

Corso di Laurea magistrale in Scienze del Linguaggio

Tesi di Laurea

# Elements of Albanian Grammar

## A Minimalist Determiner Phrase Structure

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## Abstract

The present dissertation is a study of the syntactic structure of the Albanian determiner phrase (DP) in the generative framework. More precisely the concern has been to outline the findings made up to now and propose a unified account in order to provide a better understanding of this language in generative terms. Following the recent minimalist analysis of Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007, 2011a) as the theoretical model it will be provided an insight of the morphosyntax of the Albanian noun phrase (NP) and its modifiers. In order to account for the richness of the Albanian NP the pioneering proposal of Abney (1987), according to which the maximal projection of noun phrases, especially in languages with a comparatively rich case morphology, is a functional one, namely a DP, represents a fine model to analyse the noun-modifying functional words crucial to the Albanian DPs. It will follow an analysis of the Albanian adjectival phrase (AP) in its distribution and an attempt for a classification of the article present in the class of Albanian articulated adjectives. By looking at this type of structure on the grounds of this new and insightful theoretical conception some new ideas will come up which could provide us with a better understanding of our faculty of language as recently defined by Chomsky 'biolinguistic approach' (2005:3).



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# Chapter 1

## 1. Introduction

As an empirical basis, this dissertation aims at analysing the Albanian determiner phrase structure and its modifiers, among which the adjectival modifiers, their positions and properties. Nonetheless, due to the theoretical model followed here, the discussion will revolve around Italian and Northern Italian data as well, in virtue of their role in the formulation of the model provided by Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007, 2011), in the attempt to build a comparative analysis with the final aim of illustrating the Albanian peculiarities as captured well under such a model.

The now popular and widely shared idea in generative linguistics that the noun phrase is to be analysed as the projection<sup>1</sup> of a functional phrase, namely DP, is here, given some more evidence in favour of by the Albanian language. This assumption was proposed and first made explicit by the work of Abney (1987) assuming the so-called ‘DP-hypothesis’ on the basis of the parallelism between the internal structure of NPs and sentential structure, starting from the evidence provided by highly inflected languages such as Hungarian, where, in fact, Albanian can be added. Since its appearance this proposal has provided great inspiration and has been developed and enlarged becoming the trigger for many other proposals of parallelisms between grammatical domains and consequently enabling a more comprehensible approach to the study of our language faculty and the issue of variation. This kind of approach will be treated in the first part of the thesis, which I have called classical generative grammar, while the second part is the core of the dissertation’s argumentation, namely the analysis of the noun phrase on the grounds of Manzini and Savoia’s innovative theoretical framework, and their quite different, revolutionary and much simpler assumptions on the system of grammar.

My argumentation will follow the point of view adopted in Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007, 2011) in treating the traditional distinction between functional and lexical categories<sup>2</sup> as not so deeply rooted in the grammar (UG), given their most important claim that structure is projected by lexical items and it is automatized.

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<sup>1</sup> Which was an innovation with respect to the earlier conception according to which the DP was a projection of the NP (cf. Zwarts (1992)). Nonetheless, there are accounts that posit for the reverse.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Zwarts (1992) for a similar conclusion on such a distinction.

Another issue to be analysed will be the status of the article<sup>3</sup> in the class of Albanian pre-articulated adjectives. This is a morphological characteristic of this class of Albanian adjectives and most importantly with repercussions in their syntactic distribution. It is a lexically defined subset of Albanian adjectives that takes the article. This feature is also shared by many other Albanian constructions, as genitives, possessives, and object clitics. It will be analysed on the basis of classic generative assumptions in the first part of the work and then on the basis of the theory of Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007, 2011) in which account the occurrence of such an article in such a large number of environments is explained in a simpler and more restrictive manner, reducing the apparent complexity associated to its occurrence.

This dissertation is divided in two main parts, the first is concerned with what can be called traditional generative grammar and the second with the more recent development of this theory come to be known as the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995) and its biological perspective on language.

The first part includes a short introduction of the generative grammar framework (Chap. 2), which aims at building the grounds of the discussion to follow. The immediately following subchapter is a discussion of the distinction between functional and lexical categories, which is generally accepted in the generative literature but rejected in Manzini and Savoia's framework. An introduction to the Albanian generative syntax is what constitutes subchapter 2.2. Subchapter number 2.3. is dedicated to the internal structure of adjectives. The formal analysis of the Albanian DP/NP and the generative studies devoted to it will be the subject of chapter number 3 and its subchapters. The content of this first part of the thesis was prompted by the fact that, in contrast to, for example, the much studied Germanic and Romance languages, Albanian, due to various factors, as the fact that it represents a single branch in the classifying tree of linguistic families, has been studied much less, thus requiring a discussion of its characteristics in generative terms.

The second part of this work is made up of a chapter (nr. 4) dedicated to the Minimalist program, followed by the proposal of Brody (1997) dealing with a representationalist conception of grammar (subchapter 4.1.), and another chapter dedicated to the "very" minimalist development of this theory by Manzini and Savoia (Chap. 5). Continuing, by applying this framework to the Albanian DP/NP we arrive at the subject of subchapter number 5.1. The following subchapter is the analysis of Albanian adjectives and the adjectival article on the basis of the theory developed by Manzini and Savoia.

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<sup>3</sup> Alexiadou (...) labels this kind of element, found also in Greek (*to*) though with various distributional differences, adjectival determiner. This analysis will be seen below. Campos (2008) has researched for the various terminology used to denote this element and has chosen as the most representative one to be Adjectival Determiner, quoting as supporting reference also the Albanian Academy of Sciences.

The main theme of current generative linguistic research is construed around the biological conception of language as defined by Chomsky (2013):

The language faculty as a module of the organism, mostly the brain, a subcomponent of a more complex system with enough internal integrity to be studied independently as part of a broader investigation of its interactions with other such systems in the life of the organism; analogous with this respect to the visual, immune, digestive, and other “physical organs,” and the “mental organs” of planning, interpretation of social relations, various kinds of memory and so on. [...]

UG in the technical sense of the generative enterprise is not to be confused with descriptive generalizations about language such as Joseph Greenberg’s universals, a very important topic that has given rise to much valuable inquiry, but a different one (p. 35).

## Chapter 2

### 2. The framework: classic Generative Grammar

Since the 1950s, there has past a lot of water under the bridges of our linguistic awareness. A lot of people have provided with their passionate and tireless work an ever better knowledge of our human language. The Generative Grammar framework has surely become a well-established and perpetually more captivating field of research. The result of such a wide spread interest has been an even wider range of variety of linguistic theories generating over the years and around the globe. Entering this ocean of huge linguistic research tradition may, at first, seem a confusing haze to the novel visitor, and some choice is finally necessary.

Generative Grammar has since then become a leading theoretical framework in the linguistic inquiry. Chomsky has become known as the father of this field of research, due to the invaluable contribution he has provided to the formalization, theorization and understanding of what has become known as Universal Grammar and later on the Faculty of Language.

The “generative enterprise” as it is sometimes called, has had many stages of development in the years. The various proposals of Chomsky and associates starting with the earliest Standard Theory (late 1950s) through the Extended Standard Theory (1960s) up to the more recent conceptualizations and formalisms of the Government and Binding theory (1980s, GB), later developed into the Principles and Parameters theory (early 1990s, P&P) and finally to the most recent Minimalist Program (1995). The basic intuitions of these theoretical developments as theories of language/grammar have not changed, and their scope has remained that of studying in detail the faculty of language (FL) as an innate property of the human brain, and its biological/genetic basis as opposed to behavioural ones, despite some opinions to the contrary<sup>4</sup>. The Minimalist Program of linguistic research represents a continuation of the classical GB and P&P theories in many respects but also diverges from them in proposing new ways the linguistic inquiry should follow, determined by economy considerations on grammar(s) as well as on the theory of such grammar(s)<sup>5</sup>. Such new paths and assumptions will be taken in the course of the discussion sometimes implicitly and others explicitly.

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. e.g., Golumbia 2010, who’s title will suffice to render the idea: “Minimalism is functionalism”

<sup>5</sup> Cf Haegeman (1997: 15): “The Minimalist Program assumes that operations in the derivation of clauses are subject to a principle of Economy. The link between the interface levels, PF and LF, has to be

It may be said, informally and extremely exemplifying the situation, that the most basic assumption regarding the generative grammar (UG/FL) is that it is an algorithm<sup>6</sup>, a biological algorithm. Notice that it is immediate in the terminology, i.e. the meaning of the adjective “generative” is very eloquent, (= having the ability to originate, to produce as a result of a chemical or physical process) and the terms generative grammar, algorithm and machine have been used since the earliest times in Chomsky’s works (since *Rules and Representations* (1966), cf. Lo Piparo (1974))<sup>7</sup>. The formalization of the generative grammar provided by Chomsky was based on a branch of mathematics<sup>8</sup>, which uses terms such as “machine” and “device” in an absolutely abstract manner, ignoring the physical properties of some real model, which could realize the abstract “device”, thus, denoting exclusively logical-mathematical objects. Hence, when it is said that generative grammar is a cybernetic model of language the reference is to the cybernetics as the mathematical study of the “logics of machines” (Ashby (1956) quoted in Lo Piparo (1974: 23). These observations clear up the picture, in that they may represent the way to resolve the mystery connected to the way language works. According to Lyons (1970a), Chomsky used this terms in the sense of the important exponent of the studies in cybernetics Ashby (1956: 280)<sup>9</sup>:

A “machine” is substantially a system which follows a law or is ‘repetitive’ enough to make possible some prediction on its future behaviour. (Ashby 1956: 280)

“Only in this sense the terms ‘generative grammar’, ‘algorithm’ and ‘machine’ will be considered equivalent.” (Lo Piparo 1974).

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established as economically as possible. [e.g.,] movement should only take place when necessary, i.e., “Movement as a last resort”.”

<sup>6</sup> The term “algorithm” is the metamathematical equivalent of “rule” and derives from the name of the Arabian mathematician al-Khowarīzmī (IX cent. A.d.), who was the first to formulate the rules to process the four arithmetic operations (+, −, ×, ÷) every child learns in its first years of its career. (Lo Piparo 1974: 21)

<sup>7</sup> This paragraph is based on Lo Piparo (1974) *Linguaggi, macchine e formalizzazione*, which is written in Italian, thus the translation is mine.

<sup>8</sup> Recursion is another term very often used in Chomskian studies to characterize grammar, and it is to be noted that it is a term originally used in mathematics and computation sciences.

<sup>9</sup> Cybernetics is a field of transdisciplinary studies of systems, any kind of system working in an automatic manner, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cybernetics> .

## 2.1. Functional versus Lexical items

It is most generally assumed within the generative framework literature that there is a fundamental distinction existing in the grammar between functional/grammatical categories and lexical ones. Furthermore, functional categories are seen to be what is determined by UG, in being a closed class, generally (though not always) phonologically and morphologically dependent, they permit only one argument from which they are inseparable, and they lack a semantic content (cf. e.g. Giusti 1997). It has been stated that “functional categories are what grammar is all about” (Von Stechow, 1995, p. 176<sup>10</sup>). It has even been claimed that grammaticalization – the historical process of language change by which lexical morphemes become functional ones<sup>11</sup> – is “ ‘probably the most important factor for language evolution’. This intuition has been framed as a principle of natural languages: grammatically relevant cross-linguistic differences are confined to the properties of functional morphemes, but there must be an underlying regular pattern.” (Franco 2012: 3)

Thus, what linguistic theory seems to need to do, under such widely shared general assumptions, is find the functional categories of languages, compare them and by doing so try to detect which of such categories are determined by the FL and what this faculty permits to vary, choose, or change.

Suppose, then, that the lexicon is the locus of linguistic variation – in the form of a uniform (i.e. invariant) computational component, and of an invariant repertory of interface primitives, both phonological and conceptual. Non-trivial questions arise at this point: how can the lexicon vary on the basis of a universal inventory of properties (or ‘features’), and why does that variation in the lexicon result in variation in order, agreement, selection, and other relations that are computationally determined? [...]

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<sup>10</sup> As quoted in Franco 2012: 3.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. for example, Roberts and Roussou (2003), and also van Gelderen (2004) for interesting arguments in favour of considering the phenomenon of grammaticalization as one driven by economy principles of UG.

The process of grammaticalization is generally seen as a long-term type of language change causing a categorical shift of items (or constructions) from lexical to grammatical, or from less grammatical to more grammatical. It is a very common type of change across languages - ubiquitous - is the term Roberts and Roussou (2003) use. In many languages words with independent status develop a novel use, comparatively more dependent, with a more abstract content, and change in category, from lexical to functional.

In particular, the answer to the preceding questions is mediated for various scholars by the notion that there is a fundamental distinction between functional and non-functional elements. (Manzini and Savoia 2011:3)

Such a division is avoided and actually rejected by Manzini and Savoia's framework, which is one of the aspects that make it simpler as a theory, were it only for the economical aspect of the assumptions for the general purpose of explanatory adequacy in minimalist linguistic theory.<sup>12</sup> They have proposed an account of grammar which takes it as made of a unique set of categories, which take the form, meaning and function they take depending on the linguistic context where they enter.

[...] It is not so much the functional lexicon that has a special status within the architecture of the mind-brain, but rather certain concrete contents as opposed to more abstract ones. (ibid. p.9)

Franco (2012) takes into account the issue of Merge on the theoretical environment of those paradigms which assume that the elements within syntax and within morphology enter into the same kind of constituent structures, here is a quote:

Intuitively, approaching the architecture of the human faculty of language from its basis, a principle involved in a directional/constrained Merge must be necessarily simple and economic, and can be introduced as follows. Let's assume that our Lexicon stores only (underspecified, to some extent) lexical roots (let's call them nouns in an unorthodox fashion [...]): as for Merge, which combines items in syntax, a lexical root can target only a features' sets or functional item(s) and not viceversa: functional items can Merge to other functional items, leading to functional ordered sequences. Hence, root Merge root is banned (leading, at most, to exocentricity in compounds, see Progovac, 2009), while sequences of grammatical words, which crucially build syntax (see the fseq of Nanosyntactic paradigm), are allowed.

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<sup>12</sup> Manzini and Savoia (2011: 4) discussing the development by various scholars of "the Chomskyan theme that concepts, like other aspects of language, must have an innate basis – largely because of the poverty of stimulus argument" quote (p. 5) a study of Hespos and Spelke (2004) on "the acquisition of the conceptual distinction between 'tight' and 'loose' fit of one object to another in English-speaking children, which is not lexicalized in English, though it is in other languages like Korean. Their conclusion is that 'like adult Korean speakers but unlike adult English speakers, these infants detected these distinctions "Language learning therefore seems to develop by linking linguistic forms to universal, pre-existing representations of sound and meaning."

Traditionally, functional items are those syntactic heads which are not defined in terms of [+Noun; +Verb], marking grammatical or relational features, rather than picking out a class of objects (Abney, 1987).

The rules underlying the linguistic abilities we have do not apply to sentences directly but rather to recurrent sentence patterns, call them *sentence structures* (Webelhuth (1995)).

Webelhuth (1995), in his revision of the Minimalist program states that the postulation of functional heads is a relatively recent phenomenon (note, however, that his statement is of 1995) and that very little consensus has been attained with respect to their properties. Questions for which no widely agreed on answers have been found include the following according to Webelhuth:

- Is there a universally closed list of functional heads?
- Do all functional heads exist in all languages?
- If not, what are the necessary and sufficient conditions for the postulation of functional heads?
- Must all functional heads be spelled out overtly?
- Does it matter whether a head is realized as a free form or an affix?
- Can functional projections be recursive? All of them or just particular ones?
- Is the **order** of embedding of functional projections fixed universally? If not, are there any constraints on parametrization?
- Is parametrization restricted to functional heads or can it effect lexical heads as well?
- What is the barrier/minimality status of functional heads? Are there universal principles or is it a matter of parametrization whether a functional head blocks movement?
- Is the A/A-bar distinction relevant to functional heads, i.e. are some A-positions and others A-bar positions? (or some other positional typology, e.g., the difference between lexically related and non-lexically related heads discussed in Chomsky (1992) or the extent to which diacritical distinctions between “strong” and “weak” heads are necessary.
- What positional typology is imposed on the specifiers of functional heads? Is this typology universal or open to parametrization?

Some of these questions on the properties of functional elements are now quite clearer, many things have been understood but others are still open questions.

On the other hand, the theory elaborated by Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007, 2011) and their kind of conception of the link between sound and meaning permits to avoid such questions/problems providing a more comprehensible insight of human language in virtue of its simplicity in terms of learnability, as proved by the Poverty of the Stimulus Argument.

As already noted, this type of divide will be dispensed here, in accordance to the theoretical model followed through this thesis, in virtue of its simplicity and adequacy in capturing the data of Albanian but also the variation represented by the Italian linguistic variability analysed especially in Manzini and Savoia (2005), which represents the analysis of the empirical basis of their model. In particular they claim that the distinction between functional content and lexical/conceptual space is an external one, and as such useless, so that “so-called functional space is just like all other conceptual space” and structures are build by overt lexical items endowed with both LF and PF, which head their phrases, all other material present in the structure either work as arguments of the head or head their own sentential unit, thus, excluding empty/abstract nodes (Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007, 2011)).

## **2.2. Introduction to the Albanian Generative Syntax**

The present section is a discussion of the Albanian generative syntax, with special reference to its noun phrase structure and its incorporation inside the DP.

Starting from the proposal of Longobardi (1992), the noun raises to D because of the common features these two categories share, especially in those languages (such as Albanian) in which the determiner is suffixed on the noun. This feature is referentiality, which is what determines their need to be close to each other in the structure. When the determiner is not expressed it is nonetheless abstractly present in the structure, as it is necessary to determine the referential features of the noun.

### **2.2.1. The nominal enclitic article**

The structure of the Albanian noun phrase/determiner phrase presents some properties reported as common to the so-called Balkan languages<sup>13</sup>. One of the most salient peculiarities is the enclitic

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<sup>13</sup> Many authors have provided arguments in favour of a fine structure of the DP, starting from evidence provided by such highly inflected languages as the Balkan languages, cf. Dimitova-Vulchanova & Giusti (1998), Alexiadou & Wildner (1998) on Balkan languages, among others.

realization of the definite article, which represents lexicalization of gender and number. In addition, Albanian has case inflections also realized as suffixes. Indeed, definite nouns ending in *-i* or *-u* are interpreted as singular masculine, those ending in *-a* or *-ja* as singular feminine, and those ending in *-të* are interpreted as plurals (Turano 2001,2002), as illustrated by the examples in 1)<sup>14</sup>:

- 1) a. *(një) libër*  
 (a) book-M-SG.INDEF. ('a book')
- b. *libër-i*  
 book-the-M-SG.DEF. ('the book')
- c. *(ca) libër-a*  
 (some) book-M-PL.INDEF. ('(some) books')
- d. *libër-a-t*  
 book-M-PL.DEF. ('the books')
- e. *(një) vajzë*  
 girl-F-SG.IND. ('(a) girl')
- f. *vajzë-a*  
 girl-F-SG.DEF. ('the girl')
- g. *(ca) vajzë-a*  
 girl-F-PL.IND. ('girls')
- h. *vajzë-a-t*  
 girl-F-PL.DEF. ('the girls')

The indefinite article has the singular form *një* and the plural form *ca*<sup>15</sup> and they both occur to the left of indefinite nouns, singular and plural respectively. The case markers follow the definite articles or amalgamate with them (cf. for e.g., Tomić (2006):

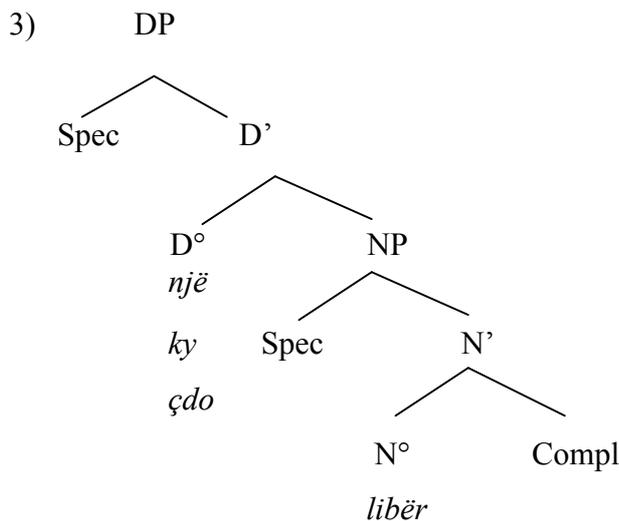
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<sup>14</sup> Svenonius (2008) comparing the order of functional elements in the noun phrase identifies three main orders of the features Article-Plural-Noun, detecting as the most plausible underlying hierarchy cross-linguistically Art>Pl>N, with a cluster formation rule forming N-Pl and N-Pl-Art clusters in some languages, and more rarely, phrasal movement leading to other orders. The other two – Art>N>Pl (as in English) and N>Pl>Art – as deriving from movement of the noun.

In the case of Albanian, as the examples in 4) show, the order is **N>Pl>Art**. These features present cluster effects, indeed no other material can appear between them, conversely from the other two orders. This functional material we find suffixed on the noun can be safely taken as proof of the Albanian NP being projected under a functional phrase, DP, at least in these cases.

- 2) a. *libr-i-n*  
 book-the-ACC  
 b. *libr-i-t*  
 book-the-DAT  
 c. *i/e*                    *libr-i-t*<sup>16</sup>  
 GEN.Art.M/F book-the-GEN/DAT

Koleci and Turano (2011)<sup>17</sup> have provided a quite thorough introduction to the Generative Albanian syntax, and most importantly theirs is the first such work on Albanian, thus it will be of main reference in this section. The indefinite noun in 1) a. above has the following structure, where the indefinite determiner is a D° just like the demonstrative *ky* ‘this’ and *çdo* ‘every’ and the noun is the head of the NP, in this type of construction both D° and N° remain in the position where they are base-generated as heads of their respective projections (Koleci & Turano 2011:65):

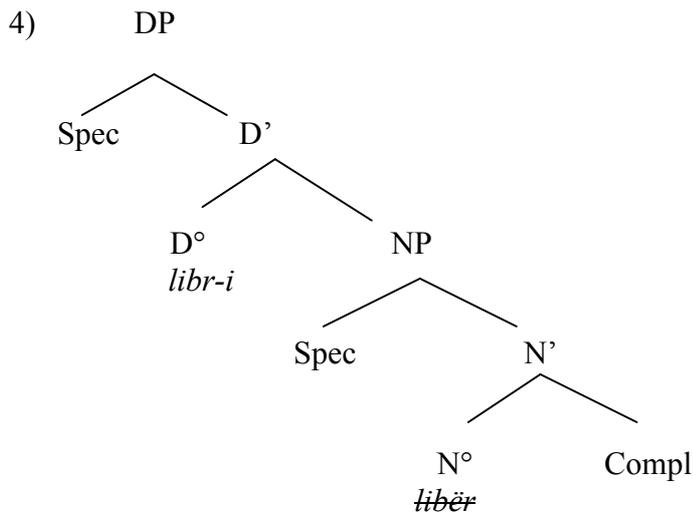


While a definite noun like 1b) is most generally assumed to be obtained by movement of the head noun to the determiner, to which it has to attach in order for its referential features to be licenced, attracted by the referential features contained in D.

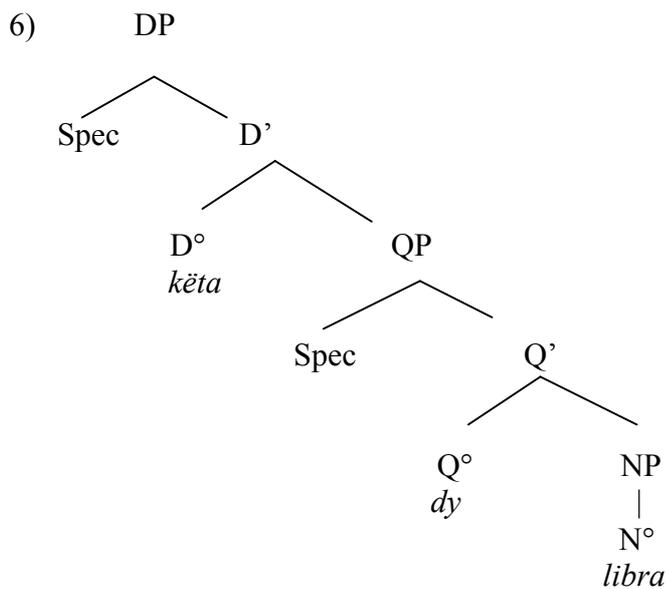
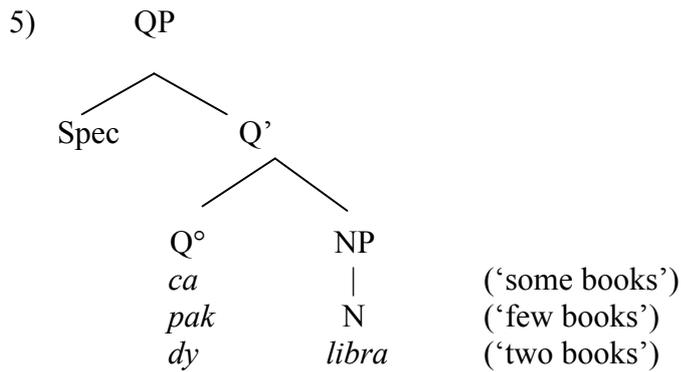
<sup>15</sup> This is to speak descriptively, while *ca* will be analysed below as an indefinite/weak quantifier heading its own projection.

<sup>16</sup> The dative and the genitive inflections are, as these examples illustrate, syncretized, as concerned their inflectional ending, which is a common feature of Balkan languages (Cf. Tomic 2006), but the presence of a preposed article/inflection distinguishes the two cases. This feature of the Albanian genitive constructions will be taken up below.

<sup>17</sup> This is a book written by the Prof. Flora Koleci of the Department of Albanian Language at the University of Tirana and Prof. Giuseppina Turano at Ca' Foscari published in Albania and in Albanian.



The following is the structure formed when a numeral or a quantifier is inserted and its properties are associated to an independent functional category, usually identified with Q.

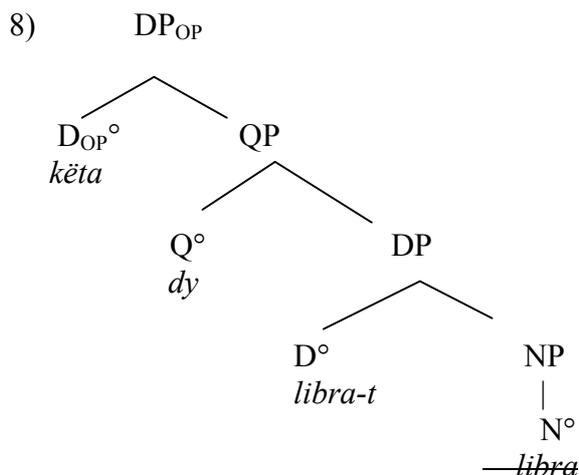


Furthermore, Albanian allows for more than one determiner type element to appear in a construction with nominals, as in the following sentence:

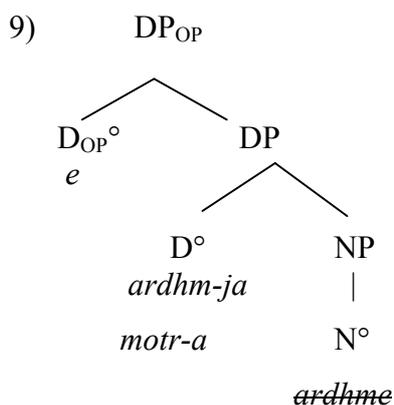
7) *Këta dy librat më zgjidhën punë.*

These two books.the cl.to me resolved problem

To account for such a structure, Turano (2011) proposes a higher functional DP projection which she identifies as  $D_{OP(erator)}$ , appearing above DP lexicalizing the definite article and the QP phrase headed by the numeral quantifier:



Another interesting aspect of the Albanian DPs is that there are some nouns which are preceded by an article both when used as indefinite and definite as *e ardhme* ('future') -*e ardhmja* ('the future'), *të ardhmen* (the future. accusative). Thus, the same kind of article as the adjectival, genitival, and possessive appears also in front of some nouns. Turano (2011) gives the following structure for such articulated nouns as *e ardhmja*, proposing the same functional projection appearing above the DP lexicalizing definiteness, as in 8) namely  $D_{OP}$ :



This article appears in front of kinship terms, in which, by contrast, the definite enclitic article has to be present as with possessive pronouns where the noun has to be definite, compare the following: thus the preposed article of kinship nouns is used as a possessive pronoun, though only with kinship terms, as opposed to possessive pronouns (cf. 19) below).

1.	a. Possessive pronouns	b. Kinship terms
1 <sup>st</sup> singular	babai <i>im</i> (father.the my)	<i>im atë</i> (my father)
2 <sup>nd</sup>	babai <i>yt</i> (father.the your)	<i>yt atë</i> (your father)
3 <sup>rd</sup>	babai <i>i tij/i saj</i> (father.the the his/her)	<i>i ati</i> (his/her father.the)
1 <sup>st</sup> plural	babai <i>ynë/jonë</i> (father.the our)	∅
2 <sup>nd</sup>	babai <i>juaj</i> (father.the your)	∅
3 <sup>rd</sup>	babai <i>i tyre</i> (father.the their)	<i>i ati</i> (their father.the)

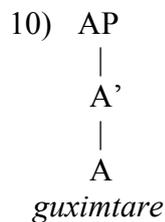
It remains to be explained what licences this kind of element, so motivate its appearance. Various analysis have been proposed, and some of them will be seen below, while in the 5<sup>th</sup> chapter the model of Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007, 2011) will be applied to these types of constructions.

It was already said that Albanian has morphologically expressed case. Generally, definite nouns acquire a wider range of case inflections, but also indefinite nouns may be inflected for case, although there are only two case forms for the indefinite declension, one for nominative/accusative and one for dative/genitive/ablative (see among others Turano (1998, 2002, 2003). Hence, Turano (1998) observes that Albanian NPs provide abundant evidence for the existence of a K(ase)P(hrase) projection. And proposes a structure with a KP higher than DP, where the noun moves first to D° to check the definite referential features and afterwards the formative N°+D° moves to K° to be attached to the case inflection.

### 2.3. Articulated and unarticulated adjectives

In traditional terms, Albanian has two morphological classes of adjectives, pre-articulated<sup>18</sup> and unarticulated ones. These behave differently in syntax, yielding two distinguished structures. Thus, unarticulated adjectives with indefinite nouns in table 2.a) have a simpler internal structure (10) than the pre-articulated ones in 2.b) (11):

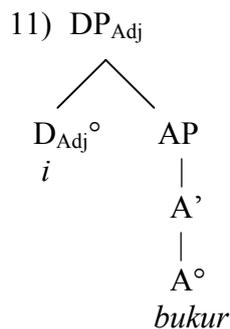
1.	a. Fem. SG.	PL.	b. Masc. SG .	Pl.
NOM.	vajzë guximtare	– vajza guximtare	djalë i bukur	– djem të bukur
ACC.	vajzën guximtare	– vajzave guximtare	djalin e bukur	– djemtë e bukur
GEN.	i/e vajzës guximtare	– i/e vajzave guximtare	i/e djalit të bukur	– i/e djemve të bukur
DAT.	vajzës guximtare	– vajzave guximtare	djalit të bukur	– djemve të bukur
ABL.	vajës guximtare	– vajzave guximtare	djalit të bukur	– djemve të bukur
	‘brave girl(s)’		‘handsome boy(s)’	



Pre-articulated adjectives have a more complex structure in that they are headed by a so-called functional morpheme that generates in a special position inside the structure, yielding a DP as

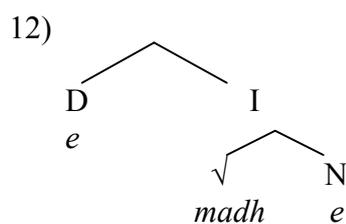
<sup>18</sup> Campos (2009) lists all the terms used this element in the traditional and the generative literature: “agreement clitics” in Tomic’ (2006), “proposed articles” in Trommer (2002), “adjectival determiners” in Androustoupoulou (2001), “adjective clitics” in Zymberti (2000), “attributive clitics” in Newmark (1997), “prepositive article” in Camaj (1984), “adjectival articles” in Newmark et al. (1982) and Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998), “connecting particles” in Mann (1997), “gelenkartikel”, “linking article” in Pani (2007), “pronombre conjuntivo”, “conjunctive pronoun” in Sanz Ledesma (1996), etc. The Akademia e Shkencave e Shqiperise (Albanian Academy of the Sciences, 2002), in its Gramatika e gjuhes shqipe (Grammar of the Albanian Language, GGJSH, henceforth) refers to them as *nyja e mbiemrit* (article of the adjective). Following Newmark’s, Giusti’s, Dimitrova-Vulchanova’s as well as the Academy’s terminology, I will refer to them as “adjectival articles”.

maximal projection, given the rich structure of Albanian DPs the adjectival DP may be labelled  $DP_{Adj}$ <sup>19</sup>:

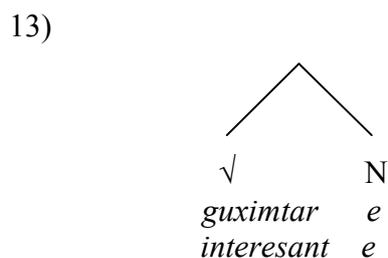


The traditional analysis, following from Cinque (1995, 1999), takes the adjectives as specifiers of functional or aspectual heads dominating NP.

Adopting Manzini and Savoia's (2005, 2007, 2011) reformed minimalist analysis, to which we will return in more detail in chapter 5, the internal (morphological) structure of Albanian pre-articulated adjectives such as *i bukur* ('handsome' -M.SG), *e madhe* ('big'-F.SG) would be the following:



Where the *e* under D is a functional morpheme, *madh* is the lexical root, *-e* is a feminine Nominal class inflection and their merger forms an articulated adjective. The phonological identity between the *e* in D and that in N are to be understood in terms of the identical referential property they bear, i.e. Noun class, given the fact that an adjective implies a noun (or pronoun) as referent in the sentence, while I stands for inflected element. It follows that non-articulated adjectives, such as *interesant* ('interesting'M.SG), have only a lexical root in indeterminate masculine singular contexts while in feminine singular modifying contexts it merges with an inflection *-e* that adds feminine singular denoting referential properties, e.g. *guximtare*, *interesante* (brave.F.SG. & PL.) in



<sup>19</sup> This is the structure proposed by Koleci and Turano (2011, 147).

Pre-articulated adjectives agree in number, gender and case with the noun they modify, while unarticulated adjectives agree only in number and gender with the noun they modify (Turano and Rrokaj 2000, 106) in their canonical post-nominal position. Crucially, these features are lexicalized on the article in the first class, thus, when modifying masculine nouns the article takes the forms **i** (Nom), **e** (Acc), **të** (Gen, Dat, Abl), for the singular, when modifying feminine singular nouns the article takes the form **e** (Nom, Acc), **së** (Gen,Dat,Abl), and **e** for the accusative plural of both genders, **të** for all the other cases of the plurals of both genders. Only in the contexts where the adjective is used in isolation the case inflection appears on the adjective as in 14):

14) *Takova të madhin*

Met-I art big-ACC ‘I met the old (one)’

However the form of the article depends also on the (in)definiteness of the noun and the distance of the referent, contrary to unarticulated adjectives as *guximtar* (‘brave’), which do not change for definiteness and distance from the noun, but only for gender and number, as table 2. shows, borrowed from Newmark et al (1982: 183) with slight modifications:

2.	Definite Noun + Articulated Adjectives	
<b>Masculin</b>	Singular	Plural
Nom	djali i mirë e i urtë /guximtar	djemtë e mirë e të urtë /guximtarë
Acc	djalin e mirë e të urtë “	djemtë e mirë e të urtë “
Dat	djalit të mirë e të urtë “	djemve të mirë e të urtë “
Abl	djalit të mirë e të urtë “	djemve të mirë e të urtë “
Gen	i/e djalit të mirë e të urtë “	i/e djemve të mirë e të urtë “
	‘the nice & quiet boy’ /& brave’	‘the nice & quiet boys’
<b>Feminine</b>		
Nom	vajza e mirë e e urtë /guximtare	vajzat e mira e të urta /guximtare
Acc	vajzën e mirë e të urtë “	vajzat e mira e të urta “
Dat	vajzës së mirë e të urtë “	vajzave të mira e të urta “
Abl	vajzës së mirë e të urtë “	vajzave të mira e të urta “
Gen	i/e vajzës së mirë e të urtë “	i/e vajzave të mira e të urta “
	‘the nice & quiet girl’ /& brave’	‘the nice & quiet girls’ /& brave’

While in the class of unarticulated adjectives the only agreement features realized on the adjective are gender and number in the form of inflections on the adjectival root.

When the pre-articulated adjective is prenominal the case endings are suffixed on the adjective instead of being on the noun, and the form of the article changes as well according to case<sup>20</sup>. Concerning pre-articulated adjectives used pre-nominally an analysis is treated in section 3.5 below.

A brief note on syntax and semantics.

Longobardi (1999: 74), discussing the Bare Nouns in the Principles-and-Parameters theory of UG argues that “a very close and abstract mapping exists between syntax and semantics, which emerges even under parametrically different surface forms” and that “cross-linguistic variation of fine-grained interpretive properties, like the difference between referential and quantificational genericity as applied to the interpretation of BNs, actually exists, and seems to share the main features of syntactic parametrization”<sup>21</sup>.

This quote is made in order to call into question the idea generally shared by classic generative studies that syntax and semantics are two well-distinguished domains of grammar, to the effect that one is supposed to follow either the first or the second approach, and to deal with either one or the other, in order that the analysis be an adequate one. Nonetheless, this idea has been abandoned in the latest minimalist accounts, where it is rather posited for a very tight relationship between syntax and semantic.

In Manzini and Savoia’s theory these domains are taken as complementary: “The conceptual approach we work on envisages a grammar in which a syntactic-semantic content is imputed directly to morphological entries” (Manzini and Savoia (2012: 127). Nonetheless, the boundary between syntax and interpretation is a loose one, allowing for a number of different matchings of syntactic form to (inferentially determined) meaning<sup>22</sup>. According to them the looseness of this relation seems to be an essential design feature of the faculty of language, in the sense that it permits the invariant constructs of syntax to cover changing meanings. The syntax restricts interpretation, but does not ‘contain’ it (Culicover and Jackendoff 2006) (ivi. p.9).

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<sup>20</sup> It is worth noting that unarticulated adjectives are very unusual in prenominal position, they are used in this position only in highly stylistic environments, or highly emotional colloquial speech, e.g. in the context of a reproach as in *përtac djalë!* (lazy boy!), *përtace vajzë!* (lazy girl!) usually when modifying animate nouns, given that is unacceptable in for example *\*interesant libër*.

<sup>21</sup> This kind of statement is quite puzzling given the very sharp division almost always made between the functional domain and the semantic domain, though it is a statement which characterizes the older versions of the generative studies (mostly those until the 1990s), nonetheless still present in very many conceptions of grammar.

<sup>22</sup> As Chomsky (2001: 8) states: “The C-I system requires that SEM express a variety of semantic properties”. Where, C-I = Conceptual-Intentional system (interface), SEM= Semantic component.

## Chapter 3

### 3. Generative studies on the syntax of Albanian DP/NP

Many scholars have treated the phenomenon of encliticization of the definite article in Albanian (and/or other Balkan languages) as an instance of movement of the N to a higher position D in order to check the agreement features, producing the order N-Art.

According to Tomić (2006), in earlier generative analysis the Balkan postpositive definite articles were “derived in the determiner node and were attached to the noun or the adjective through overt movement of the article to the specifier of the determiner phrase (cf. Tomić 1996a; Arnaudova 1996). But subsequently, the observation of the data made a number of facts to emerge, which led to the conclusion that artiled nouns and artiled adjectives enter the DP already inflected with their definite articles. Such factors are summarized by Tomić (2006) and are the following:

(a) The relative ordering of nouns and adjectives.

(b) The impossibility to move non-constituents.

(c) The obligatory occurrence of adverbial modifiers of adjectives to the left of artiled adjectives

(d) The occurrence of the article in both adjectives in co-ordinated APs in Albanian and in Romance Balkan languages.

“The Balkan definite articles are morphemes – parts of nouns and adjectives” (Tomic 2006: 49, fn. 2)

The following subsections will provide brief reviews of such proposals, one by one, in order to have a clear idea of how this phenomenon is handled in the literature and finally be able to compare them with the analysis provided by the theoretical model of Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007, 2011).

#### 3.1. Giusti

Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998) reject the analysis of the postposed article of the Balkan languages as the result of the movement of the N to the D position, and that the enclitic article is the trigger for this movement. Instead, they argue that in Bulgarian, Romanian, and Albanian

demonstratives and indefinite articles should be derived in D, whereas articulated nouns or adjectives should rise to D covertly, in LF, to check their definiteness features.

While in Giusti (2011) the inflectional articles of the Albanian NPs/DPs and its modifiers, namely the enclitic article on the nouns (*djal-i*) and the proclitic one of the class of articulated adjectives (*i bukur*) as well as the enclitic definite article appearing on prenominal adjectives (*të bukur-i-n*) which crucially does not appear on the noun it modifies (*të bukurin djalë* vs. \**të bukurin djalin*), are analysed as instances of a process that merges a head with its functional features and also remerges it (inclusive of its bundled functional features) as many times as required by its paradigm and by the respective paradigms of its modifiers, this process is called “projection”. Hence, in addition, her proposal includes the postulation of structured paradigms that contain the inflectional information/properties associated to the lexical items. Such paradigms are taken to be present in some component (presumably the lexicon, according to Giusti) of the speakers’ grammar. Giusti’s (2007, 2009, 2011) theoretical proposal is based on three relations assumed to be instantiated by the operation Merge. Namely, selection – which merges a lexical head X or K (specified in the lexicon for selectional features (e.g. a transitive verb has the selectional features for a subject and an object in virtue of its subcategorization frame requiring two arguments eat,  $\_V\_$ ) with a fully fledged constituent, say KP, which satisfies those features, projection – which remerges a lexical item with the features associated with it in the lexicon and those assigned to it by the item selecting it and checked or valued at different levels of the derivation accordingly, and modification – which merges a fully fledged constituent as a modifier of a lexical head K with a projection of K. According to Giusti (2011), the features assumed in Manzini & Savoia (2011) (so 2005, 2007, as well, which for instance, and crucially they consider categories through their model) are purely semantic, so in contrast to her own proposal.

So articles are inflectional morphology in the terms of Giusti (2011), while as will be analysed in more detail in chapter 5, according to the model adopted here they are inflectional level morphemes contributing to the argument structure closure of the predicate (i.e. the adjective).

In the inflectional paradigm of the Albanian noun phrase quoted in Giusti (2011), as formulated by Buchholz and Fiedler (1987), it can be observed that there is a relatively small number of morphemes which, on the other side, enable a great number of interpretations for the noun. Take for example the enclitic morpheme *-i*, found in masculine singular definite nominative nouns (e.g., *djali*, *burri*), adding definite interpretation, as well as in masculine singular indefinite genitive/dative ((*një*) *djali*) resulting in an argumental (object) dative/genitive (or oblique) indefinite reading. m.s.indef.abl. ((*prej një*) *djalit*), neut.s.indef.gen/dat ((*një*) *nxënësi*) neut.s.indef.abl. ((*prej një*) *nxënësi*).

Let us have a look at the table summarizing the paradigm of the inflections of definite nouns as found in Giusti (2011):

15)	Masculine				Feminine		Neuter		Plural	
	Ind.	Def.	Ind.	Def.	Ind.	Def.	Ind.	Def.	Ind.	Def.
Nominative	∅	-i	∅	-u	∅	-a	∅	-t(ë)	∅	-t(ë)
Gen/Dat	-i	-it	-u	-ut	-e	-s(ë)	-i	-it	-ve	-ve
Accusative	∅	-in/në	∅	-un/në	∅	-n(ë)	∅	-t(ë)	∅	-t(ë)
Ablative	-i	-it	-u	-ut	-e	-s(ë)	-i	-it	-sh/-ve	-ve

Furthermore, the single morpheme – i discussed above shows up also as free in front of a number of constructions, namely, in a class of adjectival modifiers, possessives, genitives, kinship nouns, but also as oblique and accusative object clitics, as will be seen in detail through the discussion to follow, and will be analysed following the model of Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007, 2011).

Giusti (2011) concludes her theoretical proposal noticing that it is dependent on the formalization of relative paradigms for lexical elements, and also that it is not necessarily in competition with the model of Manzini and Savoia. The following is a point at which the two can be seen as intersecting.

It may be concluded that it is finally the (pure) syntax<sup>23</sup> which determines the right association of an item to an inflection according to the environment in which it has to be included, picking up the appropriate one from a ‘general’ list of functional morphemes of a given language, not *per se* exclusive of the paradigm of that element but available from the inventory of a given grammar (in the sense of I-language = the computational component + a lexicon), as is evident from the syncreticity of Albanian inflections, which are relatively a few (-i, -u, -e, -të, -së, -ve, -n(ë), -sh) to serve different grammatical purposes and associated to different structures (cf. e.g. section 3.2. below).

This is a conclusion in line with Manzini and Savoia’s one of the main claims that there is no deed for the division functional/lexical. So-called functional and lexical elements are the same kind of conceptual linguistic objects, so case and agreement inflections correspond to conceptual properties just like all lexical items in being the syntactic devices necessary for the computation, and according to the semantic properties encoded in each of them they will be picked up and

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<sup>23</sup> Narrow/pure syntax (i.e. the computational component of the Faculty of Language Narrow, the “generative engine” of *L* in Chomsky’s (2001) term) combined with a lexicon (a collection of items, each a complex of properties) constitute an I-language. (cf. Hauser, Chomsky and Fitch 2002).

included in a given structure. Inflections (D elements in general) are but the necessary means for making an NP available as an argument, as stated by Longobardi's (1992) generalization

### 3.2. Turano

Turano (2001) argues that all types of Albanian noun phrases, i.e., common nouns or proper names, cannot appear in phrases or sentences if they are not saturated by a determiner, in the sense of Higginbotham (1985)<sup>24</sup>, who claims that also common nouns (so, not only verbs) have an open argumental position in virtue of their predicative status (just like verbs), but a common noun's argumental slot is not saturated by lexical elements but by the functional category D. For example, a common noun as *libër* is a predicate which denotes the set of books or the property of being a book, and it is the determiner *-i* that has referential properties and attributes the argumental role of the noun.

Her analysis takes the enclitic definiteness morphemes, *-i*, *-u*, *-a*, *-t*, as generated in an F° position of an FP projection between DP and NP, while the noun moves from the N° position where it is generated to the D° triggered by the enclitic nature of this morpheme and the referential properties of D which attract the noun. The following is the structure proposed by Turano (2001: 2) for definite common nouns as *burri*, *vajza*:

16)	D	Q	F	N
	<i>burr-</i>		<i>-i</i>	<i>-burrë</i>
	<i>vajz-</i>		<i>-a</i>	<i>vajzë</i>

While Turano (2002) has provided an analysis of the Albanian NPs modified by adjectives, possessives and genitival constructions proposing a unified analysis for the two last modifiers on the one hand, in virtue of their appearance in the same positions in terms of the morphosyntactic hierarchy of Manzini and Savoia (1998, 1999). Such a unified analysis is motivated by the fact that all three constructions are preceded by the same article and appear in post-nominal position, in terms of determiner complementation.

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<sup>24</sup> Higginbotham (1985) provides a syntactic formulation of the standard logical analysis of natural languages (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005: 544).

She follows the early framework<sup>25</sup> of Manzini and Savoia and their main proposals which reflects exactly a major general claim that diverges fundamentally from the later Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007, 2011), namely she holds that the Albanian postposed definite article's enclitic nature is to be analysed as a result of an instance of NP-preposing<sup>26</sup>.

Turano (2002, 2003) takes the suffixed definite article as generating in a D position and the noun moving from its base N to the SpecCP of the nominal constituent to check definiteness via Spec-head relation, as illustrated in 17) (Turano's (2002) (9)):

17)	C	D <sub>OP</sub>	D	R	Q	P	Loc	N
	[ <i>burr-</i> ]		<i>-i</i>					<i>-libër</i>
	[ <i>shok-</i> ]		<i>-u</i>					<i>shok</i>
	[ <i>vajz-</i> ]		<i>-a</i>					<i>vajzë</i>

In analysing the Albanian possessives Turano (2002) makes use of the categories and hierarchical positions proposed in Manzini and Savoia (1998, 1999, 2003) for Italian possessive constructions in the DP, and their observation of the split between 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person subjects of Italian dialects on the one hand and third person on the other, proposing two different structural positions, P (speaker/hearer) and Q (indefinite quantification), respectively. Turano analysis the Albanian possessives of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular (occurring without articles) as split from 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular (occurring with article) on the one hand and singular possessives as split from plural ones on the other, as a result of the presence of the article in some of these, illustrated in 18):

- 18) a. *libri im/ yt /ynë/ juaj/*  
 book.SG.DEF. my/your/our/ yourPL.  
 ('my/your/our/your book')
- b. *librat e mi/ tu/ tyre*  
 books.DEF. art my/ your/ their (my/your/their books')

Articleless possessives are analysed as P elements, a position which identifies properties of first and second person, as distinct from third person, a distinction found in different structures across languages, as with clitics and auxiliary selection. Turano assumes that the noun moves to Spec,C, and 19) is the structure she provides:

<sup>25</sup> Note however that the model on disposal of Turano (2002) was the framework developed by Manzini and Savoia which was still premature, given that such a theory was thoroughly developed only starting from Manzini and Savoia (2005), later deepened in Manzini and Savoia (2007, 2011).

<sup>26</sup> NP-preposing is one of the instances of the operation Move- $\alpha$ , the second being *wh*-movement.

19)	C	D	R	Q	P	Loc	N
	[libr-]	i			im/yt		libër
	[libr-]	at			tanë/tuaj		libër

This is the same article which precedes the articulated class of adjectives, agreeing with the noun they modify in gender, number, case and definiteness in all three types of modification. Furthermore, notice that these elements appear as object clitics in complement positions as well, similarly to some Northern Italian dialects.

Hence, to provide for the internal structure of DPs with adjectives modified by other elements like e.g. the demonstrative *ky* ‘this.m.sg.’, Turano (2002) assumes some intermediate functional positions between DP and NP<sup>27</sup>, on the bases of the string of categories of Manzini and Savoia as in 17) above and a position I, where the noun moves to check agreement features and a position Adj for the content item, all of which are between D and N, crucially an analysis which involves movement in contrast with the later proposals of Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007, 2011) to be accounted for in the following chapters.

20)	D	R	Q	P	Loc	I	Adj	N
					<i>ky</i>	[ <i>djalë</i> ]	[ <i>i bukur</i> ]	<i>djalë</i>
					this	boy	handsome	

Turano and Rrokaj (2000) account for a particular construction found in Albanian (and also in other languages such as Greek, Spanish etc.), that of a definite noun combined with a demonstrative – *ky djalë* (this boy-the) – which, as they argue, can look as a problem for the analysis that takes the demonstrative as the lexicalization of D elements. They resolve it by assuming, as has been done for other highly inflected languages, a higher head position Q where the demonstrative *ky* is lexicalized, again with the head noun raising in D to check the functional features.

<sup>27</sup> The peculiarity of Albanian in allowing the determiner to appear both before (*çdo libër* ‘every book’) and after (*libri* ‘book-the’) the noun, so having both values of the parameter characterizes it as using both analytical and synthetic strategies. (Koleci and Turano 2011).

### 3.3. Campos (2005, 2009)

Campos (2009), construing his argumentation in comparison to Spanish, proposes an analysis of the articulated adjectives of Albanian (“class-2 adjectives” in his account) by assuming a subdivision of the articles in terms of their agreement properties, in order to account for their complexity. One type of articles is equipped with a full set of agreement features and the other is not, depending on an adjacency condition. The adjacency requirement is, according to Campos, a result of the encliticization which has taken place due to a grammaticalization process (in the history of the language) affecting the structures to which these articles attach and so becoming part of them. Furthermore, the encliticization mechanism is what guarantees the full set of phi-features of these elements, according to Campos, thus he proposes a licensing condition for the adjectival article which requires that it must have a full set of phi-features or otherwise the last resort element *të* will be spelled out (2009: 1028).

The model of reference for this analysis is the Distributed Morphology of Halle and Marantz (1993), especially their Late Insertion mechanism. Another analysis followed by Campos (2009), which is construed on the basis of Distributed Morphology framework as well, is Trommer (2002) who claims that the proclitic article of the Albanian adjectives is an agreement morpheme inserted post-syntactically, basing himself on data on word-formation.<sup>28</sup>

He detects four basic types of adjectival articles, namely *i*, *e*<sub>1</sub>, *e*<sub>2</sub>,<sup>29</sup> *së*, and a fifth one which Campos claims that is used as a last resort, when none of the four basics is licensed, namely *të*, which is the most spread one, as is observable by the table provided by Campos (2009: 1011). The only articles that have a full set of phi-features are *i* and *e* and this is why only these two may be used in distance from the noun the adjective modifies given that they fully agree with the modified noun. His main claim is that an “immediate c-command” requirement is at stake and when this adjacency is not verified the last resort form *të* is used.

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<sup>28</sup> Trommer (2002), furthermore, states that the preposed article “doesn’t imply any definiteness even [...] even if it probably developed historically out of a definite article and still reflects definiteness of an embedding determiner phrase in its allomorphy”. And then, “the expression of definiteness interestingly depends on the surface syntactic position of the PA” (ivi. p.4)

<sup>29</sup> Namely, the article *e* is found in both singular feminine nominative and accusative, as in *vajza e bukur* – nominative, *vajzën e bukur* –accusative, the group that Campos notes as *e*<sub>1</sub> but also in masculine singular definite accusative (*librat e rinj*) and feminine singular and plural definite accusative (*vajzën e bukur/vajzat e bukura*), grouped as *e*<sub>2</sub>.



(ii) *djal-i-n e bukur* VS. *të bukur-i-n djalë*  
 boy.DEF.ACC Art.ACC handsome Art.ACC handsome.ACC boy

(iii) *djal-i-t të bukur* VS. *të bukur-i-t djalë*  
 boy.DEF.DAT Art.DAT handsome Art.DAT handsome.DAT boy

b. (i) *një djalë guximtar* VS. *#një guximtar djalë*<sup>32</sup>  
 a boy brave.SG.INDEF. a brave boy

(ii) *një djali guximtar* VS. *#një guximtari djalë*  
 a boy.INDEF.DAT brave a brave boy

(iii) *djal-i-n guximtar* VS. *?guximtar-i-n djalë*  
 boy.DEF.ACC brave brave.DEF.ACC boy

c. *Merita e një djali guximtar duhet vlerësuar.* VS. *Merita e #një guximtari djalë duhet vlerësuar.*  
 Merit.DEF of a boy brave must be valued. Merit.DEF of a brave boy must be valued.

d. *Guximtarin e vlerësojnë të gjithë.*  
 Brave-the Gen.Art. appreciate Adj.Art all.  
 ‘Everybody appreciates the brave’

As already mentioned, the canonical position of the Albanian adjective is postnominal, be it pre-articulated or unarticulated. When used pre-nominally it acquires the case and definiteness inflections of the noun, which, crucially, no longer appear on the noun, the adjective behaves as an NP, taking its features of definiteness and case.

22) a. *Kërkoj djalin e vogël.* a.’ *Kërkoj pallatin portokalli /peskatësh.*  
 Look for-I boy-the Adj.Art. small. Look for-I palace-the orange/of-five-floors.  
 ‘I’m looking for the young boy’ ‘I’m looking for the orange/five-floors palace.’

VS.

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<sup>32</sup> # stands for ‘unacceptable’, for many speakers of standard Albanian, at least, while \* stands for ungrammatical, completely unacceptable.

b. #*Kërkoj të voglin djalë.* b.' \**Kërkoj portokallinë/ peskatëshin pallat.*  
 Look for-I Adj.Art. young-the boy. Look for-I orange-the/five-floors-the palace.  
 'I'm looking for the young boy' 'I'm looking for the orange/five-floors palace'

c. *Kërkoj djalin tim të bukur.*  
 Look for-I boy-the my Adj.Art. handsome. 'I'm looking for my handsome boy'

d. \**Kërkoj të bukurin djalë timin.*  
 Look for-I Adj.Art. handsome-DEF.ACC boy mine.  
 'I'm looking for the handsome son of mine'

The adjective inflected for the definite article used in prenominal position (as in 12 b, noted with #) is not analysable as focused, and that it is not always good, this becomes unacceptable when a possessive pronoun is added (e.g. 12 d) and when the modified noun is inanimate. Preliminarily it may be claimed that the adjective in prenominal position is acceptable to a certain degree only with animate objects, as in 12 b., expressing some feeling of the speaker, while it is immediately unacceptable with inanimate objects as in 18 b.?'.

23) a. *Syzet e tua janë të bukura.*  
 Glasses.Def Gen.Art. your.Gen are Adj.Art. beautiful.F.Pl. 'Your glasses are beautiful.'

b. *Më pëlqejnë syzet e tua të bukura*  
 CL.Dat. to me please glasses.Def Gen.Art. your. Adj.Art.F.Pl beautiful.F.Pl  
 'I like your beautiful glasses.'

A real focused adjective would have the following form instead:

24) a. *TË BUKURA, syzet (e tua).*  
 Adj.Art.F.Pl. beautiful.F.PL.**INDEF** glasses.Pl.**DEF** (Gen.Art. your)  
 Beautiful, (your) glasses. 'Beautiful glasses'

b. I BUKUR fustani yt./ FANTASTIK fustani.  
 Adj.Art,Beautiful dress.DEF your/ FANTASTIC dress-the.  
 'BEAUTIFUL, your dress'

c. \**i bukuri fustan yt, do të më pëlqente për festën.*

Adj.Art. beautiful.DEF dress.INDEF your, would CL.DAT like for party-DEF

‘Your beautiful dress, I would like it for the party.’

Given that it has a real focused interpretation in prenominal position only if it does not take the definite article of the noun (23a,b), as the ungrammaticality of (23c) shows.

The traditional semantic distinction of APs is between attributive adjectives (DP-internal modifiers) and predicative adjectives (DP-external modifiers). Concerning their structure, the attributive adjectives are taken to be generated to the left of the head N of DP while the predicative ones are generated to its right (cf. Cinque 1999, 2010; Alexiadou and Wildner 1998).

The semantic classification distinguishes two types of adjectives: direct qualifying adjectives which denote a characteristic/quality of the noun they modify, e.g., *i bardhë* (white), *i gjatë* (tall), *budalla* (stupid), *i ndershëm* (honest), and indirect qualifying adjectives – expressing a quality of the noun they modify in an indirect manner, attributing such a relation indirectly to the noun they modify like a typical and stable characteristic or quality of it. Some Albanian examples are illustrated in the following:

25)

- a. *shall leshi i kuq / shall i kuq leshi* [N-A<sub>material</sub> - A<sub>color</sub> / N-A<sub>color</sub> - A<sub>material</sub>]  
scarf woollen red / scarf red woollen ‘woollen red scarf’
- b. *dashuri atërore e pakondicionuar* [N-A-A] ?*dashuri e pakondicionuar atërore*  
love paternal unconditioned ‘unconditioned paternal love’
- c. *fustan i kuq i mëndafshhtë* [N-A-A] – ?*fustan i mëndafshhtë i kuq*  
dress red silk ‘silk red dress’
- d. *dukuri natyrore e paparashikuar* [N-A-A] – ?*dukuri e paparashikuar natyrore*  
phenomenon natural unpredicted (Sg and Pl) ‘unpredicted natural phenomenon’
- e. *armë atomike ruse* [N-A-A<sub>nationality</sub>] – ?*armë russe atomike*  
weapon(s) atomic Russian – ‘Russian atomic weapon(s)’
- g. *sëmundje ngjitëse e pashërueshme* [N-A-A] ?*sëmundje e pashërueshme ngjitëse*  
disease contagious incurable – ‘incurable contagious disease’

These examples show that the canonical order of the adjective in respect to the noun is postnominal in Albanian, the mirror image of the English (Germanic) order, so it is more like the Italian order (cf. Cinque 2010), and that in multiple modification the order of the adjectives in respect to each-other is quite rigid according to their semantics, most of them are unnatural if the respective order of the adjectives is converted, as examples with “?” in (24) illustrate.

### **3.5. Classic generative NP/DP analysis: Conclusions**

The most diffused practice among the generative syntactic studies till more or less the 1990s has been that of assuming some functional structure in order to account for various types of so-called functional elements appearing in different languages. Starting from Abney's (1987) DP-hypothesis according to which NPs are dominated by DPs, many scholars have claimed the existence of other such functional projections between the two or higher. As a result, the structure of the NP has come to be seen as parallel to that of the sentence and the same type of functional categories appearing in the sentential domain have been attributed to the NP/DP as well.

Concerning the Albanian DP domain such practices fit perfectly well as has been shown by many scholars mentioned above. In particular, one of the peculiar aspects of the syntax of Albanian, namely the encliticization of the definite article, has been generally analysed as an instance of movement, sometimes as head movement others as XP movement, from a lower position to a higher one. In turn, as for instance illustrated by the strategies of Albanian, the functional projections needed above the NP in order to account for such strategies become finally quite numerous. For instance, in the cases where a demonstrative (usually a D element) modifies a definite NP, in Albanian an extra higher projection has been assumed in order to account for such a layered structure (as discussed above), in parallel to what has been proposed for other languages that have the same types of strategies. It seems finally that from such a practice of adding functional projections the architecture of grammar is enriched and as a result the theory acquires complexity instead of being explanatory and restrictive enough to account for human language in a uniform way.

## Chapter 4

### 4. The Minimalist Program

The Minimalist Program, as proposed in Chomsky 1995, has, in a way, already become a theory of the past since the ‘biolinguistic’ approach to grammar has come into play. It was Lenneberg’s (1967) *The Biological Foundations of the Faculty of Language* that inspired such a conception and laid the grounds to the current minimalist theory on language, though kind of with a late effect evidently.

The most recent conceptualization of the faculty of language is the one argued for by Chomsky in cooperation with Fitch and Hauser (2002; 2005), and the debate it consequently raised, on the biological treatment of language. Such a conceptualization revolves around the substantial division between a Faculty of Language Narrow (FLN, aspects of language that are unique to it) and a Faculty of Language Broad (FLB, aspects of language shared with other cognitive faculties) (Houser, Chomsky and Fitch 2002: 1570).

The core inquiry of the minimalist theory is to understand how the mapping of sound to meaning is realized, starting from the assumption that the computational system central to linguistic competence is a ‘perfect’ solution to the task of relating sound and meaning.<sup>33</sup>

As observed by Zwart (1998) in his review of Chomsky’s latest theorizing, there is a distinction to be made between the minimalist research program Chomsky was promoting and the tentative minimalist proposals (and kind of summarizing of the generative grammar theory) he put forth in the 1995 book titled *The Minimalist Program*, the most important aim being to launch such a project of linguistic inquiry.

It would be a mistake to confuse the minimalist program with a particular IMPLEMENTATION of the minimalist program. (Zwart 1998: 223)

Let us now go through the main assumptions underlying the minimalist theory, especially those relevant to the present discussion.

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<sup>33</sup> What Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007, 2011) propose as the main point of innovation to this kind of theory, as will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, is that morphology and syntax can be taken to represent a unique component, in the sense that both the categories and the hierarchies on the basis of which the two components lay are identical (2005: 14). Thus, lexical items are not epiphenomena, i.e. kind of secondary elements of I-languages, but really represent the mapping of sound to meaning (and vice versa).

The minimalist theory is about the computational system of human language ( $C_{HL}$ ) and the lexicon, which together produce language, these are specifically its subjects of inquiry. In this conception, the language system is supposed to work in a derivational<sup>34</sup> fashion, in that it takes as input an array of lexical items from the Numeration (i.e., a list of ordered elements) and links them to the interface representations, Phonological Form (PF) and Logical Form (LF) in order to derive an output complete of sound and meaning ready for interpretation. The components of the mind/brain dealing with sound and meaning are the articulatory-perceptual system and the conceptual intentional system respectively.  $C_{HL}$  interacts with these two independent systems through two distinct interface levels, PF and LF, which are systems by themselves, such interactions make possible the linguistic instances of a language.

The relations between the elements of the Numeration<sup>35</sup> are created by the basic phrase structure building operation Merge, which operates to create hierarchical strings of elements, i.e. phrases and sentences. The resulting relations are both thematic ( $\theta$ -role assignment, predication) and syntactic (Case-assignment, agreement). While the thematic relations are basic, the syntactic relations are secondary processed by the secondary structure building operation Move<sup>36</sup> (Zwart 1998).

#### 4.1. The passage to Minimalism

The Minimalist theorization abandons the conceptual distinction of previous versions of generative syntax such as the Principles and Parameters theory, between D- and an S-structure, “[it] no longer postulates th[is] language-internal levels of representation [and], [o]ne of the important innovations of the Minimalist approach [...] which has also been gaining ground in most non-minimalist work, is the idea that the inflected forms of the lexical elements are not created by the derivation. Lexical items are inserted (“base-generated” in the classical terminology) *with* their

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<sup>34</sup> Nonetheless, Zwart (1998: footnote 16) notes: “on the other hand it may be that the derivational character of the Minimalist program is just a technical aspect of Chomsky’s presentation, and that a representational version of minimalism is equally feasible”, cf. Brody (1997), whose ‘permission’ seems to have been taken literally and implemented quite successfully by Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007, 2011).

<sup>35</sup> I.e., an array of elements, say *John, left*, which will be the building blocks for a sentence. First, such elements are selected from the Numeration of a given language and then combined, i.e. merged, into one phrase marker. Cf. Haegeman (1997)

<sup>36</sup> As already mentioned, yet worth repeating, this operation is eliminated in the system postulated by Manzini and Savoia, as will be seen in more detail in chap.5.



We can now draw a brief description of the connection between the main lines of development Manzini and Savoia's approach shares with and diverges from the Minimalist program of Chomsky and others.

Their model lays doubts on the theoretical validity, within the generative grammar, of implicational universals, which are basic to typological research, holding that “despite the linguistic richness that they incapsulate hierarchies typically fail in describing language variation” (Manzini [see link fn.35](#), p.10). Instead, their conception of variation is one that takes it as laying directly on the LF conceptual system, and it comes out of interactions between the various categorial splits (or parameters) and a few rules/principles. While “the computational component merely restricts an interpretive component endowed with a rich independent content [...] In general we expect to find that natural languages attest all and only the patterns allowed by the Narrow Faculty of Language and the conceptual and motor systems aggregated around it.” (Manzini [see link fn. 35](#), p. 21).<sup>38</sup>

Concerning the kind of conceptualization mentioned in the very beginning of this chapter, namely the FLN/FLB divide, Manzini and Savoia (2011) draw a parallelism between the lexical/functional distinction generally and widely assumed in generative grammar accounts and the distinction between FLN and FLB arguing that given the possibility of eliminating the first type of distinction, as they do in their framework, and given the association between the functional lexicon with FLN, it may finally be that there is no reason to maintain the second distinction made by Hauser, Chomsky and Fitch (2002), thus, stating that:

The reduction of the divide [lexical/functional] that we are proposing has implications not only for the more technical aspects of the theory of grammar, but also opens up the possibility that the universal conceptual repertory which is partitioned by language-particular lexicons is part of the broadly construed language faculty in its entirety. In fact, we see no reason why the grammatically relevant categories investigated here should not constitute categorizations in a domain of general cognition. In other words, what we are saying is that the existence of a functional lexicon associated with the FLN is not a matter of logical or factual necessity – and as such it should be open to scrutiny” (Manzini and Savoia (2011: 8).

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<sup>38</sup> *On the substantive primitives of morphosyntax and their parametrization: Northern Italian subject clitics.* <http://www.samerl.unifi.it/upload/sub/testi-articoli/Manzinid10-villasalmi.pdf>.

In what follows, the discussion goes deeper into the investigation of the data and what they reveal as to how the faculty of language works and how the categories supplied by the conceptual system are lexicalized in Albanian, in the terms of Manzini and Savoia's model.

Finally, let me notice, with Haegeman (1997: 23) that a representational view of syntactic structures, one of the most important aspects of Manzini and Savoia's model, seems to be implicitly supported by the checking theory of movement assumed in the (early) Minimalist program (Chomsky 1993). Specifically, Haegeman argues that, given the copy theory of movement the derivation (or building) of the clause can be traced back in every step thanks to the copies, creating chains, in this way every member of the chain encodes all the features of the moved constituent, hence the entire history of the derivation can be read off on the basis of one single representation, so why not consider structures as representational instead of as derivational?

#### **4.1. Radical Minimalism – Brody (1997)**

Haegeman (1997) provides a detailed and thorough discussion of the Minimalist program and the various theoretical developments which have taken shape since its introduction in the generative theoretical picture. The section of her book dedicated to the proposals of Brody (1997), which represents also one of the chapters, is called Radical Minimalism. It becomes immediately clear, then, that this proposal may bring up interesting insights to the theory of grammar in minimalist directives. Furthermore, Brody's (1997) has been an important source of inspiration for the model developed by Manzini & Savoia (2005, 2007, 2011), and given the latest's centrality in the present dissertation it seems useful to introduce Brody's main points contributing to such a model.

It was already mentioned that the Minimalist program of Chomsky (1995) has simplified the theoretical model of the original Government and Binding in eliminating its multi-level approach (Deep-Structure, Surface-Structure, Logical Form, Phonological Form) and leaving in the picture only the LF and the PF levels of grammar.

While Brody (1997) and previous works, goes further in the simplification by elimination proposing to use one enriched syntactic representation from which both morpho-phonological Spell out<sup>39</sup> (PF) and semantic representation (LF) are read off simultaneously, assuming a Lexico-logical

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<sup>39</sup> “Observe that Minimalist Spell out, unlike classical S-structure, is not conceived of as a static level of representation. Rather, Spell out is the point at which the structure that has been formed is rendered overt. Beyond Spell out, lexical insertion of items drawn from the lexicon is no longer available”. [Furthermore,] “the Minimalist program assumes that operations in the derivation of clauses are subject to a principle of

Form (LLF) which is the input to both semantic interpretation and the Spell out component. His one level theory makes no use of movement operations and explains displacements in terms of chains. Precisely, a chain is an instance of copy relations, where only the highest copy is visible for the Spell out component. Assuming that the relation is part of syntax proper and that an interface assembly system based on the notions of copy and immediate domination that complies with these restrictions accounts for Brody's view of syntax as a near-trivial assembly system. Hence, he excludes such operation as Movement (overt or covert) on the grounds of its being external to the syntax proper, namely forced by the interface components.

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Economy. The link between the interface levels, PF and LF, has to be established as economically as possible". (Haegeman 1997:15).

## Chapter 5

### 5. The development of the Minimalist theory by Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007, 2011)

It has become an ever pervasive practice among generative linguistic inquiries to draw parallelisms between different types of syntactic structures, starting from proposals such as Abney (1987) for English, and subsequently followed by many other accounts for other languages.

What concerns us here is the parallel between the sentence and the NP/DP, which is summarized by Giusti (2007: 59) as in 26):

- 26) a. [CP (Complementation layer) [IP (Inflectional layer) [VP (Lexical layer)]]]  
b. [DP (Complementation layer) [AgrP (Inflectional layer) [NP (Lexical layer)]]]

My discussion is based on the theoretical model proposed by Manzini & Savoia (2005, 2007, 2011, henceforth M&S (year(s)), which is formulated on the conceptual grounds of the Generative Grammar and theoretically informed by the Minimalist Program of Chomsky (1995, 2000,2001), nevertheless, proposing new insights on the system of grammar(s). Their key proposals are that morphological structures are identical to syntactic structures and that every feature corresponds to a category (M&S 2005: 548). “Our radical step is upholding the same categories in morphology as in syntax” (M&S (2007: 5).

The Unification of Morphology and Syntax (2007) can be seen as an evolution of the Minimalist theory of Chomsky (1995). It is a continuation of the same kind of minimalist inquiries in that it is inspired by the program’s main conceptions and claims on human language and the way it works but also in the sense that this model’s formulation is importantly driven by economy and simplicity considerations on grammar as well as on the theory of grammar. Furthermore, it was conceived of as a contribution to the ‘biolinguistic’ approach and to the strong minimalist thesis as defined by Chomsky (1995) “that language is an optimal solution to interface conditions that LF must satisfy”(Chomsky 2004)

Nonetheless, M&S’s theoretical contribution is informed by diverse proposals inside the generative basin. Taking into account assumptions proposed in Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993), others from the Cartographic approach, as well as by Brody (1997) they built up a conception of grammar which results simplified and adequately explanatory, being able to account for diverse cross-linguistic and specific language internal phenomena in quite a uniform way.

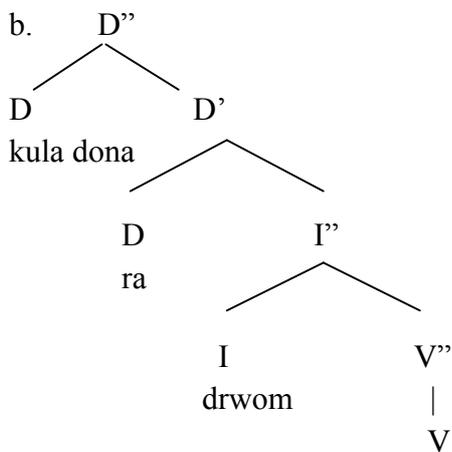
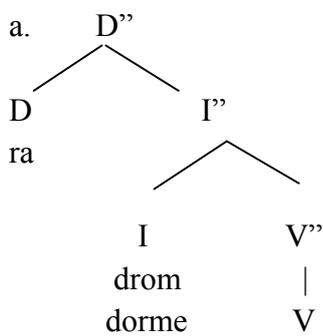
Specifically, in this grammatical model, the inflection of the verb has the same morphosyntactic status as subject clitics and lexical subjects, on the basis of the fact that in many languages there is

morphological identity between clitics and inflections<sup>40</sup>, and they both play the role of closing the argumental slot of content words (as verbs and nouns). This claim was triggered by the observation of Northern Italian dialects' subject clitics and the verbal inflections of standard Italian, concluding that the first have the same status within the sentence as the second within the verbal constituent, namely the external argument identifiable with the D category. Thus, clitics are just noun phrases.

Let us observe the following northern Italian dialect and how it differs from Italian.

*Castellazzo Bormida* (a language with specialized subject clitics) and standard Italian (a null subject language) show the same structure, 27a,b) below, but northern Italian dialects obligatorily double the preverbal lexical subject with the clitic subject while if we consider English (a non-null subject language) pronominal subjects are in complementary distribution with the lexical subject:

27)



<sup>40</sup> It is the case of Albanian as well, as for example in the object clitics in (i) (Albanian lacks subject clitics, (cf. e.g., Kallulli 1999):

(i) *të /e/ i/ ju pashë*

Cl you/him;her/ them/ you.Pl I-saw ('I saw you/him;her/them/you')

(ii) *burri*

man-DEF ('the man')

(iii) *djemtë*

boys-DEF ('the boys')

In a null subject language as Italian the subject position, i.e., [Spec,I] may be occupied by an empty category licenced by the strong morphological properties of the verbal inflection. Given the pronominal properties of this empty category, Chomsky (1982) suggests the term *pro* for it. In a language like English the subject position needs to be filled given that the agreement features in I are not sufficient to identify *pro*.

Northern Italian dialects' main difference from languages like standard Italian is the existence of an additional inflectional property realized by the subject clitic.

Cardinaletti and Roberts (1991) identify this position with AgrS, but Chomsky (1995) criticizes the category Agr in that it lacks an independently defined content. (M&S. 2005: 54).

Hence, M&S (ibid.) propose a functional category D immediately dominating the verbal inflection I, lexicalized by the subject clitic (cf. 27b). Importantly, they note, this category is not a variant of the Agr(S) which content is reduced to phi-features lexicalizing the agreement between subject and verb, but it is a categorial feature D hosting the preverbal lexicalization of the subject termed the EPP property by Chomsky (2000, 2001), connected to the *Extended Projection Principle* of Chomsky (1981), according to which *the subject position requires a grammatical realization independently from the distribution of the thematic roles, and it is universally present*. In M&S's proposal the feature D is not associated with I as in Chomsky (1995), or with an EPP feature as in Chomsky (2000), but with an independent position D, associated to a D category, present in predicative elements, again on the basis of the evidence of northern Italian dialects, which have a specialized D head, characterized by a strong D feature resulting in their clitic doubling of the subject.

Now, given the minimalist abandonment of the D- and S- structure levels<sup>41</sup>, M&S assume that an argument needs not to be inserted in thematic position (i.e. internal to VP), but it may be inserted directly in the position it surfaces. Furthermore, on these basis, it is not anymore necessary to double the D by a *pro* to obtain the argumental interpretation of the subject clitic in the absence of a lexical subject. For that *it is sufficient to assume that an interpretive relation connects D and the verb* in (27a) above, *ra drwom* ('she sleeps') M&S (2005: 56).

Another crucial point in the model of M&S is the following. It is generally assumed that the content of thematic roles is purely relational (Chomsky 1995), so interpretive, not coded by syntactic operations, thus established at the LF interface, crucially depending on properties relevant to this interface, i.e. semantic properties. Nonetheless, given that interpretation takes into account the

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<sup>41</sup> D-structure was conceived of as the level of the pure thematic relations of the sentence, the architecture of the grammar required every argument to be taken from the lexicon and inserted in its thematic position and then to be moved to its superficial position, to satisfy the formal requirements of the sentence.

syntactic structure, it is expected that syntactic properties such as those of agreement and locality be relevant for the assignment of thematic roles, M&S (2007, 2011) claim.

Hence, on the basis of these kinds of observations M&S (2005) claim that the purely interpretive conception of thematic roles as labels of the relation between arguments and predicate may be combined with the elimination of movement, sustaining in this way a strict correlation of syntax to semantics, entailed by the elimination of D- and S-structure distinction.

That is what Manzini and Roussou (2000) do, even though leaving silent the exact nature of this relation. (ivi. p. 57).

M&S admit that their approach needs a rigorous characterization of verbal inflections, which is done by assuming that the verbal inflection is nothing but a subject clitic, in the sense that it lexicalizes a D category (capturing the EPP property) in the internal structure of the verb, which is the trigger for M&S's most characteristic innovation, i.e. the unification of morphology and syntax.

While object clitics categorize as N category, as will be seen below.

The notion of feature and category coincide (not only for D but for grammatical categories in general) given the postulation of a unique set of morphosyntactic categories.

The D category is repeated in each of the verbal domains, not only in the domain of I (on the left of I => the lack of the lexicalization of this position by D results in a null subject language) but also on the left of V, i.e. in the V domain. As in 28):

28) [D [I [D [V

The following is the parametric variation capturing the lexicalization of the D category proposed by M&S (2007: 45):

29) Lexicalization of the D properties of the sentential I domain:

- |                              |                                  |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| a. i. by clitic              | (e.g. northern Italian dialects) |
| ii. by clitic or noun phrase | (e.g. Ladin dialects, French)    |
| iii. by noun phrase          | (e.g. English)                   |
| b. no lexicalization         | (e.g. Italian)                   |

They conclude that both the Italian varieties with null-subject (the standard) and subject clitics (northern dialects) as well as non-null subject languages (as English) have a D node to which an argumental interpretation is associated. (ivi. p.69).

Concerning the internal structure of object clitics, between the D position of the subject and the I position of the verb they assume numerous specialized projections which host the different object clitics as in 30a), and the clitic string can either precede or follow I (the verb) (30b), at least when it

lexicalizes a D position, according to the parametric choice of the language as in 29) above, exemplified by 31):

30) a. [D [R [Q [P [Loc [N [I

b. [I [R [Q [P [Loc [N [D

N = associated with nominal class

Q = associated with quantifiers (indefinite quantification)

R = associated with specificity (specific/strong quantification)

D = associated with definiteness

P = 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person clitics/ reference to speaker hearer (possessives)

Loc = reference to the spatial coordinates

31) Modena (a)/standard Italian (b):

a. *l-a magn-a* ‘she eats’

b. *corr-o* ‘I run’

Hence, they assume that the crucial property of the subject is a denotational property, noted as D, a categorial feature hosting the preverbal lexicalization of the subject identified with the EPP property.

In this view, the grammatical representations (i.e. structures) are seen as automatized, in the sense that “a wealth of differentiated head positions are projected under merge” and “a considerable amount of this automatization (perhaps all) does not derive from the introduction of novel categories, but simply from the recursion of certain elementary, identical cells” (M&S 2011: 10).

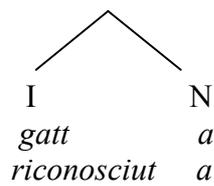
Their analysis, though in line with some assumptions of another model of approach to grammar, namely Distributed Morphology, provides a basic innovation and simplification represented by an integrated morphosyntactic component, with a unique set of categories. The internal structure of words presents the same categories and the same hierarchies as the internal structure of sentences (M&S 2007: 247), which are presented in 33), 34) below. Another theoretically relevant point is the representational view of grammar they take, in contrast to the derivational one of minimalist theories, following ideas by Brody (1997), who proposes that the

relation between sound and meaning is direct without the need of mediating levels of representation such as S- and D-structure (cf. Roussou 1995<sup>42</sup>).

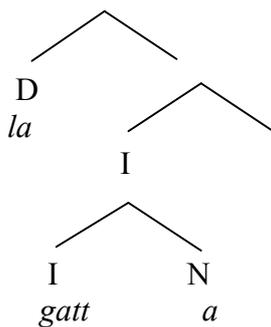
Let us consider how. Manzini and Savoia based on the observation of the morphological parallelism between the Italian noun phrase – such as *gatta*, formed by the morpheme (root = √) *gatt-* which bears the predicative content plus the singular feminine inflection morpheme *-a*, and the inflection of verbal constructions like the perfect participle *la ha-nno riconosciut-a*, provide a unified characterization of morphology and syntax. The verb inflection is characterized as a D element, i.e. it has the same status as a pronominal subject (the inflectional subject *-o* in structure 32c and the clitic subject *la* in 32d):

32)

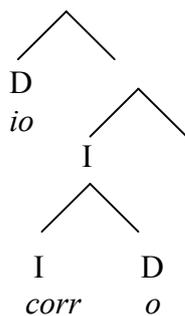
a.



b.



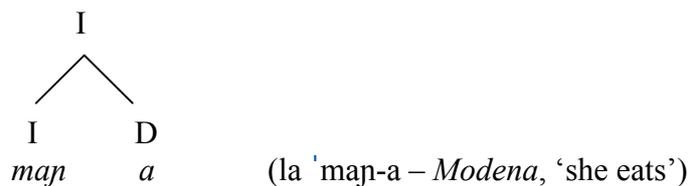
c.



d.



<sup>42</sup> Review Article of Brody's 1995 article *Lexico-logical form: a radically Minimalist theory*.



In 32a) the root noun *gatt-* is in an I position of the word (morphological) level and its nominal class inflection is in N (the noun class category (gender) position of the word level), when it is inserted in the noun phrase, so merged with the determiner *la* the noun is inserted in the I position of the noun phrase and the definite determiner precedes it in D. As it can be observed in 32a), the DP structure (in classic minimalist terms) is identical to that of the participle *ricosciut-a*.

Hence, M&S (2007) based on data from Northern Italian dialects, Arbëresh dialects, and Albanian, adopt the conclusion that the inflection of a finite verb has the same status within the verbal constituent as a clitic (or lexical) subject within the sentence, both correspond to D material.

Positing for a representational<sup>43</sup> conception of grammar, as opposed to the derivational one assumed in minimalist works, they claim that syntax and morphology should run on the same categories like N, Q, D etc. excluding the traditional morphological feature set, and proposing a unique set of syntactic categories for both the word level and the sentence level. Thus, abandoning the notion of morphological feature in favour of the notion syntactic category<sup>44</sup>. For example, the morphological feature Number can be conceived of as identifiable with the plural, eliminating the traditional assignment of a value to the feature, i.e. positive for the plural, and negative for the single. In this way it is possible to exclude the notion of default in this case usually attributed to the singular, given the identification of the number feature with the plural.<sup>45</sup>

Furthermore, every morphological property/category is represented as an independent position in the constituent structure.

Precisely, they assume a number of positions within DP (and IP, CP) lexicalized by different kinds of features to account for the internal structure of clitics and of noun phrases as articulated in terms of the categories **D(efiniteness)** and **N(ominal class)**, present in the sentence as well, and also in terms of other categories between D and N, such as **Q(uantifiers, indefinite quantification)**,

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<sup>43</sup> The conception as representational of the system of the grammar is in line with Brody's (1997), but also with the Distributed Morphology framework.

<sup>44</sup> As noted in M&S (2005: 16), in the conception of traditional grammars also reflected in the generative theory all through the minimalist conception, syntactic properties, so-called categories, and morphological features constitute two different sets, in contrast to their approach.

<sup>45</sup> As a consequence of this reconceptualization M&S quote the fact that it raises doubts on the theoretical notion of markedness. (2005: 16).

**R**(eferential, specific quantification or specificity properties), **P**(erson, reference to speaker (1°person) and hearer (2°person)), **Loc**(ative, reference to the spatial coordinates of the universe of discourse, like demonstratives, e.g. Italian *questo qui*)<sup>46</sup>.

Furthermore, in M&S's theory case and phi-inflections are reduced to elements legible at the LF interface, and more precisely to arguments, contrary to minimalist works according to which case and phi-features are functional properties triggering feature-checking operations. If such inflections agree it means that the arguments they represent form chains, and it is these chains that enable the identification of the reference with the same object or event.

The hierarchy of categories they propose is supposed to be universal, and again, it is claimed to stand for the word level and the phrase level in the same way as for the sentence level, and it is the following:

33) [D [R [Q [P [Loc [N

This string is repeated for the C, I and V domains as follows:

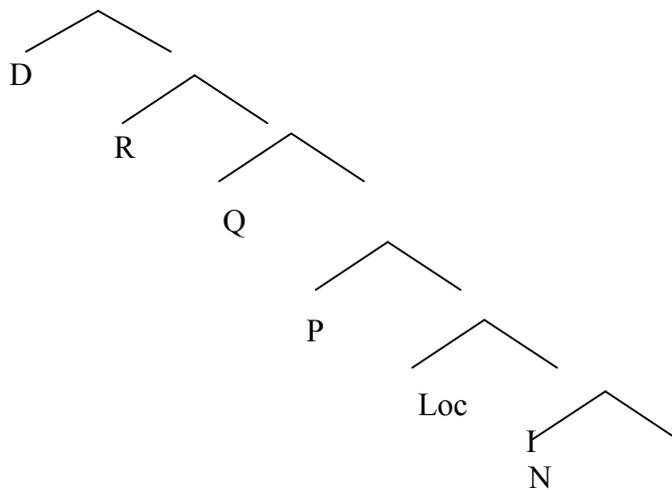
34) [D [R [Q [P [Loc [N [C [D [R [Q [P [Loc [N [I [D [R [Q [P [Loc [N [V

What characterizes their grammatical model is that a syntactic-semantic content is imputed directly to morphological entries, where the syntactic computation is construed on the basis of the intrinsic semantic properties registered by the lexical elements entering in the phrase/structure. They assume that each lexical entry specifies a mapping between sound and meaning, without any distinction between the so-called functional lexicon (including inflections) and the substantive lexicon. It is the denotational properties including nominal class, definiteness, quantification (plurality and other) that enter into the syntactic tree (case inflections also correspond to denotational properties in this conception, in contrast to other minimalist approaches, as already mentioned above). So, the verb and the noun project a set of referential contents of the same kind, as in 33), in the sentence and in the noun phrase respectively, which build a structure of the following type (Manzini and Savoia 2011: 237):

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<sup>46</sup> Recall the distinction between referential (or DP-level) and quantificational (or sentence-level) genericity along lines first proposed by Gerstner and Krifka (1988) and related semantic literature. (cf. Longobardi 1999: 46).

35)



Furthermore, each overtly lexicalized head gives rise to a full structure, so that there are no empty heads/abstract categories. They impose upon their work the very minimalist and economic restriction that lexical items are endowed both with LF and PF, so that there cannot be any node in the structure endowed with abstract content alone, i.e. an element is in the structure only if it is lexicalized<sup>47</sup> and all other material in each sentence or noun phrase is an argument of the head. They have eliminated the issue of labelling algorithms since the only labels they mention are those of heads, and all argumental material preceding or following the head (superordinate or subordinate to it respectively) form a constituent with it, projecting the head as a label. “Merge works as a relation ‘member of’ a set rather than the operation set formation” (pp.3-5) which is to say that “the grammar implemented here is a representational version of current minimalist theories” (p.9). Crucial in their revision of the minimalist theory is the exclusion of movement and abstract categories.

Here I will present the main points of innovation introduced by the theory of M&S, and motivate the advantages this kind of approach can have in understanding the faculty of language and language variation.

1. A representational conception of grammar: structures are projected from actual lexical terminals. It is not abstract structures independent of the lexicon that determine the basic

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<sup>47</sup> A similar view, though on totally different and independent grounds, is held in Kallulli (2001), who deals with bare singular count nouns in Albanian, also drawing parallelisms with Norwegian NPs, and treats them as bare NPs rather than DPs with a null D, thus arguing against projecting null heads, e.g. *Ana do të blejë biçikletë*. ‘Anne wants to buy bicycle’

categorizations of natural languages and therefore design the basic ontology underlying them. It is the lexicon that does that (ibid. p. 311).

2. The morphological component is structured in the same hierarchical positions as the syntactic one. So that Merge and Move are both morphological and syntactic operations, with the same restrictions, as locality, etc. This is a point in common with the Distributed Morphology model (Halle and Marantz (1994)), but see the following point for a diverging one. Movement is not anymore conceived of as an operation of the computational system on morphological features which enables their checking, but as a prerequisite for the identification of nominal elements in referential and argumental terms. And every application of Merge to new lexical material, either an element or a phrase, projects its own label<sup>48</sup>.
3. Here there is a unique morphosyntactic component, the same set of categories and positions for both components, while in Distributed Morphology two distinct sets of categories are assumed. The reasons for this conception are empirical observations, as for instance the case of the morphological identity of Italian articles (*i(l), lo, gli, la, le*) in *la gatta* and clitic or lexical subjects as in the Modena *la magna* ‘she eats’.
4. In addition, every category/property is represented as a head in an independent position in the constituent structure, giving rise to its own full structure, and every other material being its argument. All lexical items, predicative or functional, are treated in a uniform fashion, which insertion projects syntactic structures, with no other possibility of manipulation, in contrast with Chomskyan feature control and checking. Properties attributed to elements of the lexicon are really structural properties, and it is the specific syntactic environment in which an element is inserted that determines the right interpretation. For e.g., the Italian clitic *i/li* which lexicalize both the so-called dative and the so-called plural (subject or object) in traditional terms it is unavoidable to provide a list of the properties associated to *i/il* in the lexicon which enable its various interpretations. In M&S’s approach in contrast its properties depend on the syntactic position they appear in.
5. Elimination of the grammatical/lexical divide, in virtue of the conception that “lexicons are merely ways of partitioning an abstract categorical space” (2011: 7).  
“The reduction of the divide [...] opens up the possibility that the universal conceptual repertory which is partitioned by language-particular lexicons is part of the broadly construed language faculty in its entirety. [...] it is not the functional lexicon that has a

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<sup>48</sup>

M&S (2005: 14) state that this is in line with proposals by Starke (2000).

special status within the architecture of the mind-brain, but rather certain concrete contents as opposed to more abstract ones” (ibid. p. 9)

6. Structures are indeed automatized, in the sense that a wealth of differentiated head positions are projected under Merge. [...] a considerable amount of this atomization (perhaps all) does not derive from the introduction of novel categories, but simply from the recursion of certain elementary, identical cells (2011).

“Nominal [class] morphology is sufficient to shift the predicative base to an argument (in our terms itself [the nominal class inflection] providing an argument capable of saturating both the nominal base and other superordinate predicates). The inflectional specifications of a language may in fact suffice for a referential closure” [and] “this is what happens in Albanian and Latin. In other languages, the argument closure of the predicative base (its shift from predicate [*djal-*] to individual [*djali*]) requires the additional presence of determiners, specifically definite determiners. This is what happens in Italian – and it is also the core of the innovation introduced in Romanian by the *-l* morphology.” (2011: 294) <sup>49</sup>

## **5.2. Structure building in the framework of M & S**

### **5.2.1. The Sentence Level**

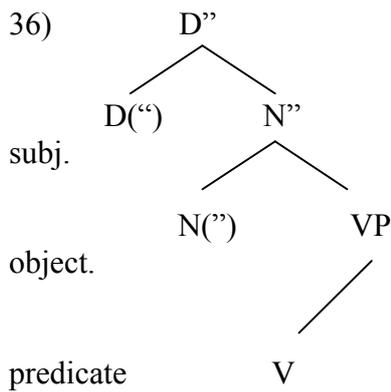
The unification of morphology and syntax is a conclusion to which M&S arrive as a result of the empirical observations of Northern Italian dialects, more specifically their subject clitics categorial status as identical to the verb inflection of standard Italian. Another conclusion to which they arrive by empirical observations of the data is that there are no primitive categories of noun and verb, which project two different structures we call NP and sentence, instead there is a repertoire of functional categories (determined by the conceptual system), whose combination determines the

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<sup>49</sup> The unification of morphology and syntax in the account of M&S connects it to another line of research in generative grammar which aims at demonstrating that properties traditionally attributed to elements listed in the lexicon are in reality structural properties, attributed to Borer (in print).

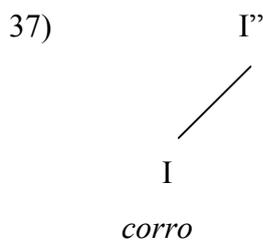
characterization of the lexical base as nominal or verbal (M&S 2005). They also draw a parallelism between the inflectional clitic hierarchy and the functional hierarchies within the noun phrase, so D-Q-N represents both the basic order of clitics in the sentence (nominative – dative – accusative) and the basic progression of categories in the noun phrase (definite determiner – numeral quantifier – noun). They also claim that, crucially, such order is conditioned by interpretive reasons, so the order Q, D with respect to N is motivated by their semantic quantificational and denotational nature, respectively (2007: 146-7).

The verb projects a series of arguments including at least the subject and the object, so the subject position is identified with a D(efiniteness) category following Chomsky's (1995) intuition. In M&S's model it is assumed that every application of Merge (both to a lexical item or a phrase) projects a constituent with its own label, in line with proposals by Stark (2000). Such a system predicts the generalization originally provided by Koopman (1996) that Spec-Head configurations never emerge, neither in overt nor in covert syntax, and has the advantage that there is no need for empty heads for the mere insertion of a phrasal Spec. Hence, when Merge applies to a verb, its object N'' and its subject D'' the structure obtained in such a system is as in 36):



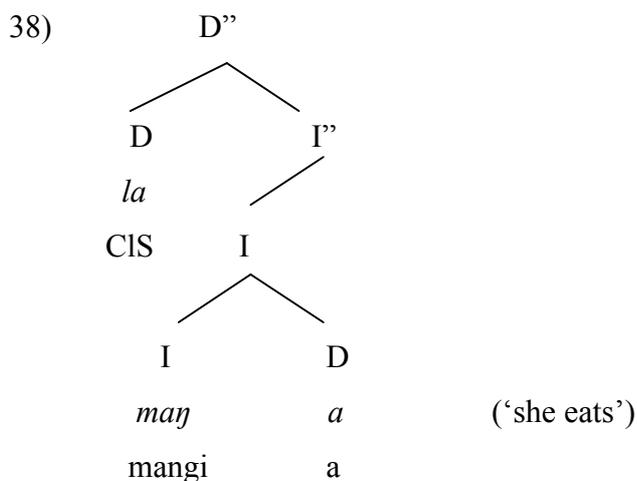
The inflection of the verb corresponds to a D category internal to the verb (verbal - lexical string), agreement between the inflection of the verb and the subject clitic is a reflex of a syntactic relation of identity, given that the subject clitic is also a lexicalization of D in the phrasal string.

The fundamental position of the verb is I, not V:



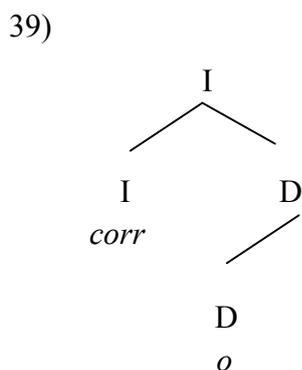
The EPP property, which defines the subject, is identified with D and the object corresponds to the saturation of the internal argument of the predicate, if the event requires one, which is categorized as N (nominal class).

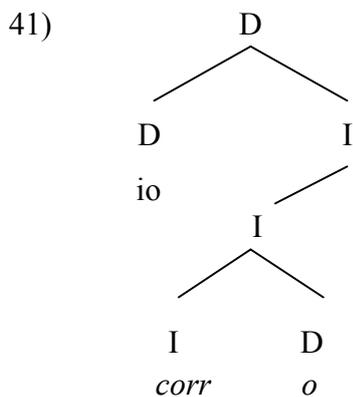
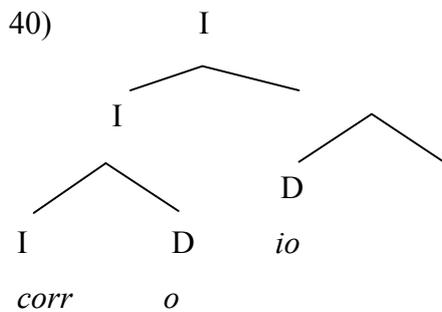
Assuming that I projects its own string of argumental positions, similarly to V, we obtain a structure for languages requiring the lexicalization of the subject as the following northern Italian dialect of *Modena* in (368, where it can be observed the generally accepted idea that the inflection of a null subject language is pronominal (Rizzi 1982) and that it by itself suffices to satisfy the EPP property (Pollock 1996). Nevertheless, M&S's proposal is supposed to be universal, not connected and limited to the null subject status of a language (M&S 2005: 18)



Notice that the morphological projections as X and the syntactic ones as X'', are used only for ease in the reading of the structure, given that in minimalist terms the barred levels do not have substantial content, the label of a projection is the one that characterizes one of its constituents, i.e., I, D, etc. Thus in the following structures the bars will be avoided, as M&S do from the 2005 work on.

Consider the following structures of standard Italian, where the lexicalization of the subject is not obligatory:





In 39) it is represented the possibility of Italian to not lexicalize the subject, given that the EPP property of I in Italian is satisfied simply by the movement of the verb thanks to the rich nominal morphology of Italian verbs. 40) illustrates the possibility for subject inversion in Italian, where the subject lexicalizes the lower position internal to the V domain.

Every property/category, entering in the syntactic string, is represented as an independent position in the constituent structure. Thus, 39) is a verbal phrase (morphological level) formed by a verbal predicative root *corr-* and a D category element *-o* (traditionally inflection) representing the external argument of the predicate.

As for the relative order of the respective categories, as already mentioned, they are derivable from interpretive considerations. The category Q, which subsumes both plurality and weak quantificational properties, is in the domain of a D(efiniteness) category, then a R property of specific quantification is assumed to be realized between D and Q, these quantificational properties are followed by P representing the lexicalization of the reference to the coordinates of the discourse relative to the interlocutors, (speaker and hearer) and Loc for the spatial coordinates.

The traditional and the generative approach take the agreement morphology of the verb as simply correspondent to a set of non-specified features associated to I, whose value is established by a nominal phrase corresponding to the subject of the sentence. M&S, by the unification of morphology and syntax, are led to the conclusion that the so-called agreement inflection of the verb has the same status as subject clitics, characterizable as D, furthermore inserted in a D position internal to a morphological structure (e.g. in standard Italian) which reproduces the structure of the

sentence. The claim made by M&S is that the traditional categories do not account adequately for the empirical data.

But the finite verb agreement inflections differ from the nouns' inflections in that, for example the finite verb presents the inflection for person which is excluded from the noun, while the inflections of nouns and adjectives show nominal class agreement properties (traditionally number and gender), excluded from the finite verb. This can be illustrated by analysing the participle of standard Italian, which particularity is that it agrees with the object not with the subject as in other verbal paradigms, as in *ricosciut-a Maria corse via*, which structure is given in 32) above. According to M&S, the inflection of the participle corresponds to an object clitic, thus attributed the N category, given the previous observation that the inflection of the finite verb corresponds to a subject clitic lexicalized by D. Again, in general, it is the syntactic configuration which determines the categorial status of inflections, if their argumental status in respect to the predicate is that of an object they are of the N (argument of the predicative base) category, if it is that of the subject their category is D (satisfying the EPP property). In the following section it will be analyse the phrasal level, specifically as concerns the Albanian noun phrase.

### 5.2.3 The (Noun) Phrase Level

M&S's theoretical model was originally inspired basically by the observation of the subject (in a first stage) and object (in a later stage) clitics of northern Italian dialects. M&S (2005) treat clitics just as ordinary noun phrases. Concerning the noun phrase, in the minimalist conception of Chomsky (1995) case and phi-features are treated as functional properties triggering feature-checking operations, while in the present model they are treated as elements legible at the LF interface, more precisely as arguments, and the agreement relations between such inflections/arguments result in the formation of chains. Again, a hierarchical structure of the syntactic type is present also in the morphological component (as in Distributed Morphology), cf. 41), 42) below. The operations Merge and Move work in both, but movement is conceived of not as an operation of the computational system on features, but as a prerequisite for the identification of the nominal elements in terms of referential and argumental properties.

Again, in the present model the same set of functional categories and positions is valid for both components – thus, abandoning the notion of morphological feature in favour of that of syntactic category for both components. Finally, all that is necessary in structure building of words and sentences are lexical items, which represent the core of language variation and of the interface

between syntax and interpretation, and grammatically universal relevant classes (i.e., categories). “It is a crucial property of the present framework that lexical terminals have the properties necessary and sufficient to project morphosyntactic structures” (M&S 2011: 289). And they take it that “the lexicons of natural languages are learnable in that they individuate natural classes” (M&S 2011:9)

Given the parallelism between the sentence and the NP, M&S add the categories P and Loc, which are detected by the observation of the behaviour of object clitics in M&S (2005), in addition to the basic classic generative grammar sequence D-R-Q-N projected by the NP. In M&S theoretical model the N<sup>50</sup> category does not correspond to the predicative content of the noun but to the nominal class properties attached to a predicative base which turn it into an argument. A lexical item like *djal* corresponds to a property, i.e. that of being a ‘boy’, such a property cannot denote an individual, i.e. an element that can be an argument for other predicates, unless some semantic-type shifting occurs. In the classical semantic view (Higginbotham 1985, Chierchia 1998), as M&S (2011: 293) argue, this type-shifting is provided by the determiner system. In M&S’s model the nominal morphology is sufficient to turn a predicative base into an argument. In Albanian, the inflectional specifications suffice to provide such a shift, while in languages like, for example, Italian the additional presence of determiners is required (compare 41) and 43) below) as a result of two different systems underlying these languages, namely an “entirely morphological” one in the case of Albanian while in Italian the system is “broken down in inflections and determiners”<sup>51</sup> (ivi. 294-95). The two systems differ in the point of merger of the relevant properties.

In 41) the unique set of nominal categories – [D [R [Q [P [Loc [N [I – is repeated for every domain of insertion of the lexical head other than the I position, which correspond to different interpretive domains, thus also in the C domain for modal properties.

I(nflection) corresponds to the core position of the lexical item (the verb in the sentence or the noun in the noun phrase), and the set D, R, Q, P, Loc, N forms its domain.

D corresponds to the (in)definiteness properties which characterize the EPP argument of the sentence and its equivalent within the noun phrase, i.e., the determiner.

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<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, M&S (2011) argue that the fact that Romance complementizers have the same form as *wh*-phrases (as the Italian *che*) is not to be seen as homophony but that this kind of lexical identity reveals the sharing of deeper categorizations. Thus, they argue that given its nominal nature the Romance complementizer is to be considered as the N complement of the matrix verb, which in turn (N) takes the embedded sentence as its complement, so they treat the complementizer as “the head of an independent noun-phrase-like projection” (p.21).

<sup>51</sup> M&S (2011: chap. 8) also provide a discussion of the diachronic development of case and definiteness from Latin to Romance.

The set P(erson) – 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person – Q(uantifier) and Loc(ative) lexicalize referential properties of deixis (P, Loc)<sup>52</sup> and quantification (Q), satisfying (or participating in the satisfaction of) the argument slots of the predicate. The R category denotes specific/strong quantification (such as proper names).

N(oun) is the dedicated category for the internal argument of the predicate. The hierarchical order of these categories is to be thought of as a way of representing the relative scope of these elements. While C corresponds to quantification over events, quantification over situations, hence in particular modality.

The same nominal hierarchy<sup>53</sup> is repeated in each domain of insertion of the lexical base, which is now substituted by the label L in 42), which stands for lexical root, to denote the basic predicative position for both the sentence and the noun phrase while the I and C are maintained as for the sentence (cf. M&S 2007: 80):

42) [D [R [Q [P [Loc [N [C [D [R [Q [P [Loc [N [I [D [R [Q [P [Loc [N [V

43) [D [R [Q [P [Loc [N [L

Let's see how structures, are built in such a framework, illustrating them now with Albanian noun phrases. Starting from the basic assumption that syntactic computation is built on the basis of the semantic properties encoded in lexical items and that the computation does not necessarily project all the components of what is traditionally called the meaning or interpretation of a phrase/sentence.

Another point to keep in mind is that what is usually called noun/verb is the result of different syntactic operations which combine a lexical base with an EPP argument of type D (verb) or N (noun). They are both predicative categories, only the verb has argumental properties which need to be saturated by nouns/NPs, the noun also, given its predicative status, is associated to an argumental structure. Higginbotham (1985) proposes that also common nouns (e.g., book, friend, dog) have an open argumental position which is saturated not by lexical elements but by the functional category D, which closes the structure of the NP (M&S 2005: 543).

In such framework the theta-roles/argument slots are formalized as variables introduced by a predicative base and bound by referential material (nominal class specifications or

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<sup>52</sup> Loc includes demonstratives, on the basis of their spatial interpretation, and P (like Loc) is a category connected to the discourse for the noun as well.

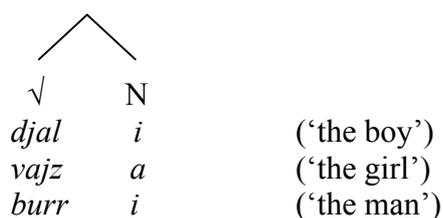
<sup>53</sup> Despite the fact that they assume clitics to be ordered in rigid hierarchies, M&S (2007: 147) leave it open as to whether hierarchies should be considered to exist at all as part of the computational component.

quantificational/definiteness specification), and lack of inflectional specifications does not yield ungrammaticality as long as the variable is closed by syntactic level material (M&S 2011).

Thus, given the fundamental identity between sentence (syntax) and noun phrase (morphology) assumed in the theoretical framework of M&S the articulation of the NP in the domains L(exical), I(nflectional), C(omplementizer) entails that the noun's functional categories be reassigned to each domain as in 34) above.

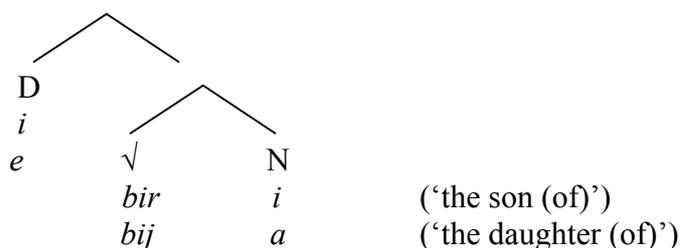
When lexical roots (traditionally nouns), for e.g. *djal-*, *vajz-*, are combined with N(ominal class) morphology (traditionally, inflections) like *-i*, *-u*, *-a*, *-e*, *-të*, they form masculine/feminine singular nouns, and give rise to the following type of structure:

44)

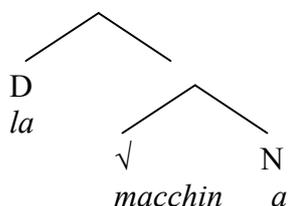


When a lexical root combines with N(ominal class) morphology and a Determiner gives rise to structures like (45), which represents the possibility in Albanian to double the determiner (in classic generative terms) in possessive third person singular kinship nouns, e.g., *i bir-i*, *e bij-a* (as illustrated above, cf. section 3.2.), and this is entirely parallel to Romance definite NPs exemplified in 46), *la macchin-a*, according to M&S (2011: 238; 248) and in terms of their model the following are the structures and categories they represent, crucially identical. The preposed article *i/e* of Albanian kinship terms in 44) lexicalizes the D position in the noun phrase level as does the Italian article *la* in 45) in its own phrasal level. In both, the chains (*i*, *-i*)/(*e*, *-a*) and (*la*, *-a*) respectively, jointly satisfy the internal argument of the respective predicates.

45)



46)



In (46) the lexical base expressing predicative content ( $\sqrt{\text{macchin}}$ ) combines with a nominal class (gender) inflection  $-a$  (N category) associated with the internal argument of the predicative root, while the article *la* lexicalizes the D category at the phrasal level, hence agreement is construed in terms of sharing the same referentially relevant properties, interpreted by reference to the same individual by satisfying both the argument slot of the same predicate.

The following are the linear structures of 45), given in 47ii), 46) is given in 47i), while 44) is given in 47iii):

47)	<b>Phrasal level</b>	<b>Word level</b>
	[D R Q P Loc N [I	[D R Q P Loc N [L
i)	<i>la</i>	<i>macchin-</i> <i>a</i>
ii)	<i>i</i> <i>e</i>	<i>bir-</i> <i>bij-</i> <i>a</i>
iii)		<i>burr-</i> <i>djal-</i> <i>vajz-</i> <i>i</i> <i>i</i> <i>a</i>

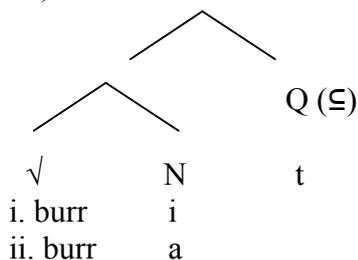
Furthermore, Albanian lexicalizes case inflections as well, so the structures above require an extension to host this category. Following M&S’s proposal that case can be taken just like other denotational primitives as nominal class (gender), definiteness, quantification, only specialized for the satisfaction of certain syntactic junctures (agreement, theta-configuration or other) the dative noun *burrit* in 46i) can be analysed as composed by a lexical root *burr*, which is first merged with the nominal class morpheme  $-i$  and then the resulting (argumental) formative *burri* is merged with a  $-t$  morpheme which has the reading a superset-of (noted as  $Q(\subseteq)$  and an inclusion interpretation<sup>54</sup> in M&S (2011), in oblique environments it takes on a sentential scope  $Q(\subseteq)$ . Hence, “case is a descriptive label for relations that are much more primitive (essentially saturation of predicate-argument frames), as are the categories that enter into them (nominal class, quantification).

Nevertheless, the specialized morpheme  $-t$  has also another additional quantificational interpretation, namely plural, as in 48ii) *burrat*, in this case it can be analysed as a  $Q$ (uantificational) element but with the difference that in the oblique interpretation the specialized

<sup>54</sup> This superset-of denotation of the oblique is explained in M&S (2011:250) by referring to partitives like *three of the boys* where *the boys* specifies a larger set to which the *three* singled out belong. Another illustration they give to such a concept is the possession in *John’s nose* and attribution of mental states in *John’s fears*, where both nose and fears are part of the collection of properties that we call ‘John’.

Q  $-t$  takes a sentential scope (internal argument of the verb) while in the plural reading it takes in its scope only the noun it applies to:

48)



Notice that the two readings of the Q category morpheme  $-t$  are in complementary distribution, if it takes scope on the sentence it will not be plural, and if it takes scope on the noun only it cannot be interpreted as oblique. Different denotational properties satisfy different interpretive environments (here (i.e. 48ii) for instance theta-assignment) (M&S. 2012: 129). This is observable when we consider the ‘stages’ of the merger of the root with its grammatical categories, i.e., in 47i) the root is merged first with a nominal class morpheme (gender)  $-i$ , and only afterwards it is merged with the specialized oblique  $-t$ <sup>55</sup> while in 47ii) the root is merged with a plural (indefinite quantifier Q) morpheme  $-a$  and then with the  $-t$  definite.<sup>56</sup> That the two different reading of the  $-t$  morphology are in complementary distribution becomes clearer if we consider the case when the plural noun *burrat* is used in a dative context, where it has to take the inflectional ending  $-ve$ , in a sentence like *Ia dhash burrave* “I gave it to the man”. Concerning *burrat* the  $-t$  morpheme has also definiteness interpretation, and this is because it is in the scope of D, recall the hierarchy [D [Q ...[N, but the three possible readings are in complementary distribution, only one of them can appear in each context, depending thus on the level of insertion.

The definite reading of  $-t$  is an additional property it has which comes out depending on the syntactic scope it takes according to the environment in which it appears, thus it may have a definiteness operator role in addition to a quantificational one (plural (in the NP) or oblique (in the sentence)).

Let us now turn to the genitive, which is interesting to compare with the dative, given the syncretism they show in their inflectional endings in Albanian as already mentioned and to a certain extent illustrated in chapter 3. A first thing to notice is that the genitive is a modifier of the noun

<sup>55</sup> Tomic (2006: 186) states that: “As in Romanian and Aromanian, the formal marking of case in Albanian is related to the marking of definiteness. However, while in the Balkan Romance languages only definite NPs are case marked, in Albanian, distinct case markers occur in indefinite NPs as well”.

<sup>56</sup> This is consistent with the Universal Ordering Constraint according to which given features  $F1 > F2$ , the checking of  $F1$  precedes the checking of  $F2$  (cf. Giorgi and Pianesi (1997)).

phrase<sup>57</sup>, while as we saw the dative is a sentential argument, used to refer to the internal argument of the verb, in terms of the model followed throughout this analysis.

The paradigm of the possessive modifying a singular noun in 49a) and a plural noun in 49b) illustrate agreement between the noun and the possessive, the noun must be inflected for the definite article in the Albanian possessive constructions:

49)

a) Singular noun + possessive

	Nom.	Acc.	Gen./Dat.
1 <sup>st</sup> <b>sg.</b>	libri im	librin tim	i/ librit tim
2 <sup>nd</sup>	libri yt	librin tënd	i/ librit tënd
3 <sup>rd</sup>	libri i tij	librin e tij	i/ librit të tij
1 <sup>st</sup> <b>pl.</b>	libri jonë	librin tonë	i/ librit tonë
2 <sup>nd</sup>	libri juaj	librin tuaj	i/ librit tuaj
3 <sup>rd</sup>	libri i tyre	librin e tyre	i/ librit të tyre

b) Plural noun + possessive

	Nom.	Acc.	Gen./Dat.
1 <sup>st</sup> <b>sg.</b>	librat e mi	librat e mi	i/ librave të mi
2 <sup>nd</sup>	librat e tu	librat e tu	i/ librave të tu
3 <sup>rd</sup>	librat e tij	librat e tij	i/ librave të tij
1 <sup>st</sup> <b>pl.</b>	librat tanë	librat tanë	i/ librave tanë
2 <sup>nd</sup>	librat e juaj	librat e juaj	i/ librave tuaj
3 <sup>rd</sup>	librat e tyre	librat e tyre	i/ librave të tyre

Observing the paradigm of the possessive in 49) it becomes evident, informally speaking, that the presence of the article has to do with an interpretive need for the possession relation to be defined as clearly as possible. Take for example *libri im – librat e mi*, with the first the possession is predicated of a singular noun so no article appears while when it is predicated of a plural noun an article appears, this seems to suggest that such an article concurs in the denotation of the possessed referent (*librat*) which is an argumental property of the possessor (*e mi*), the last being the most

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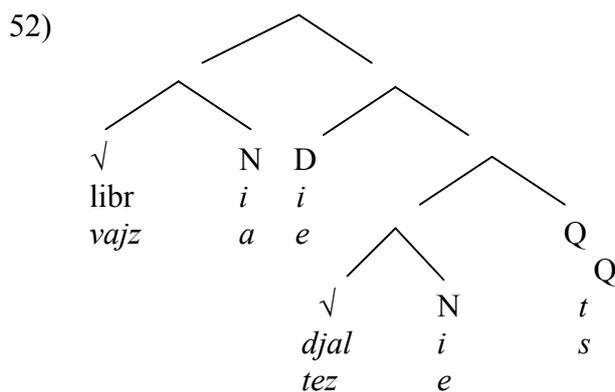
<sup>57</sup> The following note is found in M&S's (2011:328) which seems interesting to notice in this discussion: "It is implicit in the analysis of Romance in section 7.1 (and more explicit in Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2008a) that nouns are ergative structures of some sort, with the inflection and the determiner satisfying the (true) internal argument of the predicative base and at the same time the D (EPP) property of the noun phrase. On these grounds, we may expect that accusative and nominative are exclusively sentential cases, so that noun phrases are restricted to the oblique (genitive, *by-* phrase, locative, etc.)".

prominent entity in the structure, such denotation seems like more needed when, so to speak a plurality of things is possessed.

The following, 50) and 51), are some instances of nouns modified by possessives.

- 50) a. *libr-i i djalit*  
 book.the art boy.DAT  
 b. *vajza e tezes*  
 daughter art aunt
- 51) a. *librin e djalit*  
 book.ACC. art boy.the.  
 b. *vajzën e tezes*  
 daughter.ACC. art aunt.DAT

The structure of 50a,b) illustrating a singular definite noun taking a genitive noun phrase as its complement can be represented as in 52), which is the same as an Arbëresh variety discussed in M&S (2011) that is :



So, in 52) the head noun *libri* selects a noun phrase complement headed by a determiner, which is in an agreement relation with the noun, and the determiner takes as its complement the genitive noun phrase which results as embedded under the determiner phrase. It is this syntactic status, i.e. its embedding under a determiner (agreeing with the head noun) that distinguishes the Albanian genitive from the dative, in that the genitive's point of merger is different from that of the dative, the first is merged within a noun phrase, thus in the inflectional position of the predicative layer headed by the noun, while the second is merged as complement of a verb, thus in the inflectional layer of the sentence headed by the verb. Case is merely the name of a specialized argument (M&S 2011:269), lexicalized by such terminals as *-t(ë)*, *-n(ë)*, *-s(ë)*, etc., in Albanian.

Therefore, M&S (2012: 129) conclude that in their model,

“the constraints on the distribution of morphology are effectively treated as emergent properties of the lexical elements – not the lexical elements as an emergent property of the constraints”.

consonant with their (and generally minimalist) initial take that structure is built from lexical terminals, which project their structure according to their inherent properties, which are both syntactic and semantic.

### 5.2.3 Albanian NPs modified by Adjectives

M&S’s (2005, 2007, 2011)) theory is a model in between the traditional Minimalist program (Chomsky 1995) and Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz (1994). Precisely, they propose that “lexical material merges directly where it surfaces”, which holds for all elements in grammar. Thus, linguistic structures are articulated by the merger of lexical items that project such categories as in 33) and/or 34) above, both at the phrase (syntactic) level and at the word (morphological) level. As pointed out above, what is crucial in their revision of the minimalist theory is the exclusion of movement (as an operation of the computation) and abstract categories, positing for a representational conception of grammar (as opposed to the derivational view of the other minimalist accounts).<sup>58</sup>

According to the majority of the early generative studies on Albanian and/or other Balkan languages there is a N-to-D movement<sup>59</sup>, while the innovative system of M&S (2005, 2007, 2011) construes the so-called agreement without requiring movement, but simply in terms of compatibility of the referential properties shared by the same nominal class elements appearing on the predicate

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<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, their analysis is, for some aspects, in line with Kallulli’s (2001) treatment of bare singular count nouns (see footnote 3 above) which, in the absence of a determiner behave as predicates, not as arguments, drawing on Longobardi’s (1994) generalization that *D is required to turn an NP-predicate into an argument*. Thus, there is a functional projection above NP related to determiners and the semantic notions of referentiality and identity, along with other eventual functional material, but these are projected only if and when the language makes use of them.

<sup>59</sup> But see Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998) for a divergent proposal on such a movement, namely, a position that takes the noun as already inflected with the definite article (an introduction of the minimalist conception) when it moves to check the D features. The trigger for movement has also been reconsidered from Chomsky (1995) on, from being taken as residing within the moved constituent (e.g. in the noun) to residing in its landing site, i.e., in abstract heads which strong features attract the features of lexical items before Spell-Out (as in French vs. English). (cf. Haegeman (1997: 17)

and its arguments. In such a theory, syncretism of a formative is connected to the possibility of its different readings in virtue of its intrinsic semantic properties and in accordance to the syntactic context.

Let us turn to constructions with nouns modified by adjectives and their order.

The adjective is a predicative element just like nouns and verbs in the model adopted here. The labels ‘adjective’ and ‘noun’ are only descriptive, it is the syntactic context of their insertion and the categories merged with them which characterize them as adjective or noun.

53) a. libër	i	madh <sup>60</sup>	
book.M.SG.IND	Art.M.SG.IND	big.M.SG.IND	(‘big book’)
b. një libër	i	madh	
a book.M.SG.IND	Art.M.SG.IND	big.M.SG.IND	(‘a big book’)
c. libr-i	i	madh	
book.M.SG.DEF	Art.M.SG.DEF	big. M.SG.DEF	(‘the big book’)
d. libr-a	të	mëdhenj	
book.M.PL.IND	Art.M.PL.IND	big. M.PL.IND	(‘big books’)
e. libr-a-t	e	mëdhenj	
book.M.PL.DEF	Art.M.PL.DEF	big. M.PL.DEF	(‘the big books’)

Hence, concerning the noun phrase, if we assume that the noun projects a position, I(nfleclional), in 51a) *libër* is a root content word without any feature lexicalized so with indefinite interpretation, in 51b) *libër* is also an indefinite, while in 51c) the noun has a definite inflection (nominal class) –*i* which lexicalizes the D property of the noun, denoting its external argument thus closing its argumental slot. The definite noun embeds the adjective which is in turn already embedded under a determiner in its own morphological structure, adjectival phrase. As generally argued in the literature taking into account the Albanian pre-articulated adjectives, the article is a morphological part of the adjective. Its occurrence, is to be imputed to the requirement of Albanian adjectives’ argumental structure, which turns out to be parallel according to the theoretical model used here, to the Italian definite noun phrases as *la macchina* or *la gatta*, considered above, thus to the adjectival argumental structure requiring to be closed by a D argument doubling the nominal class morphology, and forming a chain with it (*i*, *-i*), similar to the one for Italian (*la*, *-a*), in traditional terms they agree.

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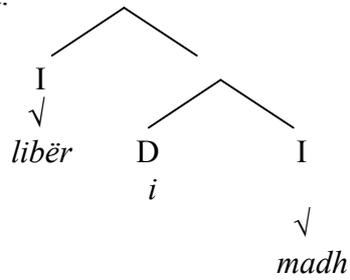
<sup>60</sup> I have included this example of a bare noun in accordance to the claims made by Kallulli (2001), cf. footnote 3 and 49 above).

Nevertheless, when the adjective phrase modifies a noun phrase it is embedded within the noun phrase and they both represent two properties predicated of the same argument, satisfied by their shared nominal class inflection (*librii, i madh*) denoting the same individual, only in the adjective this argumental slot is filled also by the article in addition to the inflection.

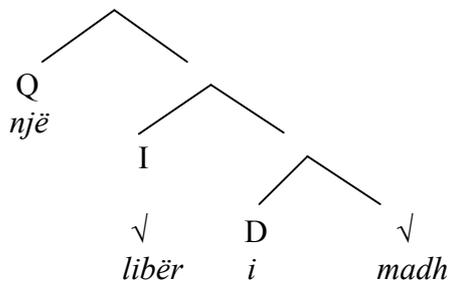
In such a conception the corresponding structures can be represented as follows:

54)

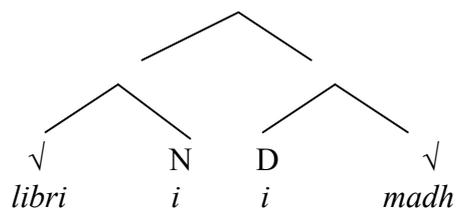
a.



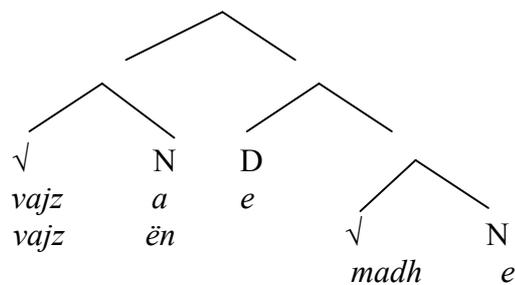
b.



c.



d.





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Assuming the theoretical proposals of M&S (2005, 2007, 2011) according to which a unique set of categories is on the basis of syntactic structures and lexical items, so that each content word (verb, noun, adjective) projects a number of arguments which define its domain, a predicative root combines with inflectional elements playing the role of referring to the arguments that root projects.

Consider now a construction with an adjective modified by a degree element *më* 'more', as 55i), the adjectival determiner is in the D position of the I domain while the indefinite quantifiers *më/shumë* precede it in the Q position of the C domain:

55)	[D	R	Q	P	Loc	N	[C	[D	R	Q	P	Loc	N	[I
i)			<i>më/ shumë</i>					<i>e</i>						<i>madhe</i>

In conclusion, in this section I tried to show how the properties of Albanian adjectives can be captured under the framework of M&S (2005, 2007, 2011), and it turned out that the relevant categories for the adjective seen here are basically three, N(ominal class), Q(uantification) and (Definiteness), similarly to the noun phrase, with some difference as to the level of satisfaction of their respective properties.

#### 4. The status of the preposed adjectival article

Although the analysis outlined above, specifically that of so-called agreement inflections, already gives an idea of what the status of the adjectival article might

be in the conception of the model followed here, a more precise characterization of this element will be the discussed in this section.

As already mentioned, the two classes of adjectives behave differently in syntax. What is special to pre-articulated adjectives is that the article forms a morphological and syntactic unit with the adjective base. Thus, it could be assumed that the status of this article is a morphosyntactic feature of this class of adjectives. Furthermore, in addition to the role it plays in terms of agreement with the noun, it also plays a productive derivational role, in particular descriptively speaking, many adjectives are formed simply by addition of the preposed article to different lexical items as verbs (e.g. *i lodhur* ‘tired’ is derived from the participle ‘lodhur’, *i hapur* ‘open’ *i këputur/i thyer* ‘broken’, and phrases of the form preposition + noun (e.g. *i pafat* ‘unlucky’, *i pafytyr* ‘shameless’, *i pashpirt* ‘soul-less, cruel’) as well in conjunction with suffixes, or with suffixes and prefixes simultaneously<sup>61</sup>.

Many scholars provide evidence in favour of the idea that the preposed adjectival article in Albanian is to be considered a functional element<sup>62</sup>. The fact that this article is also present in

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<sup>61</sup> See, for instance, Newmark et al. (1982, chap. 4), for a quite exhaustive, although merely descriptive, discussion of the productive morphological processes provided by Albanian, see also the article by Turano (2011) *Derivazione, Composizione e Flessione: tre processi altamente produttivi nella lingua albanese*, Università di Venezia.

<sup>62</sup> Androutsopoulou (2008, 161) labels the Albanian (as well as the Greek *to*) adjectival articles ‘adjectival determiners’, and she proposes an analysis that takes ‘the presence of an adjectival determiner as evidence of a relativizing structure within the DP containing the adjective’, allowing for a CP to be the complement of the determiner head D°. She follows Vergnaud’s (1974) and Kayne’s (1994) analysis of the structure of a noun modified by relative clauses like [*the book that I read*] as follows:

(i) [DP [D *the* [CP *book*<sub>i</sub> [C *that*] [IP *I read t<sub>i</sub>* ]]]

(ii) [ DP [*djalin*<sub>j</sub>] [D/PP [ *t<sub>j</sub>* ]<sub>i</sub> D/P *e*] [AgrP *mirë*<sub>j</sub> [ *t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub>* ]]]

Her claim is that the position D/P is available to adjectival determiners also, to the extent that there is availability of movement of the noun (as a phrase) inside the DP.

other modifying constructions of the noun (in addition to APs, on possessive and genitive constructions) posits in favour of analysing this element as a functional one in traditional generative terms.

Nevertheless, given that in present terms the function/lexical divide is dispensed with in accordance to minimalist claims such as projection of structure directly from lexical terminals, which are exactly the same as so-called functional elements, i.e., simply conceptual “objects” transferred in a language’s inventory of terms, and processed according to such inventory, such an article can be seen as an inflectional level morpheme concurring in the closure of the EPP requirement of the NPs/DPs they modify, closing their argumental slots.

I shall adopt M&S’s conclusion according to which the possibility of multiple readings for a single formative (e.g. an inflectional stem) reflects its intrinsic lexical properties which takes on the function required by the syntactic environment where it is inserted. M&S (2013: 6) argue that the so-called agreement morphology, including the Albanian adjectival article, is an inflectional-level saturation of argument places.

In their conception every predicate (nouns, verbs, adjectives) are organized in the same hierarchical structure and the same categories as sentences, thus nothing special concerning the adjective in this respect. As for what it concerns the adjectival article, again its role is one similar to the inflectional morphology of nouns and verbs. Thus, the Albanian adjectival article is nothing but a free nominal class morpheme which forms a chain with the inflection appearing on the predicative base of the adjective to concur in the denotation of the referent and complete its argumental slot, reducing to an argument of the adjectival head, while the noun it modifies heads its own projection.

Thus, the adjectival article acquires denotational properties (i.e., noun class (N), quantification (Q), definiteness (D)) in virtue of its argumental role in the adjectival projection. In virtue of these properties the article specializes for the satisfaction of the specific syntactic environment in which it is embedded.

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But, Turano 2002 shows that the analysis provided by various scholars for the Greek adjectival article are incompatible with the structure and distribution of Albanian adjectival articles, in virtue of their adjacency to the adjective shown by the impossibility for them to be divided by other material.

M&S (2012: 124) argue that, by the reduction of case and phi-inflections to elements legible at the LF interface, and more precisely to arguments, agreement between such inflections means that the arguments they represent form chains.

In such a framework as M&S's (2005, 2007, 2011) it emerges that the presence of the article contributes in closing the EPP property of the adjective which correlates to a Definiteness closure requirement present in the Albanian adjectival constructions.

### **Concluding Remarks**

Within the model discussed here lexical terminals are what built syntax. They are endowed with both structural and interpretive information. In this kind of conception what is generally approached as two distinguished domains of grammar, namely syntax and morphology, is really seen as an obstacle to the understanding of the faculty of language. The later factor became clear when such observations as to the similarity of the way in which morphology and syntax are construed, more precisely that morphology is built in the same syntactic-like hierarchical fashion. The theoretical model of Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007, 2011) go further in this direction and propose that in addition to the same type of structure underlying the two components the same categories on which their construal is based may also be postulated. Such a practice has characterized their works of the latest years and undeniably allowed them to provide a theory which is more simple and at the same time explanatory for quite a wide variety of linguistic variation.

The notion functional, traditionally attributed to particular elements of grammar(s), is in this conception attributed to the morphosyntactic system as a whole, in the sense that it underlies the way the language system works, i.e. including what has been called the faculty of language narrow and the faculty of language broad.

In the specific empirical basis to which these kind of conceptions were applied, namely the Albanian noun phrase domain, this model explains quite easily aspects of this language which are seen as peculiar and often problematic for traditional generative analysis, in that most of the

latest conceive of the so-called functional elements appearing on Albanian NPs/DPs, but also in other types of phrases and sentences, thus characterizing some forms as highly syncretic given their wide spread use across Albanian morphosyntactic structures, as the result of syntactic manipulations sometimes quite complex and requiring a number of stipulations, as it was seen in chapter 3. In contrast, the model of reference to the present dissertation seems to capture those aspects of Albanian which are of most interest in generative linguistic analysis in a fairly elegant and simple way. More specifically, during this discussion, I tried to capture the highly syncretic nature of the Albanian articles, in terms of their argument nature, contributing to the closure of the argumental slots of the predicates to which they are attached. This was possible in a conception such as Manzini and Savoia's according to which properties generally attributed to lexical elements are in reality structural elements, and that there are no such elements as primitives of the grammar, but only a repertoire of functional categories which combination determines a lexical bases' characterization as noun, verb, adjective, etc, to which inflectional properties are combined in accordance to the syntactic environment they enter.

It was seen that in the Albanian grammatical system given its rich inflectional specifications, the properties of such elements suffice for the argument closure of predicative bases, in the case of the noun phrase inflectional endings (of denotational nature) perform this duty already in the morphological level while in the adjectival phrases an additional article concurs in this by being inserted in the phrasal/Inflectional level.

The theoretical model followed throughout this work provides a simpler tool for the issue of understanding language and variation, in that its lexilalist stance permits to eliminate notions such as abstract categories, movement as well as the division of the lexicon in functional and content elements, providing thus a model which is more consonant with minimalist requisites revolving around the hypothesis that language is a perfect system.

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