ALBANIAN NEAPOLITAN MORPHOLOGY:
PASSIVE, MULTI-ATTACHMENT, AND THE UNACCUSATIVE HYPOTHESIS

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1.0   There are two systems of subject agreement markers
that occur with the verb stem in standard Albanian, and a
form from one or the other appears in every Albanian sen-
tence. For both systems, the forms vary relative to the
person and number of the grammatical subject for the dif-
ferent tenses and aspects of the different moods.

These two systems have traditionally been referred to
as the active and non-active or medio-passive. Given these
two systems exclusively, verbs in Albanian could logically
be divided into three classes:

    1) a. verbs that appear only with forms from the ac-
         tive system;

      b. verbs that appear only with forms from the
         non-active system;

      c. verbs that appear with forms from both systems.

If all the verbs could be classified solely by (1a) and
(1b), the phenomenon could be accounted for lexically.
The entry for each verb would simply specify which system
the verb would draw its forms from. In reality, however,
there are a large number of verbs in each of these classes,
and by far the majority fall into (1c).

Given this observation, a question immediately arises:
does the occurrence of an active or a non-active form for
a verb in class (1c) depend on the construction in which
it occurs, or are the two systems in free variation for
these verbs? The answer, as the names of the two systems
suggest, is that they are not in free variation. Their
distribution is summarized below.

1.1.   A form from the active system generally occurs
when the verb appears in a transitive clause.[1]

    2) a. Agimi puth Dritën çdo ditë.
         N   kiss   Ac   every day
           3sPr Act
        'Agim kisses Drita every day'

      b. Petriti e goditi murin   me një shkop.[2]
         N   Cl strike wall-the with a stick
           3sAc 3sPDAct Ac
        'Petrit struck the wall with a stick'

      c. Faiku hante fasule kur   ishte   i vogël.[3]
         N   eat   beans when be   young
           3sPIAct Ac   3sPIAct
        'Faik ate beans when he was young'

A form from this system often occurs when the verb is in
an intransitive clause.[4]

3) a. Arrita   këtë mëngjes nga Korca.
      arrive this morning from
      1sPDAct Ac
      'I arrived this morning from Korca'

   b. Aeroplani i Hoxhës[5] ka fluturuar në Tiranë.
      N   G have fly   to
                    3sPrAct Prt
      'Hoxha's airplane has flown to Tirana'

   c. Faria shkoi shpejt në shtepi.
      N   go   quickly to house
            3sPDAct
      'Faria went home quickly'

Note that in (3a) there is no overt subject. This is be-
cause in Albanian, as in many other languages, subjects
that have been identified in the discourse or that can
otherwise be identified by the context often do not appear.

The active system exhibits slightly different end-
ings for verbs depending on their conjugational class.
Verbs in Albanian can be divided into at least three dif-
ferent classes with a number of irregular verbs in addi-
tion. For purposes of illustration here, conjugations
of only the two most common classes will be presented.
These are mostly verbs whose first person singular pre-
sent indicative form ends in a consonant, represented by
hap 'open',[6] and those whose first person singular pre-
sent indicative form ends in -j, represented by laj 'I
wash'. The more common forms of the indicative mood are
presented below for each.[7]

        laj 'I wash'   hap 'I open'
                     Present
laj   'I wash'   hap   'I open'
lan   'you(s) wash'   hap   'you(s) open'
lan   'he washes'   hap   'he opens'
lajmë 'we wash'   hapim 'we open'
lani   'you(p) wash'   hapni 'you(p) open'
lajnë 'they wash'   hapin 'they open'

(Note: since the paradigms that follow will all be
given in the order first, second, third singular;
first, second, third plural, full glosses will not
be provided)

Endings: -j/∅, -n/∅, -n/∅, -jmë/-im, -ni, -jnë/-in[8]

                  Past Indefinite
laja 'I washed'   hapja 'I opened'
laje   hapje
lante   hapte
lanim   hapinim
lanit   hapnit
lanin   hapnin

Endings: -ja, -je, -nte/-te, -nim, -nit, -nin

Past Definite[9]

lava	'I washed'	hapa	'I opened'
lave		hape	
lau		hapi	
lamë		hapëm	
latë		hapët	
lanë		hapën	

Endings: -va/-a, -ve/-e, -u/-i,[10] -më/-ëm, -të/-ët
-në/-ën

Present Perfect

kam larë	'I have washed'	kam hapur	'I have opened'
ke larë		ke hapur	
ka larë		ka hapur	
kemi larë		kemi hapur	
keni larë		keni hapur	
kanë larë		kanë hapur	

(Note: the auxiliary <u>kam</u> is literally 'I have').

Participial endings are: -rë, -ur, -r, and -në

Past Indefinite Perfect

kisha, kishe, kishte, kishim, kishit, kishin larë/
hapur 'I had (etc.) washed/opened'

Past Definite Perfect

pata, pate, pati, patëm, patët, patën larë/hapur
'I had (etc.) washed/opened'

(Note: the past definite of <u>kam</u> is suppletive (stem=
<u>pat-</u>), as is the participle <u>patur</u>)

1.2.   Forms from the non-active system occur in sever-
al constructions, including passive, reflexive, and recip-
rocal. In addition, they appear in non-passive intransi-
tive clauses for certain verbs, though we will not be con-
cerned with these for the present.

4) a. Ushtarët   në fortesën   rrethohen.
      soldiers-the   in fortress-the   surround
      N   3pPrNAct
      'The soldiers in the fortress are surrounded'

   b. Agimi u godit[11] në kurriz prej armikut.
      N   strike   in back   by enemy-the
             3sPDNAct
      'Agim was struck in the back by the enemy'

   c. Kjo pikturë u bë   prej një artisti të madh.
      this   do   a   artist   great
      N   3sPDNAct
      'This picture was done by a great artist'

d. Kjo veturë është[12] larë tri herë.
   this car   be   wash three times
         N   3sPrAct Prt
   'This car has been washed three times'

5) a. I burgosuri[13] lahet dy herë në javë.
    prisoner-the wash two times in week
          N   3sPrNAct
    'The prisoner is washed twice a week'
    'The prisoner washes himself twice a week'

b. Burrat nga Vlora pëlqehen shumë.
   men-the from   like   much
    N   3pPrNAct
   'The men from Vlora are liked a lot'
   'The men from Vlora like each other a lot'

c. Prostitutat u veshen përpara darkës.
        N   dress   before dinner-the
             3pPDNAct
   'The prostitutes were dressed before dinner'
   'The prostitutes dressed themselves before dinner'

d. Shihemi në pasqyrë.
    see in mirror
  1sPrNAct
  'We are seen in the mirror'
  'We see ourselves in the mirror'
  'We see each other in the mirror'

The examples in (4) are clearly passive. As the sentences in (5) illustrate, however, a clause containing a verb with non-active morphology can be ambiguous with passive, reflexive, and (if the subject is plural) reciprocal readings, though one or more of these readings may be unfelicitous for unknown reasons.[14]

The non-active conjugation of the verb laj 'I wash' in the more common tenses and aspects of the indicative mood is given below.

                  Present
lahem 'I am washed' 'I wash myself'
lahesh
lahet
lahemi 'we are washed' 'we wash ourselves/each other'
laheni
lahen

Endings: -em, -esh, -et, -emi, -eni, -en
(Note: the -h- that occurs between the stem and the
  ending of laj is characteristic of all vowel stem
  verbs. It is absent in consonant stems, e.g. hapet
  'it is opened' 'it opens itself'. This is true for
  the past indefinite forms as well.)

Past Indefinite

lahesha 'I was washed' 'I washed myself'
laheshe
lahej
laheshim 'we were washed' 'we washed ourselves/
                         each other'
laheshit
laheshin

Endings: -esha, -eshe, -ej, -eshim, -eshit, -eshin

Past Definite

u lava 'I was washed' 'I washed myself'
u lave
u la
u lamë 'we were washed' 'we washed ourselves/
                         each other'
u latë
u lanë

Endings: the same as the active forms, except for the third person singular which has no ending. Each form is preceded by the clitic u.

Present Perfect

jam larë 'I have been washed' 'I have washed myself'
je larë
është larë
jemi larë
jeni larë
janë larë

(Note: the auxiliary jam is literally 'I am')
Participial endings are the same as for the active system.

Past Indefinite Perfect

isha, ishe, ishte, ishim, ishit, ishin larë 'I had been (etc.) washed' 'I had (etc.) washed myself'

Past Definite Perfect

qeshë, qe, qe, qemë, qetë, qenë larë 'I had been (etc.) washed' 'I had (etc.) washed myself'

(Note: the past definite of jam is suppletive (stem= qe-) as is the participle qenë)

The present and past indefinite forms of a verb in the non-active system are marked with endings which historically are derived from the verb jam 'I am'.[15] The non-active forms in the past definite by contrast are identical to the corresponding active forms preceded by the clitic u in all cases except the third person singular which has a zero ending.[16] This u is also a component of the non-active forms of the imperative, optative, and admirative moods, as well as several non-finite constructions.

Compare:

    Imperative: lani 'wash (p)'; lah<u>u</u>ni 'wash yourselves'
          'be (p) washed'

    Admirative: laka 'he washes'; u laka 'he washes him-
          self' 'he is washed' (expresses surprise)

    Optative: pafsha 'may I see'; u pafsha 'may I be
          seen' 'may I see myself' (expresses desire)

    Infinitive: për të larë 'to wash'; për t'u larë 'to be
          washed' 'to wash oneself'

    Privative: pa larë 'without washing'; pa u lare 'with-
          out being washed' 'without washing oneself'

    Gerundive: duke larë 'while washing'; duke u lare
          'while being washed' 'while washing oneself'

The non-active forms of perfect constructions are charac-
terized by the presence of a form of the auxiliary <u>jam</u>
'I am' plus the participle, in contrast to the active
versions which appear with a form of the auxiliary <u>kam</u>
'I have'.

To summarize up to this point, we have seen that Al-
banian has two systems of verb morphology: active, which
occurs in transitive and intransitive clauses, and non-
active, which has been shown to occur in passive, reflex-
ive, and reciprocal clauses. The paradigms for common
tenses and aspects of the indicative mood have been given
for both systems, and it has been noted that the non-active
system is composed of three distinct types of morphology.
These types are distributed along the lines of tense and
aspect in the following way: (1) suffixed forms distinct
from the active system for the present and past indefinite;
(2) the clitic <u>u</u> preceding the active form for the past def-
inite; (3) forms of the auxiliary <u>jam</u> 'I am' plus the par-
ticiple for the perfect constructions.

Now that the basics have been presented, it is time
to make a slight terminological change. The term "non-
active" has been used up to this point to refer to one
of the two systems. Non-active can be interpreted as im-
plying that the subject is not an actor, but in reflexive
and reciprocal sentences such as those in (5), the subject
is the actor. Another traditional term, "medio-passive,"
is no better, because the term does not cover the full
range of constructions in which we will see the forms from
this system occurring. To avoid any misdirection which the
traditional terminology might lead to, the non-active sys-
tem will hereafter be referred to by the neutral term
"neapolitan," since like the ice cream it comes in three
varieties.

The data presented in (4) and (5) leads to one central question:

 6) How can a grammar of Albanian best account for the fact that passives, reflexives, and reciprocals have exactly the same verbal morphology for any given tense or aspect?

The remainder of this paper will be concerned with providing an answer to (6).

1.3. Albanian syntax has not been studied, except on a fragmentary basis,[17] within the framework of standard transformational grammar or any of its offshoots. In particular, the recent theoretical literature is lacking in any discussion of the distribution of the active and neapolitan systems described in the opening section. The distribution has been noted, however, in a number of general descriptive works, such as those by Pekmezi (1908), Lambertz (1948), and Çamaj (1969), in a structuralist grammar by Newmark (1957), and most recently it is discussed in some detail in the morphology edited by Domi (1976).

Without going into the details of how each of these grammars characterizes the phenomenon under discussion, it is sufficient to note that, while all of them give a reasonably accurate description of the distribution of the morphology according to the reading of the sentence (i.e., actives occur with active morphology; passives and certain reflexives and reciprocals occur with neapolitan morphology), none of them attempt to account for it. That is, none of them provide a principled basis for why this particular distribution occurs instead of other logically possible ones such as the following.

 7) a. Actives, reflexives, and reciprocals occur with active morphology; only passives occur with neapolitan.

  b. Actives and reflexives occur with active morphology; passives and reciprocals occur with neapolitan.

  c. Actives and passives occur with active morphology; reflexives and reciprocals occur with neapolitan.

The list in (7) could be extended to include other possibilities as well, but the point is clear enough, and this leads us back to the question that ended the last section: why do passives, reflexives, and reciprocals get the same morphology? None of these other distribution does occur,[18] and an adequate grammar should explicitly say why. Such a grammar would include a statement that specifies the conditions under which one or the other system occurs. It is a common failing of the previous grammars that they

could not provide a unified account of the distribution
because they only recognize explicitly the surface structure
of a sentence (if they are concerned with structure at all)
as a linguistically significant level. As a consequence,
they miss two potential generalizations. First, they have
no syntactic devices available to formally and explicitly
relate active and neapolitan forms of the same verb to a
single lexical entry (though the dictionary does this im-
plicitly). Second, they are unable to lay out a common
ground for passives, reflexives, and reciprocals to account
for the fact that these share a set of conjugational forms
that are distinct from those of active sentences.

One of the goals of any modern linguistic theory is
to provide a framework for capturing linguistic generali-
zations in an explicit way. Transformational grammar, for
example, from its inception provided a formal means of ex-
pressing the relationship between active and passive sen-
tences with the same verb by deriving the passive form from
the corresponding active through a transformational rule.
It is assumed in this paper that the fact that passives,
reflexives and reciprocals share a common morphological
system is not an accidental or coincidental fact. It is
a generalization about Albanian that must be accounted
for in some way. In answer to the question posed in (6),
it is claimed that passives, reflexives, and reciprocals
share a set of morphological markers because of some aspect
common to the structure of all three constructions.

2.0.   The framework in which we propose to provide a
unified account of the distribution of the active and nea-
politan systems in Albanian is that of a relational gram-
mar; specifically, the framework of Perlmutter and Postal
(1977) will be utilized, with minor additions which will
be introduced as they come up in later sections.

Relational grammar has an advantage over previous
theories that depended on linear ordering in that it pro-
vides a unified framework for stating the universal char-
acterization of a structure as well as a language parti-
cular instantiation of it. Further, the relational net-
work (RN) of a clause provides us with structural infor-
mation about that clause, and different processes in the
language will be sensitive to certain pieces of this in-
formation. For example, it is quite common among languages
for verb agreement to be stated in terms of final 1-hood,
as in English:

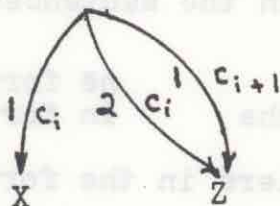8) A finite verb agrees in person and number with
   the final 1.

There are a number of processes in Albanian which can be shown to depend on the information provided by the RN of a clause (information such as the grammatical relations borne by the nominals and the levels at which these relations hold) for their statement. In the following section, it will be proposed that information contained in the RN's of passive, reflexive, and reciprocal clauses can be appealed to in stating the distribution of the forms of the active and neapolitan systems.

2.1.   The passive was the first structure to be formally given a universal characterization in relational grammar.   In Perlmutter and Postal (1977) it is defined in the following manner.

9) (their (39)) If (i) the RN for a clause Q has a nominal N_a that bears the 2-relation in a stratum in which some nominal bears the 1-relation, and (ii) if N_a bears the 1-relation in the following stratum, then Q is a passive clause.[20]
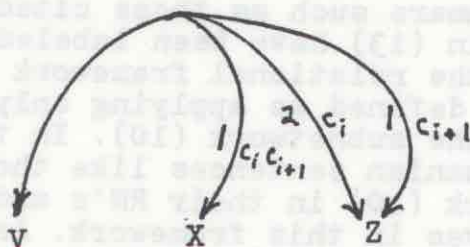
From the characterization of passive in (9), it follows that any clause that contains a subpart of the form in (10) is a passive.

10)

The notation in (10) shows clearly what happens to nominal Z, but the relation of nominal X at the first level in which Z bears the 1-relation is not defined by the characterization in (9).   Rather, its relation follows from two independent hypothesized universals of language: the Stratal Uniqueness Law and the Chomeur Law.   Informally, the Stratal Uniqueness Law states that only one dependent of a clause may bear a given relation at a given level. Thus, under this law, it is impossible for nominal X to continue to bear the 1-relation at the level at which Z first bears it, precisely because Z does bear it.   The Stratal Uniqueness Law thus prohibits an RN of the form (11).
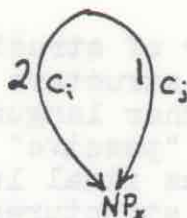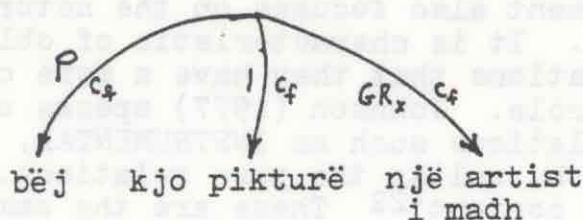
11)

Instead, X is said to bear the chomeur (cho) relation. A
nominal bears the chomeur relation as a consequence of the
Chomeur Law, which says that if a nominal X bears some
relation at the c_i level, and some other nominal Y bears
the same relation at the c_{i+1} level, then X bears the chomeur
relation at the c_{i+1} level. (12) illustrates the RN of a
passive, including the chomeur relation.

12) a. Mary is seen by John.

b.

$$P_{c_1, c_2} \quad 1 \quad c_1 \quad Cho \quad c_2 \quad 2 \quad c_1 \quad 1 \quad c_2$$

see   John   Mary

John and Mary bear the respective relations 1 and 2 at
the initial level and Cho and 1 at the final level. The
RN for the English passive contains the subpart illustrated
in (10) and therefore is, by the definition in (9), a true
passive. The 1-chomeur of the English passive appears on
the surface as the object of the preposition by.

Now consider again the sentences in (4), repeated as
(13) below.

13) a. Ushtarët   në fortesën   rrethohen.
  soldiers-the   in fortress-the surround
  N   3pPrNep
  'The soldiers in the fortress are surrounded'

b. Agimi u godit   në kurriz prej armikut.
  N   strike   in back by enemy-the
   3sPDNep
  'Agim was struck in the back by the enemy'

c. Kjo pikturë u bë   prej një artisti të madh.
  this   do   a   great
  N   3sPDNep
  'This picture was done by a great artist'

d. Kjo veturë është   larë tri   herë.
  this car   be   wash three times
  N   3sPrAct Prt
  'This car has been washed three times'

In traditional grammars such as those cited in 1.3, sen-
tences like those in (13) have been labeled passive. The
term "passive" in the relational framework we have adopted
here is explicitly defined as applying only to a clause
whose RN includes the subnetwork (10). In this paper, it
is claimed that Albanian sentences like those in (13) in-
clude the subnetwork (10) in their RN's and so can be con-
sidered true passives in this framework. As will be shown
below, however, it is the presence of the subnetwork in
(14) that will prove to be crucial in the statement of
the generalization uniting passive, reflexive, and reciprocal.

14)

$$2 \overbrace{} 1$$
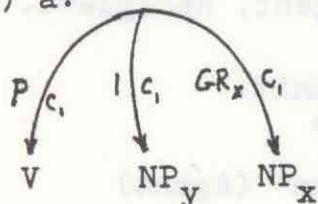$$c_i \quad c_j$$
$$NP_x$$

There is evidence in Albanian that the nominative nominal in passive clauses is a final 1, and that the object of the preposition prej 'by', the logical subject, is a final non-term of some sort. As these conclusions are not particularly controversial, the arguments will not be presented here.[21] Under these assumptions, the final level (c_f) of a passive sentence like (13c) would be the simplified subnetwork below (where GR_x is some non-term relation).

15)

$$P \quad c_f \qquad 1 \quad c_f \qquad GR_x \quad c_f$$

bëj   kjo pikturë   një artist
                    i madh

Given the final level in (15), there are three basic possibilities for the RN of the Albanian passive.

16) a.   b.   c.

$$P \quad c_1 \quad 1 \quad c_1 \quad GR_x \quad c_1$$

$$P \quad c_1 c_2 \quad 2 \quad c_1 \quad 1 \quad c_2 \quad GR_x \quad c_1 c_2$$

$$P \quad c_1 c_2 \quad 1 \quad c_1 \quad Cho \quad c_2 \quad 2 \quad c_1 \quad 1 \quad c_2$$

V NP_y NP_x V NP_y NP_x V NP_x NP_y

All three structures in (16) account for the data above. The distinction between (16a) and the other two lies primarily in the fact that it is monostratal, i.e., there is only a single coordinate in (16a), while both (16b) and (16c) contain two distinct coordinates. (16a) and (16b) have in common that the "by" phrase is an initial oblique of some sort (represented by GR_x), rather than an initial 1 as in (16c).

While all three structures in (16) are consistent with the data in Albanian, there are at least two arguments external to Albanian that support (16c) as the correct structure for sentences like those in (13). The first argument is simply that (16c) conforms to the universal characterization in (9) while the other two alternatives do not. It is clear from the glosses that the sentences in (13) function as passives in Albanian, as opposed to being simple topicalizations or whatever else one might propose. Since one of the major goals of any universal

grammar is to limit the number of structures possible for human language, and since the structure in (16c) has been independently motivated for other languages which have rules or processes serving the same "passive" function that are sensitive to initial as well as final levels (Perlmutter and Postal, 1977), unless the structures in (16a) and (16b) can also be shown to be necessary for some other language, (16c) should be selected on the grounds that it allows one to maintain a simpler universal grammar. Specifically, the presence of the oblique grammatical relation GR_x in (16a) and (16b) that corresponds to chomeur in (16c) must be independently motivated for these structures, either in some other language or in some other construction internal to Albanian.

The second argument also focuses on the nature of the oblique relation GR_x. It is characteristic of oblique, as opposed to term, relations that they have a more or less consistent semantic role. Johnson (1977) speaks of "'impure' grammatical relations such as INSTRUMENTAL, LOCATIVE, and BENEFACTIVE, which, unlike the pure relations, have independent semantic content"[22] These are the same as the "oblique" relations of Perlmutter and Postal (to appear a). Crucially, the relation GR_x must have exactly the same set of possible semantic roles as the relation 1 (or at least a large subset). This means that for Albanian it must characterize at least the roles of Agent, Recipient, and Cognizer, as in (17).

17) a. Libri   u dergua prej Janit.
    book-the send   by   Ab
     N   3sPDNep
    'The book was sent by John' (Agent)

  b. Libri u pranua prej Janit.
     N   receive
        3sPDNep
    'The book was received by John' (Recipient)

  c. Ngjarja   u besua prej kapedanit.
    story-the   believe   captain-the
     N   3sPDNep   Ab
    'The story was believed by the captain' (Cognizer)

Under the claim that all other oblique relations have a more or less consistent semantic role, assuming (17a) or (17b) as the RN for the Albanian passive requires positing an oblique grammatical relation that is different in kind from all other oblique relations.

2.2.1. In the preceding section, it was claimed that Albanian passive structures include the subnetwork (10) in their RN's. It was argued that, for a given verb,

having the same initial relations in active and passive
clauses resulted in (1) the Albanian passive adhering to
the universal characterization, and (2) eliminating the
need to posit an otherwise unmotivated oblique relation
with a variable semantic role. In this section it will be
shown further that adopting the universal characterization
of passive makes it possible to account for the fact that
passive, reflexive, and reciprocal clauses share a common
system of verb morphology. This will provide the strongest
argument in favor of the structure in (16c).[23]

Perlmutter and Postal (to appear b) claim that "Ordin-
ary reflexive structures, those usually discussed in terms
of 'coreference,' involve RN's in which a single nominal
heads two neighboring arcs. Since these are both initial
stratum arcs, neither is due to advancement."[24] The term
"neighboring arc" in the passage above is applied to an
arc which has the same tail as another arc. Two arcs are
neighbors, then, if they are in the RN of the same clause.
Under this analysis, the initial stratum of the RN under-
lying the reflexive reading of a neapolitan sentence such
as (18a) is (18b).

18) a. Agimi lahet.
       N   wash
            3sPrNep
   'Agim washes himself'

b.

The 1 and 2-arcs in (18b) are said to be "parallel," since
they have not only the same tail, but a common head as
well. The head of two or more parallel arcs (like _Agimi_
in (18b)) is said to be "multi-attached" to its clause
node. Under Perlmutter and Postal's analysis, a language
with pronominal reflexives, like English, would resolve
multi-attachment in a sentence like (18a) by having a re-
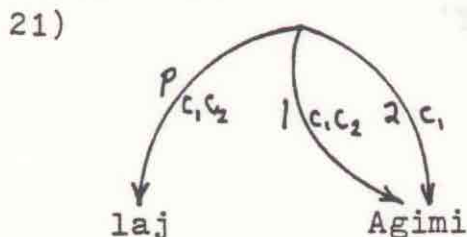flexive pronoun head the 2-arc at the final level.

19)

The data which has been presented for neapolitan re-
flexives does not support the existence of such a final
level for Albanian. There is nothing in the current
language to suggest that neapolitan morphology marks a
level where there are two separate elements heading the
final 1 and 2-arcs, as in (19). Since a structure like
(19) is not motivated for neapolitan reflexives, there are
two alternatives. The first would be to adopt (18b) as
the final structure for a sentence like (18a). The pre-
diction entailed by such a proposal is that the nominal
Agimi should behave both like a final 1 and a final 2.
Thus, it should receive both nominative and accusative
case marking and should obligatorily occur with an accu-
sative clitic, since it is a final 2 in preverbal posi-
tion,[25] as in (20).

> 20) *Agimin e lahet.
>   N/Ac Cl wash
>   3sAc 3sPrNep
>   'Agim washes himself'

As a comparison of (18a) and (20) shows, however, Agimi
only acts like a final 1. It does not take the accusative
case marking, nor does it take a clitic copy. This leads
to the second alternative, which would be to have no fi-
nal 2, but only a final 1, as in (21).

> 21)

In (21), Agimi heads only a 1-arc at the final level, so
the sentence is a surface intransitive. Consequently, Agimi
receives only nominative case marking and does not trigger
the clitic copying rule, yielding the grammatical sentence
(18a). Since the RN in (21) makes the correct predictions
for Albanian reflexives like (18a), it will be adopted
without further discussion.

Up to this point, reflexives and reciprocals have been
treated as separate phenomena, since they clearly have dis-
tinct readings. Consider now a simple sentence like (22)
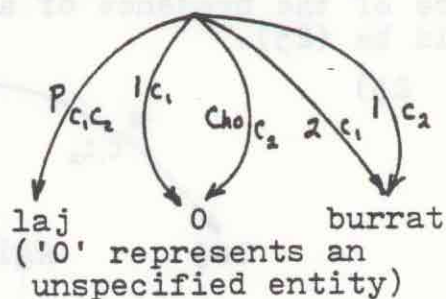which has both reflexive and reciprocal readings (as well
as passive).

> 22) Burrat   lahen.
>   men-the   wash
>   N   3pPrNep
>   'The men wash themselves'
>   'The men wash each other'
>   'The men are washed'

It is claimed that these three readings may be character-
ized by just two RN's in this framework.

23) a.

b.

laj   burrat

laj   0   burrat
('0' represents an
unspecified entity)

(23a) is the RN for both the reflexive and reciprocal
readings, while (23b) is the RN for the passive reading.
The reason (23a) can be used to represent both reflexive
and reciprocal readings lies in the nature of RN's, at
least at their present stage of sophistication. The dis-
tinction between reflexive and reciprocal readings in-
volves the way the entities represented by a plural nom-
inal are paired with one another, and this is separate
from the issue of what grammatical relations that nominal
bears and at what levels it bears them. This does not
rule out the possibility that the RN for a reciprocal
could contain additional information distinguishing it
from that of a reflexive. The claim here is simply that
both the reflexive and reciprocal RN's for (22) must con-
tain the information carried in (23a). The reflexive-re-
ciprocal distinction is irrelevant to the problem under
discussion, that of accounting for the distribution of
active and neapolitan morphology in Albanian on the basis
of the RN's of the various constructions. Consequently,
reflexive-reciprocal will be treated as a single con-
struction with a single RN, that of (23a), throughout
the remainder of this discussion.

2.2.2.   Let us call the approach in 2.2.1 the "multi-at-
tachment" approach and contrast it now with the more tra-
ditional "coreference" approach. Within a relational
framework, coreference could be stated in the same way as
in the transformational framework. For example, using
an analog of a standard transformational approach, two
nominals could be marked as coreferent at the initial
level. Within an RN, this information could be repre-
sented as indices on the coreferent nominals, as in (24),
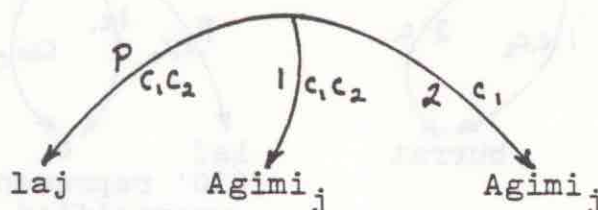which represents the initial stratum for (18a).

24)

laj   Agimi$_j$ Agimi$_j$

Under this approach, taking into account the fact that
the neapolitan reflexive-reciprocal does not show evi-
dence of the presence of a final 2, the full RN for (18a)
would be (25).

25)

$$P\,c_1c_2 \qquad 1\,c_1c_2 \qquad 2\,c_1$$
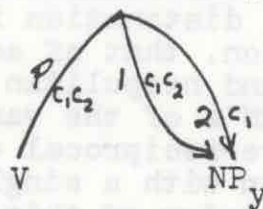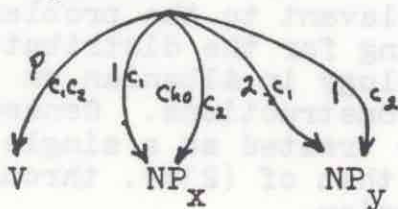
laj　　　　　Agimi$_j$　　　　Agimi$_j$

This approach involves at least two complications the
multi-attachment approach does not: (1) the positing of some
theoretical device for marking coreference, and (2) the
positing of a lexical item that does not appear overtly.
More crucially, as will be made apparent below, this approach
would complicate considerably the statement of the gener-
alization uniting the reflexive-reciprocal construction
with passive. Since this approach offers no advantages to
compensate for these disadvantages, it will be rejected
in favor of the multi-attachment approach.[26]

2.3.　　In 2.1 and 2.2, the structures in (26) were pro-
posed as the RN's for the Albanian passive and reflexive-
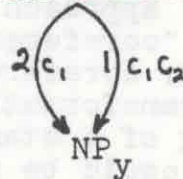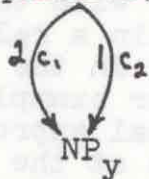reciprocal constructions.

26) a (passive)　　　　　　b. (reflexive-reciprocal)

$$P\,c_1c_2 \quad 1\,c_1\,c_{ho}\,c_2 \quad 2\,c_1 \quad 1\,c_2 \qquad\qquad P\,c_1c_2 \quad 1\,c_1c_2 \quad 2\,c_1$$

V　　NP$_x$　　NP$_y$　　　　　　V　　NP$_y$

Now consider just the subnetworks in (27).

27) a. (passive)　　　　　　b. (reflexive-reciprocal)

$$2\,c_1 \quad 1\,c_2 \qquad\qquad 2\,c_1 \quad 1\,c_1c_2$$

NP$_y$　　　　　　　　NP$_y$

In both (27a) and (27b), the final 1 also heads a 2-arc.
It is claimed that this common aspect accounts for the
fact that they share the system of neapolitan morphology.
In other words, the appearance of <u>jam</u> as the perfect aux-
-iliary, the presence of the <u>u</u> clitic in the past definite,
and the occurence of the <u>-em</u> and <u>-esha</u> sets of endings in
the present and past indefinite can be accounted for in
these constructions with the following generalization.

28)   In the RN of an Albanian clause, if there
is a nominal that heads both a 1-arc and a 2-arc,
then the verb occurs with a form from the nea-
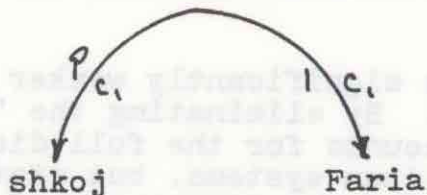politan system; otherwise, the verb occurs with
a form from the active system.[27]

The generalization in (28) as it stands predicts that
not only passive and reflexive-reciprocal clauses, but
any clause with an RN containg a nominal heading both a
1-arc and a 2-arc will occur with a neapolitan verb form,
and conversely, that any clause with a neapolitan verb
form will have an RN containing a nominal heading both a
1-arc and a 2-arc. In the next section, we will examine
some intransitive sentences that are neither passive nor
reflexive-reciprocal, yet contain neapolitan verb forms,
and it will be shown that these sentences also follow the
generalization in (28).

3.   Recall from Section 1.1 that intransitives can
occur with active morphology, as in (3), repeated here
as (29).

29) a. Arrita këtë mëngjes nga Korça.
       arrive this morning from
          1sPDAct Ac
       'I arrived this morning from Korca'

    b. Aeroplani i Hoxhës ka fluturuar në Tiranë.
       N   G   have fly   to
                               3sPrAct Prt
       'Hoxha's airplane has flown to Tirana'

    c. Faria shkoi shpejt në shtëpi.
       N   go   quickly to house
             3sPDAct
       'Faria went home quickly'

The occurrence of an active form of the verb in these
sentences is predicted by the generalization in (28),
under the assumption that the RN of these sentences is
monostratal, as in (30) (a partial RN for (29c)).

30)

$$P_{c_i} \quad 1_{c_i}$$

shkoj   Faria

Consider now the following intransitive sentences
where the verb occurs in a neapolitan form.

31) a. Dita   ngryset.
       day-the darken
       N   3sPrNep
       'The day grows dark'

```
        b. Mollat     varen  në pemët.
           apples-the hang   on trees-the
             N        3pPrNep
             'The apples hang on the trees'

        c. Dielli  digjet sipër.
           sun-the burn   above
             N      3sPrNep
             'The sun burns above'

        d. Dega       u thye gjatë stuhisë.
           branch-the break during storm-the
             N         3sPDNep
             'The branch broke during the storm'
```

These sentences cannot be passive because no agent is im-
plied. They are ungrammatical with any <u>prej</u> ('by') phrase
and do not have transitive versions (at least not with the
same basic meanings they have in (31)). They cannot be
reflexive-reciprocal either for the same reason. For
example, in (31a) the day does not darken itself, nor does
someone make it dark. In (31b), the apples do not hang
themselves or each other on the tree, nor does someone hang
them. Semantically, the verbs in the sentences in (31)
have a single argument. It might be proposed then, that
the RN underlying these sentences is (30), the same as
for other initially intransitive sentences, like those
in (29). This leads to a problem, however. Recall from
the generalization in (28) that any clause containing a
neapolitan verb form must have a nominal heading both a
1-arc and a 2-arc in its RN. As the sole nominal in (30)
heads only a 1-arc, the sentences in (31) under this an-
alysis would be exceptions to that generalization, which
would predict them instead to occur with active morpho-
logy. Positing (30) as the RN underlying the sentences
in (31) therefore requires a revision of the generalization
in (28).

    32)   If the RN of a clause in Albanian contains
            a nominal heading both a 1-arc and a 2-arc, then
            the verb occurs with a form from the neapolitan
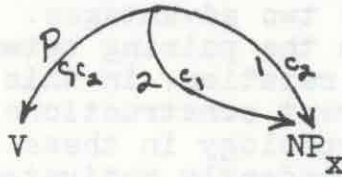   system.

    Notice that (32) is significantly weaker than (28)
in its predictive power. By eliminating the "otherwise"
clause, it no longer accounts for the full distribution
of the active and neapolitan systems, but states a condi-
tion that only accounts for the occurrence of neapolitan
.forms in a certain class of constructions that includes
passive and reflexive-reciprocal.

    Instead of blindly assuming (30) as the RN for these
sentences and adopting the revised generalization in (32),

it might be asked: is there any motivated approach to the
problem which suggests that (30) is not the correct RN
for the sentences in (31) and that (28) is still a valid
generalization?

There is indeed an alternative approach which would
allow the stronger generalization in (28) to be preserved.
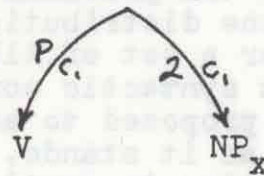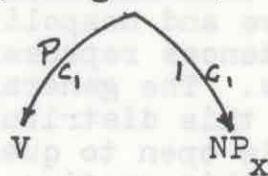Consider the RN in (33).

33)

$$P \overset{c_2}{\underset{V}{\diagup}} \quad 2 \overset{c_1}{\diagup} \quad 1 \overset{c_2}{\diagdown} \underset{NP_x}{}$$

In (33), the sole nominal NP_x heads an initial 2-arc as
well as a final 1-arc. RN's such as those in (33) have
been motivated for other languages in Perlmutter (1978)
and Perlmutter and Postal (to appear a) based on the Unac-
cusative Hypothesis proposed in those works. The Unaccu-
sative Hypothesis states that RN's may contain intransitive
strata in which there is a 2, but no 1, calling these "un-
accusative." It contrasts these with the more familiar
intransitive strata in which there is a 1, but no 2, la-
beling these "unergative." At the initial level, an
intransitive clause may be of either type, as illustrated
in (34).

34) a. (unergative)   b. (unaccusative)

$$P \overset{c_1}{\underset{V}{\diagup}} 1 \overset{c_1}{\diagdown} \underset{NP_x}{} \qquad\qquad P \overset{c_1}{\underset{V}{\diagup}} 2 \overset{c_1}{\diagdown} \underset{NP_x}{}$$

Perlmutter (1978) provided lists of predicates divided
into several semantic classes which were claimed cross-
linguistically to determine initially unaccusative strata.
Among these predicates were those whose sole argument was
semantically a Patient (as in (31a), (31c), and (31d)), as
well as statives (as in (31b)). While the claim that the
set of predicates determining initially unaccusative strata
is invariant from language to language is undoubtedly too
strong (Williamson, 1979; Perlmutter, to appear a), it is
still possible to maintain the claim that there is a lot
of overlap from language to language, and that some predi-
cates may indeed be universally unaccusative.

Under this approach, then, the intransitives in (29)
would have (34a) as their initial stratum, while those
in (31) would have (34b).

It is proposed that in Albanian a subset of the predicates described in Perlmutter (1978) determine initially unaccusative strata, namely just that subset of intransitives that occur with neapolitan morphology. This includes (1) all verbs whose sole argument is semantically a Patient and (2) certain stative verbs, such as <u>varem</u> 'I hang'.[28]

Adopting the Unaccusative Hypothesis for Albanian and consequently allowing RN's like (33) in the grammar for sentences like those in (31) has two advantages. First, it makes it possible to maintain the pairing between semantic role and initial grammatical relation, in this case Patient-2, for a given verb in different constructions. Second, it enables the neapolitan morphology in these sentences to be accounted for by the independently motivated generalization in (28).

The case for the unaccusative analysis of the sentences in (31) could be strengthened considerably if syntactic arguments could be found for the initial 2-hood of the final 1 in those examples. Such evidence has been uncovered for Italian in Perlmutter (to appear a) in which a generalization similar to (28) has been proposed to account for the distribution of the auxiliaries <u>avere</u> 'have' and <u>essere</u> 'be'. So far, no such evidence has been uncovered in Albanian.

4.0. In the previous sections, data has been presented showing the distribution of active and neapolitan verb forms over a set of Albanian sentences representing several different syntactic constructions. The generalization in (28) was proposed to account for this distribution. This analysis as it stands, however, is open to question from one direction in particular. In this section, a set of possible counterexamples to (68) involving pronominal reflexives and reciprocals will be discussed. Some additional data will be presented bearing on this issue.

4.1. A problem for (28) is that, under the multi-attachment analysis, it predicts that all reflexive and reciprocal clauses where the underlying subject and direct object have the same referent will occur with the verb in a neapolitan form. However, besides the neapolitan reflexive and reciprocal sentences presented in earlier sections, there are also reflexive and reciprocal sentences involving pronominal forms, and these occur with active morphology. Compare, for example, the (a) and (b) variants in (35) and (36).

35) a. Agimi lahet.
       N   wash
            3sPrNep
     'Agim washes himself'

    b. Agimi lan   veten.
       N   wash   self
            3sPrAct Ac
     'Agim washes himself'

36) a. Gratë   u lanë.
       women-the wash
       N   3pPDNep
     'The women washed themselves/one another'

    b. Gratë lanë   njera-tjetrën.
       N   3pPDAct one   another
                              Ac
     'The women washed one another'

In (35b) the accusative form of the reflexive pronoun
<u>vete</u> 'self' occurs, and in (36b) the accusative form of
the reciprocal pronoun <u>njeri-tjetri</u> 'one another' occurs.
In both cases, the verb is in the active form.

Pronominal reflexives and reciprocals are not limited
to the accusative case. For example, they can occur in the
dative case as indirect objects. Also, they can occur in
the accusative case as the objects of prepositions.[29]

37) a. Faiku i flet vetes.
       N   Cl talk self
            3sD 3sPrAct D
     'Faik talks to himself'

    b. Ata i flasin njeri-tjetrit.
       they Cl talk one   another
       N   3pD 3pPrAct   D
     'They talk to one another'

38) a. Mezi bën punë për veten.
       N   make work for Ac
            3sPrAct Ac
     'Mezi makes work for himself'
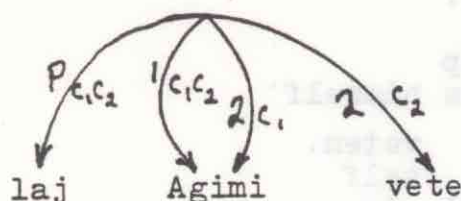
    b. Ata bëjnë   punë për njeri-tjetrin.
       N   3pPrAct Ac   Ac
     'They make work for one another'

Under the assumption that all the sentences in (35)-
(38) involve multi-attachment at the initial level, all ex-
cept (35a) and (36a) would have the multi-attachment re-
solved as in (39) (for (35b)).

39)

$$P_{c_1c_2} \quad 1_{c_1c_2} \quad 2_{c_1} \quad 2_{c_2}$$

laj   Agimi   vete

This approach would result in (35b) and (36b) being exceptions to (28), since the final 1's in these sentences would also head 2-arcs, yet the verb would occur in an active form. One way around this would be to change (28) so that it would only allow neapolitan morphology to occur in clauses that are intransitive at the final level. Since (35b) and (36b) are surface transitives (with pronominal direct objects), they would correctly be predicted to occur with active morphology. The revised generalization would be (40).

40)   If the RN of an Albanian clause contains (a) an intransitive final stratum and (b) a nominal heading both a 1-arc and a 2-arc, then the verb occurs in a neapolitan form; otherwise, the verb occurs in an active form.

The addition of the ad hoc intransitivity condition yields a slightly more complicated generalization than (28). To account for the active morphology in (35b) and (36b), it must specifically mention that neapolitan morphology only occurs in finally intransitive clauses.
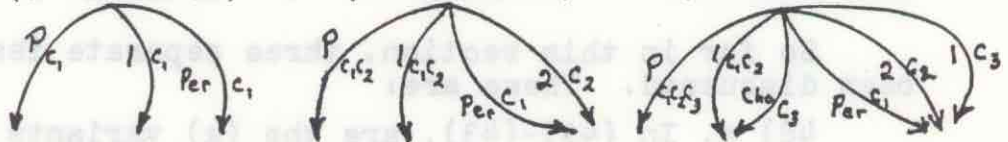
4.2.   There is some data in Albanian that bears on the issue presented above, suggesting that the multi-attachment approach may be incorrect for pronominal reflexives and reciprocals in Albanian. Consider the following triplets of sentences.

41) a. Gjeneralët   endërrojnë për fitorin.
       generals-the dream   for victory-the
          N   3pPrAct   Ac
       'The generals dream of the victory'

     b. Gjeneralët endërrojnë fitorin.
       'The generals dream of the victory'

     c. Fitari endërrohet (prej gjeneralëve).
       N   3sPrNep   by
       'The victory was dreamed of (by the generals)'

42) a. Tregtari   lakmon për pasurinë.
       merchant-the hunger   wealth-the
          N   3sPrAct   Ac
       'The merchant hungers for wealth'

     b. Tregtari lakmon pasurinë.
       'The merchant hungers for wealth'

c. Pasuri lakmohet (prej tregtarit).
   N   3sPrNep   by
   'Wealth is hungered for (by the merchant)'

43) a. Gratë çajnë për burrat.
       women-the cry   men-the
       N   3pPrAct   Ac
       'The women lament the men'

   b. Gratë çajnë burrat.
      'The women lament the men'

   c. Burrat çahen (prej grave).
      N   3pPrNep
      'The men are lamented (by the women)'[30]

It is possible to analyze the (b) and (c) variants as
not being transitive at the initial level, but rather in-
volving an oblique→2 advancement, where the underlying
oblique relation marked in the (a) variants with the prepo-
sition për has a semantic value of "about X" or "concerning
X." We will call this relation "Per" for expository pur-
poses. Under the advancement analysis, all three variants
would have the same initial stratum. In the (a) variants,
the Per does not advance, and the initial stratum is also
the final stratum. In the (b) variants, the Per advances
to 2 and the RN is bistratal. In the (c) variants, there
is Per to 2 advancement followed by passive, and the RN is
tristratal. The RN's for each of these constructions are
presented in (44).

44) a. (a variants) b. (b variants) c. (c variants)

Besides the advancement analysis proposed for sen-
tences like the (b) and (c) variants in (41)-(43), it would
of course be possible to analyze verbs like endërroj 'I
dream', lakmoj 'I hunger', and çaj 'I cry' as having two
possible initial structures, one with the relation Per and
one with a direct object. However, there is additional
evidence that appears to argue in favor of the advancement
analysis. Consider the following examples.

45) a. Burri   dhe gruaja   u lakmuan.
       man-the and woman-the   hunger
       N   N   3pPDNep
       'The man and the woman are hungered for'
      *'The man and the woman hungered for one another'

   b. Burri dhe gruaja lakmuan njeri-tjetrin.
                       3pPDAct   Ac
      'The man and the woman hungered for one another'

46) a. Miqtë   endërrohen.
       friends-the dream
       N   3pPrNep
       'The friends are dreamt of' (by someone)
       *'The friends dream of themselves'
       *'The friends dream of one another'

    b. Miqtë endërrojnë veten.
              3pPrAct   Ac
       'The friends dream of themselves'

    c. Miqte endërrojnë njeri-tjetrin.
       'The friends dream of one another'

47) a. Gratë   çahen.
       women-the cry
       N   3pPrNep
       'The women are lamented'
       *'The women lament themselves'
       *'The women lament one another'

    b. Gratë çajnë veten.
              3pPrAct
       'The women lament themselves'

    c. Gratë çajnë njëra-tjetrën.
       'The women lament one another'

Crucially, in each case, the (a) variants with neapolitan
morphology cannot have a reflexive or reciprocal reading,
while the (b) variant with active morphology and the pro-
nominal reflexive and reciprocal can. How is this to be
accounted for?

    So far in this section, three separate issues have
been discussed. These are:

48) a. In (41)-(43), are the (a) variants syntactically
       related to the (b) and (c) variants (i.e., do
       they have the same initial stratum)?

    b. Can the generalization in (28) be maintained,
       or must the weaker version in (40) be assumed?

    c. How can the impossibility of the reflexive and
       reciprocal readings of (45a), (46a), and (47a)
       be accounted for?

It is possible to resolve all three issues by assuming the
generalizations in (49) and (50).

49) Per→2 Advancement. The grammar of Albanian allows
    RN's of the form (44b) and (44c).

50) Multi-attachment Constraint. If two arcs are par-
    allel at the same level, they must (a) be a 1-arc
    and a 2-arc and (b) be parallel at the initial
    level.

From (50) it follows that pronominal reflexives and reciprocals, which in many cases involve nominals that do not head both an initial 1 and 2-arc, must come from some source other than multi-attachment, perhaps from distinct coreferent nominals (see 2.2.2). Assuming the generalizations in (49) and (50) gives the following results.

> 51) a. The (a), (b), and (c) variants in (41)-(43) have the same initial stratum, thus, they are syntactically related (from (49)).
>
> b. The generalization in (28) is maintained, since the examples with pronominal reflexives and reciprocals do not involve a nominal heading both an initial 1 and 2-arc (from (50)).
>
> c. The impossibility of reflexive and reciprocal readings in (45a), (46a), and (47a) is accounted for because these sentences involve Per→2 advancement and so multi-attachment is not allowed (from (49) and (50)).

The proposals made in (49) and (50) are rather tentative at this point. Additional research into Albanian syntax, particularly in the realm of other revaluations to 2, should provide further evidence for or against the proposal in (50). Should (50) prove to be correct, it would mean that multi-attachment is more restricted than Perlmutter and Postal (to appear b) originally claimed.

In conclusion, what has been shown in this paper is that with a limited set of theoretical devices--the basic relational grammar framework of Perlmutter and Postal (1977) including the notion of chomeur, plus the notions of multi-attachment and unaccusative stratum--a phenomenon that has previously resisted a unified account can be captured with a single generalization like (28). By using these theoretical devices in the solution of a novel problem in Albanian, this analysis provides further evidence for their necessity in universal grammar.

NOTES

The grammatical judgments in this study are courtesy of Peter Prifti, a speaker of the Korça variety of the Tosk dialect. Tosk (southern Albanian) provides the base for the modern standard language, which includes elements of Geg (northern Albanian) as well.

The following abbreviations are used in the examples.

Ab	ablative	PI	past indefinite
Ac	accusative	Pr	present
Act	active	Prt	participle
Cl	clitic	p	plural
D	dative	Rf	reflexive
G	genitive	s	singular
N	nominative	1	first person
NAct	non-active	2	second person
Nep	neapolitan	3	third person
PD	past definite		

[1]The only underlyingly transitive clauses that do not always occur with the verb in an active form are reflexive and reciprocal ones. Such clauses sometimes exhibit active morphology with the accusative pronouns veten (vetveten) 'self' or njeri-tjetrin 'one another' as direct objects (see 4.1), but they may also simply occur with non-active morphology (see 1.2). It will be argued in 3.2 that those which occur with non-active morphology are superficially intransitive.

[2]Clitic doubling occurs, usually preceding the verb, for direct and indirect objects in Albanian. Clitic doubling is a process by which a pronominal copy of a nominal, agreeing in person, number, and case with it, appears adjacent to the verb. Indirect objects obligatorily have this copy, while direct objects usually have a copy if definite and usually don't if indefinite, though if the direct object is in preverbal position, the clitic is obligatory regardless of definiteness. If the direct or indirect object is a pronoun, often only the clitic appears.

Albanian nouns are inflected for definiteness; that is, what corresponds to the definite article in English occurs as an ending on the noun, rather than as a separate word. Proper nouns in Albanian generally occur in a definite form, e.g., for Agimi in (2a), the final i is the definite ending.

[3]A large number of adjectives in Albanian appear with a preposed article or "particle of concord" as it is sometimes called, e.g., the i in i vogël 'young' in (2c). This article changes form in agreement with the noun the adjective modifies.

[4]Besides passives, which are discussed in 1.2, there are a large number of verbs which appear in other types of intransitive clauses with non-active morphology. These cases will be discussed in later sections.

[5]The genitive construction in Albanian consists of a noun form identical to the dative and a preposed article which behaves exactly like that of the adjective (see fn. 3).

[6]The citation form for verbs in Albanian is the first person singular of the indicative mood.

[7]There are also a couple of rare perfect constructions which will not concern us here. Besides the indicative, there are several other moods in Albanian according to the traditional grammars: imperative, subjunctive, admirative (expressing surprise), and optative (expressing desire). Some grammars list a few others.

[8]It is also possible to analyze the -j as part of the stem.

[9]The stems of the past definite and participle sometimes differ from that shared by the present and past indefinite, e.g., ha 'I eat'(Pr), haja 'I ate'(PI), hëngra 'I ate'(PD), ngrënë 'eaten'(Prt).

[10]-i occurs in the third person singular after certain vowels as well, e.g., shkoi 'he went'(PD).

[11]The u clitic is part of the non-active system. It is discussed later in this section.

[12]Jam 'I am' is the auxiliary for the perfect forms in the non-active system. It will be discussed later in this section.

[13]i burgosuri 'the prisoner' appears with a preposed article because it is actually a substantivized form of the deverbal adjective i burgosur 'imprisoned'.

[14]The informant stated for example that the readings 'The men from Vlora like themselves' for (4b) and 'The prostitutes dressed each other before dinner' for (4c) were questionable readings for those sentences, presumably for pragmatic or possibly cultural reasons.

[15]Even today, the close resemblance to the forms of jam is apparent if one compares the subjunctive forms of jam with these suffixes.

(Pr)	subjunctive	non-active ending
	të jem	-em
	të jesh	-esh
	të jetë	-et
	të jemi	-emi
	të jeni	-eni
	të jenë	-en

(PI)	<u>subjunctive</u>	<u>non-active ending</u>
	të isha	-esha
	të ishe	-eshe
	të ishte	-ej
	të ishim	-eshim
	të ishit	-eshit
	të ishin	-eshin

The subjenctive of <u>jam</u> was chosen over the indicative for this comparison because it shows the relationship to the present endings more clearly, since the present indicative is less regular.

[16] Pekmezi (1908) states that this <u>u</u> is derived from Proto Indo-European <u>(s)ve-</u> and is therefore related to the Latin and Slavic reflexives, <u>suus</u> and <u>svoji</u>, respectively.

[17] There have been a couple of articles concerning relativization, as well as one on clitic copying by Kazazis and Pentheroudakis (1976), but no other theoretical syntactic work to my knowledge.
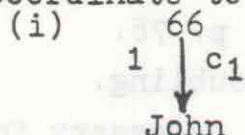
[18] This is not entirely true. Reflexives and reciprocals can also occur as direct object pronominal forms with active morphology on the verb. These will be discussed in 4.1.

[19] For those unfamiliar with the relational grammar framework under discussion, the following brief description should prove helpful.

The structure of a clause in this framework is represented by a single entity called a relational network (RN). An RN consists of a set of arcs, with each arc defined by three types of primitives: nodes (terminal and non-terminal), relational signs, and coordinates. Terminal nodes represent substantive linguistic elements such as lexical items and morphophonemic forms of morphemes, while non-terminal nodes represent more abstract entities such as phrases and clauses. The relational signs (R-signs) represent grammatical relations between elements, and for the present we will only be concerned with those that relate to simple clauses: <u>1</u> for subject, <u>2</u> for direct object, <u>3</u> for indirect object (these are called the "term" relations), and <u>P</u> for predicate. There are in addition "non-term" relations, which include obliques such as Instrument, Locative, etc., as well as the retirement relations, such as Chomeur (see 2.1). The coordinates represent the distinct levels at which relations hold: c_1 for the initial level, c_2 for the next level, etc.

An arc is generally represented by a downward pointing arrow with either a terminal or non-terminal node at its head, and a non-terminal or "governor" node at its tail.
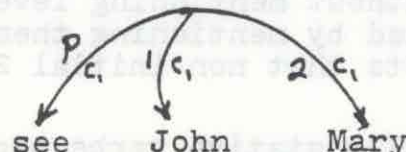
By convention, the R-sign generally appears to the left and the coordinate to the right of the arrow, as in (i).

(i)

$$1 \downarrow c_1 \quad 66$$

John

The arc in (i) states that in clause 66 (this number is arbitrary) the nominal John bears the subject relation at the initial level. Consider now a full sentence.

(ii) a. John sees Mary.

b.

$$P \searrow c_1 \quad 1 \downarrow c_1 \quad 2 \searrow c_1$$

see John Mary

The RN in (ii b) indicates that John is the subject, Mary is the direct object, and see is the predicate at the initial (and only) level. Note that the tail node in (ii b) is not specified. Since the diagram makes it clear that the three arcs have a common tail, and since it is the only tail node in the RN, by convention in such cases it is generally not overtly specified, and we will adhere to that convention throughout this paper.

  For a more detailed discussion of the relational grammar framework, see Perlmutter and Postal (1977) and Perlmutter (to appear b).

[20]Perlmutter and Postal (1977), p. 39.

[21]The nominative nominal in passive clauses, like the subject in active clauses, governs verb agreement, takes the nominative case marking, can be the antecedent of a pronominal reflexive but not the target, and can float the intensifier vetë 'self', as in

iii) Unë vetë e pashë Agimin dje.
   I self Cl see Ac yesterday
   N 3sAc 1sPDAct
   'I myself saw Agim yesterday'

iv) Unë e pashë Agimin dje vetë.
   'I saw Agim myself yesterday'
   *'I saw Agim himself yesterday'

v) Agimi u pa dje vetë.
   3sPDNep
   'Agim himself was seen yesterday'

As (iv) shows, final direct objects cannot float vetë, while final subjects can.

  The object of the preposition prej does not govern verb agreement, nor does it take nominative case marking. It cannot serve as the antecedent for a pronominal reflexive, nor can it float the intensifier vetë.

[22]Johnson (1977), p. 153.

[23]Note, however, that the structure in (16b) will also conform to the generalization.

[24]Perlmutter and Postal (to appear b) p. 78.

[25]See fn. 2, for the rule of clitic doubling.

[26]A coreference approach may still be necessary for pronominal reflexives and reciprocals, however. See 4.2.

[27]All the examples that have been discussed so far have involved a nominal heading both an _initial_ 2-arc and a _final_ 1-arc. Since the more general statement in (28) accounts for the data without mentioning levels, there seems to be nothing gained by mentioning them. In fact, data in Section 4 suggests that non-initial 2's may undergo passive.

[28]Not all semantically stative verbs occur with nea-politan morphology, e.g., _ekzistoj_ 'I exist' among others always occurs in an active form.

[29]Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns can also occur as the objects of prepositions governing the nominative, dative, or ablative case.

[30]There are at least three other verbs that govern the _për_ construction: _mësoj_ 'I teach', _bisedoj_ 'I converse', and _shpresoj_ 'I hope'.

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