University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics

1-1-2000

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1 Introduction

Albanian has two ways of expressing the passive. The first is the analytic passive, formed by the participle and the auxiliary *jam*, 'be,' in (1); the second is the synthetic form, called the mediopassive, in (2):

(1)　Agimi është goditur (prej Dritës).
　　　Agim-N is-pres hit-prt (from Drita-AB)
　　　'Agim is hit (by Drita).'
　　　* 'Agim hits himself.'

(2)　Agimi goditet.
　　　Agim-N hit-NAct-pres
　　　'Agim is hit (by someone else).'
　　　'Agim hits himself.'

Both (1) and (2) are NonActive, and each implies perfect aspect—that is, an action completed prior to the time indicated by tense. Each also implies an agent that is referentially distinct from the theme and which may or may not be expressed in an agentive PP. No other interpretation is open to the Aux+Participle construction in (1). However, the synthetic form in (2) may also be interpreted as reflexive, forcing coreference between theme and agent and disallowing an agentive PP. The reflexive interpretation crucially does *not* imply perfect aspect, implying instead an action that is habitual or iterative.

　　If we overtly, but obliquely, express an anaphoric agent, as in (3), we force a perfect reading:

(3)　?Agimi goditet prej vetës.
　　　Agim-N hit-NAct from self-AB
　　　'Agim is in the state of having hit himself.'
　　　* 'Agim hits himself.'

While my informants find the sentence above of questionable grammaticality, it is completely unacceptable if it is intended to mean that Agim habitu-

ally or generally hits himself. It can only mean that Agim is now in the state of having hit himself at some point in the past. Thus, perfect aspect and reflexivity are mutually exclusive in the Albanian mediopassive.

Similarly, a sentence like the one in (4), in which the derived subject of the mediopassive verb is plural or compound, may be interpreted as passive, implying perfect aspect and an agent that is referentially distinct from the theme. Or it may be interpreted as a reflexive or reciprocal predicate, which excludes perfect aspect. While these readings do entail that Agim and Drita are the agents of their own or each other's beatings, the sentences do not assert an action completed prior to the time of tense.

(4)   Agimi e Drita goditen me grushte.
       Agim-N and Drita-N hit-PrNAct with fists.
       'Agim and Drita are now in the state of having been hit with some -
       body else's fists.'
       * 'Agim and Drita are now in the state of having hit themselves/each
       other.'
       'Agim and Drita (generally) hit themselves/each other.'

As in (2), the nonperfect reading of (4) eliminates the possibility of referentially distinct agents, oblique or otherwise, and forces a reflexive or reciprocal reading in which agent and theme are coreferential. Conversely, a perfect interpretation forces the implication of an agent that is referentially distinct from the recipients of the action. Again we see that perfect aspect and reflexivity and reciprocity are mutually exclusive in these constructions in Albanian.

This paper analyzes the passive as two distinct phenomena: NonActive Voice and Perfect Aspect. I argue that both participles and perfect stems carry a past tense feature that prevents the projection of the external argument and that each heads a VP that is the lower VP in a complex predicate. Just as perfect aspect can occur without NonActive voice, NonActive voice can occur without perfect aspect in constructions that are NonActive but not passive. These constructions have a single tense and a single VP. Nonperfect verbs, unlike perfect verbs, must project their external arguments, even when inflection is NonActive.

I am assuming a theory in which syntactic structure is built from the bottom up as a projection of the compositional semantics of events and states. Verbs project VPs, in which their internal arguments are syntactic objects. Compositionality requires that external arguments be projected syntactically

external to VP. Therefore, their canonical syntactic projection is achieved compositionally by the verb phrase and INFL, which in Albanian must be marked as Active.

2 Voice

Rivero (1990) argues that Voice heads a functional projection and that Voice affects argument structure. This analysis disagrees. Here and in Massey (1992b) I argue that Voice and Aspect, including Aktionsart, interact to determine the syntactic representation of arguments.

In Albanian, all verbs except the aspectual auxiliaries *kam* and *jam*, 'have' and 'be,' must be inflected for either Active or NonActive Voice. In Massey (1992b), I argue that a feature [+/-Active] on INFL correlates with Specifier of IP positions into which external arguments are projected and those into which they are not. Active and NonActive inflections, respectively, are the overt morphological expressions of the plus and minus values of this feature. The sentences in (5–8) illustrate Active inflection and external arguments as subjects of transitive, causative, unergative, and psych verbs:

(5)   Drita godita Agimin.
      Drita-N hit-Act Agim-A
      'Drita hit Agim.'

(6)   Agimi theu degën.
      Agim-N break-Act branch-the-A
      'Agim broke the branch.'

(7)   Unë qesh shpesh.
      I-N laugh-Act often
      'I laugh often.'

(8)   Agimi kujton librin.
      Agim-N remember-Act book-the-A
      'Agim remembers the book.'

NonActive inflection does not necessarily indicate the passive. Nor does it necessarily occur with altered argument structure. In Albanian, NonActive voice also appears on verbs that are not associated with external arguments at

all. This fact is illustrated in (9–11) with anticausative, unaccusative, and raising verbs:

(9)   Dega thyhet.
       branch-the-N breaks-NAct
       'The branch (just) breaks.'

(10)   Djali u rrokullit.
       boy-the-N rolled-NAct
       'The boy rolled.'

(11)   Duket se Drita është e zgjuar.
       seems-NAct that Drita-N is agr clever
       'It seems that Drita is clever.'

NonActive inflection also combines with psych verbs in Albanian, as illustrated in (12):

(12)   Agimit i kujtohet kënga.
       Agim-D cl-D remembers-NAct song-N
       'Agim remembers the song.'

In this example, although the case markings of dative experiencer and nominative object differ from the nominative experiencer and the accusative object of the active, the argument structure remains unchanged. The only element that consistently changes with the voice quality of INFL is the thematicity of the subject position.

3 The Analytic Passive and the Active Perfect

The Active perfect and the analytic passive in Albanian are formed by the participle and the auxiliaries *kam* and *jam*, 'have' and 'be,' respectively. Following Hoekstra (1984), Cowper (1989), and other recent work, I assume that the passive in (1) and the Active Perfect in (13) share the participle and that the syntactic expression of the external argument is dependent upon the choice of auxiliary:

(13)   Drita ka goditur Agimin.
       Drita-N has hit-prt Agim-A
       'Drita has hit Agim.'

Although the auxiliary verbs *have* and *be* do not overtly reflect voice, they at first appear functional equivalents of Active and NonActive INFL in that the external argument of the participle occurs as the subject if the auxiliary is *have* but not if the auxiliary is *be*. Kayne (1993) and Ritter and Rosen (1997) provide differing accounts for the generalization that *have* occurs with the participle in the Active perfect to reinstate the external argument. Kayne posits an incorporated preposition that licenses the external argument obliquely, while Ritter and Rosen attribute to *have* linking functions but no semantic content of its own. Most of these analyses appear consistent with Benveniste's (1966) treatment of *have* as a "pseudotransitive." Mahajan (1997) modifies Kayne to account for split-ergative languages in which the "transitive" auxiliary is *be* and the subject is marked by ergative case.

These analyses share the assumption of the participle's apparent inability to project its external argument in the canonical way. Traditional generative analyses have revolved around the notion that the participle's morphology "absorbs" or suppresses the external thematic role or otherwise blocks its assignment. Williams (1978) argues that since the affix *-en* has no external argument, the derived participle it heads also has no external argument. Thus, the external argument is internalized. However, the perfect interpretation of the synthetic passive in Albanian shows that clearly nonparticipial forms can share the participle's inability to legitimize external arguments. This indicates that what appears to be a fact about participles turns out to be a fact about perfects in general.

What I have called perfect aspect is defined here as a relation between two points in time. The present perfect relates the present and the past. As such, the perfect is actually a temporal distinction that contrasts with the definite past or aorist, which denotes a single point in time.

As is well-known, there are several types of perfect meaning; however, all share the present relevance of a past situation. The type of perfect that is relevant to this discussion is the perfect of result, in which a present state results from a past action. This type of perfect is generally restricted to transitive or unaccusative verbs that have affected objects. These verbs represent delimited events in Tenny's (1994) terms. A delimited event has a natural endpoint that is provided by the verb's internal argument or its properties. The object measures out the action of the verb.
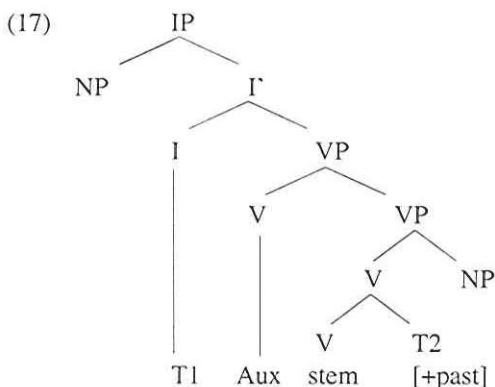
In some theories, these objects are described as undergoing change, but Tenny points out that change is a temporal process, while delimiting or measuring out is an aspectual property. An aspectual treatment unifies the targeted class of verbs with more empirical accuracy than a notion of literal affectedness, since affectedness is supposed to be a requirement for NP passivization. Tenny's analysis explains why *the play's performance by the first-graders* is grammatical. Despite the fact that the play is not literally affected, it delimits the event. Thus, the unaccusative (14) represents a perfect of result, while (15), which lacks an internal argument, illustrates an experiential perfect:

(14)   John has arrived.
(15)   John has laughed.

The analytic passive is generally interpreted as a perfect of result because it predicates a state of the delimiting argument that results from the completion of the event that the argument measures out. Thus, in Albanian, (16) is ungrammatical because the song does not delimit the remembering, nor is it in the state of having been remembered:

(16) *Kenga është kujtuar (prej Agimit).
      song-the is remember-prt (from Agim-AB)
      'The song is remembered (by Agim).'

Because I have argued that perfect aspect is actually defined temporally as the implication of two points in time, I argue that the compositional semantics of the perfect requires a syntactic analysis containing two tense representations in a complex predicate containing two VPs. The higher VP is headed by the auxiliary which is required to make a semantically complex predicate syntactically complex. The lower VP is headed by the verb stem. The first of the two tenses is the tense that heads IP, the clausal tense, which is affixed to the auxiliary and represents the time of the state. The second tense, which is always [+past], combines with the verb stem to form the participle. These facts mean that the Active and passive perfect will be represented by the structure in (17):

(17)

```
                  IP
              ／      ＼
          NP            I'
                     ／    ＼
                  I          VP
                  |       ／    ＼
                  |     V        VP
                  |     |      ／   ＼
                  |     |    V        NP
                  |     |  ／  ＼
                  |     | V      T2
                 T1    Aux stem  [+past]
```

Despite the fact that participles are often referred to as "nonfinite," I ar-
gue in Massey (1992a) that the participle is a finite form inflected for tense
prior to lexical insertion. Similarly, Cowper (1992) proposes that in addition
to affixation and head movement, there is a third option: base-generated head
adjunction. The lower tense in (17) is a sort of defective INFL, unable to
head a functional projection, to provide an appropriate position for the verb's
external argument, or to license a subject. I argue that nothing about the par-
ticiple or its morphology absorbs or suppresses the external argument of the
verb; the argument just has no place to go. It remains implied, however, and
can be reinstated with the assistance of the auxiliary *have* in the Active or by
the agentive preposition in the passive.

The higher VP is headed by Aux, which is filled either by *have* or *be*. The
presence of this head prevents the lower verb from moving directly to INFL.
The lower verb raises to the higher verb, creating a verb complex, which
moves to INFL.[1] The presence of Aux between I and the inflected verb pre-
vents the lower verb from creating an adjacency relation to INFL for affixa-
tion. Thus, the [+past] verb is spelled out as the participle, and the auxiliary
bears the tense and agreement features of the main INFL.

When the auxiliary heading the higher VP is *have*, the external argument is
the subject, and the structure is an Active perfect; if Aux is *be*, the internal
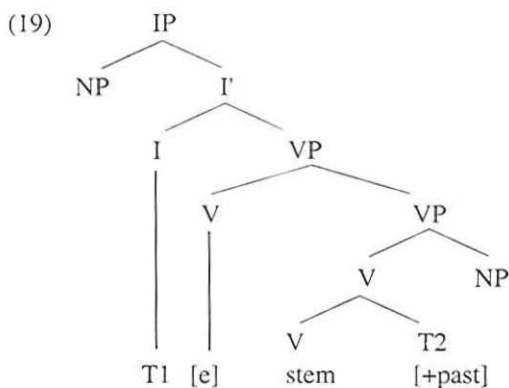argument is the subject, and the structure is passive.

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[1] The verb complex acts as a unit: Adverbs do not intervene between auxiliaries
and participles, and in the Active, object clitics precede *have*.

3 The Synthetic Perfect

The passive interpretation of the Albanian mediopassive sentence in (2), re-
peated as (18), shows that clearly finite inflected forms, as well as participles,
can be perfect, can construct passive predicates, and can fail to license their
external arguments:

(18) Agimi goditet.
      Agim-N hit-NAct-pres
      'Agim is hit (by someone else).'

As noted earlier, this suggests that these are facts about perfects in general
rather that about participles. If this analysis is correct, then it follows that the
synthetic passive will be represented in a tree structure that will contain two
tense representations and two VPs like the one in (19), except that the higher
VP will be headed by an empty V:

(19)

```
                    IP
                 ___/ \___
              NP          I'
                       __/ \__
                      I        VP
                      |     __/  \___
                      |    V         VP
                      |    |      __/  \__
                      |    |     V       NP
                      |    |   _/ \_
                      |    |  V     T2
                    T1 [e] stem  [+past]
```

In the synthetic perfect, there is no lexical auxiliary in the higher VP.
Therefore, nothing prevents the inflected stem from establishing an adja-
cency relation to the main INFL, once it has moved there. The stem is thus
inflected once again for tense. However, since there is no auxiliary in the
higher VP, there is nothing to reinstate the external argument. This explains
why there is no Active synthetic perfect in Albanian. The perfect verb must
surface inflected for NonActive voice. The internal argument is the subject,
and the only means of expressing the external argument is through an agen-
tive PP in a passive construction.

4 Nonperfect Predicates

It is characteristic of perfect verbs, both stems and participles, that the inner tense interferes with the natural tendency to project external arguments externally. Nonperfect verbs, in the absence of such an impediment, exert strong pressure for the projection of their external arguments. NonActive nonperfect psych predicates, as we saw in (12) above, repeated as (20) below, express the external experiencer as dative subjects:

(20) Agimit i kujtohet kënga.
      Agim-D cl-D remembers-NAct song-N
      'Agim remembers the song.'

Since the reflexive interpretation of the mediopassive is interpreted as a NonActive nonperfect, repeated as (21), certain facts immediately follow from this analysis.

(21) Agimi goditet.
      Agim-N hit-NAct-pres
      'Agim hits himself.'

First, there is a single tense representation. Second, there is a single VP. Third, the external argument will be expressed, but not as the subject. However, when the nonperfect stem combines with NonActive INFL, the situation becomes complicated. The nonperfect nature of the stem implies an external argument that needs to be expressed, while NonActive INFL will not allow its expression as the subject. Nor can it be expressed without implying a state resulting from an action by that agent. I argue that the external argument of the nonperfect verb is, in fact, expressed by a clitic that is phonologically null in Albanian but overt in many languages, such as Romance. The result is a nonperfect reflexive predicate.

The fact that the verb in (21) is inflected for NonActive shows that the clitic in Albanian cannot be an accusative and that the subject of the predicate is a derived subject. It is not only that the clitic cannot bear accusative case but that it cannot be doubling the object. McGinnis (1998) recounts arguments against object anaphoric clitics in earlier frameworks and shows how they remain excluded in current theory. She argues that the anaphoric clitic must be the external argument. As a non-DP argument, it has no Case feature to check and cliticizes to T, where it is bound by the raised object.

Dobrovie-Sorin (1998) argues that in Romance the reflexive clitic is an accusative clitic that is coindexed with but does not bind either the subject or a trace in object position. It is base-generated simply as a reflexive-marker that requires a reflexive predicate in the sense of Reinhart and Reuland (1993), such that two arguments or argument positions of the same predicate are coindexed. She argues that this requirement leads to two interpretations. The first is reflexive. In the case of (21), and in Romance, the binding relation between arguments or positions creates two theta-chains, involving in this instance both agent and theme, which, Dobrovie-Sorin argues, is allowed in the theory.

The second interpretation created by coindexing two arguments of the same predicate is in Dobrovie-Sorin's analysis a middle-passive interpretation, which this time creates only one theta-chain, that of the theme. Dobrovie-Sorin argues that impersonal unergative constructions in Romanian are examples of middle-passives formed with middle-passive *se*. She argues that unergative verbs have cognate objects that passivize like the ojects of transitive verbs except for the fact that the objects are null and are represented as *pro*. Passivization creates a chain [*pro*, e_i] between the subject and object positions, satisfying the condition on reflexive predicates. As a reflexive clitic, Romanian *se* binds the empty category in the object position; as an anaphor, its trace is coindexed with the subject. as in (22):

(22) Se, doarme pro, e, bine aici.
      sleeps-3sg   well here
      'One sleeps well here.'

Albanian also has impersonal passives of unergative verbs, as illustrated in (23), in which, I argue, a null clitic with arbitrary reference represents the external argument:

(23) Qeshet.
      laugh-NAct
      'There is laughing going on.'

If Albanian unergative passives are like passives made from transitive predicates, as Dobrovie-Sorin argues for Romanian, we expect to see two things. First, their external arguments should be able to appear in agentive PPs. The Active and NonActive unergative sentences in (24–26) show that this is not the case:

(24) Unë eci shpesh.
      I walk-Active often
      'I walk often.'

(25) Nuk ecet sot.
      not walk-NAct today
      'There is no walking going on today.'

(26) *Nuk ecet prej mua.
      not walk-NAct from me

The sentence in (26) shows that the addition of an oblique external argument renders the NonActive unergative ungrammatical. If the external argument is expressed by a null clitic with arbitrary reference, then this fact is explained. The clitic represents the external argument in Albanian, not the cognate object. The clitic in Albanian is a non-DP argument and thus nominative case is not an issue.

The second thing we expect to see if unergative passives are just like transitive passives is perfect aspect. But (25) does not imply two points in time, nor does it imply a state that is the result of an event completed in the past. Like the NonActive reflexive, the NonActive unergative is nonperfect, implying an activity not a state.

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