

'Comparative Syntax of Balkan Languages', edited by María Luisa Rivero and Angela Ralli. Oxford University Press, 2001.

The eight papers comprising this volume bring together considerable body of research concerning the syntax of languages traditionally argued to comprise the Balkan Sprachbund (Bulgarian, Greek, Rumanian, and Albanian). With this volume, the field of comparative Balkan linguistics is reexamined from the perspective of generative grammar (GB) including its recent developments known as the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995 and later).

Brian D. Joseph's paper 'Is Balkan Comparative Syntax Possible?' discusses the dichotomy 'language of the Balkans' (a geographic designation that takes into account any language on the Balkan peninsula) and 'Balkan language' (a subset of languages distinguished by common features and displaying parallels traditionally attributed to language contact). This dichotomy (which draws on Schaller 1975) allows Joseph to distinguish between 'comparative syntax of Balkan languages' which refers to general typology and can include any language on the Balkans, and 'comparative Balkan syntax' which utilizes the concept of 'Balkan language', initially developed by the proponents of the Sprachbund theory. Joseph further illustrates this difference on the basis of Balkan negation. The author discusses *m*-negators in Greek and Albanian (Modern Greek *mi(n)* and Albanian *mos*) and argues that they are contact-induced and thus should be treated as a 'syntactic Balkanism' in the traditional sense, while negative fusion (the fusion of the negative marker with the auxiliary, as in the Greek *dhen* (similar to *n't* in English *won't*) is an epiphenomenon, best described in his view from the perspective of 'comparative syntax of the Balkan languages'.

The next three articles in the volume are dedicated to Balkan subjunctives (or, 'conjunctives' as labeled in traditional grammars of Bulgarian and Rumanian). Subjunctives have historically replaced infinitive structures in all Balkan languages. They often display an empty (null) subject in the complement clause that in some cases (obligatorily) co-refers with the overt subject of the matrix clause as in *Prospáto na fiyo* (Greek) ('I am trying to leave'). While all authors agree that the so-called subjunctive particle (*na* in Modern Greek, *sã* in Romanian, *të* in Albanian, and *da* in Bulgarian) is the realization of a mood head (cf. also Rivero 1994), they differ in their proposals about the nature of the head and about the

realization of co-reference or control. Furthermore, it is shown that Balkan subjunctives display some puzzling properties that need to be accounted for since they pose a challenge to the traditional GB theory of control, subject raising and obviation. **Dobrovie-Sorin** notes that verbs in Balkan subjunctive complements are inflected for number, person, and tense and suggests that null subjects in subjunctive complements cannot be possibly identified as PRO but are rather comparable to reflexive pronouns bound by an antecedent. In her view, the selectional properties of the main verb will determine whether the empty element is a contextual or an intrinsic anaphor. This hypothesis is formally supported by the claim that subjunctive particles incorporate to the verbal cluster and form a complex X constituent with the other elements in the verbal cluster, providing a ‘transparent’ structure for co-reference. **Anna Roussou** develops a different line of analysis. Following Manzini and Roussou 1998, she approaches the peculiarities of Balkan subjunctives from a theory which views finiteness as a property of the complementizer system (cf also Rizzi 1997) and thematic roles as features. According to her, in control and raising structures, the overt NP is base generated (i.e., directly merged) in the matrix clause (hence no movement from the embedded clause is postulated) and from there it attracts the thematic role of the verb in the embedded clause. The lower clause is a reduced clause, which lacks a subject position. In control structures, this results in the matrix NP carrying two thematic roles : one from the matrix verb and one from the lower clause. Control then reduces to the association of one DP argument with two thematic positions, while raising involves the association of one DP with a single thematic position. **Iliyana Krapova** compares subjunctives in Bulgarian and Greek and concludes that the difference between PRO and *pro* categories as defined in the GB model should be maintained. Following Varlokosta and Hornstein 1993, Krapova claims that in both languages modal verbs license PRO elements (Type I), while volitionals require *pro* (Type II) (*Ivan može da PRO spečeli pari* (Bulgarian) ‘Ivan can earn money’ vs *Ivan iska da pro spečeli pari* (Bulgarian) ‘Ivan wants to earn money’). A potential problem to this analysis, as noted by Krapova, is the fact that overt subjects in subjunctive complement clauses which are structurally occupying the same position as *pro* are never found immediately after the modal particle *da/na*, as expected by her proposal for Type II subjunctives containing *pro*. Krapova refers to a possibility that modal particles head a projection which is optionally strong or weak, that is, in some cases it can attract subjects overtly.

In her paper on clitic doubling in Albanian and Greek, **Dalina Kalluli** argues that both definite and indefinite noun phrases can be doubled by a clitic, while bare NPs are never doubled. In her investigation of Albanian, Kalluli further shows that clitic doubling has in this language the effect of object scrambling and marks the object as [-focus]. The cross-linguistic observations in Kalluli's paper, including scrambling data from German, bring substantial evidence for the claim that scrambling and doubling of nouns could be linguistically related through the notion of focus.

The next contribution examines the structure of nouns modified by adjectives in Greek and Albanian. In her paper, **Antonia Antrotsopoulou** adopts the DP hypothesis (Abney 1987) according to which the nominal phrase is headed by a determiner, taking a NP as a complement. The basic difference between the two languages, reflected in the linear order (*to vivlio to kalo* (Greek) lit. the book the good ('the good boy') vs *djal-in e mirë* (Albanian), lit boy-the the good ('the good boy'), resides according to the author in raising operations within the modified DP where adjectives are relativizing heads introducing reduced relative clauses. Raising a noun phrase involves head movement in Albanian, and phrasal or X^{\max} movement in Greek. Moreover, in Greek, the raising of the NP is first to a medial D while the formation of the DP with an adjective in Albanian involves only one step.

The article by **María Luisa Rivero**, which concludes the volume, deals with language typology from a synchronic and a diachronic perspective. Rivero examines aspects of the syntax of verbs in Bulgarian and Greek. While the two languages are argued to have a similar clause structure, Bulgarian displays the verb before the auxiliary, as in *Čel sŭm* 'I have read' and not **Sŭm čel*, while Greek exhibits the auxiliary preceding the verb, as in *Exo đjavasi* 'I have read' and not **đjavasi exo*. Rivero proposes that fronting of the verb past the auxiliary (or pronoun) is accounted for by stylistic rules (in the sense of Chomsky and Lasnik 1977). In minimalist terms (Chomsky 1995), the difference between syntactic and stylistic rules/movements is captured by the Last Resort Principle— syntactic rules apply to check formal features and are part of core grammar, while stylistic rules operate in the PF branch to satisfy an output condition, not to check features. As Rivero shows, operations can change their status diachronically. So, imperative movement applied in earlier stages of Greek to satisfy interface conditions and resembled the verb movement rules of the stylistic type

found in present Bulgarian. The present state of affairs in Greek turns imperative movement into a core process that checks a formal V feature and obeys Last Resort.

To conclude, this volume is a first attempt to achieve a systematic comparative description of the syntax of Balkan languages from a generative perspective. It raises important theoretical questions, which not only enrich Balkan comparative linguistics in general but also provide an important contribution to the field of generative linguistics.

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