


The Location of Nonactive Voice in Albanian and Modern Greek

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Some recent analyses of the Passive place this Voice morpheme under Infl (Baker (1988, chap. 6), Baker, Johnson, and Roberts (1989)). Based on Modern Greek (MG) and Albanian (A), I argue instead that Voice heads its own maximal projection, in line with current proposals for other inflectional phrases such as Tense and Agr (Pollock (1989), Chomsky (1988)). In addition, Voice must be structurally adjacent to the VP/V that has argument structure, not necessarily next to Agr and/or Tense, and this condition must be met by S-Structure. It seems reasonable that such a locality requirement derives from the fact that Voice affects argument structure; that is, if V assigns Case and/or θ-role to Voice, as suggested in the recent literature, such an assignment applies under adjacency and sisterhood, an area I do not explore.

Modern Greek and Albanian have parallel syntactic structures for their tenses. In this respect, consider the Future Perfect and Future Pluperfect in (1)-(2). Both languages use invariable modal particles similar to English will: A do tê, MG

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tha, glossed Fut(ure). Such particles must precede the clitics (MG tous to, A u a), which in Perfect tenses appear before the finite Aux, followed by the nonfinite V. Unlike English, whose [± Past] feature appears on the Modal, Modern Greek and Albanian attach Tense/Agr to have, as can be seen by comparing (1)–(2) and their English translations (and see Rivero (1988) for analysis). Therefore, the syntax of Albanian and Modern Greek tenses is similar.

(1) a. A: Gjiôni do tê u a kêtë dhêne. John-the Fut them it have-Pres-3S given ‘John will have given it to them.’

   b. MG: O Giannis tha tous to eXei dôsei. the John Fut them it have-Pres-3S given (same)

(2) a. A: Gjiôni do tê u a kish dhêne. John-the Fut them it have-Past-3S given ‘John would have given it to them.’

   b. MG: O Giannis tha tous to eXei dôsei. the John Fut them it have-Past-3S given (same)

Also, Modern Greek and Albanian share a nonactive (NAct) Voice for Passive, Middle, Reciprocal, and Reflexive constructions, as in (3), with the readings ‘The men are washed’, ‘The men wash themselves’, or ‘The men wash each other’.

(3) a. A: Burrat lahen. men-the wash-NAct-Pres-3Pl

   b. MG: Oi ánthropoi pléontai. the men wash-NAct-Pres-3Pl

   In (3) Voice is an Affix. As we shall see, Albanian has two other means to express NAct, depending on tense and mood. I argue that adjacency between Voice and main V is maintained in either case.

   My account is based on views on the relationship of (inflexional) morphology and syntax such as those most recently proposed in Baker (1988).

1. **Voice in Modern Greek**

I first examine Modern Greek, showing NAct exclusively through affixation to the V that has argument structure, as in (3b). I return to the more complex situation in Albanian in section 2.

   In a simple tense such as the Aorist/Definite Past in (4a), th signals the Passive; in the compound tense in (4b), th appears on the main V with the same role, and the Aux éXoun ‘(they) have’ fails to reflect Voice.

(4) a. Ta paidiá plúthikan apó ton Giànni. the children were-washed by the John
b. Ta paidiá éXoun pluthé apó ton Giánni.
the children have been-washed by the John

I propose a unified treatment for the pattern in (4a–b), as follows. First, Voice is always an Affix heading a phrase immediately above the VP whose V has argument structure. Second, Aspect is morphologically expressed in Modern Greek, so I assume that all tenses have an Aspect layer, as already proposed by Koutsoudas (1962). In simple tenses Aspect is an Affix, as in the Future Perfective tha agapiso 'I will love', with the -s- adjacent to the V-stem as Perfective morpheme, versus the Future Imperfective tha agapó 'I will be loving', with a θ-affix. In Perfect tenses Aspect is the Stem еX- 'have', rather than an Affix. In my analysis, the Aspectual Aux of a compound tense occupies the same syntactic position as the Perfective/Imperfective Affixes of the simple tenses. Under such assumptions, the structures of (4a–b) are as shown in (5a–b), respectively, with the Voice Phrase headed by an Affix adjacent to VP, and the Aspect Phrase, as Stem or Affix, immediately above it. If V-Raising applies, the V with argument structure in (4a) (= (5a)) will move to amalgamate with Voice and then, successively, with Aspect, Tense, and Agr; the procedure provides the appropriate morpheme order, as Voice and Aspect are internal, and Agr external, within the word. In (4b) (= (5b)) the same principle ensures that Aspect as stem raises to Tense and Agr, while the main V surfaces with the Passive affix, within a two-word sequence. If the proposed analysis is correct, the Voice Phrase is characterized by its adjacency to V, not by a local relation with other inflectional categories. The structural relation of Voice and V is similar to the one in Baker, Johnson, and Roberts (1989) for θ-role/Case assignment in the English passive.

(5) a. *Modern Greek simple NAct tense*

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The diagram represents the structure of a Modern Greek simple NAct tense, showing the hierarchy of morphemes and the syntactic positions of Voice and Tense. The structure includes layers for VoiceP, AspectP, TenseP, AgrP, and the VP, with specific morphemes such as [+Perfective] and [+Past].
b. *Modern Greek compound NAct tense*

Table 1 presents a list of Modern Greek tenses.¹ Those with the auxiliary 'have' (that is, tenses 8–11 in the table) fall under analysis (5b). The remaining forms fall under (5a). In addition, Futures and Subjunctives display an extra layer of structure above AgrP labeled I, as shown in (10) for the Albanian future, parallel in the relevant respect. In Modern Greek I⁰ is filled by the modal particle *tha* in the futures (4A–7A and 10A–11A) and by *na* in the subjunctives (B tenses).

2. **Voice in Albanian**

I first show how Albanian complies with the locality requirement on Voice and then propose an explanation for the different morphosyntactic manifestations of this category.

2.1. **Three Ways to Express Voice**

The treatment for Modern Greek (5a) extends to the Albanian simple tenses where Voice is expressed through affixation as well. These are the Present Indicative, as in (3a), the Imperfect

¹ Table 1 lists more tenses than traditional grammars (Triandafillidis (1949)) or recent surveys (Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987)) and is consonant with inventories in Albanian grammars such as Newmark, Hubbard, and Prifti (1982), the source for the terminology in tables 1 and 2. For instance, the Modern Greek tradition omits Future Anterior and Pluperfect from the Indicative inventory; from a morphosyntactic perspective, such constructions show Indicative properties, including agreement with Indicative complementizers in the sense of Rivero (1987). Glosses are approximate.
Table 1
Modern Greek nonactive conjugation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Mood</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Indicative</td>
<td>B. Subjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Present</td>
<td>plénomai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I am washed'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Imperfect</td>
<td>plenómoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I was being washed'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Aorist</td>
<td>plúthika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I was washed'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Future Perfective</td>
<td>tha pluthó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I will be washed'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Future Imperfective</td>
<td>tha plénomai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I will continue to be washed'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Future Anterior Perfective</td>
<td>tha plúthika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I would be washed' (completed)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Future Anterior Imperfective</td>
<td>tha plénomoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I would continue to be washed'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Present Perfect</td>
<td>éXo pluthéi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I have been washed'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Past Perfect</td>
<td>efXa pluthéi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I had been washed'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Future Perfect</td>
<td>tha éXo pluthéi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I will have been washed'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Future Pluperfect</td>
<td>tha efXa pluthéi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I would have been washed'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indicative, and corresponding Futures and Subjunctives, for a total of six of the traditional tenses in Table 2 based on the description in Newmark, Hubbard, and Prifti (1982): that is, tenses 1A–B, 2A–B, 4A, and 5. In this respect, consider the NAct Imperfect in (6a)–(7a) and its corresponding Future, formed by adding a layer with the particles do té, as in (6b)–(7b); as mentioned above, I assume that modal markers head I, parallel to English modals (and see Pollock (1989) for recent discussion, and Rivero (1988) for Balkan particles). In addition to Future/Subjunctive particles, Albanian I⁰ may contain the invariable progressive po with Present and Imperfect Indicatives: po lahen ‘they are being washed’. A difference between Modern Greek (5a) and Albanian (7) is the presence/absence of
Table 2
Albanian nonactive conjugation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>A. Indicative</th>
<th>B. Subjunctive</th>
<th>C. Admirative</th>
<th>D. Optative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Present</td>
<td>lahem</td>
<td>të lahem</td>
<td>u lakam</td>
<td>u lafsha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I am washed'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'So I am washed!'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Imperfect</td>
<td>lahesha</td>
<td>të lahesha</td>
<td>u lakesha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I was being washed'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Aorist</td>
<td>u lava</td>
<td></td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I was washed'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Future</td>
<td>do (të) lahem</td>
<td></td>
<td>do të u lakam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I will be washed'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Future</td>
<td>do (të) lahesha</td>
<td></td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anterior</td>
<td>'I would be washed'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Present</td>
<td>jam larë</td>
<td>të jem larë</td>
<td>qenkm larë</td>
<td>qofsha larë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>'I have been washed'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Past</td>
<td>isha larë</td>
<td>të isha larë</td>
<td>qenkësha larë</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>'I had been washed'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Future</td>
<td>do (të) jem larë</td>
<td></td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>'I will have been washed'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Future</td>
<td>do (të) isha larë</td>
<td></td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pluperfect</td>
<td>'I would have been washed'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aspect, and this plays an important role in the account for the various expressions of Voice in Albanian in section 2.2.

(6) a. La-he-sh-a.
    wash-NAct-Past-1S
    'I was washed.'

b. Do të la-he-sh-a.
   Fut     wash-NAct-Past-1S
   'I would be washed.'
In (7a) inflectional phrases are headed by Affixes, and Voice is adjacent to VP. V-Raising ensures the right order of morphemes, as for Modern Greek (5a). In (7b) the I-layer contains a particle, so the V raises to Agr and exhibits Tense and Voice as well. The same treatment serves for Modern Greek Futures, such as *tha pluthoúntai* ‘(they) will be washed’ and *tha plénontai* ‘lit.: (they) will be being washed’, with the addition of Perfective/Imperfective Aspect, as in section 1 (and see table 1).

There are two additional ways to express Voice in Albanian. First, in the remaining simple tenses (the Aorist/Definite Past, tense 3A in table 2, and non-Perfects of the Optative and Admirative Moods, tenses 1C, 2C, 4C, and 1D), the clitic *u* indicates NAct and occupies the same relative position as the pronominal clitics in (1)–(2). This is shown in more detail in
(8a), for the simple Optative (for wishes), and in (8b), for a Future Admirative (for surprise). In both tenses [− Past] labeled Pres is a *∅*-affix, as shown in the tree in (15).

   NAct wash-Opt-Pres-1S  
   ‘May I be washed.’

b. Do të u la-kam.  
   Fut NAct wash-Adm-Pres-1S  
   ‘I will actually be washed!’

Second, compound or Perfect tenses indicate Voice through the Auxiliary, regardless of mood, as in tenses 6–9 in table 2 and example (9) for Future Perfects. Kam ‘(I) have’ is Active, and jam ‘(I) have + been’ NAct.

(9) a. Do të kam larê.  
   Fut have-Pres-1S washed  
   ‘I will have washed (something).’

b. Do të jam larê.  
   Fut have + been-Pres-1S washed  
   ‘I will have been washed.’

The three expressions of NAct in Albanian share what characterizes Modern Greek too: Voice, as affix (6), clitic (8), or Aux (9b), is adjacent to the VP/V with argument structure.

In (9b) Aux manifests Aspect and Voice, moving to Tense and Agr. Then the order of inflectional phrases in Modern Greek (5b) and Albanian (9b) is similar, once jam is seen as a portmanteau item for Perfect and NAct, as shown in (10).

Depending on the treatment of clitics, (8) can be viewed from two perspectives. If clitics attach to the main V, u ‘NAct’ may be adjacent to V in D-Structure and later. If clitics are in Spec of Agr (as in Rivero (1988)), u is adjacent to V after V-Raising; then θ-role/Case assignment by the moved V⁰ affects the Spec of the X_{max} that serves as landing site, when structural adjacency obtains by S-Structure, as in (11) for (8a). In Rivero (1988) I provide several arguments for placing Balkan clitics in AgrP. For instance, Modern Greek and Albanian gerundives differ with respect to the relative order of V and Cl. The Modern Greek sequence is V + Cl: Éphuge kratôntas TO sphîXtā ‘He-left holding IT tightly’. The Albanian order is Cl + V: Pashe Brixhiden duke E hanger ‘I-saw Brigitte Prt IT eating (I saw Brigitte eating it)’. The contrast follows if Modern Greek -ontas is an aspecual affix in I⁰, so that V⁰ raises to it, bypassing the clitic in the lower AgrP (and see (10)). The Albanian gerundive

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2 An anonymous reviewer makes the interesting observation that an S-Structure adjacency condition would permit Voice to dominate Aspect and Tense in D-Structure in a language where the Aspect and Tense would be prefixes and Voice would be a suffix. Such a situation does not arise in Albanian.
contains an aspectual particle *duke* in I₀, preventing the V₀ from moving to a position that is higher than the node Cl in AgrP. In section 2.2 I provide an independent reason making the clitic option in (11) preferable from the perspective of NAct constructions as well.

(10)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{IP} \\
do \text{të} \\
\text{AgrP} \\
\text{TenseP} \\
\text{[1S]} \\
\text{Aspect + Voice} \\
\text{[-Past]} \\
\text{Aux}^0 \\
\text{VP} \\
\text{V}
\end{array}
\]

(11)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{AgrP} \\
\text{Cl} \\
\text{Agr'} \\
\text{u} \\
\text{TenseP} \\
\text{[1S]} \\
\text{[-Past]} \\
\text{MoodP} \\
\text{[Optative]} \\
\text{VP} \\
\text{V}
\end{array}
\]

2.2. *Accounting for the Multiple Expression of Voice*

Within the previous analysis, an account of why Albanian expresses NAct in different ways, depending on tense/mood, can be suggested.

I propose that the Albanian verb is restricted to carrying three suffixes only—an auxiliary hypothesis of a morphological
This restriction forces Voice to satisfy the adjacency requirement with V in two ways in simple tenses.

First, the tenses showing NAct as affixation, as in (3a) and (6)--(7), have Agr, Tense, and Voice as Affixes, with the last adjacent to VP, as discussed. Thus, in contrast to Modern Greek, I propose no obligatory Aspect layer in Albanian. The difference can be justified from many perspectives, but suffice it to say that Albanian lacks the aspectual distinctions seen in the Modern Greek futures, as the contrasts in tables 1 and 2 indicate, the tradition being that Aspect is at the core of essential properties of Modern Greek but plays no major role in the Albanian conjugation.

Second, if IP contains three affixal layers, other than Voice, the last item satisfies adjacency with V by appearing as a clitic, as in (8). As we shall see, the clitic option is not viable for Perfect tenses, if adjacency is to be met. Under my approach, the Albanian V is formed as in (12), with the external layers necessarily filled by Agr and Tense and the layer adjacent to the stem, or XP, filled by either Voice, Mood, or Aspect, as the last affix. A fourth affix is disallowed.

(12) AgrP
     /   \
    /     \ TenseP
   /       \ [+ Past] XP
   \       /   \ [Voice/Mood/or Aspect] VP
   \     /     \ V

When XP contains NAct, Voice is an affix; see (3a) and (6). When XP is Mood, there are two possibilities. With the Optative Affix, the result is the Present (8a), with Voice as clitic. With the Admirative Affix, identical in shape to the Perfect Aux but different in meaning, the simple tenses of this mood are obtained, such as the Present in (8b); again, Voice must be a clitic. The Aorist/Definite Past represents the case where XP = Aspect; that is, it constitutes the only simple tense in Albanian that is inherently Perfective, so it behaves like (8) when expressing NAct, as in (13):

(13) U lava.
    NAct wash-Aorist-1S
    ‘I was washed (completed).’
In brief, in simple tenses NAct occupies (a) the layer immediately superior to VP, counting as a third affix, or (b) the clitic layer, when three other affixes attach to the stem. In both cases Voice is adjacent to V once V-Movement applies, flanking the V-stem on the left as a clitic, or on the right as an internal affix.

In Perfect tenses Voice is on the Aspectual Aux; see (9b)–(10). An Affix on the main V is possible under my approach, and this is the adjacency option in Modern Greek, as discussed in section 1. However, NAct could not be a clitic in compound tenses, given the presence of Aux. This is because Albanian clitics always precede the finite V or Aux, that is, the stem with Tense and Agr, as in (1)–(2); in my terms, they attach to Agr, as in (11), rather than to V. Therefore, if u expressed NAct in Perfect tenses, this clitic would necessarily precede the Aspectual Aux and fail to be adjacent to the V with argument structure—the essential requirement. This provides independent motivation that Albanian clitics are Specifiers of AgrP, as in Rivero (1988).

Finally, Voice as Aux allows Perfect tenses in the Admiritative and Optative to comply with the affix restriction too, as seen for the NAct Perfect Optative in (14), treated as in (15), with three affixes on the Aux.

\[(14) \text{Qo-fsh-a} \text{ larë} \text{ have + be-Opt-Pres-1S washed} \]

\[\text{'May I have been washed!'}\]

\[(15)\]

```
Agr
  /\  \\
/a \ Tense
  /\  \\
[−Past] \ Optative
  /\  \\
/  \ fsh Aspect + Voice
  /\  \\
0 \  \ Aux
  /\  \\
/  \ qo-
  /\  \\
/  \ V
larë
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References


