

## Against an extraction analysis of discontinuous nominals in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy

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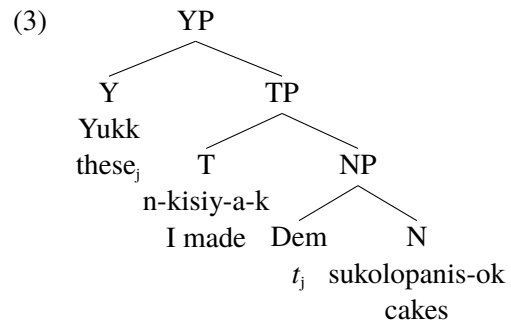
Like some other Algonquian languages, Maliseet-Passamaquoddy (MP), an Eastern Algonquian language of Maine and New Brunswick, features discontinuous nominals (DNs), as the sentence in (1) illustrates.

The nominal ‘these cakes’ is discontinuous because the demonstrative ‘these’ and the noun ‘cakes’ are separated by the verb. One analysis, per the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis (Jelinek 1984), contends that ‘these’ and ‘cakes’ are two independent nominals, not parts of one DN. However, as (2) shows, the order of the demonstrative and noun cannot be reversed, which would not be predicted if they were independent.

- (1) **Yukk** n-kisiy-a-k **sukolopanis-ok.**  
 this.PROX.PL 1-make<sub>TA</sub>-3OBJ-PROX.PL cake-PROX.PL  
 ‘I made these cakes.’
- (2) \* **sukolopanis-ok** n-kisiy-a-k **yukk.**  
 cake-PROX.PL 1-make<sub>TA</sub>-3OBJ-PROX.PL this.PROX.PL  
 \*‘I made cakes these.’ (Grishin 2023: 53, ex. i)

Thus, DN in MP do involve elements displaced from one NP, and an analysis of DN in MP must explain how these elements are displaced (LeSourd 2006). Johnson & Rosen 2015 proposed one analysis, arguing that displaced elements undergo left branch extraction (LBE). I present three arguments against an LBE analysis of MP DN, which also show, contrary to Johnson & Rosen’s predictions, that MP is likely a DP language.

**1. Extraction analysis.** Johnson & Rosen 2015 argued that displaced elements move from the left branch of the noun phrase to topic/focus positions in the left periphery. As evidence, they claimed that MP shares properties with other LBE-permitting languages (henceforth *LBE languages*), including (i) permitting relatively free ordering of determiners and quantifiers and (ii) lacking articles. In (3), I illustrate a generic LBE analysis of (1) with a landing site in YP.



**2. Arguments against an extraction analysis.** One problem for an LBE analysis is that, unlike in LBE languages, MP determiners and quantifiers do not order freely: quantifiers typically precede demonstratives, which always precede numerals (LeSourd 2004, Grishin 2023). Where quantifiers do follow demonstratives, this is an instance of quantifier float, not free ordering. Unlike demonstratives (cf. 2), quantifiers can even be postnominal, supporting a quantifier float account (Bruening 2008: 86).

A second problem is that MP demonstratives introduce domain restriction (DR), a property of articles, which are not expected to be present in an LBE language. DR limits the set of entities with the same NP description to a particular individual. Considering the utterances *A dog and a cat were fighting* and *The dog won*, the dog introduced in the first must be the same as in the second because *the* introduces DR (Gillon 2015: 185). Though negative evidence is still required, examples from two narratives (LeSourd 2007: 154–5 and *Naci-mahsuskane* from Francis & Leavitt 2008, online) suggest that MP demonstratives introduce DR and are thus articles.

A third problem for an LBE analysis is that displaced elements in DN do not need to form a constituent. LeSourd 2004: 261 gives an example in which a demonstrative and nominal modifier are both displaced but fail to form a constituent in their preverbal landing site. Nonconstituent movement is difficult to propose given minimalist assumptions without having to stipulate multiple steps of movement with no clear motivation.

**3. Future directions: Towards an alternative analysis.** Grishin 2023 suggested a covert pied-piping analysis of MP DN. Under this analysis, which assumes the copy theory of movement, entire DPs move to the left periphery, but only parts of each copy are pronounced, resolving the problem of apparent nonconstituent movement. Entire DPs move, but displaced elements are only pronounced in the higher copy, and the noun is only pronounced in the lower copy. Further research is required to explain what rules out cases like (2), preventing nouns from being pronounced higher than associated demonstratives, quantifiers, and modifiers.

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