

SUBJUNCTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN ARBĚRESH AND STANDARD ALBANIAN

Giuseppina TURANO
Università della Calabria

Introduction.

A phenomenon that is shared by various Balkan languages is the presence of subordinate clauses in the subjunctive mood corresponding to structures that typically have infinitive verbs in Romance languages. The present study will concentrate on subordinate structures of this type in the variety of Albanian spoken at San Nicola dell'Alto, a town in the province of Catanzaro (henceforth Arbëresh). The tendency to replace the infinitive with the subjunctive can be observed in languages (Southern Albanian, Rumanian) in which infinitival verbal forms are still alive, although they are used only in limited contexts.

However Arbëresh, which I will focus on in this study, has no infinitive verbal forms.

I argue for the hypothesis that subjunctive complements are CP projections. But, in Arbëresh CP directly dominates an IP (AgrS) projection, while in Albanian, CP dominates a MP projection. Furthermore, the lack of a subjunctive complementiser, in Arbëresh, triggers obligatory I to C raising and this causes the subject of a subjunctive complement always to appear in postverbal position (cf. now Motapanyane 1992 contra Motapanyane 1991, on Rumanian). Albanian, on the other hand, exhibits a free alternation between subjunctive clauses with a lexical complementiser, and SVO order, and subjunctive clauses without a lexical complementiser, which display VOS order. In both languages, the absence of the complementiser allows for CP deletion and government of the embedded subject by the matrix verb, i. e. for ECM.

The study is organized as follows. Section 1 deals with the distribution of subjunctive clauses, both in Arbëresh and in Albanian. In section 2, I provide a

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brief account of the nature of the subjunctive. Section 3 centers on the structure of the subjunctive clauses and I movement to C.

1. *Subjunctive clauses and their distribution.*

In Arbëresh, as we have anticipated, all the infinitives of the Romance languages are replaced by the subjunctive:

- (1) a. *Burri ng din tē do barnj makinin.*
 The man not-NEG knows-IND (he) fix-SUBJ the car-ACC¹
 "The man does not know how to fix the car"
- b. **Burri ng din se do barin makinin.*
 The man not-NEG knows-IND that-COMP fixes-IND the car-ACC
 "The man does not know how to fix the car"

In standard Albanian (henceforth Albanian and (A) in the example sentences), infinitive verbal forms have a limited use, so the structure corresponding to the Arbëresh example in (1) is also constructed with a subjunctive verb:

- (2) a. *Burri nuk di tē ndreqjē makinën.* (A)
 The man not-NEG knows-IND (he) fix-SUBJ the car-ACC
 "The man does not know how to fix the car"
- b. **Burri nuk di për tē ndrequr makinën.* (A)
 The man not-NEG knows-IND to fix-INF the car-ACC
 "The man does not know how to fix the car"

Arbëresh, like Albanian, has two types of embedded clause: the first is introduced by the complementiser *se* (which corresponds to English *that* and Italian *che*) and has its verb in the indicative; the second type has a verb in the subjunctive. Only this second type generally occurs in contexts where we would have an infinitival structure in Romance languages.² There are naturally restrictions on

1 When the subject of an Arbëresh Or Albanian sentence is pro, the non-overt pronominal, I indicate the corresponding pronominal in English in parentheses.

2 It would not, however, be true to say that there is a perfect correspondence between Albanian subjunctive constructions and Romance infinitives. Compare:

(i) *Burri thot se vien*

The man-NOM says-IND that-COMP comes-IND 3rd Sing

(ii) *L'uomo dice di venire*

The man says-IND di -INFIN PART come-INFIN.

the type of clause that a given verb selects for: thus the structure in (3a) shows that the verb *thom* ("say") cannot be followed by a subjunctive complement clause; the same is true in Albanian, as in (4a):

- (3) a. * *Thotë të venj te çinami.*
 (He) says-IND (he) go-SUBJ to the cinema-PP
 "He says that he will go to the cinema".
- b. *Thotë se vete te çinami.*
 (He) says-IND that-COMP (he) goes-IND to the cinema-PP
 "He says that he will go to the cinema".
- (4) a. * *Thotë të shkojë në kinema.* (A)
 (He) says-IND (he) go-SUBJ to the cinema-PP
 "He says that he will go to the cinema"
- b. *Thotë se shkon në kinema.* (A)
 (He) says-IND that-COMP (he) goes-IND to the cinema-PP
 "He says that he will go to the cinema"

Subjunctive clauses appear to be the subcategorised complements of certain classes of verbs such as modals, causatives, aspectuals, verbs of perception³ and control verbs. In the case of the first three classes the subjunctive clause is the only type of complement admitted (as shown in (5)), while verbs of perception and control verbs have two possible structures: a subjunctive complement and an indicative one, as illustrated in (6) and (7)⁴:

- (5) a. *Dua të ghojrnjin ghibrin gratë.*
 (I) want-IND (they) read-SUBJ the book-ACC the women-NOM
 "I want the women to read the book".
- b. *Boi të ghojrnjin ghibrin gratë.*
 (I) make-IND (they) read-SUBJ the book-ACC the women-NOM
 "I make the women read the book".
- c. *Sosi të ghojri ghibrin.*
 (I) finish-IND (I) read-SUBJ the book-ACC

3 Subjunctive complements to verbs of perception are possible only in Arbëresh, and not in Albanian

4 In (5), (6) and (7), I only present examples from Arbëresh because in this case sentences from Albanian display identical behaviour.

- "I finish reading the book"
- d. * *Dua/ boi/sosi se ghojiri ghibrin*
 (I) want/make/finish that-COMP (I) read-IND the book-ACC
 "I want to read the book/I make myself read the book/ I finish reading the book".
- (6) a. *Shoh të hanjin moghin ghajarellet.*
 (I) see-IND (they) eat-SUBJ the apple-ACC the children-NOM
 "I can see the children eating the apple".
- b. *Shoh se han moghin Maria.*
 (I) see-IND that-COMP (she) eats-IND the apple-ACC Mary-NOM
 "I can see Mary eating the apple".
- (7) a. *Franku promettirin të vinj.*
 Frank-NOM promises-IND (he) come-SUBJ
 "Frank promises to come".
- b. *Franku promettirin se vien.*
 Frank-NOM promises-IND that-COMP (he) comes-IND
 "Frank promises to come".

Thus, it is only after certain types of matrix verb that we find a subjunctive complement; furthermore indicative complements are ruled out with modal, aspectual or causative verbs (5d).

There are, however some differences between Arbëresh and Albanian with respect to the use of the subjunctive. Subjunctive, in Arbëresh, has limited syntactic functions. In contrast, Albanian subjunctive is also used in temporal clauses (8a), relative clauses (8b) and interrogative clauses (8c).

- (8) a. *Kur të kemi në dyqan do ta (të+e) blemi.* (A)
 When (we) go-SUBJ to the shop-PP (we) it-CL buy-FUT
 "When we go to the shop, we will buy it"
- b. *Nuk kemi gjetur mësues i cili të dinte anglisht.* (A)
 Not-NEG (we) found teacher who (he) knew-SUBJ English
 "We did not find a teacher who know English"
- c. *Ku të kishte shkuar Aliu?* (A)
 Where (he) went-SUBJ Ali-NOM
 "Where did Ali go?"

As well as being used in subordinate clauses the subjunctive also appears in independent clauses, both in Arbëresh and in Albanian. In such cases it functions as a suppletive form for the imperative (9), or for the optative (10). The

imperative has forms only for the second person singular and plural. Other forms are supplied by the subjunctive present. The use of the subjunctive as a replacement for the imperative can be traced back to the pre-literary phase in the development of the Albanian and is attested in the works of early authors (Demiraj 1985). The present subjunctive is frequently used as an optative even though Arbëresh and Albanian in fact have separate optative forms.

- (9) a. *Të hinj mronda!*
 Enter-SUBJ (3rd p.s.) the house
 "Let him enter the house!"
- b. *Ai të qëndojë këtu!* (A)
 He-NOM wait-SUBJ here-ADV
 "Let him wait here!"
- (10) a. *Të rroç çent'anni!*
 Live-SUBJ (2nd p.s.) a hundred years
 "May you live a hundred years!"
- b. *Të rrojë djali sa malet!* (A)
 (He) live-SUBJ the boy-NOM as the mountains
 "May the boy live as the mountains!"

Like in the other Balkan languages, the Arbëresh and Albanian subjunctive has a distinctive morphological form, characterized by the presence of the particle *të* before the verb. Indeed, subjunctive forms are not grammatical without this particle:

- (11) a. *Ai do të ver.*
 He wants-IND (he) go-SUBJ
 "He wants to go".
- b. **Ai do ver.*
- (12) a. *Ai beson të vijë.* (A)
 He-NOM believes-IND (he) come-SUBJ
 "He believes to come"
- b. **Ai beson vijë.* (A)

The function of this marker *të* is to indicate the modal value of the subjunctive. Originally it was a subordinating conjunction and its function was to introduce subordinate clauses with subjunctive verbs. Gradually it became a part of the subjunctive itself and this accounts for the fact that it is now used even in independent clauses. Arguably this change was due to the need to distinguish the subjunctive clearly from the indicative since the subjunctive is distinguished

morphologically only from the second and third person singular of the indicative⁵. Indeed, the subjunctive with *të* is not a part of the original system and in the writings of certain early authors we find instances without *të*, in cases where the subjunctive is accompanied by the negative element *mos*⁶ (Demiraj, 1985). In short, the element *të* is then the marker which distinguishes the subjunctive from the indicative. Linearly it must directly precede the verb and no other material may be inserted in between, as is shown in (13a); the only exception to this concerns clitics, which must however attach to the particle, as in (13c).

- (13) a. * *Burri do të mos hanj moghët.*
 The man-NOM wants-IND not-NEG eat-SUBJ the apples-ACC
 "The man does not want to eat the apples".
- b. *Burri do mos të hanj moghët.*
- c. *Burri do ti (të+i) hanj.*
 The man-NOM wants-IND them-CL-eat-SUBJ
 "The man wants eating them".

The Albanian counterpart of the Arbëresh example in (13a) is however grammatical. In Albanian the negative element *mos* "not" occurs in a different position in comparison with Arbëresh. In Albanian, like in Rumanian (Motapanyane 1991) and Modern Greek (Tsimpli 1989) the negative element follows the element *të*.

- (14) *Maria do të mos e hajë mollën.* (A)
 Mary wants-IND not-NEG it-CL (she) eat-SUBJ the apple-ACC
 "Mary does not want to eat the apple"

The Arbëresh subjunctive structures lack a lexically realised complementiser. Indeed, the normal complementiser, which in Arbëresh is the conjunction *se* "that", cannot co-occur with the subjunctive:

5 The following is an example of the present tense subjunctive of the Arbëresh verb *vete* "to go": *të vete, të veç, të venj, të vemi, të veni, të venjin* (singular forms - 1st, 2nd, 3rd persons - followed by plural forms). The corresponding indicative forms are: *vete, vete, vete, vemi, veni, venjin*.

6 The negative element *mos* also occurs with the imperative and optative forms of the verb, whereas with indicative constructions the negation is realised by *'ng*, in Arbëresh and *nuk*, in Albanian.

- (15) a. *Graja do të partirnj burri.*
 The woman-NOM wants-IND (she) leave-SUBJ the man-NOM
 "The woman wants the man to leave".
 b. * *Graja do se të partirnj burri.*

However, we do not consider the subjunctive particle *të* a realisation of C since in the variety of Arbëresh spoken in Falconara (Cosenza) it is found together with the normal complementiser in configurations such as (16):⁷

- (16) *Të thom se të më shkrujç.* (F)
 To you (I) say-IND that-COMP to me write-SUBJ.
 "I tell you to write me".

On the other hand, standard Albanian has a complementiser that introduces subjunctive clauses. The subjunctive complementiser is realized as *që* "that".

- (17) *Nuk dua që të fletsh.* (A)
 Not-NEG (I) want-IND that-COMP (you) sleep-SUBJ
 "I do not want that you sleep"

The particle *të* must then be considered to occupy a different position and cannot be in C. In addition, we also have to rule out the possibility that it could be generated in the SpecCP position since, if it were generated there, the resulting order in structures such as (16) and (17) would be: matrix verb + *të* + *se/që* + embedded verb.

In Arbëresh embedded subjunctive clauses the matrix verb and subjunctive marker must be adjacent. Thus the embedded subject may appear only in post-verbal position, as is clear from (18); this distinguishes subjunctive clauses from their indicative counterparts, whose unmarked order is SVO (19).

- (18) a. *Maria bon të hanj bukin Franku.*
 Mary-NOM makes-IND (he) eat-SUBJ the bread-ACC Frank-NOM
 "Mary makes Frank eat the bread"
 b. * *Maria bon Franku të hanj bukin*
- (19) a. *Maria thotë se Franku han bukin.*
 Mary says-IND that-COMP Frank-NOM eats-IND the bread-ACC
 "Mary says that Frank eats the bread"
 b. * *Maria thotë se han bukin Franku.*

7 The example is taken from Brandi & Savoia (1990).

So in subjunctive clauses the embedded subject is never allowed to precede the verb. Verbs of perception (20), however, allow a structure that is superficially identical to what we have with control verbs that allow control by the matrix object (21): the embedded clause subject can appear in preverbal position (between the matrix verb and that of the embedded clause), though in such cases it has accusative case, as is shown in (20). We will discuss these structures in section 3.

(20) *Burri sheh ghajarellin të hanj bukin.*
 The man-NOM sees-IND the child-ACC eat-SUBJ the bread-ACC
 "The man sees the child eating the bread".

(21) *Franku kunvinçirin Mikeghun të daj.*
 Frank-NOM convinces-IND Michael-ACC go out-SUBJ
 "Frank convinces Michael to go out".

The restriction on having the subject between the matrix and embedded verb does not however apply to adverbs, which may appear between the two verbs.

(22) *Gjegji shpisiu të kundonjin këtë kancun.*
 (I) hear-IND often-ADV (they) sing-SUBJ this song-ACC
 "I often hear them singing this song".

On the assumption that the adverbs like *shpisiu* "often" are generated in the VP-initial position (Belletti 1990), the order in (22) indicates that the matrix verb raises to AGR in order to pick up agreement features. So, the matrix verb moves out of its own VP. This movement leaves the adverb behind.

Recall that, contrary to Arbëresh, Albanian has a subjunctive complementiser. Then, Albanian has two strategies: in the presence of the complementiser *që* a subject can precede the subjunctive verb (23a), in the absence of the complementiser, the subject may only appear sentence-finally (23c).

(23) a. *Dua që Maria të lexojë.* (A)
 (I) want-IND that-COMP Mary-NOM read-SUBJ
 "I want Mary to read"
 b. * *Dua Maria të lexojë.* (A)
 c. *Dua të lexojë Maria.* (A)
 (I) want-IND (she) read-SUBJ Mary-NOM
 "I want Mary to read".

Things are different in independent clauses with subjunctive verbs. In Arbëresh, as well as in Albanian, the subject can appear in preverbal or in sentence-final position. VOS is the unmarked order.

- (24) a. *Te ghojirnj ghibrin Mikeghi.*
 (That) read-SUBJ the book-ACC Michael-NOM
 "May Michael read the book".
 b. *Mikeghi të ghojirnj ghibrin.*
- (25) a. *Ta (të+a) hajë mollën Maria.* (A)
 It-CL eat-SUBJ the apple-ACC Maria-NOM
 "May Mary eat the apple"
 b. *Maria ta hajë mollën.* (A)

2. Temporal interpretation of subjunctive clauses

On the evidence of the examples that we have considered so far, it is clear that the subjunctive verb is finite, that is to say the embedded INFL node is specified for +AGR and +Tense features. Kempchinsky (1986) examined the analyses of subjunctive structures that have been presented within the GB paradigm. These analyses recognize that, in some way, subjunctive structures are not in fact specified for the tense feature. Or rather, the tense selection they make is not a truly independent one but is anaphoric to that of the matrix clause, in the sense that it is established on the basis of the temporal reference of the higher clause. This conclusion is supported in Albanian and Arbëresh by two closely related facts, the first interpretational and the second morphological: first, verbs in embedded subjunctive clauses must be interpreted as having simultaneous temporal reference with the verb in the higher clause;⁸ second, there is an observable correspondence between the tense morphology of the two verbs: the morphological features of the subjunctive verb must in fact match those of the higher verb (cf. the traditional notion of *consecutio temporum*). The crucial point in this is the idea that the subjunctive, on account of its temporally anaphoric nature, must be referentially bound by the matrix INFL node. But, following this analysis, if the subjunctive has this property, it appears that its subject must be

8 In fact sentences as: *I promise (now) that I come (SUBJ) tomorrow* are impossible in Arbëresh and Albanian with subjunctive (see (i)). The only way to express this propositional content is as in (ii) where the embedded sentence is introduced by the complementiser *se* "that" and inflection is realized as indicative.

(i) **Promettiri të vinj menat.*

(I) promise-IND (I) come-SUBJ tomorrow

(ii) *Promettiri se vinj menat.*

(I) promise-IND that-COMP (I) come-IND tomorrow

coreferential with the matrix subject as a consequence of the fact that the INFL node must be coindexed with its NP subject through nominative case assignment. The above reasoning leads to the conclusion that a configuration of the type described necessarily gives rise to coreference between the two subjects. In reality, however, this is not the case: coindexing of tenses does not always imply coindexing of the two subjects in Albanian and in the variety of Arbëresh we are dealing with. The embedded verb must always show morphological tense agreement with the higher verb, since the temporal interpretation of the subjunctive clause is not independent but rather linked to that of the main clause (26):

- (26) a. **Burri* *dej* *të venjin* *te çinami*
 The man-NOM wanted-IND (they) go-PRES SUBJ to the cinema
ghajarellet.
 the children-NOM
 "The man wanted the children to go to the cinema".
- b. *Burri* *do* *të venjin* *te çinami*
 The man-NOM wants-IND (they) go-PRES SUBJ to the cinema
gajarellet.
 the children-NOM
 "The man wants the children to go to the cinema".

Despite this, however, coindexing does not take place between the two INFL nodes or, as a consequence, between the two subjects. This is clearly shown in (26), where the subject of the subjunctive clause (*ghajarellet* "the children") has disjoint reference from the subject of the matrix clause (*burri* "the man"). It follows that the index of the embedded clause cannot be the same as the index of the higher one. This can be explained adopting the split-IP hypothesis presented in recent works by Pollock (1989) and Belletti (1990). Tense and AGR are independent heads. Thus, it is possible that subjunctive Tense is coindexed with the Tense of the matrix clause, while AGR has independent features. But, the possibility to have a control structure in a structure with a subjunctive verb could be an indication of the fact that AGR, under particular conditions, could also be anaphoric, so that it must necessarily be coindexed with an antecedent in the matrix clause. We will see these data in section 3.

3. Internal structure of subjunctive constructions

3.1. Properties of subjunctive complements

As we have seen in section 1., subjunctive verbs occur as complements of a narrow class of verbs that includes:

- (27) a. modal verbs
 b. aspectual verbs
 c. causative verbs
 d. verbs of perception
 e. control verbs
 f. volitional verbs

This class includes, in part, the verbs which have been analyzed in the literature as involving a process of "restructuring" (Rizzi 1978, 1982): verbs that select reduced complements. In Arbëresh and Albanian there is no evidence for restructuring:

- (28) a. *Boi te (të + e) hanj burri.*
 (I) make-IND it-CL-eat-SUBJ the man-NOM
 "I make the man eat it"
 b. **E boi të hanj burri.*
 It-CL (I) make (he)eat-SUBJ the man-NOM
 "I make the man eat it"

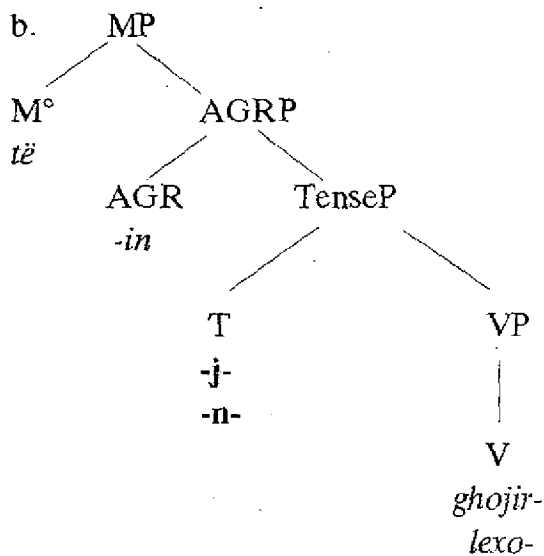
- (29) a. *Bej ta (të+e) hajë burri* (A)
 (I) make it-CL-eat-SUBJ the man-NOM
 "I make the man eat it"
 b. **E bëj të hajë burri.* (A)
 It-CL (I) make eat-SUBJ the man-NOM
 "I make the man eat it"

The embedded verb is inflected for AGR features and clitics generated within the embedded clause do not move to the matrix verb, but appear between the subjunctive mood particle and the inflected verb. Subjunctive complements fail to form complex predicates with the matrix verb. They do not undergo restructuring. Subjunctive clauses are CP complements. Evidence that such complements are not reduced is provided by Albanian, that, in contrast with Arbëresh, has a subjunctive complementiser (*që* "that").

- (30) *Dua që Vera të niset* (A)
 (I) want-IND that-COMP Vera-NOM leave-SUBJ
 "I want Vera to leave"

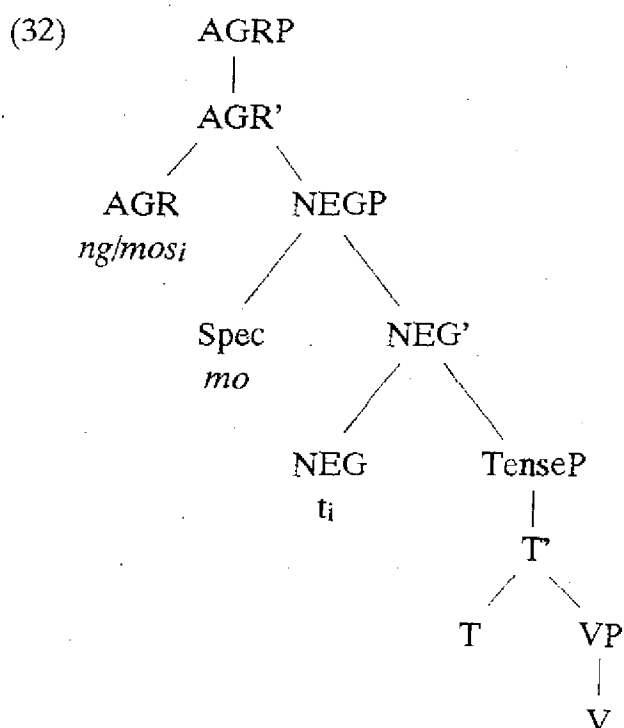
Like other Balkan languages (Dobrovie-Sorin 1991; Motapanyane 1991), the subjunctive mood, in Arbëresh and Albanian, is realized in terms of the particle *të*. So, in the morphology of the subjunctive we can identify the following features: Mood, AGR and Tense. Following Pollock (1989) and Belletti (1990). I assume that specifications of Mood, Tense and agreement features are encoded under separate projections. Thus the structure of the subjunctive verb is represented as in (31):

- (31) a. *Të ghojir-j-in*
Të lexo-n-in
 "they read" (PAST SUBJ)" (A)



The structure (31b) stands for the subjunctive form in (31a): the particle *të* is a realization of the Mood feature; *-j/-n-* realizes the tense selection, and *-in-* realizes AGR. The verbal complex is derived via a process of head to head movement of V to T, AGR and M. The modal marker *të* is the head of the maximal projection MP (Modal Phrase), which selects an IP (= AGRP) complement. Contrary to Albanian subjunctives, which have exactly the same structure as Rumanian (Motapanyane 1991) and Greek (Tsimpli 1989) with the particle *të* realised under Mood, I assume that, in Arbëresh, the subjunctive particle *të* is realised under AGR, while there is no Mood projection.

This idea is supported by the position of the negative elements with respect to the verb. Pollock (1989) has proposed that between the two inflectional heads AGR and Tense a Negative Phrase (NEGP) is present in negative clauses. In Arbëresh the head of this projection is *'ng* for indicative verbs and *mos* for subjunctive verbs. Both correspond to the negative element "not". The specifier of NEGP may be filled with the negative adverb *mo* "anymore".⁹ Following Belletti (1990), we assume that the negative elements *'ng* and *mos* are clitics which must move to the AGR position.



That the negation always cliticizes onto AGR, is shown by (33) and (34):

- (33) a. *Ng ghojiri mo.*
 Not-NEG (I) read-IND anymore-ADV
 "I don't read anymore".
 b. **Ghojiri mo ng.*

⁹ The adverb *mo* is not obligatory.

- (34) a. *Mos ic vinj mo.*
Not-NEG (he) come-SUBJ anymore-ADV
"He does not come anymore".
b. **Të vinj mo mos.*

Examples (33b) and (34b) are ruled out because the negative elements are not raised. *Ng* and *mos* always precede the verb. The example (34a) indicates that the negation precedes the whole complex *të + verb*. On the basis of the placement of negation we conclude that the particle *të* is realized under Agr. If we assume, instead, that the particle *të* is located in M, then the negation could appear in between the head M and AGR. This is not correct, as we can see below:

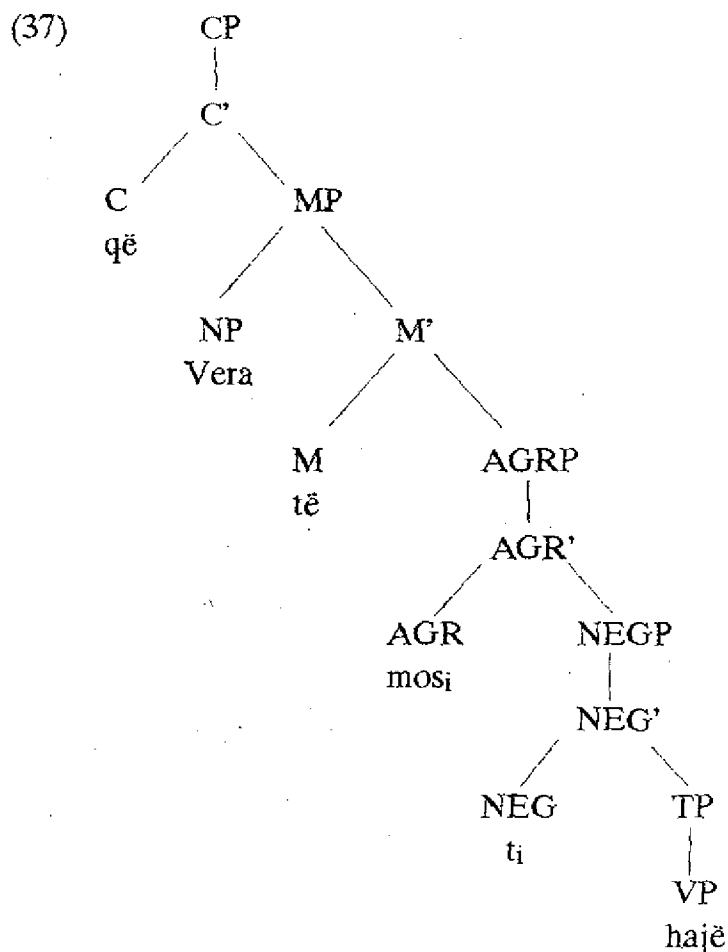
- (35) **Të mos hanjin mo.*
Mood not-NEG eat-SUBJ anymore-ADV
"They don't eat anymore".

At this point, it will be superfluous to postulate, for Arbëresh subjunctive clauses, a MP projection since the whole complex verb is realized under the AGRP (= IP) projection.

It is important, however, to note the difference with respect to the internal structure of Albanian subjunctive. The Mood particle *të* is realized under M:

- (36) *Ai do që Vera të mos hajë.* (A)
He wants-IND that-COMP Vera-NOM Mood not-NEG eat-SUBJ
"He wants Vera not eat"

The representation of the example (36) is the following:



The negative element *mos* follows the Mood category. The particle *të* is higher than the negative element. The lexical embedded subject *Vera* is licensed in SpecMP. The more recent principles-and-parameters approach, assumed in Chomsky (1992), states that agreement is determined by the features AGR and Case by the element Tense or V. An NP in an appropriate position (the Specifier of AGR) bears agreement features and Case properties. I will assume that, in Albanian, Mood checks both the properties of the verb that raises to it and the properties of the NP that raises to its Specifier.

In short, I assumed that subjunctive complements are CP clauses followed by MP projections (in Albanian) or IP projections (in Arbëresh). Main clause subjunctives may have a preverbal (38) or postverbal (39) subject.

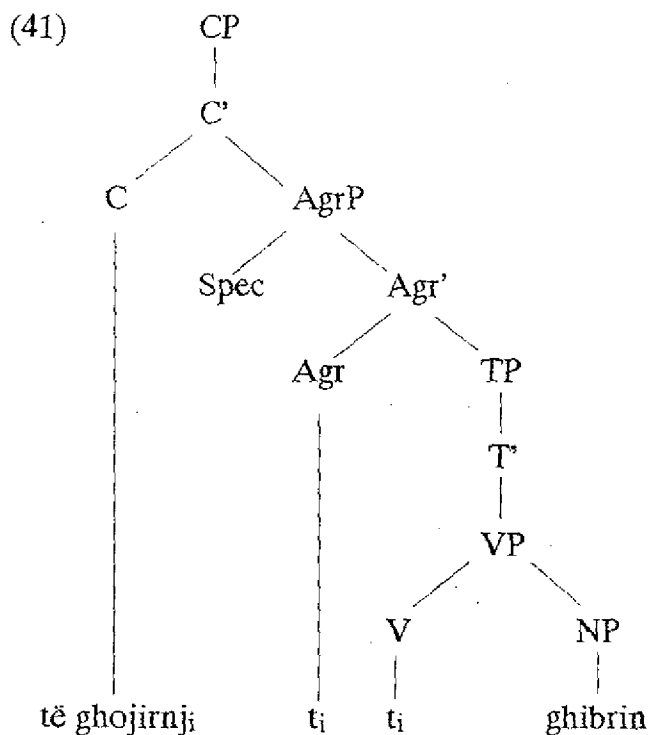
- (38) a. *Maria të ghojirnj ghibrin.*
Maria-NOM read-SUBJ the book-ACC
"May Maria read the book".
b. *Maria të lexojë librin.* (A)
Maria-NOM read-SUBJ the book-ACC
"May Maria read the book".
- (39) a. *Të ghojirnj ghibrin Maria.*
b. *Të lexojë librin Maria.* (A)

The subject in preverbal position gets nominative Case by INFL in a configuration of Spec-head agreement (Chomsky 1992). The postverbal subject in (39) is adjoined to VP and is properly governed by T, while an expletive *pro* fills the preverbal subject position. Subjunctive matrix clauses show identical behaviour in Arbëresh and Albanian.

Things are more complex when the subjunctive clauses are selected by a matrix verb. Subjunctive embedded clauses, in Arbëresh, do not allow the subject in the preverbal position.

- (40) a. **Dua Maria të ghojirni ghibrin.*
(I) want-IND Mary-NOM read-SUBJ the book-ACC
"I want Mary to read the book"
b. *Dua të ghojirnj ghibrin Maria.*

I will assume that, as in Rumanian (Motapanyane 1992), subjunctive clauses undergo V movement to C. In Motapanyane's (1992) analysis, raising of I to C is reduced to the movement of the Mood marker *sa* to C. This analysis could be supported by the Albanian examples, but, as *të* in Arbëresh cannot be separated from the verb, I will assume that, in Arbëresh, the whole verbal complex raises to C. The resulting configuration is represented in (41):



Since verbal features must be checked in the checking domain of the INFL head, we can assume that, after raising of I to C, the NP in SpecIP position is not in a proper position for Case-checking (Chomsky 1992). A configuration like (41) therefore is incompatible with the SVO order.

The verb can only move to C in the absence of an overt complementiser. When the C position of the embedded CP is occupied by a complementiser with phonological content, I to C movement is impossible:

- (42) *Ai ng din dhe të dobërnj makinin.*
 He-NOM not-NEG knows-IND if-COMP (he) repair-SUBJ the car
 "He does not know whether to repair the car"

I to C movement is blocked because the C position is already occupied by the element *dhe*. Evidence for this process is provided by the Albanian contrast in (43):

- (43) a. *Dua që Vera të niset.* (A)
 (I) want-IND that-COMP Vera-NOM leave-SUBJ
 "I want Vera to leave"

- b. **Dua Vera të niset.* (A)
 c. *Dua të niset Vera.* (A)

In Albanian, when the C position is occupied by the complementiser *që* "that", the embedded subject is licensed in SpecMP position (43a). When *të* raises to C, the subject appears sentence-finally (43c) because, after M to C movement, the preverbal subject position is not in an appropriate Spec-head configuration with its INFL.

I assume that the structure with I to C movement and subject inversion is the proper structure of subjunctive clauses embedded under causative verbs and volitional verbs in Arbëresh and Albanian. The examples in (44) are drawn from Arbëresh, while the examples in (45) are drawn from Albanian.

- (44) a. *Burri bon të bienj misht e shoqa.*
 The man makes-IND (she)buy-SUBJ the meat-ACC his wife-NOM
 "The man makes his wife buy the meat"
 b. *Burri do të bienj misht e shoqa.*
 The man wants-IND (she) buy-SUBJ the meat-ACC his wife-NOM
 "The man wants his wife to buy the meat"
 c. **Burri bon/do e shoqa të bienj misht.*
- (45) a. *Burri bën të hajë mishin gruaja.* (A)
 The man makes (she)eat-SUBJ the meat-ACC his wife-NOM
 "The man makes his wife eat the meat"
 b. *Burri do të hajë mishin gruaja.* (A)
 The man wants (she)eat-SUBJ the meat-ACC his wife-NOM
 "The man wants his wife to eat the meat"
 c. **Burri bën/do gruaja të hajë mishin.*

Contrary to Arbëresh, Albanian has two extra strategies at its disposal for causative verbs: a structure that involves the overt complementiser *që* and has the embedded subject in SpecMP, as in (46), and a structure that involves ECM, as in (47):

- (46) *Ai bën që gruaja të hajë mishin.* (A)
 He-NOM makes that-COMP his wife-NOM eat-SUBJ the meat
 "He makes his wife eat the meat"
- (47) *Ai bën gruan të hajë mishin.* (A)
 He-NOM makes his wife-ACC eat-SUBJ the meat-ACC
 "He makes his wife eat the meat"

I analyze the example in (47) as an instance of ECM: the subject position of the embedded sentence is assigned accusative Case by the matrix verb.¹⁰ The subject position is accessible to government from the matrix verb because the null complementiser fails to create a barrier. In this respect, Albanian is similar to Rumanian (Rivero 1991) and Modern Greek (Rivero 1991), allowing ECM with causative verbs.

On the other hand it seems impossible to deal with subjunctive complements selected by the class of verbs introduced in (27) in a unified way. Verbs of perception and modal verbs show a different structure with respect to the one already considered with causative verbs. I will consider verbs of perception and the modal verbs in the next sections.

3.2. *Complements to verbs of perception*

Subjunctive complements to verbs of perception are possible in Arbëresh, but not in Albanian. Albanian verbs of perception are compatible only with an indicative (48a-b) or gerundive (48c) complement:

- (48) a. *Shoh se burri po lexon.* (A)
(I) see-IND that-COMP the man-NOM is reading-PROG
"I see the man reading"
- b. *Shoh burrin që po lexon.* (A)
(I) see-IND the man-ACC that-COMP is reading-PROG
"I see the man reading the book"
- c. *Shoh burrin duke lexuar.* (A)
(I) see-IND the man-ACC reading-GER
"I see the man reading"
- d. **Shoh burrin të lexojë.* (A)
(I) see-IND the man-ACC (he) read-SUBJ
"I see the man reading"
- e. **Shoh që burri të lexojë.* (A)
(I) see-IND that-COMP the man-NOM read-SUBJ
"I see the man reading"

10 In the minimalist program (Chomsky 1992), Exceptional Case Marking is interpreted as raising of NP to the SpecAGR⁰ position. The element AGR⁰ assigns Case to its Specifier position.

In the example in (48a) the main verb *shoh* "see" selects an indicative complement introduced by the complementiser *se* "that". The example in (48b) is an instance of pseudorelative (Guasti 1988). The subject of the embedded clause is assigned accusative Case by the matrix verb. In (48c) the perception verb *shoh* "see" takes a gerundive complement open to ECM.¹¹ Examples in (48d) and (48e) show the ungrammaticality of perception verbs when followed by subjunctive complements.

Examples (48b) are possible also in Arbëresh. In Arbëresh, verbs of perception may select indicative (49a) and pseudorelative (49b) structures:¹²

- (49) a. *Shoh se burri han.*
 (I) see-IND that-COMP the man-NOM eats-IND
 "I see the man eating"
- b. *Shoh burrin që han.*
 (I) see-IND the man-ACC that-COMP eats-IND
 "I see the man eating"

In this section, however we want to consider the subjunctive complements to verbs of perception, as they are found in Arbëresh, but not in Albanian.

- (50) a. *Burri sheh të ghojirn ghibrin Petri.*
 The man-NOM sees-IND read-SUBJ the book-ACC Peter-NOM
 "The man sees Peter reading the book"
- b. *Burri sheh Petrin të ghojirn ghibrin*
 The man-NOM sees-IND Peter-ACC read-SUBJ the book-ACC
 "The man sees Peter reading the book"

The structure in (50a) shows all the relevant properties already observed with causative constructions: in particular, the embedded verb must be adjacent to the matrix verb and the embedded subject is in postverbal position and marked for nominative Case. So, the perception verb selects a CP projection. The embedded subject is not in an appropriate Spec-head configuration, to check the N-related features of I. So, the structure in (50a) arises as a result of I to C raising.

11 See Rivero (1992) for description of Albanian gerundives as subcategorized complements.

12 Differently from Albanian, verbs of perception, in Arbëresh, cannot be followed by a gerundive complement.

Finally, in the structure (50b) the embedded subject receives accusative Case from the matrix verb. The embedded subject, thus, surfaces as the direct object of the matrix verb; that it is indeed the object of the verb *shoh* is shown by the fact that it can become subject of *shoh* in a passive clause (51a) and by the fact that it may cliticise onto the main verb, in which case it is marked with the accusative (51b).¹³

- (51) a. *Petri osht i par të ghojirnj ghibrin.*
 Peter-NOM is seen-PASS read-SUBJ the book-ACC
 "Peter is seen reading the book".
- b. *E shoh të ghojirnj ghibrin.*
 Him-ACC/CL (I) see-IND read-SUBJ the book-ACC
 "I see him reading the book".

I will assume that the NP *Petrin* in the structure (50b) is subject to ECM. ECM produces a configuration in which the embedded subject is governed by the matrix verb. Thus the NP subject of the embedded clause is accessible to government from outside its clause. This is related to the fact that the C position is empty. So, in Albanian the causative verb *bëj* "make" exhibits ECM when the C position is empty:

- (52) a. *Burri e bën Verën të punojë* (A)
 The man-NOM her-CL makes-IND Vera-ACC work-SUBJ
 "The man makes Vera work"
- b. **Burri bën që Verën të punojë.* (A)
 The man-NOM makes that-COMP Vera-ACC work-SUBJ
 "The man makes Vera work"

Subjunctive complements with the overt complementiser (*që*) cannot have their subjects governed by the matrix verb. A complementiser with phonological content counts as the minimal governor which blocks CP-external government for the NP and raising of it to the matrix SpecAgro. The null complementiser instead, fails to function as minimal governor and to block movement. The difference between the Balkan languages and Arbëresh is in the class of verbs that allow CP deletion.¹⁴ So, Arbëresh exhibits ECM effects only with verbs of

13 The clitic corresponding to the lower object appears, instead, on the subjunctive verb.
 14 In Rivero (1991)'s analysis, ECM in Rumanian and Modern Greek does not derive from CP deletion, but from Balkan transparency, a consequence of agreement between C and I.

perception, Albanian only with causative verbs, while Rumanian and Modern Greek (Rivero 1991) exhibit it with volitional and causative verbs.

3.3. Modal verbs

Arbëresh modals *ket* "must" and *mund* "can" and Albanian modals *duhet* "must" and *mund* "can" display neither agreement features nor tense specifications. Their invariable verbal forms are generated under VP. Lack of AGR and Tense features entails that they do not raise to the Tense or AGR category. This hypothesis is supported by the position of adverbs. In the assumption that adverbs such as *shpisi* (Albanian *shpesh*) "often" are generated in VP-initial position (Belletti 1990), the word order in (53) indicates that V to I movement applies, leaving the adverb behind:

- (53) a. *Burrat venjin shpisi te çinami.*
 The men-NOM go-IND often-ADV to the cinema
 "The men often go to the cinema"
- b. *Burrat punojnë shpesh natën.* (A)
 The men-NOM work-IND often-ADV by night
 "The men often work by night"
- c. ? *Burrat shpisi venjin te çinami.*
- d. ? *Burrat shpesh punojnë natën.* (A)

In the case of modals, V raising to I (Pollock 1989; Belletti 1990) does not apply. Indeed the adverb *shpisi* (*shpesh*) cannot intervene between the modal verb and the subjunctive verb:

- (54) a. **Burrat ket shpisi shurbenjin natënet.*
 The men-NOM must often-ADV (they) work-SUBJ by night
 "The man often must work by night"
- b. **Burrat duhet shpesh të punojnë natën.* (A)
 The men-NOM must often-ADV (they) work-SUBJ by night
 "The men often must work by night".

The ungrammaticality of (54) is due to the fact that the modal verb moves out of its own VP and across the adverb. Only the structure in which the modal verb remains in its own VP is grammatical:

- (55) a. *Shpisi burrat ket shurbenjin natënet.*
 Often-ADV the men-NOM must (they) work-SUBJ by night
 "The men often must work by night"

- b. *Shpesh burrat duhet të punojnë natën.* (A)
 Often-ADV the men-NOM must (they) work-SUBJ by night
 "The men often must work by night"

I will assume that modals are impersonal verbs. Lacking both an AGR node and a Tense node, they lack the NP subject position. Inflection is only realised on the embedded verb. The only type of complement that these verbs allow is a subjunctive clause:

- (56) a. *Burri ket/mund shkruenj ghiterin.*
 The man-NOM must/can (he) write-SUBJ the letter-ACC
 "The man must/can write the letter".
- b. **Burri ket/mund shkruen ghiterin.*
 The man-NOM must/can (he) writes-IND the letter-ACC
 "The man must write the letter".
- c. *Burri duhet/mund të punojë.* (A)
 The man-NOM must/can (he) work-SUBJ
 "The man must/can work"
- d. **Burri duhet/mund punon.* (A)
 The man-NOM must/can (he) works-IND
 "The man must/can work"

Though Albanian has infinitival verbal forms, modals do not allow the occurrence of an infinitive in their complement:

- (57) a. **Duhet për të punuar.* (A)
 Must to work-INF
 "He must work"
- b. **Mund për të punuar.* (A)
 Can to work-INF
 "He can work"

How we can see in example (55a), in Arbëresh, in contrast to Albanian, morphological incorporation applies between the modal verb and the particle Mood of the embedded verb. Evidence for the hypothesis that incorporation is involved is provided by the position of the negative element. The negative element that appears with subjunctive verbs is *mos* "not". In general *mos* precedes the subjunctive mood particle:

- (58) *Dua mos të hay.*
 (I) want-IND not-NEG (I) eat-SUBJ
 "I want not to eat"

With modal verbs the presence of the negative element *mos*, in Arbëresh, gives rise to ungrammaticality:

- (59) a. **Ket mos të haj.*
 (I) must not-NEG (I) eat-SUBJ
 "I can not eat"
 b. **Ket mos haj.*

The Arbëresh example in (59) is ungrammatical because Neg is higher in the structure than Mood, so a negative head intervenes violating the adjacency requirement between the two verbs. The negative head must be absent when incorporation takes place. The negative element, we can assume, blocks head government of the verb trace by the preposed verb.

The negative information in such constructions is specified on the matrix verb:

- (60) *Ng ket haj*¹⁵.
 Not-NEG must (I) eat-SUBJ
 "I cannot eat"

In Albanian, in any case, Neg does not intervene between the Mood marker and the matrix verb, because Mood precedes Neg in the structure.

- (61) *Mund të mos ha.* (A)
 Can Mood not-NEG (I) eat-SUBJ
 "Maybe I cannot eat"

No problem on the other hand arises with clitics:

- (62) a. *Ket e haj.*
 Must it-CL-ACC (I) eat-SUBJ
 "I must eat it"
 b. *Mund te (të+e) haj*
 Can Mood-it-CL-ACC (I) eat-SUBJ
 "I can eat it"

15 The negative element *ng* appears with indicative verbs.

The clitic *e* "it" is attached to INFL. Movement of the embedded verb to the matrix verb takes the clitic along. The clitic does not count as an intervening head, so, it does not block antecedent government of the verb trace by the preposed verb. Unlike clitics, the negation cannot incorporate to the verb.

In spite of that, Arbëresh modals qualify as main verbs that select CP subjunctive complements. As the other verbs that select subjunctive clauses, modals do not enter in a restructuring process with the matrix verb in the sense of Rizzi (1982). Clitics generated within the embedded clause do not move to the matrix INFL, as we have seen in (62).

As the negative element, so the embedded subject cannot intervene between the modal verb and the embedded verb.

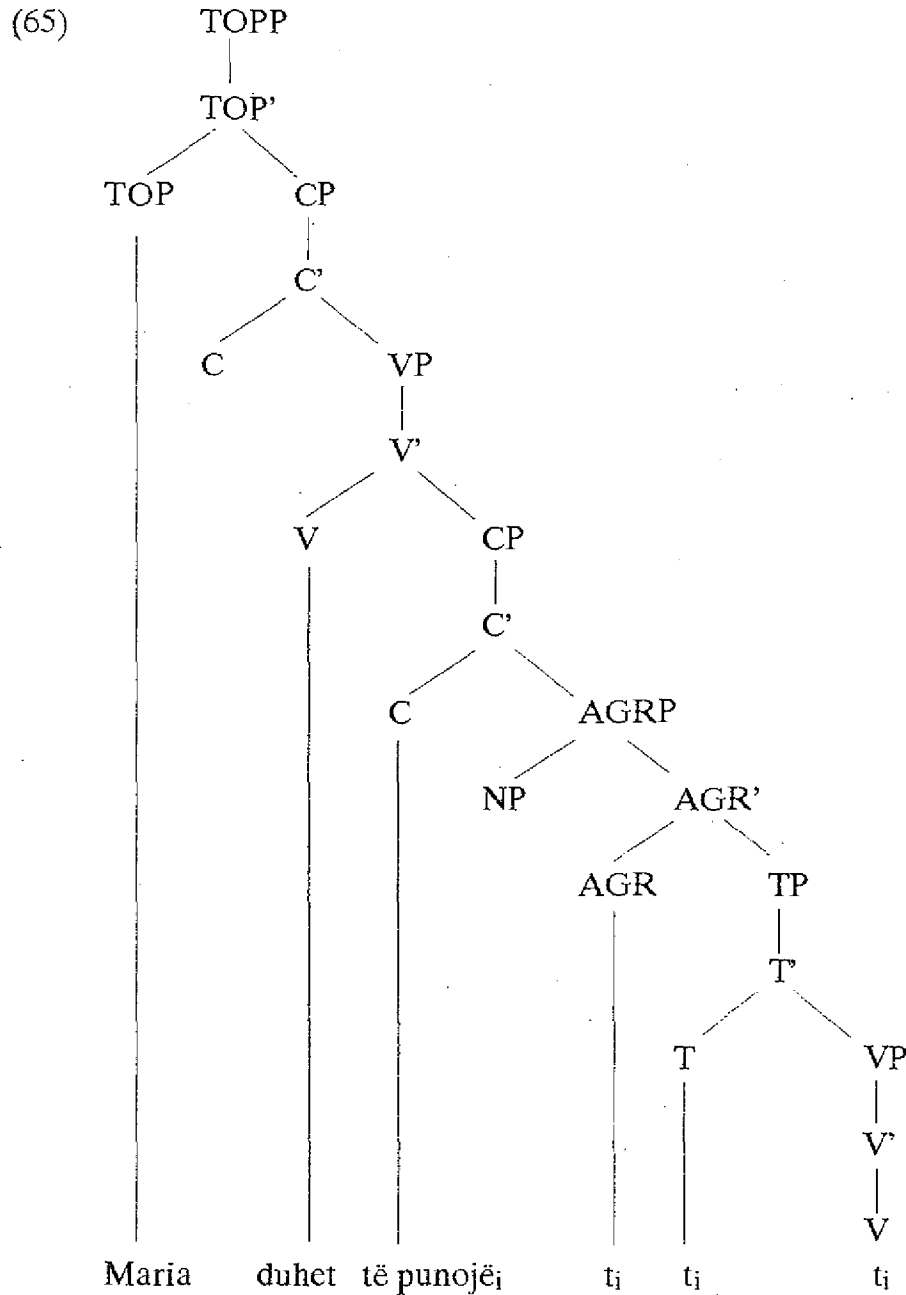
- (63) a. **Mund burri (të) venj.*
Can the man-NOM (he) leave-SUBJ
"The man can leave"
b. *Burri mund venj.*
c. *Mund venj burri.*

This cannot be accounted for in terms of the adjacency requirement between the two verbs, because Albanian does not exhibit incorporation of the Arbëresh type but the presence of the NP between the two verbs is also ungrammatical.

- (64) a. **Duhet Maria të punojë.* (A)
Must Mary-NOM (she) work-SUBJ
"Mary must work"
b. *Maria duhet të punojë.* (A)
c. *Duhet të punojë Maria.* (A)

I will account for this restriction adopting the conclusion reached above with respect to the structure of causative verbs. The complements to modal verbs do not allow a subject intervening between the two verbs because movement of I to C fails to license a lexical NP in SpecIP or SpecMP position. The subject can only be licensed in postverbal position (adjoined to VP) or can be dislocated in an A' position preceding the modal verb. We identify this position with the Topic position.

The structure (64b) is represented as in (65).



3.4. Volitional verbs versus control verbs

The class of Arbëresh volitional verbs includes just the two following verbs: *dua* "want" and *preferiri* "prefer". In contrast to Arbëresh, the same class of verbs in Albanian is wider. It includes verbs such *dua* "want", *dëshiroj* "wish", *uroj* "wish", *preferoj* "prefer", *parapëlqej* "prefer".

Arbëresh volitional verbs select a sentential complement whose subject may appear only sentence-finally:

- (66) a. *Dua të bienj ghibrin burri.*
 (I) want-IND (he) buy-SUBJ the book-ACC the man-NOM
 "I want the man to buy the book"
 b. **Dua burri të bienj ghibrin.*

In contrast to Arbëresh, besides the structures with subject in sentence-finally position (67a), Albanian complements to volitional verbs allow structures in which the embedded subject can precede the subjunctive verb, as we see in (67b):

- (67) a. *Ai do të hajë bukën burri.* (A)
 He wants-IND (he) eat-SUBJ the bread-CC the man-NOM
 "He wants the man to eat the bread"
 b. *Ai do që burri të hajë bukën.* (A)
 He wants-IND that-COMP the man-NOM eat-SUBJ the bread
 "He wants the man to eat the bread"

Tough the Infinitive has not been completely lost in Albanian, it is not allowed in complement structures to volitional verbs:

- (68) **Dua për të ngrënë diçka.* (A)
 (I) want-IND to eat-INF something-ACC
 "I want to eat something"

Only subjunctive complements are grammatical:

- (69) *Dua të ha diçka.* (A)
 (I) want-IND (I) eat-SUBJ something-ACC
 "I want to eat something"

In contrast to Rumanian *vrea* "want" (Rivero 1991), *dua* is not an ECM verb, either in Arbëresh (70a) or in Albanian (70b):

- (70) a. **Dua burrin të hanj moghën.*
 (I) want-IND the man-ACC (he) eat-SUBJ the apple-ACC
 "I want the man to eat the apple"
 b. **Dua gruan të blejë mishin.* (A)
 (I) want the woman-ACC (she) buy-SUBJ the meat-ACC
 "I want the woman to buy the meat"

But, like in other languages in the Balkan peninsula ((Rumanian (Rivero 1991; Dobrovie-Sorlie 1991) and Greek (Terzi 1991)) Arbëresh and Albanian complements of volitional verbs lack obviation effects. The coreference between embedded and matrix subject is allowed in such complements:

- (71) a. *Maria_i do pro_{ijj} të hajë.* (A)
 Mary-NOM wants-IND (he)/(she) eat-SUBJ
 "Mary wants to eat"

Since Arbëresh and Albanian are null subject languages, we assume that the null subject of the embedded clause is an empty pronominal. Condition B of the Binding Theory states that a pronoun must be free in a local domain. The local domain is the minimal clause containing the pronoun (Chomsky-Lasnik 1991). For volitional verbs I maintain the hypothesis that the subjunctive clause constitutes a separate binding domain for the pronominal in the subject position. The embedded pronoun is free in the subjunctive clause, so the binding conditions are not violated.

Thus the volitional verbs select a subjunctive complement in which the embedded subject may be disjoint in reference from the matrix subject. But, even when the embedded subject is coreferential with the matrix subject (or object), the subjunctive is obligatorily selected. All the "control" structures in Arbëresh involve subjunctive clauses and exclude indicative complements:

- (72) a. *Pruvari të ghojiri ghibrin.*
 (I) try-IND (I) read-SUBJ the book-ACC
 "I try to read the book"
 b. **Pruvari se ghojiri ghibrin.*
 (I) try-IND that-COMP (I) read-IND the book-ACC
 "I try to read the book"
- (73) a. *Maria obligarin Frankun të hanj.*
 Mary-NOM obliges-IND Frank-ACC (he) eat-SUBJ
 "Mary obliges Frank to eat"
 b. **Maria obligarin Frankun se han.*
 Mary-NOM obliges-IND Frank-ACC that-COMP (he) eats-IND
 "Mary obliges Frank to eat"

Following standard GB accounts, the subject position of the control structures is occupied by the empty element PRO. PRO must appear in ungoverned position, that is in the subject position of infinitival clauses. Since we are dealing with structures that have subjunctive verbs, the subject position of such clauses is governed by INFL. Therefore, it is impossible that the empty category in SpecIP

position is PRO. Control effects are then attested, in Arbëresh, in constructions in which the empty category is a pronominal. Hence we are led to assume that control effects are manifested in the presence of *pro*.

- (74) a. *Burri_i kridirin pro_i të vinj.*
 The man-NOM believes-IND (he) come-SUBJ
 "The man believes that he come"
- b. **Burri kridirin të viç.*
 The man-NOM believes-IND (you) come-SUBJ
 "The man believes that you come"
- c. **Ajo kridirin të vinj Maria.*
 She-NOM believes-IND (she) come-SUBJ Mary-NOM
 "She believes that Mary come"
- d. *Kam zon të ghojiri ghibrin.*
 (I) started-IND (I) read-SUBJ the book-ACC
 "I started to read the book"
- (75) a. *Graja kunvinçirin Frankun_i pro_i të hanj.*
 The woman-NOM convinces-IND Frank-ACC (he) eat-SUBJ
 "The woman convinces Frank to eat"
- b. **Graja kunvinçirin Frankun_i pro_j të hanj.*
 The woman-NOM convinces-IND Frank-ACC (he) eat-SUBJ
 "The woman convinces Frank to eat"

As is evident from the data in (74), the embedded subject must be coindexed with the matrix subject. In (75) the embedded subject must be obligatorily controlled by the matrix object. Disjoint reference gives rise to ungrammaticality. In all these examples, the embedded subject may not be assigned independent reference. But, control verbs, in Arbëresh, can select also indicative complements:

- (76) a. *Burri_i kridirin se pro_{ijj} partirin.*
 The man-NOM believes-IND that-COMP *pro* goes-IND
 "The man believes that he/she is leaving".
- b. *Burri_i kunvinçirin ato se pro_{ijj} partirin.*
 The man convinces-IND him-ACC that-COMP *pro* goes-IND
 "The man convinces him that he/she leaves".

In (76) the reference of *pro* is free: it may refer freely to the NP *burri* or to anything else. When an overt complementiser appears, the embedded subject behaves like a pronoun and has a free interpretation subject to principle B, of

course. Thus, free reference appears to be possible with indicative but not with subjunctive complements. *Pro* behaves as an anaphor in the subjunctive clause: the relation that it establishes with its controller is an anaphor-antecedent relation. In the other cases it behaves like a pronoun and has an interpretation not necessarily bound. When the control verb selects a subjunctive CP, *pro* must be bound by the nearest controller. When the control verb selects an indicative CP introduced by *se*, *pro* can be free.

Following Manzini (1983) and Borer (1989), we will assume that control is an anaphoric relation and control theory reduces to binding theory.

Following recent accounts that consider INFL to be split into different maximal projection (Pollock 1989; Belletti 1990), we will assume, with Borer (1989), that the AGR node in control structures is anaphoric, so that it needs to be bound by a referential AGR or by an argument of the matrix clause. In order to fix its reference, INFL must move to the C position. When INFL does not raise to C, because C is already occupied by the complementiser *se* "that" (as in (76)), binding of the anaphoric AGR from the matrix clause is blocked.

At this stage of our inquiry, maintaining that the AGR node is anaphoric in control structures seems to account for the data, but it is a mere stipulation. We need to make the assumption that the anaphoricity of the subjunctive AGR node is attested only in the presence of control verbs, since subjunctive AGR is non anaphoric in volitional verbs. Thus control effects are imposed by the lexical properties of control verbs. So, the subjunctive AGR must be coreferential with an AGR node or an argument in the matrix clause only when it has certain selected properties.

Now, consider Albanian control verbs such as: *mendoj* "think", *kërkoj* "try", *shpresoj* "hope", *detyroj* "oblige", *bind* "convince", *undhëroj* "order". As we can see in (77), the empty category in the embedded subject position is not obligatorily coindexed with the matrix subject:

- (77) a. *Agimi_i mendon pro_{ij} të niset.* (A)
 Agimi-NOM thinks-IND *pro* go-SUBJ
 "Agim thinks that he will go"
- b. *Agimi mendon të niset Vera.* (A)
 Agim-NOM thinks-IND (she) go-SUBJ Vera-NOM
 "Agim thinks that Vera will go"

Coreference between the embedded subject and the matrix subject is always possible, as we can see in (77a). But, there is no obligatory control. So, we assume that subjunctive AGR, in Albanian, is not (necessarily) anaphoric. When lexical properties of control verbs impose obligatory control, as happens in the case of object control verbs, control can be construed as an anaphoric relation between the embedded subject and an argument of the matrix clause imposed by

pragmatic competence; or alternatively as a selected property of AGR, reverting to the analysis of Arbëresh.

- (78) a. *Burri detyron gruan_i pro_i të hajë diçka.* (A)
The man obliges-IND the woman-ACC eat-SUBJ something
"The man obliges the woman to eat something"
b. **Burri detyron gruan_i pro_j të hajë diçka.* (A)

In any case, anaphors require antecedents which bind them in a local domain (Chomsky-Lasnik 1991). Thus, in order that the subject of a subjunctive clause may enter into an anaphoric relation with an argument of the matrix clause, the subjunctive INFL must raise to C. In fact, the complementizer *që* "that" is absent if there is coreference between the subject of the embedded clause and the subject or the object of the matrix clause:

- (79) a. *Unë mendoj të nisem.* (A)
I-NOM believe-IND (I) go-SUBJ
"I believe to go"
b. **Unë mendoj që të nisem.* (A)
I-NOM believe-IND that-COMP (I) go-SUBJ
"I believe to go"

In summary, we conclude that the anaphoric (or pronominal) status of subjunctive subjects derives from the lexical properties of the main verb.

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