Punctuated movement facilitates (multi-)clausal pied-piping in Albanian

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Introduction I describe and analyze configurations in Albanian involving dramatic clausal displacement. All data is from fieldwork with a native speaker of Albanian (Gheg dialect, spoken in and around Kosovo). Albanian is a distinct branch of Indo-European, and like many languages in this group, it has *wh*-movement. I show that Albanian *wh*-movement from an embedded clause can extract just the *wh*-phrase (1a), or displace the entire embedded CP (1b):

(1) "What does Fortesa think that Qendresa stole?" (*Same translation for both variants*)

a. **Qka**$_1$ po kuiton Fortesa [**Qendresa ka vjedh** t_1]? (*Plain extraction*)
What thinks Fortesa Qendresa has stolen

b. [**Qka**$_1$ **Qendresa ka vjedh** t_1]$_2$ po kuiton Fortesa t_2? (*Pied-piping*)
what Qendresa has stolen thinks Fortesa

Multi-clausal pied-piping can also occur, which creates certain surprising word orders, as we'll see in (5-7) below. I argue that these patterns **emerge straightforwardly given the hypothesis that movement passes through the edge of each CP**, as predicted if CPs are *phases* (Chomsky 2000, 2001, a.o.). I also explain why clausal pied-piping is permitted in Albanian at all.

Basic facts This clausal pied-piping is fully productive for A-bar movement in Albanian. I show that this construction is possible with all *wh*-movements, as well as with scrambling of non-*wh* phrases, as (2) shows. Pied-piping and non-pied-piping examples are semantically identical, and both occur with typical embedding verbs of all sorts (*say, think, hear,* and so on).

(2) "**This cake**, I think that the kids really like"

a. [**Qit torte**]$_1$ une po kuitoj [fmit e dojn t_1 shum] (*Plain extraction*)
this cake I think kids like really

b. [[**Qit torte**]$_1$ fmit e dojn t_1 shum]$_2$, une po kuitoj t_2 (*Pied-piping*)
this cake kids like really I think

There are some unglossed morphemes in these examples such as the doubled pronominal clitic *e* and the aspectual prefix *po*, but these do not interact with clausal pied-piping.

Albanian clausal pied-piping is optional in a way similar to PP pied-piping in English: both are permitted syntactically, though pied-piping rather than stranding suggests higher formality/precision. The default word order in Albanian is SVO (Joseph 2018), which makes clear an important point: as examples like (1b) and (2b) above show, the core target of A-bar movement (a *wh*-phrase or scrambled phrase) always reaches the edge of a clause that it pied-pipes. It is unacceptable for that phrase to pied-pipe a clause without reaching its edge, as (3) shows:

(3) [(✓**Qvar torte**)$_2$ Fortesa e don (***qvar torte**)$_2$]$_1$ ti kuiton t_1?
(What cake) Fortesa like (what cake) you think?
'What cake do you think Fortesa would like?' (*Clause-internal movement needed*)

After providing an analysis of these basic facts, I show the more complex displacement that is available when there are two embedded clauses, which we can also derive straightforwardly.

Analysis Assume that movement of some XP to the specifier of another phrase YP requires the head Y to target XP within its c-command domain through an operation like *Agree*, before attracting XP (Abels 2012, Halpert 2016, a.o.). If this is so, then A-bar moving phrases must reach spec-CP because of prior attraction by the C head itself, presumably via Agreement for an A-bar relevant feature such as [+WH]. (From here on, I speak only in terms of *wh*-movement for simplicity.) Thus I posit that in a bi-clausal configuration like (1) above, the first thing that happens is necessarily that the C of the embedded CP attracts the *wh*-phrase to its specifier. Indeed, if CP is a phase, a *wh*-phrase in an embedded CP must reach the edge of that CP before it can potentially be moved into the higher CP, given the Phase Impenetrability Condition.

After this movement to the specifier of the embedded CP, I hypothesize that there are **two options:** On one hand, the main clause C can attract the *wh*-phrase alone, leaving the embedded clause in-situ, as in (1a). Alternatively, the moving *wh*-phrase can pied-pipe the embedded clause along, and thus carry it into the specifier of the matrix CP as in (1b), schematized below:

(4) $[_{CP2}\ [_{CP1}$ WH C1 ... t_{WH}] C2 ... t_{CP1}] (*Clause-internal mvt. + pied-piping*)

Since the *wh*-phrase is attracted first by the nearest C head, that of the embedded clause, the *wh*-phrase reaches the edge of that CP before clausal pied-piping can apply. Thus the *wh*-phrase is initial within that CP, as we saw in (3). Fronting in pied-piped clauses also occurs in Basque (Arregi 2003), and similar fronting is common in pied-piping cross-linguistically (Heck 2009).

PREDICTIONS FOR MULTIPLE EMBEDDED CLAUSES When one embedded clause contains another, as in a triple-clause structure, it is possible to *wh*-move a phrase from the lowest CP into the highest without pied-piping. However, many clausal pied-piping options are also available.

One option is for the moving phrase to pied-pipe the lowest CP to the main clause's edge:

(5) $[_{CP3}\ [_{CP1}$ **[Qfar torte]**$_j$ t_j osht e mir$]_k$ Fortesa po kuiton $[_{CP2}$ fmit kan me than t_k]]?
which cake be good Fortesa thinks kids have to say
'Which cake does Fortesa think that the kids will say is good?'

Alternatively, the *wh*-phrase can move alone to the specifier of the middle CP, and initiate pied-piping after that, displacing the middle and lowest CPs while retaining their relative order:

(6) $[_{CP3}\ [_{CP2}$ **[Qfar torte]**$_j$ fmit kan me than $[_{CP1}$ t_j osht e mir$]]_k$ po kuiton Fortesa t_k]?
which cake kids have to say be good thinks Fortesa

Additionally, pied-piping may apply at every opportunity. In this case, the *wh*-phrase pied-pipes the lowest CP to the edge of the middle one, and then pied-pipes the middle CP, containing the lower one, into the matrix CP. In this case, the order of the three CPs is completely inverted:

(7) $[_{CP3}\ [_{CP2}\ [_{CP1}$ **Qfar torte** osht e mir$]_1$ fmit kan me than $t_1]_2$ po kuiton Fortesa t_2]?
Which cake is good kids have to say thinks Fortesa

We explain these patterns by hypothesizing that *wh*-movement passes through the edge of each CP, and that at any or all intermediate landing sites, clausal pied-piping can be initiated.

WHY CLAUSAL-PIED-PIPING IS POSSIBLE As Turano (1995) shows, another option for multi-clausal *wh*-constructions in Albanian is to move a *wh*-phrase only to the edge of the embedded clause, though the *wh*-phrase takes matrix scope, presumably via covert movement (8):

(8) A ki thon ti [**ku**$_1$ ti don me shku t_1 sot]?
Q have said you **where** you want to go today
"**Where** did you say that you want to go today?" (*Movement ending in lower CP edge*)

Thus a high-scoping *wh*-phrase can remain in an embedded CP's specifier at PF in Albanian. This also occurs in clausal pied-piping examples, since in these the *wh*-phrase remains within the CP it pied-pipes. Importantly, English bans both examples like (8) and clausal pied-piping, since this language requires a matrix-scoping *wh*-phrase to overtly reach the matrix CP's specifier. Thus the possibility of clausal pied-piping in Albanian, but not a language like English, can be attributed to differing constraints on the distribution of overt specifiers. This is a known point of cross-linguistic variation (Richards 1997, Nissenbaum 2000, Coon et al. 2014).

IMPLICATIONS This work deepens our insight into the rare phenomenon of clausal pied-piping, while supporting theoretical proposals about the cyclicity and order of operations in movement. Further, while complementizers are optional in Albanian, I will argue that when overt ones are included, we find patterns in the pied-piping data which reveal a multi-layered clausal periphery (Rizzi 1997), with multiple valid landing sites for successive-cyclic movement.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Abels, K. 2012. Phases: An Essay on Cyclicity in Syntax. De Gruyter. / Arregi, K. 2003. Clausal Pied-Piping. *Natural Language Semantics* 11. / Joseph, B. 2018. The syntax of

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