Configurationality and split NPs: nominal structures in Yucatec Maya

Stavros Skopeteas (Göttingen)

Discontinuity of nominal structures is a source of variation within and between languages. Conditions on discontinuity limit the possibility of subextraction to certain types of noun phrase subconstituents (e.g., determiners and adjectives; *Left Branch Condition* in Ross 1986), to certain argument positions (e.g., objects; *Constraint on Extraction Domain*, Huang 1982) or to certain types of noun phrase (e.g., non-specific indefinites; *Specificity Condition*, Fiengo and Higginbotham 1981; Chomsky 1986). Between languages, the challenge is to capture the structural factors that predict the language-specific possibilities and limitations on discontinuity. The syntactic research of the last 40 years has shown that a simple distinction between configurational and non-configurational languages in terms of Hale 1983 is not fine-grained enough to capture the observed variation.

The aim of this talk is to assess the discontinuous patterns of Yucatec Maya. Extraction of extended nominal projections (possessors and adjunct NPs) is possible in this language, but subconstituents of the Left Branch can only be separated from the head noun in constructions of apparent discontinuity that involve multiple DPs filling the same argument slot. Particular properties of this pattern can be predicted by the properties of nominals (emergence of DP structure, in compliance with Bošković 2005). Different from Slavic languages, Yucatec Maya shows a preference against a remnant in situ, which follows from pragmatic conditions that license discontinuity (discourse feature conflicts, Fanselow and Ćavar 2001) and the information structural possibilities of this language (no focus in situ).