HYLLI I DRITËS

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Agreement within DPs: a comparison between Aromanian and Albanian

Abstract

Agreement within DPs in Aromanian varieties spoken in Southern Albania is asymmetric, in the sense that, while gender and number occur on all elements, only the first one shows the case mark. Adjectives, which are post-nominal, do not present the mark of case. We analyze this distribution in comparison with Albanian varieties. In Aromanian only one form is clearly specialized for the case interpretation, while the so-called nominative and accusative are nothing but forms characterized by definite or indefinite morphology. In addition, morphological exponents manifest a wide syncretism, as in the Albanian varieties. The morpho-syntactic analysis, based on the Phase model, assumes that morphemes are endowed with interpretable content and morphology is part of the syntactic computation.

1. Nominal paradigms in two Aromanian varieties

We will investigate the distribution of agreement within the DP in the Aromanian[1] varieties spoken in southern Albania[2], more precisely the variety of Myzeqeja (Musachia), Rëmën, and that of the Korça ares, Fërshërot.[3] In Aromanian, nominal paradigms differentiate the direct

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[1] In Northern Macedonia and Albania, Aromanian has the status of a linguistic minority with the legal forms of protection. As other heritage languages, its transmission and use involve family members, friends, or the village circle, and are influenced by contact with Albanian, the public language (Stoica 2021). This explains the variability that may characterize the answers of our informants.

[2] As regards the geographical diffusion and number of Aromanian speakers, see Capidan (1932) and Caragiu Marioţeanu (1975, 2006).

[3] The data we discuss have been collected through field research in Myzeqeja (Libofshë, L), Rëmën, and in the region of Korça (Plasë), Fërshërot. The last investigation was on 10-14 April 2024. We are very grateful to our informants, among others, Piro Mistaku of Libofshë, Leonida Kruti of Divjakë, and Vilma Veriga of Korça-Plasë. They collaborated providing a substantial contribution to the research, with suggestions, comments and grammaticality judgments that greatly improved our understanding of phenomena. Among my informants

form occurring in nominative or accusative contexts, from the oblique form, characterized by a specialized inflection (Capidan 1932, Caragiu Marioţeanu 1975, Poçi 2009). In addition, oblique contexts require in any case the possessive introducer (PI), thus unlike Romanian and old Rumanian (cf. Pană Dindelegan et al. 2019, Maiden et al. 2021).

In what follows, we exemplify the systems of direct and oblique definite and indefinite forms, in the singular and in the plural for the Rëmën variety of Libofshë in (1)-(4) and Divjakë, and Fëreshërot variety of Korça in (5)-(8) (cf. Savoia and Badi 2024). The oblique joins together genitive and dative, a well-known Balkanism (Joseph 2020), which, as we will see, also characterizes Albanian. (a) exemplifies the definite form, with the so-called enclitic article, while (b) exemplifies the indefinite form preceded by the indefinite article *un/ unə* 'a/ one'. (1a,b) and (2a,b) illustrate singular and plural direct contexts. The oblique contexts, provided in (3a,b) for the singular and in (4a,b) for the plural, are introduced by the P(ossessive) I(ntroducer). In some Aromanian varieties, this morphological element is combined with a morpheme agreeing with the embedded noun, as in Libofshë. The masculine nouns may show the palatalization of the final obstruent or nasal, as for instance in the case of *bərbat/ bərbats* 'man/ men', *mult/ mults* 'much/ many', *kɛn/ kɛɲ* 'dog/ dogs', etc. For the sake of legibility in the glosses the inflectional exponents have a descriptive label, in particular: *-u* = MSG/ OBL, *-a* = FSG, *-ʎ/ l -* = DEF, *-i* = PL/FSG/OBL, *-ur-* = OBL.PL. *u* and *-a* introduce Definiteness: MSG/ FSG.DEF. The nature of the inflections will be reconsidered in subsequent sections.

(1)
a.   ari   vənit   / am   vədzut fitʃor-**u**   /fɛt-**a**
    (s)he.has come /I.have seen   boy-MSG.DEF   girl- FSG.DEF
    'The boy/ the girl has come/ I have seen the boy/ the girl'

 b. ari   vənit   / am   vədzut un fitʃor /unə fɛt-**ə**
    (s)he.has come I.have   seen   a boy   / a girl-FSG
    'The/ a boy / man / girl has come', 'I have seen the/ a boy / girl'

(2)
a. arə vənit / am vədzut   fitʃor-**ʎ-i**   /fɛt(ə)-**l-i**
   they.have come / I.have seen boy-DEF-PL   /girl-DEF-PL
     'The boys/men/girls have come'/ 'I have seen the boys/girls'
b. arə vənit / am vədzut   mults fitʃor-**i** / mult fɛt-**i**
   they.have come /I.have seen   many.PL boy-PL/ many girl-PL
'Many boys/ girls have come'/ 'I have seen many boys / girls'   Libofshë

(3)

a. i   o   ded   **o** fitʃor-**u**   / **o** bərbat-**u**   / **a li** fɛt-**i**
   to.him/her it   I.gave   PI boy-MSG /PI man-MSG / PI girl-OBL
   'I gave it to the boy/the man/ the girl'

b. i   o ded   **o** un fitʃor / **o un** bərbat / **a (li)** un fɛt-**i**
   to.him/her it I.gave   PI a boy   /PI a man   /PI a girl-OBL
   'I gave it to a boy/a man/ a girl'   Libofshë

(4)

a. i   o ded   **o** fitʃor-**ʎ-u** /**o** bərba**ts-ur-u** / **o** fɛt-**ʎ-u**
   to.them   it I.gave   PI boy-DEF-OBL /PI men.PL-DEF.OBL
                        /PI girl-PL-OBL
   'I gave it to the boys/the men/the girls'

b. i   o ded   **o** ts-**uɔr** fitʃor(**-ʎ**)-**i** / **o** doi bərba**ts**
                   / **o** mult fɛt-**i**
   to.them   it I.gave   PI that-OBL.PL boy-DEF-PL /PI two man.PL
                     / PI many girl-PL
   'I gave it to these boys/ to two men/ to many girls'

The Korça variety in (5)-(8) shows a similar system, where the plural oblique has the exponent *-or*. The feminine has the exponent *-i* in the plural and the singular oblique. The result is that in the singular, *-i* can be doubled in definite forms, as in (8a), and corresponds to the plural in definite forms, as in (6a,b). Definite singular forms insert *-u* in the masculine and *-a* in the feminine singular, in (5a), while in the plural the exponent *-l-* occurs, palatalized in *-j-* in the masculine, in (6a). Unlike Rëmën, in Fërshërot the indefinite article has the oblique inflection *-ui* in the masculine and *-ei* in the feminine, which is combined with the indefinite forms of masculine nouns or the inflected oblique of feminine nouns, in (7b).

(5)   a. vini   / vidzui   fətʃor-**u** /bərbat-**u** / fjat-**a**
         (s)he came / I.saw   boy-MSG/man-MSG/ girl-FSG
      b. vini   / vidzui   un fitʃor / un bərbat / un**ə** fjat-**ə**
         (s)he came / I.saw   a boy/ a man/ a girl-FSG
    'The/ a boy / man / girl came'/ 'I saw the/ a boy / man / girl'
                                 jə

(6) a. ˈvinərə / vidzui fətʃor-**jə** /bərbat**s-jə** / fɛt-**i-l-i**
   they.came /I.saw boy- PL.DEF /man- PL.DEF
   /girl-PL-DEF-PL
   'The boys/men/girls came'/ 'I saw the boys/men/girls'
   b. ˈvinərə / vidzui mul**ts** fitʃor /mul**ts** bərbat**s**/ mult-**i** fɛt-**i**
   they.came / I.saw many.PL boy/ many man.PL
   / many.PL girl-PL
   'Many boys/ men/ girls came'/ 'I saw many boys/ men/ girls'

(7) a. i det **a (ł)** fitʃor-**u / a** bərbat- **u / a** fɛt-**i-i**
   to.him/ her I.gave PI boy- MSG/ /PI man-MSG
   / PI girl-SG-OBL
   'I gave it to the boy/the man/ the girl'
   b. i det **a un-ui** fitʃor / **a un-ui** bərbat
   /**a un-ei** fjat-**i**
   to.him/her I.gave PI a-OBL.M boy/PI a-OBL.M man
   /PI a-OBL.F girl-OBL
   'I gave it to a boy/a man/ a girl'

(8)
a. lə det **a** fitʃor-**l-or** /**a** bərbat**s-l-or** /**a** fɛt-**i-l-or**
   to.them I.gave PI boy-DEF-PL.OBL /PI men-DEF-PL.OBL
   /PI girl-PL-DEF-PL.OBL
   'I gave it to the boys/the men/the girls'
b. lə det **a** doi fitʃor-**l-or** / **a** doi bərbat**s-l-or**
   / **a** dau fɛt-**i-l-or**
   to.them I.gave PI two boy-DEF-PL.OB/ PI two man-DEF-PL.OBL
   / PI two girl-PL- DEF-PL.OBL
   'I gave it to two boys/ to two men/ to two girls'

Finally, the paradigm of Class III, from the third declension of Latin, presents the indefinite -*i* (SG) and the definite singular -*l-i*. The examples in (9) for *mujɛʀ*- 'woman' come from Korça.

(9)   *singular*
direct definite	a.	mujɛr-**i-a**	kɛnə-**l-i**
direct indefinite	b.	**unə** mujɛr-**i**	**un** kɛn-**i**
oblique definite	c.	**a (li)** mujɛr-**i**	**a ł** kɛn-**i-l-i**
oblique indefinite	d.	**a** un-**ei** mujɛr-**i**	/ **a** un-**ui** kɛn-**i**

		plural	
direct definite	a'.	mujɛr-(**i-l**)-**i**	kɛɲ-**je**
direct indefinite	b'.	mult-**i** mujɛr	mults kɛ**ɲ**
oblique definite	c'.	**a** mujɛr-**l-or**	**a** kɛɲ-**l-or**
oblique indefinite	d'.	**a** dau mujɛr-**l-u**	**a** doi kɛɲə-**l-u**

Korça

The distribution of inflections is schematized in (10a,b) and (11a,b). The paradigm of PIs is provided in (10c) and (11c). The double slash // separates the exponents of the Class III when they are different.

(10)　a.　*Definite paradigm*

	MSG	FSG	MPL	FPL
Nom/Acc	-u //-l-i	-a	(Pal/ʎ)-i	(-l/ʎ)-i //-l-i
Dat/Gen	-u//-l-i	-i	-ʎ-u/ (Pal)-ur-u/-ɣ-u	u/ʎ/l-u/-ɣ-u-r-u//-l/ʎ-u

　b.　*Indefinite paradigm*

	MSG	FSG	MPL	FPL
Nom/Acc	∅ // -i	-ə //-i	Pal/(-i)	-i
Dat/Gen	∅ // -i	-i //-i	∅/Pal/i	-i

　c.　　PI:　ali / __ N_{FSG} , o　　　　　　　　　　　Libofshë

(11)　a.　*Definite paradigm*

	MSG	FSG	MPL	FPL
Nom/Acc	-u // -l-i	-a // i-a	-je	i/ə-l-i // i-l-i
Dat/Gen	-u // i-l-i	-i-i	-l-or/l-u	i-l-or/l-u

　b.　*Indefinite paradigm*

	MSG	FSG	MPL	FPL
Nom/Acc	∅ // -i	-ə/-e // -i	Pal/∅	-i// ∅
Dat/Gen	∅ // -i	-i	-l-or/l-u	-l-u

　c.　　PI:　a(li) / __ N_{FSG}, a(ł) / __ N_{MSG}, a　　　　Korça

We can summarize the crucial points:
- ✓ The oblique interpretation is always associated with the presence of the PI; this agrees with the embedded noun, unlike canonical linkers
- ✓ Syncretism: The exponent *-i* occurs in indefinite singular direct and indirect forms, and in the direct singular and plural. *-u* is in turn associated with the masculine definite and the plural oblique.

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- ✓ *-l-/-ʎ-* in the plural of definite forms can be associated with the definiteness, as we expect given their derivation from the Latin demonstrative **ille*. The exponent *-ur-* realizes the plural (as in Romanian, cf. Pană Dindelegan 2013).
- ✓ In all contexts, the oblique is associated with the PI, namely *o* for the masculine singular and the plural, and *a li* for the feminine singular, regardless of the definite or indefinite nature of the DP, in Rëmën[4], in (4a,b). In Fërshërot PIs are *a*, and variably *a li* before the singular feminine and *a ł* before masculines, as in (8a,b).

The plural definite oblique shows a specialized inflection in which *-u* combines with the plural formative *-ʎ-*, *-r-*, in (4a), in Libofshë, and *-l-or* in Fërshërot in (8a).

2. Agreement asymmetries in DPs

In the Aromanian varieties, the agreement between determiner, modifier and noun shows an asymmetric distribution. Number and gender are expressed on all elements. Actually, what is often named nominative and accusative corresponds to nominal forms specified for gender and definiteness, as illustrated in (10)-(11). The only specialized exponent of case is the oblique, realized in the domain of D, i.e. by the definite noun or by a prenominal demonstrative/ modifier. Other modifiers and post-nominal adjectives generally agree only for gender and number but exclude the oblique inflection. The latter, therefore, is only registered on the first element in the DP. However, some clarifications are necessary, in particular about the alternative modifier 'other' and the demonstrative as a linker in combination with adjectives. As also documented in Capidan (1932), Aromanian preserves the two types of alternative modifiers documented in Old Romanian (Stan 2016a: 290 and following), namely *(a)γant/ alant* for the closed alterity and *alt* for the open alterity (Nicolae 2013: 300 and following). As discussed by Stan, both order and the agreement within the DP show a certain degree of variability.

(a)γant/ alant and *alt* may follow or precede the noun, although the prenominal position is preferred. The modifier *alt* introduces an indefinite reading, whereby the noun lacks definiteness morphemes, and preferably is post-nominal, as in (a), while *alant/ aγant* generally introduces a definite alternative, and generally is pre-nominal, as in (b). The data in (c) illustrate the combination with a prenominal

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[4]   In these varieties the original **l* in simple onsets has changed to γ. Thus, *γa* "to" corresponds to original *la*, occurring in Romanian and other Aromanian languages.

demonstrative. The demonstrative can occur in post-nominal position where it introduces the adjective, in (d). In these contexts, it shows the case marker, if available, and the adjective can in turn be inflected for case. Examples distinguish direct from oblique forms.

(12)   Direct form (definite/ indefinite reading)- singular/ plural
a.i   vinərə   mujɛr alt-i   bərbats alts
                      / alt-i   mujɛr   / alts bərbats
      They.came   woman other-PL   men.PL   other.PL
                      / other-PL woman   / other   men
      'Other women / other men came'
a.ii vidzui   (unə) alt-ə mujɛr-i   / alt-i   mujɛr-i
                                                   muʃat
      see-PAST-1SG   an other-FSG woman-FSG / other-PL woman-PL
                                                beautiful
      'I saw another woman/ other beautiful women'
b.i   vini   mujɛr-i-a   alant   / bərbat-u   alant
      (S)he.came   woman-SG-FSG.DEF other   / man-MSG.DEF other
      'The other woman/ man came'
c.i   vini   atsa   alant mujɛr-i   / atsɛl alant bərbat
      (S)he.came   that.FSG other woman-FSG   / that.MSG other man
      'That other woman/ that other man came'
c.ii vidzui   ats-a   mujɛr-i   alant muʃat   c.iii   atse-li alant-i
                                                           mujɛr(-li) muʃat-i
      I.saw   that.FSG woman-SG   other   that-DEF-PL other-PL
                beautiful   woman(-DEF-PL)
                                                        beautiful.PL
      'I saw that other beautiful woman/ those beautiful women'

(13)   Oblique (definite/ indefinite) singular/ plural
a.i   i-u ded   a un-ei   mujer-i a un-ui fitʃɔr alt
                        alt
                         luŋg
      him.it I.gave   PI a-OBL.F woman- PI a-OBL.M boy other
                        OBL other   tall
      'I gave it to another tall woman/ to another boy'
b.i   i-u ded   al kɛn-i-l-i alant   / alənt-ui kɛn-i
      him.it I.gave   PI dog-SG-DEF-OBL   / other-OBL.DEF
                                               dog-MSG
      'I gave it to the other dog'
b.ii l-u ded   alənt-or mujɛr muʃat-i   a mujɛr-lor
                                                      muʃat-i
      them.it I.gave   other-OBL.PL woman   PI woman-OBL.PL
                        beautiful-PL   beautiful-PL

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'I gave it to the other beautiful women / to the beautiful women'

c.i   lə ded   atse-i-i mujer-i   atse-lor   alt-i/alant-i
                  (alt) muʃat   mujɛr muʃat-i
     to.them I.gave   that-SG.OBL   that-OBL.PL other.PL
                  woman-SG   other   woman beautiful-PL
                  beautiful

'I gave it to the other beautiful woman/ to these other beautiful women

In summary, we have:

✓ In the indefinite direct context, the nominal base occurs, both preceded or followed by *alt*, in (12a.i); ɸ-features appear on 'other' and variably on the noun, in (12a.ii).

✓ In definite direct contexts, the agreement exponents appear on the first (on the left) element, as shown by the comparison in (12b.i). In the context of the initial demonstrative, the noun and the modifier generally have the indefinite (gender and number) morphology, as in (12c.i), although the definite morphology is not excluded, as in (12c.iii).

✓ Adjectives show the indefinite type of agreement (gender/ number).

✓ The oblique in (13) shows that in definite contexts, the first element has the complete morphology of case, as in (13b.i).

✓ Again, the noun in second position has no case specification, (13b.i).

✓ The demonstrative in initial position has the case morphology, while the following elements only have gender/ number morphology, as in (13c.i).

Both demonstrative and modifier are not introduced by PI; however the form *alant/ aɣant* 'other' includes the PI as its initial morpheme.

The distribution of the Myzeqeja varieties is similar, as in (14)-(15).

(14)   Direct form (definite/ indefinite reading) - singular/ plural

a.i   ar vənit   un bərbat ɣant / unə mujɛr-i ɣant-e
     (s)he.has come   a man   other / a.FSG woman-FSG other-FSG
     'Another man/ another woman has come'

a.ii   vedzui   məjɛr-i   alt-ə
     I.saw   woman-FSG   other-FSG
     'I saw another woman'

c.i   ar vənit   atseu kɛn-i / atsə-ʎ   kɛɲ / atse-ʎə mujɛr-i
     they.has/ have   this.MSG dog-sg/ that-PL dog.PL / that-PL
     come   woman-PL
     'That dog has come / those doogs/women have come'

(15)   Oblique (definite/ indefinite) singular/ plural
a.i   i o ded   o mults   bərbats
        to.him/her I.gave   PI many.MPL   man.PL
        'I gave it to many men/ to many girls'
b.i   i o m datə   o fitʃor-ʎ-u   ɣants
        to.him/her I have given   PI boy-DEF-OBL   other.PL
        'I have given it to the other boys'
b.ii   i o ded   a li mujɛr-i   ɣant-ə
        to.him/her I.gave   PI woman-OBL other-FSG
        'I gave it to the tall girl'
c.i   o ts-ui   fitʃor   mari
                          PI that-OBL.MSG boy   big
c.ii   ots-uar   fitʃor-ʎ-i   ɣants
                          that-OBL.PL boy-DEF-OBL other.PL
c.iii   o ts-ui   fitʃor-u
                          PI that-OBL.MSG   boy-MSG
        'I gave it to that big boy/ to that boy/ to those other boys'
c.iv   i o ded   ots-uar fet-l-i mari / o fitʃor-ʎ-i mari
        to.him/her I.gave   that-OBL.PL girl-DEF-PL big /
                          PI boy-DEF-OBL big
        'I gave it to those big girls/ to the big boys'
c.v   i o   m   dat   ots-uor ɔmɲ-i / fitʃor-ʎ-i /
                             ots-uor mujɛr-i /-ʎ-i
        them-it I.have given   that-OBL.PL man.PL-PL / boy-Def-PL /
                             that-OBL.PL woman-PL/-DEF-PL
        'I have given it to those men/ boys/ women'
c.vi   o ɣants   fitʃor-ʎ-i
                          PI other   boy-DEF-PL
c.vii   ots-uar fitʃor-ʎ-u   ɣunts
                          that-OBL.PL boy-DEF-OBL tall.PL
        'I gave it to the other boys / to those tall boys'

    Again, indefinite contexts only present the gender/ number features, as (14a.i, ii); demonstratives generally saturate the definiteness, as in (14c.i). In oblique contexts, a definite noun in first position has the case exponents, as in (15b.1, ii), where the modifier following the noun agrees in gender/ number. The modifier *ɣant* takes the case, as in (15c.vi). (15c.i-v) shows that the demonstrative absorbs the case expression and allows the noun to realize definiteness, as in (15c.i,ii,iii,iv); the case on the noun is admitted, as in (15c.vii). (15a.i) illustrates the context where the PI introduces an indefinite, devoid of case.

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In Aromanian varieties, between the noun and the adjective, the demonstrative *atseu* can variably occur, as a sort of Linker (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2018). It is interesting to observe the distribution of the case and other ɸ-features in DPs with Linker. The data, from Divjakë and Libofshë show that in these contexts the Linker has the morphology of definiteness and case, which apply to all elements, including the adjective, as clearly shown by the oblique in (16iii,iv).

(16)　Noun – Linker - adjective
i.　　ar　vənitə　　　fɛtə-l-i　　atse-l-i　　marə-l-i
　　　They.have come　girl-Def-pl　that-DEF-PL　big-DEF-PL
　　　'The big girls have come'
ii.　　Am　vəzut　　　fitʃor-u　atse-u　　　ɣuŋg-u
　　　I.have seen　　　boy-MSG　that-MSG　　tall-MSG
　　　'I have seen the tall boy'
iii.　　i u dau　　　　o fitʃor-u-ɣ-u　　ots-u-ɣor　　　marə-ʎ-u
　　　to.them it I.give　PI boy-OBL-PL　THAT-OBL.PL　　big-DEF-OBL
　　　'I give it to the big boys'

iv.　　i　o　m　dat　　a li fet-i　ats-iei ɣuŋg-i /
　　　　　　　　　　　　o fitʃor-u otsə-ɣ-ui ɣuŋg-u
　　　them-it　I.have　PI girl-OBL that-tall-FSG /
　　　given　　　　　　PI　boy-MSG that-OBL.MSG tall-MSG
　　　　'I gave it to the other woman/ to those other men'

We synthesize the distribution of the case and gender, number and definiteness features in (17).

(17)

a. **Definite forms**

	def N	M/A	‖	D	M	N	A
definiteness	+	-	‖	+	-	-/+	-
gender	+	+	‖	+	+	+	+
number	+	+	‖	+	+	+	+
oblique	+	-	‖	+	-	- / +	-

b. **Indefinite**

	N	M	‖	Q/M	(X)	N	(Lkr)	A/M
gender	+	+	‖	+	+	+	+	+
number	+	+	‖	+	+	+	+	+
oblique	+	-	‖	+	-	-	-	-

c. **Linker**

	N	Dem	A
agreement features	+	+	+
case	+	+	+

What emerges is that oblique is regularly represented only on the first item within the DP, that is the definite noun or the demonstrative or another modifier in indefinite context. On the contrary gender and number are registered on all the elements, obviously compatibly with the relevant paradigms. Finally, oblique and definiteness are also allowed in the presence of an initial demonstrative.

3. The data of Albanian

Let us compare the nominal agreement of Aromanian with that of Albanian. In Albanian, nouns present an inflectional system in which gender and number categories are fused with definiteness and case, similarly to Aromanian. Analogously, the oblique includes genitive and dative. In the definite, gender separates feminine and masculine. In the indefinite, the oblique takes a specialized exponent, whereas nominative and accusative coincide (Solano 1972, Camaj 1984). The definite exponents of the main nominal classes are provided in (18a) and those indefinite in (18b). Plural exponents do not distinguish gender. The singular vocalic morphemes *-i/u*, *-a* and *-ɛ-* are related to nominal classes and definiteness (including specificity), while the consonantal/syllabic endings *-n*, *-t*, *-s*, *-vɛ* and *-ʃ* specify case and, in turn, definiteness.

(18) a. Definite inflections

	Masc sg	Fem sg	Neuter sg	Plural
Nom	-i	-a	-t	-a-t/-ɛ-t
Acc	-i-n	-ɛ/ə-n	-t	-a-t/-ɛ-t
Obl	-i-t	-ɛ/ə-s	-i-t	-a-vɛ(-t)/ -ɛ-vɛ(-t)

b. Indefinite inflections

	Masc/Neuter sg	Fem sg	Plural
Nom/Acc	∅	∅	-a/ -ɛ
Gen/Dat	-i	-ɛ	-a-vɛ/ -ɛ-vɛ
Abl			-ʃ

Only the singular definite paradigm shows a clear distinction between nominative and accusative. The coincidence between nominative and accusative characterizes both the definite plural, and the indefinite, in which only the oblique has a specialized inflection.

In Albanian all the elements bear the exponent of case within DPs, in particular this characterizes the accusative singular and the oblique. Adjectives escape this requirement, only including gender and number,

as illustrated by the data of Gjirokastër[5], in (19) and Shkodër in (20). (19a.i,a.ii) illustrate the nominative, singular and plural, (19b.i,b.ii,b.iii) the accusative and (19c.i,c.ii) the oblique. The adjectives have gender/ number exponents and are introduced by the pre-posed article, the Linker (cf. Franco et al. 2015), that distinguishes the nominative / accusative (19b), from the oblique (19c.i,c.ii). The latter separate the masculine oblique *tə* from the feminine oblique *sə*. The 'other' modifier, regardless of reading, generally occurs in post-nominal position, before the adjective, as illustrated in (19b.ii,b.iii,c.ii,c.iv).

(19)

a.i   ɛrð-i   a-i   bur-i   (tjɛtər) i   mað /
       aj-ɔ gruaj-a (tjɛtər) ɛ   mað-ɛ
    came.3SG   that-M man-MSG other Lkr big /
       that-F woman-FSG other Lkr big-F
    'That other big man/ that other big woman came'

a.ii   ɛrð-ən   ata   bur-a-t   ɛ t jɛrə tə məˈðeɲ
    came.3PL   that.M.PL man-PL-DEF Lkr other Lkr big.M.PL
    'Those other big men come'

b.i   patʃ   atə dial-i-n ɛ mað / vaiz-ɛ-n   ɛ mað-ɛ
    saw.1SG   that.ACC boy- Lkr big /girl-F-ACC Lkr big-F
    'I saw that big boy/ that big girl'

b.ii   paʃ   atə bur-i-n tjɛtər tə mað /
       atə grua-n tjɛtər tə maðɛ
    saw.1SG   that.ACC man-MSG-ACC other Lkr big /
       that.ACC woman-ACC other Lkr big
    'I saw that other big man/ that other big woman'

b.iii   patʃ   atɔ   gra:-t   ɛ tjɛr-a /
      ata   bur-a-t   ɛ tjɛr-a
    saw.1SG   that.F.PL woman.PL-DEF Lkr other-PL /
       that.M.PL   man-PL-DEF Lkr other- PL
    'I saw the other women/ men'

c.i   i-a   ðatʃ   ati-i bur-i-t (tjɛtər) tə mað
    him-it   gave.1SG   that-OBL man-MSG-OBL other Lkr big
    'I gave it to that other big boy'

c.ii   i-a   ðaʃ   asaj grua-s (tjɛtər) tə mað-ɛ
    him-it   gave.1SG   that.F-OBL woman-DEF other Lkr big-F
    'I gave it to that other big woman'

---

5   In the examples in (29), the first singular of the past tense shows, according to the informants, the exponent -*tʃ*, more conservative and dialectal, or -*ʃ*. The clitic cluster *i-a* 'to them-it' is the dialectal form, contrasting with the standard/ normative *u-a*.

c.iii i-a   ðatʃ   asa-i   vaiz-ɛ-s

	i-a	ðatʃ		asa-i	vaiz-ɛ-s
c.iii	i-a	ðatʃ		asa-i	vaiz-ɛ-s
	him-it	gave.1SG		that.F-OBL	girl-F-DEF

'I gave it to that big girl'

c.iv	i-a	ðaʃ	atyrɛ	gra-vɛ	tə	tjɛr-a
	them-it	gave.1SG	that.PL.OBL	woman.PL-OBL		
			Lkr	other-PL		

'I gave it to those other big women'

The same distribution of the case and other ɸ-features characterizes the Gheg variety of Shkodër, in (20), where in turn Linkers partially express the contrast between direct and oblique. Thus, for instance, the linkers *i/ ɛ* of (20a,b) differ from the oblique *t* in (20c).

(20)

a.i	ɛrð-i	aj-a vɒiz-a tjɛtər ɛ mɒð-ɛ /
		a-i dɪɒl-i tjɛtər i mɒð
	came.3SG	that-F girl-FSG other Lkr big-F /
		that-M boy-MSG other Lkr big

'That other big girl/ that other big boy came'

a.ii	ɛrð-i	ɲi tjɛtər vɒiz / ɲi vɒiz tjɛtər
	came.3SG	an other girl / a girl other

'Another girl came'

a.iii	ɛrð-ən	ata diem-t ɛ mð-ɒi /
		ata vɒiz-a-t ɛ mð-ɒi-a
	came.3PL	that.PL boy.PL-DEF Lkr big-PL /
		that.F.PL girl-PL-DEF Lkr big.PL-F

'Those other big men come'

a.iv	ɛrð-ən	ata diem-t (ɛ) tjɛtər t mð-ɒi /
		/ata vɒiz-a-t (ɛ) tjɛr-a t mðɒi-a
	came.3PL	that.PL boy.PL-DEF Lkr other Lkr big-PL /
		that.PL girl.PL-DEF Lkr other-PL Lkr big.PL-F

b.i	pɒʃ	at dɪɒl-i-n ɛ mɒθ /
		at vaiz-ə-n ɛ mɒð-ɛ
	saw.1SG	that.ACC boy-DEF-ACC Lkr big /
		that girl-DEF-ACC Lkr big-F

'I saw that big boy/ that big girl'

b.ii	pɒʃ	at dɪɒl-i-n tjɛtər t mɒθ /
		at vɒiz-ə-n tjɛtər t mɒð-ɛ
	saw.1SG	that.ACC boy-DEF-ACC other Lkr big /
		that.ACC girl-DEF-ACC other Lkr big-F

'I saw that other big boy/ that other big girl'

                                    t ɛ

b.iii   pɒʃ   ata vɒiz-a-t ɛ   mð-ɒi /

ata diem-t   ɛ   mð-ɒi

saw.1SG   that.PL girl-PL-DEF Lkr big-PL /

that.PL boy.PL-DEF Lkr big-PL

'I saw those big girls / those big boys'

b.iv   pɒʃ   ata v<u>ɒ</u>iz-a-t   ɛ   tjɛr-a tə mð-ɒi-a

saw.1SG   that.PL girl-PL-DEF Lkr other-pl LkR big-PL

'I saw those ther big girls'

c.i   i-a   ðɒʃ   asɒ-i   vɒiz-ɛ-s   tjɛtər tə mɒð-ɛ

him-it gave.1SG   that.F-OBL girl-F-OBL other Lkr big

'I gave it to that other big girl'

c.ii   i-a   ðɒʃ   aty-nɛ   diem-vɛ   (tjɛrə) tə mð-ɒi

him-it   gave.1SG   that.PL-OBL boy-OBL.PL other Lkr big-PL

'I gave it to those other big boys

c.iii i-a   ðɒʃ   aty-nɛ   vɒiz-a-vɛ   (tjɛr-a) t   mð-ɒi-a

him-it gave.1SG   that.PL-OBL girl-OBL.PL other-PL Lkr big-PL

'I gave it to those other big girls'

In Albanian the post-nominal alterity element behaves like adjectives, so excluding the agreement in the case. This is made clear by comparing, for instance, (19a.i) and (19c.i), (20a.iii) and (20a.iv), (20b.i) and (20b.ii), (20c.ii) and (20c.iii). When an adjective follows 'other' the Linker *tə* is realized, instead of the agreeing form *i/ ɛ*. The nominative seems to escape this effect, whereby 'other' combines with the adjectival linkers *i* or *ɛ*, as in (19a.i) and (20a.i) (cf. section 5).

As recalled, the oblique morphology characterizes genitive/ possession constructs both in Aromanian and Albanian. Thus, in contexts of possession the noun referring to the possessor has the oblique inflection introduced by the PI, as in dative, as in (21a,b) and (22a,b) for nominal contexts, and (21c) for predicative occurrences, respectively for Libofshë and Korça-Plasë.

(21)

a.   mən-a   **o** fitʃor-**u**   /   **a li** fɛt-**i**

hand- DEF.FSG PI boy-MSG   /   PI girl-OBL

'The hand of the boy/ of the girl'

b.   kəd-**a**   **o** kɛn-**l-i**   / **o** un kɛn-**i**

tail-DEF.SG   PI dog-DEF-OBL   / PI a d og-OBL

'The tail of the dog/ of a dog'

c.   aist esti   **o** fitʃor-**ʎ-u** / **o** məjɛr-**ʎ-u**

that is   PI boy-DEF-OBL / PI woman-DEF-OBL

'that is of the boys/ of the women'

Libofshë

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(22)

a. mən-a   **a/ał** fitʃor-**u** / **a li** fɛt-**i-** **a un-ei** mujɛr-**i**
                      ji

   hand-DEF.FSG   PI boy-MSG   /   PI girl-   PI   a-OBL.F
                                OBL   woman-OBL
     'The hand of the boy/ of the girl/ of a woman'

b. məɲə-**l-i**   **a**   fitʃor-**l-or**   / **a** fɛt-**i-l-or**

   hand- DEF-PL   PI boy-DEF.PL-OBL   /PI girl-PL-DEF-OBL
   'The hands of the boys/ of the girls'   Korça

Possessives are in turn introduced by the PI, both within the DP, in (23a,b)-(24a,b) and in predicative contexts, as in (23c)-(24c). The possessor of third person is realized by the oblique form of the third person pronoun, as in (23b).

(23)

a.   kɛn-l-i   a   ɲe-u   / to-u   / nostər
     dog-DEF.M   PI   my.MSG /your.MSG /our
   'my/your/our dog'

a'.   kɛɲ-l-i   a   ɲe-ʎ-i   / to-ʎ-i   / nost-i
     dog.PL-DEF.M   PI   my-MPL / your-MPL / our-PL
   'my/your/our dogs'

b.   sɔr-a   o ɣu-i   / a je-i   / o ɣ-ɔrə
     sister.DEF.FSG   PI him-OBL /PI her-OBL /PI them-PL.OBL
   'his/her/their sister'

c.   atsɛu   esti   a mɛ-u/   a ta-u
     that. FSG   is   PI my.FSG   / PI your.FSG
   'that is mine/yours'   Libofshë

(24)

a.   nipuat-a   a   miˈa
     nephew-FSG   PI   my.FSG
   'my/your/our dog'

b.   tatəl   al lu-i
     sister.DEF.FSG   PI him-OBL
   'his father'

c.   aist kart-i   esti   al fitʃor-u
     That book   is   PI boy-MSG
   'that book isof the boy'   Korça

The PI precedes the possessor in all contexts, differently from Romanian where it occurs only in indefinite contexts (Dobrovie-Sorin and Nedelcu 2013).

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In Albanian, the possessor has the oblique case and is introduced by the same pre-nominal article as the adjectives, in (25) and (26). The pattern is like that of Aromanian, where it is the PI that introduces the possessor. Again, examples show that the article agrees in case with the head noun, as highlighted by the contrast between direct cases, nominative and accusative, and the oblique contexts where *t(ə)* occurs.

(24)

a. libr-i   i   mɔtr-ə-s / dɔr-a   ɛ   vaiz-əs
    book- DEF.FSG   Lkr sister-MSG / hand-FS Lkr girl-OBL.F
     'The book of the sister/ the hand of the girl'

b. mɔr-a   libr-i-n   ɛ   mɔtr-əs   sə sai
    I.took   book-M-ACC Lkr Sister-OBL.F Lkr her
     'I took the book of her sister'

c. ki   əʃt i   mɔtr-ə-s   sə sai
    that   is   Lkr sister- F-OBL   Lkr her
     'that is of her sister'   Gjirokastər

(25)

b. pɒʃ   libr-i-n ɛ   msus-ɛ-s / mɔtr-ə-n ɛ kuʃirin-i-t
    I.saw book-M-ACC Lkr teacher-F-Obl /
            sister   Lkr cousin-M-OBL
     'I saw the book of the teacher/ the sister of the cousin'

c. dɔr-a   ɛ   ati-i   dial-i-t
    hand-FSG   Lkr that.MSG-OBL boy-MSG-OBL
     'The hand of that boy'

d   i-a   ðɒʃ   mɔtr-ə-s   t   kuʃirin-i-t
    to.her it I.gave sister-F-OBL Lkr cousin-M-OBL
    'I gave it to the sister of the cousin'   Shkodër

Possessives are introduced by the pre-posed article and the possessive of third person is the oblique of the third person pronoun, as in (26) and (27).

(26)

a. libr-i   (i)   im   i   tii   i   sai
    book-MSG   Lkr my MSG   Lkr your.MSG   Lkr her
    'my/your/our book'

a'. vlɛzər-i-t   ɛ   mi
    brothers.PL-DEF   Lkr   my-MPL
    'my/your/our dogs'

                                        Gjirokastër

(27)

a.   libra-t   ε   ti-i   /sa-i
       dog.PL-DEF.M   PI   my-MPL   /your-MPL
       'my/your dogs'

b.   sɔr-a   o ɣu-i   /a je-i   / o ɣ-ɔrə
       sister.DEF.FSG   PI him-OBL /PI her-OBL /PI them-PL.OBL
       'his/her/their   sister'   Shkodër

The inflectional part of the possessive is complex. In Aromanian it includes the definiteness element -*l*- that we find in nominal paradigms. In Rëmën the original -*l* has been velarized into -*u* in the final position, as in (15a,c), while in the masculine plural palatalizes in -*ʎ*. Fërshërot has the realization -*ł*, cf. (16a,a').

4. The elementary relator, case and syncretism

Aromanian and Albanian show interesting correspondences in the nominal system:

- ✓ The case paradigm contrasts the oblique (including genitive and dative) to direct cases. The latter in Aromanian coincide with definite o indefinite forms inflected for gender and number.
- ✓ Similarly, in Albanian only the singular definite accusative shows a specialized inflection, i.e. -*n*; the plural again do not separate nominative and accusative occurrences, only characterized by gender and number properties.
- ✓ Possessors are introduced by an element. In Aromanian we find the PI, that is the combination of the preposition *a* with the pre-posed article, partially agreeing with the possessor.
- ✓ In Albanian we find a typical Linker, that is an article that agrees with the head noun. This Linker also precedes adjectives.
- ✓ The agreement within the D/N domain is different. In Aromanian only the element, noun or demonstrative/ modifier, that realizes the definite properties of the DP bears the oblique case exponent, while in Albanian all the elements have case exponents.

In many natural languages, genitives, datives, and locatives are realized by the same cases or adpositions, giving rise to syncretism phenomena. An idea, originally formulated by Fillmore (1968), is that dative and genitive are the inflectional equivalent of prepositions to, and of, etc. If inflections have an interpretable content, we can conclude that oblique has a relational content exactly like prepositions and dative and genitive as well as *di/ a can be analyzed as elementary relators (Manzini et al. 2019, 2020). An idea variously supported in literature*

is that 'possession' corresponds to the more elementary part-whole relation.
Following Belvin and den Dikken (1997), we construe possessors as 'zonally
including' the possessee and notate the 'inclusion' (or part–whole) relation
as [⊆], *to suggest that a part/whole interpretation is involved in*
genitives/ datives. Therefore, possession on a par with location can be
understood as a type of "zonal inclusion" (Manzini and Savoia 2011,
2018). The crucial example is provided by *di*, which includes apparently
diverse readings (cf. section 2.1). On this basis, we analyse both basic
preposition *a/di* and corresponding case morphology (dative/ genitive)
as the elementary operator, in (28) (Savoia et al. 2020).

(28)   **di/ a / oblique =** ⊆

If we consider the PI *a*, we see that it can introduce both dative and
genitive as in (3)-(4), (7)-(8), and (9); moreover, *a* can realize a locative
reading with indefinite nouns of place, as *a kasə* 'in the house'. *a*
combines with the definiteness root *l-* (< Latin **ille*), generally associated
with Romance articles, giving rise to the allomorphs *a l/a ł/o* with the
masculine nouns and plural and *a li* with the feminine. Thus, *a* can be
analyzed as a realization of the elementary relation [⊆], followed by a
quantificationally specified form of the noun (the oblique), as in (29).

(29)   **a** = [[⊆] (locative)] / __ (deictic/ Q) [[N] (Oblique)]

Some varieties associate an article with *a*, at least in some contexts, as in
(30a,b,c).

(30)   a.   **li** ←→ a __ [$_{FSG}$

        b.   **ł** ←→ a __ [$_{MSG}$

        c.   **o** = [⊆] / __ [$_{MSG/ PL}$

According to some proposals in the literature, PIs combine the
invariable base *a* with the definite article, whereby *al* is essentially an
agreement head, taking a genitive in its Spec (Giurgea 2012). Cornilescu
(1995, pp. 126-127) identifies *al* with a D marker. Other explanations
assume that in *al* the preposition *a* combines with the enclitic article
(cf. Grosu 1994, Cornilescu and Nicolae 2013). The invariable form
a is attested in Old Romanian. Hence, if *a* corresponds to the Latin
preposition *ad*, this explains why in Old Romanian *a* also introduced
datives (Stan 2016b).

Linkers in Albanian have different properties from the PI, insofar as they do not include a preposition (Franco et al. 2015). We can treat them as simple D element endowed with φ-features agreeing with the head noun. Thus, the two construct show an interesting difference, in (31a) for the Linker in Albanian and in (31b) for the PI in Aromanian (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2018). As for the other, following the conceptualization of structures in Chomsky (2015: 7), whereby the category label is 'the pair of agreeing elements'. We assume that in these languages the determiner (D) and the noun (N) can have a common realization, D/N.

(31) a. dɔr-a ɛ vaiz-əs
          'the hand of the girls'

D/N   [Lkr/D   [₍⊆₎   D/N
dɔr-a_φ   ɛ_φ   vaiz-əs_{φ,⊆}

      b. mən-a a li fɛt-i
          'the hand of the girls'

D/N   [₍P/⊆₎   P   [Lkr   [₍⊆₎   D/N
mən-a_φ   a   li_φ   fɛt-i_{φ,⊆}

In our analysis the Linker is an element of the domain of N, a bundle of φ-features introducing the DP and agreeing with the head noun. The PI is broken down in a prepositional part *a* and a D part, the latter agreeing with the possessor. Definite nouns are amalgamated with the definiteness element into a single complex form.

4.1. An approach to morphology and syntax

Our idea is that no traditional case specification is externalized by the noun exponents and that nominal inflections belong to very elementary semantic primitives associated with referentiality.Coming to the notion of case, we know that this feature, a classic category of the cartographic model, has a spurious status, in the sense that it is nothing but a manifestation of the agreement; inherent cases put other descriptive problems interacting with prepositions and the morpho-syntactic organization of the sentence. It is no accident that Chomsky (2021, p. 16) concludes that 'Case doesn't enter into semantic interpretation' and is part of externalization. Actually, the distribution of nominal inflections and syncretism phenomena suggest that what is called case must be identified with bundles of nominal features, such as number, gender, definiteness, or syntactic operators.

In what follows we will consider the nominal morpho-syntax of Aromanian and Albanian, in both languages we find a similar type of case and gender/ number marking, through inflectional exponents, with a restricted occurrence of case, substantially in the oblique. The paradigms are comparable in many respects. In particular, a widespread syncretism involves the exponent *-i*:

- ✓ In Aromanian in the class III nouns covers three fundamental readings: the indefinite singular, Nom/Acc and Oblique, in (10b) and (11b), the definite singular in Nom/Acc and Oblique, in (10a) and (119a), and variably the definite and indefinite plural, with exclusion of the definite plural Oblique in (10a) and (11a), where the formatives *-l/ʎ-u/ -l-or* occur.
- ✓ In Albanian *(-)i* introduces a singularity in the singular masculine nominative and the oblique.

Thus, the syncretism encompasses, definiteness and the oblique reading both in Aromanian and Albanian, and plurality in Aromanian. As to plurality, in keeping with Chierchia (1998) and Manzini and Savoia (2018) we can think of plurality as a subset relationship of sets of individuals. The sub-set-of relation can be traced to the operator [⊆], by its conceptual similarity with the part-whole relationship. This property can be also connected with the oblique (genitive/ dative), the content of which can be identified with the primitive operator [⊆] (Manzini and Savoia 2011, 2018). It is reasonable, indeed, to assume that genitive and dative have the same semantic properties as the oblique introducers *of, to*. The analysis of the inflectional system of Latin and its complex syncretism case/plural, specifically on the exponents *-i* and *-s*, leads Manzini and Savoia (2011, 2014) to conclude that plural and oblique can be traced back to specialized readings of the same predicate [⊆], as suggested in (32a,b):

(32)   a.   PL = [⊆]/ R__
              As a property of the noun, plurality isolates a subset of the set of all things to which the noun (its Root) can be predicated (Chierchia 1998)
        b.   Dative = [⊆]/ __ DP
              In genitive/ dative contexts the inclusion is read as subset-of-possessor relationship and its scope is either sentential, applying to the internal argument of the verb, or, in genitives, DP-internal.
              (Manzini and Savoia 2011, 2014, 2018)

This pattern is not exceptional, just think of the syncretism in Latin case inflections, analyzed in Halle and Vaux (1997), where, for instance, *-i* realizes the masculine plural and the genitive and dative

singular, and, similarly *-e* (<*ai) feminine plural and genitive and dative singular, and so on. Also in Italian *-i*, typically associated with the plural, can characterize the 3rd singular person pronouns, cf. *egl-i/ lu-i/ le-i* 'he/she' *colu-i* 'he' and, in addition, the dative *gl-i* 'to him/ her/ them', the oblique including also the genitive, *a/di cu-i* 'to/of which', *altru-i* 'of others'. Thus, we must conclude that inflectional exponents associated with the part-whole relation can be specialized for one or another reading, or, possibly for both.

Traditionally, number and person correspond to denotational primitives of nominal constituents, and in the generative framework they are treated as features (cf. Chomsky 1995). The case, a classic category of the cartographic model, has a spurious status, in the sense that it is nothing but a manifestation of the agreement; inherent cases put other descriptive problems, interacting with prepositions or the morpho-syntactic organization of the sentence. Indeed, Chomsky (1995) assumes that the feature of case is radically uninterpretable and essentially traceable to the agreement between the subject and the verb. It is no accident that Chomsky (2021: 16) concludes that "Case doesn't enter into semantic interpretation" and is part of externalization. This issue is magnified by the fact that in the varieties we have presented, the same morphology is associated with gender/ number and definiteness and/ or the case. For instance, in Aromanian *-i* realizes both the plural and the oblique case, as in (10)-(11); in Albanian *-a* can realize the plural or the definite feminine nominative, *-i* the definite masculine nominative and the indefinite oblique, as in (18). In conclusion, case and other features seem to overlap. Ŭ

Some morphological approaches separate the abstract representation of the syntactic relations and their implementation by morphological exponents. This is the case of Distributed Morphology, where sub-word elements (affixes and clitics) are 'dissociated morphemes', which convey information 'separated from the original locus of that information in the phrase marker' (Embick and Noyer 2001: 557). Manipulation rules (Impoverishment) operating on abstract bundle of features and Late insertion yield the surface realization. We adopt a different model, in which morphological operations are part of the syntactic computation and there is no specialized component for the morphological structure of words (Manzini and Savoia 2011, Manzini et al. 2020, Savoia et al. 2019; see also Collins and Kayne 2020). Lexical elements, including morphemes, have interpretive content. This hypothesis excludes powerful tools such as Late insertion (Halle and Marantz 1994) and the manipulation of terminal nodes. In this line, the agreement in sentence and within the DP is the manifestation of

the identity between referential feature sets corresponding to the same arguments. Moreover, if inflectional exponents are endowed with interpretive content, we must think that syncretism depends on such a content.

In keeping with Chomsky (2015, 2020, 2021), inflected words are yielded by Merge, by amalgamating morphemes, roots and affixes, i.e. sub-word elements, into a complex syntactic object. In these recent papers, Chomsky excludes head movement as a genuine syntactic rule and proposes 'to drop the condition that Internal Merge (Movement) has to be triggered, so it's free, like External Merge'. Chomsky (2021: 30, 36 ff.) concludes that 'With head movement eliminated, v need no longer be at the edge of the vP phase but can be within the domains of PIC and Transfer, which can be unified. EA is interpreted at the next phase'. Thus, the inflected verb formed by Merge [INFL [v, Root]] is able to realize the properties of the C/T Phase (Chomsky 2021: 30, 36 ff.). In keeping with this conceptualization of the morphology-syntax relationship, the traditional head movement involving post-nominal articles and the gender/ number/ case inflection in NPs can in turn be seen as a type of amalgamation. The category-less root of nouns is interpreted as a predicate with one open argument place, which is ultimately bound by a D/Q operator, and categorizers such as *v, n, can be conceptualized* as the bundles of φ-features entering into the agreement operations (Manzini 2021, Baldi and Savoia 2022).

If we adopt the hypothesis that DP is in turn a Phase, in addition to CP and vP (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2011, Manzini et al. 2020), we can apply this analysis to the inflected noun and to the agreement within its DP. The distribution of nominal inflections and syncretism suggest that the case can be identified with bundles of nominal features, such as number, definiteness, or syntactic operators.

4.2. Albanian

Consider the inflection *-i*, introducing a singularity in the masculine nominative and the oblique. The coexistence of an interpretation of number, here singular, and oblique is not exceptional, as noted in the discussion around (32). We conclude that the part-whole relationship can license both plural and singular reference, insofar as the set can have one specific member. The selection restrictions that specify the distribution of exponents, are applied according to the *Elsewhere* principle, as in (33) for the genitive/ dative morphemes. The latter select for the sub-classes of nouns, *m/f*.

(33) -i, -s, -vɛ = [⊆]
  a. -i$_⊆$ ←→ m $_N$] __
  b. -s$_⊆$ ←→ f $_N$] __
  c. -vɛ$_⊆$/-ui$_⊆$ ←→ $_N$] __

Both third person object clitics, in (34a,a',a"), and Linkers, (34b), are a subset of these morphemes.

(34)
a.   Object clitics: *i* 'them/ to her, him, them',
                ɛ/a 'her, him'
a'. ɛ/ i   ʃɛ
   her/ him/ them   see.PRES-3SG
   '(S)he sees her/ him/ them'
a". i a   ðatʃ
   to him/her/them-it   give.PAST.1SG
   'I gave this to her/ him, them'
b.   Linkers: i$_{MSG}$, ɛ$_{F/PL}$, t(ə)/s(ə)$_{OBL/DEF}$

The element *-t* is systematically associated with the definite reading in oblique singular and in the plural. However, as a Linker, it introduces the oblique in addition to plural. This suggests the specification in (35a), where inclusion is optional. The exponent *(-)ɛ* of the indefinite singular oblique, also occurring as object clitic and Linker, seems to be an exponent of definiteness or specificity, DEF, as in (35b).

(35) a.   -t$_{(⊆),definiteness}$ ←→ R/Infl] __
     b.   -ɛ$_{DEF}$ ←→ f $_N$] __

The ability of *-a* to also specify both the feminine definite and the plural suggests a referential property, that we label [aggregate], that can be thought as the common core of mass and plural interpretation (cf. Chierchia 2010). This solution seems to capture the lexical nature of the feminine class, which includes many abstract and mass nouns, such as *vɛr-a* 'the wine' (cf. Savoia and Baldi 2022). Again, the plural agreement of the verb makes the plural interpretation explicit, as in (36).

(36)   -a$_{[aggr]}$ ←→ feminine $_N$] __

An interesting consequence of this analysis is that the so-called nominative is nothing more than a noun whose interpretive role is fixed by the agreement with the verb, substantially as in Romance languages.

The accusative poses an interesting challenge, because it externalizes a relationship, in a sense, opposite with respect to the oblique. Developing the discussion in Manzini and Savoia (2011), the singular accusative *-n* introduces an argument as a part of the event. In this line, the accusative exponent *-n* is the implementation of the reverse inclusion relation [Ê], like other prepositions/ cases that introduce the possessum (for instance the comitative), where the DP bearing the case is 'included by' a sort of possessor, the head DP or the event, here lexicalized by R(oot), as in (37a,b).

(37) a. $-n_{\supseteq}$ $\leftrightarrow$ $_N$] $(-i_{\subseteq}/-\varepsilon_{DEF})$] __

b. C T_φ [v [R [$_\supseteq$ N
         pa-tʃ$_\varphi$ burr-i-n$_{\supseteq}$
         'I saw the man'

4.3. Aromanian

The Aromanian paradigms show such a high degree of syncretism that there is no clearly specialized morpheme for oblique contexts, maybe except for *-u*, *ur-*, *-or*. The oblique plural *l-u*, *r-u* and *ʎ-u* however include in turn the exponent *-u* that occurs in the definite masculine singular, as illustrated in (10) and (11). Thus, apart from *-a*, for the definite singular feminine in direct contexts, and the liquid bases, *-l/ʎ/r-*, for definiteness, the other inflections encompass diverse interpretations. We obtain a set of selection constraints ordered according to the *Elsewhere* condition, descriptively labeled as in (38a) for the variety of Korça and (38b) for that of Libofshë.

(38) a. $-i_{\{SG/PL/OBL\}}$ $\leftrightarrow$ N_{CLASS}/__
         $-a_{DEF}$ $\leftrightarrow$ $N(i)_{SG, F}$]__
         $-je_{DEF}$ $\leftrightarrow$ $_{PL/M}$] __
         $-l_{DEF}$- $\leftrightarrow$ $(i)_{\{M, PL\}}$] __
         $-or$/ $-u_{OBL, DEF}$ $\leftrightarrow$ $N_{PL,}$ __

                                                                    Korça

b. $-i_{\{SG/PL/OBL\}}$ $\leftrightarrow$ N_{CLASS}/__
         $-a_{DEF}$ $\leftrightarrow$ $N_{SG, F}$]__
         $-ʎ_{DEF}$ $\leftrightarrow$ $_{PL/M}$] __
         $-l_{DEF}$- $\leftrightarrow$ $(i)_{\{PL\}}$] __
         $-or$/ $-u_{OBL, DEF}$ $\leftrightarrow$ $N_{PL,}$ __

                                                                    Libofshë

The element -*i* is associated with the oblique in the feminine singular and, in Rëmën of Libofshë, also characterizes indefinite feminine plurals. In the Class III the definite masculine forms assume the exponent -*l-i* in the singular and differ from the feminine, which only introduces -*i*. As noticed, the natural solution is to relate the syncretism of -*i* (singular/plural, direct/indirect forms) to its operator content, as in (39a), and its distribution to (39b). In particular, -*u* covers the plural in obliques and the definiteness in the masculine singular of the type *fitʃor-u* 'the boy' in (10) and (11). Manzini and Savoia (2010: 422), dealing with the transition from the Latin case system to Romance nominal systems, characterize the standard Romanian inflection -*i*, oblique singular and the nominative plural (masculine), 'essentially like Latin -*i*, as a Q element […] it will have the plural reading when taking scope over the words - or the possessive (dative/genitive) reading when taking sentential scope'. This property seems to be also implemented by other morphemes associated with the plural and/ or definiteness, as suggested in (39a). These exponents differ from each other according to different selection restrictions, in (39b,c,d,e).

(39)　a.　　-i / -u / -or / ʎ = subset-of-relation/ ⊆
　　　b.　　i$_{\subseteq}$ ←→ R __ or l __
　　　c.　　-ʎ$_{\text{DEF},\subseteq}$ ←→ R$_M$ __
　　　d.　　-u$_{\subseteq}$ ←→ PI [[$_{\text{DEF}.\subseteq}$] __]
　　　e.　　-or ←→ PI [[$_{\text{DEF}.\subseteq}$] __] (sub-set of lexical items)

However, even the specialized oblique inflections of plural nouns, such as -*ʎ-u/ ɣ-ur-u/ -l-or* in (10) and (11), are not able to license the part-whole relationship alone. They must be introduced by the prepositional element *a*. The latter can combine with non-specialized forms for oblique, such as ***a** fitʃor-**u*** / *a un fitʃor* 'to/of the boy/ a boy', in (3a,b), **a li** mujɛr-**i** 'to/ of Art woman' in (9). *a* is compatible with the specialized oblique form, if available, as in the plural and in the singular, cf. ***a (li)** fɛt-**i** 'to/of the girl', **a un-ei** fɛt-**i** 'to/of one-Obl girl' in (7a,b), etc. In other words, -i$_f$/ -u$_f$/ -or$_f$ do not have the strength to introduce the part-whole interpretation over DPs, unlike the preposition *di* 'of' or *a*. We may express this restriction by assuming that the specialized forms require *a*, as suggested in (40).

(40)　　　　　-lor/-ur$_{\subseteq}$- ←→ *a* (Art) Q [N __

Thus, if we take the sentence *i o ded o bərbats-ur-u* 'I gave it to the men' (cf. (4a)), Merge (Chomsky 2015, 2019, 2021) yields the amalgamation between the root and the definite inflection, marked by -*ur-*, in (41a),

characterized as DEF, PL, with which *-u*$_í$ is combined, yielding the complex noun in (41b).

(41) a. < [$_R$ bərbats], -ur$_{DEF,PL}$ > → [$_φ$ [bərbats]-ur]

  b. < [$_φ$ bərbats] -ur], -u$_⊆$ > → [$_⊆$ [$_φ$ [bərbats]-ur-]u]

The occurrence of the oblique inflection requires the introducer, here *o* (cf. (10c)), as in (42a); the insertion of sub-word elements depends on subcategorization restrictions as in (42b) and (42c). Merge is based on the agreement between the syntactic features, including Í, both within the noun and DP.

(42) a. < o$_⊆,$, [$_⊆$ [bərbats]-ur-u] > → [$_{PP}$ o$_⊆$ [$_⊆,$ [bərbats]-ur-u]]

  a. -ur$_{DEF,⊆}$ ←→ R$_M$ __

  c. -u$_⊆$ ←→ PI [[$_{DEF.⊆}$] __]

The inflected noun realizes the referential properties associated with D in the DP, i.e. the class, definiteness, and number specifications applying to the noun, (43), within the Phase DP (hypothesizing that there is one), without assuming head-raising. The alternant *o* realizes the preposition that connects the noun to the event in the role of the beneficiary.

(43)   v.... P/PI D$_φ$ N
        o$_{φ/⊆}$ bərbats-ur-u $_{DEF.M /⊆,}$

In genitival contexts the part-whole reading is realized by the oblique form of the possessor, as in (21)-(22), or by the possessive pronouns, in (23)-(24); anyway, they are introduced by the PI.

5. The distribution of inflectional exponents

Typological and descriptive studies show that the nominal agreement (concordance) displays different patterns of realization between languages (Norris 2019). While Albanian varieties extend the φ-features agreement on all constituents within the DP except for the adjective, Aromanian varieties limit the agreement with respect to the features and the items involved:

  (i) In the sequences *determiner modifier noun (adjective)* gender and number are associated with all the items.

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(ii) Definiteness and oblique are generally associated with the first element, i.e. the definite noun or the demonstrative.

(iii) In such contexts, exclusion from the noun is generalized but not mandatory.

(iv) Adjectives are excluded from the case realization, except in contexts where they are introduced by the Linker.

Asymmetries in agreement distribution are diffused, although the crucial role of gender is systematically attested, whereby generally the case agreement implies that of gender. A different role is played by definiteness and case, which, as noted by Corbett (2006: § 4.4), give rise to unclear kinds of agreement. In the literature the asymmetry between the agreement properties of determiners - and nominal modifiers/ adjectives - and nouns have been brought to light (cf. Cinque 2009). Indeed, different types of splits emerge. Brazilian Portuguese varieties present an asymmetry in which plural inflection *-s* only occurs on the determiners o prenominal adjectives, as in *O-s/est-es/algun-s/un-s livr-o muit-o bonit-o* 'The/these/some book very nice'. Costa and Figueiredo (2002) adopt a distinction between dissociated and singleton morphemes, in the spirit of the DM treatment in Embick and Noyer (2001), whereby the plural in Brazilian Portuguese corresponds to a specialized interpretable morpheme (singleton), which combines only with the "element anchoring the information concerning number", namely Determiners. The distribution in which prenominal determiners and adjectives lack (a set of) agreement properties, like in the case of Cadore varieties in (1)-(2), is discussed in Bonet et al. (2015). Their idea is that pre-nominal agreement is due to a 'family of constraints' enforcing morphological agreement; on the contrary, postnominal agreement is syntactic in nature and triggered by Spec Head agreement. The hypothesis that different manifestations of agreement could be referred to different syntactic operations is pursued by several authors. A mechanism based on the split between different types of features, specifically marked vs. unmarked, is pursued in Pomino (2012) in order to account for the lack of number inflection in some Italian dialects.

Savoia et al. (2019), Manzini et al. (2020) discuss the data from the Rhaeto-Romance varieties of Cadore (Italy) which display an asymmetric distribution of plural feminine *-s*, occurring only on nouns and post-nominal/predicative modifiers (Pomino 2012, Bonet et al. 2015). Thus, in the feminine, the *-a* inflection characterizes pre-nominal modifiers also in plural DPs, hence separating plural expression in the D elements and on the noun, as in (45a,b).

(45)

a.   singular
    l-a/ keel-a/ / kel autr-a femen-a
    The-F/ that-F / that other-F woman-F
  'The/ that/ that other woman'

b.   plural
   l-a / kel-a / kel autr-a   femen-e-s
   the-F / that-F/ that other-F woman-PL-PL
   'The / those / those other women'

<div align="right">Borca di Cadore</div>

The proposed analysis is that *-a* has the necessary interpretive force to saturate the referential property of D. Phenomena such as the latter, suggest that prenominal elements in the DP contribute to fixing the referents to which noun applies. Thus, all determiners/modifiers select *-a*, i.e. the feminine inflection, as the denotationally strongest inflection, and not a 'weak' or default type of agreement. In Friulian, a similar contrast involves the expression of plurality in the DP. In the feminine, we find *-i* on D, articles and variably demonstratives, but *-s* on the other elements, as in (46a,b).

(46)

a.   singular   b.   plural
   l-a   fɛmin-a   l-i fɛmen-i-s / kest-i fɛmin-i-s
   the-F woman-F   the-PL woman-PL-PL / this-PL woman-PL-Pl
   'The woman'   'The women / these women'   Montereale

In these languages, *-i* is endowed with the strong properties required to lexicalize D. The idea is that the occurrence of agreement exponents takes into account the Phase organization of the sentence.

We assume a similar approach, whereby the lexical elements introduced in the derivation are endowed with interpretive content, associated with the externalization of the Phase. The notion of phase, and of complement of a phase as defined by the phase impenetrability condition PIC, is tied up with that of externalization. The idea is that the syntactic object constructed is sent to the SM (Sensorimotor) and C-I (Conceptual-Intentional) interfaces by the operation Transfer and is no longer accessible to later mappings to the interfaces. Following Manzini et al. (2020: 195), we assume that DP is a Phase, and that 'the asymmetries noted simply correspond to the distinction between head of a phase and complement of the phase, independently individuated by the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC)'. We may expect that the lexicalization of agreeing inflection is not necessarily consistent in

different Spell-Out domains, the complement of the head D and the domain of the head D. Although Agree is a syntactic universal, the externalization of the features can be (i) uniform in the entire Phase or (ii) uniform in the Spell-Out domain, as in (47a,b). Therefore, differences between the head (the demonstrative and other modifiers) and its complement (the NP and the material within its domain) are possible.

(47) Agree is externalized
    (i) uniformly
    (ii) uniformly in the Spell-Out domain

In Gheg and Tosk varieties, the agreement between determiners, quantifiers and noun also includes the case exponent, as in (19a,b,c) and (20a,b,c), thus satisfying (47i). Only post-nominal adjectives escape this condition, as seen in section 3, as they have gender/number exponents but do not register the case. The pre-posed article distinguishes the case, whereby the nominative (19a)-(20a) differs from the accusative (19b)-(20b), and from the oblique (19c)-(20c). The latter separate the masculine oblique *tə* from the feminine oblique *sə*. The modifier 'other' follows the noun, as adjectives.

Aromanian applies (47ii). Indeed, the domains of determiners and that of NP can be characterized by (partially) different subsets of features depending on whether they include the case and definiteness or not. The more evident generalization can be depicted by the contrast between (48) vs (49). In (48) all the φ-features are realized on the demonstrative associated with D. In the NP domain only gender and number are externalized to SM and C-I.

(48)   *Spell-out domains: gender, number and case in D, gender*
        and number in NP

T	…	D	[$_{NP}$ M	[N	[Adj
lə	ded	atse-lor$_{φi,⊆}$	alant-i$_{φi}$	mujer$_{φi}$	muʃat-i$_{φi}$

'I gave it to those other beautiful women'(13.c.i)

When definiteness and case are realized on the N, in (49a), the inflected noun realizes all the referential properties of the D domain, insofar as N is accessible to operations at the domain of D and transferred to SM and C-I systems. For the sake of clarity, we represent this by associating the noun with D. Such properties can be also realized by a pre-nominal modifier, as for instance *alant* in (49b). Again, N only presents gender and number. We remember, based on Chomsky (2015: 6), that structures

are the result of the labeling algorithm, which determines a property of the element, here φ-features, for externalization to C-I.

(49) *Spell-out domain of D: gender, number and case*
a. T…   [⊆ PI   [D/N   [M
  i-u ded   a⊆-l φi   kɛn-i-l-iφi, ⊆   alantφi
  to.him-it I gave   dog-MSG-DEF-OBL other

b.   T …   [⊆   D/M   [N
  i-u ded   alant-ui φi, ⊆   kɛn-iφi
  to.him-it I gave   other-MSG.OBL   dog-MSG
    'I gave it to the other dog' (13b.i)

Amalgamation, in (50a-c) applies inserting the inflectional content of the lexical items and combining them by Merge. Merge combines the definite oblique noun with the PI, including the prepositional element *a* and the prenominal article *l* agreeing with the noun, modifier within the DP, in (49c). The derivation constructs syntactic objects labeled by agreeing φ-features (Chomsky 2015: 9 ff.) and interpreted as corresponding to the same referent.

(50) Amalgamation process
    a.   < kɛnR, iMSG/⊆ > → [[kɛn R] iMSG]
    b.   < [[kɛn R] iMSG], lDEF > → [[[kɛn R] iMSG] lDEF]
    c.   < [[[kɛn R] iMSG] lDEF], i⊆ > → [[[kɛn R] iMSG] lDEF] i⊆]
    External Merge within the DP
    c.   < [φ kɛn-i-l-i], alantφ > → [DP [φ kɛnili [φ alant]]
    External Merge of the oblique
    < a⊆ lφ, [φ kɛn R-iMSG-lDEF-i⊆][φ alant]] >
    → a⊆ lφ [[φ kɛn R-iMSG-lDEF]i⊆]

Finally, let us consider the contexts in which a demonstrative is inserted between the noun and the adjective, as in (16iv) *i o m dat a li fet-i ats-iei ɣuŋg-i* 'I gave it to the tall girl'. We must conclude that the demonstrative following the noun creates a new D domain, where, again, D must realize all referential features, including the case and definiteness, as in (51).

(51) *Spell-out domain of D: gender, number and case*
    T   … [PI⊆   [D/N   [D   [A
  i o m dat   a⊆-li φi,⊆   fet-i φi,⊆   ats-iei φi,⊆   ɣuŋg-iφi
  to.him-it I have given to the tall girl'

Manzini and Savoia (2018) identify this Linker with a DP projection, as substantially assumed in (51). In other words, they are treated like

Albanian linkers, in (31a). A different analysis is necessary for the PI, as it includes a prepositional element and occurs only in oblique contexts, cf. 31b).

Finally, we return to the data of Gjirokastër in (19) and Shkodër in (20) concerning 'other' and post-nominal adjectives. We have already noted that postnominal elements do not agree in the case, except for the Linker, which shows the contrast between nominative/accusative and oblique. We conclude that the Linker is a head D, visible to the NP, as suggested in (52). Thus, Albanian limits (47ii) to the domain of the adjective, externalized separately from the first part of the DP.

(52)   *Spell-Out domain of Adjective*
   T … [D   [$_{NP}$ N   [Lkr/D   A
   pɒʃ   at$_{\varphi,case}$ vɒiz-ə-n$_{\varphi,case}$ ε$_{\varphi,case}$ mɒð-ε$_{\varphi}$

As we saw, 'other' is optionally preceded by a Linker only in the direct plural, as in (19a.ii) or (20b.iv), and only agrees in gender and number. Moreover, 'other' prevents the adjectival Linker from agreeing in the case and triggers the insertion of the invariant definiteness morpheme *tə*, for instance in (20b.ii), instead of *ε* in (20b.i). We must think that 'other' renders the Linker in the domain [Lkr [Adj]] inaccessible to N, and the agreement is not uniform. as suggested in (53) for (20b.ii) *pɒʃ at vɒiz-ə-n tjɛtər t mɒð-ε* 'I saw that other big girl'.

(53)   *Spell-Out domain of Adjective*
   T… [D   [$_{NP}$ N   [M   [Lkr   A
   pɒʃ   at$_{\varphi,case}$ vɒiz-ə-n$_{\varphi,case}$ tjɛtər   t$_{\varphi}$ mɒð-ε$_{\varphi}$

We remember that in nominative contexts, 'other' admits the adjectival linkers *i* or *ε*, as in (19a.i) and (20a.i). As we have noted, the elements *i* and *ε* and nominative do not involve the notion of case in the proper sense. They only introduce definiteness and therefore they can be selected independently of the presence of 'other'.

6. A brief conclusion

The aim of this article is to describe and explain the distribution of the agreement morphology in DPs in Aromanian, also in comparison with Albanian DPs. Sections 1, 2 are devoted to the analysis of the case/gender/number paradigms of Aromanian and Albanian varieties, of which section 4 proposes an interpretation based the idea that functional items are endowed with semantic content, substantially

traceable to elementary semantic predicates. This conceptualization brings to a reformulation of syncretism phenomena, in section 4.1. The asymmetries in the agreement within the DP, described in section 3 and discussed in section 5, are understood as a manifestation of differences in the occurrence of the agreeing exponents within different Spell-Out domains (cf. Savoia et al. 2019, and Manzini et al. 2020).

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