Similarities and differences between standard Albanian and Arbëresh numerals. A case of micro-parametric variation

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1. Introduction

In this paper, I will explore similarities and dialect differences in relation to the distribution of numerals between standard Albanian and the Arbëresh variety spoken at San Nicola dell’Alto, a village in Southern Italy. Albanian and Arbëresh numerals such as një ‘a/one’, dy ‘two’, tre ‘three’ are ambiguous between quantifiers and adjectives. Compare the two Albanian/Arbëresh structures in (1):

(1)  a. tre burra
     three men
    b. të tre burrat
       the three men-the

As we will see, the Albanian/Arbëresh numeral in (1a) has all the properties of a universal quantifier, whereas the pre-articulated numeral in (1b) resembles to a pre-articulated adjective. Despite this similarity, Arbëresh numeral constructions differ from Albanian corresponding structures.

This paper is organized as follows: In section 2, I give a description of numeral constructions in Arbëresh. In section 3, I present the corresponding Albanian data. Section 4 will deal with the position of numerals in floating quantifier constructions. Section 5 will focus on the distribution of numerals in pronominal structures. In section 6, I present an analysis for the various structures.
2. Arbëresh numerals

Arbëresh elements such as njo ‘one’, di ‘two’, tre ‘three’, katr ‘four’ display the same characteristics of universal quantifiers. Like quantifiers, Arbëresh numerals always precede the head noun:

\[(2)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{ shumë/pak burra} \\
& \text{many/few men} \\
\text{b. } & \text{*burra shumë/pak}
\end{align*}
\]

\[(3)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{ di/tre burra} \\
& \text{two/three men} \\
\text{b. } & \text{*burra di/tre}
\end{align*}
\]

Like quantifiers, Arbëresh numerals never agree with the head noun:

\[(4)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{ shumë/pak burra} \\
& \text{many/few men} \\
\text{b. } & \text{shumë/pak gra} \\
& \text{many/few women}
\end{align*}
\]

\[(5)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{ di/tre burra} \\
& \text{two/three men} \\
\text{b. } & \text{di/tre gra} \\
& \text{two/three women}
\end{align*}
\]

Like quantifiers, Arbëresh numerals can only be combined with a head noun with no article.

\[(6)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{ shumë/pak burra} \\
& \text{many/few men}
\end{align*}
\]
b *shumë/pak burrat
many/few men-the

(7) a. di/tre burra
two/three men
b. *di/tre burrat
two/three men-the

Finally, Arbëresh numerals can combine with a demonstrative, just like other quantifiers do:

(8) këto di/tre burra
these two/three men

(9) këto pak burra
these few men

Thus, in Arbëresh, the element illustrated in (1a) behaves exactly like a universal quantifier.

Let us consider now the numeral presented in (1b). It behaves differently. From a morphological point of view, it looks like an adjective. Both Arbëresh and Albanian have two distinct classes of adjectives: pre-articulated adjectives, i.e. adjectives which are always preceded by an article and adjectives which occur without article. Compare the two different adjectives in the following Arbëresh sentences:


(i) mal
    mountain

(ii) mali
    mountain-the
    *the mountain
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(10) a. një djalë i bukur
    a boy the nice
    a nice boy
b. një djalë shpertu
    a boy clever
    a clever boy

The prepositive article i which precedes the adjective in (10a) expresses the agreement of the adjective with the head noun in gender, number and case. In fact, the article surfaces as i when the adjective modifies a masculine nominative noun; it surfaces as e when the adjective modifies a feminine nominative noun, and it surfaces as të when the adjective modifies a plural noun or a neuter noun:

(11) a. burri I bukur
    man-the-MASC the-MASC nice
    the nice man
b. vajza e bukur
    girl-the-FEM the-FEM nice
    the nice girl
c. burrat të bukur
    men-the-PL the-PL nice
    the nice boys
d. vajzat të bukura
    girls-the-PL the-PL nice-FEM.PL
    the nice girls
e. ujët të mir
    water-the-NEUTER the-NEUTER good
    the good water

The prepositive article is an integral part of the adjective, whereby it must be obligatorily realized. Its deletion causes ungrammaticality:

(12) a. *burri bukur
    man-the nice
    a man nice
b. *një burrë bukur
    a man nice
Coming back to the numeral in (1b), it is preceded by the article të, an element which is typical of Albanian and Arbëresh adjectiv es. Besides that, the numeral in (1b) agrees with the head noun in number and gender, just like other adjectives do. Compare the adjectives and the numerals in (13):

(13)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{të tre burrat të bukur} \\
& \text{the-PL three-MASC.PL men-the the-PL nice-MASC.PL} \\
& \text{the three nice men} \\
\text{b. } & \text{të trea vajzat të bukura} \\
& \text{the-PL three-FEM.PL girls-the the-PL nice-FEM.PL} \\
& \text{the three nice girls}
\end{align*}
\]

However, there are crucial differences between numerals and other adjectives. In Arbëresh as well as in standard Albanian, adjectives are always in post-nominal position, whereas numerals can only appear in pre-nominal position:

(14)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{ghibret të ri jan sip banks} \\
& \text{books-the the new are on table-the} \\
& \text{the new books are on the table} \\
\text{b. *të ri ghibret jan sip banks}
\end{align*}
\]

(15)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{të tre ghibret jan sip banks} \\
& \text{the three books-the are on table-the} \\
& \text{the three books are on the table} \\
\text{b. *ghibret të tre jan sip banks}
\end{align*}
\]

From a syntactic point of view, the pre-articulated numeral in (1b) differs from the numeral in (1a) in that it requires the suffissed definite article on the noun:

(16)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{të tre ghibret jan sip banks} \\
& \text{the three books-the are on table-the} \\
& \text{the three books are on the table} \\
\text{b. *të tre ghibre jan sip banks} \\
& \text{the three books are on the table}
\end{align*}
\]

(16b) becomes grammatical if we introduce a demonstrative:
(17) ato të tre ghibre jan sip banks  
those the three books are on table-the

When the noun phrase is preceded by a demonstrative, the suffixed article on the noun is not allowed:

(18) *ato të tre ghibret jan sip banks  
those the three books-the are on table-the

In Arbëresh, thus, the article-less numeral is only possible with article-less nouns (cf. (7)) or with demonstratives (cf. (8)), whereas pre-articulated numerals are only possible with nouns containing a definite article (cf. (16)) or a demonstrative (cf. (17)). Given this distribution, we can conclude that two types of constructions can be distinguished in Arbëresh.

3. Albanian numerals

As in Arbëresh, numerals in standard Albanian are ambiguous between quantifiers and adjectives (cf. (1)). However, a direct comparison of standard Albanian and Arbëresh shows that there is a minimal syntactic variation between the two languages in question.

Like in Arbëresh, in standard Albanian numerals such as një ‘one’, dy ‘two’, tre ‘three’ precede the head noun, just like other quantifiers.

(19) a. dy/tre burra  
two/three men  
b. *burra dy/tre

(20) a. shumë/pak burra  
many/few men  
b. *burra shumë/pak
Moreover, Albanian numerals are similar to universal quantifiers in that they do not display morphological agreement with the noun phrase:

(21) a. dy/ katër/pesë burra  
    two/four/five men  

b. dy/katër/pesë gra  
    two/four/five women

Like in Arbëresh, in standard Albanian numerals can be combined with demonstratives:

(22) këta tre burra  
    these three men

Despite these similarities, in standard Albanian the behavior of numerals is minimally different from that of other quantifiers. In Albanian, in fact, quantifiers can only combine with indefinite nouns (23), whereas numerals can freely co-occur with definite nouns (24).

(23) a. shumë/pak burra  
    many/few men  

b. *shumë/pak burrat  
    many/few men-the

(24) a. dy/tre burra  
    two/three men  

b. dy/tre burrat  
    two/three men-the

---

2. The numeral *tre ‘three’ is an exception since it has a feminine form:

(i) tre burra  
    three men

(ii) tri gra  
    three women
Then, the distribution of numerals in Arbëresh and in standard Albanian differs in that Albanian allows the combination of a numeral with a definite noun, whereas in Arbëresh this is impossible (cf. (7b)).

Also the distribution of the pre-articulated numerals is minimally different. In Arbëresh, pre-articulated numerals can combine with nouns having the suffissed definite article (cf. (16)) or with article-less nouns preceded by a demonstrative (cf. (17)). In standard Albanian, on the contrary, pre-articulated numerals can only combine with nouns occurring with the definite article, whereby even if the structure contains a demonstrative, the suffissed article on the noun is obligatory:

(25) a. të tre burrat punojnë
    the three men-the work
b. *të tre burra punojnë
    the three men work

(26) a. ata të tre burrat punojnë
    those the three men-the work
b. *ata të tre burra punojnë
    those the three men work

Briefly, the contrast between (7b) and (24b) on the one hand and (18) and (26a) on the other hand shows that the distribution of numerals is not exactly the same in standard Albanian and in Arbëresh.

4. Numerals in Floating Quantifier constructions

A suggestive fact in the context of our discussion is that standard Albanian and Arbëresh numerals can be used in floating quantifier constructions. According to Sportiche (1988), floating quantifiers allow their complement to move out leaving them in place. Thus, in (27a) the floating quantifier ‘all’ is moved to the left along with the nominal phrase, whereas in (27b) the NP moves stranding the quantifiers in its basic position, inside the VP:

(27) a. all the three men the work
    a. *all the three men work

(27)  a. all the men have arrived.
    b. the men have all arrived.

Interestingly, both in Albanian and in Arbëresh, the only numeral which can float is the pre-articulated numeral, as evidenced by the Arbëresh examples in (28) and (29) and by the Albanian examples in (30) and (31).

(28)  a. të tre burrat kan dal
      the three men-the have gone out
    b. burrat kan dal të tre

(29)  a. tre burra kan dal
      three men have gone out
    b. *burra kan dal tre
    c. *burrat kan dal tre
      men-the have gone out

(30)  a. të tre burrat kanë dalë
      the three men-the have gone out
    b. burrat kanë dale të tre

(31)  a. tre burra kanë dalë
      three men have gone out
    b. *burra kanë dalë tre
    c. *burrat kanë dalë tre
      men-the have gone out three

As the ungrammatical examples in (29b-c) and (31b-c) show, NP-movement with quantifier stranding is not allowed with the quantifier *tre*.

It should be noted that floating quantifier constructions, in Albanian and in Arbëresh, are also possible with the universal quantifier gjithë ‘all’. Gjithë, in standard Albanian, is like numerals: it is at the same time a quantifier and an adjective. The quantifier gjithë is indeclinable, whereby it does not agree with its complement:

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3. The idea that quantifiers have an ambiguous status has been made by Giusti (1991, 1993, 1997) for Italian. According to Giusti, when quantifiers such as tutti ‘all’ and molti ‘many’ are not preceded by a
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(32) a. gjithë burrat shkojnë në punë
    all men-the go in work
    all the men go to work
b. gjithë grate shkojnë në punë
    all women-the go in work
    all the women go to work

The adjectival form, on the contrary, is a pre-articulated element which always agrees in gender and number with the head noun:

(33) a. i gjithë fshati ishte plot kodra
    the-MASC all village-the-MASC was full hills
    all the village was full of hills
b. e gjithë krahina ishte plot kodra
    the-FEM all country-the-FEM was full hills
    all the country was full of hills
c. të gjithë fshatrat ishin plot kodra
    the-PL all village-the-PL were full hills
    all the villages were full of hills
d. të gjitha krahinat ishin plot kodra
    the-PL all-FEM.PL country-the-PL were full hills
    all the countries were full of hills

The quantifier gjithë and the adjective të gjithë have the same distribution, whereby the quantifier in (32) can be replaced by the adjectival form të gjithë, and the adjectival forms in (33) can be replaced by the quantifier gjithë. Crucially, floating quantifier constructions are only possible in presence of the adjectival form të gjithë, whereas the occurrence of the quantifier gjithë is excluded:

(34) a. burrat punojnë të gjithë në Itali
    men-the work the all in Italy
b. *burrat punojnë gjithë në Itali

definite article (molti ragazzi ‘mani boys’), they are quantifiers realizing a Q° head. In contrast, when these elements are preceded by a definite article (i molti ragazzi ‘the many boys’) they are adjectives realizing a higher Spec position.
c. *burra punojnë gjithë në Itali
   men work all in Italy

So, in standard Albanian, there is a perfect symmetry between floating quantifier constructions containing the element \textit{gjithë} and structures with numerals.

Arbëresh, on the contrary, only preserved the invariant element \textit{gjith}. Arbëresh \textit{gjith}, like its Albanian counterpart, does not agree with the head noun:

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(35)] a. gjith burrat
   all men-the

\item[(36)] burrat kan rron gjith dje
   men-the have arrived all yesterday
\end{enumerate}

Unlike standard Albanian, Arbëresh allows the quantifier \textit{gjith} to appear in floating quantifier constructions:

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(37)] a. *ju tre
   you three

\item[(37)] b. ju të tre
   you the three
\end{enumerate}

As the example in (37b) shows, Albanian and Arbëresh only allow the combination between a pronoun and a pre-articulated numeral. The same facts can be observed if we combine a pronoun with the universal quantifier \textit{gjithë} ‘all’. In Albanian, only the
adjectival form të gjithë can be combined with personal pronouns. On the contrary, the occurrence of the quantifier gjithë is excluded:

(38) a. ju të gjithë
    you the all
b. *ju gjithë

In Arbëresh, on the contrary, the loss of the pre-articulated universal quantifier forces the combination between pronouns and article-less gjith:

(39) gjith ju
    all you

Coming back to pronouns, note that, both in Arbëresh and in standard Albanian, the pronoun must precede the numeral, as illustrated by the contrast in (40):

(40) a. ju të tre
    you the three
b. *të tre ju

Pronouns behave differently from other nominals that must follow numerals:

(41) a. të tre burrat
    the three men-the
b. *burrat të tre

The same behavior shows the Albanian element të gjithë: it precedes ordinary DPs

(42) a. të gjithë burrat
    the all men-the
b. *burrat të gjithë

Nevertheless, in combination with personal pronouns, të gjithë can both precede or follow the pronoun:
In Arbëresh, instead, *gjith* precedes both ordinary DPs (44) and pronouns (45):

(44) a. gjith burrat
    all men-the
    
    b. *burrat gjith

(45) a. gjith ju
    all you
    
    b. *ju gjith

In summary, the distribution of numerals, in Arbëresh and in standard Albanian differs in that: a) Albanian numerals can co-occur with definite nouns (cf. (24b)), whereas Arbëresh numerals only combine with indefinite nouns (cf. (7b)); b) Albanian pre-articulated numerals which co-occur with demonstratives can only combine with definite nouns (cf. (26a)), whereas Arbëresh numerals combined with demonstratives do not allow the definite article on the noun (cf. (18)).

Based on these facts, we are lead to two conclusions: a) the position of numerals in these two languages is different; b) cardinals, in Albanian and Arbëresh differ in their categorial nature: whereas the numeral presented in (1a) is a head like element, in (1b) it is a phrasal constituent. I will consider the article-less element in (1a) as a quantifier of the same type of *shumë* ‘many’, *pak* ‘few’, in all relevant sense. Therefore, I will assume it realizes a Q° position within the extended projection of the noun. The pre-articulated element in (1b), instead, will be considered as a modifier realizing a specifier position.

Before going into an analysis of the facts illustrated above, I will present the structure I will adopt for Albanian and Arbëresh DPs.
6. The syntax of Albanian and Arbëresh numeral constructions

6.1. The structure of Albanian and Arbëresh DPs
Both in Albanian and in Arbëresh, the definite article has the property of a clitic. It is in fact realized as a suffix on the noun:

(46) a. mal
    moutain
b. mali
    moutain-the

Since Abney (1987) it has been assumed that determiners like articles, determinatives and pronouns occupy a D position inside the DP projection, whereas the noun is generated inside an NP projection, which is a complement of the head D.

In addition to the positions of determiners and nouns, many languages show evidence that there are other functional projections within DP, hosting number/gender information and quantifiers (cf. Ritter 1991 on Hebrew, Valois 1991 on French, and Cinque 1995 on Italian).

I will assume that in Albanian and in Arbëresh the suffix realizing the definiteness is lexicalised in D°. The incorporation of the suffix to the head noun is a result of N-to-D movement, which takes place in the overt syntax⁴. Thus, the definite noun in (46b) has the derivation in (47):

(47)    D     N
        mal-i   mal

6.2. The syntax of numerals
Let us consider now numeral structures. The Arbëresh-Albanian nominal structure illustrated in (1a) can be schematically represented as (48), in which the quantifier *tre* occupies a Q° position, whereas the nominal *burra* occupies the base noun position:

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⁴. This analysis is different from the one in Turano (2002).
Given (48), the combination of a quantifier with a demonstrative is expected if we take the demonstrative to lexicalize a D position. (49) is the representation of Arbëresh (8) and Albanian (22):

(49)    D      Q      N
këta  tre  burra
these  three  men

Albanian and Arbëresh structures containing universal quantifiers (cf. (2) and (20)) can be represented in the same fashion:

(50)    D     Q      N
shumë/pak  burra
many/few  men

Consider now the example in (1b) containing the element të tre. It has a structure similar to that of other pre-articulated adjectives, which I will assume to consist of a determiner and a complex AP complement. Evidence for the assumption that adjectives have a DP projection comes from the examples in (11) and (12) showing that, both in Albanian and in Arbëresh, the article which precedes the adjective cannot be deleted. This fact indicates that the article belongs to the adjective. I will analyze that article as a D° element within the projection of the adjective phrase. In particular, I will consider D as the position where gender, number and case information features realize. According to this analysis, Albanian APs are full DPs, displaying a full extended projection incorporating a functional head D and a functional head I, where adjectival inflection is

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5. For a detailed discussion of Albanian pre-articulated adjectives see Turano (2002).

6. The assumption that the article is part of the extended projection of the AP has also been made by Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Giusti (1988).
realized. This yields the articulated structure in (51) for pre-articulated adjectives illustrated in (11):

(51) \[\text{DP AGG} \quad D \quad \text{IP} \quad I \quad \text{AP} \quad A\]
\[
\text{të} \quad \text{bukur-a} \quad \text{bukur} \\
\text{the} \quad \text{nice} \quad \text{nice}
\]

I will extend the structure (51) to pre-articulated numerals illustrated in (13):

(52) \[\text{DP AGG} \quad D \quad \text{IP} \quad I \quad \text{AP} \quad A\]
\[
\text{të} \quad \text{tre-a} \quad \text{tre} \\
\text{the} \quad \text{three} \quad \text{three}
\]

Although pre-articulated numerals are similar to pre-articulated adjectives, nevertheless the position they occupy inside the noun phrase is not the same. In Albanian and in Arbëresh, adjectives normally appear in post-nominal position. Compare the grammatical sentences in (53a) and (54a) with the ungrammatical ones in (53b) and (54b):

(53) a. djali i bukur
    boy-the the nice
    the nice boy

b. *i bukur djali

(54) a. një djalë i bukur
    a boy the nice
    a nice boy

b. *një i bukur djalë

Only when emphasized, adjectives appear in pre-nominal position. In this case the definite article realizing the definiteness, which usually is attached to the head noun, appears instead on the adjective, whereas the noun appears in its indefinite form:

(55) a. i bukuri djalë
    the nice-the boy
    the NICE boy
b. *i bukur djalë

With respect to the position of the adjective inside the noun phrase, I will follow Cinque’s (1995) proposal that adjectives occupy the specifier of a functional head dominating NP. Thus, the N-adjective order in (53a) is derived by N-movement to D in order to incorporate the definite article.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
D & Q & A_{GG} & N \\
djali & [i bukur] & djalë \\
\end{array}
\]

The word order in (54a) results from N-movement to an inflectional position where nominal inflection is realized:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
D & Q & I & A_{GG} & N \\
një & djalë & [i bukur] & djalë \\
\end{array}
\]

As for the emphasized adjective in (55), I will assume that it generates inside the AP projection and then it moves to a higher domain, in a Focus projection, in order to check a strong [focus] feature:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Foc} & D & Q & A_{GG} & N \\
[i bukur] & i & [i-bukur] & djalë \\
\end{array}
\]

In this case the definite article in D is attached to the adjective, whereby the overt movement of N to D is not required, hence blocked by Procrastinate (Chomsky 1995).

Coming back to numerals, the structure in (1b) contains a definite noun phrase, which in the present analysis is derived by moving the nominal from its base position to D. Given this evidence that N raises to D in overt syntax, the position of the pre-articulated numeral cannot be the specifier of QP. The only way to capture the fact that the numeral tê tre precedes the noun in D is to assume that there is another higher QP projection. The relevant structure of (1b) is given in (59):

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
Q & D & Q & N \\
tê tre & burra-t & burra \\
\text{the three} & \text{men-the} \\
\end{array}
\]
I exclude that the pre-articulated numeral raises to SpecDP. Note, in fact, that it is necessary to have a higher head position within the noun phrase, for the universal quantifier *gjithë ‘all’, which both in Arbëresh and standard Albanian only combines with definite nouns:

(60) a. *gjithë burra
    all men

b. *gjithë burrat
    all men-the

An extra position is then necessary for the element *gjithë:

\[
(61) \quad \text{Q} \quad \text{D} \quad \text{Q} \quad \text{N}
\]

\[
gjithë \quad \text{burra-t} \quad \text{burra}
\]

all men-the

Thus, whereas the article-less numeral in (1a) occupies a lower Q° position, the pre-articulated element in (1b) occupies a higher SpecQP position.

Let us consider now Arbëresh-Albanian differences illustrated in this paper. As we saw in (24b), Albanian allows the counterpart of Arbëresh (7b) with the article-less numeral followed by a definite noun. The relevant structures are repeated in (62). (62a) corresponds to the grammatical Albanian case, whereas (62b) represents the ungrammatical Arbëresh example:

(62) a. tre burrat
    three men-the

b. *tre burrata

The grammatical combination in (62a), found in standard Albanian, is indicative of the fact that numerals, in this language, can also lexicalize the higher Q position, therefore they can be combined with a definite noun in D. Thus, in addition to the structure in (48), standard Albanian has the alternative structure schematised below:

(63) \[
\quad \text{Q} \quad \text{D} \quad \text{Q} \quad \text{N}
\]

\[
tre \quad \text{burra-t} \quad \text{burra}
\]
In Arbëresh, on the contrary, article-less numerals can only lexicalize the lower Q position, therefore they can only be combined with indefinite nouns (cf. (48)).

Consider now the structures in (64). (64a) corresponds to the Arbëresh example in (17), whereas (64b) corresponds to the Albanian example in (26a). In the Arbëresh example, the pre-articulated numeral precedes an indefinite noun, whereas in the Albanian counterpart, it precedes a definite noun, despite the presence of a demonstrative:

(64) a. ato të tre ghibre jan sip banks
    those the three books are on table-the
b. ata të tre burrat punojnë
    those the three men-the work

The Arbëresh example in (64a) can be analyzed as having the demonstrative in D and the element të tre in the lowest SpecQP position:

(65) D Q N
    ato [të tre] ghibre

The Albanian example in (64b), containing a definite noun, must be analyzed in a different way: since the noun has moved to the D position, the numeral which precedes it must be in a higher Q position. But, also the demonstrative must be in a higher D position. So, examples like (64b) involve a DP structure containing more than one string of positions. I will assume that (64b) has the following structure:

(66) D Q D Q N
    ata [të tre] burra-t burra

Consider, now, Arbëresh and Albanian structures containing both a numeral and a personal pronoun. As we saw in (37), both in Arbëresh and in standard Albanian, personal pronouns can only be combined with pre-articulated numerals. (67) corresponds to (37):

(67) a. *ju tre
    you three
b. ju të tre
   you the three

Assuming that pronominal subjects lexicalize a D position (Abney 1987), examples like (67) are instances of lexicalisations of the pronoun in D°, whereas the numeral is realized in a lower SpecQP position:

(68)    D          Q          N
       ju          [të tre]      ju

(67b) is ungrammatical because an intervening head, the quantifier tre, has been skipped, which leads to a HMC violation (Travis 1984).

6.3. The syntax of the universal quantifier gjithë

Consider finally the universal quantifier gjithë ‘all’. Both the article-less gjithë and the pre-articulated të gjithë can be combined with definite nouns (cf. (32) and (33)). Since definite nouns raise to the D position of the noun phrase, the prenominal position of gjithë and të gjithë indicates that both these elements realize a higher Q position. (69) is the representation of the examples (32) and (33), containing the two elements in question:

(69)    Q          D          Q          N
       gjithë      burra-t    [i gjithë]  fshat -i  burra  fshat

Let us now consider the combination of this universal quantifiers with personal pronouns. As we already saw in (43), pronouns can only co-occur with the pre-articulated element të gjithë, which can both precede or follow the pronoun. I repeat the data in (70):

(70) a. të gjithë ju
    the all you
b. ju të gjithë
   you the all
   c. *gjithë ju
Since the pronominal subject lexicalises the D position, the word order in (70a) indicates that the pre-articulated të gjithë occupies a higher SpecQP position, whereas the word order in (70b) indicates that this pre-articulated element occupies a lower SpecQP position:

(71)  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{a. } & \text{Q} & \text{D} & \text{Q} & \text{N} \\
& \text{[të gjithë]} & \text{ju} & \text{ju} & \text{\#} \\
\text{b. } & \text{D} & \text{Q} & \text{N} \\
& \text{ju} & \text{[të gjithë]} & \text{\#} \\
\end{array}
\]

(70c) is ungrammatical because pronoun raising to D did not apply, whereas the ungrammaticality of (70d) is due to the condition on Head to Head Movement (Travis 1984): movement of the pronominal to the D position has skipped the intervening quantifier gjithë in Q°.

Unlike standard Albanian, Arbëresh allows the combination of pronouns with the quantifier gjith:

(72)  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{a. } & \text{gjith \ ju} \\
& \text{all you} \\
\text{b. *ju gjith} \\
\end{array}
\]

The examples (72a) seems to indicate that in Arbëresh the pronoun does not raise to D:

(73)  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{D} & \text{Q} & \text{N} \\
\text{gjith} & \text{ju} \\
\end{array}
\]

(72b) is excluded because violates the Head Movement Constraint.
7. Conclusions

In this paper, I explored similarities and differences in relation to the numeral system between standard Albanian and an Arbëresh variety. The micro-parametric variation between these two languages seems to be related to the position where numerals realize. In Arbëresh, article-less numerals occupy a Q° position, in between D° and N°. Therefore they can co-occur with indefinite nouns, realized in their base position and with demonstratives, realized in D°. In this respect, article-less numerals behave exactly like other quantifiers.

Arbëresh pre-articulated numerals realize two different positions: they can appear in a lower SpecQP position or in a higher SpecQP position. In the first case, they can co-occur with indefinite nouns, with demonstratives and with pronouns. In the second case, they combine with definite nouns.

In Albanian, on the contrary, article-less numerals can realize both a lower and a higher Q° position. When they occupy a lower Q° position, they can combine with indefinite nouns and with demonstratives, whereas, when they occupy a higher Q° position, they combine with definite nouns, realized in D°.

Albanian pre-articulated numerals, like their Arbëresh counterparts, can lexicalize two different positions. When they appear in a lower position, they can only combine with personal pronouns, whereas in a higher position, they can combine with definite nouns and with demonstratives.
References


