

The Albanian Participle: Its Forms and Uses

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Abstract

This paper deals with the distribution of Albanian past participles, which are found in compound and periphrastic verbal tenses; in non-finite verbal forms, such as infinitives and gerunds; in combination with particles or prepositions in sentences expressing a temporal value; with impersonal modal verbs, in sentences expressing necessity; in stative contexts; in absolute participle constructions. Albanian participles have two different morphological forms: a synthetic invariable, uninflected verbal form, and a pre-articulated form, which corresponds to an adjective or to a neuter noun. The analysis identifies distinct participle structures that differ in terms of type and syntactic size of the constituent with which the participle combines.

Keywords: Albanian, Past participle, Synthetic participle, Pre-articulated participle

1. Introduction

The goal of this paper is to show the different forms of the past participle in Albanian and to describe the constructions where it can be found. Alongside compound and periphrastic verbal tenses, the past participle occurs in non-finite verbal forms (infinitives and gerunds); in combination with particles or prepositions in sentences expressing a temporal value; with impersonal modal verbs, in sentences expressing necessity; in stative contexts; in absolute participle constructions with and without the negative element *pa* ‘without’.

Albanian participial constructions can be divided into two large groups: constructions having a mere participle (a synthetic invariable, uninflected verbal form) and constructions containing a pre-articulated participle, which morphologically corresponds to both an adjective and a neuter noun.

The analysis identifies distinct participle structures that differ in terms of type and syntactic size of the constituent with which the participle combines.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, I provide an overview of the distribution of verbal participles, and I present the internal structure of the clauses in which they appear. In section 3, the structure and the distribution of the participial pre-articulated adjectives are outlined. Section 4 deals with the structure and the distribution of substantivized past participles.

2. Constructions Containing Uninflected Verbal Participles

Albanian has only the past participle (PTP), similar to the *-ed* form in English. It has verbal, adjectival and nominal properties.

In the following subsections, I will consider all the contexts where the participle is used in its verbal form, which is morphologically synthetic, invariable, and uninflected.

2.1 The Use of the Participle in Compound Tenses

The first context where the participle is used in its verbal form includes all compound tenses, where it combines with the auxiliaries *kam* ‘have’ (1) and *jam* ‘be’ (2). In both cases, only the auxiliary inflects for person, number, tense and mood. The participle remains uninflected. *Kam* is used to form compound active tenses of the verb (transitives, unergatives, and unaccusatives). *Jam* is used to form the compound tenses of non-active verbs (reflexives, middles, passives).

- (1) a. *Meri ka lar ë makin ën* (Note 1)
 Mary.NOM have.3SG.PRS wash.PTP car.ACC.SG.DEF
 ‘Mary washed the car’
- b. *Djemt ë kan ë lar ë makin ën*
 boys.NOM.DEF.PL have.3PL.PRS wash.PTP car.ACC.SG.DEF
 ‘The boys washed the car’
- (2) a. *Beni ëht ë lar ë*
 Ben.NOM be.3SG.PRS wash.PTP
 ‘Ben washed’
- b. *Djemt ë jan ë lar ë*
 boys.NOM.DEF.PL be.3PL.PRS wash.PTP
 ‘The boys washed’

In compound tenses, auxiliary and past participle form a complex head that cannot be separated by any element. Therefore, negation (3a) and clitics (3b) must precede the verbal

complex, whereas lexical material such as NPs/DPs (4a) or time/manner adverbials (4b) must follow it.

- (3) a. *Beni nuk ka lexuar librin*
Ben.NOM NEG have.3SG.PRS read.PTP book.ACC.SG.DEF
‘Ben has not read the book’
- b. *Beni e ka lexuar*
Ben.NOM it.CL.ACC.SG have.3SG.PRS read.PTP
‘Ben has read it’
- c. **Beni ka nuk/e lexuar librin*
- (4) a. *Beni ka lexuar librin*
Ben.NOM have.3SG.PRS read.PTP book.ACC.SG.DEF
‘Ben has read the book’
- b. *Beni ka lexuar shpesh librin*
Ben.NOM have.3SG.PRS read.PTP often book.ACC.DEF
‘Ben has often read the book’
- c. **Beni ka librin/shpesh lexuar*

In sentences where the participle is used to form compound tenses, the number of arguments depends on the lexical verb. The auxiliary, in fact, does not have a thematic structure of its own. Auxiliaries are verbs that do not assign any th-role. Their function in the sentence is to give tense and agreement informations. In (4), for example, the auxiliary is in the present form and agrees in person and number with the subject *Beni* which bears nominative Case. This subject-auxiliary relation indicates that the auxiliary represents the head of the sentence, here analyzed as TP (Tense Phrase) (Note 2).

In compound tenses, the auxiliary is directly merged (Note 3) under T, where it controls tense and agreement features. The idea that auxiliaries are external to the VP goes back to Chomsky (1995). The lexical verb is, instead, merged inside a VP projection with the direct object. Between TP and VP, a *v*P (Note 4) is merged, whose head is the position to which the verb raises. Movement of the verb from VP to *v*P is triggered by the nature of *v*. I will take *v* as the head where the root is interpreted as a verbal phrase (Note 5).

The fact that clitics and negation appear to the left of the auxiliary depends on the properties of these elements. Clitics, as known, attach to a projection of Inflection (Kayne 1975, 1989) (Note 6) or Tense (Matushansky 2006), and the negation is only allowed when a T head is present in the clause (Zanuttini 1995). So, both appear to the left of the auxiliary because this is the only functional head T to which they can attach to. At the same time, since direct objects and adverbs are part of the VP, the postverbal position in which they appear is the

result of the movement of the participle to *v*. The derivation of a sentence containing negation, clitic, direct object and adverb is sketched in (5). It shows that the order of the constituents is obtained by the rule of V preposing that moves the verb from *V* to *v*, leaving the adverb and the object behind.

(5) [TP *nuk/e kam* [VP *lexuar* [VP *shpesh* ~~*lexuar*~~ *librin*]]] (Note 7)

To summarize, sentences containing compound tenses are monoclausal structures with the auxiliary in Tense and the lexical verb in *v*. Clitics and negation are adjoined to *T*, whereas the direct object and the adverb stay in their basic position, inside the VP.

2.2 The Use of the Participle in Non-finite Verbal Forms

Albanian has a series of original constructions where the participle is used in combination with some particles and prepositions in order to create non-finite verbal forms. This is the case, for example, of the gerund, which is built up by the participle preceded by the invariable element *duke* (GER). This analytical form corresponds to the progressive V-ing form of English:

(6) *Duke lar ë makin ën, ai humbi çel ësat*
 GER wash.PTP car.ACC.DEF he.NOM lose.3SG.AOR keys.ACC.DEF.PL
 ‘Washing the car, he lost the keys’

The gerund does not inflect for tense and agreement. As such, it cannot license an overt subject, regardless of the position it occupies:

(7) a. **Beni duke lar ë makin ën, ai humbi çel ësat*
 Ben.NOM GER wash.PTP car.ACC.DEF he.NOM lose.3SG.AOR keys.ACC.PL
 b. **Duke lar ë Beni makin ën, humbi çel ësat*
 c. **Duke lar ë makin ën Beni, humbi çel ësat*

Besides the morphology, characterized by the presence of a specialized particle, another phenomenon that marks Albanian gerunds has to do with the negation. Gerundive clauses are negated by the element *mos* ‘not’ which is the same element that negates subjunctives, optatives, imperatives and infinitives. Verbal moods selecting *mos* are characterized by the presence of an invariable modal particle (as in the case of the subjunctive, gerund, and infinite) or by a modal reading (optative and imperative). When negated, the element *mos* follows the modal particles (see (8)). *Mos* contrasts with the negation *nuk*, which is selected by indicatives, admiratives, conditionals, and precedes the verbal forms even when they are built up by means of particles, as in the case of the future which is formed by the invariable particles *do* ‘will’ and *t ë*. In negative clauses, *nuk* is higher than all the other elements of the verb cluster, so it precedes the sequence *do t ë* (*nuk do t ë vij* ‘I will not come’).

In gerundive clauses, the negation *mos* is placed between the modal particle *duke* and the participle:

- (8) a. *Duke mos ditur m ësimin, mbeti n ësh t ëpi*
 GER NEG know.PTP lesson.ACC.DEF stay.3SG.AOR in house
 ‘Not knowing the lesson, he stayed at home’
- b. **Mos duke ditur m ësimin, mbeti n ësh t ëpi*
- c. **Duke ditur mos m ësimin, mbeti n ësh t ëpi*

Clitics, too, occupy the same syntactic position as the negation, between *duke* and the participle:

- (9) a. *Duke m ë takuar, m ë p ërsh ëndeti*
 GER me.CL.ACC meet.PTP me.CL.ACC greet.3SG.AOR
 ‘Meeting me, he greeted me’
- b. **M ë duke takuar, m ë p ërsh ëndeti*

A part from the negation and clitics, no other XP category can interrupt the adjacency between *duke* and the participle. In particular, DPs (10a) and adverbials (10b) cannot show up in this position:

- (10)a. **Duke librin lexuar, m ësoi shum ë gj ëra*
 GER book.ACC.DEF read.PTP learn.3SG.AOR many things
 ‘Reading the book, he learn many things’
- b. **Duke shpesh lexuar librin, m ësoi shum ë gj ëra*
 GER often read.PTP book.ACC.DEF learn.3SG.AOR many things
 ‘Reading often the book, he learn many things’

The ungrammaticality of (10a-b) indicates that there is no position between *duke* and the participle available for these elements. The only position where they can stay is the postverbal position, i. e. the position in which they have been merged:

- (11)a. *Duke lexuar librin, m ësoi shum ë gj ëra*
- b. *Duke lexuar shpesh librin, m ëson shum ë gj ëra*

The presence of the negation and clitics on the left of the participle constitutes evidence in favour of the idea that gerundives imply the presence of a T node where both these constituents can attach to.

Furthermore, since the modal particle *duke* precedes clitics and negation, it must be in a position above the TP domain. *Duke* can, then, be taken to occupy a position inside the CP field. I will assume a structure for gerundives which is (12):

(12)[_{CP} *duke* [_{TP} *m ëlexuar* [_{VP} ~~*lexuar*~~ [_{VP} *shpesh* ~~*lexuar*~~ *librin* *m-ë*]]]]

Albanian gerundive clauses correspond to CP projections headed by the invariable element *duke*, that stands under C. A TP projection is present in their structure, as witnessed by the possibility to insert clitics and negation that, as is known, need a functional head T to adjoin to. After merging of VP with *v*, the verb raises from V to *v* and then to T, leaving the adverb and the object behind.

In gerundive clauses, T is a defective head because it lacks an EPP feature, so it is unable to determine nominative Case and agreement on the subject which, consequently, cannot be realized. The examples in (7) are ungrammatical because a nominative DP needs to be identified by a complete th-Tense. Accusative Case on the direct object, instead, is possible since it is assigned by the head *v*.

A second type of participial structure is represented by the combination of the participle with the negative element *pa* ‘un-/without’, which is of a prepositional kind and precedes the verb. From the synchronic viewpoint, *pa* is a preposition (P) governing the accusative Case (Demiraj, 1985: 633), as is shown in (13) (Note 8).

(13) *Xhoni nuk vjen kurrë pa Benin*

John.NOM NEG come.3SG.PRS never P Ben.ACC

‘John never comes without Ben’

The construction *pa* + past participle, which corresponds to a privative sentence, does not have parallel in other Indo-European languages:

(14) *Xhoni iku pa p ërsh ëndetur*

John.NOM leave.3SG.AOR P greet.PTP

‘John left without greeting’

Privative clauses can only appear as embedded clauses. Their subject always is co-referential with the main subject. Lacking both inflectional features of tense and agreement, they cannot license a nominative subject in no position (15), whereas accusative objects are allowed as long as they remain in postverbal position (16):

(15)a. **Iku, Xhoni pa p ërsh ëndetur*

b. **Iku, pa Xhoni p ërsh ëndetur*

c. **Iku, pa p ërsh ëndetur Xhoni*

(16) *Xhoni iku pa p ërsh ëndetur Benin*

John.NOM leave.3SG.AOR P greet.PTP Ben.ACC

‘John left without greeting Ben’

In this type of constructions, the participle can be separated from the element *pa* only by clitics (17a). Other lexical material is not allowed (17b-c):

(17)a. *Xhoni iku pa më p ërsh ëndetur*

John.NOM leave.3SG.AOR P me.CL.ACC greet.PTP

‘John left without greeting me’

b. **Xhoni iku pa Benin p ërsh ëndetur*

John.NOM leave.3SG.AOR P Ben.ACC greet.PTP

‘John left without greeting Ben’

c. **Xhoni vjen pa qart ë th ën ë*

John.NOM come.3SG.PRS P clearly say.PTP

‘John comes without clearly saying’

Privative clauses present the same syntactic properties and obey the same constraints as gerundives. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that they are of the same kind: privative clauses, as gerundives, are CP projections with the element *pa* surfacing in the C head. *Pa* is not part of the verbal inflection, so it is natural to suppose that it is situated under the higher C domain. Assuming that clitics attach necessarily to a Tense node, the position of the clitic in (17a) indicates that a TP constituent, too, must be assumed. However, T is a defective head unable to determine nominative Case and agreement on the subject which, as shown in (15), cannot be realized. Accusative Case on the direct object, instead, is possible since it is assigned and checked by the head *v*. Thus, the representation of privative sentences would be like that in (18):

(18)[_{CP} *pa* [_{TP} *më p ërsh ëndetur* [_{VP} ~~*p ërsh ëndetur*~~ [_{VP} ~~*p ërsh ëndetur*~~ *më*]]]]

In sum, privative *pa* + participle clauses present essentially the same underlying structure as gerundives.

2.3 The Use of the Participle With Modal Verbs

The mere participle, in Albanian, can combine with two modal (MOD) impersonal verbs, *do* and *duhet*, both corresponding to the English ‘must/need/it is necessary’.

Do has an inflection reduced to the third person singular of the indicative present (Ressuli, 1985; Agalliu et al. 2002; Beci, 2004):

(19)*Makina do lar ë*

car.NOM.DEF MOD wash.PTP

‘The car needs to be washed’

Duhet, instead, inflects for the third person of the present (20a) and the imperfect (20b) of the indicative mood, and for the admirative (20c) mood (Ressuli, 1985; Agalliu et al. 2002; Beci, 2004):

- (20)a. *Makina duhet lar ë*
 car.NOM.DEF MOD.PRS wash.PTP
 ‘The car needs to be washed’
- b. *Makina duhej lar ë*
 car.NOM.DEF MOD.IMPF wash.PTP
 ‘The car needed to be washed’
- c. *U dashka punuar shum ë*
 NON.ACT MOD.ADM work.PTP much (Note 9)
 ‘It was necessary a lot of work’

Both modals *do* and *duhet* present an irregular morphology that distinguishes them from lexical verbs which have fully conjugated forms for all moods. The structures with *do* and *duhet* are characterized by the fact that nothing can be inserted between the modal verb and the past participle, neither the negation nor clitics, and not even the subject. The negation (21) and clitics (22) must precede the modal verb. The subject can appear in initial or final sentence position (23):

- (21)a. *Kjo tok ë nuk do/duhet punuar*
 this land.NOM NEG MOD work.PTP
 ‘This land does not need to be worked’
- b. **Kjo tok ë do/duhet nuk punuar*
- (22)a. *T ë duhet dh ën ë di çka*
 you.CL.2SG MOD give.PTP something.NOM
 ‘Something must be given to you’
- b. **Duhet t ë dh ën ë di çka*
- (23)a. *Kjo tok ë do/duhet punuar*
 this land.NOM MOD work.PTP
 ‘This land needs to be worked’
- b. *Do/duhet punuar kjo tok ë*
- c. **Do/duhet kjo tok ë punuar*

Further evidence that the sequence formed by the modal verb and the participle cannot be interrupted comes from the position of adverbials. They can only follow the lexical verb:

(24)a. *Kjo tok ë do/duhet punuar shpesh*

this land.NOM MOD work.PTP often

‘This land needs to be worked often’

b. **Kjo tok ë do/duhet shpesh punuar*

All these examples show that Albanian modals *do* and *duhet* form a very rigid constituent with the participle. The impossibility for the negation and clitics to surface to the left of the participle indicates that we are in presence of a reduced structure, where both *do* and *duhet* behave syntactically like auxiliaries: they trigger a restructuring process (Rizzi 1976) which allows a complex verb formation. The past participle merges in syntax with the modal verb into a unique verbal complex.

According to Pană-Dindelegan (2013: 191), “Complex predicate is a structure made up of two verbs that function as one unit from syntactic and semantic point of view. The argument structure of the two verbs is characterized by argument composition, the result of which is a mono-clausal verbal complex”. Complex predicates can be identified on the basis of the following syntactic tests:

- (25) a. the identity of the subject of the two verbs (obligatory control)
- b. raising of the argumental clitics of V2 to V1
- c. the impossibility for V2 to take the negation marker

The Albanian examples in (21)-(23) meet all of the tests quoted in (25): the argumental structure of the complex predicate contains just one external argument (test a); clitics of the embedded verb appear to the left of the modal verb (test b); the embedded verb cannot be negated (test c). Then, when these modal verbs take the past participle as their complement, we are in presence of a restructuring configuration involving just the TP field of the modal verb. The embedded participle lacks the TP and the *vP* projections. The negation on the matrix verb and raising of the clitic to the left of the modal verb are obligatory because both, negation and clitics, must attach to Tense. Since the initial bi-clausal structure is reanalyzed as a mono-clausal structure with just a single VP and a single TP, there is only one functional head Tense accessible, the matrix one, to which they can attach to. Albanian modals *do* and *duhet* take a verbal projection as their complement. Thus, a sentence like (24a) will be structured as in (26a), whereas a sentence like (22a) will be structured as in (26b):

(26)a. [_{TP} *kjo tok ë do/duhet* [_{VP} *punuar shpesh* (*kjo tok ë*)]]

b. [_{TP} *t ë duhet* [_{VP} *dh ën ë di qka t ë*]]

Another property of these clauses is the impossibility to take external arguments. In (26), the DP *kjo tok ë* ‘this land’ corresponds to the logical object of the verb *punoj* ‘work’. The impossibility to have a logical subject depends on the fact that the past participle is a

defective verb, unable to license an overt subject. Moreover, as a defective verb, the participle is unable to value the accusative Case on the object, which will be nominative Case marked by T. When the Case of the direct object is not assigned a value, it can enter into an agreement relation with the functional head T. In this case, checking of the direct object depends not on *v* (which is absent) but on the higher probe T. The head T assigns, values and deletes the nominative Case of the logical object. In Albanian, the direct object *kjo tokë* can move to the specifier of TP (23a) or it can remain inside the VP (23b) since T can agree with the theme even if the latter does not occupy the SpecTP position. The agreement between the features of T and the features of the logical object is remote. Long-distance agreement with a higher controller is possible since the weak phase status of V makes the object position transparent to the T probe (Chomsky 2001).

2.4 The Absolute Past Participle

Uninflected participles can be also found in participial absolute constructions, i.e. structures where the participle occupies the sentence initial position:

- (27) *Lagur nga shiu, rruga shkëlqente*
wet.PTP from rain.NOM.DEF road.NOM.DEF shine.3SG.IMPF
‘Wet from the rain, the road shone’

Albanian participial absolute constructions are characterized by a restriction on the type of argument that they can host: only arguments realized as prepositional phrases are admitted (28), whereas nominative subjects (29a) and accusative objects (29b) are excluded:

- (28)a. *Bazuar në këto rezultate, Beni do të fitojë garën*
base.PTP in these results.ACC.PL Ben.NOM FUT MRK win.3SG race.ACC.DEF
‘Based on these results, Ben will win the race’
- b. *Lidhur me çështjen shqiptare, ai propozoi një takim në TV*
link.PTP with issue.ACC.DEF Albanian he.NOM propose.3SG.AOR a meeting in TV
‘Regarding the Albanian issue, he proposed a meeting on TV’
- (29)a. **Arritur Beni, ajo mbylli portën*
arrived.PTP Ben.NOM she.NOM close.3SG.AOR door.ACC.DEF
‘As soon as Ben arrived, she closed the door’
- b. **Lidhur qenin, ajo mbylli derën*
tie.PTP dog.ACC.DEF she close.3SG.AOR door.ACC.DEF
‘Tied up the dog, she closed the door’

Examples in (29) show that participial absolute constructions hosting external or internal arguments are not allowed in Albanian (Note 10).

Not even indirect dative objects are allowed, regardless of the linear order of the two arguments, dative and accusative:

- (30)a. **Kthyer Benit librin, ajo mbylli port ën*
 return.PTP Ben.DAT book.ACC.DEF she.NOM close.3SG.AOR door.ACC.DEF
 ‘Returned the book to Ben, she closed the door’

b. **Kthyer librin Benit, ajo mbylli port ën*

The impossibility to host external and internal arguments depends, once again, on the fact that the past participle is a defective verb, i.e. it manifests partial th-features agreement (Chomsky 2001). When a probe is defective, agreement is not manifested and Case (nominative or accusative) of the DPs is not assigned a value. Chomsky’s (1995, 2001) approach to the Case system treats agreement and tense which appear on T as inherited from C. Only when T is selected by C, T is th-complete, it can have an EPP feature and can enter in nominative Case/agreement relations. Accusative Case on objects, instead, depends on a *v* th-complete. Only when *v* is th-complete, it is able to check accusative Case (Chomsky 1995, 2001).

In Albanian participial absolute constructions, the nominative Case cannot be assigned to the subject because the past participle lacks both a C and a T node, as confirmed by the fact that clitics are not allowed in these structures:

- (31)**Më par ë mua, ai iku*
 me.CL.ACC see.PTP me.ACC, he run.3SG.AOR
 ‘Seeing me, he ran away’

The ungrammaticality of (31) is due to the fact that the clause lacks the projection TP, whose head is the landing position for clitics. The absence of the head T, also causes the impossibility to take a nominative subject. Whereas, the impossibility to have accusative objects derives from the fact that *v* is incomplete, i.e. unable to assign and check the accusative Case or absent.

The grammaticality of (28) is, instead, expected because oblique arguments are governed by the prepositions, i.e.. the Case of the nouns *këto rezultate* and *çështjen* is assigned and checked by the prepositions *në* and *me*. In (28), the insertion of the prepositions allow otherwise Caseless DPs to be assigned Case.

Crucially, the subject or the object are possible when the participial absolute construction contains the negation *pa*. But, in order to be grammatical, the sentence must involve only one of the two arguments. The examples in (32) show that the absolute participle constructions can contain a nominative subject:

- (32)a. *Pa nisur mbledhja, iku nga salla*
P start.PTP meeting.NOM.DEF ran.3SG.AOR from hall.NOM.DEF
‘Before the meeting started, he left the hall’
- b. *Pa ardhur Beni, nuk fillojmë*
P come.PTP Ben.NOM NEG start.1PL.PRS
‘Without Ben coming, we won't start’

The examples in (33) show the occurrence of the accusative object in the participial absolute constructions:

- (33)a. *Pa mbaruar fjalën, policë e arrestuan*
P finish.PTP word.ACC.DEF police.NOM.PL.DEF him.CL.ACC arrest.3PL.AOR
‘Before he finished speaking, the police arrested him’
- b. *Pa pritur shokun, iku*
P wait.PTP friend.ACC.DEF run.3SG.AOR
‘Without waiting for his friend, he ran away’

The ungrammatical examples in (34), instead, show that the occurrence of both of the two arguments, subject and object, is totally excluded in Albanian:

- (34)a. **Pa lexuar Beni librin, doli nga biblioteka*
P read.PTP Ben.NOM book.ACC.DEF leave.3SG.AOR from library.NOM.DEF
‘Without reading the book, Ben left the library’
- b. **Pa mbaruar fjalën Beni, policë e arrestuan*
P finish.PTP word.ACC.DEF Ben.NOM police.NOM.PL.DEF him.CL.ACC arrest.3PL.AOR
‘Before Ben finished speaking, the police arrested him’

It is interesting to note that the ungrammaticality arises in cases where both subject and object are lexicalized in the same clause. Constructions that combine the subject or the object with oblique arguments are grammatical, as shown by the sentence in (35a), which contains the nominative noun *mbledhja* in combination with the genitive phrase *e byrosë* (Note 11), and by the sentence in (35b), which involves the accusative *mbledhjen* followed by the locative prepositional phrase *në byronë*

- (35)a. *Pa mbaruar mbledhja e byrosë politike, ai iku nga salla*
P finish.PTP meeting.NOM GEN bureau.GEN political he run.3SG.AOR from hall.NOM

‘Before the meeting of the political bureau ended, he ran away from the hall’

- b. *Pa mbaruar mbledhjen në byronë politike, ai iku nga salla*

P finish.PTP meeting.ACC in bureau.ACC political he run.3SG.AOR from hall.NOM

‘Before ending the meeting at the political bureau, he ran away from the hall’

Thus, whereas subjects and objects cannot co-occur together, they can occur with prepositional phrases. This possibility seems to correlate with the presence of the preposition *pa*, lexicalized under C. This element in C, in fact, activates the TP field. When selected by C, T inherits agreement and tense features and is able to agree with the DP nominative or accusative which remains in situ, inside *vP/VP*. T can agree with both the nominative (35a) or the accusative (35b) since structural Case is not a feature of the probe T but it is assigned a value under agreement.

(36)[_{CP} *pa* [_{TP} *mbaruar* [_{VP} *mbledja mbaruar* [_{VP} ~~*mbaruar*~~ *mbledhjen*]]]]

Once the Case of the DP is valued and deleted by T, T no longer enters into further agreement operations. Thus, Case-checking of a second DP is impossible. This excludes the co-occurrence of both subject and object in the same structure. If both were present, one of the two arguments would not be assigned the Case. Remember that *v* is defective, so unable to assign Case.

Evidence that *pa* activates the T field comes from clitics. While they cannot be lexicalized in structures without the preposition *pa*, they are instead permitted in those with *pa*. Compare (31) with (37):

- (37)a. *Pa i parë ato*

P them.CL.ACC.PL see.PTP them.3PL.ACC

‘Without seeing them’

- b. *Pa e vlerësuar situatën*

P it.CL.ACC.SG valorize.PTP situation.ACC.DEF

‘Without valorizing the situation’

To sum up, there is a significant difference between positive and negative participial absolute constructions: the former are VP projections, that exclude subject and internal objects but they allow prepositional objects adjoined to VP; the latter are CP projections that admit the presence of one of the two arguments: the subject or the object, along with prepositional phrases.

3. Participial Pre-articulated Adjectives

In addition to the uninflected participial form, with verbal properties, Albanian has also an inflected participle with adjectival properties that surfaces in stative contexts. Albanian inflected participles fall into the class of pre-articulated adjectives. Pre-articulated adjectives

are characterized by the presence of a free article (ART) (Note 12), which agrees with the noun in gender (masculine or feminine), number (singular or plural), definiteness (definite or indefinite) and Case (nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, ablative) (Note 13). Examples of pre-articulated adjectives are given in (38)-(39). In (38), the pre-articulated adjective modifies a definite masculine singular noun that is respectively marked with nominative, accusative and dative Case (Note 14):

- (38)a. *Djali* *i* *bukur*
boy.NOM.SG.M.DEF ART.NOM.SG.M beautiful
‘The beautiful boy’
- b. *Djalin* *e* *bukur*
boy.ACC.SG.M.DEF ART.ACC.SG.M beautiful
‘The beautiful boy’
- c. *Djalit* *t ë* *bukur*
boy.OBL.SG.M.DEF ART.OBL.SG.M beautiful
‘The beautiful boy’

In (39), the pre-articulated adjective modifies a definite feminine singular noun:

- (39)a. *Vajza* *e* *bukur*
girl.NOM.SG.F.DEF ART.NOM.SG.F beautiful
‘The beautiful girl’
- b. *Vajz ën* *e* *bukur*
girl.ACC.SG.F.DEF ART.ACC.SG.F beautiful
‘The beautiful girl’
- c. *Vajz ës* *s ë* *bukur*
girl.OBL.SG.F.DEF ART.OBL.SG.F beautiful
‘The beautiful girl’

The article is obligatory. Its absence gives rise to ungrammaticality:

- (40)**Djali/vajza* *bukur*
boy/girl.NOM.DEF BEAUTIFUL

Pre-articulated participles behave like pre-articulated adjectives: they always take the prefixal article:

- (41)a. *i banuar* ‘inhabited’

- b. *i botuar* 'published'
- c. *i ftuar* 'invited'
- d. *i harruar* 'forgotten'
- e. *i lar ë* 'washed'
- f. *i martuar* 'married'
- g. *i paguar* 'paid'
- h. *i thyer* 'broken'

They always agree with the noun that they modify in gender, number, Case and definiteness.

- (42)a. *Djali* *i* *martuar*
boy.NOM.SG.M.DEF ART.NOM.SG.M marry.PTP
'The married boy'
- b. *Vajza* *e* *martuar*
girl.NOM.SG.F.DEF ART.NOM.SG.F marry.PTP
'The married girl'

The pre-articulated participles can be prefixed with the negation *pa* ('un'-) which cannot be attached to the other adjectives (Note 15). Compare the forms in (43) with those in (44):

- (43)a. *i pabanuar/* 'uninhabited'
- b. *i pabotuar* 'unpublished'
- c. *i paftuar* 'uninvited'
- d. *i paharruar* 'unforgotten'
- e. *i pamartuar* 'unmarried'
- (44)a. **i pabardh* 'not white'
- b. **i pa ënb ël* 'not sweet'
- c. **i pamadh* 'not big'
- d. **i pashkurt ër* 'not short'
- e. **i pavog ël* 'not small'

Even if they can be prefixed with the negation *pa*, they cannot be negated as verbal participles can. Compare (45a) with (45b):

(45)a. **Pa i martuar, Beni nuk mbetet*

P ART marry.PTP Ben.NOM NEG remain.3SG.PRS

‘Without marrying, Ben does not remain’

b. *Pa martuar, Beni nuk mbetet*

P marry.PTP Ben.NOM NEG remain.3SG.PRS

‘Without marrying, Ben does not remain’

But, like verbal participles, also adjectival ones can occur in participial absolute constructions:

(46)a. *E pik ëluar, shkova në zyrë*

ART sadden.PTP go.1SG.AOR in office

‘Saddened, I went to the office’

b. *I ftuar, Beni erdhi në restorant*

ART invite.PTP Ben.NOM come.3SG.AOR in restaurant

‘Invited, Ben came to the restaurant’

These constructions show the same restrictions we saw with verbal participles: prepositional arguments are possible (47), while subjects and objects are excluded (48):

(47)a. *I hutuar pas studimit, Beni nuk foli*

ART confuse.PTP after study.OBL Ben.NOM NEG speak.3SG.AOR

‘Confused by the study, Ben did not speak’

b. *I umbur në ato mendime, Beni nuk foli*

ART lose.PTP in those thoughts.ACC Ben.NOM NEG speak.3SG.AOR

‘Lost in those thoughts, Ben did not speak’

(48)a. **I hutuar Beni, nuk foli*

ART confuse.PTP Ben.NOM NEG speak.3SG.AOR

b. **E humbur celularin, Beni shkoi në polici*

ART lose.PTP mobile phone.ACC Ben.NOM go.3SG.AOR in police

‘Having lost mobile phone, Ben went to the police’

Albanian structures containing a pre-articulated participle are always stative constructions.

(49)a. *Beni është i martuar*

Ben.NOM be.3SG.PRS ART.M marry.PTP

‘Ben is married’

b. *Dera është e hapur*

door.NOM.F be.3SG.PRS ART.F open.PTP

‘The door is open’

The adjectival forms of the participles in (49) refer to the state of the subject: they describe the state resulting from the event expressed by the verb. As indication of stativity, I use some of the tests presented in the literature.

First, statives can appear in the complement of some verbs of creation, such as *build*, *make*, *create* (Embick, 2004). Thus, (50a), containing an inflected participle is a grammatical stative sentence, whereas (50b), containing an uninflected participle, is not:

(50)a. *Dera ishte ndërtuar e mbyllur*

door.NOM.F be.3SG.IMPF build.PRT ART.F close.PTP

‘The door was built closed’

b. **Dera ishte ndërtuar mbyllur*

Second, statives with an inflected participle are compatible with the adverbial *akoma/ende* ‘still’, while uninflected participles are excluded in the same contexts:

(51)a. *Beni është akoma/ende i martuar*

Ben.NOM be.3SG.PRS still ART.M marry.PTP

‘Ben is still married’

b. **Beni është akoma/ende martuar*

Third, inflected stative participles can appear in the complement of a raising verb like *seem* (Wasow, 1977), while uninflected participles cannot:

(52)a. *Dera duket e mbyllur*

door.NOM.F seem.3SG.PRS ART.F close.PTP

‘The door seems closed’

b. **Dera duket mbyllur*

Fourth, statives are incompatible with an agentive Prepositional Phrase:

(53)a. **Dera* *është* *e* *hapur* *nga Beni*

door.NOM.F is.3SG.PRS ART.F open.PTP by Ben

*The door is open by Ben

b. **Dera* *duket* *e* *hapur* *nga Beni*

door.NOM.F seem.3SG.PRS ART.F open.PTP by Ben

*The door seems open by Ben

Another indication of stativity comes from *haben*-passives, i.e. constructions whose structure is *have DP V-ed*. They are familiar in English:

(54) Ben has his leg broken

In these constructions, which are characterised by a possessive-like relationship of the subject with the object, the participle expresses the state of the object.

In Albanian *haben*-passives, the agreement on the participle is obligatory:

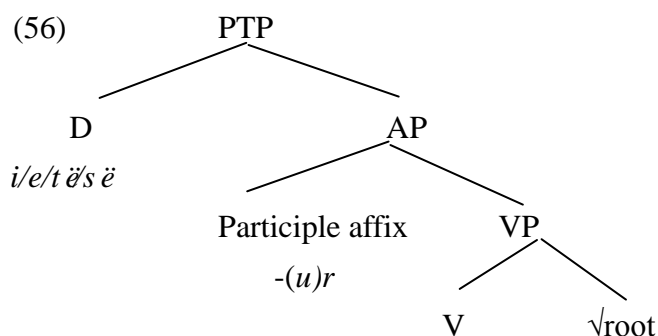
(55)a. *Beni* *ka* *k ënb ën* *e* *thyer*

Ben.NOM have.3SG.PRS leg.ACC.SG.F ART.F break.PTP

‘Ben has his leg broken’

b. **Beni ka k ënb ën thyer*

As for the internal structure of pre-articulated participles, we can see that there is solid evidence for a verbal structure: they support adjuncts PPs (47) and adverbs like *akoma/ende* ‘still’ (51). Since adverbs and PPs adjoin to VP, I conclude that pre-articulated participles involve a VP projection, necessary to license these constituents. Furthermore, given that they contain prefixal articles, their structure must also include a projection hosting the article, a D head (a Determiner, in the sense of Abney 1987):



On the other side, the impossibility to adjoin clitics or internal and external arguments is a clear evidence that they lack both a TP and a vP projection.

4. Substantivized Past Participles

A third distinct morphological class of participles is that represented by neuter participial nouns. In today's Albanian, the neuter has a relic character. Neuter nouns were frequent in the works of the ancient authors, but they have disappeared in the course of the last centuries since they have been integrated either into the masculine or the feminine gender. However, traces of the neuter gender are found in nouns of participial origin. They fall into three different types.

The first type comprehends nouns characterized by the presence of the prepositive article *e* or *të* (ART). These nouns can be used both in an indefinite or definite form. The examples in (57) contain respectively a nominative, an accusative, and a genitive indefinite form of the participial noun *folur* 'speech'. The definite forms are given in (58):

- (57)a. *Çdo e folur e presidentit*
each ART speak.PTP.NOM GEN president.GEN.DEF
'Every speech of the president'
- b. *Ai ndëpreu çdo të folur të presidentit*
he.NOM interrupt.3SG.AOR each ART speak.PTP.ACC GEN president.GEN.DEF
'He interrupted every speech of the president'
- c. *Mënyra e çdo të foluri të presidentit*
manner.NOM.DEF GEN each ART speak.PTP.GEN GEN president.GEN.DEF
'The manner of every speech of the president'
- (58)a. *Të folurit e presidentit*
ART speak.PTP.NOM.DEF GEN president.GEN.DEF
'The president's speech'
- b. *Ai ndëpreu të folurit e presidentit*
he.NOM interrupt.3SG.AOR ART speak.PTP.ACC.DEF GEN president.GEN.DEF
'He interrupted the president's speech'
- c. *Mënyra e të folurit të presidentit*
manner.NOM.DEF GEN ART speak.PTP.GEN.DEF GEN president.GEN.DEF
'The president's manner of speaking'

The substantivized past participles of the examples in (57) and (58) occur in typical NP/DP positions, i.e. they have NP-like distribution. Like other DPs, they are constituents of the clause. Their position inside the clause structure corresponds to that of the arguments of the verb. Therefore, when they represent the subject of the clause, they occupy the specifier

position of TP. When they are the direct objects, they appear in the complement position of VP. As indirect objects or prepositional DPs, they appear as adjuncts to VP.

As for their internal structure, I assume that they have a complex structure with more levels of projection. In particular, these substantivized participles project not a simple NP but rather two DP-levels: the lower DP projection hosting the definite article, that incorporates to the participle when this moves from N to D, and a higher DP, whose D-head is occupied by the article:

(59) [DP *të* [DP *folur-it* [NP ~~*folur*~~]]]

For these participial forms, I assume that what enters the derivation is a noun not a verbal form. This is confirmed by the fact that they cannot support clitics and negation.

The second type comprehends participles used in the indefinite ablative singular form, preceded by the invariable particle *së*. They are found in syntactic structures similar to the Latin ‘supinum’, and, even if they have a relic character, they are encountered in all Albanian dialects and sub-dialects (Demiraj 1985) (Note 16). In these constructions, the main verb expresses the intensity or the end of the action denoted by the substantivized participle. The supine expresses causative or objective relationship.

(60)a. *Beni mbaroi së lexuari librin*

Ben.NOM finish.3SG.AOR ART read.PTP.ABL book.ACC.DEF

‘Ben finished reading the book’

b. *Beni plasi së qari*

Ben.NOM burst.3SG.AOR ART cry.PTP.ABL

‘Ben burst into tears’

In these constructions, only the first element shows the morpho-syntactic behaviour of lexical verbs: It carries tense, agreement and mood inflections. The supine is invariable, so it does not bear agreement or tense features.

The supine appears only in embedded contexts:

(61)**Së lexuari/së qari*

Although the supine *së*-complement may assign accusative Case to its object (*librin* in (60a)), it lacks *th*-features, so it licenses only null (PRO) subjects. Indeed, the structure selecting a supine clause always corresponds to a control configuration. Both the examples in (60) are instances of obligatory control, where the subject of the supine clause is necessarily co-referential with the subject of the main verb.

Supine constructions show restrictions on the merging of constituents. There is a strict adjacency requirement whereby nothing can intervene between the main verb and the substantivized participle. Examples (62) and (63) show respectively the position of the subject and that of the negation in this type of construction. As we can see, they have to

precede the main verb, so they cannot appear in front of *s ë*. In particular, (63b-c) show that supine clauses cannot be negated internally.

(62)a. *Beni mbaroi s ë lexuari librin*

Ben.NOM finish.3SG.AOR ART read.PTP.ABL book.ACC.DEF

‘Ben finished reading the book’

b. **Mbaroi Beni s ëlexuari librin*

c. **Mbaroi s ëBeni lexuari librin*

(63)a. *Beni nuk mbaroi s ë lexuari librin*

Ben.NOM NEG finish.3SG.AOR ART read.PTP.ABL book.ACC.DEF

‘Ben did not finish reading the book’

b. **Beni mbaroi nuk s ëlexuari librin*

c. **Beni mbaroi s ënuk lexuari librin*

Not even clitics can appear between the main verb and the supine clause:

(64)**Mbarova e s ë lexuari*

finish.1SG.AOR it.CL ART read.PTP.ABL

‘I have finished reading it’

They cannot even appear on the left of the participle (65a), the only possibility being attachment on the higher verb (65b).

(65)a. **Mbarova s ëe lexuari*

b. *E mbarova s ëlexuari*

(65b) is a typical context of *clitic climbing* (Rizzi 1976), obligatory in supine clauses. Clitic climbing may be taken to indicate that these clauses do not have a Tense node to which clitics can attach, hence the clitic is forced to adjoin to the first available T, the one in the main clause. Further evidence that there is no TP field in the supine clause comes from the position of the negation: it cannot be realized internally to the *s ë*-complement. For the negation, too, the only available Tense node is the one associated with the main verb, so it is forced to adjoin to the higher T position.

Albanian supine has an intrinsic nominal character: the article *s ë* that precedes the supine complement, is a Determiner. We find the same element in the declension of other nouns, such as, for example, the days of the week (66a) or some kinship nouns (66b), which are obligatorily preceded by an article. The ablative Case, of these nouns, includes the article *s ë*

(66)a. *E marta vjen pas s ë h ën ës*

ART.NOM tuesday.NOM come.3SG after ART monday.ABL

‘Tuesday comes after Monday’

b. *Xhoni mori njëletër prej së motres*

John.NOM receive.3SG.AOR a letter from ART sister.ABL

‘John received a letter from his sister’

Së is the article that also marks genitive definite feminine nouns:

(67) *Ngjyra e penës së vajzës*

colour.NOM ART.NOM pen.GEN ART girl.GEN

‘The colour of the girl’s pen’

Së is the article we also find in pre-articulated adjectives when they modify genitive (68a) or ablative nouns (68b):

(68)a. *Ngjyra e penës së vajzës së mirë*

colour.NOM ART.NOM pen.GEN ART girl.GEN ART good

‘The colour of the pen of the good girl’

b. *Pranë vajzës së mirë*

near girl.ABL ART good

‘Near to the good girl’

Given the nature of *së* as an article, I will consider it as a D element selecting a *vP*. I will assume that supine verbs have the same *vP* shell that is generally assumed for transitive verbs: they, in fact, behave like regular transitive verbs, since they are able to assign thematic roles to their complements in object position and to assign accusative Case to them. However, they have retained nominal characteristics. Supines still are nouns, therefore they have a reduced structure including just *vP* and VP. Supines are DP > *vP* projections. In (69), I give the derivation of (60a):

(69) [_{TP} *Beni mbaroi* [_{VP} ~~*Beni-mbaroi*~~ [_{VP} ~~*mbaroi*~~ [_{DP} *së* [_{VP} *lexuari* [_{VP} ~~*lexuar*~~ *librin*]]]]]]]

The third type comprehends substantivized participles preceded by the article *të*. They appear in combination with the prepositions *për* ‘for’, *me* ‘with’, *në* ‘in’, *më* ‘in’ selecting the accusative Case, or in combination with the numeral *një* ‘one’.

The construction containing the preposition *për* ‘for’ corresponds to the infinitive of standard Albanian (and Tosk dialects). It is only used in purpose sentences:

(70) *Beni erdhi këtu për të punuar*

Ben.NOM come.3SG.AOR here P ART work.PTP

‘Ben came here for working’

This type of infinitive does not present any agreement feature, therefore it does not allow the realization of a nominative subject (71a). Accusative objects (71b), instead, are admitted:

- (71)a. **Erdhi* *k äu, Beni* *p ër* *t ëmarr ë* *makin ën*
 come.3SG.AOR here Ben.NOM P ART take.PTP car.ACC.DEF
 ‘Ben came here to take the car’
- b. *Beni* *erdhi* *p ër* *t ë* *marr ë* *makin ën*
 Ben.NOM come.3SG.AOR P ART take.PTP car.ACC.DEF
 ‘Ben came to take the car’

Infinitive clauses support clitics (72a) and negation (72b) that both realize on the left of the past participle:

- (72)a. *Beni* *erdhi* *p ër* *t ë* *m ë* *takuar*
 Ben.NOM come.3SG.AOR P ART me.CL.ACC meet.PTP
 ‘Ben came to meet me’
- b. *Beni* *iku* *p ër* *t ë* *mos* *takuar* *Xhonin*
 Ben.NOM go.3SG.AOR P ART NEG meet.PTP John.ACC
 ‘Ben left so as not to meet John’

If we take clitics and negation to adjoin to Tense, the particle *t ë* and the preposition *p ër*; that precede them, must be higher than TP. Thus, it is natural to assume that they are situated in the CP domain. I also assume that each of them occupies a distinct syntactic position within the C-field, i.e. they occupy different C-positions. This means that we need to split the head C in more than one head, as proposed in Rizzi (1997). Rizzi (1997) argues that the CP structure can contain more than one position. According to the author, the left periphery of the sentence can host a series of hierarchically projected positions of which the highest is Force and the lowest is Finiteness (Fin). Force expresses the kind of information relative to the clause-type. It marks the sentence as declarative, relative, exclamative, or interrogative. Fin, instead, expresses the finite or non-finite character of the sentence. Between Force and Fin, discourse-related functional heads such as topic and focus occur, yielding the structure in (73):

(73)[Force [Topic [Focus [Topic [Fin]]]]]

With a structure of the type in (73), we can provide an adequate representation to Albanian data by assuming that the two distinct elements, *p ër* and *t ë* are both realized in the C-field. Since *p ër* characterizes the sentence as a purpose clause, we can assume that it is lexicalized in Force. The element *t ë* instead, is realized under Fin:

(74)[_{ForceP} *p ër* [_{FinP} *t ë* [_{TP} *m ëmos takuar* [_{VP} ~~*takuar*~~ [_{VP} ~~*takuar*~~]]]]]

By assuming this configuration to be the correct representation of Albanian infinitives, we are also forced to assume that the positions for topic and focus are not generated, since infinitives do not admit dislocated elements in the left periphery:

- (75)a. **Beni erdhi p ë Xhonin t ë takuar*
 Ben.NOM come.3SG.AOR P John.ACC ART meet.PTP
 ‘Ben came to meet John’
- b. **Beni erdhi p ë tamam t ë takuar Xhonin*
 Ben.NOM come.3SG.AOR P exactly ART meet.PTP John.ACC
 ‘Ben came to meet exactly John’

The ungrammaticality of (75a-b) indicates that there is no position accessible to topicalised or focused constituents, so DPs and adverbials cannot raise to the CP domain but must stay in their base generated position:

- (76)a. *Beni erdhi p ë t ëtakuar Xhonin*
 b. *Beni erdhi p ë t ëtakuar tamam Xhonin*

As for the impossibility to have nominative subjects, it depends on the defective character of the head T. Accusative Case on the direct object, instead, is possible since it is assigned by the head *v*.

Another type of periphrastic construction containing a neuter participial noun is that preceded by the preposition *me* ‘with’, which is used in a temporal function. It is employed to express actions that come at the same time of the action expressed by the main verb:

- (77)a. *Me t ë r ën ë muzgu, ai mbylli der ën*
 P ART fall.PTP dust.NOM.DEF he.NOM close.3SG.AOR door.ACC.DEF
 ‘As soon as dusk fell, he closed the door’
- b. *Me t ë mbaruar pun ën, doli nga zyra*
 P ART finish.PTP work.ACC.DEF leave.3SG.AOR from office.NOM.DEF
 ‘As soon as he finished his work, he left the office’

These sentences cannot support the negation. Clitics, instead, can appear in between the particle *t ë* and the past participle:

- (78)a. *Me ta par ë djalin, ata ik ën*
 P ART+ CL.ACC see.PTP boy.ACC.DEF they.NOM GO.3PL.AOR
 ‘As soon as they saw the boy, they went away’

b. *Me t ě m ě par ě mua, ata ik ěn*

P ART me.CL.ACC see.PTP I.ACC they.NOM go.3PL.AOR

‘As soon as they saw me, they went away’

The position of the different constituents indicates that these clauses have the same derivation of sentences containing the preposition *p ěr*: they have a higher C position hosting the preposition *me*; a lower C position (Fin) hosting the particle *t ě* a Tense position, where clitics attach to; a *vP* domain, where the *v* head transforms the lexical root into a verb; and a VP, where the verb is merged with the direct object. The presence of a *vP* projection is further supported by the fact that subjects and objects are allowed in these clauses. The derivation of (78b) is given in (79):

(79)[_{CP} *me* [_{FinP} *t ě* [_{TP} *m ě par ě* [_{vP} ~~*par ě*~~ [_{VP} ~~*par ě*~~ *mua*]]]]]

More restrictions have the constructions built up by means of the prepositions *m ě* and *n ě* both corresponding to the English preposition ‘in’. The first one is used only in a temporal function.

(80)a. *M ě t ě hyr ě t ě pranver ě nis ěn shirat*

P ART enter.PTP GEN spring.GEN start.3PL.PRS rains.NOM.PL.DEF

‘With the arrival of spring, the rains begin’

b. *Erdhi m ě t ě per ěnduar*

come.3SG.AOR P ART wane.PTP

‘He came at sunset’

This construction resists the adjunction of clitics and negation, indicating that a TP constituent is not projected. The presence of the preposition *m ě* on the other hand, suggests that it is a CP constituent, followed by a Fin node hosting the particle *t ě*. In addition to clitics and negation, these structures do not even support subjects and objects, suggesting that the head Fin takes a VP projection as a complement. Prepositional phrases, instead, are allowed because they are adjoined to VP. Thus, the representation of (80a) will be (81):

(81)[_{CP} *m ě* [_{FinP} *t ě* [_{VP} *hyr ě t ě pranver ě*]]]

The constructions containing the preposition *n ě* ‘in’ can be used with both a temporal value (82a) or as a locative phrase (82b):

(82)a. *N ět ě afruar t ě drek ě, shkuan n ěrestorant*

P ART approach.PTP GEN dinner.GEN go.3PL.AOR in restaurant

‘As dinner approached, they went to the restaurant’

b. *Në të dalë të fshatit*

P ART exit.PTP GEN village.GEN

‘At the exit of the village’

These constructions pattern with those containing the preposition *m ë* in that they do not allow the presence of clitics or negation not that of subjects and objects. Their derivation mirrors that proposed in (81) for structures formed by *m ë*

The last type of construction where we find a substantivized participle is the one formed by the indefinite article *nj ë* ‘a’. It is attested in colloquial Albanian (it is rarely used in the literary language) with a temporal function:

(83) *Një të hyrë nështëpi, burrat mbyllën derën*

a ART enter.PTP in house.ACC men.NOM.PL close.3PL.AOR door.ACC.DEF

‘As soon as they enter the house, the men closed the door’

This type of clause shows the same restrictions of the previous structures: it does not admit nominative subjects (84a) or accusative objects (84b):

(84)a. **Një të arritur Meri, Beni do të niset*

a ART arrive.PTP Mary.NOM Ben.NOM FUT MRK leave.3SG.PRS

‘Once I will arrive, Ben will leave’

b. **Një të parë Merin, Beni iku*

a ART see.PTP Mary.ACC Ben.NOM leave.3SG.AOR

‘As soon as he saw him, Ben went away’

It does not even support clitics and negation and this clearly indicates that no T head is projected. For these participial forms, I assume they are DPs selecting a CP, that, in turn, select a VP:

(85) [_{DP} *nj ë* [_{CP/FinP} *të* [_{VP} *parë at ë*]]]

5. Conclusions

In conclusion, I have investigated the three different forms, verbal, adjectival and nominal, of the past participle in Albanian and I have presented all the constructions where they can be found. I have argued that the main distributional characteristics of participial constructions can be derived by the type and syntactic size of the constituent with which the participle combines. Participle clauses can be projected as VPs, as *v*Ps, as CPs, with a single or a double filled C position. Clitics and negation are only possible when a TP constituent is projected, whereas the presence/absence of internal and external arguments depends on the defective character of the heads T and *v*. Prepositional phrases always are allowed because they adjoin to VP.

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Notes

Note 1. In Albanian, the definite determiner realizes as an affix incorporated to the noun. The morphological Case adjoins to the definite form:

(i) *burri*

man.DEF.NOM

(ii) *burrin*

man. DEF.ACC

(iii) *burrit*

man. DEF.OBL

Note 2. Tense (T) is a syntactic X-bar category introduced by Pollock (1989). It replaces the more traditional category Infl(ection).

Note 3. Following Chomsky (1995, 2001), I assume that a sentence is built up by means of the basic syntactic operation *Merge*. Merge takes two objects and combines them together forming a more complex object.

Note 4. Little *v* is a category first proposed by Chomsky (1995). *v* acts as a verbalizer: it is a head that transforms a root into a verb whose specifier hosts the external argument of the verb. *v* introduces verbal phrases.

Note 5. Kayne (1989) and Baker et al. (1989) assume that the participial inflection is generated under an Infl node which takes VP as a complement.

Note 6. According to Kayne (1975, 1989), clitics are base-generated in argument position and then moved and left-adjoined to an empty functional head.

Note 7. When an element moves to a higher position, the original copy is deleted (Chomsky 1994).

Note 8. In ancient texts, *pa* also appears with the locative Case (Bardhi, 1635):

(i) *Pā tē cijet* [=pa t ěcil ěn]

without which

Note 9. The verb *duhet* is morphologically non-active, so in the admirative mood it requires the element *u*.

Note 10. Whereas Albanian does not present any participial absolute construction containing a nominative subject or an accusative object, other languages allow them. In Italian, for example, participial absolute constructions with subject (i) or object (ii) are grammatical (Belletti 1990: 89, 1992):

(i) *Arrivata Maria, Gianni tirò un sospiro di sollievo*

arrived Maria, Gianni was relieved

(ii) *Conosciuta Maria/me, Gianni ha subito cambiato il suo stile di vita*

known Maria/me, Gianni has immediately changed his lifestyle

Note 11. In Albanian, the genitive Case (GEN) has a prepositive article which agrees with the head noun.

Note 12. For an analysis of Albanian pre-adjectival articles see (Turano 2004), Campos (2008), Giusti (2012), Manzini (2021), Manzini and Savoia (2007, 2014, 2018a, 2018b); Franco et al. (2015).

Note 13. Genitive, dative and ablative have the same morphological Case endings. Here, I will use the label OBL (oblique) to refer to them.

Note 14. Here, I limit the illustration to singular forms.

Note 15. There are exceptions to this statement. Some examples are: *i paaftë* ‘unable’, *i padenjë* ‘unworthy’, *i padyshim* ‘undoubted’, *i paplotë* ‘incomplete’, *i paqartë* ‘unclear’.

Note 16. See Manzini & Savoia (2007), Turano (2017), for an analysis of these constructions.

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