Dative Clitics in Albanian: Evidence for Syntactic Levels
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1. Two of the current controversial issues in syntactic theory are the place of grammatical relations and the question of whether multiple syntactic levels are necessary in the structural description of a clause. The behavior of the dative clitic in Albanian bears on both of these issues, providing evidence for a notion of indirect object that is not definable in terms of word order, case, or meaning, and that must be considered at at least two syntactic levels.[1]

There are at least five distinct interpretations of the dative clitic in Albanian.

1) Notional 3. (logical indirect object)
   a. Agimi ia dha Halitit librin.
      N ClCl give D book-the
      3sD3sAc 3sPDAct Ac
      'Agim gave the book to Halit'
   b. I flas Dritës.
      Cl talk D
      3sD 1sPrAct
      'I talk to Drita'
2) Notional 1 (logical subject)
   a. Ngjarja nuk i besohet drejtorit.
      story-the not Cl believe director-the
      N 3sD 3sPrNAct D
      'The director doesn't believe the story'
   b. Nuk më shkohet.
      Cl go
      1sD 3sPrNAct
      'I don't feel like going'
3) Possessor
   a. Qeni i pa macen Agimit.
      dog-the Cl see cat-the D
      N 3sD 3sPDAct Ac
      'The dog saw Agim's cat'
   b. Bilbili më këndon mua mirë.
      nightingale-the Cl sing me well
      N 1sD 3sPrAct D
      'My nightingale sings well'
4) Benefactive
   a. Agimi ju bleu një biletë.
      N Cl buy a ticket
      2pD 3sPDAct Ac
      'Agim bought you a ticket'

b. Drita i vishet Agimit si nuse.
N Cl dress D like bride
3sD 3sPrNAct
'Drita dresses herself up like a bride for Agim'

5) Narrative
a. Na ishte një fshatar dhe një ari.
Cl be a villager and bear
1pD 3sPI N N
'Once upon a time there was a villager and a bear'
b. Agimi më fluturoi në shtëpi dje.
N Cl fly to house yesterday
1sD 3sPDAct
'Mind you, Agim flew home yesterday'

These meaning differences are associated with other differences which suggest these constructions are structurally distinct.

Utilizing the relational grammar framework outlined in Perlmutter and Postal (1977), it will be argued that:

I. The dative clitics in (1) and (2) mark final 3's that are initial terms.
II. The dative clitics in (3) and (4) mark final 3's that are not initial terms.
III. The dative clitics in (5) do not mark 3's at any level.

The datives in (1) are called notional 3's or logical indirect objects. They differ from the other datives in two potentially significant ways. They generally cannot be paraphrased like possessive, benefactive, and notional 1 or "inversion" datives, and they have a variable semantic role.

The notional 1 datives in (2) are hypothesized in Hubbard (1980) to be initial 1's and final 3's, and are commonly called inversion 3's in relational grammar. While there is no clear syntactic evidence for the initial 1-hood of the datives,they have four characteristics that distinguish them from notional 3 datives. First, these inversion datives invariably occur in a clause with the verb in a non-active form, unlike notional 3 datives that can occur in active clauses as well. Second, the notional 2, if there is one, always occurs as the final 1. Third, inversion datives never occur in a clause with a final 2. Finally, there generally exist paraphrases for clauses with inversion datives where the notional 1 appears as the final 1, as in (6), which corresponds to (2a)

6) Drejtori nuk beson ngjarjen.
N 3sPrAct Ac
'The director doesn't believe the story'

The possessive dative, in contrast to the notional 3 and inversion datives, can appear with most verbs and so cannot be considered as lexically governed.[2] From a semantic perspective, possessive datives are not arguments of the clause, but rather arguments of possessive phrases, though they are clearly tied to the verb in the surface string. Like inversion datives, they

have paraphrases, as in (7), a paraphrase of (3a), where the possessive relation is marked with a possessive pronoun.

7) Qeni pa macen time.
N Ac my
Ac
'The dog saw my cat'

The benefactive, like the possessive dative, can occur freely with most verbs. Sentences with benefactive datives have paraphrases where the nominal occurs as the object of the preposition për 'for', as in (8), a paraphrase of (4a).

8) Agimi bleu një biletë për ju.
N for Ac
'Agim bought a ticket for you'

The narrative dative represents a problem simply in assigning it a semantic value. While it can, like the so-called ethical dative, sometimes have the implication that its referent is affected by the outcome of the action specified by the verb, this is by no means necessarily the case, as the sentences in (5) clearly show. It functions more often as a "storytelling" particle, in some sense bringing the referent, most often the speaker and/or hearer, into the story to produce an emotive effect. Whatever its semantic characterization, it clearly differs from the other datives in two ways. First, it can only occur as a clitic, not as a clitic copy of some other dative nominal in the sentence.

9) a. Na ishte (*neve) një fshatar dhe një ari.
Cl be us a villager and bear
1pD 3sPI D N N
'Once upon a time there was a villager and a bear'
b. Agimi më fluturoi (*mua) në shtëpi dje.
N Cl fly me to house yesterday
1sD 3sPDAct D
'Mind you, Agim flew home yesterday'

The sentences in (9) are ungrammatical when the non-clitic or free pronoun is included. The free pronoun can occur with any of the other dative clitics (e.g. (3b)).

Besides the fact that the narrative dative can only occur as a clitic, there is a special combination form më-të 'me-you', which only occurs with the narrative dative reading.[3]

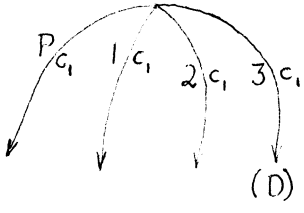
10) Më-të vrau Agimi një ushtar.
Cl Cl kill N a soldier
1sD2sD 3sPDAct Ac
'You see, Agim killed a soldier'

The number and variety of the differences discussed above sheds doubt on any analysis that attempts to account for all these uses by positing a single syntactic source.

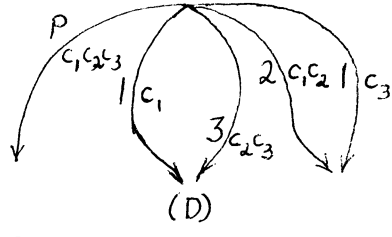
In the following section it will be shown how a relational grammar approach can account for these differences by positing independent sources for each of the datives mentioned above. It will then be argued that one cannot regard the dative clitic as exclusively a marker of the indirect object, and further that the notion "indirect object" cannot be limited to a single syntactic level, but must be considered at at least two.

2. Following the framework of Perlmutter and Postal (1977), the following RN's will be proposed for the dative constructions under discussion.

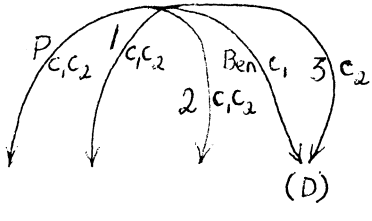
11) a. Notional 3



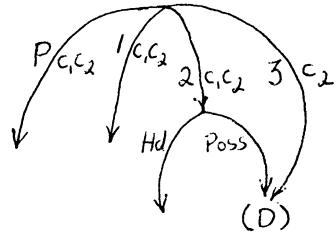
b. Inversion



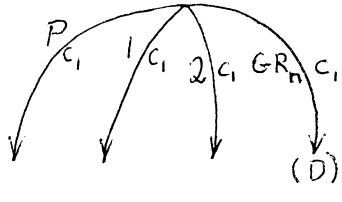
c. Benefactive



d. Possessive



e. Narrative



The networks in (11) are for initially transitive clauses, though all of these datives can occur in initially intransitive clauses as well. The (D) in each network indicates the nominal which is marked by the dative clitic in the surface form. GR_n in (11e) represents the oblique relation of the narrative dative.

The evidence in support of the RN's proposed above comes from sentences involving the floating of the quantifier të gjithë 'all' and conditions on the antecedents of pronominal reflexives. Specifically, it will be shown that të gjithë cannot float off of the narrative dative, although it can normally float off of final

terms, including 3's. The reflexive data will show that only the notional 3 and inversion datives behave like initial terms, and also that the benefactive and possessive datives behave like final 3's but not like initial 3's. This supports the hypothesis here that the RN's for these last two involve Benefactive→3 advancement (Bell, 1976; Harris, 1976) and Possessor ascension (Harris, 1976), respectively.

2.1. The quantifier të gjithë regularly occurs contiguous to the nominal it quantifies but can occur in a position not contiguous to that nominal as well.

12) a. Të gjithë burrat më panë.
all men-the Cl see
N N 1sD 3pPDAct
'All the men saw me'
b. Burrat më panë të gjithë.

Të gjithë changes its form relative to the gender and case of the nominal it quantifies and can float off of 2's and 3's as well as 1's. Rather than go into the full details of të gjithë float, however, we will limit ourselves to the facts involving 3's. Of particular interest here is the following claim.

13) Të gjithë 'all' can float off of final 3's. When it does, it appears as either të gjithëve (mD) or të gjithave (fD).

As the following examples show, të gjithë can float off of notional 3, inversion, possessive, and benefactive datives.

14) a. (Notional 3)
Burrave të katundit u fola të gjithëve.
men-the village-the Cl speak D
D G 3pD 1sPDAct
'I spoke to all the men of the village'
b. (Inversion)
U dhimsem unë të gjithëve.
Cl care for I
3pD 1sPrNAct N
'All of them care for me'
c. (Possessive)
Qeni u pa çupave macet të gjithave.
dog-the Cl see girls-the cats-the fD
N 3pD 3sPDAct D Ac
'The dog saw all the girls' cats'
d. (Benefactive)
Djemve u bleu bileta Agimi të gjithëve.
boys-the buy tickets N
D 3sPDAct Ac
'Agim bought tickets for all the boys'

Të gjithë cannot, however, float off of obliques, as shown in (15), a paraphrase of (14d).

15) *Për djem bleu bileta Agimi të gjithë.
for Ac Ac
'Agim bought tickets for all the boys'

Crucially, the narrative dative cannot float të gjithë.

16) *Na ishte një fshatar dhe një ari të gjithëve.
Cl be a villager and bear D
1pD 3sPI N N
'Once upon a time ('to all of us') there was a villager and a bear'

Të gjithë float thus provides evidence that the narrative dative is not a final 3.

2.2. The conditions on the antecedents of the forms of the pronominal reflexive vete 'self' are discussed in detail in Hubbard (1980). Based on evidence from active and passive sentences, the following generalizations are proposed there.

17) a. Final Term Reflexivization: a nominal A heading a final term arc with tail c may antecede a reflexive nominal B heading a final term arc with tail c if the R-sign of the arc headed by A outranks the R-sign of the arc headed by B on the hierarchy 1>3>2 at the initial level.
b. Final Non-term Reflexivization: a nominal A heading a term arc with tail c may antecede a reflexive nominal B heading a final non-term arc with tail c.

Let us briefly review the data which led to these generalizations.

In active sentences, a 1 may antecede a 2 or a 3 irrespective of the relative order of the two nominals.

18) a. Agimi pa veten në pasqyrë.
N see self in mirror
3sPDAct Ac
'Agim saw himself in the mirror'
b. Veten e pa Agimi në pasqyrë.
Ac Cl N
3sAc

19) a. Murati i flet vetes.
N Cl talk D
3sD 3sPrAct
'Murat talks to himself'
b. Vetes i flet Murati.
D N

Neither a 2 nor a 3 may antecede a 1 however.

20) a. *Agimin pa vetja në pasqyrë.
Ac N
b. *Vetja pa Agimin në pasqyrë.

21) a. *Muratit i flet vetja.
D N
b. *Vetja i flet Muratit.

As (22) shows, a 3 may antecede a 2.

22) Gazetari i a përshkroi veten Agimit.
journalist-the Cl Cl describe Ac D
N 3sD3sAc 3sPDAct
'The journalist described himself$_i$ to Agim$_i$'
('The journalist$_j$ described himself$_j$ to Agim')

A 2 may not antecede a 3, however, irrespective of word order.

23) Gazetari ia përshkroi Agimin vetes/vetes Agimin.
Ac D
*'The journalist described Agim$_i$ to himself$_i$'
('The journalist$_j$ described Agim to himself$_j$')

Finally, obliques may not antecede terms, e.g. (24), where an oblique antecedes a 3.

24) Agimi i foli vetes mbi Dritën.
N Cl talk D about Ac
3sD 3sPDAct
*'Agim talked to herself$_i$ about Drita$_i$'
('Agim$_j$ talked to himself$_j$ about Drita')

In passive sentences, a 3 may antecede the passive 1; however, the passive chomeur (logical subject) cannot, even though it is an initial 1, as (25) shows.

25) Vetja i u-pershkrua Agimit prej gazetarit.
N Cl 3sPDNAct D by
3sD
'Himself$_i$ was described to Agim$_i$ by the journalist'
*'Himself$_j$ was described to Agim by the journalist$_j$'

The generalization in (17a) can account for all of the above data.

The generalization in (17b) is based primarily on data from passives. It should be noted first, however, that final terms can antecede oblique reflexives, as in (26).

26) Agimi i foli Dritës mbi veten.
N D about
'Agim talked to Drita about himself'
'Agim talked to Drita about herself'

In passives clauses, final terms can antecede the passive chomeur, as in (27).

27) Unë **u-mësova** prej vetes.
I teach by
N 1sPDNAct
'I was taught by myself'

Interestingly, however, the passive chomeur can itself antecede an oblique reflexive, as in (28).

28) Afër drejtorit u-vu prej Agimit libri mbi veten.
near director-the place by book-the
3sPDNAct N
'The book about himself$_i$ was placed by Agim$_i$ near the director'
*'The book about himself$_j$ was placed by Agim near the director$_j$'

(28) also shows that an oblique cannot antecede another oblique. The generalization in (17b) captures the fact that the passive chomeur, alone among final non-terms, can antecede an oblique.

Returning now to the dative constructions, given the generalization in (17a), it can be seen that the dative in inversion clauses is indeed a final 3 and an initial term (presumably a 1, though the data is also consistent with initial 3-hood) from the fact that it can antecede a final 1 reflexive. This is also evidence for the initial 2-hood of the inversion 1, since an initial and final 1 cannot be reflexive.

29) Vetja i dhimset Agimit.
N Cl care for D
3sD 3sPrNAct
'Himself cares for Agim'

We have seen, then, that both notional 3 and inversion datives behave like initial terms and final 3's. Based on (17a), if any of the other datives under discussion----benefactives, possessives, and narratives----were initial and final 3's, we would expect them to be able to antecede a reflexive that is an initial and final 2. As the sentences in (30)-(32) show, none of these datives can do so.

30) a. Rruajta Agimin për veten.
shave Ac for
1sPDAct
'I shaved Agim for himself'
('I shaved Agim for myself')
b. I rruajta Agimit veten.
D D Ac
*'I shaved Agim for himself'
('I shaved Agim for myself')

31) Bija më pa veten.
daughter-the Cl see Ac
N 1sD 3sPDAct
*'My daughter saw myself'
('My daughter saw herself')

32) Agimi më goditi veten.
N Cl strike Ac
1sD 3sPDAct
*'Would you believe, Agim struck myself'
('Would you believe, Agim struck himself')

The sentence in (30a) shows that it is semantically acceptable in Albanian to speak of shaving Agim for himself in a context where Agim would normally be expected to do the act, but for some reason can't (e.g. he just broke his arm). The reading of (30b) where the reflexive refers to Agim, however, is clearly unacceptable, irrespective of context. The readings of (31) and (32) where the possessive and narrative datives antecede the final 2 reflexive are likewise semantically plausible but syntactically unacceptable. These results are expected if, as the RN's in (11) predict, the datives in these sentences are not initial 3's.

The data involving të gjithë float was used to argue that the possessive and benefactive datives are final 3's, while the narrative is not. There is evidence based on reflexive data that this is indeed the case. If the possessive and benefactive datives were final 3's, we would expect them to be able to antecede final non-terms. As (33) shows, they can.

33) a. I bleva prezidentit një libër mbi veten.
Cl buy D book about
3sD 1sPDAct
'I bought the president a book about himself/myself'
b. M' a vuri bijën pranë vetes.
Cl Cl place daughter-the beside
1sD3sAc 3sPDAct Ac
'He placed my daughter beside myself/himself'

In (33), the benefactive and possessive datives may both be interpreted as the antecedents of non-term reflexives. In the non-dative versions of these sentences, the benefactive and possessive nominals cannot antecede the reflexive.

34) a. Bleva për prezidentin një libër mbi veten.
'I bought for the president a book about myself/
*himself'
b. E vuri bijën time pranë vetes.
my
'He placed my daughter beside himself/*myself'

Similarly, if the narrative dative were not a final 3, we would expect it not to be able to antecede final non-terms. As (35) shows, it can't.

35) Na vuri qenin e Agimit pranë vetes.
Cl dog-the G
lpD Ac
'Mind you, he put Agim's dog beside himself/*ourselves'

To summarize, based on the arguments presented above, it can be concluded that the notion of indirect object, or 3, cannot be defined: a) in terms of meaning, because sentences with possessive, benefactive, and inversion datives have paraphrases where the nominal is not marked by a dative clitic; b) in terms of case, because the narrative dative is also a dative clitic; c) in terms of word order, because the narrative dative, as a dative clitic, occurs in the same position as the others. This suggests that it may best be considered as a primitive syntactic notion, thus supporting a basic assumption of relational grammar. In addition, it has been shown that a complex set of conditions on antecedents of pronominal reflexives can be accounted for by only two generalizations (those in (17)) if the notion of 3 is considered at at least two syntactic levels.

NOTES

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The following abbreviations are used in the examples:

Ab-ablative	G-genitive	Pr-present
Ac-accusative	N-nominative	p-plural
Act-active	NAct-non-active	s-singular
Cl-clitic	m-masculine	1-first person
D-dative	PD-past definite	2-second person
f-feminine	PI-past indefinite	3-third person

The examples are written in standard Albanian orthography. The letters have essentially their IPA value, with the following exceptions: ë[ə], ç[tʃ], c[ts], dh[ð], th[θ], and sh[ʃ].

[1]Familiarity with the following terms and abbreviations is assumed in the text. P-Predicate; 1-Subject; 2-Direct Object; 3-Indirect Object; term-a 1, 2, or 3; RN-relational network (the structural description of a clause); arc-the basic unit of an RN, consisting of the R-sign (relational sign, e.g. P, 1, 2, etc.), the coordinate (indicating the syntactic level, e.g. c1 is the initial level), a head (the element bearing the grammatical relation), and a tail (indicating constituency); Hd-Head (the possessed nominal in a possessive phrase); Poss-Possessor. For a more detailed explanation see Perlmutter and Postal (1977).

[2]Normally, only one dative clitic is allowed in a clause, so a benefactive dative could not occur in a clause together with a notional 3 dative, possessive dative, etc. (But see Note 3).

[3]Albanian allows two dative clitics to occur together when the outside clitic has a narrative interpretation. Unfortunately, a discussion of them is beyond the scope of this paper. See Hubbard (1980)for more details.

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