

EDHE 100!

STUDIME

*Në nderim të Prof. Francesco Altimarit
me rastin e 60-vjetorit të lindjes*

STUDI

*In onoredel Prof. Francesco Altimari
in occasione del 60° compleanno*

Përgatitën për botim

Bardhyl Demiraj
Matteo Mandalà
Shaban Sinani

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Pasqyra e lëndës

Matteo Mandalà: <i>Edhe 100 !</i>	5
Tabula gratulatoria	17
Emilia Conforti: <i>Per una bibliografia ragionata della produzione scientifica del prof. Francesco Altimari</i>	21
Carmine Abate: <i>Giochi di lingue</i>	41
Gjilda Alimhilli Prendushi: <i>Verbal Aspect and Apectuality in the Northern Gheg Dialect</i>	43
Ali Aliu: <i>Dhimbja arbëreshe e Poetit</i>	51
Lindita Aliu Tahiri & Lindita Sejdiu Rugova: <i>Diskursi lirik i Millosaut: Poezia si ndjenjë dhe si veprim</i>	53
Alberto Basciani: <i>“La fine del regno del terrore e dell’oppressione e l’inizio di una nuova era di civiltà e progresso”. La propaganda fascista all’indomani della conquista dell’Albania 1939-1940)</i>	57
Giovanni Belluscio: <i>Bibliografia degli studi linguistico-dialettologici sulle parlate albanesi d’Italia, 1994-2014</i>	71
Anton Nikë Berisha: <i>Katër fusha të qenësishme të veprimtarisë së Françesk Altimarit</i>	89
Walter Breu - Elvira Glaser: <i>Probleme der morphologischen Segmentierung und Glossierung des Italoalbanischen</i>	101
Spartaco Capogreco: <i>Gli ebrei in Albania sotto il regime zoghista e l’occupazione italiana</i>	125
Antonio D’Alessandri: <i>Il viaggio in Arbëria (1888) del domenicano Vincenzo Vannutelli</i>	147
Floresha Dado: <i>Francesco Altimari, studiues i tekstit letrar në qasje metodologjike të veçantë</i>	161
Mario de Matteis: <i>Linguistische Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen Messapisch (VII. – I. Jh. v. Chr.) und Albanisch</i>	169
Bardhyl Demiraj: <i>Mite dhe fakte në mendimin intelektual-albanologjik – Vendi i Aleksandrit të Madh në kulturën shqiptare-arbëreshe</i>	179

Thoma Dhima: <i>Veçori gjuhësore në tekstin original të “Këngëve të Milosaut” të De Radës, transkriptuar nga F. Altimari</i>	191
Victor A. Friedman: <i>The Albanian Gerund from an Balkanological Perspective</i>	199
Monica Genesin & Joachim Matzinger: <i>La formazione di imperfetto e aoristo nella varietà arbëreshe di San Marzano di San Giuseppe (TA): alcune osservazioni fra diacronia e sincronia</i>	203
Mario G. Giacomarra: <i>Il trattamento dell’identità in due minoranze storiche di Sicilia</i>	227
Francesco Guida: <i>Il volontariato militare nei Risorgimenti nazionali. Le lotte di liberazione nel Sud-est europeo</i>	251
Gëzim Gurga: <i>Alcune considerazioni sulle idee e le posizioni politiche di Girolamo De Rada</i>	259
Aleksandër Novik & Rusana Hristova-Bejleri: <i>Shqiptarët e fshatit Mandrica të Bullgarisë në materialet e ekspeditës së fundit në terren (2014)</i>	275
Rexhep Ismajli: <i>Francesco Altimari</i>	283
Titos Jochalas: <i>Un volantino politico dei primi del ’900 nell’albanese dell’Attica</i>	289
Klara Kodra: <i>Francesko Altimari, studiues i letërsisë arbëreshe</i>	301
Ema Kristo: <i>Përdorimi i fjalëve brizante në gjuhën e politikës në Shqipëri: Një vështrim mbi karakteristikat e tyre</i>	307
Genc Lafe: <i>Note linguistiche da San Marzano di S. Giuseppe</i>	319
Michelangelo La Luna: <i>Girolamo De Rada e l’Indipendenza dell’Albania</i>	335
M. Rita Manzini – Leonardo M. Savoia: <i>Causatives and ‘inverse’ agreement in Ginestra (Arbëresh)</i>	345
Kastriot Marku: <i>Kishtat dhe organizimi kishtar në krabinën e Kurbinit</i>	365
Veton Matoshi: <i>Paskajorja e gjuhës shqipe në këndvështrimin e gjuhësisë ballkanike dhe eurolinguistike</i>	387
Vito Matranga: <i>Considerazioni su alcune dinamiche sociolinguistiche in contesto siculoalbanese</i>	397
Valter Memisha: <i>Akademik Francesco Altimari për shqipen standarde</i>	409
Josif Mita: <i>Disa parametra sintaksorë të gjuhës shqipe</i>	421
Maria Morozova – Alexander Rusakov: <i>Italo-Albanian Literary Corpus: Preliminary Remarks</i>	435

Lucia Nadin: <i>1474: l'epopea degli assediati. Scutari e Roncisvalle, Scutarini e paladini di Carlo Magno</i>	451
Ardian Ndreca: <i>Tri letra të Luigj Gurakuqit drejtue Anselmo Lorecchio-s</i>	471
Alexander Novik: <i>Albanians in Albania, Kosova, F.Y.R.O.M., Montenegro, Serbia and Greece: seeing the neighborhood of the Western Balkans (Materials of fieldwork 1989 – 2013)</i>	479
Anila Omari: <i>Rreth fjalorit-konkordancë të "Cuneus Prophetarum" (1685): metoda dhe kritere</i>	491
Evalda Paci: <i>Elemente leksikore dhe nocione të teologjisë në veprën "Cuneus prophetarum" të Pjetër Bogdanit</i>	507
Maria Luisa Pignoli: <i>"Shéga": dal melograno al fiume Indo</i>	519
Tomorr Plangarica: <i>Gjuhësia/shkencat e ligjërimt dhe teksti letrar (dhe një analizë e një kënge nga "Këngët e Milosaos")</i>	533
Mimoza Priku: <i>Francesko Altimari – filozofia albanologjike e një arbëreshi të suksesshëm</i>	549
Dhori Q. Qirjazi: <i>"... nxitur prej zellit mëmëdhetar..." Tri dokumente për shqipen dhe shqiptarët, të viteve 1850</i>	555
Albert Riska: <i>Përvoja njerëzore dhe zhvillimi i leksikut: Rasti i fjalëve shqipe që shënjojnë ngjyra</i>	573
Bardh Rugova: <i>Gjuha e shkencës</i>	583
Italo Sarro: <i>Noterelle sul Reggimento Real Macedone</i>	591
Irena Sawicka: <i>Struktura e rrokjes arbëreshe</i>	599
Francesco Scalora: <i>Un albanese di Sicilia parroco della Chiesa di S. Nicolò dei Greci di Messina: Vincenzo Schirò</i>	609
Shaban Sinani: <i>Pamje ungjillore në poezinë e De Radës</i>	633
Giuseppina Turano: <i>Participiali assolute nel "Vangelo di S. Matteo" di Vincenzo Dorsa: caso, accordo e la categoria T</i>	659
Ali Xhiku: <i>Poema "Skanderbeku i pafan" si model i poemës epike</i>	681
Pëllumb Xhufi: <i>Emigracioni shqiptar në Mesjetë: një vështrim tipologjik</i>	687
Roland Zisi: <i>Himara në veprën poetike të Jeronim De Radës</i>	715

CAUSATIVES AND ‘INVERSE’ AGREEMENT IN GINESTRA (ARBËRESH) *

Causative sentence in Arbëresh varieties present a peculiar mix of bi-clausal Albanian syntax, whereby a causative predicate embeds a tensed sentence, and of case and agreement re-alignment phenomena of the type familiar from Romance languages. Here we concentrate on the variety of *Ginestra*, where agreement is sensitive to the split between Participant argument and non-Participant arguments. Thus agreement with the embedded verb favours 3rd person (3P) over 1st/2nd person (1/2P) independently of their respective roles (causer or causee) – a pattern which evokes so-called inverse agreement.

1. Arbëresh causatives and the ‘Ginestra’ data

Manzini & Savoia (2007) summarize the data concerning agreement in Arbëresh causatives referring back to the structural schema in (1).

(1) CAUSER T₁ MAKE [CAUSEE T₂ VP]

Consider first agreement. Agreement with the causative verb T₁ is always with the causer. In some Albanian varieties the causative verb is however an invariable form and it does not therefore agree at all – which we have notated by 0. One major parameter is whether the agreement of the lower verb T₂ is with its own subject (the causee) or with the higher subject (the causer); the 0 rows for Italian and English reflect the fact that the lower verb is a non-agreeing infinitival form. There is an implication between parameter values, namely that in order for the agreement of T₂ with the matrix subject (causer) to take place (*Barile/Ginestra*) an invariable causative T₁ is necessary. The focus of this study will be on *Ginestra*, where agreement of T₂ with the causer or the causee appears to be equally possible. In reality, no optionality is involved but a Person split. Thus a 3rd person takes precedence over a 1st/2nd person, independently of their respective causer or causee roles.

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(2)	T ₁ Causer	T ₁ Causee	T ₂ Causer	T ₂ Causee
Gjirokastër (standard)	+	-	-	+
Firmo, Civita, S.Benedetto U.	0	0	-	+
Vena di M., Piana degli A.	+	-	-	+
Barile	0	0	+	-
Ginestra	0	0	+	+
Italian	+	-	0	0
English	+	-	0	0

A second major parameter concerns the case alignment of the embedded subject (the causee). In table (3) *faire-par* labels the constructions in which the causee is lexicalized by a *by*-phrase and *faire-à* the constructions in which the causee is in the accusative or dative according to the transitivity of the lower verb, as in Italian. With *faire-Acc*, we label the construction in which the causee is always in the accusative, as in English (i.e. effectively an instance of Exceptional Case Marking). Conservative Arbëresh dialects like *Firmo* also have embedded nominative subjects; we note this option as *faire-Nom*. While standard Albanian has *faire-Acc*, several Arbëresh varieties are notable in that they adopt the full set of case realignments of Romance. This holds of languages like *Vena*, with a conservative agreement pattern, cf. (2), and of more innovative varieties like *Barile*. Finally, *Ginestra* is again notable for its complexity. 1st/2nd person causees are always realized as object clitics, doubled by the objective form of the relevant pronoun, while 3rd person causees are either nominative DPs or *by*-phrases.

(3)	faire-par	faire-à	faire-Acc	faire-Nom
Gjirokastër	-	-	+	-
Firmo	+	-	-	+
Vena	+	+	-	+
Barile	+	+	-	-
Ginestra	+	+(cl)	-	+(DP)
Italian	+	+	-	-
English	-	-	+	0

Let us consider the *Ginestra* data. The embedded verb T₂ is inflected, while the matrix causative verb T₁ is uninflected. At the same time the agreement morphology of T₂ can refer either to its own subject, the causee, or it can refer to the causer, i.e. the matrix subject. This alternation depends on the denotation of the matrix and embedded subjects, and more specifically on their Person. Therefore the examples in (4)-(5) are grouped according to whether the causer is a 1st/2nd person, as in (4) – or a 3rd person, as in (5). In (4) it can be seen that in all instances in which a 1st or 2nd person causer is crossed with an embedded 3rd person causee it is the latter that determines the agreement of T₂. Vice versa when a 3rd person causer

in (5) is crossed with an embedded Participant causee, T_2 agrees with the causer. In other words, 3rd person always determines agreement. As for the interaction between two Person subjects, a 2nd person singular causer always agrees with the lower verb (examples (4e, f)). Otherwise 1st person causer and 2nd person causee can yield both agreements, as seen under both (4a) and (4a'). To facilitate reading, the right hand column lists the person of the causer and of the causee; the argument that determines agreement is underlined. The case array is also notable. When the causee is a Participant, it is lexicalized as an object clitic on the lower predicate. 3rd person causees, corresponding to full DPs, show up in the nominative.

- (4) a. yu bitə t a zɟɬɛðəɟʃ (1, 2)
 I make you it you.read
 'I make you read it'
- a'. yu bəta tə skruɲə ɲə lətərə (1, 2)
 I make you I.write a letter
 'I make you write a letter'
- b. yu bəta ikənə (1, 3)
 I make he.runs
 'I make him run'
- c. yu bita və fɬɛjə ɟiθ-va jur-va (1, 5)
 I make you I.sleep all-dat you-dat
 'I make all of you sleep'
- d. yu bita a θrasɲənə atə (1, 6)
 I make him they.call they.nom
 'I make them call him'
- e. ti bita mə fɬɛitʃ mewa (2, 1)
 you make me you.sleep me
 'You make me sleep'
- f. ti bəta nə fɔɬətʃə (2, 4)
 you make us you.speak
 'You make us speak'
- g. ti bəta mbiɬən dɛir-ənə kriatɻ-i (2, 3)
 you make he.closes door-the.acc boy-the.nom
 'You make the boy close the door'
- h. ti bita tə ndihtən atə tir-t (2, 6)
 you make you they.helped those.nom others-nom
 'You made those people help you'
- i. neira bəta tə mbilətʃə dɛir-ənə (4, 2)
 we make you you.close door-the.acc
 'We make you close the door'
- i'. neira bəta tə fɔɬmi (4, 2)
 we make you we.speak
 'We make you speak'

- j. *nɛira bəta fɔlənə* (4, 3)
 we make he.speak
 ‘We make him speak’
- k. *ju bəta mə ra: bukir-t* (5, 1)
 you make me I.broke glasses-the
 ‘You made me break the glasses’
- l. *ju bəta nə fɔlni* (5, 4)
 you make us you.speak
 ‘You make us speak’
- (5) a. *vət bəta mə/ tə fɔlənə* (3, 1/2)
 he make me/ you he.speaks
 ‘He makes me /you speak’
- b. *ai bita nə ŋgrihən tir-t* (3, 4)
 he make us he.lifts.up others-the
 ‘He makes those people lift us up’
- c. *vət bəta və dɔʒi buk-ən jur-va* (3, 5)
 he make you he.roasted bread-the.acc you-dat
 ‘He made you roast the bread’
- d. *vət bita a ndihtən tir-tə krɛstəirə* (3, 6)
 he make him they.helped other-the people
 ‘He made those people help him’
- d’. *vət bəta zʒɛðənə (atə)* (3, 6)
 he make he.reads (they)
 ‘He makes them read’
- e. *atə bəta mə fɔlɲənə* (6, 1)
 they make me they.speak
 ‘They make me/you speak’
- f. *atə bəta t a dzəpənə tejə* (6, 2)
 they make you it they.know you.dat
 ‘They let you know it’
- g. *atə bəta iɲpənə (ai)* (6, 3)
 they make they.run (he)
 ‘They make him run’
- h. *atə bita n a bən nɛira* (6, 4)
 they make us it they.did us.dat
 ‘They made us do it’
- i. *atə bəta və mbilpənə dɛir-ənə* (6, 5)
 they make you they.close door-the.acc
 ‘They make you close the door’

In (6) we illustrate the *faire-par* pattern that has the embedded subject, be it a lexical DP or a full pronoun, expressed through an agentive phrase embedded under

nga 'by'. Again the agreement pattern governed by person is observed, with the result that the verb may agree with the *by*-phrase.

- (6) a. yu bəta ɫajti pərk-ət nga ajɔ (1, 3)
 I make s/he.washed pants-the by her
 'I made her wash the pants'
- b. ti bəta mə ndihjənə nga atɔ gra: (2, 6)
 you make me they.help by those women
 'You make those women help me'
- c. vət pəta zu latrunən nga nəj (3, 4)
 he make he.caught the thief by us
 'He made us catch the thief'
- d. ju bəta mirni paʎʎ-ənə nga mewa (5, 1)
 you make you.take ball-the.acc by me
 'You make me take the ball'
- e. ju bəta a dijjən nga atɔ diʎmərə (5, 6)
 you make it they.know by those children
 'You let those children know it'

According to Manzini & Savoia (2007), "a 3rd person causee does not show up as an accusative or dative clitic". In reality, as illustrated in (7) causees can appear as object clitics, specifically as the dative *i* (syncretic with the accusative in the plural), which can also be doubled by a dative full pronoun, as in (7a). What remains true is that the clitic realization of a 1/2P causee is obligatory – on the contrary, 3rd person causees only occasionally surface as object clitics. Furthermore the 3rd person accusative clitic *a* is not found after the causative verb *bita/bəta* as a lexicalization of the causee. Note that it does occur immediately after the causative verb when lexicalizing the theme of the embedded verb, as seen in (4d), (5d), (6e) and in several more examples in clusters with 1/2P causees. This shows that there is no mutual exclusion between *bita/bəta* and the *a* clitic per se.

- (7) a. yu bit i a happən atir-va
 I make to.them it they.open them-dat
 'I make them open it'
- b. ju/ti bəta i dɔitən/dɔiti buk-ən
 you.pl/sg make to.them/him they.toast/he.toasts bread-the.acc
 'You made them/him toast the bread'
- c. vət bəta i fɔʎjənə
 he make them they.speak
 'He makes them speak'

In order to process the examples in (4)-(7) it is useful to keep in mind the basic organization of pronominal systems in Albanian varieties (Manzini & Savoia 2007, 2014). The case system of lexical DPs and 3rd person full pronouns distinguishes

nominative, accusative and oblique. The case system of 1/2P pronouns, on the other hand, distinguishes a nominative from an objective case, where the latter encompasses both accusative and oblique. Thus 3P pronouns have differentiated oblique and accusative forms; 1/2P pronouns have the same form both as goals of the ditransitive verb in (8) and as themes of the transitive verb in (9). What is more, 1/2P syncretic forms are in fact obliques, cf. the *-va* ending on the 3rd person dative *atir-va* and on the 2nd person plural object *jur-va*.

- (8)
- | | | | | |
|---------------------|----|----|-------|---------|
| aji | m | a | jɛp | mewa |
| aji | t | a | jɛp | tejə |
| aji | j | a | jɛp | atəitə |
| aji | n | a | jɛp | neira |
| aji | v | a | jɛp | jurva |
| aji | j | a | jɛp | atirva |
| he | me | it | gives | me etc. |
| 'He gives it to me' | | | | etc. |
- (9)
- | | | |
|---------------|----------|---------|
| mə | pan | mewa |
| tə | pan | tejə |
| a | pan | atə |
| nə | pan | nei(ra) |
| və | pan | jurva |
| i | pan | atə |
| me | they.saw | me etc. |
| 'They saw me' | | |

Summing up, *Ginestra* faces us with the following set of problems: (i) accounting for the oblique alignment of the embedded subject, in the 1/2P and sometimes in the 3P; (ii) accounting for the agreement of the embedded verb where Participant causer and causees are systematically passed over in favour of 1/2P ones. We will return to these two issues in section 2 and 3 respectively.

Manzini & Savoia (2007) also discuss the interaction of causatives with middle-passive (M/P) morphology, which can in principle be associated with T_1 (causative verb) or with T_2 (embedded verb) in the schema in (1). We briefly consider the relevant data for the sake of completeness. In Albanian, M/P morphology corresponds to a specialized inflection, or to a clitic or to the auxiliary *be* (Manzini et al. forthcoming); the comparison with Italian or English in table (10) is carried out by the *si* clitic or the *be* passive in Italian, and the *be* passive in English. When the M/P morphology is instantiated on T_1 (the probe is on T_1 in minimalist terms), as in the first two columns in (10), passivization or reflexivization takes place to the matrix EPP position, in principle from the embedded subject or from the embedded object position (cf. Baker 1988). This latter option is available in Italian, but neither in English nor in Albanian (here Gjirokastër). When the M/P morphology is instantiated on T_2 , as in the last two columns in (10), the target of passivization or reflexivization (the goal in minimalist terms) can only be the lower object, which is in the scope of

2. Case in the Arbëresh and Ginestra causatives

Treatments of Albanian causative constructions (Brandi & Savoia 1990, Turano 1994, Guasti 1993) generally adopt the framework of Baker (1988). Within the framework of Baker (1988), only Brandi & Savoia (1990) take into account the full extent of the data presented by Savoia (1989). Guasti (1993) restricts herself to a subset of data, Turano (1994) only considers the data of her native dialect of *S. Nicola dell'Alto*. Rrokaj & Turano (1998) account for both environments in standard Albanian without having recourse to incorporation, explicitly arguing against a solution based on Baker's (1988) theory for the specific instances they consider.

A problematic aspect of the Baker (1988) framework that warrants a mention here, is that in effect it leaves us without an account for the *fair-par* constructions, in the sense of Kayne (1975), where an embedded active verb is coupled with an external argument expressed through a *by*-phrase (Baker 1988: 487, fn. 38). We believe that this issue points to a more general lack of understanding as to the role of the nature of the obliquization of the embedded subject. Common ways of describing what goes on in, say, (5h) ('they made us do it') implies that a complex predicate, e.g. 'make-do' conflating the causer, causees and theme roles aligns them in the common way of trivalent predicates i.e. nominative-accusative-dative. Unfortunately trivalent predicates consistently interpret the dative as a goal; alternatively a dative may appear in a transitive sentence as a possessor (these correspond to the low and high Applicatives of Pylkkänen 2008). By contrast, neither goals nor possessor interpretation apparently characterize the causee.

The treatment of the dative causee as an oblique complement of the complex predicate is even more problematic in Arbëresh – where it overtly agrees with the embedded predicate at least in *Vena* and in *Ginestra*. The agreement of the finite predicate with the oblique argues for the dissociation of case and agreement, against the proposal of Chomsky (2001) (see also Baker and Vinokurova 2010). In particular it shows that agreement with a finite verb is not sufficient to trigger nominative. More to the point, agreement with the predicate conflicts with the demotion of the causee to complement status implied by most analyses reviewed, and favours a subject-like position for the oblique.

We follow Manzini & Savoia (2007) in assuming that causative constructions correspond to bi-clausal structures where no V/VP movement, or a fortiori incorporation, takes place. In other words, the two verbs are lexicalized in the T position of their respective sentences. As schematized in table (2), the causee turns up in the nominative in varieties like *Firmo*; this is what is expected in a tensed sentence. More interestingly, standard Albanian (Gjirokastër) has the causee in the accusative. This is comparable to the English pattern – or at least so argues Iatridou (1993) (quoted by Chomsky 2008), according to whom the embedded verb, despite bearing a finite inflection, is not temporally independent from the matrix verb. The absence of independent T may then prevent the assignment of nominative – or in

any event licence the assignment of accusative (from the matrix causative verb) – due to the absence of intervention effects (phases in minimalist terminology). Manzini & Savoia (2007) argue against Iatridou based on the fact that overtly tensed (past) verbs are possible in Arbëresh. However going in the direction of much recent work on obligatory control (Landau 2000) and restructuring (Wurmbrand 2001) one may assume that what matters is the fact that there is no tense independence between the causative and the embedded verb (cf. the impossibility of **yesterday I made the dog drink the milk today*).

Let us then consider the obliquization of the embedded external argument, which finds itself externalized as a dative or as a *by*-phrase in several Arbëresh varieties, including *Ginestra*. Here we depart from the Manzini & Savoia (2007) account in that they follow previous incorporation-inspired literature in assuming that “the Case assignment pattern treats causer, causee and other complements as arguments of a single predicate”. Two things must be explained, first the obliquization itself and second the fact that it is only found with transitive or unergative predicates – and excluded with unaccusatives. This latter pattern recalls ergative languages, which are also characterized by the assignment of oblique to the subjects of transitives, while the subjects of intransitives and the objects of transitives are assigned direct case. In animacy systems, including Indo-Aryan languages, oblique is assigned to the subject of transitives and unergatives (i.e. to external arguments), isolating subjects of unaccusatives and objects of transitives. Ergative alignments are relatively unstable so that most Indo-European languages present them only in the perfect; at least in Indo-Aryan languages the latter is a participial form. Note also that in some Indo-Aryan languages there is no specialized ergative case, but ergative alignments imply a dative subject (e.g. Haryani, Butt & Ahmed 2011); the same is generally true in Iranian languages with ergativity splits (e.g. Kurdish).

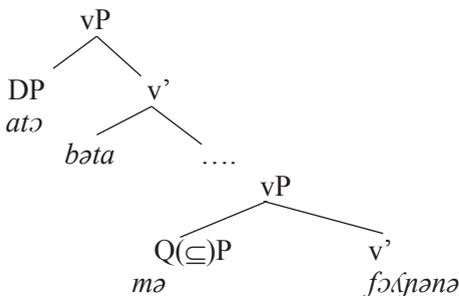
The idea that ergative alignments imply more elementary structures than accusative ones is explored by current literature (Coon & Preminger 2013, Baker & Atlamaz 2013, Nash 2014, Manzini et al. 2014 for different approaches along these lines). So, on the one hand the literature supports an impoverished functional structure for the embedded sentence in causatives (e.g. Guasti 1993) – specifically that they pattern with restructuring predicates in not licencing a temporal interpretation independent from that of the matrix predicate (cf. Iatridou 1993). On the other hand, various proposals on ergativity splits also tie oblique subjects to a defective structuring of the predicate. Both historical and formal studies on ergativity (Benveniste 1966, Johns 1992) further stresses the nominal-like nature of ergative sentences and the possessor-like nature of oblique embedded subjects. Pulling these various strands together, we propose that the oblique case associated with the external argument of transitive or unergative predicates embedded under causative verbs reflects a process of obliquization of subjects found in the presence of a reduced sentential/eventive structure (including perfects in ergativity splits). In so doing, we are pursuing a line of inquiry distinctively associated with generative grammar (Chomsky 1981), which

does not recognize any reality to the ‘constructions’ of traditional grammar, here causatives. Therefore we go further than preceding literature in our modularized approach to causatives, treating case realignment as a phenomenon independent of causativization.

In this modular approach to causativization, the systematic co-occurrence of the *faire-à* and *faire-par* patterns is understood as the alternation between two different obliques – not implying any active vs. passive switch in the predicate. This fact, which has been the source of difficulty for less modular (partially construction-led) analyses, is expected under the present approach. Specifically, in the approach to ergativity splits of Manzini et al. (2014), an oblique subject is a possessor/locator – establishing an inclusion/location relation between the DP to which it attaches and the predicate. The need for the oblique layer of structure arises because in Indo-Aryan or Iranian perfects the *v* layer of verbal structure is absent, preventing direct attachment of the external argument. Nash (2014) proposes that a higher Event projection is missing, much with the same effect. In any event, under these proposals internal arguments are introduced as direct arguments of the predicate and assigned absolute case.

Transferring these proposals to structures embedded under causative predicates we obtain structures like (13) for example sentence (5e). The nuclear (VP) event is located at/included by the oblique argument; following Manzini & Savoia (2011), the relevant inclusion relation is notated (\sqsubseteq). The usual K category for case is avoided in compliance with Chomsky’s (2001, 2008) conclusion that case is not a primitive notion of grammar. Since the main relational category present within DPs is Q, the (\sqsubseteq) relation is (tentatively) associated with the Q category. If an internal argument was present it would be attached as the complement of V.

(13)



Now, in *Ginestra*, the case system described so far interacts with the person split. Thus a 1st or 2nd person causee shows up as an object clitic (eventually doubled by a dative stressed pronoun), while 3rd person causees show up in the nominative – though both can show up as *by*-phrases. The patterns observed in *Ginestra* can be described in terms of an animacy scale where the 1st and 2nd person, i.e. discourse-anchored Participant referents, are ranked differently from the 3rd person, i.e. non Participants.

Given the link that we have established above between oblique embedded subjects in causatives and oblique subjects is ergativity splits – we may fully expect that the other major split observed in ergativity, i.e. the 1/2P vs. 3P split also shows up in causatives. What is not quite expected is the shape that it takes. In canonical ergativity splits (e.g. in Punjabi) 3P subjects are obliquized, whereas 1/2P subjects show up in the direct (absolute) case. The reverse appears to be true in *Ginestra*.

The classical view about Person ergativity splits is that the direct case of 1/2P referents follows from their referential saliency. First, they are purely deictic elements, directly anchored at the universe of discourse – second, for the same reason, i.e. that they denote discourse participants, they are a 'natural viewpoint locus' in the sense of DeLancey (1981). Thus Manzini et al. (2014), discussing Punjabi, propose that ergative case is necessary to introduce 3P external arguments – but unnecessary for 1/2P ones, which are natural 'possessors'/'locations' (of events) because of their intrinsic denotation. In their treatment 1/2P attach to the same impoverished predicate structures as 3P, consisting of a VP predicate only, lacking a further Asp layer; equivalently for Nash (2014), they attach to a vP structure lacking a further Event layer. 3P arguments, when not supported by Asp/Event structures, require the extra complexity of an oblique case, denoting possession/location – 1/2P arguments do not.

There is a way of maintaining the classical idea that the referential salience of 1/2P balances out against the relative structural complexity of 3P in *Ginestra* as well, by keeping in mind that the context of insertion of these arguments is of course different from the ergative perfects of Indo-Aryan. Following the schema in (13), 1/2P referents are attached as oblique arguments to simplified eventive structures. We may assume on the contrary that 3P referents are able to appear as direct arguments to the extent that some extra layer of structure supports them (Event as in Nash 2014, Asp as in Manzini et al 2014, or other).

3. The agreement split

Agreement according to person in *Ginestra* is reminiscent of the phenomenon of inverse agreement, which characterizes a number of languages "sweeping a broad area from northeastern Asia eastward and southward across North America. Apart from Algonquian languages – the best-described instances of the inverse type – inverse patterning has also been identified in ... Tanoan (Kiowa-Tanoan) ... Athapaskan languages ... and a number of others" (Klaiman 1992: 231). Consider the Plains Cree (Algonquian) examples in (14)-(15). The prefixed agreement morphology of the verb always picks up the higher ranked person among direct arguments, independently of their thematic role, namely as External Argument (EA) in (14) or as Internal Argument (IA) in (15)). A distinct suffixal morphology varies between so-called direct forms, when the agreement prefix coincides with the EA, as in (14) and so-called inverse forms, when the agreement prefix coincides with the IA, as in (15).

- (14) ni-wapam-a-nan
 1-see-Direct-1pl
 ‘We see him’
- (15) ni-wapam-iko-nan
 1-see-Inverse-1pl
 ‘He sees us’

Plains Cree (Bianchi 2006: 2024)

Formal analyses for inverse agreement are available within the minimalist framework. We limit ourselves to a couple of treatments (cf. also Aissen 1997 for an OT approach). For Bejar & Rezac (2009), inverse agreement languages bear an agreement probe on ν ; π -features (person features, formally structured) are discharged as soon as possible in the derivation, hence by the IA, even if only partially. Take for instance ‘We see him’ in (14). The IA checks the [person] feature of the probe; the [participant] feature remains active and is checked by the EA. The added complexity of ‘He sees us’ in (15) is that the IA checks all of the π -features of ν so that the EA remain unlicensed by Agree. Therefore an added probe is inserted on ν and it is this added probe, checked by agreement with the EA, which is spelled out by morphological agreement.

According to Bianchi (2006), the Person hierarchy Participant > non-Participant is structurally encoded so that in the IP domain of the sentence (between C and ν) there are Person projections where 1/2P is higher than 3P. Arguments must be licenced within this Person field. If the EA is 1/2P and the IA is 3P, when they are moved from their thematic position (IA and EA) to their Person position, the movement dependencies cross, which is consistent with Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990). However if the IA is 1/2P and the EA is 3P, the dependency formed by the movement from EA to 3P is wholly contained within the (1/2P, IA) dependency. The morpheme descriptively known as Inverse Agreement provides an intermediate stepping stone for the dependency, allowing Relativized Minimality to be satisfied.

The facts of *Ginestra* reviewed in section 1 face us with an interesting difficulty – namely that *Ginestra* does not so much attest to an application of inverse agreement as to its mirror image. In inverse agreement languages, the whole point is that 1/2P has priority in agreement; in other words, if there is a single agreement locus it is taken by a 1/2P argument when present (independently of its role). In *Ginestra* the exact reverse is observed, i.e. 3P has priority, in the sense that the single agreement locus (the embedded verb T_2) is taken by a 3P argument when present (independently of its role).

3.1 *The Ginestra agreement split*

Before we return to the position of *Ginestra* with respect to canonical inverse agreement languages, let us consider its connection to other Arbëresh varieties, as summarized in table in (2). *Barile* comes closest to the conditions of *Ginestra*, in that they are the only varieties that allow for agreement of the causer with the embedded

verb. We may begin by considering how this pattern is possible in relation to the *Barile* data, briefly summarized in (16). In (16) the matrix causative verb is uninflected while the embedded verb agrees with the causer. The causee is assigned accusative or oblique, according to its Person and to the transitivity of the embedded verb. Thus with respect to the case array the *Barile* dialect shows the same patterns as a Romance language like Italian – what is unlike them is that agreement with the causer is realized on the embedded verb.

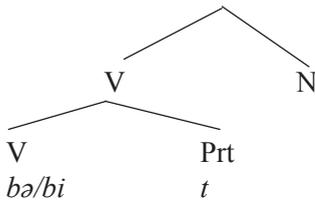
- (16) a. u i a pata bəŋ
 I to.him it make I.do
 'I make him do it'
- b. ai mə pata fɬej (muə)
 he me make he.sleeps (me)
 'He makes me sleep'
- c. atə bəta jektən cən-ən
 they make they.ran dog-the.acc
 'They made the dog run'
- d. i pata həpən dər-ən (atit)
 to.him make they.open door-the(acc) to.him
 'They make him open the door'

Barile

In *Barile*, as in the Romance languages, the contexts Causative-V involve case and agreement behaviours characterizing them as complex predicates of sorts, rather than as a sequence of two predicates. Nevertheless, in such contexts there are well individuated causation and caused events. Therefore, a Causative-V structure does not involve unification of event and argument structures of the type found for instance in Aux-V environments. Rather it is more similar to restructuring environments (in the sense of Rizzi 1982), as already proposed in the discussion of case patterns in section 2.1; specifically causativization implies a shared higher tense domain between the two predicates or equivalently the absence of a C-T phase associated with the embedded predicate. This corresponds to assignment of accusative case to the causee if the embedded verb is intransitive – or else assignment of an oblique case (dative) if the embedded verb is transitive. The intuition that the matrix and embedded V are computed as a complex predicate is captured in terms of the lack of an intermediate temporal structure (i.e. a CP phase).

An invariable causative verb is a necessary precondition for agreement of the lower verb with the causer, as in *Barile* or *Ginestra*. Nevertheless, morphological analysis by Brandi & Savoia (1990), Manzini & Savoia (2007), shows that forms such as *bita/ bəta* of *Ginestra* (*pata* in *Barile* etc.) have a complex internal structure. Only the *bə-/bi-* element corresponds to the lexical base for 'make'; *-t* is related to the subjunctive particle *tə* incorporated into the matrix verb. The vocalic ending *-a* in *Ginestra* and *Barile* (or *-ε* in other Arbëresh varieties) can be construed as an invariable nominal inflection – more in the nature of person-less participial inflections than of finite inflections. This is schematized in (17) for *bəta/bita* of *Ginestra*.

(17)



The analysis of *-a* in (17) draws some support from the observation that at least some varieties and speakers alternate between the ending *-a* of the causative verb and object clitics, as in the examples in (18) from *Ginestra* (similar examples are present in *Barile* imperatives, where clitics are postverbal). Note that final *-a* is equally missing in front of vocalic clitics and consonantal ones. By contrast, we have no examples in our corpus from *Ginestra* and *Barile* where *-a* is deleted in front of a verb. These facts suggest, first, that the *-a* element is an autonomous morpheme – and more to the point, that it is essentially the same nominal class morpheme as the 3rd person singular accusative clitic *a*, justifying mutual exclusion with other clitics. Furthermore, at least in our *Ginestra* corpus the *-a* inflection of the causative verb is mutually exclusive with causee clitics; we do not have examples of deletion directly in front of clitic corresponding to a theme of the embedded verb. This suggests a specific connection between the N inflection of *bita* and the causee.

- (18) a. məs bit mə ɸɔləʃə
 not make me you.speak
 ‘Don’t make me speak’
- b. vət bət m a previ barə-nə mewa
 he make me it he.cuts grass-the.Acc to.me
 ‘He makes me cut the grass’
- c. ju bət və ʃliðənə dur-t ŋga vətə
 you.pl make you he.ties hands-the by him
 ‘You make him tie your hands’
- d. atə bit m a/ i a bəʃpənə
 they make to.me it/to.him it they.do
 ‘They make me/him do it’

Ginestra

On the basis of the discussion that precedes, we may go back to agreement of the lower verb with the causer, beginning with *Barile*, where it occurs in all causative environments. Our key proposal is that the N agreement of the invariable causative verb, similar to the N agreement of participles, probes for the closest object. We take this to be the causee; the fact that the *-a* ending of *pata* is not morphologically inflected makes it into an expletive of sorts. The causer then agrees with the embedded verb. This is schematized in (19) (cf. example (16b)) where N is the agreement probe on the causative verb, probing for the object, and D is the probe on the embedded verb, satisfied by the matrix EPP.

- (19) $[ai \quad m\grave{a} \quad [{}_v \text{pata}]_N \quad [{}_T \text{f}\lambda\text{ej}]_D$ *Barile*
-

A few theoretical assumptions are needed for the analysis in (19) to go through. First, recall that causer and causee are equidistant from matrix and embedded verb, in the sense of Chomsky (1995). Indeed the long passivization/causativization patterns discussed in section 1 indicate the absence of an embedded C-T phase (or the presence of a defective phase). Vice versa, the embedded *vP* phase is in place, preventing the causative verb or the finite embedded verb in T from targeting the embedded theme. We propose that the schema in (19) can be applied to instances where the embedded verb agrees with the causer in *Ginestra*. These include all examples where a 3rd person causer combines with a 1/2P causee, which is lexicalized as an object clitic and is targeted by the N inflection of the causative verb (i.e. *-a*). The D probe on the finite embedded verb targets the causer, as indicated in (20) for example (5a).

- (20) $[v\text{et} \quad [{}_v \text{b}\acute{o}t\text{a}]_N \quad [m\grave{a}/t\grave{a} \quad [{}_T \text{f}\acute{o}\lambda\text{en}\acute{o}]_D$ (3, 1/2)
-

Let us go on to *Ginestra* sentences where a 3rd person causee combines with a 1st/2nd person causer, as in (21a-b) (cf. examples (4d) and (4b) respectively). We again assume that the N inflection *-a* of the causative verb probes for an object. In (21), however, there is no object causee in the domain of the causative verb. As a consequence, the causee is systematically picked up by the D probe on the finite embedded verb (as closest to it). As already noted in discussing *Barile*, an object clitic corresponding to the embedded theme satisfies agreement and other relations within the lower *vP* phase and is irrelevant to the N probe on *b\acute{i}t\text{a}* in (21a).

- (21) a. $[y\text{u} \quad [{}_v \text{b}\acute{i}t\text{a}]_N \quad [a \quad [{}_T \text{\theta}r\text{a}\text{s}\eta\text{n}\acute{o}]_D \quad \text{at}\acute{o}]$ (1(2), 6)
- b. $[y\text{u} \quad [b\acute{o}t\text{a}]_N \quad [pro \quad [ik\acute{a}n\acute{o}]_D$ (1(2), 6)
-

Next, consider examples where a 1/2P causer cooccurs with a 1/2P causee. In discussing the data in (4), we have noticed that a 2nd person causer patterns with a 3rd person causer in determining agreement on the embedded verb in the presence of a 1st person causee, as shown in (22) for example (4e). This is as expected on the basis of the discussion so far. Thus the 1P causee satisfies the N probe on *b\acute{i}t\text{a}*, and the D probe on the embedded finite verb targets the 2P causer.

- (22) [ti [v bita_N [mə [T fλeitʃ_D (2, 1)
-

It remains for us to consider structures characterized by some degree of optionality. Where both causer and causee are 3P matters are straightforward as regards Person agreement, which concerns us here, since the visible agreement on the verb will be 3P whether it agrees with the causer or with the causee. Our analysis predicts that the D inflection on the embedded verb targets the causee, as illustrated in (23) for example (5d). Indeed in (23) the embedded verb can be overtly seen to agree with the causee with respect to plural number.

- (23) [vɛ:t [bita_N [a [ndihtən_D tirtə krəsteirə (3, 6)
-

On the other hand, in (24), corresponding to example (5g), overt number agreement with the embedded verb targets the causer, providing an apparent counterexample to the present analysis. We resolve the issue by proposing that Person agreement, as considered so far, and Number agreement must be separated in the *Ginestra* variety. Thus the embedded verb agrees in Person with the causee – however in so doing it ends up agreeing in Person with the causer as well. This allows for Number agreement with either, and in this instance with the causer.

- (24) [atə [bəta_N [ikrənə_D ai (6, 3)
-

Finally, when a 1st person causer combines with a 2nd person causee, the embedded finite verb displays agreement either with the 2P causer or the 1P causee, as illustrated in (25) for examples (4a-a’). We maintain, as we have done throughout the discussion that the causative verb targets the Participant causee, here 2P. Unlike in (22) (2P causer and 1P causee), agreement with the embedded verb can target not only the 1P causer, as in (25a) but also the 2P causee, as in (25b). This asymmetry between (22) and (25) evokes the internal hierarchy between Participant referents, normally taken to be 1 > 2. The salience of 1P means that it is selectively targeted by null lexicalization (cf. Manzini & Savoia 2005 on Northern Italian subject clitics). A similar effect may be at play in (25b), favouring agreement with 2P; this does not interfere with (22), on the contrary it is consistent with it.

- (25) a. [γu [bəta_N [tə [ʃkrup_D jə λetər (1, 2)
-
- b. [γu [bita_N [t [a [zɣλeðətʃ_D (1, 2)
-

The analysis that precedes corresponds to a fairly intuitive set of statements. In causative structures with 1P causees, the latter undergo object agreement with the causative verb – determining agreement of the finite embedded verb with the causer, i.e. the same pattern as in *Barile*. In structures with a 3P causee, the latter does not undergo object agreement with *bita/bəta* and the finite embedded verb targets it, yielding in essence the ordinary Albanian pattern (cf. *Vena*, Piana). The crucial point is that despite surface appearances, *Ginestra*'s agreement conforms to the basic inverse agreement pattern, with 1P taking precedence over 3P in the person hierarchy. This is achieved by recognizing a role in the agreement pattern to the superficially invariant causative verb.

In other environments we find surface optionality, prompting a number of accessory assumptions. In particular, we have stipulated the independence of Person and Number agreement to account for optionality with 3P causer and causee (for other examples, see Manzini & Savoia 2005 on postverbal subjects in Northern Italian dialects). We have also appealed to the salience of 1P to justify the possibility of passing it over for finite agreement, when we would otherwise expect to targeted by it.

4. Conclusions: Language contact

The causative constructions that we have examined in this article, can be seen as a particular case of linguistic variation in contact and mixing conditions, and, what is more, as a ground test for the interpretation of the basic mechanisms of linguistic change. Linguistic variation has always been at the core of linguistic research, at least from the initial formation of the methodological conceptual devices of modern linguistics. Historical reconstructive linguistics of the XIX century, dialectology, typological models and sociolinguistics have as their central issue the explanation of the varying and changing of languages – and in the last analysis, this is a crux for theoretical frameworks as well. Assuming a Universal Grammar or a common faculty of language requires an adequate treatment of variation, as highlighted by the discussion on ways of capturing variation that has accompanied the scientific debate in these years specifically within generative grammar. Our understanding of variation is shaped by two main factors, namely the theoretical model and the nature of the empirical data, specifically whether micro-variation data are taken into account.

The set of Arbëresh languages considered in this article present the kind of variation that we expect in natural languages in the absence of the external constraints reflecting mechanisms of social and political control. The same general characters of variation observed in Italian dialects (Manzini & Savoia 2007) also hold for minority languages like Arbëresh, namely the Albanian varieties spoken in Italy by communities fled from Albania as a consequence of the Ottoman occupation. Thus Arbëresh varieties provide a rich and articulated picture of language variation, that at least at first sight differ from the slow and subterraneous change of standardized languages. What is more, Arbëresh varieties have long been in contact with neighbouring Romance varieties; this condition is reflected in the extended mixing phenomena which characterize

their lexicon and their morphosyntactic organization (Savoia 2008). According to the literature, in language mixing the lexical bases of one language normally combine with the inflection system of the other ('language intertwining' in Bakker & Muysken 1994). The relation between the language which supplies morphology and syntax and the language which supplies the lexical items is fixed in the distinction between 'embedded language' and 'matrix language' (Myers-Scotton 2003).

Contact, mixing, pidginization/creolization and other mechanisms, like 'setting' factors (Hymes 1974) and bilingual interaction, define the external conditions of variation. We ask ourselves what are the internal factors that drive it. According to Chomsky (2000: 119), "the human language faculty and the (I-)languages that are manifestations of it qualify as natural objects". This approach – that "regards the language faculty as an 'organ of the body' " – has been labeled the "biolinguistic perspective" (cf. Hauser, Chomsky & Fitch 2002, Chomsky 2005). In the internalist (i.e. biologically, individually grounded) perspective that we adopt, variation in situations of contact between two or more dialects (linguistic communities) is in fact not qualitatively different from variation within the same community, or even within the productions of a single speaker. Again according to Chomsky "There is a reason to believe that the computational component is invariant, virtually . . . language variation appears to reside in the lexicon". (Chomsky 2000: 120). Suppose then that the lexicon is the locus of linguistic variation—in the presence of a uniform, that is, invariant, computational component, and of an invariant repertory of interface primitives, both phonological and conceptual. We take this to mean that there is a universal conceptual space to be lexicalized and variation results from different partitions of that space. So-called functional space is just like all other conceptual space and there is no fixed functional lexicon which varies along the axis of overt vs. covert realization.

Categories of variation considered in the present work include Person and case. In conditions of contact, i.e. systematic bilingualism, the existing lexical resources of a language find a new structural collocation. Gumperz & Wilson (1971) note that contact favours the alignment of the morphosyntactic devices of a language on the contact language; such an alignment seems to characterize causatives in Arbëresh varieties. Indeed we analyze *faire-a* causatives in Arbëresh as involving the obliquization of a transitive subject, as in contact Romance varieties; the alignment on Romance involves the redeployment of Arbëresh oblique forms to cover this new context. However, as is well known from the literature, alignment cooccurs with outcomes absent from both input languages, which evidently correspond to readjustments within UG. In our case study, we observe that *Barile*, though conforming to Romance causatives in selecting agreement with the causer, realizes it on the embedded verb, diverging in fact from Romance, which realizes agreement with the causer on the causative verb. What is more, the *Ginestra* variety introduces a split between 1st/2nd and 3rd person, which governs the overall organization of causatives (case, agreement). This manifests the presence in *Ginestra* of the basic organization of inverse agreement, despite the fact that the latter is normally taken to define a major typological divide between Indo-European languages and several

Northern American families. The conclusion suggests itself that such typological divides, though descriptively useful, do not directly relate to internal mechanisms of variation and change – nor do macro-parametric divides, to the extent that they seek to replicate typological generalizations.

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