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tensively to voiced stops. We might formulate the process leading from kn and gn to n as follows:

$$\left.\begin{array}{l} \text{a) } gn > g^{\eta}n > {}^{g}\eta n \\ \text{b) } kn > k^{\eta}n > {}^{k}\eta n \end{array}\right\} > \eta n > {}^{\eta}n > n$$

with the sequence a) perhaps beginning before b).

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A New Convergence Involving the Balkan Loss
of the Infinitive*

One of the primary grammatical parallels holding among the Balkan languages is the complete or partial absence of an *infinitive*, a feature included by Sandfeld in his classic 1930 work, Linguistique Balkanique. The outline of the Balkan situation regarding the infinitive, as given by Sandfeld, was that the more southerly languages, especially Greek and Albanian, showed no productive infinitive at all, and as one moved northwards in the Balkans, one could find increasingly more systematic traces of an infinitive in the languages. For example, as Reichenkron (1962:102–105) and Schaller (1975:156–157) note, the infinitive is more productive in the northern Croatian dialects of Yugoslavia than in the southern Serbian dialects.

From the geographical distribution of this feature, as well as from the cultural influence of Greek in the Balkans, Sandfeld concluded that Greek was the original locus of the loss of the infinitive, and that this feature spread northward to the other Balkan languages, losing steam, as it were, as it made its way up the Balkan peninsula. Recent work, though, has cast doubt on this conclusion—the pre-eminent place accorded Greek cultural influence has been questioned, e.g. by Reichenkron (1962:121–122), and also many researchers have attempted to show that the loss of the infinitive can be motivated on language-internal grounds for many of the Balkan languages, e.g. Demiraj (1970) for Albanian.[1] Thus it is perhaps safest to say at this point that the actual *role* of Greek in the Balkan infinitive-loss phenomenon is unclear and as yet undecided.[2]

Nevertheless, the *position* of Greek in the Balkan infinitive-loss continuum is clear. Greek shows the complete lack of a productive verbal category "infinitive,"[3] and furthermore, clearly had an infinitive in earlier stages of its history. Moreover, the process of infinitive-loss is well-documentable in Greek owing to the large number of texts in the colloquial language from the relevant periods. Thus the study of the infinitive-loss in Greek can be of general interest for the overall Balkan situation, since it provides a basis from which one can gain an understanding of how this process manifests itself in a natural language.

In this paper, one aspect of the way in which the infinitive-loss process manifested itself in Greek, namely the order in which it diffused through the grammar, is shown to have a parallel in Romanian, a Balkan language still in the process of losing its non-finite verbal forms. This parallel is not mentioned in the literature on Balkan linguistics. Therefore it not only provides further insight into the general Balkan infinitive-loss phenomenon, but it also represents a new correspondence holding between individual Balkan languages. Thus the Balkan languages, in addition to showing a general convergence regarding the loss of the infinitive, also show a convergence on some of the particular details of this phenomenon as well.

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[1] Actually, the situation with Albanian is somewhat more complicated, for it is not certain that Albanian ever had an infinitive to lose.

[2] One may suppose, though, that even if the other languages did not borrow this feature *per se* from Greek and rather developed it on their own, contact with a language like Greek may still have enhanced the generalization of one option (finite complementation) over another (infinitival complementation) within each language.

[3] There is actually one "productive" use left in Greek of a form which continues an old infinitive; this is in the perfect tense formations with ἔχω 'have' as an auxiliary verb, e.g. ἔχω γράψει 'I have written' in which γράψει continues the Medieval Greek form γράψειν, an analogical replacement for the Ancient Greek aorist infinitive γράψαι. This is the only use of this form in Modern Greek, but it is a formation possible for nearly all verbs. Thus this represents the anomalous situation of a "productive remnant" of an older form. See Joseph (1980) for some discussion of such definitional problems in this area of Balkan linguistics.

The various stages of the infinitive-loss process in Greek can be recovered from the historical documentation available, and thus the sequence in which infinitive-loss proceeded through the grammar of Greek can be reconstructed. The Greek loss of the infinitive took place gradually throughout the period between Hellenistic Greek and Medieval Greek of the 12th to 15th centuries. The exact dating of this change is hindered by problems in the nature of the texts, especially since influence from the learned, archaizing language was possible at all times. Nonetheless, certain facts are clear.

In Hellenistic Greek, especially Greek of the New Testament, the domain of the infinitive was reduced from what it was in Classical Greek, and replacements consisting generally of the particle ἵνα plus a finite verb (usually a subjunctive) are frequently found where infinitives once were used. Still, the infinitive is very much a living part of the NT. Greek language, and in fact, one infinitival construction, the infinitive of purpose after verbs of motion:

(1) ἤλθομεν προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῶι   (Matt. 2:2)

'We have come to pay homage to him'

is more prevalent in NT. Greek than in Classical Greek (Blass-Debrunner, 1961:196).

By early Medieval Greek, roughly the 10th to 12th centuries, the domain of the infinitive was even more sharply reduced, though enough traces of its systematic usage remain to warrant positing such a verbal category for the grammar of Greek at this time.[4] By the 15th century, though, with the exception of its very common use with the verb θέλω 'want' as a future periphrasis (another widespread Balkan feature) and in perfect tense formations with ἔχω 'have', the infinitive was effectively non-existent, i.e. with much the same status it holds in Modern Greek today.[5]

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[4] See Joseph (1978: Chapter 2.3) for details and footnote 7. Hesseling (1892) also shares this opinion.

[5] For further details about the loss of the infinitive in Greek, see Hesseling (1892), Burguière (1960), Jannaris (1968), Joseph (1978: Chapter 2).

This gradual "demise" of the infinitive was not just gradual in a temporal sense. It was gradual also in the manner in which it affected the constructions of Greek which utilized an infinitive in earlier stages of the language. That is, some such constructions were affected by the loss of the infinitive before others. And, within particular construction types, some lexical items participating in a construction were affected before others in the same class.

This *diffusion* of the effects of infinitive-loss through the grammar of Greek can be illustrated by the following facts.[6] In NT. Greek, verbs which governed an object-complementary infinitive (i.e. V(erb) + S(entence)) where the subject of the infinitive was identical to the subject of the main verb and thus was left unexpressed on the surface, e.g. τολμῶ 'dare', ἐπιθυμῶ 'wish', θέλω 'want', could govern either an infinitive or a finite clause as complement. Some verbs in this class, e.g. the three just mentioned, are found exclusively with an infinitive in NT. Greek while others are found with either type of complement (Blass-Debrunner, 1961:196–212).

Similarly, when the subject of such a verb was different from the subject of the infinitive, again both infinitival complementation (the so-called "Accusative-plus-Infinitive" construction) and finite complementation are to be found, and the verbs in this class are split as to usage. The two complement-types could even occur conjoined:

(2) θέλω δὲ πάντας ὑμᾶς λαλεῖν γλώσσαις μᾶλλον δὲ ἵνα προφητεύητε   (1 Cor. 14:5)

'I want you all to speak in tongues or rather to preach' (Literally: "... or rather that you preach")

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[6] These constructions could be distinguished in terms of the different Deep Structures they have and the different syntactic rules by which these deep structures are transformed into Surface Structures; for example, for verbs like μέλλω one could posit a deep structure with a sentential subject and a rule of Subject-to-Subject Raising to produce the necessary surface forms. However, such an approach, while providing a useful descriptive and classificatory schema, does not necessarily shed any new light on the problem discussed here. Thus a more traditional account is adopted here.

Also, verbs which governed a bare complementary infinitive but had what might be called superficial "auxiliary-like" status, e.g. μέλλω 'be about to', δύναμαι 'can', ὀφείλω 'ought', are found with the infinitive at this stage of Greek, with no class-internal variation as with the other classes discussed above.

By Medieval Greek, the demise of the infinitive is more complete. Accusative-plus-Infinitive construction verbs occur only with a finite-verb complement, and the complementary infinitive verbs like τολμῶ all occur either with a finite verb only or with an occasional infinitive, but none at this stage occur only with an infinitive. Similarly, the μέλλω-class shows the same pattern as the τολμῶ-class, most often occurring with a finite verb complement, but sporadically occurring with an infinitive.[7]

This brief sketch, then, shows how the infinitive-replacement process affected some classes of verbs, i.e. some construction-types, before others, and within each class, affected some verbs before others.

One of the last infinitival constructions to be affected in this way by the spread of the loss of the infinitive was a construction involving an infinitive dependent on an adjective, in which the surface subject of the main clause was the logical object of the infinitive. This is the construction known as Tough-Movement in the generative-syntactic literature, and is exemplified by English sentences such as (3) or Ancient Greek sentences such as (4):

(3) a. Mary is tough to beat at tennis.

    b. That word is impossible to define.

    c. French is hard for me to understand.

(4) a. ῥηΐτεροι πολεμίζειν ἦσαν οἱ Ἀχαιοί   (Il. 18.258)

    'The Achaeans were easier to fight against'

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[7] The reality of the infinitive in Medieval Greek is revealed in part by the fact that the verbs which in NT Greek are found exclusively with the infinitive are exactly those verbs which in Medieval Greek could sporadically occur with an infinitive. That is, the distribution is not at all random, as one might expect if the Medieval Greek infinitives represented strictly an artificial usage.

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    b. τέρας μὲν θαυμάσιον προσιδέσθαι   (Pi. P. 1.26)

    'A wondrous marvel to behold . . .'

    c. αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ἐργασία μάθειν τε ῥᾷστη ἐδόκει εἶναι

                                   (Xen. Oec. 6.9)

    'For this work seemed to be easiest to learn'

As (4) indicates, Tough-Movement was a construction of Ancient Greek—in fact, Tough-Movement continued in Greek in much the same form as it had in Ancient Greek, with an infinitival complement to an adjectival phrase, up through approximately the 14th century.[8] Examples from NT Greek and from vernacular literature in later stages of Greek include the following:[9]

(5) a. καὶ εἶδεν ἡ γύνη ὅτι . . . τὸ ξύλον . . . ἄρεστον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν[10]   (Gen. 3:6)

    'And the woman saw that the tree (was) pleasing to (her) eyes to see'

    b. περὶ οὗ πολὺς ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος καὶ δυσερμήνευτος λέγειν

                                     (Heb. 5:11)

    '. . . about which we have much to say, and (it is) hard to explain'

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[8] One slight difference is that in Post-Classical Greek, one can find Tough Movement sentences (e.g. (6b) from Medieval Greek) in which the particle τοῦ occurs along with the infinitive—this is the neuter genitive singular of the definite article generalized as a subordinating conjunction. It is common in Post-Classical Greek with infinitives and is essentially a redundant marker of infinitival complementation. For details, see Kesselring (1906).

[9] Since no collection of such sentences exists for any stage of Greek, these examples were collected from a survey of concordances, lexicons, and grammars for Hellenistic Greek, and from a reading of the relevant vernacular Medieval Greek corpus (see Joseph (1978: Chapter 1; Bibliography) for details). Thus while some examples may have been missed for Hellenistic Greek, the listing in (6) for Medieval Greek purports to be exhaustive.

[10] This example is from the Septuagint (Old Testament), which existed in Greek as early as 100 B.C., though the earliest extant versions date from 400 A.D. Thus it is roughly contemporaneous with NT (Hellenistic) Greek, though possibly somewhat more archaic.

(6) a. τραγουδοῦσιν τὸ παράνομον ὁρῶσαι μυστήριον

(Spanos 26, 12th c.)

'They sing of the rite (which is) illegal to see'

b. τοῦ κουβαλεῖν γὰρ τὸν πηλόν ὡς φορτικὸν ἡγοῦμαι[11]

(Prodromos IV, 140g, 12th c.)

'For I consider the mud (to be) a nuisance to carry'

c. καὶ ἅπτεται τοῦ ἔργου καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν θαυμάσιον εἰς χρόνον πληρωμένον   (Belisarios II 44–45, 15th c.)

'And he took charge of the work, and it was wondrous to see, having been completed on time'

The crucial fact about Tough Movement in Medieval Greek is that it is found only with an infinitive as the complement clause, to the exclusion of any other verbal form, i.e. no paraphrases with a finite verb are to be found in Greek in this construction until well after this period. The earliest example of Tough Movement with a finite complement in place of an infinitive appears to be the following, taken from a 1578 chronicle:[12]

(7) καὶ ἦτον ὑπερθαυμάσιο τὸ ἔργο νὰ τὸ ἔβλεπε τίνας καὶ νὰ τὸ ἀκούει

(Monembasias p. 42)

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[11] There is variation in the manuscripts which attest this line with respect to the τοῦ. Two manuscripts (Parisinus Suppl. gr. 1034 f° 169r–175v and Adrianople 1237 f° 1r–7r) have τοῦ, the generalized subordinating particle (see footnote 8), and two (Parisinus grec 1310 f° 429r–434r and Parisinus Coislin 382 f° 142r–148v) have the nominative/accusative article τό. τό seems to have been used in Post-Classical Greek only with infinitives used as subjects and objects of main verbs, not with infinitives dependent on adjectives. Thus it appears that some scribe(s) read this passage as being Tough Movement and so wrote τοῦ, while others read it as 'I consider to carry the mud (to be) a nuisance' (with 'to carry the mud' as sentential subject of 'be a nuisance') and so wrote τό.

[12] This form of Tough Movement sentence, with an object pronoun in the (finite) subordinate clause, still occurs in Modern Greek, though such sentences are only infrequently used:

(i) τὰ ἀγγλικὰ εἶναι δύσκολα νὰ τὰ καταλάβω
'English is hard for me to understand'
(Literally: "The English (things) are hard that I understand them")·

'And the work was especially-wondrous for people to see and to hear of' (Literally: "And the work was especially wondrous that someone should see it and hear (of)")

By this time, the infinitive had all but completely disappeared from colloquial usage. Even Hesseling (1892), who advocates a rather late date (c. 1500) for the ultimate loss of the infinitive from colloquial usage (as opposed, for example, to Mirambel (1961) who advocates a much earlier date, c. 10th century), holds that the infinitive would have been lost by that time. Thus the evidence of (6) and (7) suggests that Tough Movement was one of the last, if not the very last, of the inherited constructions[13] with an infinitive to be affected by the infinitive-loss process.[14]

The chronological sequencing of the effects of the loss of the infinitive through the grammar of Greek is of particular interest for the general Balkan phenomenon for it seems that the same sequencing is to be found in Romanian, a language which is currently in the process of losing its non-finite verbal complements much as Greek did. In standard spoken Romanian, the infinitive proper, for example the so-called "short" form a face 'to do', is restricted in use to negative imperatives and certain compound tenses (such as the future with a vrea 'want')—in places where infinitives occurred more freely in earlier stages of Romanian, one finds finite clauses, generally headed by the particle să. This situation is reflected also in synchronic variation, for there are some verbs which can take either an infinitival complement or a finite complement (cf. Sandfeld and Olsen, 1936:253ff., Pop, 1948:398–400, Guillermou, 1962:18–19):

(8) a. ştiu a o face / ştiu să o fac

'I know how to do it'

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[13] Uses of the infinitive after this period, especially with forms of θέλω to indicate futurity and with forms of ἔχω in the perfect tenses, represent non-inherited uses of the infinitive, i.e. appear to be Byzantine or Medieval Greek innovations.

[14] Although the number of examples of Tough Movement sentences in Medieval Greek texts is small, the fact that this construction occurs at one stage (early Medieval Greek) still with only an infinitive is the crucial point and can be taken to be significant.

b. apucă a scrie / se apucă să scrie

     'He begins to write'

Romanian has other non-finite verbal complements as well, the most common of which is *de* plus the past participle (or "supine"), such as *de făcut* 'to do'. These also are being affected by the same movement away from non-finite complementation towards finite complementation that has resulted in variation such as (8).

For example, a complement of the type *de făcut*, when used as a logical subject as in (9), (cf. Kazazis, 1965:68):

(9) e cam greu de călătorit singur

     'It's somewhat difficult to travel by oneself'

can be replaced by a finite *să*-clause:

(10) e cam greu să se călătorească singur

     'It's somewhat difficult to travel by oneself'

Similarly, it alternates with a finite *să*-clause when it is the complement to a head noun (Kazazis, 1965:81–82):

(11) a. poate-i nevoie de făcut ceva iute

        'It may be necessary to do something fast'

    b. poate-i nevoie să se facă ceva iute

        'It may be necessary that something be done fast'

One very common use of the *de făcut*-type of complement is in Tough Movement sentences (cf. Togeby, 1962:, Sandfeld and Olsen, 1936:278–279), as in:

(12) asta nu-i greu de făcut

     'This is not difficult to do'

Moreover, in this construction, as in those of (8) through (11), a finite clause is possible in place of the non-finite complement *de făcut* (with the complement apparently obligatorily in a reflexive passive construction with *se*):

(13) asta nu-i greu să se facă

     'This is not difficult to do' (Literally: "This is not difficult that it be done")

The interesting fact about this construction is that despite the finite/non-finite alternation as in (12) and (13), the non-finite complement is by far the more frequent and preferred mode of expression. As Kazazis (1965:91) notes: "Some adjectives occur much more often with *de* + past participle complements [e.g. like (12)] than they do with M-clause complements [e.g. like (13), with a finite verb]. The adjectives *lesne* 'easy', *uşor* ditto, and *greu* 'difficult' are cases in point." The particular adjectives he mentions are those adjectives which occur in the Tough Movement construction in Romanian.

Thus even though Tough Movement in Romanian is participating in the movement away from non-finite complements, it is doing so only to a limited degree, much less so than any other construction. This limited movement away from non-finite complementation in the case of Tough Movement can be taken to mean that the introduction of finite complementation in this construction is a relatively recent development in Romanian, a change which has not yet had the opportunity to run to completion.

Thus in both Romanian and Greek, the Tough Movement construction appears to be among the last constructions to either have lost or still be in the process of losing its non-finite verbal complement. The duplication of this phenomenon in these two languages under similar conditions of the replacement of non-finite complements by finite ones suggests that there is some regularity to the order in which such a process moves through the grammar of a language.

Moreover, this parallel between these two languages establishes another Balkan convergence, not mentioned heretofore in the literature. In this case, the convergence is actually a subconvergence, falling under the general rubric of a correspondence involving the complete or partial lack of an infinitive—were it not for the infinitive-loss phenomenon, this new correspondence either would not exist or would not be of any general interest.

It is clear at this point that the detailed properties of each of Sandfeld's original correspondences must be investigated carefully, with an eye to finding more specific sub-convergences holding among Balkan languages within each larger correspondence, just as the study of the properties of infinitive-loss has revealed this new Balkan convergence.

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