cf. inf. I *dürren* — dare, *türren* — must, *kaanen* — can, *läjten* — let, allow, *mäujten* — must, *maagen* — may, will, *shällen* — shall, *wällen* — will³). Cf. also inf. I *där*, *kön*,

verba der neugermanischen Sprachen (mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Dänischen), »Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung«, 16, 1960; W. E. Collinson. Past Infinitives in Germanic Languages. »The Modern Language Review«, 1949; W. Grant. The Scottish National Dictionary, Edinburgh, 1941 vol. II, p. 23; J. Wright. English Dialect Dictionary, Oxford, 1961, vol. I, pp. 501, 502; The Icelandic Infinitive in -i, »Transactions of the Philological Society«, London, 1962; Der skandinavische Infinitiv I auf -u und das Problem des Systemverhältnisses zwischen den finiten und infiniten Formen des germanischen Verbs, »Arkiv för nordisk Filologi« N 78, Lund, 1963; On the Non-Finite Forms of the Modal Verbs in Danish and Swedish, »Acta Linguistica«, XV, Budapest, 1965; On Some Similar Infinitive Formations in Icelandic and Afrikaans, »Indian Linguistics«, 26, Poona, 1965; On the Non-Finite Forms of the verb *can* in Scottish, »Acta Linguistica Hafniensia«, XI, København, 1967; A Comparative-Synchronic Study of Some Non-Finite Verbal Forms in Afrikaans and Relative Chronology, vol. »In Honour of A. Martinet's 60th Birthday« (in print); R. Hollinger. Die deutsche Umgangssprache von Alt-Temes-War. »Omagiu lui Jorgu Jordan«, București, 1958, S. 387.

²) On the Connection Between the Germanic Finite and Non-Finite Verbal Forms. »Transactions of the Philological Society«, London, 1967.

³) B. Bendsen. Die nordfriesische Sprache nach der Moringer Mundart, Leiden, 1860, S. 263.

mög, mut, skell, tär, well⁴).

inf. I		1 sing. pres. indic.	1—3 pl. pres. indic.
wäs	know	wit	wäs
kaan	can	kaan	känn
schänn	shall	schall	schänn
möög	may	mai	möög
món	must	mot	mon
wänn	will	wall	wänn ⁵)

On the other hand cf. the forms of inf. I of preterite-present verbs in Old and Modern written Frisian:

Old Frisian	Modern Frisian
kunna, konna	kinne
skila, skela, schela, sela	sille
willa, wella	wolle
thura, dura, thora, dora	doare
wita, weta ⁶)	wita ⁷)

The appearance of the above secondary forms of inf. I of the preterite-present verbs in Frisian probably is explained by the extension of the inflection of 3 pl. pres. indic. of weak and strong verbs to the forms of 1—3 pl. pres. indic. of preterite-present verbs. This partly is already characteristic of Old Frisian⁸) and of Low German⁹).

⁴) J. Schmidt-Petersen and J. M. A. Craigie. *The North Frisian Dialect of Föhr and Amrum*, Edinburgh, 1928, p. 32.

⁵) Nordfriesische Beiträge aus dem Nachlass H. Möllers. Bearb. und hrsg. von P. Jørgensen. *Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.-filol. Meddelelser XXIV, I*, København, 1936, S. 110.

⁶) K. F. Richthofen. *Altfriesisches Wörterbuch*, Neudruck der Ausgabe, Göttingen, 1840, 1961, SS. 881, 1030, 1150, 1081, 1153.

⁷) K. Fokkema. *Beknopte Friese Spraakkunst*, Groningen-Batavia, 1948, s. 58.

⁸) W. Steller. *Abriss der altfriesischen Grammatik*, Halle/Saale, 1928, S. 68.

⁹) Chr. Sarauw. *Die Flexionen der Mittelniederdeutschen Sprache*.

It seems that in Low German just as in High German the mutated forms of inf. I of some preterite-present verbs were derived from the mutated forms of 3 pl. pres. of subjunctive mood¹⁰). Later, owing to the connection between the inf. I and forms of plural present, the mutation extended to the forms of plural indicative. Cf.

inf. I	1—3 pl. pres. ind.	1—3 pl. pres. subj.
weten (wetten)	weten, wetten (weyten) (et)	weten, wetten
dögen	dögen (et)	dögen
günnen	günnen, gönnen (et)	günnen
künnen, können	künnen, können, könen (kanen) (et)	künnen, könen
dörven	dörven (dröven) et	dörven
dörren, dören	dörren, dören (darren) et	dörren, dören
schölen, schüllen	schölen, schüllen, scöllen et	schölen, schüllen
mögen	mögen et	mögen
möten (möten)	möten (möten, mötten, mütət, mötən) et	möten, motten ¹¹)

»Niederdeutsche Forschungen II«. Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.-filol. Meddelelser, b. X, København, 1924—25, SS. 206—210; P. Jørgensen. Zum schleswiger Niederdeutsch. Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.-filol. Meddelelser, b. 34, nr. 2, København, 1954, S. 103.

¹⁰) Über den Umlaut der deutschen Modalverben. »Neuphilologische Mitteilungen«, 4, LXII, Helsinki, 1961.

¹¹) Chr. Sarauw. Die Flexionen der mittelniederdeutschen Sprache. »Niederdeutschen Forschungen II«, SS. 145, 206—210; P. Jørgensen. Zum schleswiger Niederdeutsch, SS. 103—125; E. R. Magnusson. Syntax des Prädikatsverbiums im Mittelniederdeutschen, Lund, 1939, SS. 81—99; many other examples of secondary infinitive forms of preterite-present verbs in German dialects see: V. M. Schirmunsky. Deutsche Mundartkunde. Vergleichende Laut- und Formenlehre der deutsche Mundarte. Akademie-

However, the above discussed cases of the interaction between the non-finite and finite forms of Germanic verb do not restrict to the interaction (connection) between the finite forms and the forms of infinitive.

This connection also exists between the finite forms and the forms of participle. In particular the shape of 3 pl. pres. indic. plays definite part in the fate of the forms not only of inf. I and II, but also of part. I and II. Thus, in Old Icelandic the verbs which have inf. I in -a also have part. I and II with thematic vowel -a. On the contrary, the verbs which have inf. I and 3 pl. pres. indic. in -u do not possess the forms of part. I and II.

This correlation is also characteristic of Modern Icelandic. Cf. inf. I *kunna*, 3 pl. pres. indic. *kunna*, part. I *kunnandi*, part. II *kunnat*; on the other hand — inf. I *skulu*, 3 pl. pres. indic. *skulu*, part. I and II are lacking.¹²⁾

Owing to the fact that the regular models of derivation of forms of part. I and II in Germanic languages are the formation of part. I from the plural of present stems and of part. II from the plural of preterite stems which, as a rule, have zero vowel in the root, the changes in the plural of present or preterite lead to the changes in the shape of part. I and II. Thus in Afrikaans the loss of inflections in present determines the disappearance in this language of old forms of part. I and the formation of new forms of part. I by means of reduplication of verbal stems. Cf. *sit-sit* — sitting, *staan-staan* — standing, *sing-sing* — singing.¹³⁾

Verlag, Berlin 1962, XV. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für deutsche Sprache und Literatur, 25.

¹²⁾ About the part. II of preterite-present verbs in Icelandic see: A. M. Sturtevant. Old Norse Preterite Present Verbs with Past Participles in -at. »Scandinavian Studies and Notes«, 1929, vol. 10, No. 5, pp. 147—148.

¹³⁾ A. C. Bouman en E. C. Pienaar. Afrikaanse spraakkuns, Stellenbosch, 1924.

In its turn, the loss of inflections in preterite and the substitution of the perfect for the preterite determines the derivation in Afrikaans of new forms of part. II from the present stems with the help of the particle *-ge-* (cf. *gekan*, *gemoet*)¹⁴) and the levelling after the pattern of present stems of the vocalism in the old forms of part. II, derived from the preterite stems. Cf. part. II Afr. *geskryf* or *geskrywe* (Netherl. *geschreven*) from *skryf*, *skrywe* — to write; *gery* (Netherl. *gereden*) from *ry* — to ride; *gevind* (Netherl. *gevonden*) from *vind* — to find; *gedoen* (Netherl. *gedaan*) from *doen* — to do; *gekoop* (Netherl. *gekocht*) from *koop* — to buy; *gebou* (Netherl. *gebouwd*) from *bou* — to build, etc.¹⁵)

Also in English the changes in the plural present of indicative which led to the loss of inflections in these forms determined the disappearance of old forms of part. I and the appearance in it of part. I and of gerund in *-ing*.

The dependence of these non-finite forms in English on the character of the plural forms is observed in particular in the fact that the forms in *-ing* become most frequent in Late Middle English or in Early New English, i. e. at the period of complet loss of inflections.¹⁶)

Phonetic, syntactic and semantic factors which are often regarded as the principal factors leading to the appearance of these forms (in particular of gerund from the verbal nouns in *-ing*) probably played though important but not principal part in their appearance. This can be proved by the data of other Germanic languages, e. g. of Old Saxon, Old Frisian and Old High German in which despite the presence of similar factors the forms under consideration did not develop and

¹⁴) H. Meher. *Die Sprache der Buren*, Göttingen, 1901, S. 461.

¹⁵) A. C. Bouman en E. C. Pienaar. *Afrikaanse Spraakkuns*, s. 130, 131.

¹⁶) F. Th. Visser. *An Historical Syntax of the English Language*, v. II, Leiden, 1966; S. Moore. *Historical Outlines of English Sounds and Inflections*, revised by A. H. Marckwardt, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1960, pp. 157—158.

in which the inflections of plural present indicative were not lost. These languages also have forms of declined infinitive (gerund).¹⁷⁾

At the same time of many Old Germanic (Old English included) and of Modern West Germanic (Ingveonish) dialects is characteristic the extension of inflections of 3 pl. pres. indic. to all the forms of plural. This takes place both in the case, when this inflection loses the nasal consonant that is typical of Southeast German, Low German and Ingveonish dialects and in the case of the loss of final consonants, e. g. in some West German and Frisian dialects.¹⁸⁾ Probably this partly explains the low frequency of part. I and non-declined infinitive in some of these dialects.¹⁹⁾

The effect of the connection discussed is observed not only in the fact that forms of part. I owing to definite changes in plural present indicative can be lost, but also in the influence of some phonetic changes which take place in present plural indicative on the shape of part. I; thus, the loss of nasal consonant before the dentals in some German dialects is characteristic both of 3 pl. pres. indic. and of forms of part. I.

¹⁷⁾ E. Prokosch. *A Comparative Germanic Grammar*, Philadelphia, 1939.

¹⁸⁾ V. M. Schirmunsky. *Deutsche Mundartkunde*; A. Johannsen. *Die Infinitive in den nordfriesischen Mundarten*, »Us Wurk«, Jirgong 5, 1/2, 1956, S. 42.

¹⁹⁾ V. M. Schirmunsky. *Deutsche Mundartkunde*. Cf. also: »Der zweite Infinitiv gleicht in der Form dem ersten Particip (präs.). Bendsens Angabe, dass da Mittelwort gebildet wird, indem man an den flektierten Infinitiv ein *d* anhängt (wie im Deutschen) is nicht stichhaltig. Es heisst nicht: *di swumende fasch*, sondern: *die fasch, wat swumt*. Formen wie »*di föögel as fliiend, hi as släipend*« sind gekünstelt und unfriesisch. Das Particip (präs.) wird nur sehr sparsam gebraucht und wenn schon, dann nur in der reinen Form des flektierten Infinitivs. Beispiele: *F. luupen sun* (laufender Sand, Schwimmsand); *driiwen is* (treibendes Eis, Treibeis)«. A. Johannsen. *Die Infinitive in den nordfriesischen Mundarten*, »Us Wurk«, Jirgong 5, 1/2, 1956, S. 45; M. Callaway. *The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon*, Washington, 1913.

Cf. part. I in phraseological units: Switz. Uri lōffōtā (fließende), brinnōti (brennende), fārädä (fahrende); South Frank. Rappenau siŋit (sinkende), hiŋgit (hinkende); Bav.-Austr. Innviertel srēnnōd (Wettrennen), Low Austr. Neuenkirchen šwīmed (schwimmend); South Austr. Perneg lōhnt (lachend), wānōnt (weinend), Cent. Switz. Kerenzen štelōd (stehlend), hassōd (hassend), kstexxōt (stechend), trāgōt (tragend). Cf. also the infinitive with *zu* (gerund), Middle High Germ. -enne (-ende), Shwab. Middle High Germ. -ende > -ōd, East Switz. -id, Shwab. ts — maxōd (zu machen). Cf. also part. I in Low German: Glückst. kākŋ (kochende), vasn (wachsende) and I — 3 pl. pres. indic. Mklb. Brand. driŋkŋ.²⁰⁾

The double-sided nature of the connection discussed determines not only the dependence of the shape of the non-finite forms on the character of the finite forms of plural present indicative, but also the dependence of changes in the forms of plural present indicative on the shape of the forms of infinitive. Cf. Old Icelandic inf. I *kunna*, 3 pl. pres. indic. *kunnu*; Modern Icelandic inf. I *kunna*, 3 pl. pres. indic. *kunna*. Owing to the above data, the phonetic coincidence of inf. I with 3 pl. pres. indic. does not give reason to regard all the forms of inf. I as derived from the finite forms that is observed in the case of inf. I in -u and -i in Icelandic.

It may happen that in some instances the coincidence of these forms is determined by the phonetic factors, which, how-

²⁰⁾ V. M. Schirmunsky. Deutsche Mundartkunde; »Die unflektierte Form geht als ja-Stamm (as. -andi, -iandi, -ondi) von Haus aus auf -ende aus. Abschwächung zu -ene kommt vereinzelt schon früh vor: *wachtene, wardene, sittene, ridene* und wird später häufig: *stane, gane, liggene*. Schliesslich schwindet das auslautende -e: *is to hope hangen, was reysen, was vormoden*, wodurch das Particip mit Infinitiv und Gerundium zusammenfällt. — Die Schreibweise *hopeden* (hoffend) beruht auf Verstummen des -d im Präteritum: man sprach *hopeden* sowohl für *hopeden* wie für *hopende*«. Chr. Sarauw. Die Flexionen der mittelniederdeutschen Sprache, SS. 148—149.

ever, seems impossible to consider as principal ones. As is known, these forms coincide with phonetically in most modern Germanic languages. In some languages this is the result of the loss in 3 pl. pres. indic. of the group of consonants (-nt) and of a consonant (-n) in the inf. I. Cf. OIcel. inf. I *nema*, Goth. *niman*, OIcel. 3 pl. pres. indic. *nema*, Goth. *nimand*.

In other languages this is the result of a loss only of one consonant -t in 3 pl. pres. indic. Cf. High Germ. inf. I *nehmen*, 3 pl. pres. indic. *nehmen*. In some languages these forms have zero inflections. Cf. Eng. inf. I — go, 3 pl. pres. indic. — go.

It is of interest that such coincidence in individual languages and even in the individual dialects of the given language happens non-simultaneously. Cf. in North Frisian, in which the changes in 3 pl. pres. indic. depend on the changes in the infinitive, but in which only in some dialects these forms are phonetically identical. Cf. inf. I: *snaaki*, *heelpe*, *lievy*, *badde*, *ringi*, *hilp*, *diili*, *röp*, *pluugi*, *slau*, *wänske*, *skriiw*, *fleerte*, *luupe*, *hoowe*, *kriipe*, *smääge*, *skride*, *fräige*, *dreege*, *tinge*, *sate*; I—3 pl. pres. indic.: *snaakit*, *heelpet*, *liewy*, *badde*, *ringin*, *hilp*, *diili*, *rop*, *pluugi*, *slau*, *wänske*, *skriiw*, *fleerte*, *luupe*, *hoowe*, *kriipe*, *smääge*, *skride*, *fräige*, *dreege*, *tinge*, *sate*.²¹⁾

The instances of coincidence of inf. I with I sing. pres. indic. in contrast to the coincidence of inf. I with 3 pl. pres. indic. cannot be regarded as regular and probably are of phonetical origin. Cf. in North Frisian, on the one hand inf. I: *snaaki*, *lievy*, *badde*, *ringi*, *hilp*, I sing. pres. indic.: *snaaki*, *lievy*, *badde*, *ringi*, *hilp*; on the other hand inf. I: *heelpe*, *fleerte*, *luupe*, *kriipe*, I sing. pres. indic.: *heelp*, *fleert*, *luup*, *kriip*.²²⁾

On the contrary, the forms of inf. I in -en determine in Low German and Middle English the replacement of the forms of 3 pl. pres. indic. -*et*, -*að* by the inflection -en, which reflects

²¹⁾ A. Johannsen. Die Infinitive in den nordfriesischen Mundarten, S. 42.

²²⁾ A. Johannsen. Die Infinitive in den nordfriesischen Mundarten, S. 42.

the common Germanic tendency to the phonetic coincidence of these forms.

The explanation of the above substitution of the inflection -en for the forms of 3 pl. pres. indic. -et, -að by the fact that already in Old English and in Low German the inflection -en is characteristic of all the forms of 3 pl. pres. and pret., and that's why it was extended from the subjunctive mood either from the preterite of indicative mood or from the preterite-present verbs²³⁾ to the forms of plural present indicative, in practice is only a hypothesis from where this inflection could be spread to the forms of plural present indicative. In particular this hypothesis does not explain why the extension of the inflection -en to other forms in English is characteristic of Middle English. It also seems doubtful to explain the same process in Low German dialects by the influence of Low German or High German²⁴⁾ literary (written) language, for one must first explain why in High German itself the inflection -en is typical of all the forms of 3 pl. pres. and pret. indic.

The assumption that inflection -en in 3 pl. pres. indic. in High German is the result of leveling according to the type of the inflection (-en)²⁵⁾ of subj. mood or of preterite indicative, seems doubtful, for of all the Germanic languages is characteristic another tendency, i. e. the extension of the inflection of 3 pl. pres. indic. to all the forms of plural present indicative. Besides, of High German is typical the spreading of the inflection of 3 pl. pres. indic. -ent to the 3 pl. pres. subj. and 3 pl. pret. indic.²⁶⁾

Furthermore of all the Germanic languages is characteristic the tendency to the phonetic coincidence of the forms of inf. I with 3 pl. pres. indic. This gives reason to think that the

²³⁾ A. S. C. Ross. The Plural Present Indicative in English and Low German. »Neuphilologische Mitteilungen«, 1934, Bd. 35, H. 5/6, SS. 169—170.

²⁴⁾ P. Jørgensen. Zum schleswiger Niederdeutsch, S. 122.

²⁵⁾ H. Paul. Deutsche Grammatik, Bd. II, Halle/Saale, 1956, S. 194.

²⁶⁾ H. Paul. Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik, Halle/Saale, 1953, S. 117.

loss of -t in 3 pl. pres. indic. in High German was the result of this tendency, which probably also accounts to some degree for the development of the pre-infinitive particle in these languages. In West Germanic and Scandinavian languages this particle genetically is not identical. However, it goes back to the common semantic group of prepositions used with the Dative. Cf. Goth. *du*, Germ. *zu*, Eng. *to*, Icel. *að*, Swed. *att*. In all the Germanic languages this particle was firstly used only with the infinitive of purpose. Its usage in modern languages with other types of the infinitive is the reflection of the further development of the functions of this particle. This is first of all characteristic of Old Scandinavian languages²⁷⁾, in which the forms of inf. I and 3 pl. pres. indic. coincide with phonetically. Then this became typical of English and rather recently of German of which is also characteristic a comparatively late coincidence of the forms of inf. I with 3 pl. pres. indic. The latter fact probably plays definite part in the low frequency of this particle in German.

It may happen that in future in German too, this particle will be used with all the types of infinitives. The stated above gives reason to think that the principal function of the pre-infinitive particle is to indicate that the given infinitive is the infinitive of purpose. Another function of it is to indicate in speech that the given form homonymic with 3 pl. pres. indic. is the infinitive.

The probability of the existence of the connection between the appearance of the pre-infinitive particle together with phonetic identity of the forms discussed, the chronology of the appearance of which is different in individual languages, permits to think that in most Germanic languages this phonetical coincidence was conditioned by the structural factors. This is proved by the data of Danish and Norwegian. The phonetical coincidence of these forms characteristic of Old Danish, Old

²⁷⁾ In particular in Old Icelandic c. in IX century, see: M. Nygaard. *Eddasprogets syntax*, Bergen 1867, Bd. II, s. 48.

Norwegian and *landsmål* due to structural factors, i. e. to the extension of inflection -er from singular to all the forms of plural present indicative is no more typical of Modern Danish and *riksmål*. Thus, the different chronology of the appearance of the above phonetic identity is explained by the individual features in structures of the given languages, while the common tendency to such coincidence is determined by the existence in structures and systems of these languages of common features, e. g. of the connection between the non-finite and finite verbal forms.

Among the facts which prove the existence of the correlation between the pre-infinitive particle and 3 pl. pres. indic. is the different frequency of the pre-infinitive particle in Old and Modern Swedish. In Old Swedish, in which just as in most Scandinavian languages, the forms of inf. I and 3 pl. pres. indic. owing to the loss of final consonants were homonymic, the frequency of the pre-infinitive particle was high. On the contrary, in Modern Swedish of which is characteristic the levelling of inflections in singular and plural of present indicative, owing to which the forms of inf. I and 3 pl. pres. indic. are not homonymic, the frequency of the pre-infinitive particle is lower than in Old Swedish. Besides, very often this particle is omitted.²⁸⁾

The above facts and hypothesis permit to give definite interpretation to the term »analogy«, when it is applied for the explanation of phonetical coincidence of the forms discussed. It makes doubtful the hypothesis that in individual languages these forms have coincided with, owing to purely phonetical reasons, despite the fact that this process took place in individual languages at different periods of their development. It seems more probable that similar results of different phonetical changes were determined by some common factors, e. g. functional and systemic ones, among which the principal

²⁸⁾ J. Mjöberg. Infinitivmärket på glid? »Modersmållärarnas förening«, Årsskrift 1950.

part played the connection between the finite and non-finite verbal forms.²⁹⁾ However, the above facts do not deny the existence of spontaneous phonetic changes which influence upon structure which in its turn influences on system of language.³⁰⁾

Thus in Old English the loss of -n before the dentals in 3 pl. pres. indic., which led to the definite changes of the connection between the finite and non-finite verbal forms in it, was a phonetic process. But it seems hardly possible to explain the further replacement of the inflection -að (3 pl. pres. indic.) by the inflection -en not by the structural, but by the phonetical factors. As is known, the inflection -en was extended to 3 pl. pres. indic. from 3 pl. pres. subj. or 3 pl. pret. indic. or subj.³¹⁾ In Middle English this led to the phonetic coincidence of inf. I with 3 pl. pres. indic.

The systemic explanation of the phenomena under consideration enables one to avoid one-sided approach by which structural changes (in the given case — morphological) are regarded as depending on the phonetical ones. Owing to the existence of interaction between the structural levels of language, the changes at the given level or in the given sub-structure and

²⁹⁾ To the quite possible statement, that in the present paper the term «systemic connection» is used to define the same phenomena which are usually designated by the term «analogy» one may reply by the words of A. S. C. Ross and R. A. Crossland: »The junggrammatiker regarded the word «analogy» as a sufficient explanation of many linguistic phenomena but, to-day, each analogy has to be accompanied by a statement of the reason why it took place...« A. S. C. Ross and R. A. Crossland. Supposed use of the 2nd singular for the 3rd singular in »tocharian A«, Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Hittite. »Archivum Linguisticum«, 1954, v. 6, Fasc. 2, p. 112.

³⁰⁾ On the Principle of Interaction of Structure and System in Language. »Annali di Istituto Orientale di Napoli«, 8, Roma, 1967.

³¹⁾ A. S. C. Ross. The Origin of the s-endings of the Present Indicative in English. »The Journal of English and Germanic Philology« 1934, v. 33, No. 1, pp. 68—73; A. S. C. Ross. The Pl. Pres. Ind. in English and Low German. »Neuphil. Mitteilungen«, 1934, pp. 169—170; D. W. Reed. The History of Inflectional N in English Verbs before 1500. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1950.

sub-system at one period of development of language can lead to the changes at the phonological level. In its turn the changes at the phonological level can determine definite processes in morphology or syntax.

Purely phonetical explanation leads to the neglect of system of language, in which individual sub-systems are interacting and in which these sub-systems being relatively independent functional formations within the common system of units, belonging to the given level, have their own regularities of development. The latter is also characteristic of sub-structures belonging to the given complex structure.

ÚRTAK

Nøkur dæmi um sínámillumávirkan millum ikki-avmarkaðar og avmarkaðar sagnorðaformar í germonskum.

Greinin er upplöga í kjakið um tey dæmi um sínámillumávirkan millum hinar germonsku ikki-avmarkaðu (infinittu) og avmarkaðu (finittu) sagnorðaformarnar í frísiskum og lágtýskum, sum koma til sjóndar í hinum umlagadu formunum av navnhátti I av preteritopresentiskum sagnorðum. Hesir formar av navnhátti I stava frá avmarkaðum formum (3. persóni fleirtali nútíð í ynskihátti). Eisini verða kjakaðir formarnir av luttøkuhátti I og II í týskum bygdarmálum, africaans, skotskum og enskum, sum hava sítt líki av broytingunum í 3. persóni fleirtali nútíð í søguhátti.

Hinumegin eru viðgjörd dæmini um ávirkan frá navnháttarformunum á bendingarformarnar av 3. persóni fleirtali nútíð í søguhátti í germonskum málum.

Allar hesar sannroyndir gera, at til ber at tosa um sínámillumávirkan millum ikki-avmarkaðar og avmarkaðar sagnorðaformar í germonskum málum.