Against an extraction analysis of discontinuous nominals in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy

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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.

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

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About Maliseet-Passamaquoddy

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

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(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)

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

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

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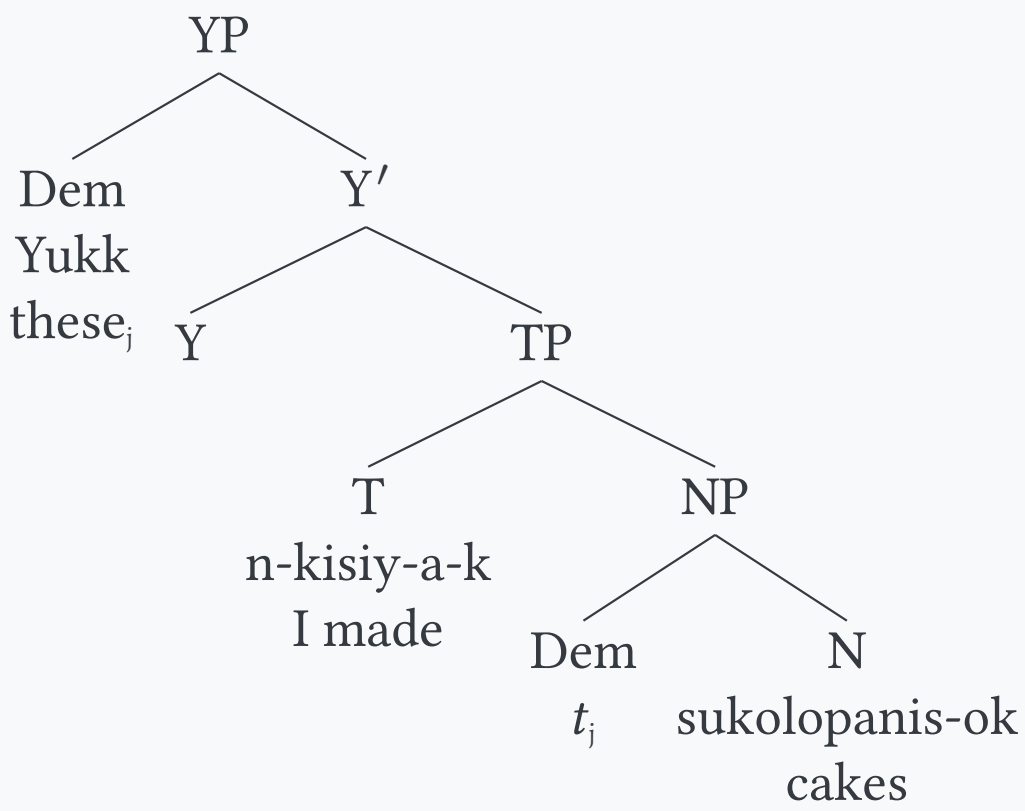

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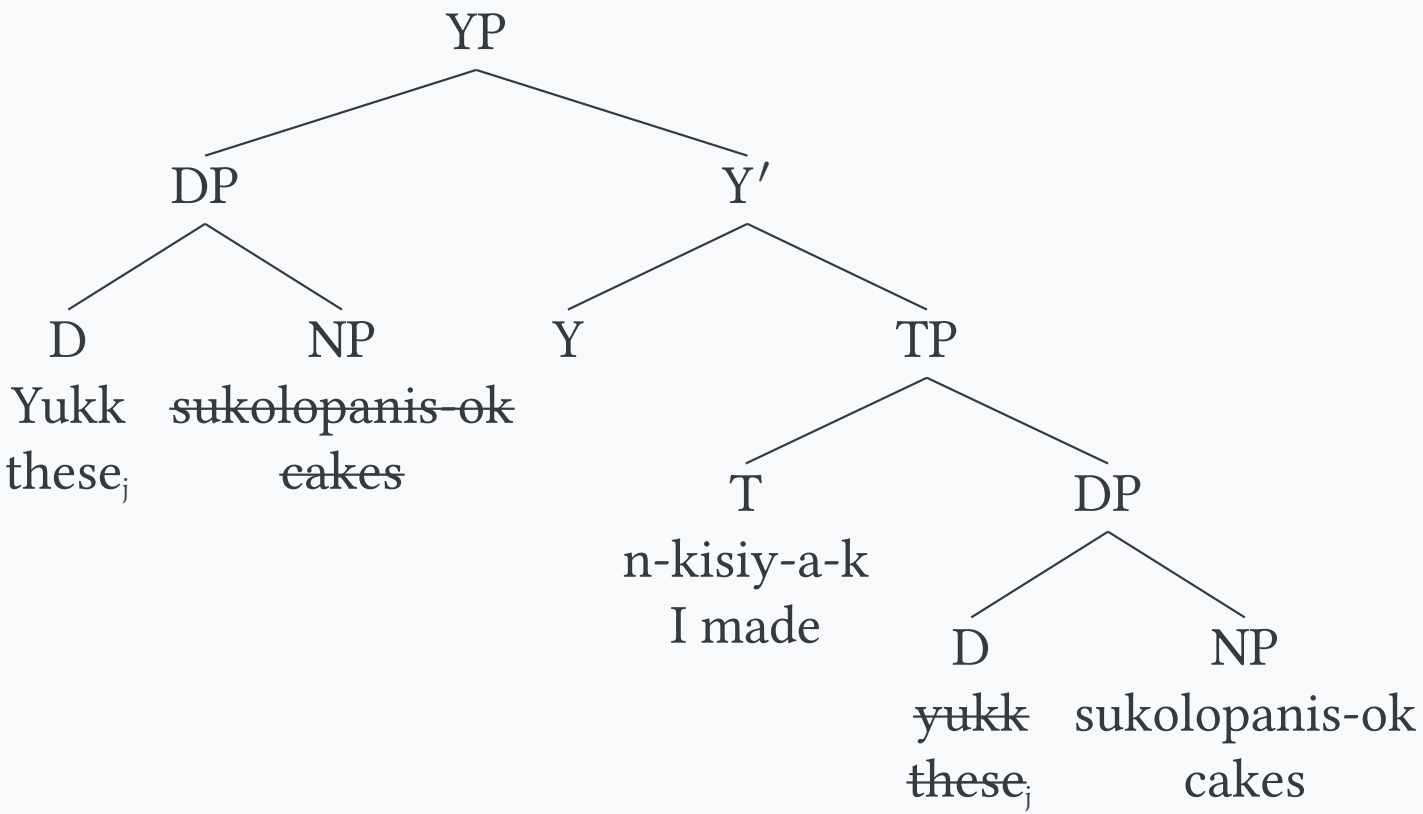

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- Note: Pankau 2021 claims Lower Sorbian (Slavic, Germany) is a DP language with LBE.

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- Relatively free ordering of determiners and quantifiers.

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- 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.

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- 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)

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- 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)

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- Recall this example, where a demonstrative and a modifier both move.

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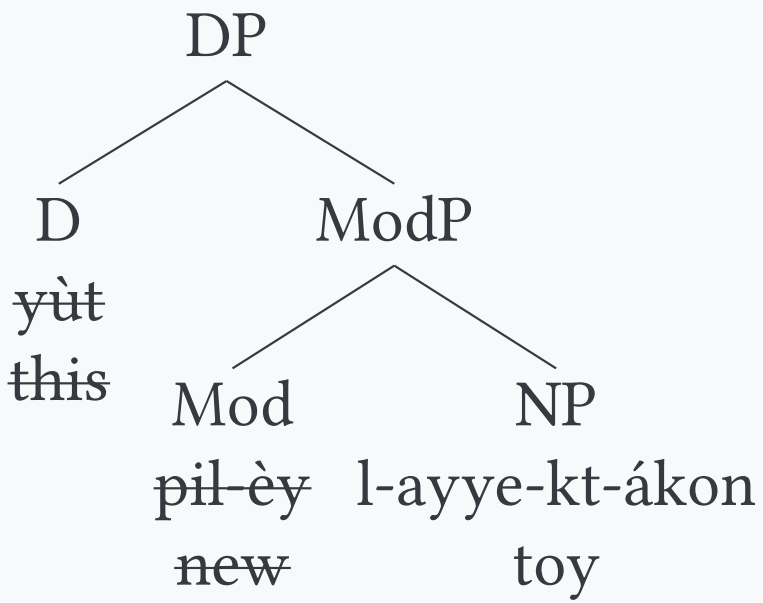

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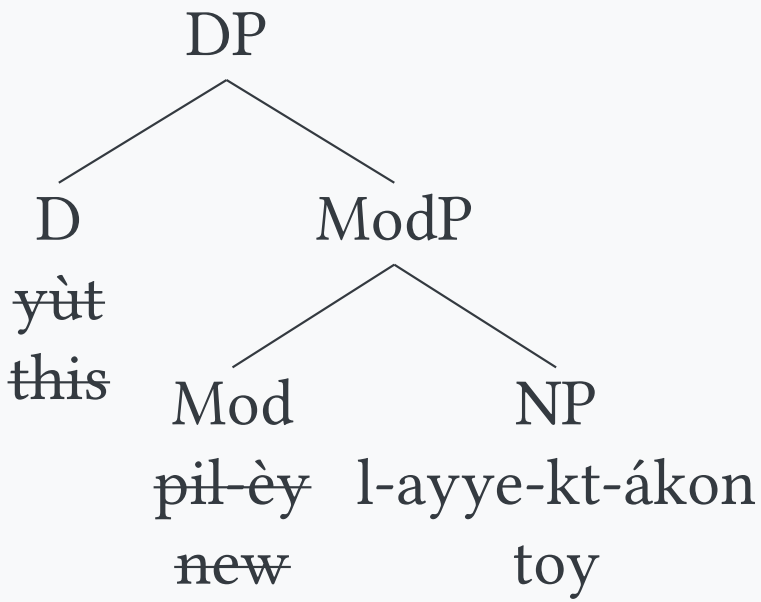

To account for this, one would need multiple steps of movement.

An alternative: Distributed deletion

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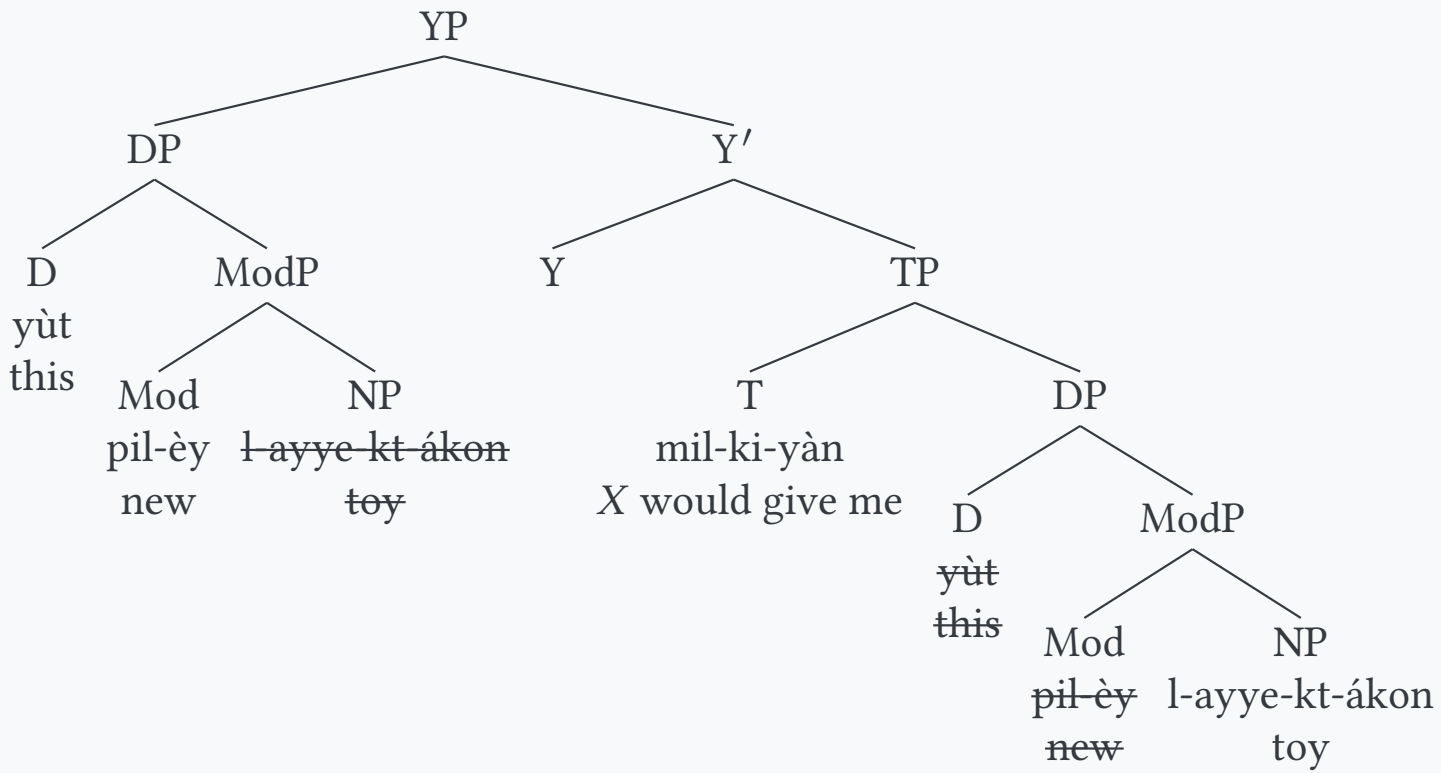

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  - Unfortunately, MP does not seem to permit licensing parasitic gaps. (Bruening 2001: 132)
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- Finding diagnostics will require stepping out of the Slavic LBE box.

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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.

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Thanks also to **Amy Dahlstrom**, her **Winter 2024 Algonquian Morphosyntax course**, and to the **Morphology and Syntax workshop** at UChicago.

Abbreviations

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

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