

3 NON-ACTIVE VOICE IN ALBANIAN: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE THEORY OF MOVEMENT

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Exactly fifty years ago, Chomsky (1957: § 5.4.) argued that passive sentences should be excluded from phrase structure grammar and introduced instead by a transformational rule applying on active sentences; for introducing passives through rewriting rules would mean doubling the selectional restrictions independently imposed on actives, while a transformational rule would allow them to be stated only once. Chomsky (1965: 103-104) provides what has remained the standard conceptualization of this transformational process, when he proposed that ‘the Manner Adverbial should have as one of its realizations a “dummy element” signifying that the passive transformation must obligatorily apply. That is, we ... may formulate the passive transformation ... with an elementary transformation that substitutes the first NP for the dummy element *passive* and places the second NP in the position of the first NP’. In current practice, the *by*-phrase is independently generated by Merge; but the analysis whereby passive is defined by ‘substitution’ of an internal argument for the EPP position (second or internal Merge) remains at the core of generative transformational grammar.

In this article we propose to evaluate this analysis in the light of the data of Albanian, which presents two separate and complementary reasons of interest. On the one hand the passive (i.e. promotion of the internal argument to the EPP position with the external argument independently interpreted) has the same lexicalization as the reflexive and the middle/ unaccusative. The question then is whether all of these different interpretation are associated to the same movement syntax. On the other hand, the lexicalization of this cluster of meanings is not one, but varies according to tense and aspect specifications. Thus in standard Albanian the non-active voice is lexicalized through a specialized (agreement) inflection in the present or past imperfect; it is lexicalized through the clitic *u* combined with the active forms of the verb in the past perfect; and finally it is lexicalized by the periphrasis *be* – participle in the present perfect and pluperfect. The question then is whether in the passive or eventually in the other interpretations all these different morpholexical formats correspond to the same underlying movement syntax.

Our thesis is that all of the questions that precede are to be answered positively, in the sense that all of the different interpretations and of the different morpholexical formats indeed share the core property of the classical transformational rule of passive, namely the establishment of a relation between the internal argument and the EPP position. On the other hand we will argue that this result depends from a specific construal of this relation, which is at variance with other construals proposed in the literature, in particular with the current derivational conception of movement as second Merge (Chomsky 1995).

1. Data

1.1. Non-active morphologies

In the present indicative, Albanian has a specialized inflection for the non active voice, as exemplified in (1) for *Gjirokastër* (a Tosk dialect, essentially the standard) and for *Shkodër* (a Geg dialect). In (a) we illustrate verbal stems ending in vowel, while in (b) we exemplify verbal stems ending in consonant; the comparison with the active is provided in (a') and (b') respectively. The most complex instantiation of the non-active morphology can be seen in the vocalic stems of *Shkodër*, which are followed by the *he* affix followed in turn by inflections for person. In the consonantal stems, as well as in a possible pronunciation of the vocalic stems of *Gjirokastër*, the affix preceding the person inflections is simply ε (Trommer 2005). The comparison with the active present allows us to establish that the person inflections are themselves specialized for the non-active voice – very clearly so in the singular where the active and non-active forms bear no relation to one another.

(1) *Gjirokastër*

- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|---------------------|-------------|----------|------|-----|-----|----|
| a. | la- | (h) ε - | m/ \int / | t/ | mi/ | ni/ | n | |
| | wash | NACT 1sg | etc. | | | | | |
| | 'I washed myself' etc. | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| a'. | la- | i/ | n/ | n/ | imə/ | ni/ | inə | |
| | wash | | 1sg | etc. | | | | |
| | 'I wash (something)' etc. | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| b. | vi \int - | (h) ε - | m/ | \int / | t/ | mi/ | ni/ | nə |
| | dress | NACT 1sg | etc. | | | | | |
| | 'I dress (myself)' etc. | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| b'. | v ε \int | | | | | | | |
| | v ε \int | | | | | | | |
| | v ε \int | | | | | | | |
| | v ε \int - | im | | | | | | |
| | v ε \int - | ni | | | | | | |
| | v ε \int - | in | | | | | | |
| | dress | 1sg etc. | | | | | | |
| | 'I dress (somebody)' etc. | | | | | | | |

Shkodër

- a. la- hɛ- m/ ʃ/ t/ na/ ni/ n
 wash NACT 1sg etc.
 ‘I wash myself’ etc.
- a’. la- i/ n/ n/ im/ ni/ in
 wash 1sg etc.
 ‘I wash (something)’ etc.
- b. veʃ- ɛ- m/ ʃ/ t/ na/ ni/ n
 dress NACT 1sg etc.
 ‘I dress (myself)’ etc.
- b’. veʃ- i
 ve:ʃ
 ve:ʃ
 veʃ- im
 veʃ- ni
 veʃ- in
 dress 1sg etc.
 ‘I dress (somebody)’ etc.

In the simple past, Albanian resorts to a different morphosyntax for the formation of the non-active voice, preposing the clitic *u* to the verb, as illustrated in (2). The clitic can be taken to roughly correspond to Romance *se*; it is associated with all the different forms of the paradigm, as also happens in some Romance dialects (in particular Romantsch ones) for *se* (Manzini and Savoia 2005). As for the morphology of the verb, no specialized non-active affix is present; furthermore the person inflections are identical to those of the active, except for the 3rd person singular, whose active form is provided in (a’)-(b’). Even there, the non-active voice is characterized simply by the omission of the inflection present in the active paradigm, not by a different inflection. We interpret affixes like *it* in the vocalic paradigm of *Gjirokastër* or *v* in the vocalic paradigm of *Shkodër* as connected to the expression of the perfective past.

(2) *Gjirokastër*

- a. u la- it- a/ ɛ/ -/ əm/ ət/ ən
 NACT wash Past 1sg etc.
 ‘I washed myself’ etc.
- a’. ɛ la- it- i
 it wash Past 3sg
 ‘He washed it’
- b. u veʃ- a/ ɛ/ -/ əmə/ ət/ ənə
 NACT dress 1sg etc.
 ‘I dressed (myself)’ etc.

- b'. ε veʃ- i
 him dress 3sg
 'He dressed him'

Shkodër

- a. u lɔ- v- a
 u lɔ- v- ε
 u lɔ:
 u lɔ- mɛ
 u lɔ:- t
 u lɔ- nɛ
 NACTwash Past 1sg etc.
 'I washed myself' etc.

- a'. ε la- u
 it wash 3sg
 'He washed it'

- b. u veʃ- a
 u veʃ- ε
 u veʃ
 u veʃ- mɛ
 u veʃ- t
 u veʃ- nɛ
 NACT dress 1sg etc.
 'I dressed (myself)' etc.

- b, ε veʃ- i
 it dress 3sg
 'He dressed him'

The past (perfect) in (2) differs from the present in (1) both in temporal properties and in aspectual ones, under the natural assumption that the present is essentially an imperfective form. Therefore the lexicalization of the non-active voice could in principle be sensitive to tense or to aspect. In Tosk dialects, the past imperfect follows the pattern of the present, with specialized non-active morphology, as in (3); thus the split between present and past imperfect on the one hand and past perfect on the other appears to be based on aspect. Morphological analysis of the verb shows that as in the present the non-active voice is carried by the affix ε, which is followed by a / morpheme carrying the past specification; the latter is specialized for the non-active, as comparison with the active shows.

(3) *Gjirokastër*

- a. la- (h)ε- ʃ- a/ ε/ -/ im/ it/ in
 wash NACT past 1sg etc.
 'I washed myself' etc.

- a'. ε la- j- a
 j- ε
 n- tε
 n- im
 n- it
 n- in
 it wash Past 1sg etc
 'I washed it' etc.
- b. viʃ- ε- ʃ- a/ ε/ -/ im/ it/ in
 dress NACT past 1sg etc.
 'I dressed (myself)' etc.
- b'. viʃ- j- a
 j- ε
 tε
 n- im
 n- it
 n- in
 dress Past 1sg etc.
 'I dressed (somebody)' etc.

On the other hand in Geg dialects, specialized morphology and clitic realizations of the non-active voice split according to tense; thus while the present has specialized non-active morphology, not only the past perfect but also the past imperfect in (4) have the *u* clitic. The data in (4) show that the substitution of an *ε* accusative clitic for the *u* non-active voice clitic yields the active reading with no change in verb morphology. In other words what the *u* clitic combines with is the ordinary active morphology of the verb

(4) *Shkodër*

- a. u /ε lɔ- ʃ- a
 ʃ- ε
 tε
 ʃ- im
 ʃ- it
 ʃ- in
 NACT /it wash past.impf 1sg etc.
 'I washed myself/ it' etc.
- b. u/ ε veʃ- ʃ- a
 ʃ- ε
 tε
 ʃ- im
 ʃ- it
 ʃ- in
 NACT/him dress past.impf 1sg etc.
 'I dressed (myself)/ it' etc.

The non-active conjugation in Albanian also includes forms consisting of an auxiliary followed by the participle, as illustrated in (5) for the present perfect. In particular the auxiliary *jam* ‘I am’ followed by the participle is sufficient to yield the non-active voice. The comparison data in (a’) and (b’) show that the active is formed with the same participle but with the *kam* ‘I have’ auxiliary. Thus in this case it is the switch from *kam* ‘I have’ to *jam* ‘I am’ that yields the switch from active to non-active voice. Similarly the pluperfect is formed with the past imperfect of the two auxiliaries followed by the participle. The morphology of the latter is discussed in detail for both Tosk and Geg dialects by Manzini and Savoia (2007); in particular Tosk dialects (including the standard) have a participial ending *-r* which is not present in Geg dialects; it is worth noting that vocalic stems in *Gjirokastër*’s (a)-(a’) also include the perfective *it* morphology.

(5) *Gjirokastër*

- a. əʃt la- it- ur
 he.is wash prf prt
 ‘He has washed himself’
- a’. ε ka la- it- ur
 it he.has wash prf prt
 ‘He has washed it’
- b. əʃt vɛʃ- ur
 he.is dress prt
 ‘He has dressed (himself)’
- b’. ε ka vɛʃ- ur
 him he.has dress prt
 ‘He has washed him’

Shkodër

- a. ɛʃt lɔ:/ vɛ:ʃ
 he.is washed/ dressed
 ‘He has washed/dressed (himself)’
- b. ε kɔ lɔ:/ vɛ:ʃ
 him he.has washed/ dressed
 ‘He has washed/ dressed him’

1.2. *The interpretation of the non-active morphologies*

In the discussion that precedes, we have illustrated the three basic morphologies concerning non-active voice in Albanian; in each case we have chosen to illustrate the non-active voice with verbs where the reflexive interpretation is particularly salient – and we have glossed our examples accordingly. In reality, each of the forms that we have exemplified is multiply ambiguous, allowing for a range of meanings that is independently known for instance for the Romance counterpart of the *u* clitic, e.g. Italian *si*. In what follows we shall review the

various meanings, showing that they equally attach to all morphological instantiations of the non-active voice.

The reflexive reading prominent for instance with a verb like ‘to wash’ implies that a single participant in the event which is both its theme (patient, etc.) and its causer (agent, etc.). This can easily be told apart from another reading which equally involves a single participant in the event – which we shall refer to as ‘unaccusative’. This is the reading where the single participant is the theme (patient, etc.) and there is no expressed or implied external agency (cause, etc.) in the event. This is evidently a salient meaning for the non-active predicate in (6), which we correspondingly glossed as ‘to wake up’. Evidently, though ‘to wake oneself up’ is also a possible predicate, the reading is less salient for pragmatic reasons. What is important to note is that the unaccusative reading, like the reflexive reading in the previous section, attaches to all lexicalizations of the non-active voice, namely the specialized inflection in the present (a), the clitic in the past perfective (c) and the *jam* – (perfect) participle formation in the perfect (d); the past imperfect (b) has the specialized inflection or the clitic according to the dialect.

(6) *Gjirokastër*

- a. zju- (h)ε- t
wake NACT 3sg
‘He wakes up’
- b. zju- (h)ε- ʃ
wake NACT past
‘He woke up’
- c. u zjo- it
NACT wake prf
‘He woke up’
- d. əʃt zju- ar
he.is wake prt
‘He has woken up’

Shkodër

- a. tʃo- hε- t
wake NACT 3sg
‘He wakes up’
- b. u tʃo- tε
NACT wake 3sg
‘He woke up’
- c. u tʃu:
NACT woke
‘He woke up’

- d. ɛʃt tʃu:
 he.is woken
 'He has woken up'

A reading of the non-active voice that implies two participants in an event, including the theme (patient, etc.) and an external argument (agent, cause, etc.) is of course the passive. The passive meaning is again available independently of the particular morphology instantiating the non-active voice, as illustrated in (7). In these various examples it is really the *by*-phrase that disambiguates the passive from the other possible readings. Naturally, the passive reading implies an agent, a so-called implicit argument, even when no *by*-phrase is lexicalized. Here we exemplify the present (a), the past perfective (c) and the present perfect (d), since the past imperfective reflects the morphology of the present (Tosk) or of the past perfective (Geg).

(7) *Gjirokastër*

- a. kətɔ kəmiʃə la- (h)ɛ- n ŋga aʃɔ
 these shirts wash-NACT-3pl by him
 'These shirts are washed by him'
- c. ata u zʃɔ- it- ən ŋga tɔ tierət
 they NACT wake- prf- 3pl by the others'
 'They were woken by some people'
- d. kətɔ kəmiʃə jan la- it-ur ŋga aʃɔ
 these shirts are wash-prf-prt by him
 'These shirts have been washed by him'

Shkodër

- a. fmia veʃ- ɛ- t prei nans
 the.child dress-NACT-3sg by the mother
 'The child is dressed by his mother'
- a'. atɔ tʃɔ- he- n ŋp tiert
 they wake-NACT-3pl by the others
 'They are woken up by some people'
- d. jan tʃu ŋp tiert
 they.are woken by the others
 'They have been woken up by some people'
- d'. ɛʃt lɑ: prei nɔns
 he.is washed by the mother
 'He has been washed by his mother'

It doesn't come as a surprise that non-active voice morphology can attach in Albanian to unergative verbs, since the latter are construed by current theories (Hale and Keyser 1993) as concealed transitives, where the verb effectively

incorporates an object. Therefore we may expect that the combination of the non-active morphology with such a verb yields an impersonal meaning, essentially as a byproduct of passivization, as in (8). Note however that in an impersonal passive we would expect the possibility of independently lexicalizing the external argument through a *by*-phrase. This however does not appear to be possible in Albanian.

(8) *Gjirokastër*

a. ati flə- (h)ε- t mir
 there sleep-NACT-3sg well
 ‘There one sleeps well’

c. ati u fiət mir
 there NACT slept well
 ‘There one slept well’

Shkodër

a. atjε flε- (h)ε- t mir
 there sleep-NACT-3sg well
 ‘There one sleeps well’

b. atjε u flε- tε mir
 there sleep-NACT-3sg well
 ‘There one slept well’

c. ktu u fje:t mir
 here NACT slept-3sg well
 ‘Here one slept well’

d. atjε vʃt fie:t mir (*ɲp ata)
 there it.is slept well (by them)
 ‘There one has slept well’

More importantly, the non-active voice can also attach to unaccusative predicates – i.e. again intransitive predicates, which cannot be reasonably construed as concealed transitives. Rather the only surfacing argument of such predicates clearly corresponds to their theme, e.g. the element that undergoes the change of location in motion verbs such as ‘to go’ exemplified in (9). With these verbs therefore the non.active voice cannot be analyzed as yielding a sort of passive, albeit an impersonal one. Rather it yields an impersonal tout court, which must then be entered among the possible interpretations of the non-active voice in Albanian; this is confirmed by the impossibility of associating such structures with a *by*-phrase. Once again, there is a parallelism with Italian *si*; however it must be emphasized that the impersonal interpretation in Albanian is not constrained to the clitic morphology, but is equally found with specialized inflection or with *jam* – participle formations.

(9) *Gjirokaštër*

- a. nga ati dil-ε- t
from there exit-NACT-3sg
'One exits from there'
- a'. ai del
he exits
'He exits'
- c. nga ati u dōð
from there NACT exited
'One exited from there'
- c'. ai dōð- i
he exited-3sg
'He exited'
- d. nga ati všt dalə mir
from there it.is exited well
'One has exited well from there'
- d'. ka dalə
he.has gone
'He has exited'

Shkodër

- a. prej ktej dël- ε- t
through there go.out-NACT-3sg
'One goes out that way'
- a'. ai dël
he goes.out
'He goes out'
- b. prej ktej u dël- tē
through there NACT go.out-3sg
'One went out that way'
- b'. ai dël- tē
he go.out-3sg
'He went out'
- c. prej ktej u do:l
through there NACT went.out
'One went out that way'
- c'. ai dol- i
he went.out-3sg
'He went out'

- d. prej ktej ɛʃt dɔ:l mir (*ŋɔ ata)
 through there it.is gone.out well
 ‘One has gone out well that way’
- d’. kɔ dɔ:l
 he.has gone.out
 ‘He has gone out’

1.3. The Arbëresh dialects

The Arbëresh dialects of Albanian, spoken in Southern Italy, belong to the Tosk group and indeed reflect the conditions of the standard (or of *Gjirokastër* here) in many respects. In particular, with vocalic bases, these dialects lexicalize the non-active voice by the specialized verb inflection in the present indicative and in the imperfective past, as illustrated in (10a) and (10b) respectively with *Portocannone*, where the non-active morphology is *-x-*; the past perfective has the clitic *u*, as in (10c). Microvariation is present at various points between the mainland dialects and Arbëresh as well as within the Arbëresh fold. We note in particular that in *Portocannone* the past perfective, despite the presence of the *u* non-active clitic, maintains the non-active affix *-x-* of the present and imperfective past. As for the person inflections, it is not only the 3rd singular that distinguishes active (*c'*) and non-active in the past-perfective, but also the 1st person singular.

(10) *Portocannone*

- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------|-------|-------|------|------|-----|-----|-----------|
| a. | la- | xɛ- | m/ | ʃ/ | t/ | mi/ | ni/ | n |
| | wash | NACT | 1sg | etc. | | | | |
| | ‘I wash myself’ | | | | | | | |
| b. | la- | x- ʃ- | a/ | ɛ/ | i/ | əm/ | ət/ | ən |
| | wash.up | NACT | impf | 1sg/ | etc. | | | |
| | ‘I washed myself’ | | | | | | | |
| c. | u | la- | x- | tʃ/ | ɛ/ | -/ | əm/ | ət/ ən |
| | NACT | wash | NACT | 1sg | etc. | | | |
| | ‘I washed myself’ etc. | | | | | | | |
| c’. | ɛ | la- | v- a/ | ɛ/ | i/ | əm/ | ət/ | ən |
| | it | wash | past | 1sg | etc. | | | |
| | ‘I washed it’ etc. | | | | | | | |

A major point of variation between the non-active voice of Arbëresh dialects and that of mainland dialects concerns auxiliary – participle formations in the perfect. In Arbëresh dialects these involve the auxiliary *kam* ‘I have’, exactly as in the active, rather than *jam* ‘I am’; therefore non-active voice is lexicalized through the *u* clitic. The *Portocannone* dialect displays an interesting further parameter concerning participial morphology. In the active voice in (11b) the participle has recognizably the same form as in *Gjirokastër*’s (5) with the verbal base *la-* followed by the perfective morphology *-it-* and by the participial ending *-ur*. By

contrast, in the non active voice in (11a), the participle is formed through the suffixation of the non-active morpheme *-x-*, followed by the ordinary participial ending *-ur*. Thus in *Portocannone* and similar dialects the vocalic verb bases bear specialized morphology throughout the paradigm, even when a *u* clitic is present, as in the past perfect in (11) but also in the aorist in (10c).

(11) *Portocannone*

- a. atə kiʃən u la- x- ur
 they had NACT wash-NACT-prt
 ‘They had washed themselves’
- b. atə kiʃən ε laitur
 they had it washed
 ‘They had washed it’

With this much background on the morphology, we are now in a position to consider the various readings that attach to it. In the examples that we provided above, the reflexive reading is of course salient. The possibility of what we have called the unaccusative reading is evident in the examples in (12). As before, in the case of auxiliary – participle formations we provide a comparison of the non-active (d) with the active (d’) – which displays the difference between the two participial morphologies. A further point of variation between *Portocannone* and other dialects (both mainland and Arbëresh) emerges in the data in (12d)-(12d’), namely that the participle can be introduced by a coordinating/ subordinating particle, literally ‘and’. This parameter is discussed in detail by Savoia and Manzini (2007) and is essentially irrelevant here. Another property which singles *Portocannone* out (and is actually largely irrelevant for present purposes) is that the clitic is not positioned before the auxiliary, but immediately before the participle even in the absence of the particle, as can be seen in (11).

(12) *Portocannone*

- a. zʒɔ- x- εm
 wake NACT 1sg
 ‘I wake up’ etc.
- b. zʒɔ- x- ʃ- a
 wake NACT past 1sg
 ‘I woke up’
- c. u zʒuɔ- tʃ
 NACT wake- 1sg
 ‘I woke up’
- d. ai kiʃ ε u tʃa- x- ur
 it had and NACT break-NACT-Prt
 ‘It had broken’

d'. ai kiʃ ε ε tʃa- it- ur
 he had and it break prf prt
 'He had broken it'

Next, the impersonal meaning is available both with unergative predicates and with unaccusative ones, exemplified here in (13). As usual we provide the contrast between the non-active participle formation in (d) and the active one in (d').

(13) *Portocannone*

- a. ktu vε- xε- t te hōra
 here go-NACT-3sg to the village
 'This way one goes to the village'
- c. ktu u va-x te hōra
 here NACT go-NACT to the village
 'This way one went to the village'
- d. ktu kiʃ u va- x- ur te hōra
 here it.had NACT go-NACT- prt to the village
 'This way one had gone to the village'
- d'. kiʃ va- t- ur
 he.has go-prf- prt
 'He had gone'

As we fully expect, the range of morphologies that we have considered so far can be associated with a passive reading – i.e. a reading characterized like the transitive one by the presence of two roles and two event participants, except that of course the theme is promoted to the EPP position. Relevant examples are provided in (14). It should be noted that while in mainland Albanian *by*-phrases normally cooccur with the non-active morphology, as illustrated in (7), the NACT-passives of Arbëresh are normally impersonal, in the sense that they only allow for an impersonal (i.e. generic) reading of the agent – i.e. they do not normally combine with the *by*-phrase.

(14) *Portocannone*

- a. atiε la- xε- n kəmiʃt
 here wash- NACT-3pl the.shirts
 'Here shirts are washed'
- c. atiε u la- xə- n kəmiʃt
 here NACT wash- NACT-3pl the.shirts
 'Here shirts were washed'
- d. atiε kiʃən u la- x- ur kəmiʃt
 here had NACT wash- NACT-prt the.shirts by them
 'Here shirts had been washed'

d'. kiʃən i la- it- ur
 they.had them wash- prf- prt
 'They had washed them'

2. Analysis: The *u* clitic

We shall begin our discussion with mainland Albanian (coming back to Arbëresh in a later section) and with the structures formed with *u*, which we have described throughout as comparable to Romance *se*. Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007) argue in great detail that the distributional properties of Italian *si* can only be accounted for if it is treated as a pronominal object clitic (as opposed to an affix, a subject clitic, etc.). The same point can be made for Albanian *u*.

Manzini and Savoia (2007) consider for instance enclisis – proclisis alternations in Arbëresh dialects, showing that *u* is sensitive to exactly the same conditions as other object clitics, such as accusative *ε* 'him/her' or dative *i* 'to him/to her/ to them', down to very fine dialectal variation. Thus we have seen that in a dialect like *Portocannone* the auxiliary precedes both, as in (11). Another dialect where the same holds, and there is no correlation with the possibility for the participle to be introduced by *ε* 'and' is *S. Benedetto* in (15). In most dialects, including *Civita* or *Ginestra* in (15) the *u* clitic precedes the auxiliary, and this is also true for the *ε*/*a* accusative clitic. We refer the reader to Manzini and Savoia (2007) for an analysis of the relevant parameter(s); what is relevant here is the parallelism between the two clitics.

(15) *S. Benedetto Ullano*

- a. kiʃna u λaitur
 I.had NACT washed
 'I had washed myself'
- b. kiʃna ε par
 I.had him seen
 'I had seen him'

Civita

- a. u kiʃa zjuar
 NACT I.had woken
 'I had woken up' etc.
- b. ε kiʃa pa:r
 him I.had seen
 'I had seen him'

Ginestra

- a. aʃo ju kiʃi zəʃ- eurə
 sheMed had wake.up- prt
 'She had woken up'

- b. u a kiʃa tʃa- rə
 I it had break- prt
 ‘I had broken it’

Similarly, consider the imperative 2nd person singular. As exemplified in (16) with the Arbëresh dialect of *Civita* in the positive forms pronominal clitics are found in enclisis, again as a reflex of the high position of the verb (Manzini and Savoia 2007); this is true both of accusatives, as in (16a) and of the *u* clitic as in (16a’). Vice versa the presence of the negation induces proclisis (as a reflex of the verb staying in its inflectional position) and this affects the accusative and *u* clitics alike as in (16b-b’).

(16) *Civita*

- a. zɔj ε
 wake.up him
 ‘Wake him up’
- a’. zɔj u
 wake.up M/R
 ‘Wake up’
- b. məs ε zɔj
 not him wake.up
 ‘Don’t wake him up’
- b’. məs u zɔj
 not M/R wake.up
 ‘Don’t wake up’

Given its distribution with respect to the verb it is evident that any adequate theory of Albanian *u* must take into account the fact that it is an object clitic. Within the object clitic string itself, the *u* clitic appears to be found in the lowest position, essentially the same as that of the accusative clitic with which it is of course in complementary distribution for independent reasons. In particular, as shown in (17) *u* follows the 3rd person dative as well as the 1st person one. Incidentally, except for the presence of the dative these are clear examples of what we have called the unaccusative interpretation. The dative adds a benefactive/malefactive.

(17) *Gjirokastër*

- m/ i u θiε gota
 to.me/to.him NACTbroke the.glass
 ‘The glass broke on me/him’

Shkodër

- i/ m u θy: gota
 to.me/to.him NACT broke the.glass
 ‘The glass broke on me/him’

| | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|------|------------|---|----|--------|
| m/ | i | u | tʃa- | x | ɲə | bukjer |
| to.me/to.him | | NACT | break-NACT | | a | glass |
| ‘A glass broke on me/him’ | | | | | | |

The object clitic nature of *u* corresponds to a rather natural treatment at least of the reflexive interpretation. For, we could say that exactly like accusative *ε*, *u* is a lexicalization of the internal argument of the verb – with the difference that while *ε* is pronominal, *u* is reflexive, hence anaphorically dependent on the EPP argument. This is the theory proposed by Burzio (1986) for Italian reflexive *si*, whose limits are however evident. By analyzing reflexive *si* as just described, Burzio (1986) must postulate the existence of another homophonous *si*'s – i.e. impersonal *si*, which lexicalizes the external argument of the verb as a generic. Its effect is that the EPP position is vacated and the internal argument can and must move into it yielding the classical movement derivation for middle-passives. The problem of course is that if there were two different *si*'s one expects their syntactic behavior (and not just their interpretation) to tell them apart. In reality all Italian *si*'s behave homogeneously under distributional tests, even when object and subject clitics otherwise split up (Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2007). What is more, the postulation of two *si*'s forces other principles to have a disjunctive formulation, as is the case notably for auxiliary selection according to Burzio (1986). If this was not enough, precisely data like those of Albanian show that the cluster of meanings associated with *si* forms a natural class, showing up in many diverse languages – and with many diverse morpholexical formats.

The major alternative present in the literature is unifying the various *si*'s under the movement derivation classically associated with passives. Thus let us assume that in passive, *si* becomes associated with the external theta-role of the predicate and this forces the internal argument to externalize, yielding the typical promotion of object to subject. Because a reflexive predicate is by definition symmetric, reflexive *si* could in principle corresponds to the internal or to the external argument of the verb. Suppose that exactly as passive *si*, reflexive *si* is associated with the external argument of the predicate; the derivation that ensues is identical to that of the passive, with promotion of the object to subject position providing for a unification of the two *si*'s (Marantz 1984). Needless to say, this derivation not only unifies the various interpretations of *si*, but what is more does so by extending to all of them the classical movement transformation.

Unfortunately, this analysis has at least one important disadvantage, namely that it does not predict that the morphosyntax of *si* is consistently that of an object clitic. That this is not an idiosyncratic property of *si* can be seen one again in the context of cross-linguistic comparison, for instance with the case of Albanian at hand. There is no doubt that the properties of *u* are in some respect quite different from those of Italian *si*, for instance in that it is associated with all persons as opposed to *si*, which is only associated with 3rd person – though there is great

variability in Romance languages and in Romantsch the *si*-like form can be associated with all persons again. Vice versa another difference is that *si* is associated with all temporal and aspectual specifications of the verb, while as we have seen *u* is restricted to the perfective (standard Albanian) or to the past (Geg dialects). Precisely because of this variation, it is all the more striking that what remains constant in the morphosyntax of *u* and *si* is that they behave like object clitics; evidently this is a central property of such forms and not a merely an accidental one.

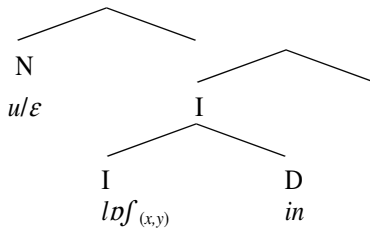
But though their distribution suggests that elements like *si* or *u* are just the non-active counterpart of the accusative clitic, this fact cannot be captured by the treatment of non-active morphology in terms of movement. Other conceivable treatments of these elements can be shown to be inadequate. Thus *si* or *u* cannot be treated as subject clitics in languages like Italian or Albanian which do not otherwise have such elements – nor can they be subject clitic in imperatives, which consistently lack such elements even in subject clitic languages. At the same time, treating *si* or *u* as inflections of the verb means that no sensible generalizations can be made over properties of either clitics or inflections. For instance, one would miss out completely on the generalizations concerning enclisis-proclisis alternations in (15)-(16) above.

As stressed by Culicover and Jackendoff (2005) current generative theorizing is strongly biased in favor of what they call Interface Uniformity, i.e. the principle that ‘the syntax-semantics interface is maximally simple, in that meaning maps transparently into syntactic structure; and it is maximally uniform, so that the same meaning always maps onto the same syntactic structure’. In such a perspective, the objections we just raised may be considered of small import, when weighed against the possibility of maintaining a ‘uniform’ movement analysis for passive. The argument developed by Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007) and pursued here is that loss of predictive power with respect to the actually observed morpholexical forms is to be taken as seriously as loss of predictive power at the LF interface. Hence the difficulty in predicting the object clitic behavior of *si* or *u* cannot be discounted even in the face of apparent gains in ‘interface uniformity’.

The analysis of Italian *si* proposed by Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007) aims at accounting both for the morpholexical properties of *si* as an object clitic and for the fact that at the LF interface it appears to be associated with intransitivization processes. The crucial assumption in this analysis is that the semantics of *si* is that of a variable, as proposed by Manzini (1983, 1986) and at least for impersonal *si* by Chierchia (1995). If we extend this characterization to Albanian *u*, we are led to propose that it lexicalizes an internal argument as a variable. Our claim is that the various interpretations associated with *u* (reflexive, middle/ unaccusative, and passive) can all be obtained on the basis of this interpretive property while maintaining for *u* sentences a straightforward transitive syntax.

Consider the reflexive interpretation. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, we can assume that the structure of the reflexive sentence matches that of its transitive counterpart; in other words, u in the reflexive sentence occupies exactly the same position as ε in the active sentence, as shown in (18). In the theory of Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007) N is the category projected on the sentential tree by the internal argument. The EPP argument in turn, i.e. D in Manzini and Savoia's (2005, 2007) terms, is lexicalized in (18) through the verb inflection *-in*, as is normally the case in null subject languages like Albanian. The referential properties of ε mean that it can have a non-bound interpretation, as it must in (18) because of what descriptively is principle B of the Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981). Crucially, the referential properties of u – which by hypothesis are those of a variable – set it apart from other pronominal clitics. In order for the variable to be valued, it must be bound by a referential element. The reflexive interpretation is simply the consequence of the binding of the u variable by the closest available referring element, i.e. the EPP argument. The construal of reflexivization that we have now provided is essentially the traditional one, with the reflexive element (u in this case) associated to an internal argument position and bound by the EPP argument.

(18) *Shkodër*



Consider then the passive interpretation, which could equally be associated with the sentence in (18). Our proposal is that the structure of the passive sentence is identical to that of the reflexive sentence, with the u clitic inserted in the internal argument position. Indeed there is no evidence that the reflexive and the passive readings correspond to different underlying structures. Rather all morphosyntactic evidence points to the conclusion that structures like (18) are genuinely ambiguous allowing for both readings under consideration. If the same structure underlies both the reflexive and the passive readings – then passives must differ from reflexives only interpretively.

Let us assume that in the passive the dependency between the u variable and the EPP argument corresponds to a chain. In other words passive is treated exactly as in classical generative grammar, as an instance of chain formation between the internal argument and the EPP argument. The only difference is that instead of a trace (i.e. an empty category or a copy), the analysis we propose has an overtly lexicalized internal argument – whose semantics is that of a variable. As we

anticipated at the outset, there are respects in which this analysis is at variance with standard generative frameworks, including notably the minimalist program of Chomsky (1995). While these take a derivational view of movement, the present analysis is representational. Thus since the two positions related by the chain in (18) under the passive reading are each independently lexicalized, there cannot be a derivational process of movement between them; rather movement must reduce to the notion of chain at the LF interface (Brody 2003).

Consistently with the overall derivational outlook of minimalist theory, Chomsky (1995) assumes that the verb inflection is a cluster of uninterpretable features, driving processes such as movement (agreement, etc.) because of the need for such features to be checked (valued, deleted, etc.). On the contrary, our discussion of the structure in (18) presupposes a treatment of the verb inflection as an interpretable element – specifically as the morphological-level lexicalization of the EPP argument of the sentence. Unlike (minimalist) movement, therefore, chains cannot be motivated by feature checking requirements – though they can be motivated by interpretive requirements. In the case of the passive chain, the relevant interpretive requirement obviously concerns providing a value for the variable internal argument.

The representational construal briefly illustrated here for movement affects all transformational processes. Thus agreement, which is the rule specifically responsible for feature checking in Chomsky's (1995) framework, can only be interpreted as a relation which must hold if various interpretations (including the chain one) are to hold in turn. Thus the chain in (18) requires agreement (or to more precise compatibility in features) between the EPP argument and the element lexicalizing the variable, though in this case the requirement is trivially met (precisely because of the presence of a variable).

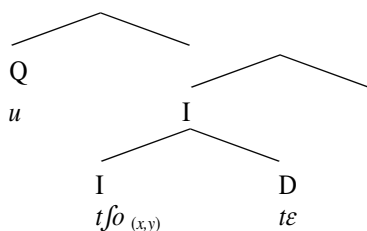
In short, we part ways with standard models of generative transformational grammar in adopting a representational model, with the properties outlined in the discussion that precedes. At the same time, it should be clear that in this representational form, our analysis of Italian *si* or Albanian *u* includes standard generative ideas about passive, as involving a chain between the internal argument and the EPP argument. Thus while we share the concern of Culicover and Jackendoff (2005) about Interface Uniformity, we certainly do not subscribe to their view of chain interpretations as mediated by a Grammatical Functions (GF) level of representation. The analysis we propose is no more – and no less – than a representational version of generative transformational models (specifically of minimalist ones, in many respects).

We contend that at the LF interface the present theory maintains all of the explanatory power of conventional theories of movement. At the same time, crucial motivation for it comes precisely from the kind of considerations pertaining to morpholexical structure that we advanced above. In the present theory, it is perfectly possible to maintain that elements such as Italian *si* or

Albanian *u* are exactly what they appear to be – i.e. normal object clitics. In this respect, the crucial assumption is simply that their content is that of a variable – in other words that the variable status is not restricted to traces (i.e. empty categories or copies) created by movement. This latter restriction seems to us to be an artifact of strictly derivational approaches, while representational approaches can easily handle specialized lexical items with the content of variables. In short, we can maintain both what appears to be the transitive structure of sentences like (18) – with the clitic instantiating an object, while at the same time incorporating the core generative insight that the passive interpretation involves the chain construal of the internal argument with the EPP argument.

Going now back to the reflexive interpretation, the maximally simple assumption about the nature of the dependency between the *u* variable and the EPP argument is that it is again a chain. This assimilation of the reflexive to the passive does not prevent their respective meanings from being clearly differentiated. The reflexive interpretation can in fact be sharpened by comparison with what we have called the unaccusative reading, salient in examples like (6). This reading can be obtained on the basis of structures like (19), entirely parallel to (18) above, through the formation of a chain between the variable internal argument, lexicalized by *u*, and the EPP argument, represented by the verb inflection. This leads to the interpretation where the EPP argument, is interpreted as the internal argument of the verb (roughly the theme, undergoing the waking up). Note that the argumental frame of the verb is in itself transitive; quite simply, in the unaccusative reading the external argument is not interpreted.

(19) *Shkodër*



Needless to say, the passive interpretation, roughly ‘he was woken up’ is equally predicted to be possible in (19), on the basis of chain formation. Thus exactly as in standard movement models passive and unaccusatives share the same core syntax. The difference is that in the passive reading the implication is preserved that the event takes place through an external agency or cause, corresponding to the external argument of the transitive argument frame of the verb. The latter can receive independent lexicalization through a *by*-phrase, or it can be interpreted through generic binding of the argument variable – yielding a so-called ‘implicit argument’; while in the unaccusative reading the implication is that the theme is not acted up by another agent/ cause.

Now, as in the unaccusative interpretation, in the reflexive there is no implication of an external agency or cause. The difference is that in the reflexive some degree of intentionality attaches to the argument of the *si* sentence; thus reflexive readings are available only with EPP arguments capable of a mental state. In other words pragmatic knowledge about the event of ‘waking up’ excludes the reflexive reading in (19).

A question raised by the discussion in (19) concerns the existence of unaccusatives, i.e. predicates whose only argument is a theme (an internal argument), which are not formed through non-active morphology – i.e. what we may call active unaccusatives. These include for instance motion verbs such as *dal* ‘I go out’, exemplified in (9), which not only have the active person ending but also combine with the auxiliary *kam* ‘I have’ in the present perfect. Note that the contrast between verbs like *dal* and verbs like *tfohem* ‘I wake up’ in (19) does not depend on the fact that the latter has a transitive counterpart, namely ‘I wake (somebody) up’. For there are unaccusative verbs without a transitive counterpart such as *ulem* ‘I sit down’ which display the non-active conjugation, as shown in (20a-c). The data regarding *dal* are reproduced in (20a’-c’) for the sake of comparison. The pattern in (20) is also familiar from Romance languages, where some unaccusatives are formed with *si* morphology and others are not. The difference is that in Albanian all unaccusative counterparts of transitive verbs is formed by the non-active morphology.

(20) *Shkodër*

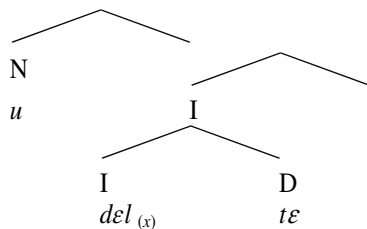
- a. ul- ε- t
sit-NACT-3sg
‘He sits down’
- b. ai u ul
he NACT sit-3sg
‘He sat down’
- c. ɛʃt u:l
he.is sat
‘He has sat down’
- a’. ai dɛl
he goes.out
‘He goes out’
- b’. ai dɔl- i
he went.out-3sg
‘He went out’
- c’. kɔ dɔ:l
he.has gone.out
‘He has gone out’

The grammar must provide a way to distinguish between verbs like *dal* ‘I go out’ and verbs like *ulem* ‘I sit down’. In fact, for verbs like *dal*, we can simply assume that their single argument slot (a theme), as in (21a), is assigned to the obligatory argument of the sentence, i.e. the EPP argument. This yields an unaccusative reading comparable to that in (19) – but at the same time does not imply the presence of non-active morphology. A way to formalize the distinction between verbs like *dal* and like *ulem* is therefore simply to associate the latter with an argument frame of the same type found on *tfo-* in (19), as in (21b). The fact that in (21b) the potentially transitive frame is nevertheless constrained to the unaccusative reading will have to be learned as a lexical property.

- (21) a. *dɛl*_(x)
 b. *ulɛt*_(x,y)

The last reading of Albanian *u* sentences that we need to consider is the impersonal one, most clearly implied by sentences involving unaccusative predicates such as (9). Under the line of explanation pursued throughout this section, one may be led to conclude that in the absence of distributional or morphological evidence to the contrary, the structure underlying (9) is the same already indicated for the other interpretations of *u* in (18)-(19), as in (22). The crucial difference between (18)-(19) and (22) is that (18)-(19) contain not only the variable *u* clitic, but also some independently referring EPP argument – even if only represented by the inflection of the verb. On the contrary, (22) contains no independently referring EPP argument. Indeed the obvious construal of the generic (or ‘impersonal’) interpretation associated with the EPP argument in (22) is that the *u* variable itself supplies it, through binding by a generic closure operator. This interpretation in turn can correspond to a syntax in which, exactly as in the other cases considered before, the *u* clitic forms a chain with the EPP argument represented by the D inflection of the verb. We assume that a generic interpretation cannot simply be associated with the 3rd singular inflection of the verb; this necessitates the introduction of the variable, i.e. *u*, which can be bound by the generic operator, as detailed above.

(22) *Shkodër*



The discussion of *dɛl* in (21) implies that the single theta-role of *dɛl-* in (22) is assigned directly to the EPP argument – and indirectly to the generic chain, while

it cannot be assigned to the *u* variable. Exactly the same structure and interpretation can be assigned to the impersonal of unergatives, as in (8), if we take the argument structure of unergatives to be mono-argumental like that of unaccusatives. This does not mean that we unify the two classes of verbs, since the one argument of unaccusatives corresponds to a theme (internal argument) while that of unergatives corresponds to an agent (external argument).

We noted above that the parallel between Italian *si* and Albanian *u* is all the more interesting because the two elements also display important points of variation. A relevant observation in this respect concerns impersonal *si*, which in languages like standard Italian can combine with accusative objects, as in (23a). This possibility is not open in Albanian – and in fact it is excluded in many Italian dialects as well, where the only possible combination between *si* and a transitive predicate is a passive, i.e. the counterpart of standard Italian (23b) (Manzini and Savoia 2005).

- (23) a. Li si chiamerebbe volentieri
 them SI would.call gladly
 ‘One would gladly call them’
- b. Si chiamerebbero volentieri
 SI would.call gladly
 ‘They would gladly be called’

The theory that we have proposed straightforwardly predicts that sentences of the type of (23) will be excluded in Albanian. Indeed in the present theory *u* represents the non-active counterpart of the accusative clitic *ε* with which it share the same position in the clitic string, i.e. N, associated with the internal argument. In other words, the impossibility of the Albanian counterparts of (23) is simply a fact of complementary distribution between *ε* and *u*, reflecting of course their deeper grammatical properties. In fact, Manzini and Savoia (2007) associate standard Italian *si* not with N, but with a Q(uantificational) categorial projection, available to it because of its variable properties. This defines the parameter with respect to Albanian (or indeed many Italian dialects).

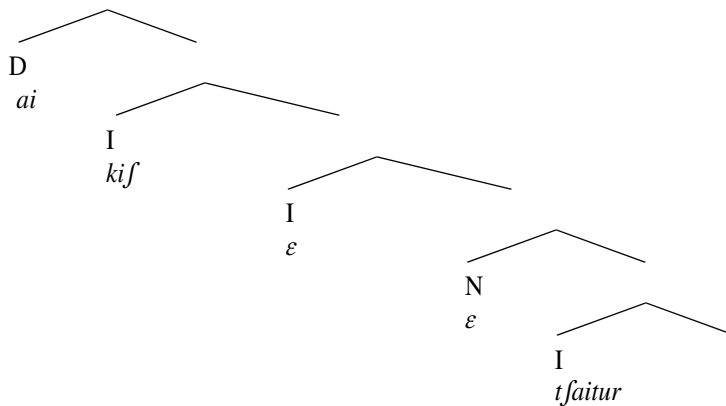
3. Analysis: *be* – participle

An important difference between the *jam*-participle morphosyntax and other lexicalizations of the non-active voice is the fact that *jam*-participle structures include two predicates, at least under the reasonable assumption (Kayne 1993, Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2007) that the so-called auxiliary *to be* is to be identified with the so-called main verb (copula, modal, etc.). If so, we must admit that both *jam* and the participle have their own argument structure and each head their predicate/ sentence projection.

In other words, we reject treatments of the so-called auxiliary as simply a functional projection of the main predicate, precisely because it is not obvious how

they account for their main verb uses. A way around this objection is the model of Cinque (2001) which associates many verbs standardly treated as main verbs with functional projections of embedded predicates (in so-called restructuring contexts). Here however we shall go in the opposite direction, for reasons that are partially spelled out by Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007). For instance, it is evident that much functional structure can associate with participles; this is true both in some Romance varieties and crucially in some Albanian ones, including *Portocannone*. Thus in examples like (12d-d') the participle is introduced by the sentential connective ε 'and' and pronominal clitics are associated with the participial clause rather than with the matrix clause. Taking the active in (12d') for simplicity, we can associate with it a structure of the type in (24). What is relevant for present purposes is that both the *kam* auxiliary and the participle head their own sentential projection and that each of these can be associated with an argument structure (witness the clitics in the participial clause) and can be selected by a sentential introducer. We construe the latter as an autonomous head in turn, taking the participial clause as its complement – assimilating the coordinating particle to a subordinating one, as suggested again by Kayne (1994) (and reference quoted there).

(24) *Portocannone*

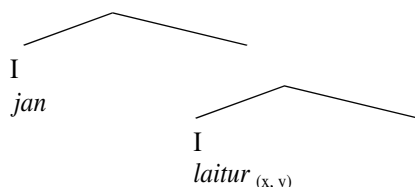


A bisentential structure like (24) includes an EPP argument in the matrix clause, lexicalized by the overt subject like *ai* in (24) or by the finite verb inflection. By contrast, only the complements of the verb, such as the accusative clitic ε in (24) are overtly lexicalized in the participial clause. Two alternatives are therefore open as to the embedded EPP argument. The first one is to say that the participial complement is somehow reduced, including no EPP argument. The second alternative, which we will follow here, is to keep to the assumption that all predicates project into sentential units, which by definition include an EPP argument. We assume that in cases where the latter is not provided by the morpho-syntactic structure, it nevertheless enters the LF interface computation in the form

of a variable. As argued in detail by Manzini and Savoia (2007), Manzini (to appear) a variable EPP argument can be interpreted through all and only the means that we have postulated for the variable *u* object, namely through a referential dependency (control), a chain (raising) or through generic or other quantificational binding binding ('arbitrary control' and other non-bound interpretations).

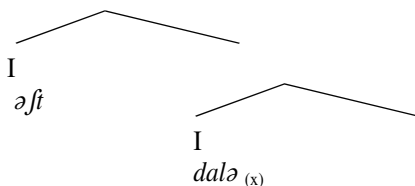
We can now return to *jam*-participle examples, beginning with the passive interpretation which it appears to have in common with languages like English or Italian. The structure of a sentence like (7d) looks like (25) under present assumptions. By what precedes, the EPP argument of the participle is a variable, whose value can be fixed by the matrix EPP argument. In the case at hand the interpretive relation between the matrix EPP argument and the embedded EPP variable is a chain relation, i.e. raising, on the reasonable assumption that *jam* is a raising verb (Moro 1997).

(25) *Gjirokastër*



Precisely the fact that the same participle, which has an active construal when it is embedded under *kam* as in (24), has a non-active construal when it is embedded under *jam* as in (25), suggests that these construals depend on some selectional constraint imposed by *kam* and/or *jam*. Our take on this problem comes from the impersonal construal of *jam*-participle structures, exemplified in (8)-(9) and corresponding to structures like (26). In (26), by the discussion that precedes, the predicate *dal* 'I go out' is associated with a single argument, a theme, which is assigned to the EPP argument, represented in the case of participial clauses by a variable. The impersonal interpretation of the structure requires this variable to be bound by a generic operator – this generic meaning is then contributed to the matrix EPP argument with which it forms a chain.

(26) *Gjirokastër*

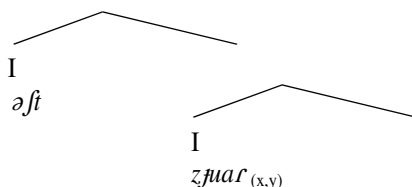


Remember now that a predicate like *dal* in all other interpretations is associated with the auxiliary *kam*, as in (20c'). The minimal pair formed by (26)

and (20c') suggests that what *jam* selects is an embedded structure containing a certain type of variable, which in (26) happens to be the generically bound EPP argument. In the case of a passive like (25), the internal argument slot is assigned to the participial EPP argument and then passed on to the matrix EPP one; the external argument again is interpreted through binding by a generic operator (i.e. as a so-called 'implicit argument'), that *jam* selects for.

Consider then the reflexive and unaccusative readings. The relevant structures are entirely parallel to that of the passive in (25), as sketched in (27) for a verb with a salient unaccusative reading. In this case the internal argument slot of the participle is associated with the one argument present in the participial clause, i.e. the EPP argument, which in turn forms a chain with the EPP argument of the matrix clause (represented in (27) by the verb inflection). Exactly the same is true in the reflexive reading, which is harder to obtain in (27) for pragmatic reasons (cf. the English 'I woke myself up'). Indeed the only difference between unaccusative and reflexive reading is the degree of intentionality (agency, etc.) attributed to the one participant in the event. What is crucial for present purposes is that under both readings the external argument of the embedded predicate is a free variable in the LF structure, not being associated with any argument. Thus reflexives and unaccusatives select *jam* not in that they have a generically bound external argument, but rather in that their external argument remains a free variable, not bound by argumental/ quantificational material.

(27) *Gjirokastër*



Summarizing so far what *jam* selects for is a variable not bound within the argument structure of the embedded predicate, with two different subcases – either the external argument remains unbound, or it is bound by a generic closure operator. To be more precise, in passives the external argument can be assigned to the object of a *by*-phrases; the latter however is an adjunct, and in this sense external to the argument frame of the embedded predicate—so that we may consider that as far as the predicate-argument structure of the embedded verb is concerned, the EPP argument remains unbound. We can formalize these conclusions as a selectional property of *kam* as well, since *kam* selects predicates with a closed argument structure, in the sense that no free variables or generically closed ones are instantiated within it. These restrictions define the meaning of descriptive terms such as active and non-active as applied to Albanian auxiliary structures.

The relevant contrast correlates with the fact that while *jam* is a raising predicate, which does not assign any argument role to its EPP argument, *kam* is a transitive predicate, which assigns its own argument role to its EPP argument. This means that in sentences like (24), the matrix and EPP arguments are not identified through a chain relation (raising) but rather through a control (referential dependency) relation. In this perspective the basic requirement of *kam* is that its (transitive) argumental frame be matched by an (active) argumental frame in the embedded verb. Vice versa the match to the raising frame of *jam* is provided by a non-active predicate, in the sense defined above. In both cases chain formation and/or control are connected to complex predicate formation (i.e. restructuring) – as seen crucially in the fact that the combination of the present auxiliary with the perfect participle yields the (non compositional) reading of a present perfect.

Note that the *be* – participle structure does not universally force a non-active interpretation. Thus in many Italian dialects (Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2007), *essere* ‘to be’ is the generalized auxiliary for all verbs (most often in the 1st and 2nd person). Therefore what is crucial for the realization of the non-active meaning through *jam* – participle structures in Albanian is the selectional constraint imposed by *jam* on the embedded participle – which corresponds to the non-active construal (reflexive, etc.) of the embedded argumental structure. Similarly in languages like Italian the selectional restriction on *essere* is different from the one reviewed for Albanian *jam*, since *essere* associates not only with passives and *si* but also with lexical (active) unaccusatives.

In Albanian, descriptively, the *u* clitic and the *jam* auxiliary are alternative morphosyntactic realizations of a certain underlying meaning, say the reflexive. In a theory upholding Interface Uniformity, one would be led to assume that such a meaning corresponds to a fixed underlying structure, which is embedded by the varying surface realizations. In generative transformational terms, for instance, the underlying structure could include movement from the object to the EPP position, which could be involved both in the clitic structure and the *jam* – participle one. The objection that we raised in the preceding section is that such an approach does not capture important properties of the structure, such as the fact that *u* is an object clitic. Vice versa, in the present approach different surface realizations can correspond to different underlying grammars. Thus we may assume that the characterization we arrived at for the insertion of *jam*, generally holds for Albanian non-actives, including *u* structures. For, the presence of an *u* object variable bound by the EPP argument or generically bound means that the external argument is not bound – or it is generically bound in the shape the *u* variable itself. But the fact remains that the *u* structures lexicalize an object variable, while *jam*-participle structures present a variable in the embedded EPP position. In other words, the syntactic structures differ – though they yield interpretively equivalent results.

The present characterization of auxiliary *jam* is consistent with the basic occurrence of *jam* as main verb, ie. as a copula. In (28) we provide various examples of this configuration in the variety of *Shkodër*. The basic paradigm of adjectival embedding in (28a-a') is the same as in the standard. The examples in (28b-d) illustrate the embedding of participles in the copular construction. This type of embedding requires the full adjectival inflection on the participle, including a preposed article and a postposed inflection, both agreeing for number, gender, definiteness and Case. It is interesting that in the variety of *Shkodër* the adjectival inflection is not simply added to the bare stems with which participles have been seen to coincide in (8)-(9) above. Rather the stem presents a participial inflection *-m* or *-un* according to verbal class (vocalic and consonantal respectively). Verbal adjectives are regularly formed from transitive predicates ('to dress') as in (b)-(b'), from intrinsically non-active ones ('to sit down') as in (c), and from active unaccusative ones ('to come'), as in (d). The adjective in (28e) does not have the meaning of 'slept' but rather of 'asleep'. As shown in (b)-(b') copula-participle formations based on transitive verbs admit of the passive meaning, disambiguated here by the presence of a *by*-phrase; a comparable example is provided also for *Gjirokastër*.

(28) *Shkodër*

- a. ɛʃt i kutʃ/ ϵ $\text{kutʃ-}\epsilon$
 it.is Art red/ Art red-f.
 'It is red'
- a'. jan t kutʃ/ $\text{kutʃ-}\epsilon$
 they.are Artred/ red-f
 'They are red'
- b. ɛʃt i veʃ-un/ ϵ veʃ-un (prei s ɔms)
 s/he.is m.sg dress-ed/ f.sg dress-ed (by gen mother)
 'S/he is dressed up (by his/her mother)'
- b'. jena t veʃ-un/ t ${}^1\text{veʃ-un-a}$ (prei s ɔms)
 we.are pl dress-ed/ pl dress-ed-pl (by gen mother)
 'We are dressed up (by our mother)'
- c. gruja ɛʃt ϵ ulun
 the.woman is Art seated
 'The woman is seated'
- d. ɛʃt i $\text{ar}\check{d}\text{un}$
 he.is Art arrived
 'He is arrived'

- e. ai ɤft i fjetun
 he is Art asleep
 ‘He is asleep’

Gjïrokastër

- b. jan tə vɤsur/¹vɤjura
 they.are pl. dressed.up-m./dressed-up-f.
 ‘They are dressed up’

In the case of structures like (28a-a’), it is evident that copular *jam* has the same raising interpretation reviewed for auxiliary *jam* in what precedes. The embedded predicate *kutf* ‘red’ has a single argument, which is lexicalized by its inflection and/or by the article. The latter form a chain with the EPP argument of *jam*, i.e. the verb inflection, with which they share the argument slot. More specifically, the adjectival inflection picks up the internal argument, as is evident from examples like (28b-b’) involving participles formed from transitive (two-place) predicates. In turn, such copula-participle constructions raise the question of their relation with the non-active perfects under *jam*, as discussed in (25)-(27). Let us take for simplicity participles formed from transitive verbs, as in (25) and (28b-b’). A major difference between the two types of example is that while (25) has the interpretation of a perfect (a past perfect, to be precise), (28b-b’) is interpreted according to the tense specifications of the copula, i.e. as a present.

Let us begin by taking one step back to the perfect interpretation of (25). According to the literature the perfect, at least in English, roughly denotes a present state arrived to as a consequence of a concluded event, hence a past by implication. These are for instance the terms in which Comrie (1976) defines the perfect: ‘the perfect relates a past action to a present state, i.e. can express a present state as being the result of some past action’. More formal proposals about the semantics of English perfects can be read as renditions of the same basic intuition. For instance Parsons (1990) assigns to sentences such as *John has left* a semantics like the following: there is an event *e* of ‘leaving’ whose theme is ‘John’ and the state following *e*, *CS(e)* holds at the moment of utterance. It is also well-known from the literature (Comrie 1976, Giorgi and Pianesi 1998), that the English and the French or Italian perfect differ in that the French/Italian perfect can further take on the meaning of a simple perfective past (which we have generally used in the glosses). For instance the English perfect cannot be modified by an adverbial like *yesterday*, while the French/Italian one can. Cross-linguistic differences in the interpretation of the perfect go beyond the scope of the present work. We simply assume that the perfect (and eventually simple past) reading of the auxiliary structures with *to be* and with *to have* is connected to the unification of their EPP arguments, and in general to the complete identification of their argument structure. In this way perfectivity, which strictly speaking is a property of the participle, is inherited by the sentence as a whole.

Vice versa (28b-b') do not associate with a perfect, but rather with a present interpretation. Thus perfectivity is associated strictly with the embedded participle and does not accrue to the complex predicate, while the *jam* auxiliary maintains its own temporal reading, i.e. that of a present. In this respect, (28b-b') like the other copula-adjective/ participle constructions in (28), have a reading corresponding to the simple compositional semantics of the copula and the embedded adjective/ participle, without the intervention of any process of complex predicate formation.

It is evident that in Albanian varieties there is a connection between the perfect interpretation in (25)-(27) and the absence of agreement properties on the participle; while vice versa the copular interpretation of (28) is connected with the agreement of the adjectival/ participial form. Note that in itself agreement of the participle does not block restructuring and the perfective reading – since in a language like Italian the same participial agreement that can be seen in copular constructions can also be seen in the perfect. Vice versa there are languages, like German, where both perfect and copular formations present no participial agreement (though the adjective/ participle has agreement when embedded in a noun phrase). Nevertheless in Albanian, it appears that the presence of overt agreement forces the compositional reading – excluding the complex predicate (perfect) reading, where the bare form of the participle is found instead.

The data in (28) are usefully integrated with those of Arbëresh dialects, which also present the construction where the copula is followed by the inflected participle. This is illustrated in (29a) with a transitive predicate and in (29b)-(29c) with unaccusative predicates. Transitive predicates, as in (29a), associate with *by*-phrases, while in the discussion of (14) we saw that the non-active voice is normally restricted to a generic agent, i.e. excludes the *by*-phrase. The participle that enters the copular construction is the ordinary active form, as can be seen by comparing these data with those in (15). This is not worth noting to the extent that the *Portocannone* variety has a specialized non-active participle at its disposal, as discussed in section 1 and below in section 4. As shown in (29a')-(29b'), Arbëresh dialects also admit of copular (non-perfect) *jam* – participle constructions where the participle is uninflected. The participial formations of Arbëresh present the Tosk *-r* participial morphology – but note that in *Ginestra's* (20a') the *-m* morphology already seen for *Shkodër* in (28) also emerges.

(29) *Portocannone*

- a. ktò kəmiʃ jan/ kjetən tə la- it- ur- a (tɛ a'ta)
 these shirts are/ were Art wash- perf- prt fpl by them
 'These shirts are/were washed by them'
- a'. ktò kəmiʃ jan/ kjetən la- it- ur (tɛ a'ta)
 these shirts are/ were wash- perf- prt by them
 'These shirts are/were washed by them'

- b. iʃt i uj- ur
 he.is Artseat- prt
 ‘He is seated’
- b’. iʃt uj- ur
 he.is seat- prt
 ‘He is seated’
- c. iʃt i vdek- ur
 he.is Art die- prt
 ‘He is dead’

Civita

- a. ktɔ kmiʃa jan/ kʌɛn tə ʎa- (itu)- r- a (ka aʝɔ)
 these shirts are/ were Art wash- prf prt fs by her
 ‘These shirts are/were washed (by her)’
- a’. ktɔ kmiʃa kʌɛn ʎa- (itu)- r (ka aʝɔ)
 these shirts were wash- prf prt by her
 ‘These shirts were washed (by her)’

Ginestra

- a. kʝɔ kmiʃ iʃt/ kʌɛ i tʃa- r- i (ŋga vɛt)
 this shirt is/ was Art break- prt ms by him
 ‘This shirt is/was broken (by him)’
- a’’. aʝɔ iʃt/ kʌɛ a zəʝeu- m- a (ŋga ai)
 She is/ was Art wake up- prt fs by him
 ‘She is/was woken up (by him)’
- b’. kʝɔ kmiʃ kʌɛ tʃa- rə (ŋga vɛt)
 this shirt was break- prt by him
 ‘This shirt was broken (by him)’

We can account both for the agreeing structure and for the non-agreeing one in the terms suggested by the discussion of mainland varieties in (28). In other words, (29) involves a copula – participle structure, which can either agree or not, strengthening the argument made above to the effect that there is no necessary association between the copular construal of participles and agreement.

The fact that in Arbëresh *by*-phrases normally surface in (29a-29a’), but not in (14)-(15), brings to the fore a question that we have so far left implicit – i.e. in which way what we have called the copular structure relates to the generative notion of adjectival passive. In fact, all the evidence at our disposal suggests that the adjectival, i.e. stative, reading of passives is associated with the examples in (28)-(29) involving transitive predicates, both with or without *by*-phrase and with and without agreement. On the other hand, the verbal, i.e. eventive, passive reading of (29a-a’) may be responsible for the fact that Arbëresh speakers

routinely offer these structures – rather than those in (14)-(15) above – when (personal) passive is elicited.

An important line of thought in generative grammar, dating back at least to Wasow (1977), associates verbal passives with a syntactic derivation, and adjectival passives with a lexical one. Wasow (1977) considers English, where the two passives have the same *be* – participle morphosyntax. However the same analysis is also adopted by Terzi and Wexler (2002) for a language like Greek, which is very similar to Albanian in having both specialized non-active forms for the verbal, eventive reading and the copular construction for the adjectival, stative reading. The comprehensive review of the latter by Anagnostopoulou (2003) makes it clear that exactly like its Albanian counterpart, the Greek copular (‘periphrastic’) construction systematically appears with *by*-phrases (which can in fact control into purpose clauses and licence agent-oriented adverbs). What is more, it is allowed with ‘agentive verbs’ which ‘can yield either synthetic or periphrastic constructions with the same interpretation’ (Anagnostopoulou 2003: 19), as illustrated by the examples in (30). This strongly confirms the conclusions that we reached about the interpretation of our Albanian examples.

- (30) a. Ta pedhia dolofini-thik- an
 The children murder- NACT-3pl
 ‘The children were murdered’
- b. Afta ta pedhia ine dolofoni-mena
 these the children are murder-ed
 ‘These children are murdered’

In agreement with Anagnostopoulou (2003), and references quoted there, we take it that the evidence of Albanian (or of Greek) runs counter the traditional account of verbal vs. adjectival passives in terms of syntactic vs. lexical derivation. Though adjectival passive is largely outside the scope of the present article, we tentatively conclude that the so-called adjectival and verbal passive may just be interpretations, attaching in particular to the same copular structures. In other words, they may be yet another example of a semantic ambiguity attaching to the same morpholexical realization, contra what Culicover and Jackendoff (2005) call the Uniformity Principle. In this perspective, it seems to us that introducing in the structure of adjectival (i.e. stative) passive a category ‘Stativizer’ (Anagnostopoulou (2003) based on Kratzer (2000)), succeeds in translating the interpretive fact into the syntax but without any explanatory gain.

As for the fact that in Arbëresh the non-active voice forms, like (14)-(15), are normally incompatible with *by*-phrases, this is reminiscent of the restriction found in Italian (and generally in Romance) against *by*-phrases in *si*-passives. In both instances, the external argument is interpreted, but the only possible reading is through binding by a generic operator; in other words it cannot be linked to a referential noun phrase within an adjunct noun-phrase. This is worth noting

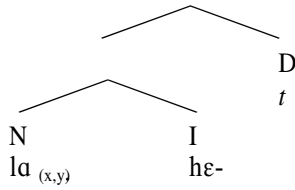
especially since in Romance one may be tempted to connect the restriction to the presence of *si*, which in literature is sometimes construed as an absorber of the external theta-role. In Arbëresh on the other hand the impersonal reading of the passive characterizes not only the perfective forms with the *u* clitic, but also the imperfective forms with the specialized verb morphology (to which we shall return below). Since mainland Albanian varieties seem to admit of *by*-phrases in contexts that are morphosyntactically identical to that of Arbëresh, the nature of the restriction appears to be interpretive, perhaps once again aspectual, i.e. bound to the representation of the event.

4. Analysis: specialized inflections

A further possible lexicalization of non-active voice in Albanian is through specialized inflectional morphology of the verb, as in (1) and in (3). In the vocalic stems of *Shkodër*, this non active morphology can be seen to include an invariable affix *hε-*. With the consonantal stems of *Shkodër*, we can take the *ε-* extension of the stem to represent the non-active morphology (Trommer 2005); the same will hold for the forms of *Gjirokastër*. As for the person inflections, these differentiate the active and the non-active in the present, and more specifically in the singular; in the plural it is only the 1st person that appears to be sensitive to voice. In the past imperfective of *Gjirokastër* in (3), there is substantial identity of the person endings in the active and non-active voice, with the only difference that the 3rd person singular is not lexicalized in the non-active.

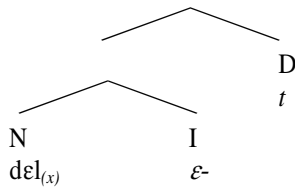
In a framework like the present one, which assumes a complete unification of what are conventionally called syntax and morphology (Manzini and Savoia 2007), the specialized inflections of the verb, specifically the *(h)ε* affix, will reproduce at the sub-word level the same general structures instantiated in the syntax through either the *u* clitic or the auxiliary *jam*. The question is to which of the two elements *(h)ε* is to be assimilated. An insight into the nature of the affix may be provided by the specialized person endings with which it combines. As pointed out by Roussou (2007) for Greek the latter differ from the active person endings in that they pick out an internal argument. In this sense they are comparable to the adjectival endings on the participles in (28) or to the inflectional endings on the participle of a language like Italian not only in copular contexts but also in the formation of the perfect. Needless to say, these latter inflections combine with the auxiliary 'to be'. By contrast not only Italian *si*, but also Albanian *u*, combine with an active form of the verb. Based on these considerations, we tentatively conclude that the *(h)ε* affix is to be construed as a verb-internal instantiation of the *be* auxiliary. As such, it will represent a I head which takes the verb base as its complement, notated N in accordance with Manzini and Savoia's (2007) proposals concerning complementation. The specialized *t* person ending lexicalizes the EPP, i.e. D, argument of the verbal base so formed.

(31) *Shkodër*



Given the structure in (31), the computation of the different meanings associated with it will proceed in the same way detailed in the previous section for *jam*-participle structures. In particular the *(h)ε* affix constrains the embedded verb to be associated with an unsaturated or generically closed argument position. If the position is generically closed we will have the passive interpretation in the case of a transitive predicate like *la* in (31). In the case of an intransitive predicate, like *dël* in (32), the generic closing of the argument will lead to the impersonal interpretation. A transitive frame like (31) will on the other hand be compatible with the unaccusative / reflexive interpretation in which the external argument remains unlinked; in the case of a predicate like ‘to wash’ the salient meaning will be reflexive (rather than unaccusative) corresponding to the fact that agency/intentionality is attributed to the internal argument.

(32) *Shkodër*



Having now reviewed the different lexicalizations of the non-active voice in (Tosk and Geg) Albanian, we can return to their distribution according to aspect or tense. In standard Albanian the imperfective (including the present and the imperfective past) lexicalizes the non-active voice by specialized morphology, while the perfective lexicalizes it by syntactic means, i.e. either through the *u* clitic (in the simple past) or by *jam*-participle constructions (in the present and past perfect). Thus the perfect introduces syntactically represented variable arguments (in the shape of the *u* clitic or of the participial EPP argument) – while in the imperfective the structure of a non-active sentence and of an active sentence are entirely identical at the syntactic level. In this connection, it may be relevant to mention the data reported by Savoia (1993) concerning the Arbëresh dialects of *Ginestra* and *Barile*, where some persons of the paradigm even have identical morphology in the active and non-active. In Geg dialects of Albanian a split is also found, except that it is temporally based, distinguishing the present (with specialized morphology) from the past (with *u* or *jam*-participle).

The importance of the aspectual/ temporal split is underscored by the comparison with Greek, which though not immediately related to Albanian, also presents a non-active voice whose lexicalization is differentiated according to aspect (Roussou 2007, Manzini and Roussou 2007). In the present, the non-active voice of Modern Greek is realized by a series of specialized agreement inflections, as in (33a); these can in fact be analyzed into two components, namely a thematic vowel *-e/-o-* and specialized person endings *-me, -se, -te* etc. The same basic pattern holds for the past imperfect, though the non-active agreement morphology changes according to past tense.

- (33) a. 'din- o-me/ e-se /e-te/ 'o-maste/e-ste /o-nde
 dress- 1sg etc.
 'I dress up' etc.
- b. din- o-mun
 dress- 1sg
 'I dressed up'

The non-active simple past (perfective) is formed instead by the affix *-thik-*, while the agreement inflections switch to those of the active voice, as in (34a) or (30a) above. The non-active perfect (present and past) is formed by the auxiliary *to have* followed by an invariable form of the participle. It is the latter that bears non-active morphology, i.e. *-th-* (for the perfective non-past), followed in turn by an *-i* inflection that is the same found in the 3rd person singular, as in (34b).

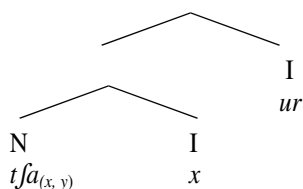
- (34) a. 'di- thik- a /es /e /ame /ate /an...
 dress.up-NACT-1sg/2sg etc.
 'I dressed up' etc.
- b. ixa di- th- i
 I.had dress.up NACT Infl
 'I had dressed up'

Greek differs from all Albanian varieties in that it does not have a clitic realization of the non-active voice (comparable to *u*); it also differs from mainland Albanian in not allowing for the formation of the non-active voice simply by the 'to be' auxiliary. Rather, it forms the entire non-active paradigm by different types of specialized morphology. Precisely because of these differences, it is all the more striking that it has a split in lexicalization between imperfective and perfective aspect and that this split has recognizably some of the same properties as Albanian. In particular, as noted by Roussou (2007), Manzini and Roussou (2007) the imperfective presents specialized non-active agreement morphology, whereas the perfective has the ordinary active agreement inflections. Therefore Roussou (2007) suggests that this distribution configures an ergativity split, with a set of nominative inflections (the active ones) and a set of absolutive inflections (the non-active ones).

Let us then go back to the lexicalization of non-active specialized morphology. In the Arbëresh dialect of *Portocannone* the specialized *x*-morphology of the non-active (corresponding to the standard *h*-) enters in the formation of the entire non-active paradigm, eventually combining with the *u* clitic, as illustrated in (10)-(14). We of course associate the non-active morphology of *Portocannone* with a structure of the type in (31)-(32), with the same range of interpretations as (31)-(32).

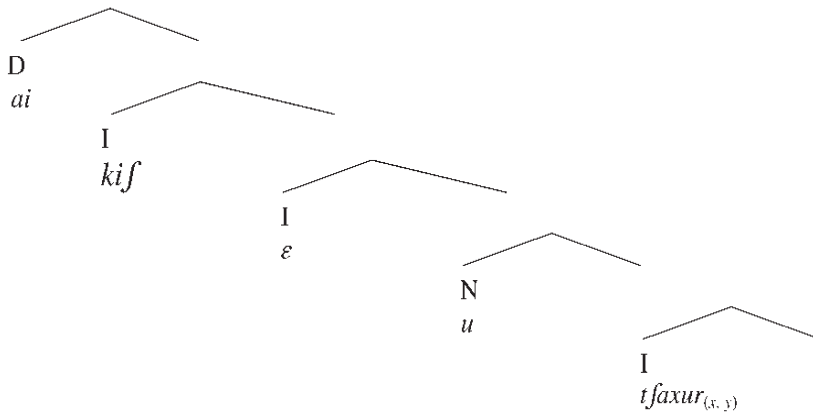
In particular, we may begin by considering the past perfect, as exemplified in (11)-(14), since it involves a non-active form of the participle that we have not seen in mainland varieties. As indicated in (35), we assume that *x* is a head, with the same basic properties as the *jam* auxiliary, selecting the verb base as its complement. Because of the selection properties that we have imputed both to the *jam* auxiliary and to the specialized non-active morphology, the interpretations of the non-active participle will be constrained to argumental frames with an unsaturated or generically closed variable. In turn the *-ur* participial ending, which occurs in active and non-active forms alike can be interpreted as an aspectual (perfective) head, selecting the non-active verb formation.

(35) *Portocannone*



Rather than with *jam* as in mainland dialects, the participle in (35) combines with *kam* and the *u* clitic, yielding structures of the type in (36). These raise the question of the apparent doubling of the non-active morphology on the participle with the *u* clitic. As noted in introducing the data, this is observed in *Portocannone* in all cases in which the *u* clitic is present, since the non-active affix characterizes all forms of the verbal paradigm. On the basis of the discussion that precedes, the presence of the non-active morphology in the internal structure of the participle implies an interpretation with a free or generically closed variable in its argumental frame. At the same time the presence of an *u* variable associated with the internal argument position of the participial sentence implies the formation of a chain at the LF interface, identifying it with the EPP argument of the participial and the matrix clause. Since the two different requirements imposed by *u* and the *-x*- morphology are compatible, they can combine.

(36) *Portocannone*



The other side of the question is why in *Portocannone* the *u* clitic must be present at all. The answer seems to lie simply in the fact that distribution of the *u* clitic in *Portocannone*, as in general in Arbëresh dialects, is determined by the perfect/ imperfect split, so that *u* cooccurs with all of the perfective forms of the verb, including auxiliary-participle constructions. In many Arbëresh dialects the latter are formed with the *kam* auxiliary and the *u* clitic combined with the ordinary active participle, since unlike *Portocannone* they do not differentiate an active participle from a non-active one (Manzini and Savoia 2007); in other words, two independent parameters are involved. In turn, the imperfective (present and past imperfect) of Arbëresh is formed by the specialized morphology and without *u*, in accordance with what already seen for mainland Albanian.

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