

Against an extraction analysis of discontinuous nominals in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy

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Roadmap

1. Introduce Maliseet-Passamaquoddy and its nouns
2. Discuss possible analyses of discontinuous nominals
3. Present arguments against an extraction analysis
4. Consider an alternative analysis: distributed deletion

About Maliseet-Passamaquoddy

- An Eastern Algonquian language.
- Endonym: Peskotomuhkati-Wolastoqey.
- Two dialects, two peoples, one mutually intelligible language.



Map by Michael Hermann. From Francis & Leavitt 2008: 2.

Nominals in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy can be:

(1) Preverbal

Sepawonu not skitap mace-he-Ø.
tomorrow that.PROX.SG man away-go_{AI}-3

‘That man is leaving tomorrow.’ (Grishin 2023: 50, ex. 49a)

(2) Postverbal

El-kil-uli-t Laca ’-posu-m-ol.
IC.thus-be.size_{AI}-OBV-3CJ Roger 3-cat-POSS-OBV.SG

‘Roger’s cat is so big.’ (Grishin 2023: 51, ex. 52a)

(3) Discontinuous

Yukk n-kisiy-a-k sukolopanis-ok.
this.PROX.PL 1-make_{TA}-3OBJ-PROX.PL cake-PROX.PL

‘I made these cakes.’ (Grishin 2023: 53, ex. i)

Three properties of MP (discontinuous) nominals

1. Nominal word order is largely fixed.
2. Moved material must respect linear order constraints on nouns.
3. One or more prenominal elements can be displaced.

Nominal word order in MP is largely fixed

(4) Descriptive template of nominal word order

demonstrative < numeral < modifier(s) < noun

(Grishin 2023: 49, ex. 46, slightly modified)

Nominal word order in MP is largely fixed

(5) Numerals may not precede demonstratives

- a. Ø-Nomiy-a-k [*yuktok* *nuhu-wok*
1-see_{TA}-3OBJ-PROX.PL [this.PROX.PL three-PROX.PL
psuwis-ok] *wolaku*.
cat-PROX.PL yesterday
'I saw [these three cats] yesterday.'
- b. *Ø-Nomiy-a-k [*nuhu-wok* *yuktok*
1-see_{TA}-3OBJ-PROX.PL [three-PROX.PL this.PROX.PL
psuwis-ok] *wolaku*.
cat-PROX.PL] yesterday
*'I saw [three these cats] yesterday.'

(Grishin 2023: 50, ex. 51)

Nominal word order in MP is largely fixed

(6) Head nouns may not precede prenominal elements

- a. Sepawonu not skitap mace-he-Ø.
tomorrow that.PROX.SG man away-go_{AI}-3
'That man is leaving tomorrow.'
- b. * Sepawonu skitap not mace-he-Ø.
tomorrow man that.PROX.SG away-go_{AI}-3
*'Man that is leaving tomorrow.' (Grishin 2023: 50, ex. 49)

Discontinuous nominals preserve word order

(7) Head nouns may not precede prenominal elements

a. **Yukk** n-kisiy-a-k

this.PROX.PL 1-make_{TA}-3OBJ-PROX.PL

sukolopanis-ok.

cake-PROX.PL

‘I made these cakes.’

b. * **sukolopanis-ok** n-kisiy-a-k

cake-PROX.PL 1-make_{TA}-3OBJ-PROX.PL

yukk.

this.PROX.PL

*‘I made cakes these.’

(Grishin 2023: 53, ex. i)

Order of prenominal elements must be(?) preserved in DNs

One or more prenominal elements can displace

- (8) a. Nopal yùt mil-ki-yàn pil-èy
if.only this.IN give-UNSP/1-1SG.SUBJ new-NF
l-ayye-kt-ákon.
thus-play-TI-NMLZ
'I wish I would be given this new toy.'
- b. Nopal yùt pil-èy mil-ki-yàn
if.only this.IN new-NF give-UNSP/1-1SG.SUBJ
l-ayye-kt-ákon.
thus-play-TI-NMLZ
'I wish I would be given this new toy.'

(LeSourd 2004: 261, ex. 37)

Discontinuous nominals & left branch extraction

Left branch extraction

Movement of the leftmost constituent of a nominal phrase
outside that phrase.

(a.o. Ross 1967, Bošković 2005)

LBE is permitted in Russian but not in English.

- (9) a. Ètu₁ ty uvidel [_{NP} t₁ košku].
This you saw cat
'You saw this cat.'
- b. * Those I've seen cats before.

(Bondarenko & Davis 2023: 2, ex. 1 & 2c)

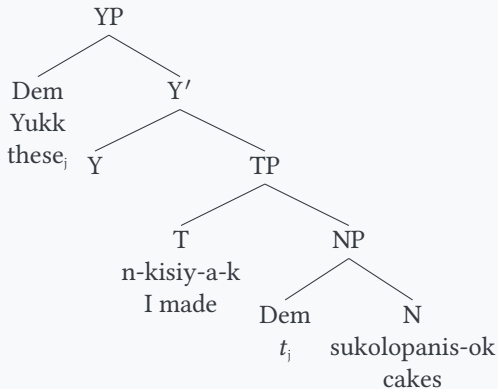
Two LBE analyses of discontinuous nominals

The extraction approach

(Johnson & Rosen 2015)

Displaced elements are **extracted** from a nominal and move higher in the clause.

(10)



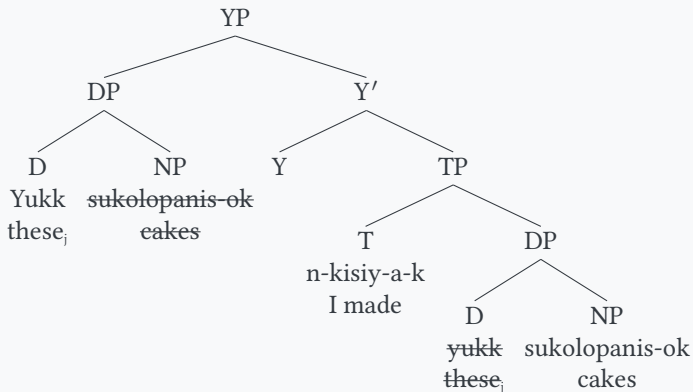
Two LBE analyses of discontinuous nominals

The distributed deletion approach

(Grishin 2023)

The entire nominal copies and moves higher, but only parts are pronounced.

(11)



Arguing against extraction: NP vs. DP languages

- Bošković 2005 argued:
 1. True LBE is only possible in NP languages (not DP languages).

Why?
Because DP is a phase that prevents extraction.
 2. In NP languages, determiners act like adjectives with stacking & free(ish) ordering.

Why?
Because whatever extracts must be at the edge of the NP.
- Note: Pankau 2021 claims Lower Sorbian (Slavic, Germany) is a DP language with LBE.

Arguing against extraction: NP vs. DP languages

Johnson & Rosen 2015 based many of their arguments on these adjective-like properties.

- A lack of articles.
- Determiner stacking.
- Relatively free ordering of determiners and quantifiers.

Arguing against extraction: NP vs. DP languages

Does MP lack articles?

Unclear.

- MP does lack definite determiners like English ‘a’ and ‘the’.
- As Johnson & Rosen 2015 point out, demonstratives and quantifiers are determiner-like.
- Grishin 2023 and others have assumed MP is a DP language, but I have not found empirical arguments.

Arguing against extraction: NP vs. DP languages

Is there determiner stacking in MP?

Yes, but it isn't a good diagnostic.

- Johnson & Rosen 2015 showed demonstratives and quantifier stacking.
- As LaTerza 2015 showed, clear DP languages can stack determiners.

(12) English demonstratives and quantifiers “stack”
all *these* boys (LaTerza 2015: 93, ex. 29d)

(13) Italian definite articles and possessives determiners
la mia penna
the my pen
'my pen' (LaTerza 2015: 93, ex. 24)

Arguing against extraction: NP vs. DP languages

Do demonstratives and quantifiers order somewhat freely?

Yes, but – again – it isn't a good diagnostic.

- Bošković 2005 showed that possessives and adjectives could order freely in Serbo-Croatian.
- As LaTerza 2015 showed, this is also true of Bulgarian, a clear DP language.

- (14) a. *moja skupa* *kartina*
 my expensive picture
- b. *skupa* *moja* *kartina*
 expensive my picture
 ‘my expensive picture’

(LaTerza 2015: 96, ex. 42b)

Arguing against extraction: Nonconstituent movement

- Under standard minimalist assumptions, nonconstituents cannot be the target of movement.
- Recall this example, where a demonstrative and a modifier both move.

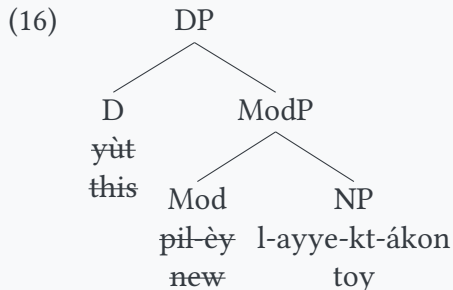
(15) Nopal yùt pil-èy mil-ki-yàn
if.only this.IN new-NF give-UNSP/1-1SG.SUBJ
l-ayye-kt-ákon.
thus-play-TI-NMLZ
'I wish I would be given this new toy.'

(LeSourd 2004: 261, ex. 37c)

Against extraction: Nonconstituent movement

In their base positions, these elements do not form a constituent.

(LeSourd 2004)

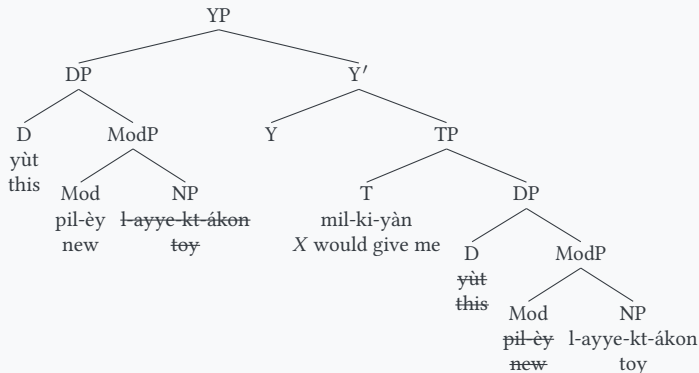


To account for this, one would need multiple steps of movement.

An alternative: Distributed deletion

Bondarenko & Davis 2023 analyzed ostensible nonconstituent movement as distributed deletion.

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Finding more evidence for distributed deletion

- Grishin 2023 argues in favor of a distributed deletion view on the basis of peripheral agreement facts.
- Bondarenko & Davis 2023 used parasitic gaps and scope as diagnostics in their work.
 - Unfortunately, MP does not seem to permit licensing parasitic gaps. (Bruening 2001: 132)
 - Similarly, word order does not affect quantifier scope. (Bruening & Lin 2001)
- Finding diagnostics will require stepping out of the Slavic LBE box.

Summary

1. Noun phrases in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy can be discontinuous.
2. Johnson & Rosen 2015 argued for an extraction analysis of this phenomenon.
3. Johnson & Rosen's diagnostics for MP as a DP language have problems, and extraction doesn't straightforwardly capture movement of more than one prenominal element.
4. Distributed deletion (Grishin 2023) captures ostensible nonconstituent movement easily, though it will require creativity to find additional diagnostics.

Thank you for listening!

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Abbreviations

1	first person	OBV	obviative
3	third person	PL	plural
AI	animate intransitive	POSS	possessive
CJ	conjunct	PROX	proximate
IC	initial change	SG	singular
IN	inanimate	SUBJ	subject
NF	noun final	TA	transitive animate
NMLZ	nominalizer	TI	transitive inanimate
OBJ	object	UNSP	unspecified subject

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