Les superlatifs et la définitude en albanais

*Superlatives and Definiteness in Albanian*

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Introduction

Since Szabolcsi (1986), it has been known that adjectival superlatives are ambiguous between an absolute superlative reading and a relative superlative reading:

1) Mary read the longest book.
   a. Mary read the longest book out of all the books (in the library).
   b. Mary read a book that is longer than all the books read by other students.

According to the absolute superlative reading in (1a), we compare elements of a (contextually restricted) set of books. A DP\(^1\) that embeds an absolute superlative refers to the member of this set which is at the

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1 We follow Abney (1987) and subsequent literature in assuming that an expression such as the book is in fact a DP (determiner phrase) rather an NP (noun phrase). This is known in the literature as the DP-hypothesis. According to this hypothesis, the determiner the in the phrase the book is the head and takes the noun book as its complement. Since the head is occupied by a determiner, the entire projection is a determiner phrase (henceforth, DP).
top of the scale introduced by the adjective, in this case the scale of length. According to the relative superlative reading in (1b), on the other hand, the comparison crucially involves not only books but also another element in the sentence (called the “correlate”), in this case Mary: the length of the book read by Mary is compared to the lengths of the books read by other people.

Let us stress that the meaning of an absolute superlative is computed DP internally, without taking into account the rest of the sentence. The meaning of the sentence in (1) is obtained by compositionally combining the meaning of the absolute superlative DP with the rest of the clause, which results in conveying that Mary read the entity denoted by the superlative DP, i.e., the book that is the longest out of a contextually restricted set of books, e.g., the books of a given library mentioned or implicit in the context. Relative superlative readings, on the other hand, need to take into account the correlate, which is outside the superlative DP.

The main goal of this paper is to assign a syntactic representation to Albanian superlative DPs by choosing between two structural representations that are known to correspond to the superficially identical forms found across Romance language. The main issue will be to decide on whether the definite article sits in the D° position (as in Italian or Spanish, see Loccioni (2018) or instead is part of a superlative DegP constituent (as in Romanian, see Cornilescu and Giurgea (2013), as well as in some of the French superlative DPs, see Dobrovie-Sorin (this volume).

1. Superlative Adjectives in Albanian

The English sentence in (1) can be uttered in Albanian as in (2) or as in (3), which differ from each other by the position (post- or pre-nominal) of the adjective:

2) Tomorr-i *lexo*-i *libr-*in *mê tê trashê*.
   Tomorr.DEF *read.PST.3SG* book.DEF.ACC CMP AGR thick
   *Tomorr read the longest book.* (relative and absolute).

3) Tomorr-i *lexo* i *mê tê trash-*in *libër*.
   Tomorr.DEF *read.PST.3SG* CMP AGR thick.DEF.ACC book.BN
   *Tomorr read the longest book.* (absolute only)
Correlated with the difference in position of the adjective, these examples differ in meaning: example (2) is ambiguous just like its English counterpart in (1), whereas example (3) can only have the absolute superlative reading: the comparison can only involve elements of a given set of books.

Moreover, the examples in (2) and (3) show that (on a par with Romance languages and unlike Germanic languages) Albanian lacks a dedicated superlative morphology, and instead expresses superlative meanings by using the comparative form of adjectives embedded inside a definite DP. In (2) the Albanian DP *librin më të trashë* “book-the CMP AGR long” does not have any morpheme comparable to the *-est* in the English *the longest book*. Librin “book-the” is a noun followed by the definite suffix *-in* followed by a comparative adjective *më të trashë* “CMP AGR thick”. *Më* is the comparative morpheme, which yields a comparative or superlative reading depending on whether the adjective is unmarked or marked with a definite article\(^2\) (cf. *më të gjetë* “CMP AGR long-INDEF” vs *më të gjetin* “CMP AGR long-the”). *Të* is an adjectival agreement marker which agrees in case (accusative / ablative) and (in) definiteness with the head noun in both pre- and post-nominal position. The form of the agreement marker depends on (in) definiteness of the modified noun, *e* with adjectives modifying singular definite nouns and *të* with adjectives modifying singular indefinite nouns: *libr-in e gjatë* “book-the agr long” vs *një libër të gjatë* “a book agr long”.

The distribution of adjectival agreement markers in Albanian depends on the type of adjective. Thus, they occur with modifying adjectives but not with classifying adjectives: *një libër të gjatë* “a book agr long-INDEF” (meaning “a long book”) vs *një shkollë elementare* “a school elementary” (meaning “an elementary school”)\(^3\).

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\(^2\) As explained in point 2. below, the definite article on the adjective (in pre-nominal position) or on the noun (when the adjective is post-nominal) is first merged under D° and attaches to either the adjective or the noun, depending on which one is DP-initial.

\(^3\) For a more thorough discussion concerning the syntactic distribution of adjectival agreement markers in Albanian such as *të*, see Trommer (2002) and Alexiadou (2014: 80-90).
Going back to examples (2) and (3), they reveal two similarities with languages like Italian. The following examples are taken from Coppock & Strand (2019: 390, ex. (58a) and (58b)).

4) *La mamma fa i biscotti (*i) più buoni del mondo.*
   DEF mom makes DEF biscuits (*DEF) CMP tasty of.DEF world
   *My mom makes the yummiest cookies in the world.*

5) *La mamma fa i più buoni biscotti del mondo.*
   DEF mom makes DEF CMP tasty biscuits of.DEF world
   *My mom makes the yummiest cookies in the world.*

Example (4) shows that in Italian, the definite article is banned with post-nominal superlatives just as in Albanian. Example (5), on the other hand, is similar to (3) regarding the semantic interpretation: only an absolute superlative reading is conveyed when the superlative adjective is pre-nominal. Examples (2) and (4) provide an interesting contrast with languages like French, where the definite article appears twice, both in the determiner position of the DP (see the *le* that precedes *livre*) and in front of the post-nominal superlative adjective (see the *le* that precedes *plus long*):

6) *Jean a lu le livre le plus long.*
   John has read DEF book DEF more long
   *John read the longest book.*

The Albanian counterpart of this example, given in (7) below, is acceptable only with a comma intonation separating the DP *librin* “the book” from the post-nominal adjective *më të gjatin* “the longest”, and serves as an answer to questions of the type *What happened with Ben?*, rather than *Who read the longest book?*

7) *Ben-I ka lexuar libr-in, më të gjat-in.*
   Ben.DEF has read book.DEF.ACC, CMP AGR long.DEF.ACC
   *Ben read the book, the longest one.*

A good paraphrase of such an example would be “Ben read the book, the longest one”, which suggests that the post-nominal definite adjective *më të gjatin* “CMP AGR long-the” is an elliptical DP, interpreted as “the longest one”. It recovers as its antecedent the referent denoted by the DP *librin* “book-the”. Note that an elliptical superlative can show up with indefinite noun phrases as in (8):

8) *Jean a lu le livre, le plus long.*
   John has read DEF book, DEF more long
   *John read the longest book.*
Quite clearly, the superlative cannot be taken to form a constituent with a noun introduced by an indefinite determiner. The type of examples in (8) thus constitutes evidence in favor of the hypothesis that the definite-marked superlative in (7) is an elliptical superlative DP rather than a post-nominal modifier of the definite-marked noun.

Let us now go back to examples (2) and (3), repeated in (9) below:

9) a. librin më të trashë (“book-the CMP AGR thick”)
b. më të trashin libër (“CMP AGR thick-the book”)

These DPs can be assumed to rely on the syntactic configurations (10a) and (10b). Thedetails of the syntactic derivation are not directly relevant for the questions raised in this paper. For concreteness, we assume that pre-nominal superlatives sit in the Spec of a designated functional head F4, where as post-nominal comparatives with superlativemeanings are some kind of reduced relative clause (see Alexiadou (2014), Loccioni(2018)), which for the sake of simplicity we assume sits in an NP-adjunction position.

10) a. Figure 1: N-to-D Raising of the NP hbër "book"

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4 For a generalized use of distinct functional heads for each distinct class of adjectives, see Cinque (2010).
b. Figure 2: Raising of CompP to Spec DP

For both (9a) and (9b), represented as in (10a) and (10b), we follow an insight from Dobrovie-Sorin and Giurgea (2006), who argue that adnominal superlatives in languages like Albanian (also Italian) are formed with a comparative adjective embedded inside a definite DP. Thus, in both (10a) and (10b), the definite suffix -in is merged in $D^\circ$ and attaches to the right of either the NP or the comparative form depending on which one raises to Spec DP.

Summarizing, we have argued that in Albanian, superlative meanings of adnominal adjectives are conveyed by using a comparative embedded inside a DP headed by a definite determiner. This type of configuration (which is essentially the same as that found in Italian) needs to be carefully distinguished from another type of configuration, illustrated above by the French example in (6). As argued by Loccioni (2018) (following the references quoted therein), the lower occurrence of the definite article forms a constituent (labelled SupP) with the comparative, as shown in Figure 3.
In sum, Albanian patterns with Italian and contrasts with French in that it lacks a dedicated SupP constituent headed by Sup/DEF of the type shown in Figure 3.

2. When Superlatives Modify the Verb

Albanian diverges from Italian regarding adverbial superlatives. The Italian example in (11), taken from Loccioni (2018: 184 -ex:(39a)), shows that comparatives with superlative meaning are disallowed, regardless of the presence or absence of the definite article:

11) Maria scrive (*il) meglio.
   Mary writes (*DEF) better
   Mary writes the best.

In Albanian, on the other hand, the superlative meaning is conveyed by using a DEF suffix attached to the comparative form of the adverb:

12) Mari-a shkruan më së shpejt-i.
   Mary.DEF writes CMP SË fast.DEF
   Mary writes the fastest.

Superficially at least, superlatives of this form resemble French superlative adverbs (modulo suffixation, which pertains to PF):

13) Marie écrit le plus vite.
   Mary writes DEF CMP fast
   Mary writes the fastest.

Granting that no DP structure can be assumed inside adverbs, there is no D° in which the definite article could be generated. Under this assumption, DEF must be assumed to belong to the same constituent as the adverb in the comparative degree, yielding a superlative reading:

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5 The only context in which Italian comparative adjectives can be interpreted as superlative is inside relative clauses (see Loccioni’s 2018 examples in 54a). Even in such contexts, the Albanian counterpart requires a definite marking on the comparative adverb as shown in (i):

(i) Vajz-a që shkruan më së mir-i.
   girl.DEF that writes CMP SË good.DEF.
   The girl who writes the best.
The structure shown in Figure 4 is not surprising for French, because in this language SupP constituents also exist for postnominal superlative adjectives (see example (6) represented in Figure 3). For Albanian, however, a SupP of the form in Figure 4 would be strictly dependent on the grammatical category: ADVs would require it, whereas ADJs would block it. Although not impossible, this analysis seems suspicious.

In what follows we will propose an alternative that seems more natural to us and which moreover has the advantage of explaining the presence of the së-marker, which we have so far not commented upon. The core idea will be that in Albanian, what we have so far called “superlative adverbs” are in fact comparatives embedded inside a definite DP headed by a null abstract N with the meaning MANNER (notated $[\text{N}_{\text{MANNER}}\emptyset]$):

![Figure 5: Representation of V-modifying superlatives](image)
This configuration is identical to the one proposed in Figure (2) for prenominal superlative adjectives, modulo two differences: the presence of a null \([N_{\text{MANNER}}\emptyset]\) instead of the overt \(N\) librë “book” and the presence of së (which in Albanian grammars is described as the Ablative form of the AGR morpheme) instead of të (which is the Accusative form of AGR). Under our proposal, the Ablative marking of së is triggered by agreement with \([N_{\text{MANNER}}\emptyset]\). Compare the Accusative marking of të, which appears when the embedding DP is assigned Accusative Case.

Interestingly, V-modifiers in the positive and comparative degree normally lack së:{6}

14) Mari-\(a\) shkruan më (*të) shpejt-i.
Mary.DEF writes CMP (*të) fast.DEF
Mary writes the fastest.

Table (1) summarizes the forms of V-modifiers in Albanian:

| POS    | CMP   | SUP        |
|--------|-------|------------|
| Root   | më Root | më së Root-DEF |
| shpejt | më shpejt | më së shpejt-i |

Table 1: V-modifiers

This table shows that the common property of all of the three degree forms of Albanian V-modifiers is the absence of të, which is expected, since të can only appear on adnominal modifiers. The comparative is formed with më, on a par with adnominal comparatives. Finally, the superlative differs from the comparative by the correlated presence of së and the definite suffix. Both of these two markers are explained if we assume, as proposed above, that V-modifying superlatives are Ablative-marked definite DPs built with a \([N_{\text{MANNER}}\emptyset]\). Positive and comparative V-modifiers, on the other hand, are “bare” V-modifiers, in the sense that they lack DP-structure (which may however appear with certain V-modifiers, see footnote 2).

In sum, Albanian V-modifying superlatives can be analyzed as comparatives embedded inside a definite DP built with a \([N_{\text{MANNER}}\emptyset]\),

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6 Së appears with some V-modifiers in the positive forms: së bashku “together”, së afërmi “near”, së andejmi “from there”, së tepërmi “in excess”, etc. However, së cannot appear with V-modifiers in the comparative forms: *më së afër, *më së tepër.
the DP itself being marked with Ablative Case. No dedicated SupP of the type found in French (and Romanian, not illustrated here) and illustrated in (13)/Figure 4, needs to be assumed. Insofar as it lacks SupP, Albanian resembles Italian. The difference is that Italian does not have V modifying DPs made up of comparatives that modify a null \(N_{\text{MANNER} \emptyset}\).

3. Quantity Superlatives in Albanian

In this section we will examine the quantity superlatives *shumë* “many/much” and *pak* “(a)few/(a)little”, which are noteworthy insofar as their prenominal forms have the same shape as their V-modifying (say “adverbial”) forms, whereas their postnominal forms are unremarkable, in the sense that they resemble postnominal quality superlatives. We will therefore first examine in turn postnominal and V-modifying positions, which confirm the analyses of quality superlatives proposed in Sections 1 and 2 above. We will then turn to prenominal positions, in which quantity superlatives differ from quality superlatives and instead have the forms characteristic of V-modifiers.

3.1. Quantity Superlatives in Postnominal Positions

Let us consider the example below, in which the *më të shumtë* “CMP AGR many” occurs in the postnominal position of a definite DP:

15) *Tomorrë kishte lexuar librat më të shumtë/paktë.*

Tomorr.DEF had read books.DEF.ACC CMP AGR many/little

Tomorr had read the most/fewest books.

This example shows that the superlative reading of *shumë* “many/ much” and *pak* “(a)few/(a)little” is expressed on the same model as postnominal quality superlatives: the superlative constituent *më të shumtë/paktë* carries no definite article, and nevertheless expresses a superlative reading due to the fact that it is embedded inside a DP headed by a definite article that gets suffixed to the head N *librat* “books.DEF.ACC”.
The example in (15) has a relative superlative reading\(^7\), which says that the set of books Tomorr read contains more books than any other set of books that other relevant individuals may have read.

### 3.2. V-modifying Quantity Superlatives

Let us now turn to quantity superlatives in V-modifying positions:

16) a. Ben-i punon më së shumt-i.
   Ben.DEF works CMP SË much.DEF
   Ben works the most.

b. Drit-a foli më së pak-u.
   Drita.DEF spoke CMP SË little.DEF
   Drita spoke the least.

In (16a) më së shumti “CMP së much-the” indicates that the amount of work Ben does is higher than that of other relevant individuals in the discourse context. (16b) indicates that among a relevant set of participants, Drita is the one who spoke the least frequently or less than anybody else. So (16b) conveys a relative superlative reading on the scale of frequency or of duration.

The examples in (16a-b) show that when they function as V-modifiers, quantity superlatives are formed on the same model as V-modifying quality superlatives: the Ablative form së is used instead of të and the definite suffix is generated in the D\(_1\) position of a DP built with a null abstract N, which for quantity superlatives can be assumed to be [N\(_{\text{QUANTITY}}\)Ø] (compare [N\(_{\text{MANNER}}\)Ø], which we have assumed for quality adjectives in V-modifying positions).

Table 2 shows the three degree forms of quantity superlatives in V-modifying positions:

| POS | CMP       | SUP               |
|-----|-----------|-------------------|
| shumë | më shumë  | më së shumt-i.DEF|
| pak  | më pak    | më së pak-u.DEF   |

Table 2: Quantity superlatives in V-modifying positions

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\(^7\) As is well-known, quantity superlatives do not have absolute readings (see Gawron 1995). Note also that the proportional reading of MANY/MUCH is crosslinguistically rare and never allowed in postnominal positions (Dobrovie-Sorin & Giurgea 2021). As also pointed out by Dobrovie-Sorin & Giurgea, Albanian patterns with Italian in that the proportional reading of MANY/MUCH is only possible in partitive configurations.
These forms are perfectly parallel to the forms of quality superlatives in V-modifying positions (see Table 2). Note indeed that (i) $t'$ is absent in all of the three forms (expected, since $t'$ is exclusively introduced on adnominal modifiers), (ii) $s'$ and the definite suffix are introduced only on the superlative form. The two correlated markings by which the superlative differs from the positive and comparative forms follows naturally from our hypothesis that V-modifying superlatives are embedded inside Ablative marked definite DPs built with a null abstract $[N_{\text{QUANTITY}}\emptyset]$.

3.3. Prenominal Quantity Superlatives

The examples below show that in prenominal positions, quantity superlatives do not take the form they have in the postnominal position, but rather the form they have when they function as V-modifiers (i.e., $s'$-marking instead of $t'$-marking and presence of the definite suffix), see examples (16)a-b and Table 3:

17) \textit{Unë luaj më së shumt-i \textit{instrumente}.}  
I \, play \, CMP \, SË \, many.DEF \, instruments  
\textit{I play the most instruments.}

18) \textit{Ben-i \, ka \, më së shumt-i \textit{miq}.}  
Ben.DEF \, has \, CMP \, SË \, many.DEF \, friends  
\textit{Ben has the most friends.}

In (17), $më së shumt$ “CMP së many.DEF” refers to a cardinality of instruments higher than any other cardinalities of instruments that relevant individuals may play. Thus, of all individuals considered, the speaker plays more instruments than anybody else.\footnote{Example (17) can also take a frequency interpretation. The sentence says that the speaker plays instruments more frequently than other relevant participants. In such cases, the quantity superlative is to be analyzed as a V-modifier (on a par with the quantity superlatives in the previous section, see (16a-b) rather than as a prenominal quantity expression.} Similarly, (18) says that Ben has more friends than any other relevant individual in the discourse context.

This interpretation is more or less identical to the one of (15). It would be interesting to explain how a similar meaning arises from two different syntactic configurations, but this issue will be left for another occasion. Here, we will concentrate on the difference in form (“bare”...
comparative form in (15) vs comparative form carrying the definite suffix and preceded by the Ablative-marker së.

The difference in form can be explained if we assume the analysis shown in Figure 6:

![Figure 6: Representation of the superlative DP in (17)](image)

The crucial point is that prenominal quantity superlatives do not sit in the same position as prenominal quality superlatives: the latter occupy a nominal modifier position (in technical terms, the Spec position of some F head, if we follow Cinque 2010), whereas the former occupy the Spec position of Meas₁, in which Measure Phrases (e.g., 200 g (of butter)), as well as quantitatives (MANY/MUCH and their degree forms) are assumed to occur (Schwarzschild 2006, Solt 2015). Moreover, what sits in Spec,Meas is not just CompP (as is the case for prenominal quality superlatives) but rather a full DP headed by a null N[QuantØ], hence the label DP₆uant, used for readability. Figure 7 shows that the internal structure of DP Quant is identical to that of the adverbial superlatives analyzed as DP Quant. The two configurations differ only by the content of the null N (Quant vs Manner):

![Figure 7: Representation of the quantity superlatives sitting in Spec,Meas](image)
The presence of së instead of të is due to the fact that the AGR relation is established between *shumt* and [QuantØ] rather than between *shumt* and the head N *instrumente* (which would trigger të). The definite article does not originate in the D₁ that takes the overall NP as a complement, but rather in the lower D₁, the one that takes the NP headed by [QuantityØ] as a complement. The upper D⁰ is arguably filled with an indefinite-like null D⁰ (see Dobrovie-Sorin, this volume), as indicated in Figure 6.

**Conclusion**

We have shown that Albanian is similar to Italian (and Spanish) and differs from French (and Romanian) in that it lacks a dedicated SupP constituent. Superlatives meanings are conveyed by embedding a comparative inside a definite DP.

This generalization is apparently disconfirmed by Albanian adverbial superlatives, which are obligatorily definite-marked. Compare Italian, where (i) the only general way to convey superlative meaning for comparative adverbs is by adding ‘than all the others’ and (ii) THE-lacking comparative adverbs can get a superlative reading when appearing inside a relative clause. We have demonstrated that the definiteness marking found on Albanian superlative adverbs does not constitute evidence in favor of a SupP of the form found in French or Romanian (see Figure 4). We have instead proposed that Albanian V modifying superlatives are comparatives embedded inside a definite DP built with a [N_MANNERØ], the DP itself being marked with Ablative Case. In so far as it lacks SupP, Albanian resembles Italian. The difference is that Italian does not have V-modifying DPs made up of comparatives that modify a null [N_MANNERØ].

We have also shown that quantity superlatives behave on a par with quality superlatives when occurring in postnominal and ‘adverbial’ positions. In the prenominal position, on the other hand, quantity superlatives have the form of ‘adverbial’ superlatives. We have shown that this form can be explained by assuming that prenominal quantity superlatives are definite DPs built with a [N_QuantityØ], which sit in Spec, Meas.

Our analysis of Albanian superlative V-modifiers can be seen as an illustration of Matushansky’s (2008) claim that the definite marking
of superlatives signals DP-structure even in those configurations in which we would not expect it, e.g., when superlatives are ‘adverbial’, more precisely V-modifiers. We however do not follow Matushansky in assuming that all definite-marked superlatives involve DP-configurations. Indeed, French and Romanian provide evidence in favor of the presence of THE inside a dedicated SupP in which no DP level is present (see the French example (13) analyzed as in Figure 4).

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