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Do non-overt subjects trigger finite complementation?

Finite complementation - i.e. the use of a finite construction as a complement of a verb instead of a non-finite one - is the most conspicuous syntactic feature of the languages of the so-called "Balkansprachbund" (e.g. Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek, cf. ex. (1), cf. also Tomić 2006: 413). Although there are several theories concerning the rise of this phenomenon (cf. Joseph 1983: 204ff), these mostly pertain to sociolinguistic or contact linguistic factors and therefore there is no decisive answer concerning the structural causes that led to the formation of finite complements. In this talk, it is suggested that the *pro-drop* property of the Balkan languages may have played a significant role in the demise of the non-finite complementation. In support of this hypothesis, two facts are taken into consideration: a. all languages that exhibit the phenomenon, even beyond the Balkansprachbund (e.g. Hungarian, Armenian, Persian), are *pro-drop* and b. there seems to be a link between the gradual demise both of the pro-drop property (Rodrigues 2002; Roberts 2007: 335ff) and the morphology of the inflected infinitive in Brazilian Portuguese (Br.P.) (Pires 2006: 136ff., cf. ex. (2), (3)). If such a link can be established, the Br.P. ongoing changes could be highly suggestive for the Balkansprachbund and consequently the rise of finite complementation could be associated with the "pro-dropness" - along with other phenomena, such as *rich agreement, free-subject inversion* or *absence of complementiser-trace effects* (cf. e.g. Roberts 2007: 28ff with further references). Finally, in the light of diachronic data, taken mainly from the history of the Greek language, it will be discussed why and how the *pro*-drop property may be able to trigger the shift from non-finite to finite complementation.

(1) Finite complements in <u>Balkansprachbund languages introduced by a Modal Particle (M.Prt)</u>:

I.) **fillon të punojë në kopësht** (Albanian)
   start.3Sg.Pres.Ind. M.Prt. *work*.3Sg.("Pres. Subj.") *in garden.*Acc.Sg.m.
   "He starts working in the garden."

II.) **ne možax da kupja knigata včera** (Bulgarian)
   not could.1Sg.Aor.Ind. M.Prt. *buy*.1Sg.(+Perf.) *book – the yesterday*
   "I could not buy the book yesterday."

III) **prospathí na kópsi to kápnisma** (Modern Greek)

try.3Sg.Pres.Ind. M.Prt. *cut*.3Sg.(+perf./ -past) *the smoking*.Acc.Sg.n.

"He is trying to give up smoking"

(2) <u>Simplification of the morphology of the "personal infinitive" category in Colloquial Br. P.</u>

eu chegar

~~*tu chegares*~~

~~*você/ele/ela chegar*~~

*nós chegar**mos***

*vós chegar**des***

*vocês/eles/elas chegar**em*** **(!)**

(3) <u>Licence of overt subjects (that cannot be omitted) and parallel absence of inflected infinitives in Colloquial Br. P. (taken from Pires (2002): 152, with modifications):</u>

[A Maria[ligou[antes[de *(nós)_{NOM}/ de *(eu)_{NOM} sair]]]]

"Maria called before we/ I left"

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