



Variation in Agreement and Pseudo Noun Incorporation in Blackfoot *

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1 Introduction

1.1 Empirical

- Pseudo noun incorporation (PNI) in Blackfoot
- contrast PNI data from younger speaker with that from older speakers
- younger speakers: more freedom in movement of PNI object
- younger speakers: PNI object must be bare (PL okay)
- older speakers: PNI may contain a numeral
- examine prosodic properties of PNI
- prosodic boundary between V and full object (final-devoicing)
- no prosodic boundary between V and PNI object

1.2 Theoretical

- PNI results from "nominal restructuring"
- PNI object is a reduced or "smaller" phrase - no DP or KP
- will relate size of PNI nominal to phase structure
- redundancy: prosodic hierarchy and syntactic hierarchy (phases)
- one can be eliminated
- difference between dialects due to availability of null D head in older dialect

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2 Background

2.1 Theoretical Background

- basic tenets of minimalist syntax and phase theory (Chomsky, 2000, 2001; Svenonius, 2004)
- whole phase undergoes Transfer (Fox and Pesetsky, 2005; Fox and Lasnik, 2003; Newell and Scheer, 2017; Kratzer and Selkirk, 2007; Compton and Pittman, 2010)
- prosodic hierarchy (Nespor and Vogel, 1986; Selkirk, 1984)
- two views:
 - purely intonational approach (Jun, 1998; Bonet et al., 2019; Hayes and Lahiri, 1991)
 - syntactic approach (Selkirk, 2009; Elfner, 2015)
- emerging view: phases map to prosodic domains (Kratzer and Selkirk, 2007; Compton and Pittman, 2010; Newell and Scheer, 2017; Weber, 2020; Newell and Piggott, 2014)

2.2 Noun Incorporation and PNI

- bare N(P) or nP (root($\sqrt{\quad}$) + categorial feature n)
- bare N incorporation: Lexical suffixation in Salish (Wiltschko, 2009).
- nP incorporation - Northern Iroquoian
- caseless nominals: undergo PNI (Dayal, 2011; Massam, 2001).
- typically a NumP

2.3 Blackfoot

- Algonquian language, spoken in southern Alberta (Canada) and Montana (USA), see Figure 1.
- about 5000 speakers, undergoing language shift to English due to aggressive colonialism
- Info on speakers:
 - Bliss (2013)/ Matthewson Weber (2017). – one speaker 58, one speaker late 60's Kainai female speaker (as of 2019)
 - Current study - 5 Kainai speakers, age range was 48 – 63 (as of 2019)
- Age ranges don't quite translate to generational differences. Nevertheless, a clear dialectal distinction is found.
- will sometimes use the terms older and younger dialect
- source of variation to be determined
- polysynthetic - complex verbal morphology¹

¹Abbreviations: DEM - demonstrative; EPEN - epenthetic; FACT - factual; IC - initial change (signals past tense); IMPF - imperfective; INV - inverse; MID - middle voice; NE - nominal particle; NE - nominal particle; NEG - negative; OBV - obviative; PL - plural; PRN - pronoun; PROX - proximate; PUNC - punctual; SG - singular; SRFL - semireflexive NLZR - nominalizer



Figure 1: Map of Blackfoot Territory

- (1) *Nimáátomaikaksooyíhpa okonóksitokíhkitaan*
 nit-maat-oma-ikak-ii-ooyi-hpa okonok-sitok-ihkitaan-n
 1-NEG-yet-even-IC-eat.AI-NPI saskatoon-MID-bake-NLZR
 ‘I have never eaten saskatoon pie.’

- Animacy of absolutive argument encoded in verbal morphology (common to all Algonquian languages)
- transitive verb: animacy of object is encoded
- intransitive verb: animacy of subject is encoded

type	meaning
VTA	verb transitive animate
VTI	verb transitive inanimate
VAI	verb animate intransitive
VII	verb inanimate intransitive

- (2) Animacy agreement in Blackfoot (Bliss, 2018, ex.3(b,c))

- (a) *Náíhkiitatsiwa omi pi’kssíí*
 na-ihkiit-at-yii-wa om-yi pi’kssii-yi
 EVID-bake-TA-DIR-PROX DEM-SG.OBV chicken-SG.OBV
 ‘S/he baked that chicken.’

- (b) *Náihkiitatooma* *omi* *napayíni*
na-ihkiit-atoom-wa om-yi napayin-yi
EVID-bake-TI-DIR-PROX DEM-SG.INAN bread-SG.INAN
‘S/he baked that bread.’

- In(1), the verb final is marked with AI (not TI) because the object is incorporated - a hallmark of PNI
- This phenomenon is well known in the Algonquianist literature by a variety of names (Taylor, 1969; Rhodes, 1991; Frantz, 2017)

3 Blackfoot PNI

3.1 Previous Work

- Bliss (2018) analyzes morphosyntactically impoverished objects with an AI verb as PNI

(3) Blackfoot

- (a) *Náyisoyiwa* *anni* *óta’si*
na-yiis-o-yii-wa ann-yi w-ot’as-yi
EVID-feed-TA-DIR-PROX DEM-SG.OBV 3-horse-SG.OBV
‘He fed his horse.’
- (b) *Náyisakiwa* *ponokáómitaa*
na-yiis-aki-wa ponokaomitaa
EVID-feed-AI-PROX horse
‘He fed a horse/horses.’

3.1.1 Diagnostics for PNI

- Syntax - IN of PNI must always be immediately post-verbal (VP-internal objects)
- the object in (3a) can appear pre-verbally, but that in (3b) cannot as shown in (4)

(4) Strict adjacency in PNI (between V and IN)

- (a) *Anni* *óta’si* *náyisoyiwa*
ann-yi w-ot’as-yi na-yiis-o-yii-wa
DEM-SG.OBV 3-horse-SG.OBV EVID-feed-TA-DIR-PROX
‘He fed his horses.’
- (b) *Náyisakiwa* *ponokáómitaa*
na-yiis-aki-wa ponokaomitaa
EVID-feed-AI-PROX horse
‘He fed a horse/horses’

- Semantics - IN takes narrow scope, lacks a referent (non-specific and indefinite), and displays number-neutrality

(5) Semantic characteristics of IN

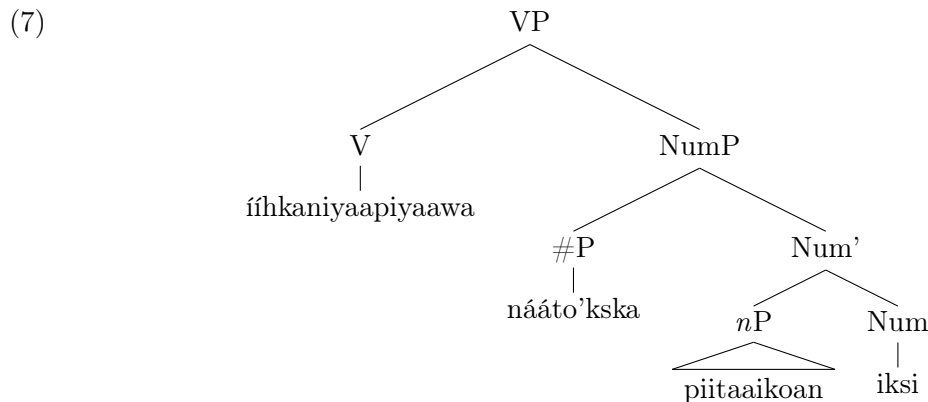
- (a) *Íihkaniyaapiyaawa piítaa*
 iihkan-yaapi-yi-aawa piitaa
 all-see.AI-PL-3PL.PRN eagle
 ‘They all saw an eagle.’ (∀ > ∃, *∃ > ∀)
- (b) *Omiksi aapi’siks áwaatoyaawa ?Nitáyoohito aapi’si*
 om-iksi aapi’si-iksi a-yaato-yi-aawa nit-a-yoohto aapi’si
 DEM-PL coyote-PL IMPF-howl-PL-3PL.PRN 1-IMPF-hear.AI coyote
 ‘Those coyotes are howling. ?I see a coyote/coyotes.’
- (c) *Nitayáákssooyo’si maataáki*
 nit-yaak-ioyo’si maataaki
 1-FUT-cook.AI potato
 ‘I am going to cook a potato/some potatoes.’

- Morphosyntax - IN can be inflected for plurals (NumP) and host various nominal modifiers but cannot host demonstrative determiners (smaller than DP)

(6) Morphosyntactic characteristics of IN

- (a) *Anna Joel ái’pihtakiwa omahkóóhkotokists.*
 ann-wa J wai’piht-aki-wa omahk-oohkotok-istsi
 DEM-SG.PROX J haul-AI-PROX big-rock-PL
 ‘Joel hauled some big rocks.’
- (b) *Nitsíihkoonimaahpinnaan nááto’kska piitáikoaiks [plural + numeral]*
 nit-ii-ohkoon-imaahpinnaan naato’kska piitaa-ikoan-iksi
 1-IC-find-AI-1PL two eagle-DIM-PL
 ‘We found two eaglets.’
- (c) *Nitáíkskima (*oma) ponoká*
 nit-a-ikskim-aa om-wa ponoka
 1-IMPF-hunt-AI DEM-SG.PROX elk
 ‘Carry pieces of firewood that are already chopped!’

- Structure of PNI in Blackfoot



3.2 Current Work

- In our recent field research (Calgary, Alberta; July 24-27, 2019), we discovered that strict adjacency in PNI can allow an intervening adverb and IN can be preposed.²

(8) Strict adjacency violated in PNI (contra Bliss)

- (a) *Nitsíipommoawa* *oma* *amopístaan* *matónnii*
 nit-ii-ipomm-o-a-wa om-wa amopistaan-wa matónnii
 I-IC-transfer-TA-DIR-PROX DEM-SG.PROX bundle-SG.PROX yesterday
 ‘I transferred him/her that bundle yesterday.’
- (b) *Nitsíipommaki* *amopístaan* *matónnii*
 nit-ii-ipomm-aki amopistaan-wa matónnii
 I-IC-transfer-AI bundle-SG.PROX yesterday
 ‘I transferred a bundle yesterday.’
- (c) *Nitsíipommaki* *matónnii* *amopístaan*
 nit-ii-ipomm-aki matónnii amopistaan-wa
 I-IC-transfer-AI yesterday bundle-SG.PROX
 ‘I transferred a bundle yesterday.’
- (d) *Amopístaan* *nitsíipommaki* *matónnii*
 amopistaan-wa nit-ii-ipomm-aki matónnii
 bundle-SG.PROX I-IC-transfer-AI yesterday
 ‘I transferred a bundle yesterday.’
- (e) *Matónnii* *nitsíipommaki* *amopístaan*
 matónnii nit-ii-ipomm-aki amopistaan-wa
 yesterday I-IC-transfer-AI bundle-SG.PROX
 ‘I transferred a bundle yesterday.’

- Near minimal pair
- partial morphological breakdown only

- (9) (a) *aískiitaa* *nitawáaki* *annohk*.
 a-ihkiit-aa nitawáaki annohk
 DUR-bake-AI chicken now
 ‘S/he is cooking a chicken now.’
- (b) *Anna Leo* *iskíútatsii* *omi* *nitawáaki* *matónnii*.
 Anna Leo ihkiit-at-yii omi nitawáaki matónnii
 DEM Leo bake-TA-SG.OBV DEM chicken yesterday
 ‘Leo cooked that chicken yesterday.’

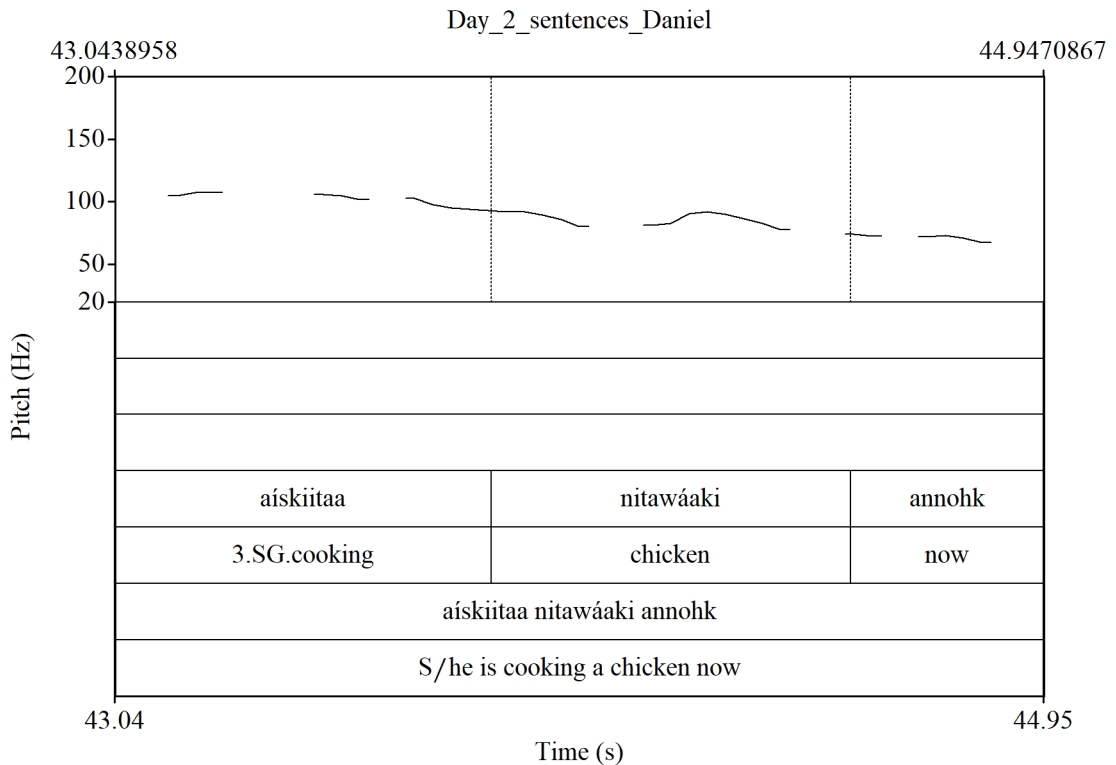
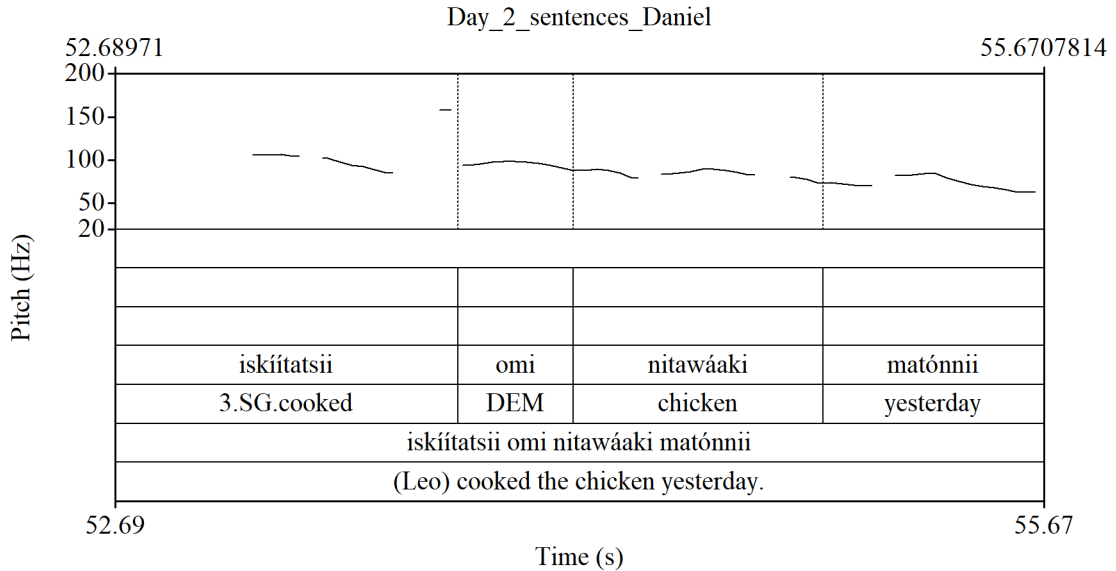
- temporal adverbials like *matónnii* can appear between verb and IN(8 c)
- IN can precede V(8 d)

²In more conservative varieties of Blackfoot the form for ‘bundle’ in this context is *amopístaana*, where the *-a* is the singular proximate suffix. In some varieties of Blackfoot it is whispered, which, unsurprisingly, has led to its virtual disappearance in the variety studied here. It is unclear whether this suffix in this variety is null or completely absent. In the Algonquianist tradition the suffix is included in the gloss.

- final devoicing indicative of prosodic boundary (Windsor, 2017)
- Prosodic Hierarchy (Selkirk, 1982; Nespor and Vogel, 1986):

(10) (a) Intonational phrase > phonological phrase > phonological word
 (b) $\iota > \phi > \omega$

- Slight verb-final devoicing with full KP object
- No verb-final devoicing with PNI object



3.3 Summary

- Similar PNI properties found with Bliss
 - lack of demonstratives
 - intransitive agreement on verb
 - low scope
- PNI properties that differ from Bliss
 - freer movement (can be preverbal)
 - adverbs can intervene between N and PNI object
 - weaker prosodic boundary between V and PNI object (not tested in Bliss)

4 Plural Marking in Blackfoot

4.1 Previous work I

- results from Bliss (2018, 2013); Matthewson and Weber (2017)
- Plural marking on nouns is obligatory in certain contexts.
- will consider both transitive and intransitive (PNI) contexts

4.1.1 Transitive

- Either a Dem-N or Numeral-N can be an object of transitive verbs
- A plural marker on an object is obligatory in the presence of demonstrative (11 a) or numeral (11 b).

(11) Bliss (2013)

(a) *Na Myaaniwa ayakohkóónoyiwa omiksi póósiks.*
ann-wa M-wa wayak-ohkoono-yii-wa om-iksi poos*(-iksi)
DEM-PROX M-PROX both-find.TA-3:4-PROX DEM-PL cat-PL

‘Mary found both of those cats.’

(b) *Nitsíínowayi nióóskami póósiks.*
nit-ii-ino-a-yi niookskami poos*(-iksi)
1-IC-see.TA-DIR-PL three cat-PL

‘I saw three cats.’

4.1.2 Intransitive - PNI

- PNI object can be bare as in (8 b)
- PNI object can also have a bare N and a numeral (but still no demonstrative), example (12)
- Observe in the following example that plural marking is obligatory on the object (Bliss, 2013).

- (12) *Nitohkómiihka níisitsim mamúks.*
 nit-ohkott-omii-hkaa niisitsim mamii*(-iksi)
 1-ABL-fish-acquire.IA five fish-PL
 ‘I was able to catch five fish.’

- Recall that an object consisting of a numeral and a bare noun can also be a direct object of a transitive verb (11 b)
- Matthewson and Weber (2017) provide the following minimal pair.

- (13) *á’pistotsimya nióókskayi itáísóyo’pists*
 a’pistotsi-m-yi=aawa niookska-yi itaisooyo’p-istsi
 build.TI-DIR-PL=PRX.PL three.INAN-PL table-INAN.PL
 ‘They built three tables.’

- (14) *á’pistotakiyya nióókskayi itáísóyo’pists*
 a’pistotaki-yi=aawa niookska-yi itaisooyo’p-ists
 build.IA-PL=PRX.PL three.INAN-PL table-IN.PL
 ‘They built three tables.’

4.2 Previous Work II

- Results from Kim et al. (2017)
 - Data from younger speakers, some of whom overlap with ours
 - Same finding as ours:
 - numeral + N phrase can appear as an object of AI verbs only; but not discussed.
 - AI allows a bare noun or bare plural objects
 - TA/TI allows dem-N or DEM-PL +N-pl objects
 - Differences from our findings:
 - our data: DEM-PL N-(PL)
 - their data: not mentioned
 - their analysis suggests: DEM-PL N-*(PL)
 - Transitive Inanimate (TI): plural vs. singular
- (15) (a) *Nitoowatoo’pi annistsi aipasstaamistsi.*
 nit-oowatoo-’p-yi ann-istsi aipasstaam-istsi
 1-eat.TI-TH-3PL DEM-PL apple-PL
 ‘I ate those apples.’
- (b) *Nitoowatoo’pa anni aipasstaam*
 nit-oowatoo-’p-wa ann-yi aipasstaam-yi
 1-eat.TI-TH-3SG DEM-SG apple-SG
 ‘I ate that apple.’

- Their proposal:

- Bf has two qualitatively different number features
- With TA/TI verbs, number realizes as a head (NumP/PhiP)
- With AI verbs, it realizes as a modifier (in the sense of Wiltschko, 2008).
- first three points are similar to what we have proposed.
- AI objects lack a NumP; a plural is a modifying feature on a head that is responsible for [animate] feature (i.e., nominal I(nner)-Asp).
- Different from ours with respect to the locus of a modifying plural
- This proposal seems to make sense, as double plural marking in Bf is not possible.

4.3 Current Findings

- New data from Kainai Blackfoot - "Younger" dialect
- point out differences from previous work

4.3.1 Transitives

- plural marking obligatory on demonstratives
- optional on numeral and noun

- (16) (a) *Nitsiinowa* *omi* *aakiikoan*
 nit-ii-ino-a-wa omi aakiikoan
 1-IC-see.TA-DIR-SG DEM girl
 ‘I saw that girl.’
- (b) *Nitsiinowa* *omiksi* *aakiikoan(-iksi)*
 nit-ii-ino-a-yi om-iksi aakiikoan(-iksi)
 1-ic-see.ta-dir-pl DEM-PL girl(-pl)
 ‘I saw those girls.’
- (c) *Nitsiinowa* *omiksi* *naato’kam* *aakiikoan(-iksi)*
 nit-ii-ino-a-yi om-iksi naato’kam(-iksi) aakiikoan(-iksi)
 1-IC-see.TA-DIR-PL DEM-PL three.AN(-PL) girl(-PL)
 ‘I saw those three girls.’

- Nml + N with plural marking option cannot appear as an object of transitives

- (17) (a) **Nitsiinowa* *naato’kam* *aakiikoan*
 nit-ii-ino-a-yi naato’kam aakiikoan
 1-IC-see.TA-DIR-PL three.AN girl
 ‘(I saw three girls.)’
- (b) **Nitsiinowa* *naato’kam* *aakiikoan-iksi*
 nit-ii-ino-a-yi naato’kam aakiikoan-iksi
 1-IC-see.TA-DIR-PL three.ANIM girl-PL
 ‘(I saw three girls.)’

4.3.2 Intransitives - PNI

- PNI allows a bare noun or bare plural object

- (18) (a) *nitsiyaap aakiikoan*
 nit-yaap aakiikoan
 1-see.AI girl
 ‘I saw a girl/girls.’
- (b) *nitsiyaap aakiikoan-iksi*
 nit-yaap aakiikoan-iksi
 1-see.AI girl-PL
 ‘I saw girls.’

- PNI also allows an object with a numeral
- Plural marker on noun is not obligatory

- (19) *nitsiyaap naato’kam aakiikoan(-iksi)*
 nit-yaap naato’kam aakiikoan(-iksi)
 1-see.AI two.ANIM girl-PL
 ‘I saw two girls.’

5 Summary of Differences

	older	younger
movement of PNI object	immediately post-verbal only	can scramble
adverbs and PNI	cannot intervene between V and Obj	can intervene
prosodic boundary (V+PNI Obj)	not tested	weak boundary
PL on both DEM and N	obligatory	optional/dispreferred
bare N	PNI only	PNI only
N-PL	PNI only	PNI only
Num + N(-pl)	PNI optional	PNI only
DEM + N	no PNI	no PNI

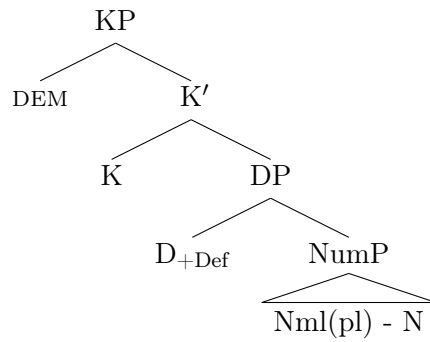
6 Discussion

6.1 Differences in PNI

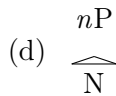
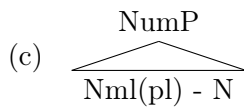
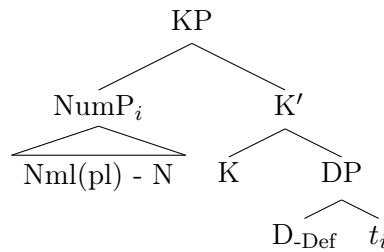
- tentative proposal: Older dialect has a phonologically null [-DEF] D head
- younger dialect lacks this head
- In both dialects K has an EPP feature
- Four possible structures in Older dialect

(20) Nominal Structures in "Older" Dialect

(a)



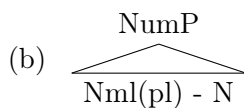
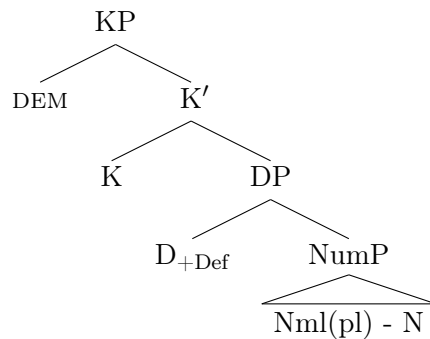
(b)



- structures for the following scenarios, respectively
 - full KP object - EPP satisfied by DEM
 - transitive V with Nml + N object - EPP satisfied by NumP
 - intransitive V with Nml + N
 - bare N
- moving on to the Younger dialect

(21) Nominal Structures in "Younger" Dialect

(a)

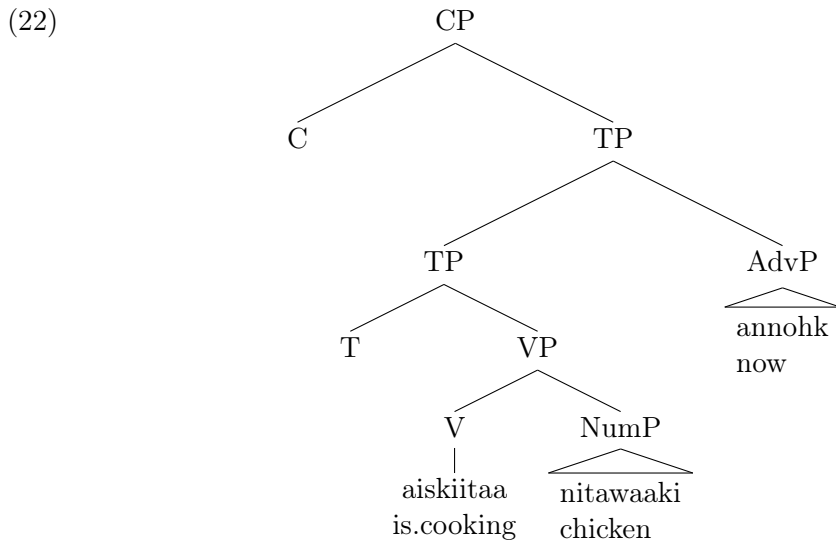


(c) $\frac{nP}{N}$

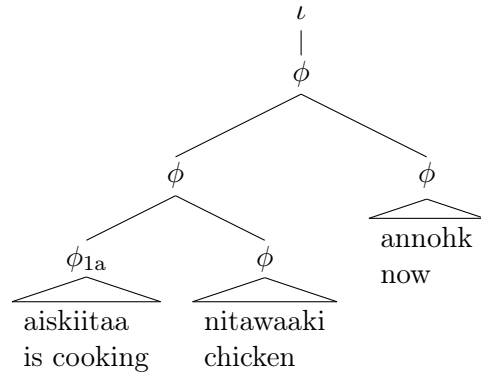
- structures for the following scenarios, respectively
 - full KP object - EPP satisfied by DEM
 - intransitive V with Nml + N
 - bare N
- Question:
 - Why can't nP satisfy EPP (possible answer below)
 - Why can't we have a bare DP? - bare DP PNI objects seem to be quite rare

6.2 Prosodic Properties

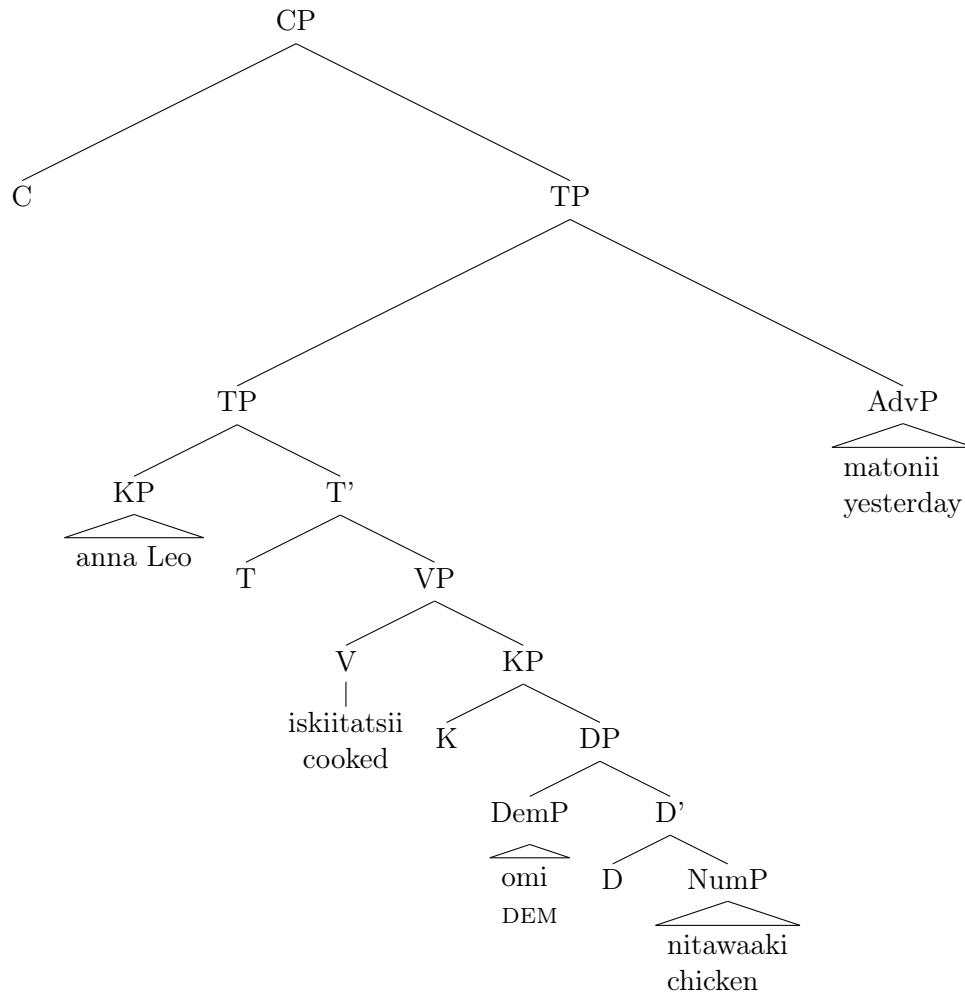
- PNI involves selection of a NumP rather than a full KP
- morphological evidence: no demonstratives; plural marking possible
- final-devoicing marks right edge of ϕ (Windsor, 2017)
- not found with PNI object
- Match Theory:
 - Match ι to clause (CP)
 - Match ϕ to XP
 - Match ω to X (syntactic word)
- Windsor and Weber argue that the verbal complex is a phonological phrase rather than a phonological word.
- based on final devoicing on verb (Windsor) and other extensive phenomena (Weber)



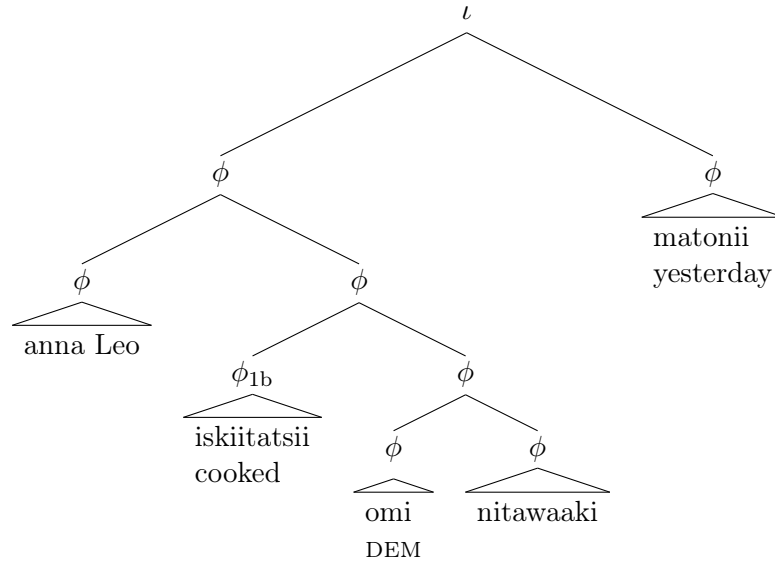
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(24)

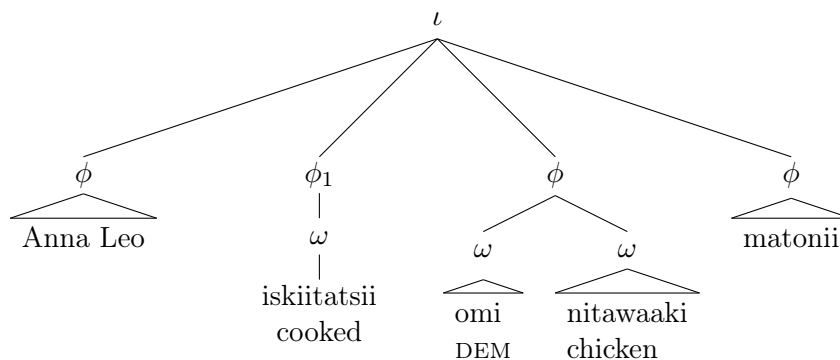


(25)

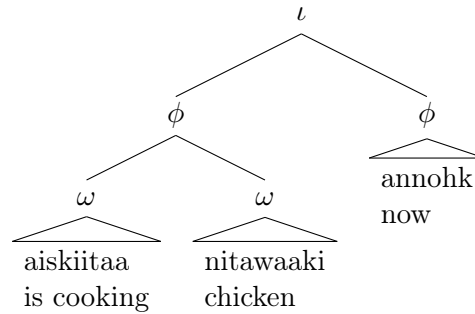


- Both ϕ_{1a} and ϕ_{1b} are minimal ϕ 's
- ϕ_{1a} does not have final devoicing
- ϕ_{1b} has final devoicing
- no way to capture this asymmetry
- cannot relate all XPs to ϕ
- Prosodic Hierarchy = Syntactic Hierarchy (phases) (Newell, 2008; Kahnemuyipour, 2009; Weber, 2020)
- adopt Weber's (2020) analysis of Blackfoot:
 - Match ι to utterance (adapted)
 - Match ϕ to CP and KP
 - Match ω to vP
- final-devoicing at right edge of ϕ .
- Weber: CP ϕ defined negatively
- proposal: KP undergoes Transfer - no longer part of CP (see also Clemens, 2019)

(26)



- right edge of ϕ exhibits final-devoicing
- PNI structure
- object is only NumP
- does not undergo Transfer - remains with CP



- no final-devoicing on verb
- Back to why nP cannot satisfy EPP
- As shown above, a bare nP is prosodically deficient
- DEM in Blackfoot forms its own ϕ - final devoicing (Windsor, 2017)
- to test: prosodic properties of Num + N in older dialect - both with transitive V and with intransitive V (PNI).

7 Conclusion

- We examined PNI in younger speakers in Blackfoot
- In addition to greater freedom in movement of PNI object, we noted the following prosodic correlate of PNI
- V + full object - prosodic boundary (final-devoicing)
- V + PNI object - no prosodic boundary
- traditional Match Theory didn't provide any insight into this asymmetry
- If we assume Match Theory makes reference only to phase heads, then the asymmetry falls into place
- small step toward the unification of Match Theory and Phase Theory, in line with Weber (2020).

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