Modal particles in Albanian subjunctive, infinitive and supine constructions: presence vs absence of clitic climbing

Giuseppina Turano
Università Ca' Foscari Venezia (<turano@unive.it>)

Abstract:

It is a well-known fact that the infinite/subjunctive substitution, attested in Balkan languages, correlates with possibility/impossibility of clitic climbing. Modal particles, which precede subjunctive verbs, have been taken as minimality blockers for clitic movement. Focussing on standard Albanian and Albanian dialects, I will show that the possibility/impossibility of clitic climbing cannot be attributed to the absence/presence of modal particles, since, on the one hand, it is possible to find raising of the clitic in contexts with modal particles, i.e. clitic climbing out of infinitival clauses characterized by the presence of two blocking heads (a preposition and a modal particle) and from supine constructions (preceded by a nominal particle), whereas, on the other hand, clitic climbing is impossible in contexts without modal particles. It seems that, at least in Albanian, the distribution of clitics does not depend on the presence or absence of modal particles, but it is related to the presence or absence of the functional category T. I will assume that clitic movement is the result of two operations: movement to the T head and morphological incorporation (*m-merger* in Matushansky's (2006) sense).

Keywords: Albanian, Clitics, Clitic Climbing, Modal Particles

1. *Introduction*

It is a well-known fact that in Balkan languages such as Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek and Romanian, the infinite has been replaced by the subjunctive, that in all these languages is headed by a modal particle (*të* in Albanian, *da* in Bulgarian, *na* in Greek, and *să* in Romanian).

(1) a. Dua   të   takoj   Xhonin   *Albanian*
         want.1SG   TË   meet.1SG   John
         'I want to meet John'

     b. Iskam   da   vidja   Ivan   *Bulgarian*
         want.1SG   DA   see.1SG   John
         'I want to see Ivan'

     c. Thelo   na dho ton   Yannis   *Greek*
         want.1SG   NA meet.1SG   John
         'I want to meet John'

     d. Vreau   să   îl   văd pe   Jon   *Romanian*
         want.1SG   SĂ   him   meet.1SG   John
         'I want to meet John'

This phenomenon is even observed in those languages such as Romanian and Albanian that still maintain morphological forms of infinitive. The infinite/subjunctive substitution has significant repercussions on syntax. For example, the infinite but not the subjunctive complements show transparency effects for the raising of clitic pronouns from an embedded clause to a matrix one. A clear example is Romanian, where raising of a clitic from an embedded subjunctive clause to a matrix one is impossible (2a), whereas it is possible from embedded bare infinitives (2b).

(2) a. *Îl   vreau   să văd
          him.CL   want.1SG SĂ see.1SG
          'I want to see him'

     b. O   pot   vedea
         her.CL   can.1SG   see.INF
         'I can see her'

The impossibility to raise a clitic in Balkan languages has been attributed to the presence of the modal particle that precedes the subjunctive verbs (Terzi 1992).

Using data from standard Albanian and Albanian dialects, I will show that the possibility/impossibility of clitic climbing cannot be attributed to the absence/presence of modal particles, since, on the one hand, it is possible to find raising of the clitic in contexts with modal particles, i.e. clitic climbing out of infinitival clauses characterized by the presence of two blocking heads (a preposition and a modal particle) and out of supine constructions (preceded by a nominal particle), whereas, on the other hand, clitic climbing is impossible in contexts without modal particles.

I will assume that, in Albanian, clitics necessarily attach to the first Tense node accessible, where they undergo *m-merger* in Matushansky's (2006) sense. Clitic climbing is only possible when the matrix verb and the embedded verb are reanalyzed as a single predicate.

The article is organised as follows: in Section 2, I examine the distribution of clitics in subjunctive structures, which show the following peculiarities: clitics in standard Albanian cannot move from the embedded clause to the matrix one. In Italo-Albanian dialects, clitics show two different realizations: with modal verbs *mund* 'can' and *ket* 'must', clitic climbing from embedded subjunctive clauses is impossible, whereas, it is obligatory when the subjunctive clause is selected by the causative verb *boj* 'make'. In Section 3, I analyse the position of clitics in infinitive structures. Standard Albanian and Albanian Northern dialects do not allow clitic climbing from embedded infinitive clauses, whereas Southern dialects show clitic climbing when the infinitive verb is used as a future. In Section 4, I consider the obligatory clitic climbing out of embedded supine clauses.

2. *Subjunctive clauses and clitic climbing*

Albanian has in common with other Balkan languages the well-known phenomenon of the use of the subjunctive mood to replace the infinitive in complement clauses (Turano 1993, 1995; Manzini and Savoia 2007). Also, the morphological characteristics of Albanian subjunctive verbs are similar to those of other Balkan languages: subjunctive forms comprise an invariable particle and a verb which is inflected for person and number. Although the subjunctive verb shows tense distinctions (present vs past), in fact it has a temporal reference simultaneous to the matrix verb.

Embedded subjunctive clauses can be introduced by the complementizer *që* 'that'. The word order inside the subjunctive clause headed by the complementizer is SVO, as is shown in (3):

(3) Beni   dëshiron që   studentet   të lexojnë   librat
     Ben.NOM wants   that   students+the.NOM TË read.3PL.SUBJ books+the.ACC[1]
     'Ben wants that the students read the books'

The presence of the complementizer clearly indicates that subjunctive constructions are biclausal. I will analyse subjunctive clauses as ForceP projections[2] with the complementizer *që* occupying the higher position Force° in the left periphery of the clause, whereas the particle *të* is in Fin°, which is specified for modality.[3] Between ForceP and FinP, TopicP and FocusP projections are available for topic (4a) and focus (4b) constituents to land into:

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[1] In Albanian, the definite determiner realizes as an affix incorporated to the noun.

[2] I will assume the Force-Finiteness system proposed by Rizzi (1997) to represent the left periphery of the clause.

[3] Manzini and Savoia (2007) analyse the Albanian subjunctive particle *të* as a nominal head lexicalizing a D position of a modal C domain.

(4) a. Beni   dëshiron që   **librin**   studenti   t**a**
Ben.ɴᴏᴍ wants   that book+the.ᴀᴄᴄ student+the.ɴᴏᴍ TË+it.ᴄʟ
kthejë   në bibliotekë[4]
return.3 sɢ.sᴜʙᴊ   in library
   b. Beni dëshiron që **LIBRIN** studenti të kthejë në bibliotekë, jo fjalorin
Ben.ɴᴏᴍ wants that BOOK+THE.ᴀᴄᴄ student+the.ɴᴏᴍ TË return-3sɢ.sᴜʙᴊ in
library, not the vocabulary

In subjunctive clauses, the subject regularly agrees with the subjunctive verb and is marked for nominative Case, whereas the direct object has accusative Case. In line with current research, I assume that, in subjunctive clauses, the subject is externally merged in Spec$v$P and, after merging of vP with T, T yields internal movement of the subject from Spec$v$P to SpecTP, position where the uninterpretable nominative Case is checked and deleted and where the subject enters into an agreement relation with T. However, if the subject remains in SpecTP, we get a structure where it appears between the subjunctive particle *të*, in Fin°, and the inflected verb in T°, resulting in a word order which is ungrammatical in Albanian.

(5) *Beni dëshiron që të studentet lexojnë librat

The pre-particle position of the subject suggests that the latter raises to a higher position, even if such a movement should be barred since, once the subject has raised to SpecTP, it enters into an Agree relation with the probe T which deletes the nominative Case. The subject should be inactivated and then frozen in place so it should not raise further. Instead, the subject is never found between the modal particle and the inflected verb, indicating that it has moved to a different position. What is the landing site of the subject? Assuming that the subjunctive particle is in Fin°, linearization facts force us to assume that the subject of an embedded subjunctive clause is in a Topic position between Fin° and Force°.[5] Hence, an embedded subjunctive clause has the representation in (6):

(6) [$_{ForceP}$ që [$_{TopP}$studentet [$_{FinP}$ të [$_{TP}$ ~~studentet~~ lexojnë [$_{vP}$ ~~studentet lexojnë~~ [$_{VP}$ ~~lexoj~~ librat]]]]]]

Subjunctive clauses have an unusual peculiarity: the complementizer *që* can be absent and in this case the subject, bearing nominative Case, must be in the sentence-final position: the preverbal position is ruled out. The presence vs the absence of the complementizer correlates with a difference in the word order: SVO becomes VOS.

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[4] *Ta* comes from the morphological incorporation of the clitic *e* into the subjunctive particle *të*.
[5] See Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007) for preverbal subjects of null subject languages in Topic.

(7) a. Beni   dëshiron të   lexojnë   librat   studentet
         Ben.NOM wants   TË read.3PL.SUBJ books+the.ACC students+the.NOM
     b. *Beni dëshiron studentet të lexojnë librat

The absence of the lexical complementizer forces the subject to remain inside the *v*P. This raises two questions: how are the φ-features of the subjunctive T valued by the subject? How is the nominative Case checked if the embedded subject does not move to SpecTP? Chomsky (2008) suggests that, if C-T agrees with a goal DP, this can remain in-situ under long-distance Agree, with all uninterpretable features valued.[6] According to this view, we can assume that in (7a) the nominative Case feature of the subject is checked under a long-distance Match/Agree relation.

Let us now consider the position of clitics inside the subjunctive clause. In Albanian, like in all Balkan languages which substitute the infinitive with the subjunctive, clitic pronouns associated with the embedded verb must stay in this domain and cannot climb to the left of the matrix verb (Terzi 1994; Krapova and Turano 2015). In particular, as we can see in (8), the clitic can only appear between the modal particle and the inflected verb.

(8) a. Dëshiroj   që   studenti   t'i   lexojë   (librat)
         want.1SG   that student+the.NOM TË+i.CL read-3SG.SUBJ (the books)
         'I want that the student reads them'
     b. *Dëshiroj që   studenti **i**   të   lexojë
     c. ***I** dëshiroj që studenti   të   lexojë

(8a) shows that the clitic realizes in a position immediately to the left of the lexical verb; the ungrammatical example in (8b) shows that the clitic cannot appear to the left of the modal particle, which belongs to the verb cluster; the ungrammatical example in (8c) shows that raising of an embedded clitic pronoun to the domain of the matrix verb, i.e. *clitic climbing*, is impossible.

Clitic climbing, which is an optional phenomenon, is possible, for instance, in Italian (Rizzi 1982; Burzio 1986; Kayne 1989, 1991), as is shown in (9b), where the clitic *lo* 'it', object of *leggere* 'read', is moved out of the domain of the embedded verb and cliticized on the matrix verb *voglio* 'want'.

(9) a. Voglio leggerlo
         want.1SG read+it.CL
         'I want to read it'
     b. Lo voglio leggere

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[6] Chomsky (2008) assumes that T is not equipped with agreement and tense features but it inherits them from a selecting strong phase head C. Thus, T mediates between the NP/DP which receives Case and C, which is the true Case assigner.

Clitic climbing has been related to the phenomenon of *restructuring* (Rizzi 1976, 1982), a syntactic operation of verbal complex formation, which reduces a biclausal structure into a monoclausal one. It is possible only with a subset of verbs such as modals, aspectuals, and motion verbs (Rizzi 1976, 1982). Other predicates do not allow it. This is shown in (10b), containing a mental predicate, as opposed to (9b).

(10) a.   Rifiuto   *di*   leggerlo
            refuse.1SG   of   read+it.CL
            'I refuse to read it'
      b.   *Lo rifiuto di leggere

Clitic climbing is blocked in presence of a lexical complementizer, as is shown in (11b), where the embedded clause is finite and it is headed by the complementizer *che* 'that':

(11) a.   Dice   che   lo   farà
            says   that   it.CL   do.3SG.FUT
            'He says he will do it'
      b.   *Lo dice che farà

Kayne (1989) attributes the ungrammaticality of (11b) to an ECP violation induced by the complementizer. According to Kayne (1989), in fact, clitic climbing is an instance of head movement, subject to antecedent government. In (11b), the complementizer prevents the trace of the clitic to be properly governed by its antecedent.[7]

If clitic climbing is universally blocked in presence of a lexical complementizer, the ungrammaticality of the Albanian example (8c) is expected. But, actually, the complementizer is not the only element responsible of the ungrammaticality of (8c). In Albanian, the impossibility of clitic climbing can also be observed in absence of the complementizer:

(12) a.   Dëshiroj   t'i   lexojë   studenti
            want.1SG   TË+i.CL   read.3SG.SUBJ   student+the.NOM
            'I want that the student reads them'
      b.   *I dëshiroj të lexojë studenti

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[7] Notice however that, clitic climbing out of complement clauses headed by the complementizer is possible, for example, in Spanish:
(i)   Juan los tiene que ver
       Juan them.CL has that see
       'Juan has to see them'
Thus, Kayne's explanation cannot be extended to Spanish sentences.

At a first glance, the ungrammaticality of (12b) seems to indicate that the absence of clitic climbing is to be attributed to the presence of the modal particle *të* which acts as a barrier for the raising of the clitic to the domain of the matrix verb. The blocking effect of intervening heads, such as the complementizer or the negation, has been explained in terms of Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984), a restriction which prevents a head to move over an intervening head position. By assuming that clitics are heads in terms of X-bar theory and that their movement is head movement, it is expected that they obey the strict locality conditions imposed by the HMC. Thus it is expected that they cannot skip head positions such as Comp or Neg while moving to a higher position. Instead, there are cases where clitics move over intermediate head positions without violating the HMC. An example is the Italian *di*-infinitive clauses where the complementizer *di* does not interfere in the raising of the clitic, neither in the chain formed by the clitic and its trace:

(13) a. Finisco   di   farlo
         finish.1SG   of   do.INF+it.CL
         'I finish doing it'
     b. Lo finisco di fare

Other instances of clitic movement that seem to violate the HMC are periphrastic tenses like the perfect, where the clitic moves from its thematic position past the participle and attaches to the higher auxiliary, skipping the lexical verb:

(14) Lo   ha   letto   ieri
     it.CL   has   read   yesterday
     'He has read it yesterday'

These violations of the HMC have been taken as evidence that clitics behave as either heads and maximal projections. They are maximal projections in the argument position where are generated but, after raising, they left-adjoin as X° elements to empty functional (Kayne 1994) or inflectional (Chomsky 1995) heads. So, clitics move like X^{max} but at the final step of the adjunction they assume the status of an X^{min}. Moving as maximal projections, clitics raise without inducing locality effects such as HMC. This solves the problem with respect to the absence of locality effects of some intervening heads (cfr. (13b) and (14)). But, then, it is not clear why other heads such as complementizers, negative elements and modal particles, should block clitic movement. It is necessary a distinction between the various types of blocking heads.

Terzi (1994) attributes the impossibility of clitic climbing in the Balkan languages to the presence of the subjunctive particles, which act as minimal-

ity blockers because they do not enter in the L-related chain formed by the embedded and the main verbal complexes. According to Terzi (1994), clitic climbing is an instance of head movement constrained by the requirement that the specifier positions of the heads through which the clitic moves be coindexed. Co-indexation of matrix Agr - T - V and embedded Agr - T - V realizes only with identity of subject reference: a condition observed with embedded infinitives. Using data from Salentino (a Southern Italian dialect of Apulia), Terzi (1994) shows that clitic climbing is possible not only with infinitives (that have coreferential subjects), but also with finite clauses when the complement clause is a control configuration and the complementizer is absent, so no barrier intervenes between the main verb and the embedded one. See the contrast between (15b), where the presence of the modal particle *ku* 'that' blocks the raising of the clitic and (16b), where the modal particle is not overtly realized and clitic climbing takes place.

(15) a.   Voggyu   ku   lu   kkattu
           want.1SG   that   it.CL   buy.1SG
           'I want to buy it'
      b.   *Lu voggyu ku kkattu

                                                              (Terzi 1994: 106)

(16) a.   We   lu   kkatti
           want.2SG   it.CL   buy.2SG
           'You want to buy it'
      b.   Lu we kkatti

                                                         (Terzi 1994: 107-108)

In fact, as we will see, the absence of the modal particles as well as the identity of subject reference, assumed by Terzi (1994), are not two sufficient conditions to obtain clitic climbing.

Consider Arbëresh dialects (Albanian dialects of Southern Italy) where clitic climbing is disallowed even with modal verbs *mund* 'can' and *ket* 'must', which select subjunctive clauses without the modal particle *të* and show coreference of matrix and embedded subjects. *Mund* and *ket* display neither agreement features nor tense specifications. Inflection is only realized on the embedded subjunctive verb:

(17) a.   Mund/ket bjeç   ghibrin[8]
           can/must   buy.2SG.SUBJ   book+the.ACC
           'You can/must buy the book'

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[8] *Bjeç* and *bjenj* are the morphological forms corresponding to the second and third person singular of the subjunctive mood. They differ from those of the indicative mood which both realize as *bjen*.

    b.   Mund/ket bjenj   ghibrin
          can/must buy.3SG.SUBJ book+the.ACC
          'He can/must buy the book'

Nothing can intervene between the modal verb and the subjunctive, hence the subject can appear in front of the modal verb (in a topic position) or in the sentence-final position (inside the subjunctive *v*P), but not between the matrix and the embedded verb:

(18) a.   Beni   mund/ket bjenj   ghibrin
            Ben.NOM can/must   buy.3SG.SUBJ book+the.ACC
            'Ben can/must buy the book'
      b.   Mund/ket bjenj   ghibrin   Beni
            can/must buy.3SG.SUBJ book+the.ACC Ben.NOM
            'Ben can/must buy the book'
      c.   *Mund/ket Beni bjenj ghibrin

The absence of the subjunctive particle and the identity of matrix and embedded subjects should allow clitic climbing, but this prediction is not borne out: clitics can only appear on the left of the subjunctive verb:

(19) a.   Beni   mund/ket **e**   bjenj
            Ben.NOM can/must   it.CL buy.3SG.SUBJ
            'Ben can/must buy it'
      b.   *Beni **e** mund/ket bjenj

In this case, co-indexation of matrix and embedded Agr - T - V, à la Terzi (1994), took place since the complement clause is a control configuration and no barrier intervenes between the main verb and the embedded one. However, clitic climbing is disallowed.

On the other hand, Arbëresh dialects also show the opposite situation: obligatory clitic climbing in presence of the subjunctive particle *të*, when the subjunctive clause is selected by the causative verb *boj* 'make'. The causative verb *boj* (inflected for tense and agreement) takes clausal subjunctive complements, whose thematic subject has dative Case, when the subjunctive verb is transitive (20a) or accusative Case when the verb is intransitive (20b). The subject of the subjunctive clause, which appears at the end of the sentence, shows agreement with the subjunctive verb:

(20) a. Na   i   bomi   të   dobarnj   makinin   Xhanit[9]
       we.NOM him.CL make.1PL TË repair.3SG.SUBJ car+the.ACC John.DAT
       'We make John repair the car'

[9] In standard Albanian and in all Albanian dialects, all dative NPs or pronouns in argument position must be doubled by the corresponding clitic.

b. Na   bomi   të   shurbenj   Xhanin
   we.NOM   make.1PL TË   work-3SG.SUBJ John.ACC
   'We make John work'

The structure corresponding to the causative construction seems to be a case of clause reduction, i.e. a case of clause union, whose characteristic is that the thematic arguments of the subjunctive verb are treated as arguments of a complex predicate made up by the union of the causative verb with the subjunctive. The complex verb governs the arguments included in the embedded VP projection and becomes the new Case assigner. Functioning as a simple predicate, it allows only one instance of a given Case. So, there is only one structural subject position which hosts the subject of the matrix verb. As far as the logical subject of the embedded verb, when the latter is intransitive, its logical subject is realized as an accusative; when the embedded verb is transitive and contains an accusative NP/DP, the thematic subject is realized as a dative NP/DP. The causative construction exhibits syntactic characteristics typical of a monoclausal structure. This analysis is further supported by the position of the negation that can only appear in front of the causative verb. So, examples in (21a) and (22a) show that the causative construction can only be negated by the element *ng* 'not', that combines with indicative verbs and appears to the left of the causative verb *boj*. Examples in (21b) and (22b) show that the embedded subjunctive verb, which usually is negated by the element *mos* 'not', in causative constructions, cannot be negated:

(21) a. Na   ng   i   bomi   të   dobarnj   makinin   Xhanit
        we.NOM NOT him.CL make.1PL TË repair.3SG.SUBJ car+the.ACC John.DAT
        'We don't make John repair the car'
     b. *Na   i   bomi   mos   të   dobarnj   makinin   Xhanit
        we.NOM him.CL make.1PL NOT TË repair.3SG.SUBJ car+the.ACC John.DAT

(22) a. Na   ng   bomi   të   shurbenj   Xhanin
        we.NOM NOT make.1PL TË   work.3SG.SUBJ John.ACC
        'We don't make John work'
     b. *Na   bomi   mos   të   shurbenj   Xhanin
        we.NOM make.1PL NOT TË   work.3SG.SUBJ John.ACC

In other instances of embedded subjunctive clauses, the negation is internally realized:

(23) I   kam   thon mos   të   vinj
     him.CL have-1SG   told NOT TË come-3SG.SUBJ
     'I told him not to come'

The position of the negation may be taken to indicate that in causative clauses there is no independent Tense node in the embedded structure.

Let us now consider the position of clitic pronouns. When the thematic subject of the subjunctive verb realizes as a clitic, it appears on the left of the causative verb:

(24) a.   Na   **i**   bomi   të   dobarnj   makinin
         we.NOM   him.CL   make.1PL   TË   repair.3SG.SUBJ   car+the.ACC
         'We make him repair the car'

     b.   *Na   bomi   t'**i**   dobarnj   makinin
         we   make   TË+him.CL   repair   car+the

(25) a.   Na   **e**   bomi   të   shurbenj
         we.NOM   him.CL   make.1PL   TË   work.3SG.SUBJ
         'We make him work'

     b.   *Na   bomi   t**e**   shurbenj
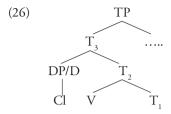   we   make   TË+him.CL   work

In examples (24a) and (25a), the clitic moves over the subjunctive particle *të*, which seems do not create a barrier for its movement. Clitic climbing in Arbëresh is therefore allowed, indeed obligatory, from a complement of the causative verb.

As we saw, the possibility/impossibility of clitic climbing in Albanian/Arbëresh cannot be attributed to the absence/presence of modal particles since we can find instances of subjunctives without the modal particle where clitic climbing is disallowed as well as obligatory instances of clitic climbing, despite the presence of modal particles.

The analysis I will follow here is that clitics necessarily attach to the first Tense node accessible, i.e. clitics reach the first T head accessible, where they incorporate, independently of the presence or absence of blocking heads. The locality of head movement which clitics display in Albanian subjunctive clauses can be considered as a direct consequence of morphological incorporation, along the lines of Matushansky's *m-merger* approach to clitics.

Within the bare phrase structure theory, Matushansky (2006) accounts for the morpho-phonological and syntactic properties of Romance clitics by assuming that they are attached to their host both by internal Merge, a syntactic rule which raises the clitic to SpecTP, and by *M-merger*, a morphological operation which applies to heads and derives morphologically complex words from more basic elements. M-merger applies after Merge in a Spec-head configuration and creates complex nodes that are syntactically atomic.[10] This analysis assumes that clitics are DPs moved from argument positions and adjoined to the main verb after it has moved to and m-merged with T°. Schematically, the derivation is as follows:

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[10] A central aspect of Matushansky's theory is, in fact, that a head is a syntactically indivisible bundle of formal features.

(26)

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                      TP
                 ╱         ╲
              T₃            …..
           ╱      ╲
        DP/D       T₂
         │        ╱   ╲
         Cl      V     T₁
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First V raises and merges with T. Then, the clitic raises to SpecTP. Since nothing intervenes between the clitic and the verb, the clitic m-merges with the derived V+T head. Under this analysis, clitics move as maximal projections (avoiding the HMC) but, since they are simultaneously X^{min} and X^{max}, they merge as heads.[11] M-merger applies to adjacent heads and forms a new complex head, Cl+V, which acts as a single constituent. The operation M-merger does not allow excorporation. The banning of excorporation has been made on independent grounds by Baker (1988) and it is also excluded in Chomsky (1995, 2001, 2004), who assumes that, once α is adjoined to β, the following principle should hold:

(27) In <α, β>, α is spelled out where β is
      (Chomsky 2004: 119)

<α, β> can be moved as a unit but moving β while leaving α *in situ* would violate (27). Excorporation is excluded because it breaks up the syntactical object formed by adjunction.

Adopting Matushansky's m-merger approach to clitics, I will assume that in Albanian subjunctive clauses, the clitic raises to the edge of the first T node accessible, the node T associated with the subjunctive verb, where it incorporates. Although the subjunctive verb has a temporal reference simultaneous to that of the matrix one, the presence of a T node is witnessed by the position of the negation that realizes internally to the subjunctive clause. The negation appears between the modal particle and the inflected verb, both in subjunctives headed by the complementizer (28a) that in those without complementizer (28b):

(28) a. Beni   dëshiron që   studentet   të   mos   lexojnë   librat
         Ben.NOM wants   that students+the.NOM TË   NOT   read.3PL.SUBJ books+the.ACC
         'Ben wants that the students don't read the books'

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[11] The idea that clitics share both XP and X° properties has been repeatedly suggested in the literature. It has been assumed that clitics, as pronominal DPs, are XPs in their theta-position, but attachment to the T/Infl head requires that they be X° categories. Then, they are XPs, raised by XP-adjunction until the final step when they X°-adjoin to T/Infl. This account relates to the minimalist view (Chomsky 1995) that a lexical item can be both an X° and an XP.

b. Beni   dëshiron të   mos   lexojnë   librat   studentet
   Ben.NOM wants   TË   NOT   read.3PL.SUBJ books+the.ACC   students+the.NOM

Clitic climbing is excluded because, in order to raise to the left of the matrix verb, the clitic should excorporate from the syntactic object T_2 and this is banned: after m-merger, excorporation out of a derived head is impossible (Chomsky 1995, 2001, 2004; Matushansky 2006). Under such an analysis, no extra assumption needs to be made. The presence of the subjunctive particle *të* or that of the complementizer *që* is therefore irrelevant.

Clitic climbing is also excluded in sentences containing modal verbs, which select embedded subjunctive verbs without the modal particle *të*. This is a clear evidence that the absence of clitic climbing out of subjunctive clauses cannot be attributed to the blocking effect of the modal particle. As we saw, Arbëresh modal verbs *mund* 'can' and *ket* 'must' have an impoverished structure: they do not contain neither agreement nor tense features. T is absent from the matrix clause. Inflection is only realized on the embedded subjunctive verb. The first position available for the clitic to attach to is the embedded T node, therefore the clitic must find a host within the embedded TP domain. Once the clitic m-merges with the embedded T node, it is frozen in that position, since excorporation is excluded. Consequently, clitic climbing is not attested.

Clitic climbing is instead obligatory in causative sentences formed by the causative verb *boj* 'make' that takes a subjunctive clause as its complement. The subjunctive clause is introduced by the modal particle *të*. Despite the fact that the subjunctive verb has a finite inflection, we are in presence of a reduced structure, as witnessed by the fact that the embedded subject receives dative (20a) or accusative (20b) Case from the complex predicate.

According to Pană-Dindelegan (2013: 191), "Complex predicate is a structure made up of two verbs that function as one unit from syntactic and semantic point of view. The argument structure of the two verbs is characterized by argument composition, the result of which is a mono-clausal verbal complex". Thus, in these constructions, raising of the clitic is obligatory because it must attach to the first T head accessible. Since the initial bi-clausal structure is reanalysed as a structure with just a single VP and a single TP, there is only one functional head T, the matrix one, to which the clitic can attach to.[12]

Summing up, in this section, we saw different types of embedded subjunctive clauses, with or without the modal particle *të*. The data showed that the distribution of clitics inside configurations involving embedded subjunctive verbs does not depend crucially on the presence or absence of the subjunc-

[12] For Arbëresh causatives see Manzini and Savoia (2015).

tive particle. In particular, we saw that the absence of clitic climbing cannot be attributed to the blocking effect of the subjunctive particle since it is also impossible in contexts where subjunctive particles are not lexically realized. Neither the obligatory coreference of matrix and embedded subjects (along the lines of Terzi's approach to clitic climbing) is a sufficient condition in order for clitic climbing to take place.

We can reach a unified account of Albanian/Arbëresh data under the assumption that the position of clitics is the result of their movement and consequent incorporation to the first T node available in the structure.

3. *Infinitive clauses and clitic climbing*

Another interesting context to examine the position of clitics is the infinitival clause, where clitic climbing is, at the same time, allowed (Southern Albanian dialects) and excluded (standard Albanian).

Albanian has an infinitival periphrastic construction build up by means of the preposition *për* ('for') followed by the modal particle *të*, plus an invariable participle (*për të punuar* 'to work'). It is used in standard Albanian as well as in Southern dialects (Tosk dialects) but its distribution is restricted to purpose clauses, so it is not possible to employ this type of infinitive with restructuring predicates, which only select subjunctive clauses (29b-c):

(29) a.   Meri   erdhi   për   të   takuar   Xhonin
          Mary.NOM came.3SG PËR   TË   meet   John.ACC
          'Mary came to meet John'
     b.   *Meri   mund   për   të   takuar   Xhonin
          Mary.NOM can.3SG   PËR   TË   meet   John.ACC
          'Mary can meet John'
     c.   Meri   mund   të   takojë   Xhonin
          Mary.NOM can.3SG   TË   meet.3SG.SUBJ John.ACC
          'Mary can meet John'

Infinitive verbs do not present any agreement or tense features. They do not take lexical subjects, so their subject cannot be disjoint in reference from that of the main verb (30a). Embedded infinitive constructions are control clauses whose subject is coindexed with the matrix subject, realized in preverbal position (30b):

(30) a.   *Unë   erdha   Meri   për   të   takuar   Xhonin
          I.NOM   came.1SG Mary.NOM PËR   TË   meet   John.ACC
     b.   Meri   shkoi   në bibliotekë për   të   marrë një liber
          Mary.NOM went.3SG in library   PËR TË   got   a   book.ACC
          'Mary went to the library to get a book'
     c.   *Shkoi në bibliotekë Meri për të marrë një libër
     d.   *Shkoi në bibliotekë për të marrë një liber Meri

Even if infinitive verbs do not carry agreement and tense features, I assume that the infinitive clause corresponds to a full ForceP projection. In particular, I assume that the particle *të* occupies the lower Fin° position, whereas the preposition *për* lexicalizes the higher Force° position, since it is specified for clause-typing properties (it is used to express purpose).[13] Infinitive clauses cannot be introduced by the complementizer and this can be taken as evidence that the preposition *për* occupies the same position of *që*:

(31) *Meri   erdhi   që   për të   marrë një libër
     Mary.NOM   came.3SG that PËR TË   got   a   book.ACC

The position of the negative element and the distribution of clitics give further evidence in favour of a full clausal structure. The negation that in infinitive constructions realizes as *mos* 'not', is internal and is independent from the negation of the main verb, which realizes as *nuk*. *Mos* appears between the particle *të* and the past participle:

(32) a. Meri   iku   për   të   mos   takuar Xhonin
         Mary.NOM   went.3SG PËR TË   NOT meet   John.ACC
         'Mary went away for not meet John'
     b. Meri   nuk   erdhi   për   të   takuar Xhonin
         Mary.NOM   NOT   came.3SG PËR TË meet   John.ACC
         'Mary didn't come to meet John'

Clitics, like the negation, appear between the particle *të* and the participle:

(33) a. Erdhi   për   të   **më**   takuar
         came.3SG   PËR TË   me.CL   meet
         'He came to meet me'
     b. *Erdhi për **më** të takuar
     c. *Erdhi **më** për të takuar
     d. ***M**ë erdhi për të takuar

Clitic climbing is impossible, as indicated by the ungrammaticality of (33d), which displays raising of the clitic from the embedded clause to the main clause.

Concerning the position of the verb, we can see that it moves from its basic position and raises over the adverb *shpesh* 'often':

[13] Manzini and Savoia (2007) analyse the infinitive preposition *për* as a head P introducing a second predicate by virtue of its prepositional meaning.

(34) a.   Beni   vjen   për   të   takuar   shpesh   Xhonin
          Ben.NOM comes PËR   TË   meet   often   John.ACC
          'Ben comes to meet often John'
     b.   *Beni vjen për të shpesh takuar Xhonin

This can be taken as evidence that the participial inflection triggers V-raising, probably to a defective head T.

Defective Ts do not enter into Case/agreement relations, so they cannot license overt subjects. This is what we find in infinitive structures, where the verb has not an independent EPP-feature, and matrix and embedded subjects are obligatorily coindexed. Clitics attach to the left of the defective head T, where they m-merge with the verb. Once again, the impossibility to have clitic climbing does not necessarily mean that the preposition and the modal particle act as barriers for the raising of the clitic to the domain of the matrix verb. Clitic climbing would force excorporation, which is excluded because it breaks up the syntactical object formed by m-merger in T.

3.1 *Tosk dialects and clitic climbing*

In some Tosk dialects, rare examples of clitic climbing are possible with a sub-type of periphrastic future of the type *kam për të dhënë* (= I have to give) 'I will give', built up by means of the auxiliary *kam* 'have' followed by the infinitive.

Clitics, which, in infinitive complements, normally appear between the particle *të* and the participle (33a), in this kind of future can precede the auxiliary:

(35) a.   Turqya   **u**   ka   për   të   dhënë   gjë
          Turkey.NOM them.CL has PËR TË   given   something.ACC
          'Turkey will give them something'

                                              (Sami Frashëri, in Demiraj 1985: 840)

     b.   Evropa   nuk **i**   ka   për   të   vënë në vatrë
          Europe.NOM not   them.CL has PËR TË   put   in homeland
          'Europe will not take them at home'

                                                                    (*Ibidem*)

This seems to adapt to the idea of Roberts and Roussou (2003) that some verbs may undergo a reanalysis when combined with certain infinitival heads: the higher verbs, once full verbal elements, underwent a category change and became auxiliaries. For the Medieval Greek periphrastic future, Roberts and Roussou (2003) propose the reanalysis illustrated in (36): (36a) is the structure before reanalysis, while (36b) is the one after:

(36) a. [$_{TP}$ theleis [$_{VP}$ theleis [$_{TP}$ T [$_{VP}$ mathein]]]]
 b. [$_{TP}$ theleis [$_{VP}$ mathei]]

An important consequence of this functional change is that an initial bi-clausal structure like (36a) has become mono-clausal when the main verb got reanalysed as a functional T element (36b). Briefly, reanalysis involves elimination of verb movement from V to T and grammaticalization of the main verb to a T category merged in the structure under this node. The earlier structure containing two VP and two TP nodes got simplified in a structure with just a single VP and a single TP. The modal verb undergoes reanalysis and becomes an auxiliary, so the initial bi-clausal structure becomes mono-clausal. The result of this operation is a complex predicate formation. According to Pană-Dindelegan (2013: 191), complex predicates can be identified on the basis of the following syntactic tests:

(37) a. the identity of the subject of the two verbs (obligatory control)
 b. raising of the argumental clitics of V2 to V1
 c. the impossibility for V2 to take the negation marker;

Coming back to the Albanian examples in (35), we can see that they meet all of the tests quoted in (37): the argumental structure of the complex predicate contains just one external argument (test a); clitics of the embedded verb appear to the left of the auxiliary (test b); the embedded verb cannot be negated (test c):

(38) a. *Turqya   u   ka për të mos dhënë gjë
 Turkey.NOM them.CL.DAT has PËR TË NOT given something.ACC
 'Turkey will not give them anything'
 b. *Evropa   i   ka për të mos vënë në vatrë
 Europe.NOM them.CL.ACC has PËR TË NOT put   in homeland
 'Europe will not take them at home'

The negation can only adjoin to the main verb, as is generally the case in complex predicates:

(39) a. Turqya   nuk u   ka për të dhënë gjë
 Turkey.NOM NOT them.CL has PËR TË given something.ACC
 'Turkey will not give them anything'
 b. Evropa   nuk i   ka për të vënë në vatrë
 Europe.NOM NOT them.CL has PËR TË put   in homeland
 'Europe will not take them at home'

Then, it is plausible to think that, despite the complex structure of the infinitive verb, when the auxiliary *kam* 'have' takes the infinitive as its com-

plement (to encode the grammatical information of the future), we are in presence of a restructuring configuration involving just the TP field of the auxiliary verb. The embedded infinitive verb lacks the TP field, therefore there is no lower T node to which clitics could attach to. The first T head available is that of the main verb. Moving as maximal projections, clitics raise to the T domain of the main verb where they incorporate through m-merger.

3.2 *Gheg dialects and clitic climbing*

Albanian Northern dialects (Gheg dialects) have developed a different type of infinitive, built up by means of the preposition *me* ('with') followed by a verbal form corresponding to a participle (*me marr* 'to take').[14] Unlike the Tosk infinitive, the use of which is restricted to purpose clauses, Gheg infinitive can be used in all those contexts in which Romance languages or English use the infinite; so, it can appear with all the verbs involving the process of restructuring (modal, aspectual or motion verbs).

(40) Ai   duhet/shko me   ble   nj libr
     he.NOM must/go   ME   bought a book.ACC
     'He must/go to buy a book'

Although Gheg infinitives do not present any agreement or tense features, they nevertheless can take lexical subjects marked for nominative Case and can be introduced by the same complementizer that introduces subjunctive clauses:

(41) Du   qi   Meri   me   kry   ket pun
     want.1SG that Mary.NOM ME   finished this work.ACC
     'I want Mary finish this work'

The example in (41) represents a context in which an overt nominative subject *Meri* occurs in a position where there is no Case licenser. The subject is in a position where its nominative Case should not have been checked since non-finite T is not able to assign and check Case. This example poses two questions: a) what is the syntactic position of the subject? b) how is the Case of the subject licensed? For the first question, as we can see, the subject appears to the left of the preposition *me*, which I assume to be similar to the Italian preposition *di* or the English preposition *for*. *Me* manifests the finiteness position.[15] It is implausible to think that the subject stays in the speci-

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[14] The syntax of these constructs is analysed in detail in Manzini and Savoia (2007).

[15] Manzini and Savoia (2007) analyse the preposition *me* as a nominal head inserted in the C domain.

fier of the Fin head occupied by *me*. For a DP to move to the specifier of a head, the head must have some feature, or it could not act as a probe. *Me*, as a preposition, is not endowed with agreement features and this means that it is not the probe that yields internal movement of the subject. But, since the subject appears between the complementizer *qi*, in Force°, and the preposition *me*, in Fin°, we are forced to assume that it is in the C domain, presumably in a Topic position.[16] However, the reason the subject moves to a topic position remains somehow unclear. Also unclear remains the question of how is the nominative Case of the subject licensed/checked. In infinitive clauses, indeed, T should not assign nominative, as it is non-finite and it does not agree with the noun.[17]

Concerning the position of the verb, we can see that it raises over the adverb *shpesh* 'often':

(42) Du   me   takue   shpesh   Xhonin
     want.1SG ME   meet   often   John.ACC
     'I want to meet often John'

This can be taken as evidence that the verb moves from its basic position to a defective head T. The presence of a TP field is also confirmed by the position of the negative element *mas* 'not', that realizes internally to the infinitive complement.

(43) Ajo   duhet mas me   fol   ma   me   te
     she.NOM   must   NOT ME   spoken   anymore   with him
     'She mustn't speak anymore with him'

(43) shows that the negative element *mas* precedes the verbal cluster formed by *me* and the participle *fol*.

Let us now consider the position of clitics. In Gheg infinitive clauses, clitics appear between the particle *me* and the verb. Clitic climbing is not allowed:

[16] Manzini and Savoia (2007) assume that in null subject languages, preverbal subjects are in Topic.

[17] According to Chomsky (2001), a functional head F can assign (structural) Case to an NP only if F agrees with this NP. In Albanian, the subject does not agree with the verb. The syntactic relations of Agree (between the probe and the goal) and subsequent Delete (of (un)interpretable features) cannot be adopted here. Also the idea that T derives φ-features and Tense from C is implausible since infinitive sentences have no Tense information. Manzini and Savoia (2011) assume that in Albanian there is no nominative Case. It is the specification of Definiteness that satisfies the EPP argument of the verb when the noun is inserted in a nominative context.

(44) a.   Du   me   **e**   lexue
            want.1SG   ME   it.CL   read
            'I want to read it'
      b.   *Du **e** me   lexue
      c.   *__E__ du me   lexue

I assume that, in Gheg infinitive clauses, clitics attach to the left of the defective head T. Thus, the impossibility to have clitic climbing does not mean that the modal particle *me* acts as a barrier for the raising of the clitic to the domain of the matrix verb. Clitic climbing is excluded since it would force excorporation of the clitic from the syntactic object, clitic + T, formed by m-merger.

4. *Supine complements and clitic climbing*

Albanian has syntactic structures formed by a main verb followed by a nominal form, which is similar to the Latin 'supinum'. Historically it is a neuter participle noun in the indefinite ablative singular, preceded by the invariable particle *së* (Demiraj 1985).[18]

These structures have a relic character but they are encountered in all Albanian dialects and subdialects.

The first element serves to express the intensity, the beginning or the end of the action denoted by the second element. The supine expresses causative or objective relationship.

(45) a.   Zemra   pushoi   së   rrahuri
            heart+the.NOM   stopped-3SG   SË   beat.SUP
            'The heart stopped beating'
      b.   Filloj   së   lexuari   librin
            start.1SG SË   read.SUP   book+the.ACC
            'I start reading the book'

The firs element shows the morpho-syntactic behaviour of lexical verbs. It carries tense, agreement and mood inflections, whereas the supine is invariable, it does not bear agreement or tense features.

The supine appears only in embedded contexts:

(46) *Së rrahuri/së lexuari

Although the supine *së*-complement may assign accusative Case to its object (*librin* in (45b)), it lacks φ-features, so it licenses only null (PRO) subjects. Indeed,

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[18] See Manzini and Savoia (2007) for an analysis of these constructions.

the structure selecting a supine clause corresponds to a control configuration. Both the examples in (45) are instances of obligatory control, where the subject of the supine clause is necessarily co-referential with the subject of the main verb.

Supine constructions show restrictions on the merging of constituents. There is a strict adjacency requirement whereby nothing can intervene between the main verb and the supine.

Examples (47) and (48) show respectively the position of the subject and that of the negation in this type of construction. As we can see, they have to precede the main verb, so they cannot appear in front of *së*. In particular, (48b) shows that supine clauses cannot be negated internally.

(47) a. Beni mbaroi së lexuari librin
       Ben.NOM finished.3SG SË read.SUP book+the.ACC
       'Ben has finished reading the book'
    b. *Mbaroi Beni së lexuari librin

(48) a. Beni nuk mbaroi së lexuari librin
       Ben.NOM NOT finished.3SG SË read.SUP book+the.ACC
       'Ben has not finished reading the book'
    b. *Beni mbaroi nuk/mos së lexuari librin

Also Topic and Focus constituents provide interesting evidence in favour of the adjacency requirement. Examples in (49) and (50) clearly show that topic and focus constituents cannot appear between the main verb and the supine clause. No topic or focus elements can appear in the left periphery of the supine clause. The only possibility available is the left periphery of the matrix clause (49b)-(50b):

(49) a. *E mbarova librin së lexuari
       it.CL finished.1SG book+the.ACC SË read.SUP
       'The book, I have finished reading it'
    b. Librin e mbarova së lexuari

(50) a. *Mbarova LIBRIN së lexuari
       finished.1SG BOOK+THE.ACC SË read.SUP
       'I have finished reading THE BOOK'
    b. LIBRIN, mbarova së lexuari

The only exception to this restriction is represented by adverbs modifying the main verb:

(51) Gjatë leksionit, pushoj shpesh së foluri, për t'ua lënë
    during lecture.ABL, stop.1SG often SË talk.SUP, PËR TË+them.CL left
    fjalën studentëve
    word+the.ACC students.DAT
    'During the lecture, I often stop speaking, to give the word to students'

Adverbs modifying the supine appear after it:

(52) Pushoj   së   foluri   shpesh
     stop.1SG   SË   talk.SUP often
     'I stop talking often'

Let us now consider the distribution of clitics in supine clauses. Examples in (53) show that they cannot attach neither on the left of the *së*-complement nor on the left of the ablative noun, the only possibility being attachment on the higher verb. No clitic can appear between the main verb and the supine:

(53) a.   *Mbarova   **e**   së   lexuari
            finished.1SG it.CL   SË   read.SUP
            'I have finished reading it'
      b.   *Mbarova së **e** lexuari
      c.   **E** mbarova së lexuari

(53c) is a typical context of clitic climbing. Obligatory clitic climbing may be taken to indicate that there is no lower Tense node to which clitics can attach. Indeed, there is no evidence for a TP field in the supine clause: no element associated with the TP field (negation or clitics) can be realized internally to the *së*-complement. The only available Tense node is the one associated with the main verb, so clitics are forced to adjoin to the higher T position.

Albanian supine clauses resemble Romanian supines, which are formed by an invariable past participle preceded by the element *de*.

(54) Am   terminat   de   fumat.
     have.1SG   finished   DE   smoke.SUP
     'I have finished smoking'

<div align="right">(Cornilescu and Cosma 2014: 289)</div>

They show the same characteristics of Albanian supines: they may appear only in embedded contexts:

(55) *E de nemaiconceput
      is DE notmoreconceived.SUP
      'It is unconceivable'

<div align="right">(Motapanyane 1991: 62)</div>

They may have a direct object that realizes as an accusative Case:

(56) Are   de   prins   aceste   păsări   până mâine
     have.3SG DE   catch.SUP these   birds   until tomorrow
     'He has to catch these birds by tomorrow'

<div align="right">(Cornilescu and Cosma 2014: 298)</div>

Lack of agreement and tense features entails that supine clauses cannot have lexical subjects: their subject must be a PRO element co-referential with the subject of the matrix verb.

(57) *Ar   fi important de citit   Ion   cărțile astea
      Aux.3SG.COND. be important DE read.SUP Ion   book these
      'It would be important for Ion to read these books'

                                                                    (*Ibidem*, 291)

Clitics cannot appear within the supine clause in any word ordering:

(58) a. *Am   dat   de le   citit   o carte
         have.1SG given DE them.CL   read.SUP a book
         'I gave them a book to read'
     b. Le-am dat de citit o carte

                                                        (Motapanyane 1991: 33)

Romanian *de* preceding the supine has been analysed as a preposition (Pană Dindelegan 2010), as a complementizer in C (Motapanyane 1992; Hill 2002; Soare 2002; Dye 2006), as a complementizer with prepositional properties (Cornilescu and Cosma 2014), or as a mood particle (Giurgea and Soare 2010).

The Albanian article *së*, that precedes the supine complement, is the same we find in the declension of other ablative nouns, such as, for example, the days of the week (59a) or some kinship nouns (59b), which are obligatorily preceded by an article. The ablative Case, of these nouns, includes the article *së*:

(59) a. E   marta   vjen pas së hënës
         E.ART.NOM Tuesday.NOM comes after SË Monday.ABL
         'Tuesday comes after Monday'
     b. Xhoni   mori   një letër   prej së motres
         John.NOM received.3SG a   letter.ACC from SË sister.ABL
         'John received a letter from his sister'

Së is the article that also marks genitive definite feminine nouns:[19]

(60) Ngjyra   e   penës   së   vajzës
     colour.NOM E.ART.NOM pen.GEN   SË   girl.GEN
     'The colour of the girl's pen'

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[19] Albanian genitive nouns are preceded by an article that agrees in gender, number and Case with the head noun.

Së is the article we also find in a class of Albanian adjectives which appear with an article inflected for the same gender, number and Case of the noun they modify:

(61) Pranë   vajzës   së   mirë
     Near   girl.ABL   SË   good.ABL
     'Near to the good girl'

While *së* appears with nouns and adjectives to the ablative and genitive Case, apart from the supine, no other verb, in Albanian, is characterized by the presence of this element. Given the nature of *s*ë as an article, I will consider it as a D element selecting a *v*P. I will assume that supine verbs have the same *v*P shell that is generally assumed for transitive verbs: they, in fact, behave like regular transitive verbs, since they are able to assign thematic roles to their complements in object position and to assign accusative Case to them. However, they have retained nominal characteristics. Supines still are nouns, therefore they have a reduced structure including just *v*P and VP. Supines are DP > *v*P projections.

Since *së*-complements lack a TP field, the nominal inflection of the second element does not serve as a host for clitics and this forces the raising of the clitic to the left of the matrix verb. The distribution of clitics, in supine clauses, can be captured if we assume that they adjoin to the first T node accessible, which is the one of the matrix verb.

5. *Conclusions*

In the present paper, I considered the phenomenon of clitic climbing in standard Albanian and Albanian/Arbëresh dialects. I showed that the availability of this phenomenon is not due to the presence or absence of modal particles, since, on the one hand, it is possible to find raising out of infinitival clauses, characterized by the presence of two blocking heads, and from supine constructions, which are preceded by a particle, whereas, on the other hand, clitic climbing is impossible in contexts without modal particles. I argued that the distribution of clitics does not depend on the presence or absence of modal particles, but it is related to the presence or absence of a Tense node. In particular, I argued that clitic movement is the result of two operations: raising of the clitic to the T head and morphological incorporation.

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