

Dalina Kallulli; Linguistics Department; University of Trondheim;
7055-Dragvoll; Norway
e-mail: dalina.kallulli@avh.unit.no

Clitic Constructions with Imperatives in Albanian

In this paper, I look at clitic constructions with imperatives in Albanian, providing data which seem rather problematic to account for within current linguistic theory, especially with a view to Kayne (1993). The analysis that I offer for such constructions 1) as involving right-adjunction 2) as an instance of excorporation (see: Roberts 1991; Kayne 1991), explains the diversity of Albanian patterns hitherto unmentioned or unaccounted for. This analysis argues in favour of imperative verb raising to negation (Neg) (see: Laka 1990; Zanuttini 1994)*. The advantage of this analysis is that it attempts towards a unified account for Albanian and Romance imperative sentences.

Since Albanian imperatives are restricted to root-contexts, I assume (1) as the underlying structure of the Albanian imperative (Rivero 1994).

- (1) [NegP Neg [CIP Cl [T/AgrsP T/Agr [VP V]]]]

In (2) the (enclitic) order V+Cl+T/Agr indicates Imperative mood.

- (2) Çel-e-ni derën!¹⁾
open-it(AccCl)-you(pl) the door
'Open the door' i.e. You (pl) open the door

However, (non-negated) imperatives in Albanian may also display the order typical of indicatives, viz. Cl > V (proclisis), as illustrated in (3).

- (3) E çel-ni derën!
it(AccCl) open-you(pl) the door(Acc)
'You (plural) open the door'

Moreover, the (enclitic) order V+T/Agr+Cl is also existent with Albanian positive imperatives, as shown in (4), though less frequent than the orders given in (2) and (3).

- (4) Çel-ni-e!
open-you(pl)-it
'Open it!'

With negated imperatives, on the other hand, the order of morphemes is rigidly fixed, as displayed in (5).

- (5) a. Mos e çel-ni derën!
Neg it(AccCl) open-you(pl) the door(Acc)
'Don't open the door'
- b. *Mos çel-e-ni derën!
Neg open-it-you(pl) the door(Acc)
- c. *Mos çel-ni-e derën!
Neg open-you(pl)-it the door(Acc)

* For an alternative analysis of Albanian imperatives, see Rivero (1994).

¹⁾ Observe in passing that (2) might be interpreted as evidence for syntactic affixation -the verb is not generated 'fully clothed'; it picks up the inflection at some point. Counterexample to Chomsky (1992)???

Thus, the general picture with regard to the order of morphemes is given in the template in (6):

(6)	X^0	Y^0	Z^0	Q^0
a.	NEG	Cl	V	T/Agr
b.	V	Cl	T/Agr	
c.	V	T/Agr	Cl	

(6a) is the unmarked order of morphemes for the Albanian clause, irrespective of mood, in which the Neg slot is filled. Thus, (6a) instantiates the order of morphemes in the negated imperative clause (5a). (6b) represents the order of morphemes in (2), whereas (6c) represents that in (4). Note, that (6a) is also the representation for the order of morphemes in (3), a string which lacks overt negation.

V raises to T/Agrs to pick up (alternatively: check) its features. If the movement of the verb does not proceed further up, the order given in (2) obtains. It should be noted, though, that if the movement of the verb stops at T/Agr, the illocutionary force needed to realize the imperative (Rivero & Terzi 1994) must be provided by intonation or pragmatic context.

(6b) represents the order of morphemes in (2). I argue that after V-raising to T/Agr (for feature picking/checking), V excorporates and raises to Neg (Laka 1990; Zanuttini 1994), leaving the T/Agr morphology behind, accounting in this way for the morpheme ordering depicted in (2)¹. Thus, in structures like (2), V occupies the canonical position of negation. Precisely this is the reason why (5b) is out; V can not compete with (overt) negation for the (canonical) Neg slot. Yet, another situation may occur: the whole complex V+T/Agr may raise to Neg (left-adjunction), giving rise to the morpheme ordering depicted in (3).

The ungrammaticality of (5b,c) vs. the grammaticality of (2) and (4) shows that the clitic is not adjoined to T/Agr, as postulated by Kayne (1993). It rather heads its own projection or is adjoined to an empty functional head (distinct from T/Agr) (Terzi, 1994). I argue that in Albanian imperatives, the clitic right-adjoins to the (overt/covert) head heading the NegP, at some level before excorporation (the way it is described above) takes off.

Clearly, such an analysis favours a relaxed version of the Head Movement Constraint (HMC) (Travis, 1984). Therefore, I adopt Robert's (1992) proposal on the existence of two head-types, A-heads vs. A-bar heads.

1) In Albanian, the negation word used with imperatives is lexically different from the one used with indicatives; these two negation words are absolutely not interchangeable, in spite of their (largely) common syntactic distribution.