

AKADEMIA E SHKENCAVE DHE E ARTEVE E KOSOVËS  
ACADEMIA SCIENTIARUM ET ARTIUM KOSOVIENSIS  
SEKSIONI I GJUHËSISË DHE I LETËRSISË

Konferencë shkencore ndërkombëtare/ International scholarly  
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STUDIMET ALBANISTIKE NË ITALI

ALBANISTIC STUDIES IN ITALY

GLI STUDI ALBANISTICI IN ITALIA



PRISHTINË

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Prishtina 2019, 22-23 Tetor, October, Ottobre

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IMPERATIVE IN GHEG, TOSK AND ARBËRESH: A COMPARISON

**Abstract.** Clitic order raises interesting questions concerning the relation between morpho-syntactic structure and its externalization into interpretive levels of language. This in particular regards imperative string where in many languages, typically in Romance varieties, the interaction of clitics with modality, specifically imperative and infinitive, and negation gives rise to reordering phenomena. More precisely, imperative differentiates from declarative sentences in selecting enclisis except in negative contexts where clitics occur between the negative element and the verb. This distribution generally characterizes all Albanian varieties, although with some differences. Moreover, in Albanian even the mesocclisis appears in the case of the 2<sup>nd</sup> plural person of imperative, whereby either one clitic or the entire clitic string is inserted between the verbal base and the person inflection. Manzini and Savoia began to analyze this distribution in Arbëreshë and in Calabrian and Lucanian contact varieties in some works from several years ago.

This contribution focalizes on the comparison of Albanian data from the different varieties and aims at resuming the descriptive and theoretical approach within a revised conceptual framework. The microvariation among these languages primarily involves the position of object clitics in 2<sup>nd</sup> plural person separating varieties allowing for total mesocclisis, as Albanian Tosk in (1), partial mesocclisis, as generally Arbëreshë dialects of Italy in (2), or preventing mesocclisis, as Gheg of Shkodër in (3). In (a) and (a') positive imperative forms are exemplified, with, respectively, a 3<sup>rd</sup> person and a 1<sup>st</sup> person clitic. In Arbëreshë dialects, both follow the 2<sup>nd</sup> singular imperative form but in 2<sup>nd</sup> plural imperative form the 1<sup>st</sup> (and reflexive) clitic are inserted in mesocclisis. In Southern Albania varieties (Tosk) both 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> clitics occur in mesocclisis; moreover, 1<sup>st</sup> person clitic can occur also before the verb. In Gheg dialect of Shkodër 1<sup>st</sup> person clitics occur in pre-verbal position whereas 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitic occur in post-verbal position. No mesocclisis is attested. In (b) clitic clusters are illustrated, that obey the same distributional constraints. Finally, (c) exemplify negative imperatives, where the occurrence of the specialized modal negation *mos/mas* selects the pre-verbal position of the clitics.

- (1)a. jɛp-j-a  
give-him-it  
'give him it'  
fiko-je-ni  
look at-OC13-2<sup>nd</sup> PL  
'look at him/her'  
a'. na fiko-ni  
OC1.1<sup>st</sup> PL look at-2<sup>nd</sup> PL  
'look at us'  
b.m-asil-ni  
me-itbring-2<sup>nd</sup> PL

‘bring me it’  
 sil-m-ani  
 bringme-it<sup>2nd</sup> PL  
 ‘nring me it’  
 fiko- na-ni  
 look at-us<sup>2nd</sup> PL  
 ‘look at us’

c. mɔs j-a jɛp  
 Neghim-itgive  
 do’nt give him it’  
 mɔs m-a sil-ni  
 Negme-itbring-<sup>2nd</sup> PL  
 ‘don’t give me it’  
 Gjirokaštër

Differently from Tosk varieties, in Arbëreshë dialects, in the case of clitic string *dative+accusative* deictic clitics (1<sup>st</sup> person) are incorporated inside the word, while the 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics are put on the right of the inflection.

(2)a. zʃo-ni-ε  
<sup>2nd</sup> PL<sup>2nd</sup> PL her/him  
 ‘wake her/him up!’  
 a’.zʃo-m-ni  
 wake.up me <sup>2nd</sup> PL  
 ‘wake me up!’  
 b. ʃ-m-ni-ε  
 give me <sup>2nd</sup> PL it  
 ‘Give it to me!’  
 jip-ni-j-a  
 give <sup>2nd</sup> PLto.him it  
 ‘give(pl) it to him!’

c. mɔs j-a jipni  
 Neg him-it give-<sup>2nd</sup> PL  
 ‘don’t give him it’  
 mɔs na zʃo-ni  
 Negus wake.up-<sup>2nd</sup> PL  
 ‘do not wake us up

Firmo

Finally, in Shkodër variety, deictic clitic are positioned before the verb and 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitic in post-verbal position. In the clusters the presence of one 1<sup>st</sup> person clitic forces the 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitic to occur before the verb.

(3)a. fɪf-ε  
 look-<sup>2nd</sup> SG-her/him’  
 ‘look at her/him’  
 fɪf-ni-ε  
 look-<sup>2nd</sup> PL-her/him  
 ‘look at her/ him’

mas ε fɪf / fɪf-ni  
 Neg her/ himlook-2<sup>nd</sup> PL/ look-2<sup>nd</sup> PL  
 ‘don’t look at her/ him’  
 (mas)m fɪf-ni  
 (Neg)melook-2<sup>nd</sup> PL  
 ‘(don’t) look at me’  
 (mas)m a nɛp-ni  
 (Neg)me itgive-2<sup>nd</sup> PL  
 ‘(don’t) give me it’  
 Shkodër

The data show the following asymmetries:

- ✓ In all of the Albanian varieties that we examine proclisis is required in negative contexts (Manzini and Savoia 2007, 2011, 2017; baldi and Savoia 2018), so that negation triggers the reordering of the clitic string with respect to the verb
- ✓ A positional DOM effect emerges that aligns deictic clitics (1<sup>st</sup> person ones) to the left of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics. This distribution is highlighted both in the varieties that admit the mesocclisis in the 2<sup>nd</sup> plural person of imperative, and in Gheg varieties that exclude mesocclisis.
- ✓ Tosk varieties admit or require mesocclisis with the 2<sup>nd</sup> plural person form of imperative, In Arbëreshë dialects mesocclisis only involves the deictic clitics while 3<sup>rd</sup> person elements follow the verb.

These asymmetries put into play the interaction of crucial morpho-syntactic properties of the sentence: the Phase structure of the imperative, the referential properties of the pronominal elements and the interpretive nature of the negation. We will try to bring to light the different syntactic and interpretive aspect involved in this complex picture.

In many languages, as in Romance varieties, the interaction of clitics with imperative and negation brings about reordering phenomena. In Albanian varieties, imperative, differently from declarative sentences requires enclisis, except in negative contexts where clitics occur between the negation and the verb. Moreover, the 2<sup>nd</sup> plural person of imperative generally triggers mesocclisis between the verbal base and the person inflection. The distribution of object clitics in Albanian imperative gives rise to an interesting variation that this work aims at accounting for.

## 1. Clitics and imperatives

In Albanian pronominal object clitics (OCls) generally occur in pre-verbal position except in imperative sentences, where may be inserted both in enclisis and in mesocclisis between the verbal root and the 2<sup>nd</sup> plural inflection. As highlighted by the data presented in this section, the distribution of OCls in imperative is partially different from one variety to another, whereby Tosk of

Ghirokastër in (1), Arbëresh in (2) and Gheg of Shkodër in (3) display differences in the position of 1<sup>st</sup> person clitics (deictic clitics) and of 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics.

The following examples concern positive imperatives in Tosk, Arbëresh and Gheg varieties. In (a)-(a') for 2<sup>nd</sup> singular and (b)-(b') 2<sup>nd</sup> plural imperative. (a)-(b) illustrate the insertion of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitic, (a')-(b') the one of the 1<sup>st</sup> person clitic, (c)-(c') exemplify the 1<sup>st</sup> person + 3<sup>rd</sup> person accusative clusters, and (d)-(d') the 3<sup>rd</sup> person dative + 3<sup>rd</sup> person accusative. It is of note that the 2<sup>nd</sup> singular person coincides with the root of the verb in vocalic bases, or, in the case of consonant roots, with a basis including the vocalic alternant occurring also in 2<sup>nd</sup> person of indicative and in middle-reflexive forms, such as *-i-* in *fix* in (1a, b) contrasting with *-ɔ-* in *fɔx* 'I see' (see the discussion surrounding (12)). The 2<sup>nd</sup> plural person has the morpheme of 2<sup>nd</sup> plural *-ni*, as in *fixni!* 'see', *silni!* 'bring!' (Gjirokastër). (f) exemplifies the occurrence of the dative clitic *i*, which in this variety occurs in mesoclysis like the other 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics. Generally 3<sup>rd</sup> person OCLs occur in final position or, however, follow 1<sup>st</sup> person OCLs. A crucial morpho-syntactic trait of these languages is that in 2<sup>nd</sup> plural person of imperative generally admits or requires mesoclysis of OCLs.

Consider now Gjirokastër's variety in (1), where both simple OCLs and clusters are generally realized in mesoclysis, while admitting also pre-verbal occurrence of 1<sup>st</sup> person clitics (cf. (1b'', e'')).

- (1)a. *fɪx-* / *vɪf-ɛ/ i*  
 see- / dresshim/her/them  
 'see/ dress (sg) her/ him/ them'  
 a'. *fɪx-məmua*  
 seeme me.OBL  
 'see (sg) me'  
 a''. *mə fɪ'kə*  
 melook (2sg) at  
 'Look at me'  
 b. *fɪx-* / *vɪf-ɛ-ni*  
 see-/ dresshim/her2<sup>nd</sup>PL  
 'see/ dress (pl) him/her'  
 b'. *fɪx-* / *vɪf- mə- ni/ nə-m-niatə*  
 see-/ dress me2PL/ give(pl)me2PLthat  
 'see/ dress (pl) me / give me that'  
 b''. *mə fɪko-ni*  
 me look at-2PL  
 'look at (pl) me'–  
 c. *jep- i- a*  
 givehim/her it  
 'give(sg) it to her/ him'  
 c'. *nə- m-a/ jep-m-a*  
 givemeit

- ‘give(sg) me it’  
 d.jɛp-i- a-ni  
 give-him/her it2PL  
 ‘give (pl) it to him/her/them’  
 d’.sil-m-a/i ni  
 bringme -him/her/them2PL  
 ‘bring (pl) it/them to me’  
 nə-/jɛp-m-a / i-ni  
 givemeit/ them2PL  
 ‘give (pl) it to me’  
 e.na /mɛ ʃiko-ni  
 us / me look at-2PL  
 ‘look at (pl) us/ me’–  
 prit- na-ni  
 wait for us-2PL  
 ‘wait for (pl) us’  
 f. jɛp-i-nikətə  
 give-him/her 2PLthis  
 ‘give (pl) this to him/her/them’ Gjirokastër

In Arbëreshë dialects mesoclitisis is restricted to deictic clitics (1<sup>st</sup> person), so that in the case of clitic string *dative+accusative* the 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics are in *fin* post-verbal position. The following data come from the varieties of San Benedetto Ullano (Calabria) and Casalvecchio (Apulia). The simple occurrence of *dative*, in (f), is obscured by the coalescence of the *dative -i* and the final vowel of the ending *-ni*, suggesting that its position is the same as the other 3<sup>rd</sup> person elements.

- (2)a. zɔ ata  
 wake upthem  
 ‘wake (sg) them up’  
 zɔj-ɛ/ i  
 wake uphim/her/them  
 ‘wake (sg) him/ her/ them up’  
 a’. zɔj- əm  
 wake up me  
 ‘wake (sg) me up’  
 a. zɔ- ni-ɛ  
 wake up2PLhim/her  
 ‘wake (pl) her/him up’  
 b’.zɔ- m-ni  
 wake up me2PL  
 ‘wake (pl) me up’  
 c.a-m-ni-ɛ  
 give-me2PLit  
 ‘give (pl) it to me’  
 f.jip-ni(i)kətə  
 give2<sup>nd</sup>plthis

- ‘give this to him/ her’  
 San Benedetto Ullano  
 a. θrit-a / i  
     callhim/her/them  
     ‘call (sg) her/ him/ them’  
 a’.θrit-mə  
     call me  
     ‘call (sg) me’  
 b. zɣɔ- ni-a  
     wake up2PL him/ her  
     ‘wake (pl) her/ him up’  
 b’. θrit-mə-ni  
     call me2PL  
     ‘call (pl) me!’  
 c’.jə-m-a  
     givemeit  
     ‘give (sg) it to me’  
 d’.jə-m-ni-a  
     give-me-2PL-it  
     ‘give (pl) it to me’      Casalvecchio

In Shkodranë Gheg, the 1<sup>st</sup> person clitics and clitic clusters *1<sup>st</sup> person+3<sup>rd</sup> person* occur in pre-verbal position, differently from the preceding varieties, which insert 1<sup>st</sup> person clitics in proclisis or in mesoclis. 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics and 3<sup>rd</sup> person clusters (accusative and dative) occur in post-verbal position, or, variably, in mesoclis. We note that in 2<sup>nd</sup> plural forms including the 3<sup>rd</sup> person cluster *i-a* ‘3DAT+3ACC’ the duplication of the 2<sup>nd</sup> plural inflection is attested, as in (3d).

- (3)a. fɪf-ε  
 look at- him/her  
 ‘look at (sg) her/him’  
 a’.m fɪf  
 me look at  
 ‘look at (sg) me’  
 b. θir-ni- ε  
 call2PLhim/her  
 ‘call (pl) her/ him’  
     fɪf- / θir-ε-ni  
 look at/ callher/him 2PL  
 ‘look at/ call (pl) her/ him’  
 b’.m fɪf-ni/θir-ni  
 melook-PLcall-PL  
 ‘look at/ call (pl) me’  
     b.nɛp- i-a  
     give.2SG3DATit  
     ‘give (sg) it to him/ her’  
 c’.m-a /naɛnɛp

meit /usitgive  
 ‘give (sg) it to me / us’  
 d. nɛp-ni-i- a-(ni)/ nɛp-i- a-ni  
 give<sup>2nd</sup>PL him/her it<sup>2PL</sup>/ give-him/her it<sup>2PL</sup>  
 ‘give (pl) him it’  
 tʃɔ-ni-i-a- (ni)(ktə)  
 bring<sup>2PL</sup>him/herit 2PL  
 ‘bring (pl) it to him’  
 d’.m a nɛp- / jɛp-ni  
 1SGit give- 2PL  
 ‘give (pl) it to me’ Shkodër

The order between deictic and 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics is substantially preserved in Shkodranë language as in other varieties, in the sense that 1<sup>st</sup> person clitic occupies a scope position to the left of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics. However, this order is obtained by placing deictic clitics before the verb and 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics inside or to the right of the verbal form, a possibility which, however, is not unknown also to Gjirokastrit variety, as indicated in (1b’).

In negative imperatives the specialized negation *mos/ mas* occurring in other modal contexts is inserted; besides, the reordering of clitics in pre-verbal position is triggered, independently of the person of the verbal form and the nature of clitics, as illustrated in (4).

(4) mɔs i- a jɛp  
 Neghim/her itgive  
 ‘do’nt give (sg) it to him/her/them’  
 mɔs m-a sil-ni  
 Negme-itbring-2PL  
 ‘don’t bring (pl) it to me’ Gjirokastër  
 mɔs mə / ɛ zʃɔ / zʃɔ-ni  
 Negme / him/her wake up-2SG/PL  
 ‘do not wake up (sg/ pl) me/ her/ him’ San Benedetto Ullano  
 mas mə θrit  
 Negme call  
 ‘do not call (sg) me!’ Casalvecchio  
 mas ɛ / mʃif / ʃif-ni  
 Neg him/her/melook-2SG/ look-2PL  
 ‘don’t look at (sg/ pl) her/ him/me’  
 mas i / manɛp-ni  
 Neghim/her/me itgive-2PL  
 ‘don’t give (pl) it to him/ her/ me’ Shkodër

As to non-active forms of imperative, the middle-reflexive/ passive interpretation is generally lexicalized by the non-active (NA) clitic *u* (*oneself*; Manzini and Savoia 2007). In the imperative the distribution of *u* coincides with that of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics, since *u* is positioned in enclisis in the 2<sup>nd</sup> singular imperative, as illustrated in (5a). In the 2<sup>nd</sup> plural person in (5b), it occurs in mesoclis



in Gjirokastër and in enclisis in Shkodër variety. The negative form in (5a',b') implies the reordering whereby the modal negation morpheme occurs first followed by the clitic *u* and the verb. The data of Gjirokastër highlights the fact that vocalic roots, such as *la-* 'wash', select the middle-reflexive morpheme *-h-*.

- (5)avijf-u  
 dressNA  
 'dress (sg) yourself'  
 la-h- u  
 wash-NA *inflection*NA  
 'wash (sg) yourself'  
 a'.mɔsu vijf/ula  
 NegNAdress /NAwash  
 'don't dress (sg)/ wash (sg) yourself'
- b.vijf-u-ni  
 dressNA2PL  
 'dress (pl) yourself'  
 la-h-u-ni  
 washNA *infl* NA2PL  
 'wash (pl) yourself'  
 b'.mɔsu vijf-ni /la-ni  
 NegNAdress-2PL/wash2PL  
 'don't dress (pl)/ wash (pl) yourself' Gjirokastër
- a.lqj-u  
 wash-NA  
 'wash (sg) yourself'  
 a'.masulqj  
 NegNAwash  
 'don't wash (sg) yourself'
- b.la-ni-u  
 wash-2PL-NA  
 'wash (pl) yourself'  
 b'.masula-ni  
 NegNAwash-2PL  
 'don't wash (pl) yourself' Shkodër

In Arbëresh dialects the internal structure of 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural of the middle-reflexive imperative coincides with the 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural of the middle-reflexive indicative. More precisely, the vocalic root is followed by middle-reflexive infix, *-h-* in S. Benedetto Ullano, *-x-* in Casalvecchio, followed in turn by the person ending, as in (6). In the negative imperative the clitic *u* is reordered before the verb and preceded by the modal negation, as in (6a',b'), in the singular, while in the negative 2<sup>nd</sup> plural the middle-reflexive form of indicative is preserved, so that non-active interpretation is entirely devolved to the NA inflection *-h-*, *-x-*.

- (6)a.ʒɔj-u

- wake upNA  
 ‘wake up (sg)’  
 a’.mɔs u zɔ  
 NegNA wake up  
 ‘don’t wake up (sg)’  
 b. zɔ-h- ij  
 wake up NA *Infl* 2PL  
 ‘wake up (pl)’  
 b’.mɔs zɔ- h-ij  
 Neg wake up NA *Infl*2Pl  
 ‘don’t wake up (pl)’ San Benedetto Ullano
- a. ʎa-x- u  
 washNA *Infl*NA  
 ‘wash (sg)’  
 a’.mas u ʎa- x  
 NegNA wash  
 ‘don’t wash (sg)’  
 b. ʎa-x-ni  
 washNA *Infl* 2PL  
 ‘wash (pl)’  
 b’.mas ʎa- x- ni  
 Neg wash NA *Infl* 2Pl  
 ‘don’t wash (pl)’ Casalvecchio

Summarizing we have: (i) Mesocclisis is attested in all varieties in 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural form of imperative. (ii) In Arbëresh varieties mesocclisis affects only the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular form; 3<sup>rd</sup> person and NA clitics follow the imperative. (iii) In Gjirokastër variety mesocclisis involves both 1<sup>st</sup> singular and 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics. (iv) In Shkodër variety 1<sup>st</sup> person clitics precede the imperative and mesocclisis involves only 3<sup>rd</sup> person and NA clitics.

In Tosk and Gheg languages, the 1<sup>st</sup> plural forms of imperative are realized by subjunctive forms, as in (7), introduced by the modal particle *tə* (MPrt), where the negation is in turn realized by the modal form *mɔs/mas*.

- (7) (mɔs)t i- ajap-im  
 NegMPrthim/her itgive1<sup>st</sup>PL  
 ‘let us give him/ her it / don’t give it to him/ her’ Gjirokastër  
 (mas)tla-hɛ-na  
 NegMPrtwashNA *Infl*1<sup>st</sup>PL  
 ‘let us wash / don’t wash’ Shkodër

In what follows we will concentrate on the specialized imperatives of 2<sup>nd</sup> person.

## 2. The analysis

The table (8) schematize the distribution of object clitics in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural in (1)-(3). In (8) ‘m’ indicates mesocclisis; the *preverbal position* is

designed by ‘prv’ and the *postverbal position* by ‘psv’. We remind that non-active clitic *u* and the dative *i* have the same distribution as the 3<sup>rd</sup> person OCl.

(8) *Clitics in 2<sup>nd</sup> plural person of imperative*

1<sup>st</sup>SG3<sup>rd</sup>ACC/DAT/NA1<sup>st</sup>SG+3<sup>rd</sup>ACC 3<sup>rd</sup>DAT+3<sup>rd</sup>ACC  
 Gjirokastër m m m m  
 Arbëresh m psv m psv  
 Shkodërprv m/ psv prv m/ psv

The more immediate generalization evidenced by (8) concerns the reciprocal distribution of the clitics in imperatives, whereby we have the following abstract ordering, in (9):

(9) *Deictic clitics 3<sup>rd</sup> Person dative 3<sup>rd</sup> Person and NA*

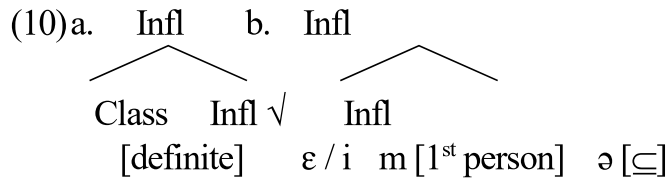
These asymmetries put into play some of the crucial morpho-syntactic properties of the sentence:

- ✓ DOM emerges whereby deictic clitics (1<sup>st</sup> person) have a different distribution from 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics at least in Shkodër and Arbëreshë varieties;
- ✓ In all contexts 1<sup>st</sup> person precedes 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics (mesoclitisis/ post-verbal/ pre-verbal).
- ✓ Negation requires clitics to occur in pre-verbal position (Manzini and Savoia 2007, 2011, 2017; Baldi and Savoia 2018)

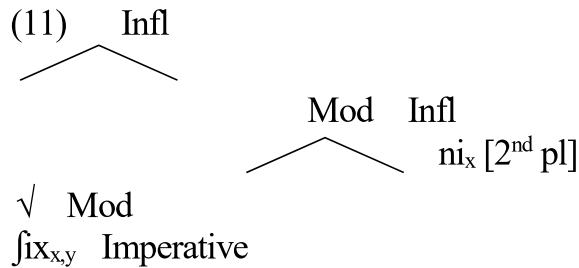
In keeping with the proposals in Manzini and Savoia (2011, 2018), Savoia et al. (2017, 2018), inflectional structures are built in the syntax. Nouns and verbs are analysed as the result of a syntactic Merge operation that combines a lexical root with the categorical elements that specify the syntactic nature of the word, gender, number and person for nouns and pronouns, voice, modal-aspectual properties and agreement inflections for the verb. In the following representations  $\sqrt{\quad}$  stands for the category-less root (Marantz 1997) and Infl for the morphemes that externalize properties of the verb or the noun. We assume that all lexical material, including inflectional material, is associated to interpretable contents. As a consequence, our model excludes uninterpretable features and probe-goal induced movement, as in the case of the traditional Agree rule, i.e. the fundamental mechanisms of cartographic explanations (Chomsky et al. 2019). Agreement is nothing but the lexicalization of phi-feature bundles identifying the same argument, i.e. denoting a single referent (Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2018).

On this basis, we represent the internal structure of the OCl.s as in (10a) for the accusatives  $\varepsilon/i$  and (10b) for the 1<sup>st</sup> person element  $m\partial$ . The accusative is associated to the class of definiteness elements and is realized by the bare inflectional element  $\varepsilon$  (sg)/ $i$  (pl), while the 1<sup>st</sup> person element includes the specialized root. The availability of 1<sup>st</sup> person clitic for oblique contexts led us to associate it to the oblique interpretation that we treat as corresponding to the

part-whole/ inclusion property, [ $\subseteq$ ] (Manzini and Savoia 2018). So, 1<sup>st</sup> person clitic is interpreted as including the event of which is a participant.



In this framework, the 2<sup>nd</sup> plural of imperative *fixni* ‘see (pl)’ (Gjirokastër) has the structure in (11).



The verbal root *fix* ‘see’, selecting two arguments, EA *x* and IA *y*, combines with the counterfactual property of order (Imperative) and the person Inflection *ni*, on its own saturating the EA.

In the variety of Shkodër, the 2<sup>nd</sup> singular person of imperative of roots ending in consonant, has a short stressed nucleus, in (12a), contrasting with otherwise coincident form of the reduced participle (Manzini and Savoia 2007), characterized by a stressed long nucleus, in (12b).

- (12)a. m veʃ                      me      dress  
 ‘dress me!’  
 b. jam ve:ʃ  
 I.amdressed/ I dressed myself  
 ‘I am dressed’

Morpho-phonological differences are able to register mood or other aspectual/ modal categories, as suggested in (11) above. In this case, the vowel duration (and its aperture degree) is involved.

### 2.1. Imperative

The crucial imperative property is the fact that the verbal element is not associated to temporal properties and it tends to coincide with the lexicalization of the simple predicative content (Aikhenvald 2010, Alcazar and Saltarelli 2004). No accident, in many languages imperatives correspond to the mere verbal root, as we see in the varieties in (1)-(3) in the case of the 2<sup>nd</sup> singular forms, as *fiʃ* ‘look at’ in (2a) and *zɔ* ‘wake up’ in (3a) corresponding to the

verbal root. Imperatives introduce a clause that escapes the truth conditions generally applicable to declaratives; so, Portner (2004) conceives imperatives as expressions introducing a property. A very usual analysis is that the imperative form assigns a property (its predicative content) to a prominent argument, identified with the addressee (Platzak and Rosengren 1998, Mauck and Zanuttini 2005). Zanuttini (2008) postulates that the imperative is the head of a JussiveP projection, which ‘has an operator in its specifier that... takes as input a proposition, consisting of the predicate saturated by the subject, and yields as output a property. This property has a presupposition that its argument, corresponding to the subject, refers to the addressee(s)’. In other words, in the imperative a modal operator connects the situation denoted by the sentence in its scope to the denotation of the hearer.

Our model is based on a different conceptualization, whereby the agreement is understood as the identity relation between two or more referential feature sets, for instance, the EPP argument and the verbal inflection (Baldi, Savoia 2018, Manzini, Savoia 2018). We agree with the insight that the imperative denotes a property ‘which can only be true of the addressee’ (Portner 2004: 239), rather than an event, and as such non-submitted to veridicality requirements. Simplifying the formalism of Mauck and Zanuttini (2005), imperative is a predicate with a variable  $x$  bound by the imperative operator, as in (13) (13)[Speech Act [Imperative force, $x$  zjox,y [C [T [v [V

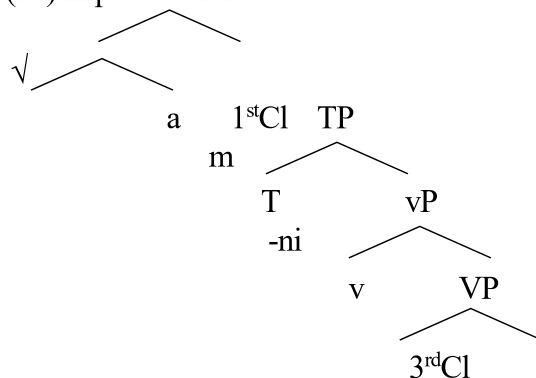
The expressed (or covert) agreement of imperatives coincides with the features identifying the addressee: in many languages this is externalized by specialized inflectional exponents, as, in the case of Albanian varieties, by *-ni* inflection of 2<sup>nd</sup> plural. This raises an interesting question, because the 2<sup>nd</sup> person inflection and object clitics lexicalize referential properties, possibly undergoing truth conditions. This discrepancy between the counterfactual nature of the imperative and the referential nature of clitics, seems to be the basis of the specialized distribution of clitics in imperative clauses in comparison with declarative ones (Manzini and Savoia 2017).

Let us consider, firstly, the distributional variation we have illustrated in (1)-(3) contrasting 1<sup>st</sup> person objects, with deictic content, and 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitics, the DOM (Differential Object Marking) effect. DOM refers to the phenomena whereby certain types of objects are overtly marked (Aissen 2003) based on their referential properties (animacy, definiteness, specificity, topicality) regulating the distribution of grammatical functions in case systems (Comrie 1979, Kiparsky 2008). In our case, DOM is manifested by the special distribution of

the clitics referring to the participants in the discourse. The split between 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> clitics seems to reflect their different interpretive status; more precisely, deictic pronouns are able to be interpreted independently of the event they are participants to, on the basis of the discourse universe. 3<sup>rd</sup> person elements (on a par with nouns) are interpreted in relation to the event introduced by the verb (Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2011).

In order to illustrate this point, we take on the example in (2d') for San Benedetto, *a-m-ni-ε* 'give (pl) me it' in (2c). In addition to the general issue concerning the DOM distribution, obviously we have to account for mesocclisis. The insertion of lexical material between root and inflection has been initially treated in the DM framework by Halle and Marantz (1994), Harris and Halle (2005), as resumed in Arregi and Nevins (2019). Our proposal that morphemes are endowed with interpretable content and that inflectional structures are built in the syntax, allow us to deal with mesocclisis between root and inflection, as in (14), in a natural way. In other words, we can expect that syntax (Merge rule) can force clitics and inflectional morphemes to re-distribute in order to externalize relevant interpretive properties<sup>96</sup>.

(14) Imperative force



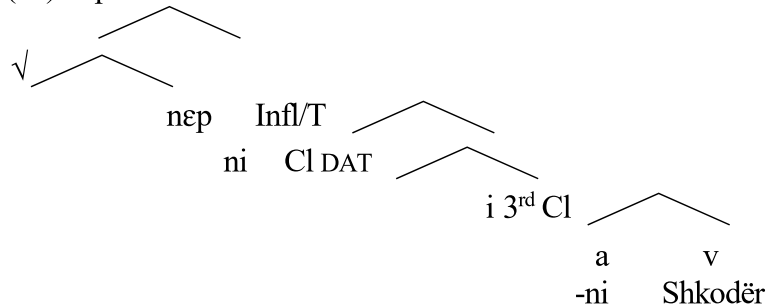
ε San Benedetto Ullano

In (14) all elements except the verbal root are able to be assigned a truth value. The 1<sup>st</sup> person clitic *m* 'me' occurs freely in the immediate context of the verbal root, deploying its capability to be interpreted, independently of the verb/event, directly in relation to the universe of discourse. In the varieties in (1) and (2) it occurs in a position immediately to the right of the root, while in the Shkodër variety (variably also in Gjirokastër and other varieties, cf. (1b'')) it precedes the root. In any case it seems to be associated to the Phase of the root, conventionally identifiable with the domain of C.

<sup>96</sup> In the cartographic literature imperative is related to the high positions concerning Speech Act (Speas and Tenny 2003), on a par with other types of pragmatic expressions such as vocatives or discourse devices.

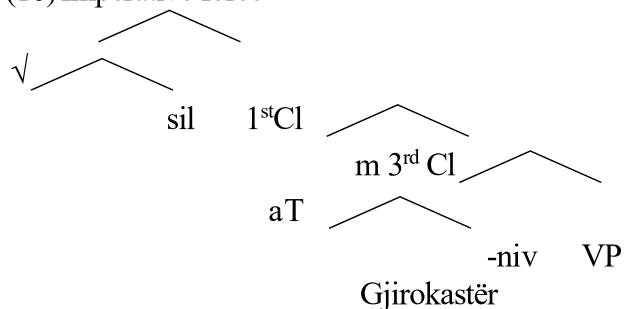
The occurrence of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person element is, on the contrary, adjacent to *v*, i.e. the lexicalization of the event. In the Arbëreshë varieties the object clitic follows the inflection *-ni*, while in Shkodër it precedes *-ni*, in mesoclysis, on a par with the position shown by the Gjirokastër variety. We can take it that the distribution of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person clitic depends on the fact that it needs to be licensed by *v*, in connection with the eventive domain, as usually. In other words, in the presence of non-veridical operators, definiteness must be lexicalized licensing the pronoun's reference. The reduplicative structures of Shkodër in (3d), e.g. *nep-ni-i-a-(ni)* 'give (pl) it to him/her', suggest that the two positions are not substantially different, in the sense that *-ni* can be seen both as the inflectional part of the verb, in T, but also as a sort of suppletive lexicalization of *v*, as in (15).

(15) Imperative force



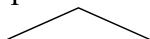
Clusters *1<sup>st</sup> person + 3<sup>rd</sup> person*, as *sil-m-a-ni* 'send (pl) it to me' in (1d') for Gjirokastër, are placed between the root and the inflection. It is reasonable to conclude that the combination with the deictic clitic is sufficient to render the licensing of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person element possible in the domain of T, as suggested in (16) for Gjirokastër.

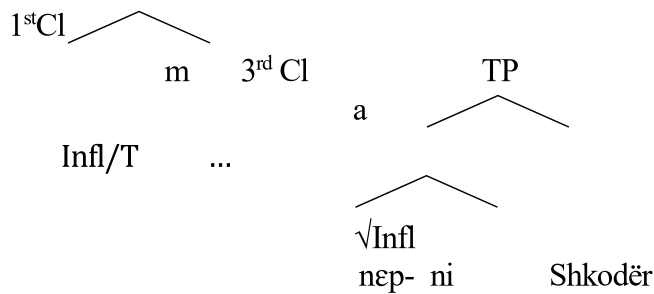
(16) Imperative force



In Shkodër clitic string is in preverbal position, as in *ma nep-ni* 'give (pl) me it', in (17). The deictic clitic is sufficient to license the 3<sup>rd</sup> person one regardless of the fact that the verbal root has modal non-veridical properties. The clitic order in modal contexts corresponds to a particular type of externalization on the basis of the interpretive content of clitics.

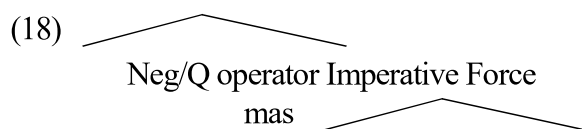
(17) Imperative force





Following Roberts (2010) as regards the object clitic in Romance languages, in OCl languages we may deal with OCl as the true head of agreement for *v* phase<sup>97</sup>. In this perspective, the OCl in mesocclisis is to be viewed, on a par with the verbal inflection, as an agreement head for *v*P phase, connected to the special organization of imperatives. If we are on the right track, this explains why both final position (Arbëresh) and internal position in mesocclisis end up externalizing the same type of licensing in the domain of *v*. An interesting point is that in Albanian varieties the clusters *1st/2nd/dative +accusative* select the *a* form of the accusative, as in *sil-m-a-ni* ‘give (2nd pl) me it’. In isolation the accusative form for the 3rd singular is generally *ɛ*<sup>98</sup>. The occurrence of *-a* in internal clusters suggests that in imperatives the sequences *m+a* ‘me-it’ and *i-a* ‘him/her+it’, are real clusters, confirming that no Phase boundary is involved between *m/j* and *a*. In other words, clusters appear to be however licensed in the T domain outside of the scope position of the root.

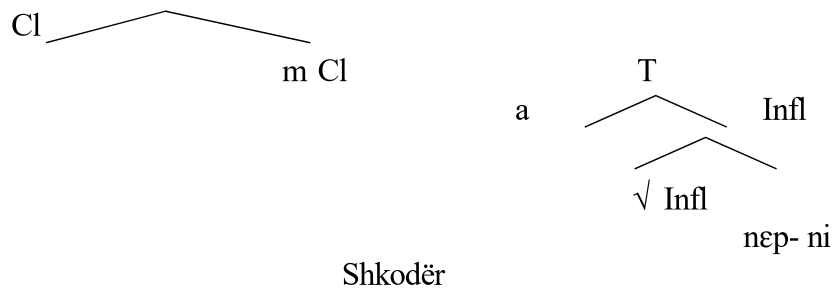
Turning now to the negative contexts, we see that the proclitic occurrence is triggered, Following especially the proposals of Manzini and Savoia (2017: 92), negation can be treated as an operator ‘introducing a quantification over the internal argument’ of the elementary event VP. This conclusion is supported by numerous facts in which negation and internal argument syntactically interact (Manzini and Savoia 2017). So, the different position of clitics can be related to the fact that in pre-verbal position clitics occur inside the scope of negation. (4’b) example *mas m a nɛp-ni* ‘don’t tell it to me’ from Shkodër.



<sup>97</sup> Chomsky (2013, 2019) assumes the existence of two phases, CP and *v*P. The CP phase implies inheritance of features from the phase head C to the lower head T. Furthermore “the inheritance mechanism is simplified if it is generalized to phase heads generally, not restricted to C but extended to *v*\* as well [...] Therefore V (or R) must receive  $\phi$ -features from *v*\*. It follows that just as a nominal phrase can raise to SPEC-T within CP, so it should be able to raise to SPEC-V within *v*\*P” (Chomsky 2007: 20-21) (cf. Richards 2011).

<sup>98</sup> Some Arbëresh varieties, for example the one of Casalvecchio in (2), generalize the form *a* ‘her, him, it’.





This analysis allows us to account of the similarities between modal and negative contexts (Manzini and Savoia 2017) in determining scope phenomena, whereby clitics tend to occur in the immediate domain of the operator. A crucial point is that negation and modal verb contexts (imperatives, questions) are core instances of what Giannakidou (1998, 2011) calls non-veridical contexts “veridicality is a property of sentence embedding functions: such a function  $F$  is veridical if  $Fp$  entails or presupposes the truth of  $p$ . If inference to the truth of  $p$  under  $F$  is not possible,  $F$  is nonveridical” (Giannakidou 2011: 1674). This unification of negation and V-in-C makes a prediction, namely that all (and only) non veridical contexts (subject to appropriate restrictions) favor a possibly transparent order (o, in certain Romance varieties, types of allomorphy, cf. Manzini and Savoia 2017).

## X. Conclusions

This contribution has addressed the distribution of OCl in connection to the externalization of the modal properties of imperative and negation. We have analyzed the imperative as associated to the expression of the pragmatic force and the speech act restrictions, whereby the imperative verb occurs in initial position taking into its scope the clitics and the event. The form of the verb, coinciding with the root in the singular and, at least in a subset of contexts, also in the plural (in mesocleft contexts), externalizes the non-veridical nature of the imperative sentences, in the sense that the imperative corresponds to the only predicative content of the verb.

The distributional split between 1<sup>st</sup> person clitics and 3<sup>rd</sup> person ones suggests they imply different interpretive properties: 1<sup>st</sup> person clitics are interpretable on their own, on the basis of their deictic properties referring to the participants to linguistic act. This explains why they, while occurring in the direct domain of the imperative operator, keep being fully interpretable. On the contrary, 3<sup>rd</sup> person object clitics are positioned on the right of the verb and, specifically, of the 2<sup>nd</sup> plural morphology, so reflecting the necessity for 3<sup>rd</sup> person

elements to be licensed in relation to the event (v) that selects them.

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