

## Infinitive-subjunctive competition in Balkan Slavic: (non-)sprachbund phenomena

One of the central questions in Balkan linguistics has been to determine which aspects of grammatical convergence between languages situated on the peninsula can be considered as genuine sprachbund innovations, as opposed to being caused by independent linguistic factors (e.g. older genealogical developments within different language families situated in the Balkans) (Friedman & Joseph 2022). The paper addresses this question in relation to infinitive (Inf) loss and its replacement with finite subjunctives (Subj), one of the most studied (but not most well understood) linguistic phenomena in the Balkans (Joseph 1983). The issue of sprachbund vs non-sprachbund developments is especially relevant in this context because the so-called *infinitive-subjunctive competition* (ISC) has been observed on a wider cross-linguistic basis (e.g. in Late Latin, modern Romance, English, German etc.), with the two categories competing for similar types of syntactic environments and one often supplanting the other over time (Joseph 1983, Farkas 1992 etc.). The paper studies the diachronic developments related to ISC in Balkan Slavic (BlkS), ranging from Old Church Slavonic (OCS) to modern Bulgarian (Bg) and Macedonian (Mk), with two main objectives: (i) identify those syntactic environments where Inf-Subj replacement can be considered a genuine Balkanism; (ii) determine which underlying formal development led to the Balkan-sprachbund innovations pertaining to ISC.

The earliest observed instances of ISC and subsequent Inf-Subj replacement in OCS took place in adjunct (mainly purposive or resultative) clauses (1) and complement clauses embedded under directive predicates (usually involving object control) (2) (Mirčev 1978, Lunt 2001). However, these cannot be considered as Balkan-sprachbund phenomena because such environments exhibit ISC on a broader cross-linguistic basis (see Farkas 1992, Socanac 2017 etc.)- note, for instance, the English directive complement in (3), which underwent an analogous but reverse development, with the Old-English subjunctive being replaced by the infinitive (Ard 1975, cit. in Joseph 1983).

- (1) *isplъnišę sa đъnъe roditi(-Inf.) ej* (Cod.Zogr.) / *isplъnišę sa đъnije da(-Subj.) roditъ* (Cod.Assm.) (Mirčev 1978:233, cit. in Cinque & Krapova 2019)
- (2) *moljaaxъ i da(-Subj.) ne povělitъ imъ vъ bezđъnъo iti(-Inf.)* (Lunt 2001: 161)
- (3) *þa heht he his geferan þæt hio sohton(-Subj.) sumne earme earfan*  
'then he ordered his companion **to seek(-Inf.)** a certain poor beggar'

The instances of Inf-Subj replacement that constitute genuine sprachbund innovations in BlkS are those that took place in anaphoric clauses, involving obligatory control (usually subject control), as in (4), because these are not environments of cross-linguistic ISC.

- (4) a. *počę se pisatъ(-Inf.) meseca marta* (Mk, 16<sup>th</sup> c.) (vs. '*da se pišuva*' in modern Mk)
- b. *čto ti mogot dati(-Inf.)* (Old Bg) (vs. '*da ti datat*' in modern Bg) (Cinque&Krapova 2019)

Clauses such as those in (4) are analyzed here as truncated, mono-clausal structures lacking an embedded CP layer, as evidenced by a range of matrix-embedded locality phenomena that they exhibit and that will be discussed in the paper as well. This is where the objective (ii) of the paper comes into play: I claim that Inf-Subj replacement took place in the environments such as those in (4) thanks to a change in status of the BlkS subjunctive marker *da*, which was reanalyzed from a high left-periphery C-item to a mood particle merged under a Pol(arity) head situated lower down in the clause structure. The higher initial positioning of the item *da* is evidenced by the OCS data exemplified in (5), which shows *da* being separated from the lower verb (in bold) by left-dislocated syntactic constituents (underlined below) (Lunt 2001: 161):

- (5) a. *priněšę ... děti da ročę vъzložitъ na nję*
- b. *něsmъ bo dostoinъ da podъ krovъ moi vъnideši*

The syntactic configuration in (5) is no longer possible in present-day BlkS, because the subjunctive marker is syntactically contiguous to the lower verb- a widely observed pan-Balkan feature (Krapova 2001, Roussou 2009 etc.) I argue that this is due to the reanalysis of the formal status of the item *da* outlined above, i.e. its shift from a high C-item to a low Pol-item. The paper also discusses some additional diachronic phenomena, such as the different positioning of *da* with respect to negation, which provide further evidence for the analysis that was just sketched out.

## References

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