Morphosyntax of the participle and infinitive in the variety of Shkodër

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In the present article we account for the so-called *paskajore* of Geg varieties, starting with a morphological analysis of the participial forms it embeds. This invariable participial form in reality reduces to the verbal stem, consisting of the verb base followed by the thematic vowel. By contrast, Geg varieties (like Tosk ones) also have an inflected participle, including a perfective suffix and agreement properties overtly marked by a suffix and by a preposed article. In this contribution we propose a formalized treatment of the invariant verb forms, and we aim at explaining the emergence of these verbal stems without a specialized inflection as lexicalizations for other forms of the paradigm, such as the 3rd person singular of the perfect middle-passive, the 2nd /3rd person singular of the present indicative or the 2nd person singular of the imperative. We assume that these coincidences correspond to the aspectual and modal properties of the bare stems. (Manzini and Savoia2002b, 2007, 2011c)

A second topic we will examine is the syntactic distribution of the *paskajore*, the invariable verb form. This can be immediately preceded by the normal sequence of argumental clitics; all other functional material, including the modal negation, topics, foci (*wh*-phrases) and complementizers, precedes *mɛ*. We take the *mɛ* head of the *paskajore* construct and the *mɛ* element that enters ordinary prepositional phrases to have a single lexical entry. We discuss this point also by comparing the system of *Shkodër* with the Tosk/ standard system of the infinitive/ participle.

1. The =infinitiveø

In contexts where the better known Romance languages insert an infinitive, Geg varieties lexicalize the syntactic construct traditionally described as *paskajore* (Cordignano 1931, Demiraj 1985, 1997, Banfi 1985, Joseph 1983, Pellegrini 1995, Graffi 1998) formed by the preposition *mɛ* =withø followed by an invariable verbal form, as illustrated for *Shkodër* in (1).

(1)   *Shkodër*

mɛ ˈɒːɾð
to come

This construct has been studied especially for its distribution, considered here in section 3. However it presents various reasons of interest, starting with the categorization of the elements that enter into it, namely *mɛ* and the verb. Indeed it is only natural to assume that the syntactic behaviour of the construct as a whole depends on its internal structure and ultimately on the internal (inflectional) structure of the verb.

1.1 Preposition - invariable verb form.
The class of elements that can introduce the invariable verb form includes, beside *mɛ*, in (2a), *pɒ* ÷without÷ in (2b) and *tu(i)*, in (2c). Gerunds formed with this latter particle can be embedded under the copula *jam*, giving rise to the progressive as in (2c), or under perception verbs, as in (2d).

(2)   *Shkodër*
        a.   kɒ   fiˈɫu   mɛ   hɒ̃ŋəɾ
                I.have finished   to   eat
                ÷I finished eating÷
        b.   dola   pɒ   u   lɒː
                I.went.out   without   M/R   wash
                ÷I went out without washing÷
        c.   jam   tu   ɛ   lɒ/   tʃu/   mlu/   veːʃ
                I.am   Prt   him-her wash/ wake.up/ cover/   dress
                ÷I am washing/ waking up/ covering/ dressing him/her÷
        d.   t   kam   pɒ   tui   kaˈlu
                you   I.have seen   Prt   pass.by
                ÷I saw you pass by÷

These introducers can be identified with prepositions, as illustrated in (3), where *mɛ* e *pɒ* introduce nouns. As for the particle *tu(i)*, yielding a gerund interpretation, it must be connected with the prepositional type *tu, tek* ÷at÷ (Demiraj 1986).

(3)   *Shkodër*
        a.   ɛ   kam   bɒ̃   mɛ   kryːp / pɒ   kryːp
                it   I.have made   with   salt   / without salt
                ÷I made it with salt/ without salt÷

In constructs where the invariable participle is introduced by a preposition, clitics are inserted between the two, as in (4).

(4)   *Shkodër*

      kam   ɒːrð   mɛ   t   a   ðɒ̃ːn
      I.have come to   to.you it   give
      'I came to give it to you'

The modal negation *mas*, which precedes *mɛ*, as in (5a), and follows *tu*, as in in (5b), differs from the negation that occurs in declarative non-modal sentences, namely *nuk* or *s*, as in (5d), and coincides with the negation co-occurring with the imperative, as in (5c).

(5)   *Shkodër*

    a.   ɐʃt   mɐ   miɾ   mas   mɛ   ɛ   ʃkɾu
          it.is more good not   to   it   write
          'It is better not to write it'
    b.   tu   mas   ɛ   bɛ̃í .
          Prt   not   it   do
          'Not doing it í ø'
    c.   mas   ɛ   θir
          not   him   call
          'Don't call him!'
    d.   s/ nuk ɛ   dʒɛi
          not   it   I.find
          'I am not finding him'

1.2   The participle

The invariable verbal form that combines with the prepositions *mɛ/pɒ* also appears in combination with the auxiliaries *kam* 'I have' e *jam* 'I am', in contexts which in more familiar languages like English require a participle. In particular together with *kam* it forms the present perfect active, as in (6a), while with *jam* it forms the present perfect middle-reflexive or the passive, as in (6b)-(6c).

(6)   *Shkodër*

    a.   ɛ   kan   mlu
          him/her they.have covered
          'They have covered him/her'
    b.   jan   mlu   (pɾɛi s ɒms)
          they.are covered (by Art mother)
          'They have covered up/ been covered (by mother)'

c. ɐʃt   ve:ʃ   (pɾɛi s ɒms)
      he.is   dressed (by Art mother)
      ‗He has dressed/ been dressed (by mother)ø

Indeed the invariable verb form in (6) is normally treated as a participle (Cordignano 1931, Demiraj 1985, 1997), even though, the variety of *Shkodër* also possesses a specialized participle. This is formed with the *óun*, *-m* suffix and with agreement morphology and occurs in combination with *jam* in passives of the type in (7). At least in the verbal class of *mlai* ‗I coverø in (7), both the invariable and the inflected participles share the thematic vowel *óu*.

(7)   *Shkodër*
       jam   i   mlu:m
       I.am   m.sg.   covered
       ‗I am coveredø

2.   Morphology of the invariable and inflected participles

Let us then consider the morphological properties of the invariable participle in the *Shkodër* dialect, i.e. the form that follows *mɛ/ pɒ/ tu* in the so-called *paskajore* and combines with the auxiliaries *kam* and *jam* in the perfect and middle perfect. The morphology varies according to verbal class (Solano 1972, Camaj 1984). Specifically, verbal bases in *-a* and *-ɔ* present a final *-u* vowel, as in (8i), while with verbal bases in *-ɛ*, *-ɒ*, *-i* the participle maintains the same vowel that also appears in finite forms of the paradigm, as (8ii). With verbal bases ending in consonant the participle is formed without a thematic vowel, as shown in (8iii-iv). In (a) we provide examples of the paskajore, while in (b)-(c) we display auxiliary contexts. Similar facts are reported for other Geg varieties by Hohxa (1990).

(8)   *Shkodër*
       i.   a.   i   kam   θɓ̃:n   m   u   mlu
                   to.him   I.have   said   to   M/R   cover
                   ‗I told him to cover upø
             b.   ɛ/i   kam   mlu
                   him-her/them   I.have   covered
                   ‗I have covered him/her upø
             c.   ɐʃt   mlu
                   s/he.is covered
                   ‗S/he has covered upø
       ii.   a.   duhɛt   mɛ   ɛ   zi

it.is.necessary to　　　it　　　cook

'It is necessary to cook it'

　　　　　　b.　　ɛ　　　kɒ　　　　　zi

　　　　　　　　it　　s/he.has　　cooked

'S/he has cooked it'

　　　　　　c.　　ɐʃt　　zi

　　　　　　　　it.is　　cooked

'It has cooked'

iii.　　a.　　t　　　kam　θɒ̃:n　mɛ　　ɛ　　　ve:ʃ

　　　　　　to.you　I.have　said　　to　　him/her dress

'I told you to dress him/her'

　　　　　　b.　　ɛ　　　　　　kam　ve:ʃ

　　　　　　　　him-her　　　　I.have　dressed

'I have dressed him/her'

　　　　　　c.　　ɐʃt　　ve:ʃ

　　　　　　　　s/he.is　dressed

'S/he has dressed up'

iv.　　a.　　t　　　kam　θɒ̃:n　mas　me　　u　　　lo:ð

　　　　　　to.you　I.have　said　　not　to　　M/R　tire

'I told you not to tire yourself out'

　　　　　　b.　　ɛ　　　　　　kam　lo:ð

　　　　　　　　him-her　　　　I.have　tired

'I have tired him/her out'

　　　　　　c.　　jam　　lo:ð

　　　　　　　　I.am　　tired

'I have tired myself out'

Some verbal subclasses have invariable participle forms characterized by specialized inflections such as *ón* in the case of *jap* 'I give' in (9a), or *ót* in the case of *mɒi* 'I keep' in (9b).

(9)　　*Shkodër*

　　　　a.　　doin　　　　　mɛ　j　　a　　　ðɒ̃:n

　　　　　　they.want　　　to　to.him　it　　give

'They want to give it to him'

　　　　a'　j　　a　　kan　　　　　ðɒ̃:n

　　　　　　to.him　it　　they.have　given

'They have given it to him'

　　　　b.　　du　　mɛ　ɛ　　　mɒit

　　　　　　I.want　to　it　　keep

'I want to keep it'

　　　　b'　ɛ　　kan　　　　　mɒit

it   they.have   kept
=They have kept itø

We already saw that the *Shkodër* variety has an inflected participle, which is allowed in auxiliary contexts with =beø For this participle we find two morphological patterns. Stems ending in vowel combine with an *óm* suffix, as in (10a), while stems ending in consonant take *óun*, as in (10b). What is more the *óun* ending can follow the *óm* morphology, giving rise to forms in which the participial ending is doubled, as in (10aö). In turn participial forms such as *ðð̃:n* and *mɒit* in (9) take the *óun* inflection, as shown in (10c). All of the participial forms in (10) present a pre-nominal article and a post-nominal inflection, like adjectives and kinship terms. This agreement morphology lexicalizes nominal class (gender), number and case properties. In the nominative, relevant for the examples in (10), the proclitic particle is *i* for the masculine singular nominative, *ɛ* for the feminine singular nominative, and *t* for the plural. The postverbal nominative inflections include *-ɛ* for the feminine (singular and plural) of the forms in *óm* and *óa* for the plural of the forms in *óun*. The combination of the inflected participle with the *jam* =I amø auxiliary gives rise to a passive interpretation, allowing for the lexicalization of the agent through the preposition *prɛi* =byø

(10)   *Shkodër*
a.   jam   i   mlu:-m/ ɛ mlu-m-ɛ   (prɛi s ɒms)
        I.am   Art cover-ed/ Art cover-ed-f. (by the mother)
        =I am covered (by mother)ø
aø   jan   t   mlu:-m/ mlu-m-ɛ   (prɛi s ɒms)
        they.are Art cover-ed/ cover-ed-f.   (by the mother)
        =They are covered by motherø
b.   ɐʃt   i   veʃ-un/ ɛ veʃ-un   (prɛi s ɒms)
        s/he.is Art dress-ed/ Art dress-ed   (by the mother)
        =S/he is dressed (by mother)ø
bø   jena   t   veʃ-un / veʃ-un-a   (prɛi s ɒms)
        we.are Art dress-ed/ dress-ed-pl   (by the mother)
        =We are dressed (by mother)ø
c.   ɐʃt   i/   ɛ   mɒit-un
        it.is   Art.msg/ fsg   kep-t
        =It is keptø

A passive reading is also possible in contexts where inflected participles follow the *kam* =I haveø auxiliary, as in (11). In this case

the participle has accusative morphology, consisting of a preverbal *t* particle independent of number and gender, which alternates with *ε* for the feminine singular.

(11)   *Shkodër*
a.   ε   kam   t mlu:m/   ε/t   mlu-m-ε
      him/her I.have Art cover-ed/ Art   cover-ed-f.
      =I have him/her covered∅
b.   i   kam   kmiʃat ε/t lɒ-m-ε
      them I.have   shirts   Art wash-ed-f.
      =I have the shirts washed∅

The inflection of the participles in (10)-(11) corresponds to the normal morphology of adjectives, as shown by the comparison with the nominative adjectives in (12). In particular *i, ε, t* are the prenominal articles in the masculine singular, feminine singular and plural respectively; the *ε, a* inflections characterize the feminine and the plural respectively.

(12)   *Shkodër*
        a.   ɐʃt   i   kutʃ/   ε   kutʃ-ε
              it.is   Art.m red/   Art.f red-f.
              =It is red∅
        a∅   ɐʃt   i   ɒməl/ ε   ɒməl
              it.is   Art.m sweet/ Art.f sweet
              =It is sweet∅
        b.   jan   t   kutʃ/   t   kutʃ-ε
              they.are   Art.pl red/   Art.pl red-f
              =They are red/ sweet∅
        b∅   jan   t   ɒməl/ t   ɒml-a
              they.are   Art.pl sweet/ Art.pl sweet-pl
              =They are sweet∅

3.   The *mε* - participle construction

It is known from the literature (Demiraj 1985, 1997, Banfi 1985, Joseph 1993) that the construct formed by the *mε/ pɒ* preposition and the invariable verb form has a distribution corresponding to that of the infinitive or the subjunctive in Romance languages. If we compare Geg with Tosk varieties (the latter including the standard), we note that the *paskajore* has roughly the same distribution as the so-called subjunctive consisting of the *të* particle followed by a finite verb, as can be seen from the Arbëresh dialects analysed by Turano (1995).

Thus the *mɛ - invariable verb form* structure occurs in control contexts with modals as in (13i), with causatives as in (13ii), with aspectuals as in (13iii), in other complementation contexts as in (13iv), as well as in adverbial sentences as in (13v). Some of the sentences in (13iv,v) show that *mɛ* can be introduced by the finite complementizers *tʃi* or *sɛ* and be preceded by other prepositions such as *pəɾ* etc. The modal negation *mas* precedes *mɛ*; on the other hand it follows other prepositions and complementizers.

(13)   *Shkodër*

i.	a.	doin	mɛ	ɛ	bõ̃		
		they.want	to	it	do		
		=They want to do itø					
ii.	a.	ɛ	kam	bõ̃	m	u	tʃu
		him	I.have	made	to	M/R	wake.up
		=I woke him upø					
iii.	a.	kam	fiˈɫu	mɛ	hõ̃ŋəɾ		
		I.have	begun	to	eat		
		=I have begun to eatø					
iv.	a.	i	kan	θõ̃:n	(tʃi)	(mas) mɛ ɛ bõ̃	
		to.him	they.have said	that	not	to it do	
		=They told him not to do itø					
v.	a.	kam	ɒ:ɾð	(tʃi)	mɛ	ɛ	pɒ
		I.have	come	that	to	him-her	see
		=I came to see him/herø					
	b.	kam	i:k	pəɾ mas	mɛ	ɛ/ t	pɒ
		I.have	left	for not	to	him-her/you	see
		=I left to see him/her/youø					
	d.	kam	dɒ:l		paɾa	sɛ	mɛ ʃku
		I.have	gone.out		before	that	to go
		=I went out before going (there)ø					

The *mɛ - invariable verb form* construction is found in infinitival questions, where it is introduced by a *wh*-phrase, as in (14i), and in hypotheticals, where it is introduced by *bõ̃*, as in (14ii). Infinitival questions can be introduced in turn by the finite complementizer *sɛ*. Finally, the *paskajore* can occur in non-embedded contexts as in (14iii).

(14)   *Shkodër*

i.	nuk	di	(sɛ)	tʃa	mɛ	bõ̃
	not	I.know	that	what	to	do

    'I don't know what to do'

ii.   bõ   mas   mɛ   ɒ:ɾð   s   t   pɾɛs
    if   not   to   come   not   you   I.await
    'If you don't come, I am not waiting for you'

iii.   mɛ ɒ:ɾð
    to come
    'If he came!'

When a finite complementizer, *tʃi* or *sɛ*, is present, a lexical subject can insert between the complementizer and the paskajore, as illustrated in (15i); the other possible position for the subject is postverbal, as in (15ii).

(15)   *Shkodër*

i. a.   du   tʃi   ti   mɛ   ɛ   bõ
        I.want that you to it do
        'I want you to do it'

    b.   du   tʃi   vɬa-i   jat   mɛ   ɛ   bõ
        I.want that brother-the yours to it do
        'I want your brother to do it'

ii. a.   doin   (tʃi)   mɛ   ɒ:ɾð   aˈta
        they.want that to come they
        'They want to come'

    b.   kam   dɒ:l   paɾa   sɛ   mɛ   ɒ:ɾð   ti
        I.have gone.out before that to come you
        'I went out before you came'

The complementizers *tʃi/sɛ* in finite sentences are illustrated in (16), where (16i) in particular shows embedded declaratives. As also discussed by Turano (1995) for Tosk varieties, in Albanian it is possible to have a *wh*-phrase embedded under the finite complementizer *sɛ*; this state of affairs, already exemplified with the *paskajore* in (14) is found in finite sentences as well, as in (16ii). Finally the *tʃi* complementizer introduces finite relatives as in (16iii).

(16)   *Shkodër*

i. a.   m   kan   θõ:n tʃi/ sɛ vjɛn   nesɾ
        to.me they.have said that he.comes tomorrow
        'They told me that he comes tomorrow'

    b.   m   kan   θõ:n   sɛ   nuk/ s vjɛn
        to.me they.have said that not he.comes
        'They told me that he doesn't come'

	c.	m	kan	θɵ̃:n tʃi	vɫa-i	jɒ:t	kɒ	ɒ:ɾð
		to.me	they.have	said that	brother-the	yours	has	come

'They told me that your brother came'

	ii.	nuk	ε	di	sε	kε	kɒn	θi:r	aˈta
		not	it	I.know	that	who	they.have	called	they

'I don't know who they called'

	iii.	ɐʃt	aˈi	tʃi	m	θrɛt
		is	he	who	me	calls

'He is the one who calls me'
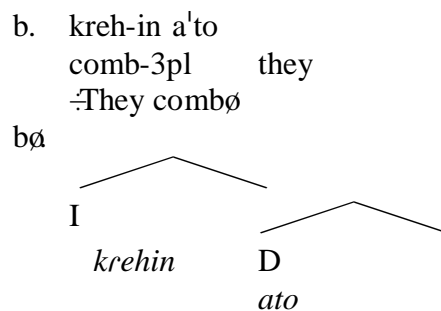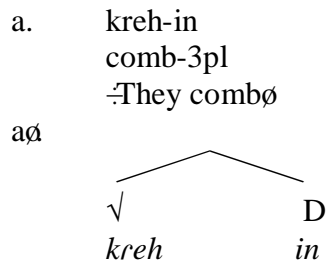
4. Morphological Analysis.

In the traditional generative approach to verb inflections (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001), inflections correspond to a set of unvalued features associated with the verb, which get valued through checking by the corresponding features associated to the subject of the sentence. The unification of syntax and morphology proposed by Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007, 2011a,b,c) leads instead to the conclusion that the verb agreement inflection has the same status within the verb as the pronominal subject has within the sentence. More precisely, predicative elements such as the verb in the sentence and the noun in the noun phrase project a set of referential contents (D, Q, P, Loc, N) which build a structure of the type in (17). In this, I(nflection) corresponds to the core position of the lexical item (the verb or the noun) and D, Q, P, Loc, N form its (projection) domain. D corresponds to the definiteness properties which characterize the EPP argument/ the subject of the sentence and its equivalent within the noun phrase, that is, the determiner. P(erson) ó i.e. 1st and 2nd person ó Q(uantifier) and Loc(ative) lexicalize referential properties of deixis (P, Loc) and quantification (Q), participating in the satisfaction of the argument slots of the predicate. N(oun) is the dedicated category for the internal argument of the predicate. We can think of the hierarchical order in (17) as a way to represent the relative scope of these elements. The D, Q, P, N sequence of positions is realized in the sentence for instance by pronominal clitics and in the noun phrase by determiners, quantifiers and other specifiers of the noun.

(17)
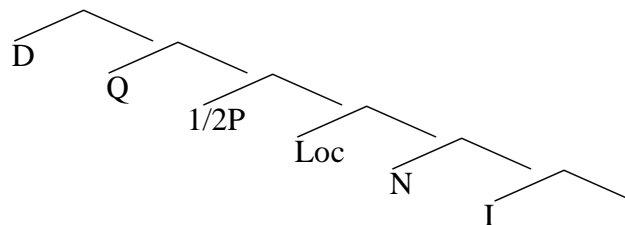
We assume that the same structural, categorial and interpretive organization underlies both syntactic and morphological constituents. At the morphological level, a lexical base like *kɾeh-* in (18), labelled with √ (root) (Marantz 1997), expresses predicative content; the inflection, *-in* in (18a,a'), inserted in a word-internal D position, fixes the denotation of its EPP argument. In the sentential structure in (18b) the inflected verb as a whole occupies the I(nflection) position of the sentence, where it is followed by the pronominal subject in a D position, as in (18b').

(18)   *Shkodër*
      a.   kreh-in
              comb-3pl
              ='They comb'

a'.

```
        /\
       /  \
      √     D
    kɾeh    in
```

  b.   kreh-in a'to
        comb-3pl   they
        ='They comb'

b'.

```
      /\
     /  \
    I     /\
  kɾehin D
         ato
```

      In turn, the internal structure of a noun or adjective is formed by a lexical base in √ followed by an inflection, as illustrated in (19a) for one of the adjectives in (12), in the nominative form. Within adjectives and nouns such as those in (19) we associate the agreement inflection to the category N, which corresponds to the internal argument of the predicative base in √. The different categorization of the inflections in (18) and (19) reflects the different denotations of the two types of elements; unlike the verb inflection, the nominal/ adjectival inflection has nominal class (traditionally, gender) properties and doesn't have person properties. The article that precedes the adjective can be treated, as in standard analyses of the noun phrase, as a D element. In our framework, the agreement between the article in D and the inflection of the adjective in N simply

corresponds to the fact that the nominal class inflection, -ε in (19), and the article satisfy the same argument slot, namely the internal argument of the predicative base. In this sense, the structure of nominals is intrinsecally inaccusative in the present model.

(19)   *Shkodër*

```
            D
           / \
          /   \
         D     \
         ε    / \
             √   N
           kutʃ  ε
```
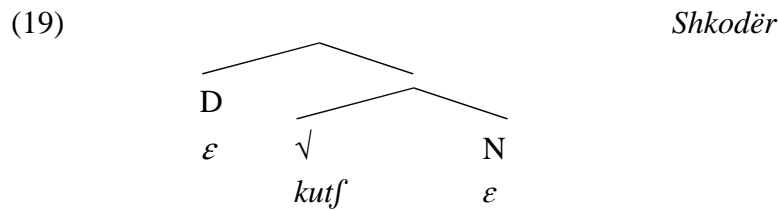
4.1.   Participial inflections

We begin by analyzing the superficially more complex inflected participles. As we saw, bases ending in vowel have participles in *-V-m*, for instance *-um* in *mlu:m*, while verbal bases ending in consonant form the participle with a suffix *-un*. The thematic vowel *-u, -i, -a,* etc. appears independently of the presence of further inflectional material in invariable participles of the type *mlu, zi,* etc. in (7). We associate this vocalic element with the N position, as in (20), like the inflection of the noun or adjective in (19), and we interpret it in the same way, i.e. as a morphological-level closure of the internal argument of the predicate.
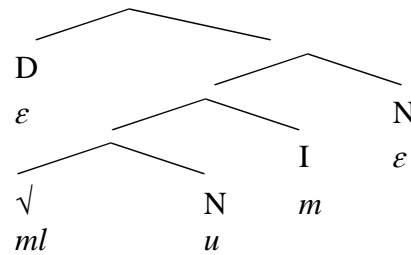
(20)   *Shkodër*

```
      / \
     /   \
    √     N
   ml     u
```
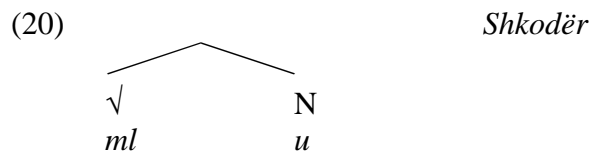
The invariable participle of verbal bases ending in consonants is characterized by a long stressed nucleus, as in *ve:ʃ*, contrasting with the pure verbal base *veʃ* which has a short stressed nucleus (cf. Beci 1979, 1984 on long vowels in Geg). An analysis of invariable participles such as *ve:ʃ* is suggested by the comparison with participles of the type of *mlu* in (20), where we have analysed the specialized thematic vowel as an N constituent internal to the verb. We can extend this analysis to participles of the type of *ve:ʃ* by assuming that the latter includes an N denotation. The pure verbal base *veʃ* is deprived of such referential properties.

The *óm* morphology that combines with bases in vowel, as well as the *óun* morphology of consonantal bases can be analysed as bearers of the aspectual, specifically perfective, denotation attaching
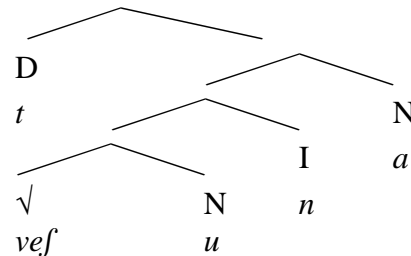
to the participle. Extending the analysis presented in the previous paragraph, the *óm* and *ón* inflections can be conceived as I heads, as in (21), which take as their complement the verbal base, eventually augmented by the thematic vowel. While the *-u* that combines with a consonantal base like the one in (21b) is bound to the aspectual morphology *óun,* the *mlu-* sub-constituent in (21a) coincides with the invariable participle. Thus the analysis of (21a) implies that the aspectual element *óm* takes as its complement not the pure lexical base, but rather the lexical base inclusive of an N element, i.e. *-u.*

(21)　　a.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*Shkodër*

```
              /\
         D        /\
         ε      /\      N
              /\    I    ε
             √   N   m
             ml  u
```

　　b.

```
              /\
         D        /\
         t      /\      N
              /\    I    a
             √   N   n
             veʃ u
```

The inflected participle presents the same agreement morphology as nouns and adjectives (Turano and Rokaj 2000, Turano 2001). Specifically, nominative participial agreement morphology includes the inflections *ε*, *a* and the pre-participial articles *i, ε, t*. The inflections *i, ε, a* are associated with nominal class denotations (gender), while *t* is associated with quantificational, i.e. plural, denotation. The *ε, a* agreement inflections in (21a) and (21b) are associated with a higher N position internal to the participle, to the right of *mlum-* or *veʃun-* respectively, specifying the internal argument of these verbal forms. The pre-participial article can be assigned to the D position, where it closes off the structure of the participial phrase, as it would that for an adjective or noun.

It is also worth recalling that the pre-participial article varies according to case. Thus *i, ε, t* are found in nominative contexts, where the participle agrees with the nominative subject of an auxiliary, while in contexts where the participle agrees with an accusative, it is

preceded by *t* in all cases.

Following Manzini and Savoia (2010, 2011a,b,c) we identify the notion of case with denotational properties. In this spirit, case is reduced to the properties of nominal class or of quantification (in the case of dative/ genitive). The representations in (19), (20), (21) take in the crucial points of this proposal by associating the inflection to denotational categories like N (the argument of the predicative base) and D (definiteness).

We note that the N argument found in invariable participles such as *mlu* in (20), and again embedded as the deepest layer in the structure in (21a), does not vary according to the agreement properties of the participle, i.e. effectively to the reference of its internal argument, as is instead the case with the higher N inflections *-a/-ɛ* in (21). The *-a/-ɛ* elements are therefore agreement morphemes in the traditional sense of the term, taking into account the nominal class and/or the plurality of the internal argument of the participle, whereas the thematic vowel can be conceived as lexicalizing simply reference to an indefinite variable.

4.2.   The invariable form of vocalic bases

As we saw, the verbal forms descriptively labelled as invariable participles correspond to simple verbal bases, including an invariable N inflection, in the form of a thematic vowel or of a specialized long nucleus in the verbal base. These verbal bases of the *Shkodër* variety have a perfective, i.e. aspectual, value in contexts where they follow the auxiliary, while in constructs introduced by *mɛ* they lexicalize the irrealis modality corresponding in other languages to the morphological infinitive. The connection between modality and verbal tense and aspect in turn is independently known from the descriptive and theoretical literature (cf. Iatridou 2000).

The connection between the two traditional notions of mood and aspect can be formalized through a scopal mechanism (Manzini and Savoia2005, 2007, 2008, 2011a,b,c). Thus we assume that the progressive and habitual readings of the imperfective depend on an indefinite quantification over events. According to Bonomi (1997) the (past) imperfective morphology introduces a universal or generic quantification over events. In Bonomi∅s (1997) terms the (past) perfective introduces instead an existential quantification; this is compatible with indefinite/ definite divide suggested by Manzini and Savoia (2007, 2008) to characterize the imperfective/ perfective opposition, since existentials lend themselves to a specific reading.

In the *Shkodër* dialect aspectual and modal properties can be

conveyed by the pure verbal stem, consisting of the verbal base and, in certain classes, a thematic vowel. Our analysis of the thematic vowel excludes that it may be considered an aspectual-modal suffix; rather the thematic vowel provides a low level lexicalization of the internal argument of the predicate. This nominal character of the verbal stem makes it available for a stative interpretation (='participle'), on the assumption that nouns/ adjectives are stative predicates. The infinitival reading will have to depend on an interpretive process introducing a quantification over possible worlds, corresponding to the irrealis reading. Furthermore the participle/ infinitive is also compatible with the progressive reading, found in combination with the particle *tu*. This will correspond to a quantification over event stages/ sub-events, effected by the overt *tu* element. In all cases the bare stem is not so much lexicalizing these meanings, but rather proves compatible with them due to the very elementarity of its morphology.

The aspectual properties of verbal bases ending in vowel are confirmed by the fact that they also are compatible with the 3rd person singular of the middle-reflexive perfective past, as in (22a). We take it that the coincidence between (22a) and the verbal bases that appear in participial/ infinitival contexts is not accidental. We provide the other singular forms of the middle-reflexive perfective past in (22b); as we can note, 1st and 2nd person are signalled by a specialized inflection.

(22)   *Shkodër*
      a.   u   mlu
             M/R   cover
             ='He covered himself'
      a'.   u   zi
             M/R   cook
             ='It cooked'
      b.   u   mlova/ mlove/ mlu/ mlu:m/ mlu:t/ mlu:n
             M/R   I.covered, etc.
             ='I covered myself, etc.'

The middle-reflexive interpretation of the past perfects in (22) is independently lexicalized by the *u* clitic, comparable to Italian *si* (Manzini and Savoia1999, 2007, 2011c). The same *u* element is present in the middle-reflexive forms in non-finite context, as shown in (8). Alternatively, in contexts where the invariable participle, corresponding to the verb base, is combined with the auxiliary *jam* ='I am', the auxiliary is itself sufficient to establish the middle-reflexive interpretation. This leaves the perfective properties to be accounted

for. Pursuing the line of explanation adopted above for the modal (irrealis) properties of the *paskajore* (in terms of a quantificational closure at the situation/ possible worlds level) we propose that perfectivity is the result of an existential closure at the eventive level (cf. Bonomi 1997, quoted above). In general, the pure verbal base (lacking specialized temporal/ aspectual and modal morphology) is compatible with meanings of perfectivity and modality derived through the appropriate closure of the eventive/ propositional variable. In other words yet, what would traditionally be described as a ꞊syncretismø is explained here as an instance of ambiguity.

It is also interesting to compare the 3rd person with the 1st / 2nd person of the middle-reflexive perfective in (22). The interpretation of 1st and 2nd person, i.e. speaker and hearer denotation, implies reference to the universe of discourse. On the contrary, 3rd person denotation is necessarily characterized by its anchoring to an eventive role. This difference between 1st/2nd and 3rd person is evidently related to the fact that the sole 3rd person coincides with the *verbal base - thematic vowel* form. In other words, we can assume that denotation anchored at the discourse require the overt lexicalization of the D morphology, i.e. a morphology dedicated to the realization of the subject (here the EPP argument). The same holds of denotations implying plurality, hence quantification, such as the 3rd person plural.

4.3   The invariable form of consonantal bases

The participial/infinitival forms of verbs with consonantal bases involving long stressed vowels of the type of *ve:ʃ, lo:ð,* etc. coincide in turn with the 2nd and 3rd person of the present indicative. The relevant paradigms are exemplified in (23). Note that therefore the person split in verbs with consonantal bases opposes 2nd and 3rd person singular, lacking specialized inflections, and 1st person singular or the plural, which are endowed instead with specialized inflections.

(23)   *Shkodër*
a.   ɛ   veʃ-i/ ve:ʃ/ ve:ʃ/ veʃ-im/ veʃ-ni/ veʃ-in
        him-her   dress-1sg, etc.
        ꞊I dress him/herø   etc.
b.   ɛ   kɾeh-i/ kɾe:h/ kɾe:h/ kɾeh-im/ kɾeh-ni/ kɾeh-in
        him-her comb-1sg, etc.
        ꞊I comb him/herø   etc.

The 3rd person singular of the middle-reflexive perfective past in (24a)

and the 2nd person singular of the imperative in (24b) are differentiated from (23) by the presence of a stressed nucleus both shorter and more open/centralized. Thus *ve:ʃ* with the reading of a participle/infinitival or of a 2nd/3rd person singular of the present contrasts with *m vɛʃ* ='dress me!'or *u vɛʃ* ='S/he dressed him/herself'

(24) a.   u   vɛʃ
             M/R   s/he.dressed
             ='S/he dressed'
     b.   vɛʃ-   ɛ/   i
             dress- him/her/them
             ='Dress him/her/them!'
     b.ø   m   kɾɛh
             me   comb
             ='Comb me!'

For consonantal bases of the type in (23), as for vocalic bases of the type in (22), we will assume that the participial interpretation is connected to the N morphology. The infinitival interpretation depends on a quantification on possible worlds, introduced at the interpretive interface and compatible with the bare verb stem. In turn we take the present indicative reading, as in (23), to be aspectual. In particular, the present indicative in Albanian can have not only a generic reading but also a progressive one, essentially as the present indicative of Romance languages. We assume that the present is obtained when the verb base is closed by a quantification at the eventive level, namely an universal/ generic one if the progressive is essentially an imperfective. Temporal reference to the present can be taken to be implied simply by the lack of any specification for the past; in effect we take 'past'to be pretty much the only real temporal reference of natural languages. Present is simply the conventional label for the absence of temporal specifications, while future is a modal rather than a temporal meaning.

We already proposed, in connection with the discussion of (20), that infinitival/participial bases of the type of *ve:ʃ*, etc. are specialized for the lexicalization of an N denotation. Given (23) we conclude that the absence of D specifications on a lexical base is compatible with 3rd person denotation, and in this case with 2nd person denotation as well. In terms of the discussion in the previous section, 3rd person reference, anchored at the event, is different from 2nd person reference, i.e. the reference to the hearer, anchored instead at the universe of discourse. What we suggest is that the lack of D inflections in (23) is compatible both with the prototypical event-

anchored reference (3rd person singular) and with the prototypical discourse-anchored reference (2nd person singular) in the absence of further incompatible specifications. Reference to the speaker or to the plural requires instead a D inflection.

Comparison with verbal bases ending in vowels shows that the three singular persons of the present indicative are formed with agreement inflections added to the verbal base and its thematic vowel, as in (25). It remains true nevertheless that the 2nd and 3rd person have the same inflection, namely -*n*, as in (24).

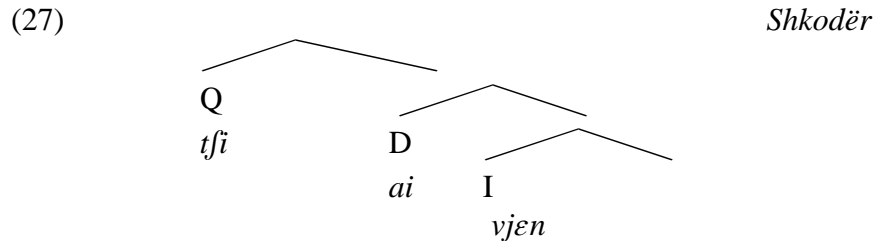(25)   *Shkodër*
        ɛ   mla-i/ mla:-n/ mla:-n/ mlo-im/ mlo-ni/ mlo-in
        him/her cover-1sg, etc.
        =I cover him/herø   etc.

Finally, consider the 3rd perfect and 2nd imperative bare forms in (24), with a short vowel, contrasting with the long vowel of the bare forms in (23). We can think that this morpho-phonological property corresponds to a lexical item endowed with the sole predicative content (i.e. without N closure). This characterization seems to adequately fit the modal nature of imperative, depending on the appropriate closure at the situation (possible worlds) level. As for the 3rd person of the middle-reflexive perfect, this interpretation is made available as a result of a quantificational closure (existential for a perfective) (cf. the discussion of Bonomi 1997 above).

5.   Syntax of the *paskajore*

The analysis of the *paskajore* requires a clarification of the syntax of the element that generally introduces it, namely *mɛ*. As we saw in section 1, *mɛ* also introduces noun phrases, taking the meaning of the preposition =withø An argument in favour of the conclusion that this coincidence is not mere homophony comes from the fact that the negative counterpart of *mɛ*, i.e. *pɒ* =withoutø can also introduce the invariable participle/ infinitive. The classical treatment of prepositions in contexts where they embed nouns, such as (4) takes them to be autonomous heads with a predicative content. Pursuing the analysis of prepositional contexts proposed in Manzini and Savoia 2011, we note that prepositions are always two place predicates whose internal argument is their complement, while the external argument is controlled by one of the arguments of the matrix predicate. In the case of *mɛ/ pɒ / tu* - invariant participle constructions, this means that the external argument of *mɛ/ pɒ/ tu* is controlled by a matrix clause

argument, while the invariant participle clause saturates the internal argument of the preposition, as illustrated in (26b) for the sentence in (26a). We have seen that the participle corresponds to a bare verbal stem, eventually expanded by means of the thematic vowel, associated to a quantification over possible worlds (irrealis modality). Indeed we have concluded that the bare forms, in so far as they are devoid of aspectual and person morphology, externalize a predicate interpretation whose eventive variable is available to modal interpretation.

(26) *Shkodër*
a.   t   kam   θõ̃:n   mɛ   ɛ   mlu
       to.you I.have said   Prt   it   do
       ‒I told you to cover itø
b.

In (26) the control property, i.e. the coreference between the matrix object lexicalized by the clitic *t* in (26a) and the embedded implicit D/ EPP argument of the infinitive (its subject), is derived in virtue of the reduced nature of the verbal stem. Thus, the invariable verb form lacks any lexical device fixing the denotation of the EPP argument. In other words we may assume that it can introduce the EPP argument as a variable ó which is the essence of control.

As we saw in section 3, Albanian also has a series of complementizers analogous to Romance *que/ che*, introducing finite sentences. We argued elsewhere that the Romance type *che* is a nominal head. The strongest arguments in favour of this conclusion come from the fact that in many Romance languages, for instance in standard Italian, the so-called complementizer also appears as a *wh-* determiner of the noun and as a *wh-* argument with the meaning of ‒whatø No similar convergence holds in our data. However in Geg dialects spoken for instance in Montenegro/ Macedonia this coincidence can be seen in examples like *tʃi bən?* ‒what are you doing?ø (Flora Koleci, p.c.), where the *wh-* element for ‒whatø coincides with the complementizer. While elements like Italian *che* introduce an argumental variable in the case of a *wh-* reading, we

propose that so-called complementizer *che* introduces a propositional variable. Thus the main verb takes as its complement a nominal element, i.e. the complementizer, introducing a propositional variable. The embedded sentence is the complement not directly of the main verb, but rather of the nominal head, i.e. *tʃi* or *sɛ* in Albanian, as illustrated in (27).
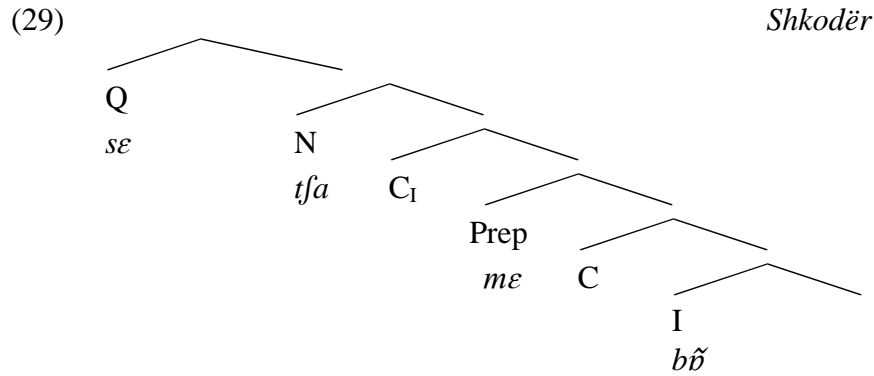
(27)   *Shkodër*

$$
\begin{array}{l}
\quad\quad \wedge \\
\text{Q} \\
\textit{tʃi} \quad\quad \text{D} \;\;\; \wedge \\
\quad\quad\quad\quad \textit{ai} \quad \text{I} \\
\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad \textit{vjɛn}
\end{array}
$$

In (14)-(15) we find exemplified the case in which the non-finite sequence *mɛ - invariable verb form* can be preceded by a *tʃi* or *sɛ* complementizer. From a structural point of view the complementizer embeds the *paskajore* as its complement, as in (28), introducing a propositional variable whose value is specified by the *paskajore* itself. As indicated in (28), it is also possible to combine the *paskajore* with a prepositional introducer; the latter will be directly comparable to the prepositions introducing infinitives in Romance.

(28)   *Shkodër*

$$
\begin{array}{l}
\quad\quad \wedge \\
\text{Q/Prep} \\
\textit{tʃi/ pər} \quad \text{Prep} \;\; \wedge \\
\quad\quad\quad\quad \textit{mɛ} \quad \text{C} \;\; \wedge \\
\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad \text{N} \;\; \wedge \\
\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad \textit{ɛ} \quad \text{I} \\
\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad \textit{bɣ̃}
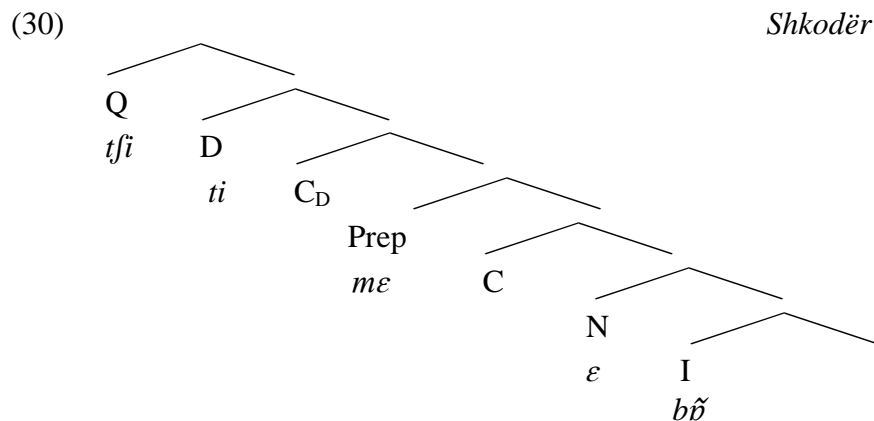\end{array}
$$
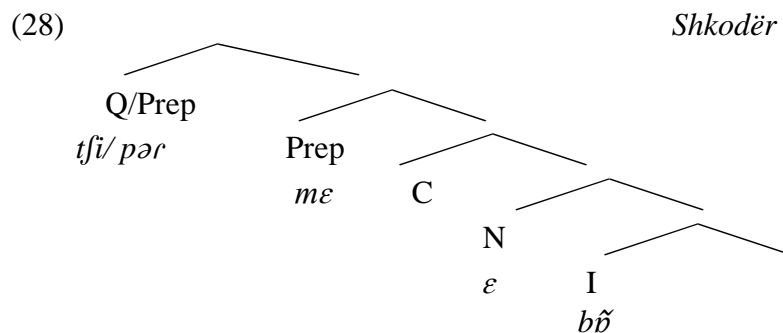
In embedded questions, the *wh*-element, on a par with negation, appears lower than the complementizer, e.g. *sɛ* in (29), but higher than *mɛ*. This follows if the domain of insertion of the *wh*-phrase, is the left-periphery of the *mɛ* head, say a modal C_I domain. Therefore in (29), the accusative *tʃa* will insert in the appropriate argumental slot of the C_I domain, i.e. N. We have already pointed out in presenting the data that the *wh*-phrase follows the complementizer in finite contexts as well, hence this is independent of the *paskajore*,

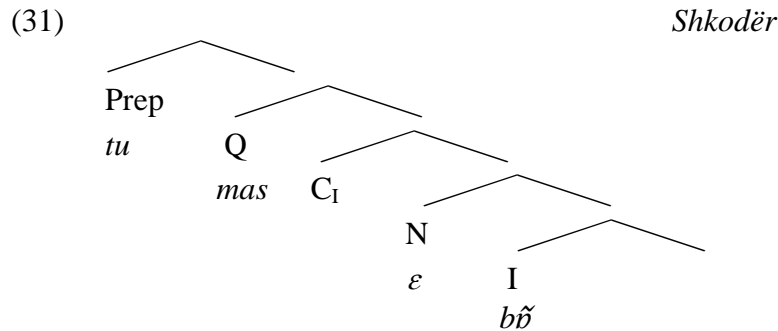as discussed for Tosk dialects by Turano (1995).

(29)   *Shkodër*

```
            Q
            sɛ
                        N
                        tʃa      C_I
                                    Prep
                                    mɛ      C
                                                I
                                                bɤ̃
```

Like the negation and the *wh*-phrase in (29), the preverbal lexical subject appears above *mɛ* and below an eventual complementizer. We explain this position in terms of the general assumption that in null subject languages preverbal subjects are topicalized (Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2007). Therefore, a preverbal lexical subject inserts in the D position of left-peripheral domain associated with topics, notated C_D in (30), and projected in this instance by the *mɛ* head. An eventual complementizer will precede it.

(30)   *Shkodër*

```
            Q
            tʃi     D
                    ti      C_D
                                Prep
                                mɛ          C
                                                N
                                                ɛ       I
                                                        bɤ̃
```

A lexical subject can also be inserted in the embedded sentence, but in this case it will appear in the lower predicative domain and it will therefore surface postverbally. Like the postverbal subjects of Romance language, in this case the lexical subject is interpreted as part of the focus of the sentence. The reason why we do not find the lexical subject between the particle and the verb, i.e. in the canonical subject (EPP) position, is that the latter must be interpretively a variable in order to satisfy the selection properties of

mɛ, ultimately yielding the control interpretation.

As we saw in section 1, the invariable verbal form can also combine with the particle *tu* giving rise to a progressive reading; such reading is found both in combination with the auxiliary *jam* ϸI amøand in non-finite sentences introduced by prepositional elements. There is one notable difference between *mɛ* and *tu*, given that the negation follows *tu*, though it precedes *mɛ*. This suggests that *tu* embeds a relatively sentential projection, including for instance a C_I modal domain. The negation which we associate to a quantificational (Q) category will follow *tu* if it inserts in the C_I domain itself, as in (31).

(31)   *Shkodër*

```
              /\
             /  \
        Prep    /\
               /  \
        tu    Q   /\
             /   /  \
           mas  C_I  /\
               /    /  \
              N    /    \
             /\   / \
            ɛ   I
           bṽ
```

6. Tosk varieties: a brief comparison.

Tosk varieties (including the standard) provide an interesting comparison with the Geg varieties considered so far, as can be seen by *Gjirokastër* in (32). On the one hand, they distinguish non agreeing participles which receive a perfective reading both active as in (32a) and middle as in (32b), and agreeing participles which receive a passive or adjectival reading, as in (32c). On the other hand the non-agreeing participle has a specialized inflection, namely -*ɾ*, with respect to which it differs from the invariable participle of Geg.

(32)   *Gjirokastër*
         a.   ɛ   kam   zɟuaɾ /   vɛʃuɾ
                 him-her   I.have woken.up / dressed
                 ϸI have woken him/her up / dressed him/ herø
         b.   jan   vɛʃuɾ
                 they.are   dressed.up
                 ϸThey have dressed upø
         c.   jan   tə   vɛʃuɾ/ vɛʃuɾa
                 they.are   pl.   dressed.up-m./dressed-up-f.
                 ϸThey are dressed upø

In Tosk dialects furthermore we find constructions with the invariable participles preceded by prepositional elements including the gerund particle *dukɛ/ tuɾɛ/ tuɾa* and by *pa* 'without'. This is exemplified in (33) with *Gjirokastër* again and with the Arbëresh (italo-albanian) dialect of *Firmo* (Altimari 1994, Turano 1999). These data show the same form of the participle with *-ɾ* morphology which appears in combination with the auxiliary *jam/kam* in (32). Note that in *Gjirokastër*'s (33b) the sequence *pɒ - invariable participle* is preceded by the determiner overtly agreeing with the subject of the main verb.

(33)   *Gjirokastër*
        a.   tə   patʃ   dukɛ u   lar
                you   I.saw   Prt   M/R   wash
                'I saw you wash'
        b.   dɔla   pa   ɛ   lar
                I.went.out   without   it   wash
                'I went out without washing it'
        bɒ   kam   dalə   i   pa   ŋgɾənuɾ
                I.have gone.out   msg   without   eaten
                'I left without eating'

        Firmo
        a.   tuɾɛ   ɛ   diɔvasuɾ   msɔkɛm
                Prt   it   read   I.learn
                'reading it I learn'
        b.   dɔla   pa   ɛ   bənuɾ
                I.went.out   without   it   done
                'I left without doing it'

The analysis proposed for the inflected participles of *Shkodër* in (21) can be applied to the participial forms in (32), as illustrated in (34). We will associate the thematic vowel immediately following the root to the internal N position and the specialized aspectual inflection, namely -(*V*)*ɾ*, to the I position of the word. As in the dialect of *Shkodër*, participles endowed with inflections agreeing with an argument of the sentence only appear in passive contexts; the relevant inflections can be analysed exactly as in their Geg counterparts.

(34)   *Gjirokastër*
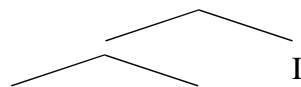
√	N	ɾ
zʃ	*ua*	
veʃ	*u*	

Is it the inflected nature of the Tosk participle that prevents it from having the interpretive properties of the invariant form of Geg? On the one hand, the lack of agreement inflection allows it to introduce a variable EPP argument, available for control from a matrix argument mediated by a preposition, *pɒ* or *dukɛ / tuɾɛ*, etc. On the other hand, in Tosk grammars, the preposition *me* cannot combine with this form in order to create the *paskajore*. We can impute this gap to the lexical properties of *me* and of the inflected participle. Suppose that *me* selects for an irrealis semantics. Following Bonomi (1997), Manzini and Savoia (2007, 2008) we proposed that the invariable verbal bases of Geg could have both an aspectual reading (participle, perfect) and a modal reading (*paskajore* =infinitive, imperative), depending on quantificational closures at the event level and at the situation level respectively. It is natural to assume that in Tosk varieties, the presence of specialized participial inflection -ɾ does not allow for the modal, irrealis (hence =infinitival) reading.

By contrast, the aspectual inflection of the participle is compatible with the equally aspectual interpretation introduced by *pɒ* an *dukɛ/ tuɾɛ*, as in (35). For instance, *dukɛ/ tuɾɛ* lexicalize essentially location =at the time of the matrix event (directly linking to the prepositional type *tu, tek* =at for location in space), yielding a gerundive interpretation. In turn *pɒ* itself introduces modal properties, since it incorporates a negation; thus for instance in English its counterpart =without licenses negative polarity items exactly as the negation does (e.g. =I left without having seen Peter/ anybody vs. =I left (after) having seen Peter/ *anybody). This may mean that it does not allow for any extra modal licensing, allowing in its complement a purely aspectual expression such as the -ɾ participle.

(35)   *Gjirokastër*
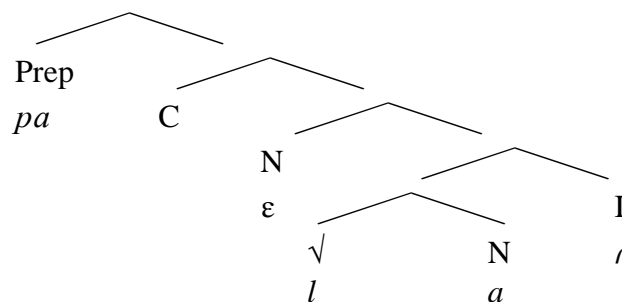
Finally, the *-ɾ* participle occurs in structures in which it is preceded by *tə*. In Tosk and standard varieties this type of structure characterizes the so-called infinitive *pəɾ tə - participle* sequence associated to a purpose reading, as in (36). As shown in (36a,b), object clitics can occur between the particle and the participle; similarly, the modal negation *mɔs* follows *tə*, as in (36b).

(36)   *Gjirokastër*
    a.   aɾðtʃ pəɾ   tə   ŋgɾənuɾ / t   a   vɛʃuɾ
        I.came for   Prt   eat   / Prt him/her   dressed
        ∃I came in order to eat / to dress him/ herø
    b.   ika   pəɾ   tə   mɔs   tə / ɛ   zdʒuaɾ
        I.went for   Prt   Neg   you/ him   waken up
        ∃I went away for not waking up you/ himø

We can identify the element *tə* introducing the participle with the article which precedes adjectives and (kinship) nouns, and has a parallel in the *ót* nominal inflection. Manzini and Savoia 2011a,b,c, Savoia 2008) analyse it as a quantifier-like morpheme, connected with definiteness (and other quantificational properties). Thus, a sequence like *tə ŋgɾənuɾ* would correspond to a nominalized participial form ó an accusative on the assumption that this case is selected by *pəɾ*. Formations of the type *tə - participle* show up in general in Albanian varieties as nominalized participles with a non-eventive reading, as in (37).

(37)   *Firmo*
    furnɔva   tə   ŋgɾən
    I.finished   Art   the eaten
    I finished the food/ eatingø

The nature of *tə* as an article is confirmed by some aspectual constructions in which both article and participial base have the oblique morphology, as in (38). Note that in these constructions no lexical material can insert between the article and the participle, unlike in (36); the object of the participle is cliticized in front of the matrix verb.

(38)   *Gjirokastër*
    ɛ   mbaɾɔva   sə   ˈvɛʃuɾ-i
    him/her   I.finished   Art.Obl   dressed.Obl

⊣I finished dressing him/ her∅

Formations of this type are attested also in the variety of *Shkodër*, as in (39), where the participle is preceded by the oblique article and combined with the oblique inflection. In turn, in the combination *Art-participle* no lexical element can be inserted between the article and the participle, as in (38), and the clitic corresponding to the internal argument of the participle precedes the matrix verb.

(39) *Shkodër*
    a.   maɾɔva   s   ʃkɾum-it
          I.finished   Art.Obl   write-Obl
          ⊣I finished writing∅
    b.   ɛ   maɾɔva   s/ t   ʃkɾumun-it
          it   I.finished   Art.Obl   writen-Obl
          ⊣I finished writing the letter∅

Therefore the form in (36) is different from those in (38)-(39), in so far as it is possible to insert lexical material (object clitics) between *tə* and the *participle* in (36). This recalls the behaviour of the *mɛ - invariant verbal form* of Geg varieties, which can insert object clitics in-between preposition and verbal form.

    Let us begin by considering the nominalized participles preceded by the proclitic articles *s* or *t* in (38)-(39). We simply assign to them the structure of inflected nouns, as in (40), where the *t* case inflection of the participle is in a word internal Q position (Manzini and Savoia 2011a,b,c, Savoia 2008). The example of *Gjirokastër* in (38) shows the indefinite oblique inflection, lacking *ót* (hence definiteness). In accordance with the discussion that precedes, the proclitic particles *t* and *s* are treated as D elements closing off the participial nominalization. The appearance of the oblique corresponds to insertion of the participial phrase in the relevant complement position of the main verb.

(40)   *Shkodër*

ʃkɾ   u
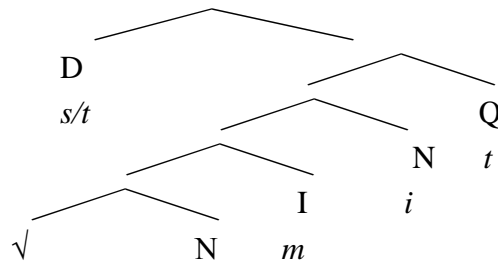
     If we now take up the *pəɾ tə - participle* constructions in (36), the possibility of finding clitic objects and the modal negation between the element *tə* and the participle, uninflected for case and gender, suggests a different analysis. Furthermore, the position of the modal negation differentiates these constructs from the *mɛ* constructs, while it reproduces the order characterizing the finite subordinates introduced by the so-called subjunctive particle *tə*, as in (41a,b).

(41)   *Gjirokastër*
a.   i   θatʃ   tə   mə   fliste
       to.him/ her   I.told Prt   me   he.called
       ꞌI told to him/her to call meꞌ
b.   tə   θatʃ   tʃə   tə   mɔs ɛ lajɛ
       to.you I.told that   Prt   Neg it you.washed
       ꞌI told to you to not wash itꞌ

     In Manzini and Savoia 2007, in analyzing the subjunctive particle *tə* of Tosk varieties, including standard Albanian, we abandoned the analysis generally assumed in the literature, whereby *tə* connects to the modal properties of the construction it enters into. Instead we proposed that its role is that of introducing a variable corresponding to the subject argument of the embedded sentence, here D. The control property, i.e. the co-reference between a matrix argument and the embedded D argument, is mediated through this variable. This analysis finds crucial supporting evidence in the fact that the ꞌsubjunctiveꞌparticle in (41) coincides with the definite article *tə* preceding adjectives and nouns, as in (40). The analysis explains this coincidence since both the subjunctive particle and the article represent nominal elements, and in fact D elements ó namely a determiner, i.e. the D closure of a nominal expression in (40) and the the D closure of a sentence, i.e. its ꞌsubjectꞌin (41)).
     The parallels between the subjunctive construction in (41) and the *pəɾ tə - participle* constructions supports an analysis of the latter in which *tə* is treated as the subjunctive particle *tə,* hence associated to a D position of the C field, where it precedes the modal negation and it is embedded in turn under the preposition *pəɾ*, selecting the entire participial clause, as in (42)

(42)   *Gjirokastër*

Prep
pəɾ   D

                    tə   Q

                              mɔs   C

                                              N

                                              ɛ   I

                                                        zdʒuaɾ
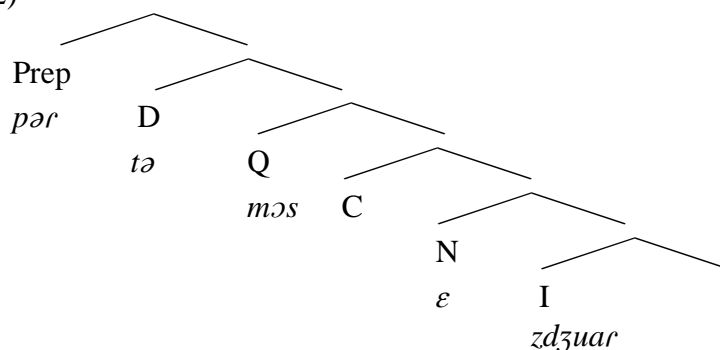
Since the perfective   inflection -*ɾ* in itself associates with an existential quantification reading, we propose that the purpose interpretation associated to these context is derived from the directional meaning (projected on the temporal axis) introduced by the preposition *pəɾ*.

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