

ILIANA KRAPOVA krapova@unive.it

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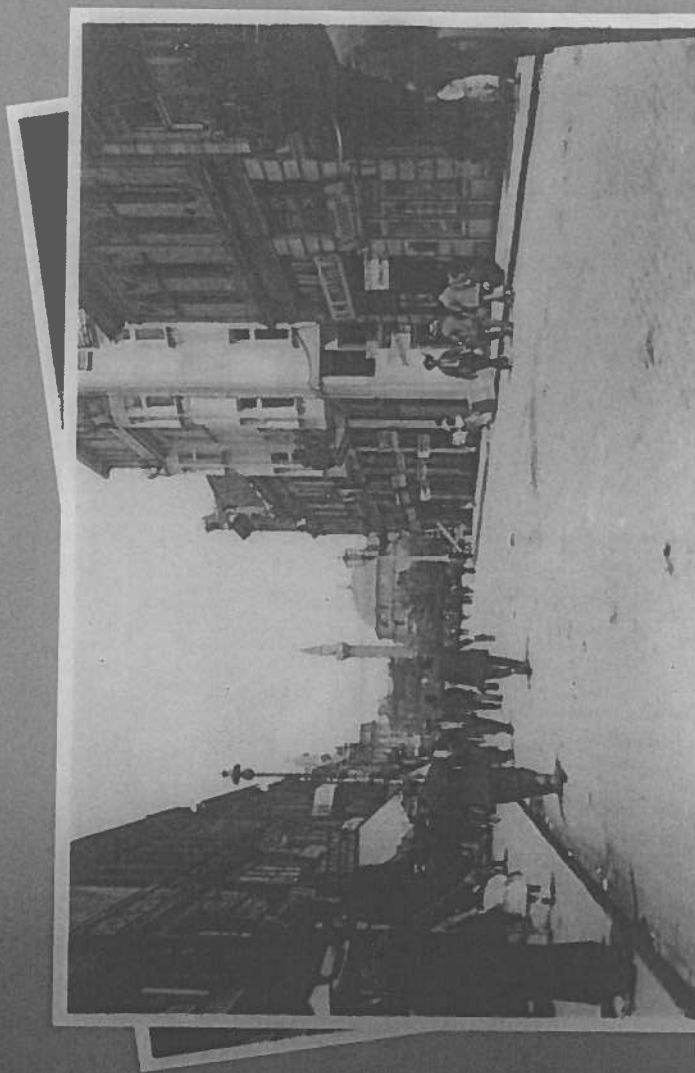


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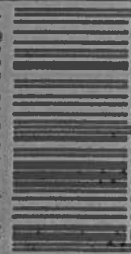
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a cura di
Antonio D'Alessandri
Francesco Guida



L'Europa e il suo Sud-est a cura di A. D'Alessandri, F. Guida

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a cura di

Antonio D'Alessandri
Francesco Guida

Contributi di

Alberto Basciani

Marco Clementi

Giuseppe Cossuto

Antonio D'Alessandri

Emanuela Claudia Del Re

Filippo Marco Espinoza

Francesco Guida

Iliana Krapova

Tatjana Krizman Malev

Blerina Suta

Giuseppina Turano



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Premessa

L'Associazione italiana di studi del Sud-est europeo (AISSEE), fondata a Roma nel 1969, riunisce i maggiori studiosi italiani dei Paesi dell'area balcanica. Essa costituisce il referente italiano dell'Association internationale d'études du Sud-est européen (AIESEE), organizzazione scientifica internazionale non governativa, sostenuta dall'UNESCO sin dalla sua fondazione, avvenuta a Bucarest nel 1963.

In occasione dell'XI Congresso mondiale dell'AIESEE (Sofia, 31 agosto - 4 settembre 2015), gli studiosi italiani hanno voluto offrire ai colleghi provenienti da tutto il mondo un insieme di scritti, frutto di percorsi di ricerca individuali che, tuttavia, si inseriscono pienamente negli ambiti di interesse di entrambe le Associazioni. Come da tradizione, dunque, l'Associazione italiana si presenta al Congresso mondiale di studi sul Sud-est europeo con una raccolta di saggi scientifici già stampata. L'auspicio è che essa possa suscitare interesse e fornire alla comunità accademica internazionale una serie di utili spunti di discussione.

Il volume di contributi già pubblicati è stato presentato nelle seguenti occasioni: al congresso di Sofia del 1989 — F. Guida, L. Valmarin (a cura di), *Studi balcanici*, Carucci, Roma 1989 — a quello di Bucarest del 1999 — A. Tarantino, L. Valmarin (a cura di), *Nuovi studi balcanici*, «România Orientale», vol. 12, 1999 — a quello di Tirana del 2004 — A. Basciani, A. Tarantino (a cura di), *L'Europa d'oltremare*, «România Orientale», vol. 17, 2004 — e all'ultimo, il decimo, svoltosi a Parigi nel 2009 — A. D'Alessandri, M. Genesin (a cura di), *Popoli e culture in dialogo tra il Danubio e l'Adriatico*, «România Orientale», vol. 22, 2009. Non bisogna altresì dimenticare che in occasione del Congresso del 1989 alcuni soci pubblicarono i loro contributi sulla rivista «Europa Orientalis», vol. 8 (come volume a parte), sicché gli studiosi italiani del mondo balcanico furono allora rappresentati anche da tale pubblicazione.

On Clitic Climbing in the Balkan Languages from a Synchronic Perspective

ILIANA KRAPOVA, GIUSEPPINA TURANO

1. Introduction

In this paper, we intend to describe the pattern of variation (i.e., presence or absence) of *clitic climbing*, as it is currently attested in several Balkan Slavic dialects, among which Eastern Serbian and South Bulgarian, in Northern and Southern Albanian (Geg vs Tosk dialects), as well as the Greek varieties spoken in Southern Italy (Grecia Salentina (Griko)). Apart from providing, through novel data, empirical generalizations about the distribution of the phenomenon and its cross-Balkan isoglosses, we intend to test the hypothesis of a correlation between restructuring (w.r.t. clitic climbing as a transparency effect) and the pan-Balkan phenomenon of Infinitive loss. In so doing, we will also make reference to older stages of the Balkan languages/dialects where clitic climbing is attested (cf. e.g. 14th c. Medieval Greek).

2. Clitic Climbing as a Linguistic Phenomenon

Clitic climbing is an optional phenomenon first identified in Romance languages, and consists in the raising of an embedded clitic pronoun to the domain of the matrix verb. An example of clitic climbing is shown in the Italian structure in (1b), where the clitic *lo*, object of *incontrare*, is moved out of the domain of the embedded verb and cliticized on the matrix verb *voglio*.

- a) voglio incontrarlo
want-1sg meet-him
"I want to meet him"
- b) *lo voglio incontrare*

Clitic climbing is known to possess several distinguishing properties, which underlie the language characterization of this phenomenon and have been argued to have theoretical significance. First, it is possible only with a subset of verbs such as modals, aspectuals, and motion verbs (Rizzi 1976). This is shown by the contrast in (2) containing a mental predicate which precludes the possibility of clitic climbing, as evident from the ungrammaticality of (2b) (as opposed to (1b)).

- (2)
- a) rifiuto di incontrarlo
 refuse-1sg of meet-him
 "I refuse to meet him"
- b) *lo rifiuto di incontrare

The second property of clitic climbing is the restriction on the type of the embedded structure: raising of the clitic is only possible from infinitives while finite clauses do not allow this option:

- (3)
- a) voglio che lo incontri
 want-1sg that him meet-Subj-2sg
 "I want that you meet him"
- b) *lo voglio che incontri

The possibility of extracting and raising a clitic from a lower domain to a higher one appears to be related to *restructuring* (Rizzi 1976), a syntactic operation of verbal complex formation, which reduces a bi-clausal structure into a monocausal one such as that of (1b). Clitic climbing is one of the so-called *transparency effects* of the restructuring operation which some authors label "clause union" but certainly not the only one. Romance languages have been shown to respond to all relevant diagnostics for restructuring, as evident from tests such as cleft sentence formation, Right Node Raising, Heavy NP shift, Aux-to-Comp, Long object Preposing (for details see Cinque 2004 and references therein) and are consequently languages with "restructuring" verbs (e.g. volere, solere, tendere, cominciare, terminare, etc).

3. Complex predicates in the Balkan languages

In the Balkan languages, which lack the infinitive apart from some marginal cases to be discussed below, the equivalent of a restructuring context is typically associated with an embedded inflected verb, which according to the language can either be morphologically subjunctive or indicative. There is a considerable overlap between the semantic class of matrix predicates (modals, aspectuals and motion verbs) in the Balkan languages and the respective predicates in Romance undergoing (optionally) the restructuring operation. Examples of Balkan subjunctives and subjunctive-like constructions headed by a modal particle (*të* in Albanian, *da* in Bulgarian, *na* in Greek, *să* in Romanian) and selected by a modal predicate are given in (4):

- a) dua të takoj Xhonin Albanian
 want-1sg TË meet-Subj-1sg John
 "I want to meet John"
- b) iskam da vidja Ivan Bulgarian
 want-1sg DA see-Ind-1sg John
 "I want to see John"
- c) O Yannis theli na fai Greek
 John wants NA eats-Ind
 "John wants to eat"
- d) Ion vrea să mănince Romanian
 John wants SA eats-Ind
 "John wants to eat"

Object clitics belonging to the domain of the embedded verb, as in (5) containing the same volition predicate, must appear inside this domain and cannot be raised above the modal particle. (5) thus shows that clitic climbing is unavailable in the Balkan languages, a fact that has already been noted by Terzi (1994):

- (4) (*T) dua t'i takoj Albanian
 them-CL want-1sg TË+them meet-Subj-1sg
 "I want to meet them"

1. The other transparency effects cannot be tested in the Balkan languages since they do not dispose of the corresponding structures.

- b) (*Go) *iskam da go vidja*
him-CL want-1sg DA him-CL see-1sg
"I want to see him" (5)
- c) (*To) *theli na to diavasi*
it-CL wants NA it-CL reads
"He wants to read it"
- d) (*Ma) *vreau sa ma asculte*
me-CL want-1sg SA me-CL listen
"I want to listen to me"

Bulgarian

Greek

Romanian

These examples pose the question of whether there are or not at all restructuring configurations in the Balkan languages irrespective of the absence of transparency effects. Secondly, given that the selecting predicates belong to the same semantic class as those in Romance, the question arises of what blocks clitic climbing in the apparently similar structural contexts. Later, we will see that clitic climbing is after all possible at least in some Balkan varieties under certain conditions.

Terzi (1994) attributes the impossibility of clitic climbing to the presence of the modal particle. More specifically, working in the generative grammar paradigm, the modal particle, as well as the head C, occupied by the complementizer, are argued to be barriers for the raising of the clitic to the domain of the matrix verb because they cannot participate in the L-related chain formed by the embedded and the matrix verbal complexes: Agr(ement) T(ense) V Agr(ement) T(ense) V. In order for co-indexation of these heads to obtain, a crucial condition must be fulfilled: identity of subject reference. This identity is guaranteed with embedded infinitives though not with finite structures. In fact, in the examples to follow, it will become obvious that wherever clitic climbing is available, obligatory co-referentiality is observed (see ex. (8)).

At first sight, this seems like a reasonable explanation not just for Greek, which is the main source of Terzi's evidence, but also for the other Balkan languages. Balkan languages differ in the morphological means used in replacing the Infinitive of the older stages, which, as is well-known, is one of the analytic tendencies occurred in the Balkan *Sprachbund*. Albanian has retained a subset of the older subjunctive forms, after having reduced them to 2nd and 3rd person present tense. In Bulgarian, infinitives have been lost almost completely, and are still

maintained (the so-called reduced form of the infinitive) in several set expressions of the type *neđej plaka* "don't cry", *ne moga kaza* "I cannot say". Modern Greek too has a present tense indicative form following the modal particle *na*. Romanian has some limited cases of bare Infinitives and *de-supines* (see examples in (10) below), while the subjunctive is in effect, exactly as in Bulgarian and Greek, a present tense indicative verb form.

Given that in Albanian subjunctive morphology is retained but the subjunctive verb must be introduced by a modal particle, we can conclude that it is the latter that blocks the raising of the clitic in potential clitic climbing contexts. This seems like a general constraint even in cases of apparent omission of the modal particle as in the Arbëresh dialect of Italy² where clitic climbing of the Italian type is disallowed even with the modal verb *mund* "can", which selects a subjunctive without the modal particle. See (6):

- a) *mund e shohç*
can it-CL see.Subj-2sg
"You can see it" (6)
- b) **e mund shohç*

The ungrammaticality of clitic climbing in (6b) should in principle be a counterexample for Terzi's proposal since the absence of the particle should allow the formation of an L-related chain via the co-indexation of the two inflected verbal heads. One way to reconcile this datum with Terzi's analysis is to suppose that even though the modal particle is not lexically realized, it is still present structurally. Such an idea receives support from the fact that in the negative version of (6), given in (7), Negation does trigger the overt realization of the modal particle *të*.

- a) *mund mos të shohç*
can not see.Subj-2sg
"You can't see" (7)
- b) *mund mos te shohç*
can not TÈ+it-CL see.Subj-2sg
"You can't see it"

2. Our observations are based on the Arbëresh dialect spoken in San Nicola dell'Alto Calabria.

We can generalize that even in case the modal particle is a zero element in a particular syntactic position separating the two verbal domains it still blocks the availability of clitic climbing, cf. (7c).

- c) *e mund [tē/∅]+e shohç
 It-CL. can TË CL see.Subj-2sg
 ▲-----x----- (7)

Terzi's proposal seems to receive an additional confirmation from Slavic dialectal data involving clitic climbing. See (8). In the East Serbian dialects, as well as in the Bulgarian Rhodope dialect of Gela, reported in Sobolev (2004), it appears possible to find the clitic argument of the embedded verb to the left of the matrix verb in a configuration corresponding to clitic climbing.

- a) d' a li ga m' ogu n' ajdem?
 Q him-CL can-1sg find-1sg
 "Can I find him?" (Gela, Southern Bulgaria, MDBJAAtlas: 68) (8)
- b) i gu nã možaxmã fanãm
 and him-CL not could-1pl catch-1pl
 "And we couldn't catch him" (Kamenitsa, East Serbia, Sobolev 2004, ex. 20b)

As mentioned above, neither Bulgarian, nor Serbian would admit a particle drop so these examples are ungrammatical in the standard languages. The phenomenon of particle drop or omission, which Sobolev (2004: 75) describes as a "synthetic innovation" located in the Central Balkan zone, represents a clear case of clitic climbing available with the verb *can* in its ability reading.

Particle drop has also been attested for Istro-Romanian (Zegrean 2012), and under the exact same conditions as in Slavic: identity of subject reference and use of the modal verb *can* in its ability reading:

- Io voi vo pute (vo) vede
 I will-1sg {her} can-1sg {her} see-1sg
 "I'll be able to see her" (Istro-Romanian, Zegrean 2012) (9)

Conscious that more data are needed for the description of this phenomenon and abstracting away from the possible origin of structures (plausibly due to language contact with Croatian or as a continuation

of an older structure), the examples in (8)–(9) show that clitic climbing is available in Slavic and Istro-Romanian with verbs, which like ability *can*, appear to select an inflected present tense verb not introduced by a (null) M particle as in Arbëresh (7c) above. Thus, it is not the type of embedded morphology *per se* which allows for clitic climbing: subjunctive vs. indicative. Rather, the absence of clitic climbing in the standard languages and in Arbëresh is to be attributed to the blocking effect of the modal particle acting as a barrier for the movement of the clitic argument.

The question that arises at this point also with respect to the Balkan data is what triggers a configuration allowing for the union of two otherwise independent clauses. We will come back to this question but for the time being we point out that more generally speaking, clitic climbing in the context of two indicative verbs is observed also in the Italian dialect of Brindisi (Salentino), as discussed by Terzi (1994) and Calabrese (1993). See (10a). The contrast with (rob) shows that in case *want* selects a CP headed by the overt complementizer (*ku*) in (10b), it is this complementizer that blocks the raising of the clitic in spite of the preserved subject coreference. Calabrese also notes (fn.2, fn.9) that the embedded verb following the complementizer can optionally appear in the subjunctive mood. However irrespective of the embedded morphology, whenever *ku* is absent, clitic climbing is possible.

- a) lu voggyu kattu
 it want-1sg buy-1sg
 "I want to buy it" (10)
- b) *lu voggyu ku kattu
 it want-1sg that buy-1sg

4. Clitic climbing out of infinitival complements

Apart from the V1 V2 sequences seen above, another case of clitic climbing in the Balkan area is the one attested in the few instances of infinitive (or supine) retention in the contemporary languages/dialects. Romanian for example has preserved the bare infinitive after the verb *putea* "can" and — until the first half of the 20th century —

(Pană Dindelegan 2013), as well as the supine *de*-complement of the deontic type in (11c, d) after modal *have* (and the aspectual *finish*). With both structures clitic climbing is obligatory:

- a) o pot *vedea*
her-CL can-1sg see-INF
“I can see her”
- b) O știu *cânta*
CL-fem know-1sg sing
“I know how to sing it”
- (11)
- c) O are de *terminat*
CL-fem has DE finished-sup
“He has to finish it.”
- d) Cartea nu o termin *de citit*
book not CL-fem finish.1sg de read.sup
“The book, I do not finish reading”

In the Griko dialect of Salentino (Grecia Salentina Greek), a Greek-based dialect spoken in Italy, the infinitive is preserved only after the two verbs *sotzo* “can” and *spitseo* “finish” and these provide the only two contexts of obligatory clitic climbing (Baldissera 2012; Chatzikyriakidis 2010).

- a) sa sòzzane *insultètsi* (*sa)
you-CL can-3pl.Past insult-INF
“They could insult you”
(Baldissera 2012, LMGD)
- b) To sotzi *vorasi?* Ne, sotzi
it-CL can-3sg buy-INF yes can-3sg
“Can he buy it? Yes, he can”
(Chatzikyriakidis, ex. 43)
- (12)
- c) To spitseo *tse* (*to) *tonisi* (*to) *avri*
it-CL finish-1sg COMP see-INF tomorrow
“I will finish seeing it tomorrow”
(Chatzikyriakidis, ex. 10)

Note that the verbs used in these contexts form a superset with respect to the verbs allowing for a particle drop: apart from ability denoting predicates, we find the aspectual *finish* and the permission/possibility *can*. If so, then the bigger generalization based on current available positive evidence is that the temporal interpretation of the embedded verb is a distinguishing factor in languages with

infinitival complements as the few Balkan/Balkan-like varieties seen above. For example, in Serbo-Croatian (Progovac 1994; Todorović, Wurmbrand 2015, a.o.), a “language” with infinitives alongside synonymous indicative complements introduced by the modal particle *da*, clitic climbing is possible, even preferred out of tenseless infinitives, as in (13a), but is dispreferred out of *da*-complements selected by the same verb. See the difference in judgements between (13a) and (13b)³.

- a) Marko {√ih} je probao *napisati* {ih}
Mark {√them} is tried write-INF {them}
“Mark tried to write them”
(Todorović, Wurmbrand 2015)
- (13)
- b) Marko {?ih} je probao *da* {√ih} *napiše*
Mark {?them} is tried DA {√them} writes
“Mark tried to write them”

Wurmbrand (2015) has shown that languages fall into three basic types in view of the distribution of clitic climbing: those that allow clitic climbing out of tenseless [-TNS] infinitives only, those that allow clitic climbing out of tenseless as well as out of future ([FUT]) infinitives, and those that disallow clitic climbing. Since no Balkan-(like) variety represents clitic climbing out of a FUT infinitive, we can categorize the Balkan zone as belonging to type 1 in Wurmbrand’s classification albeit being far more limited than Italian and Spanish which also belong to this type.

5. Clitic climbing from a diachronic perspective

Clitic climbing out of tenseless complements can be observed also diachronically, at the older stages of the languages under comparison. The following example from the 14th c. historical text *The Chronicle of Morea* is cited in Joseph (1983, 64):

3. This is not the whole story however. The modal particle does not always exert a blocking effect, so deontic contexts, as well as finite volitional complements, are accepted as possible clitic climbing contexts, at least by some speakers: (i) Petar je mora / želi da vidi [Todorović, Wurmbrand 2015, ex. (32a)] Petar-NOM her-ACC has-to / wants DA see “Peter has to / wants to see her.”

kathō:s to thélēis máthei
as it want-2sg learn-INF
"as you will learn it"

(Joseph 1983, 64)

(14)

(14) is a periphrastic future formation involving an infinitive and is the prototype of the MG future, in use since the 10th c. Pappas (2001, 2004) gives other examples of clitic climbing from Later Medieval Greek before the 14th c. such as that of (15):

opu me θēli pzi
which me want-3sg take-INF
"which will take me"

(Pappas 2004, 92)

(15)

According to the analysis of Joseph, the periphrastic future construction, which made productive use of the infinitive in the medieval period, was reanalyzed, due to a sound change (the loss of the final -n of the infinitive), as a V1 V2 finite sequence (*thelo grapho* "want write") so that the infinitive came to be homonymous with 3sg present indicative (in 15-16 c. colloquial language) which would subsequently give rise to the MG analytic future (*thē(10): grapho* > *tha grapho* "I will write"). As noted by Pappas (2004), other verb types in Later Medieval Greek (like *begin*, *dare*, *hope*), which also combine with an infinitive did not allow clitic climbing. We therefore conclude with Pappas, that the periphrastic future was the only type of structure which could yield a restructuring configuration.

6. Two approaches to Balkan-type restructuring: reanalysis and clausal size reduction

The above data from the history of Greek, as well as those in (10)–(13) seem to corroborate the idea of Roberts and Roussou (2003) that modal verbs may undergo a reanalysis when combined with certain infinitival heads: the higher verbs in (11)–(12), as well as (14)–(15), once full verbal elements, underwent a category change and became auxiliaries. For the Medieval Greek periphrastic future, the reanalysis can be illustrated with the two structures in (16) for (14): (16a) is the structure before reanalysis while (16b) is the one after:

- a) [TP theleis [VP thēleis [TP T [VP mathēi]]]]
b) [TP theleis [VP mathēi]]

(16)

An important consequence of this functional change is that an initial biclausal structure like (16a) has become monoclausal when the modal got reanalyzed as a functional T element (16b). Briefly, reanalysis involves elimination of verb movement from V to T and the grammaticalization of the modal verb to a T category merged in the structure under this node. With the loss of infinitival morphology, as mentioned above, there was no evidence anymore for a lower T projection, so the earlier structure containing two VP and two TP nodes got simplified in a structure with just a single VP and a single TP.

At first sight, this analysis looks really attractive, since it can be said to capture not just the Greek diachronic development but also all the other contexts examined above (Romanian (11), Griko in (12), as well as the Slavic data in (7)–(8), Istro-Romanian (9) and Salentino (10)), in which the embedded finite indicative verb shows present tense morphology and can thus be argued to have a tenseless VP rather than a TP. However, this analysis is not sufficient to explain the data from the few dialects of Southern Albania (Tosk dialects) featuring clitic climbing out of embedded infinitival clauses despite the presence of two potential barriers: a preposition and a modal participle.

Tosk dialects have an analytic future form of the type *kam për të dhënë* (= I have to give) "I will give"⁴, built up by means of the auxiliary *kam* "have", followed by an infinitive. In these contexts, clitic climbing is possible, as is shown in (17), where the dative clitic *u* precedes the auxiliary:

Turqya u ka për të dhënë gjë
Turkey them has PÉR TË given something
"Turkey will give them something"

(17)

Even if the infinitive *për të dhënë* shows no tense or agreement features, positing just a VP projection as a result of reanalysis cannot

4. This analytic future form is characteristic of some Tosk dialects only; standard Albanian has only the *ha*-future construction.

work since it cannot accommodate the preposition *për* nor the modal particle *të*.

An analysis a-là Wurmbrand (2015) which treats tenseless complements allowing for clitic climbing, whether infinitival or finite, as vp/VP projections expressing just thematic relations (the Θ domain) and not being able to project neither the TP functional domain nor the A" domain of the CP, seems to be insufficient as well. Why are modal particles exempt from their blocking properties when size reduction of the clause takes place? Such an approach would attribute the grammaticality of (17) to the fact that the Infinitive has [-TNS] feature, i.e. is tenseless. However, in order to account for (18) from standard Albanian, where we find the same infinitival complement as in (17) but without the possibility of clitic climbing, cf. (19), Wurmbrand's analysis would have to rely on the feature [FUT] of the Infinitive since according to this analysis, some languages which instantiate both [-TNS] (tenseless in *sensu stricto*) as well as [FUT] Infinitives, allow for clitic climbing with the former though not with the latter. From this point of view, Tosk will be a dialect of type 1, allowing clitic climbing with tenseless infinitives only (corresponding cases like (18) are ungrammatical in this dialect too). Albanian, on the other hand, will be a language of type 0, i.e. disallowing clitic climbing altogether (recall that with other modal, aspectual and motion verbs illustrated in (4a) above, and containing a subjunctive verb introduced by the *të* particle, clitic climbing is also excluded).

erdhi për tët *më* takuar
came-3sg PËR TË me meet
"He came to meet me"

(18)

- a) *erdhi *më* për të takuar
b) **më* erdhi për të takuar

(19)

The approach proposed by Wurmbrand faces the following problems.

First, it is not clear how to treat prepositional infinitives of the type widespread in the Geg area (Northern Albania) built up by means of the preposition *me* ("with") + participle (*marr*, "taken") which also disallow clitic climbing.

- a) du me e marr
want-1sg ME it-CL take
"I want to take it"
- b) *e du me marr

(20)

Second, subjunctive particles act as blockers for clitic climbing in the majority of Balkan modal and aspectual constructions, though not in the Arbëresh causative constructions featuring the verb *boj* "make" and a complement introduced by the same modal particle *të* as in standard Albanian (and displaying the VOS word order). The Arbëresh causative construction is illustrated in (21). In (21a), the embedded thematic subject bears dative case; in (21b), it has accusative case since the subjunctive verb is intransitive. In all cases, the subject shows agreement with the subjunctive verb:

- a) I boj të ghojrimj ghibrin studentit⁶
him make-1sg TË read-3sg book student-DAT
"I make the student read the book"
- b) boj të nisët studentin
make-1sg TË leave-3sg student-ACC
"I make the student leave"

(21)

The contrast between (21a) and (22) shows that the clitic which doubles the dative subject *studentit* cannot remain in the lower position and must be obligatorily raised to the left of the causative verb:

*boj t'i ghojrimj ghibrin studentit⁶

(22)

The same happens if the accusative subject in (21b) is cliticized: the clitic appears to the left of the matrix verb, as is shown in (23):

- a) e boj të fjas
him-CL make-1sg TË speak-3sg
"I make him speak"
- b) *boj të fjas

(23)

5. All dative NPs or pronouns must be obligatorily doubled by the corresponding clitic.

6. In fact, this sentence is grammatical in the interpretation of "I make someone read the book to the student".

If clitic climbing is only possible in a monoclausal/clause union structure, reanalysis a-là Roberts & Roussou, involving just one single position VP, is not sufficient since the embedded subjunctive verb has arguments of its own which require at least a *VP* projection expressing the thematic structure. Even in clear cases of monoclausal structure, as is the case of the Tosk analytic future, we still need an extra position for *V* movement in view of the position of adverbs such as *shpesh/shpisi* "often". This refers also to the Arbëresh examples in (21), where we can see that an adverb may appear in between the embedded verb and the direct object, as illustrated in (25):

Turqya u ka për të dhënë *shpesh* gjë
 Turkey them has PËR TË given often something
 "Turkey will give often them something" (24)

- a) boj të ghojirnj *shpisi* ghibrin studentit
 make-3sg TË read-3sg often book student-NOM
 "I make the student often read the book"
- b) I boj të ghojirnj *shpisi* ghibrin studentit
 him make-1sg TË read-3sg often book student-DAT
 "I make the student often read the book" (25)
- c) boj të fjas *shpisi* studentin
 make-3sg TË talk-3sg often student-ACC
 "I make the student often talk"

Thus, on one hand, the reanalysis explanation leaves open the question where the Tosk infinitive particle and the Arbëresh subjunctive particle are generated, and on the other hand, a clause reduction analysis a-là Wurmbrand leaves the blocking effect of the modal particles unaccounted for (even though one can argue that modal particles introducing the embedded verb are not elements of the C domain). This precludes a unitary explanation of what makes clitic climbing unavailable in the majority of Balkan embedded contexts. Moreover, it is hard for each single language to motivate absence of *V* movement with respect to the clitic position.

We therefore propose a cartographic account of clitic climbing such as the one advocated for in Cinque (2006). Note that for the above examples from Romanian, Greek, Salentino, Serbian dialects, Istro-Romanian, Tosk and Arbëresh dialects, the "restructuring" con-

figuration typically includes a portion of Cinque's (1999) articulated functional hierarchy involving several Mood projections:

Mod(al)_{epistemic} > Mood_{irrealis} > Mod(al)_{vollitional} > Mod(al)_{possibility} > Mod(al)_{ability}
 > Mod(al)_{permission}
 Voice > Perception > Causative (Cinque 2006, 93) (26)

Following Cinque, we argue that so-called "restructuring" verbs are functional verbs directly inserted in any of these head positions. Thus, for the East Serbian examples in (8), Istro-Romanian in (9), Romanian in (11), Greek varieties in (12), the relevant head involved in restructuring is inserted in Mod_{possibility}, Mod_{ability} or Mod_{permission}, whereas the embedded tenseless indicative or infinitive verb is inside the lexical projection VP.

The restructuring head involved in the Later Medieval Greek examples (14)–(15) is instead inserted in Mod_{vollitional}.

We propose that the modal particles of the Balkan languages can be inserted in different functional portions of the clause according to the functional head with which they are associated. In the Tosk dialectal example in (17) for example, the modal particle *të* can be argued to occupy the position of Mood_{irrealis} which in Cinque's hierarchy is very close, in terms of hierarchy, to Future Tense, thereby explaining the frequent cross-linguistic use of *have* auxiliaries with future meaning, see (27):

[Turqya [FP u ka [FP për [Moodirrealis të [VP dhënë [VP shpesh dhënë gjë]]]]] (27)

In the case of the Arbëresh causative in (21), the modal particle *të* preceding the subjunctive verb is inserted in a different functional position associated with the causative verb.

[FPcausative i boj [FP të [VP ghojirnj [VP shpisi ghojirnj ghibrin studentit]]]] (28)

To summarize, when a verb is inserted in a functional position, what we obtain is the activation of a higher position accessible for the clitic. This gives the effect that the clitic has climbed to the left of the

7. In (27), the past participle not showing agreement or tense features, must have moved to VP, since it *never* does the *structure*.

“restructuring” verb. The idea that there are two different positions for clitics is not new: it has been argued for by Cardinaletti & Shlonsky (2004) who distinguish between a clausal clitic position situated in the high portion of IP and a lexical clitic position located in the VP domain.

There are however contexts where clitic climbing is unavailable or blocked, as we saw in Albanian and Geg infinitive contexts, cf. (18) and (20) respectively. For these contexts it seems probable (at least at this stage of the analysis) to posit a full CP structure given that they involve a preposition. Besides that, the unavailability of clitic climbing can also depend on the position of *për të*, which probably are generated in a higher position, inside the C domain:

a) [TP erdhi [VP *erdhi*] [CP për të [TP [VP më takuar]]]] Albanian (29)
 came for to me meet-inf

b) [TP du [VP *du*] [CP C me [TP [VP e marr]]]] Geg⁸ (30)
 want with it take-inf

The subjunctive(-like) particles of the Balkan languages can also be thought of a C heads realizing the lower C (= Fin) position of the C domain (Manzini & Savoia 2007, Roussou 2000). One piece of evidence for this position comes from the fact that in Albanian and Romanian the modal particles may co-occur with the complementizer (*që* in Albanian and *ca* in Romanian). See the examples in (31) and the structure in (32) based on Rizzi's (1997) articulated structure of the left periphery:

a) dua që Beni të nisët nesër Albanian (31)
 want-1sg that Ben TË leave-3sg tomorrow
 “I want Ben to leave tomorrow”

b) vreau ca mâine să vină Ion Romanian⁹
 want-1s that tomorrow SA come.Subj-3sg Ion
 “I want John to come tomorrow”

dua [ForceP që [TPP Beni [FinP të [TP nisët [VP nisët Beni]]]] (32)

8. Note that in this example, “want” is a lexical verb, not an auxiliary, as opposed to future tense *kam*.

9. The example is taken from Dobrovie-Sorin (2001), her (22a) and (23a) resp.

Given this structure, it can be argued that the blocking effect of the modal particle on clitic climbing derives from Fin°, as a X°-head, preventing the clitic from head governing its lower position. Kayne (1989) for example considers clitic climbing to be an instance of head movement, subject to antecedent government and attributes the ungrammaticality of Italian sentences like (3b) to the blocking effect of the lexical complementizer. Kayne attributes the status of (3b) to an ECP violation induced by *che* (“that”). But it is also possible that, in absence of the complementizer (Force marker), the subjunctive particle raises from Fin to Force (Roussou 2000). In fact, when the complementizer *që* is lexicalized, the entire C domain is activated as is shown by the distribution of topic and focus elements in (33a) and (33b):

a) Beni dëshiron që *librin* studenti ta kthejë në bibliotekë¹⁰
 Ben wants that the book the student TË+it-CL return.Subj-3sg
 in library (33)

b) Beni dëshiron që *LIBRIN* studenti të kthejë në bibliotekë
 Ben wants that THE BOOK the student TË return.Subj-3sg in library

When the complementizer *që* is absent, no topic or focus elements can appear in the left periphery of the clause:

a) *Beni dëshiron *librin* ta lexojnë studentet
 Ben wants the book TË+it-CL read-3pl the students (34)

b) *Beni dëshiron *LIBRIN* të lexojnë studentet
 Ben wants THE BOOK TË read-3pl the students

We can conclude therefore that in constructions without *që*, the particle *të* raises from Fin to Force, precluding therefore the realization of a Topic or a Focus element between the matrix verb and ForceP.

Thus, the subjunctive particles in standard Balkan languages, like the infinitival particles in standard Albanian and in Gheg dialects, act as blockers for clitic climbing. When no clitic climbing takes place, clitics realize in the lowest position, on the left of the embedded verb.

10. *Ta* comes from the morphological incorporation of the clitic *e* into the subjunctive particle *të*.

7. Conclusion

In this paper, we have argued that certain embedded subjunctive, infinitive and indicative structures in the Balkan dialects should be analyzed as monoclausal structures in view of the obligatoriness of clitic climbing out of these complements.

The respective complements in the standard Balkan languages, on the other hand, do not allow clitic climbing because of the blocking effect of the modal particles which introduce them. We have argued that these structures receive a more plausible analysis in terms of a CP structure. It is the CP projection then that blocks clitic climbing.

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