

## When object movement splits the noun phrase

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Discontinuous noun phrases are familiar from languages where a difference in information structural (IS) status leads to a split between a noun and its modifier, with one of these elements A'-moved to an IS position in the clausal left periphery (e.g. [Books]<sub>Top</sub> I saw [THREE]<sub>foc</sub>). This has influenced proposals such as the Contiguity Principle (Fanselow & Ćavar 2002), where any elements base-generated as part of the same DP are predicted to remain contiguous throughout the derivation unless an interpretational difference drives a split in the syntax.

In this talk, I explore a different type of discontinuous DP found in the Bantu (Niger-Congo) language Tunen, which I argue behaves differently from A'-movement-driven discontinuous DPs in not being motivated by a difference in IS interpretation. The Tunen discontinuous DPs are of form S-TAM-O-V-Mod, as in (1):

(1) a. 'How many birds do you see?' (focus=Mod)

b. 'What do you see?' (focus=whole DP)

mé ndo **tunoní** sinə **tólál**.

/me            <sup>H</sup>ndo    **tɔ-noní**            sinə    **tɔ-<sup>H</sup>lálɔ́**/  
SM.1SG    PRS    13-bird            see    13-three

'I see three birds.'

Based on original fieldwork in Cameroon, I show that Tunen discontinuous DPs are compatible with multiple IS contexts, contrary to expectations from the Contiguity Principle and prior descriptions of Tunen (Mous 1997, 2003). I then turn to a generative analysis, arguing against an adverbial analysis where the postverbal modifier is base-generated outside the DP. Instead, I present an analysis where these constructions arise through the independent mechanism of formally-driven object movement, which I discuss in relation to subextraction and copy+deletion analyses. In turn, I show how the discontinuous DP data shed light on the best analysis for Tunen's unusual disharmonic Aux-O-V clausal word order, arguing against a roll-up movement account (as applied to Aux-O-V in e.g. Germanic; Biberauer et al. 2014) and in favour of an account with V-to-v head movement and object movement to SpecvP. In so doing, I relate Tunen's rare type of discontinuous DPs to the innovation of OV word order (Mous 2005).

### References

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