

# A SPLIT DP ANALYSIS OF BLACKFOOT NOMINAL EXPRESSIONS\*

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## 1. Introduction

In Blackfoot, an NP may appear disjoint from its modifier. In (1a)<sup>1</sup>, the demonstrative and noun are string-adjacent, but in (1b), the verb intervenes between the demonstrative and the noun. I refer to constructions in (1b) (in which the modifier and NP are not string-adjacent) as **DISCONTINUOUS EXPRESSIONS**.

- (1) a. *Áóhkiwa*                      *oma*                      *imitááw*.  
a-ohki-wa                      om-wa                      imitaa-wa  
IMPF-bark.AI-PROX           DEM-PROX           dog-PROX  
“That dog is barking.”
- b. *Óóma áóhkiwa imitááw*.

In this paper, I make two main claims. First, I demonstrate that, unlike what has been argued for discontinuous expressions in other languages, discontinuous expressions in Blackfoot cannot be accounted for under a Pronominal Argument model of nominal licensing, or by a focus movement analysis. Second, I will provide evidence in favour of a split DP account of nominal licensing, in which demonstratives and the nouns they modify are base-generated in non-string-adjacent positions.

This paper proceeds as follows. In §2, I outline the basic tenets of the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis (or PAH) and the predictions it yields for discontinuous expressions, and I demonstrate that these predictions are not borne out in Blackfoot. In §3, I do the same for the focus movement account of discontinuous expressions, again showing that the predictions are not borne out in Blackfoot. In §4 I show that discontinuity in Blackfoot requires referential-linking, i.e., only expressions that are co-referential with verbal inflection can be

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\* Blackfoot is a Plains Algonquian language spoken in Southern Alberta. Unless otherwise cited, data are from my fieldwork with two consultants from the Siksiká and Kaináá dialects. The generalizations presented here reflect my consultants’ judgments, and are not necessarily consistent with Frantz’s (2009) Blackfoot Grammar. Many thanks to Rachel Ermineskin and Beatrice Bullshields for sharing their language with me.

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations: 1,2,3 = 1<sup>st</sup>,2<sup>nd</sup>,3<sup>rd</sup> person, ABL = ability; AI = animate intransitive; CONJ(unct); DEM(onstrative); DIR(ect); FOC(us); IC = initial change; IMPF = imperfective; INAN(imate); INSTR(umental); INTS = intensifier; LOC(ative); NA = nonaffirmative; NEG(ation); NF = nonfactive; OBV(iative); PL(ural); PRN = pronoun; PROX(imate);TA = transitive animate; TI = transitive inanimate.

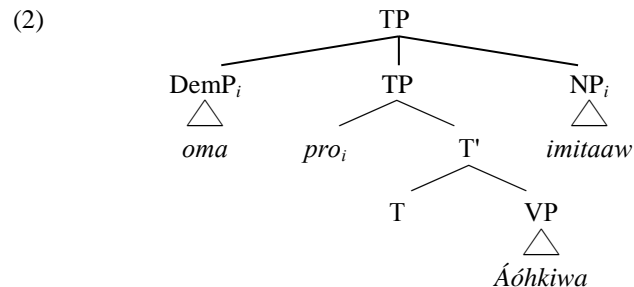
discontinuous. In §5 I develop my proposal for a split DP model of Blackfoot nominal expressions, and in §6, I conclude.

## 2. Discontinuous Expressions and the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis (PAH)

Like other Algonquian languages, Blackfoot possesses the canonical properties of a non-configurational language, in the sense of Hale (1983). Namely, in these languages, the word order is relatively free, there is null anaphora (i.e., overt argument expressions are not required), and discontinuous expressions are permitted. Based on this clustering of properties, Algonquian languages are often assumed or analysed to be Pronominal Argument (PA) languages, in which the hierarchical structure of a clause is not reflected in the syntactic positions of the overt nominal expressions. Specifically, in PA languages, argument positions are thought to be occupied by either agreement morphemes themselves (Jelinek 1984) or null *pros* that are licensed by agreement (Baker 1991). In this section, I address the question of whether Blackfoot's discontinuous nominal expressions be accounted for under the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis.

### 2.1 Predictions of the PAH

The PAH's account of discontinuous expressions is a referential linking account. In essence, under the PAH, the NP and its modifier are referentially-linked adjuncts, both (individually) licensed by a pronominal argument. This analysis predicts discontinuous argument expressions to exist; because the NP and its modifier don't form a constituent underlyingly, they need not appear string-adjacent. This view of discontinuity is schematized in (2) for the sentence in (1b):



The PAH's account of discontinuity yields a number of predictions about the nature of discontinuous expressions. First, if both the NP and the modifier are referentially-linked adjuncts, then the relative ordering of the two should be unrestricted. Second, if discontinuity is made possible by pronominal arguments, then nominal expressions not coreferential with a pronominal argument (e.g.,

adjuncts) should not be discontinuous. In the following section, I demonstrate that neither of these predictions is borne out in Blackfoot.

## 2.2 PAH Cannot Account for Discontinuity

As has been shown for other Algonquian languages (e.g., Swampy Cree, Reinholtz 1999; Ojibwe, Lochbihler 2009), discontinuity in Blackfoot is both more and less restricted than as predicted by the PAH. The table in (3) summarizes these findings.

### (3) Testing the predictions of the PAH

	Predictions	Blackfoot
#1	Unrestricted ordering of NP and modifier	✗
#2	Argument / adjunct asymmetry	✗

Regarding the first prediction, the NP and its modifier are not freely ordered in Blackfoot. Rather, discontinuous or not, the only possible word order permutations are those in which the modifier precedes the NP (and not vice versa). This is shown in (4)-(6) below.

- (4) a. *Áyo'kaa oma nínaaw.*  
 a-yo'kaa-wa om-wa nínaa-wa  
 IMPF-sleep.AI-PROX DEM-PROX man-PROX  
 "That man is sleeping."
- b. \**Áyo'kaa nínaaw oma.*
- (5) a. *Oma nínaaw áyo'kaa.*
- b. \**Nínaaw oma áyo'kaa.*
- (6) a. *Óóma áyo'kaa nínaaw.*
- b. \**Nínaaw áyo'kaa oma.*

In (4), the demonstrative and the noun are both post-verbal and only the word order in which the demonstrative precedes the noun (4a) is grammatical. The reverse order, in which the demonstrative follows the noun (4b) is ungrammatical. Similarly in (5), the demonstrative and noun are both preverbal, and again, the only grammatical order is the one in which the demonstrative precedes the noun (5a) rather than follows it (5b). Finally in (6), the demonstrative and the noun are discontinuous, separated by the verb. As in (4) and (5), the demonstrative must precede the noun (6a) and not vice versa (6b). In short, the first prediction of the PAH, that noun-modifier ordering is unrestricted, is not borne out in Blackfoot.

The second prediction of the PAH is that only nominal expressions that are coreferential with a pronominal argument should be discontinuous. However, as shown in (7)-(10) below, both argument and adjunct nominal expressions can be discontinuous in Blackfoot.

- (7) a. *Áípaawaniyi omiksi pi'kssíks.*  
 a-ípaawanii-yi om-iksi pi'kssii-iksi  
 IMPF-fly.AI-3PL DEM-PL bird-PL  
 "Those birds are flying."  
 b. *Ómiksi áípaawaniyi pi'kssíks.*
- (8) a. *Nitsikáákomimmaa anná niksísst.*  
 nit-ik-waakomimm-a-wa ann-wa n-iksísst  
 I-INTS-love.TA-DIR-3SG.PROX DEM-PROX 1-mother  
 "I love my mother."  
 b. *Anna nitsikáákomimmaa niksísst.*
- (9) a. *Nítsitspsstso'kaa omi ksikkokóowa.*  
 nit-it-ipsst-yo'kaa om-yi ksikkokoowa  
 1-LOC-in-sleep.AI DEM-INAN tent  
 "I slept in that tent."  
 b. *Óomi nítsitspsstso'kaa ksikkokóowa.*
- (10) a. *Nító'ohtsiitsittsima oma isttoán.*  
 nit-oht-yiitsittsima om-wa isttoan  
 I-INSTR-cut.meat.AI DEM-PROX knife  
 "I cut meat with that knife."  
 b. *Óóma nitó'ohtsiitsittsima isttoán.*

In (7b) and (8b), the logical subject and object, respectively, are discontinuous. Note that, in both of these examples, a pronominal suffix appears on the verb, co-indexing the phi features (person and number) of the argument expression in question. In (9b) and (10b), two adjunct expressions, a location and an instrument, are discontinuous. These expressions are not co-indexed with a pronominal suffix that marks phi features, but rather, with a *linker* (cf. Frantz 2009) that marks the thematic relation of the nominal expression to the predicate. The observation that both argument expressions like those in (7) and (8) and adjunct expressions like those in (9) and (10) can be discontinuous shows that the second prediction of the PAH is not borne out.

To summarize, the PAH cannot account for discontinuous nominal expressions in Blackfoot, which cannot be freely ordered but can function as either arguments or adjuncts in the clause. In the following section, I consider an

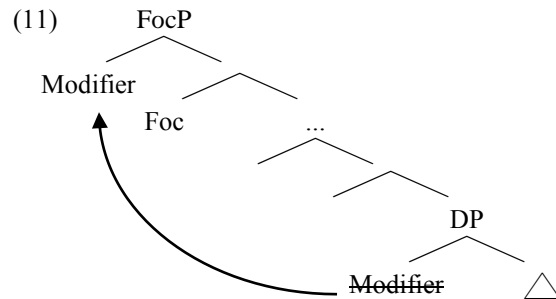
alternative analysis of discontinuous expressions, namely that they are derived via focus movement, and I demonstrate that this analysis also cannot account for the properties of discontinuity in Blackfoot.

### 3. Focus Movement

As noted in the preceding section, like in Blackfoot, discontinuous expressions in other Algonquian languages have been shown not to conform to the predictions of the PAH (cf. Russell & Reinholtz 1995, Reinholtz 1999 for Swampy Cree, Lochbihler 2009 for Ojibwe). Rather, in these languages, discontinuous expressions have been analysed as forming syntactic constituents underlyingly. Under this account, discontinuity is argued to arise via focus movement. In this section, I consider the question of whether Blackfoot's discontinuous nominal expressions can similarly be analysed as derived by focus movement.

#### 3.1 Predictions of the Focus Movement Account

Under the focus movement account, nominal modifiers are merged DP-internally and move to a preverbal focus position, as schematized in (11).<sup>2</sup>



The focus movement account yields predictions about the syntactic and semantic nature of discontinuous expressions. First, if the modifier moves to a preverbal focus position, then it should consistently receive a focus (or contrast) interpretation. Second, if the modifier undergoes focus movement, then it should appear in the focus position in the sentence. In the following section, I demonstrate that neither of these predictions is borne out in Blackfoot.

<sup>2</sup> The focus movement analyses vary somewhat in their implementation. For example, whereas Reinholtz (1999) adopts the PAH (aside from its treatment of discontinuous expressions) and analyses the modifiers as occupying Spec, NP, Lochbihler (2009) assumes a configurational syntax, and analyses the modifiers as DP adjuncts. I abstract away from these differences here.

### 3.2 Discontinuity is not Focus Movement

Lochbihler (2009) demonstrates that both predictions of the focus movement account are borne out for Ojibwe. However, the same cannot be said for Blackfoot, as summarized in the table below.

(12) Testing the predictions of the focus movement account

	Predictions	Blackfoot
#1	Modifier receives focus interpretation	✗
#2	Modifier moves to a focus position	✗

Regarding the first prediction, the modifier in discontinuous expressions in Blackfoot need not receive a focus interpretation. A clear and unambiguous test for contrastive focus in Blackfoot comes from the morpheme *ikak-*, which functions as an overt focus operator meaning “only” (cf. Bliss 2010). This focus operator can associate with the modifier in either a continuous (13a) or discontinuous (13b) nominal expression, yielding contrast readings for both:

- (13) a. *Nikákomiihka ni'tókskam mamíí.*  
 n-**ikak**-omii-hkaa ni'tókskam mamii  
 I-**only**-fish-acquire.AI one fish  
 “I only caught one fish.” (not more than one)
- b. *Ni'tókskam nikákomiihka mamíí.*

In (13a), the focus operator associates with the numeral modifier *ni'tókskam* “one,” yielding a contrastive reading for the numeral. The same interpretation is possible when the numeral and noun are discontinuous in (13b). Whether the nominal expression is continuous or discontinuous, the contrast reading introduced by *ikak-* is not cancellable; neither (13a) nor (13b) can be felicitously followed by (14):

- (14) #*Kiáamaahsiksi nitohkómiihka niisitsim mamííks.*  
 kiaamaahsiksi nit-ohk-omii-hkaa niisitsim mamii-iksi  
 actually I-ABL-fish-acquire.AI five fish-PL  
 “Actually I was able to catch five fish.”

In short, a focus interpretation for the modifier is possible regardless of whether the modifier is disjoint from the noun or not.

Comparatively, in the absence of the focus operator, a contrast reading of the modifier is not required, as shown in (15).

- (15) a. *Nitómiihkatsiwa ni'tókskam mamíí.*  
 nit-omii-hkat-yii-wa ni'tókskam mamii  
 I-fish-acquire.TA-3:4-PROX one fish  
 “I caught one fish.”

b. *Ni'tókskam nitómiihkatsiwa mamíi.*

In both (15a) and (15b), the modifier is not contrastively focused. This becomes particularly evident in light of the fact that both the continuous (15a) and discontinuous (15b) expressions can be felicitously followed by (14). In short, the modifier need not receive a focus interpretation, and thus, the first prediction of the focus movement account is not borne out.

The second prediction is that, if discontinuity arises via focus movement, the modifier should appear in a focus position. In order to test this prediction, we first need to consider what the focus position is in Blackfoot.

Algonquian languages are claimed to have dedicated positions in the left clausal periphery for Topic (i.e., old information, what the sentence is about) and Focus (i.e., new/contrastive information)<sup>3</sup>. However, there is some cross-Algonquian variation in whether it is Topic or Focus that is leftmost. Languages that have been reported to show an ordering in which the Focus precedes the Topic include Swampy Cree (Reinholtz 1999), East Cree (Junker 2004), and Ojibwe (Kathol and Rhodes 1999). Conversely, languages that have been reported to have Topic preceding Focus include Meskwaki (Dahlstrom 1995) and Plains Cree (Müehlbauer 2003). Consistent with Denzer-King (2009), I propose that Blackfoot patterns with the first type of languages, in which the leftmost preverbal position is Focus. Evidence in support of this ordering comes from Question/Answer pairs with two overt nominal expressions. In these contexts, only the nominal expression that provides the answer to the question (i.e., the Focus) can appear preverbally.

(16) Q: *Anna Rosie tsikáá íhkotsiwa anni issítsimaani?*  
 anna R tsikaa ii-ohkot-yii-wa anni issitsimaan-yi  
 DEM R who IC-give.TA-3:4-3SDEM baby-OBV  
 “Who did Rosie give the baby to?”

A: *Anni niksíssts íhkotsiwa anni issítsimaani.*  
 anni n-iksisst-yi iihkot-yii-wa anni issitsimaan-yi  
 DEM 1-mother-OBV give.TA-3:4-3S DEM baby-OBV  
 “To my mother, she gave the baby.”  
 (IO-V-DO)

A': *#Anni issítsimaani íhkotsiwa anni niksíssts.*  
 (#DO-V-IO)

(17) Q: *Tsiskáá anna Rosie anni niksíssts ...*  
 tsiskaa anna R anni n-iksisst-yi ...  
 which DEM R DEM 1-mother-OBV

<sup>3</sup> There is some debate as to whether these positions are ordered hierarchically or linearly. I abstract away from this issue, as well as terminological differences between “topic-like” and “focus-like” elements (e.g. ground, Kontrast, etc.).

... *annisk pookáayi íhkotsiwa?*  
 annisk pookaa-yi ii-ohkot-yii-wa  
 DEM child-OBV IC-give.TA-3:4-PROX  
 “Which child did Rosie give to her mother?”

A: *Anni issítsimaani íhkotsiwa anni niksíssts.*  
 anni issitsimaan-yi ii-ohkot-yii-wa anni n-iksisst-yi  
 DEM baby-OBV IC-give-3:4-3S DEM 1-mother-OBV  
 “The baby, she gave to her mother.”  
 (DO-V-IO)

A': *#Anni niksíssts íhkotsiwa anni issítsimaani.*  
 (#IO-V-DO)

The answers in (16) and (17) are identical, but differ in their felicity conditions. In (16), the direct object (DO) supplies the answer to the question. In other words, the direct object is the Focus, and it appears in the preverbal position. In (17), on the other hand, the indirect object (IO) functions as the Focus and it appears in the preverbal position.

Data such as those in (16) and (17) suggest that the Focus is leftmost in Blackfoot. Under this assumption, we can predict that if the modifier in discontinuous expressions is in a preverbal focus position, then it should appear at the left edge of the clause. However, this prediction is not borne out. In clauses with two nominal expressions, the object modifier cannot appear clause-initially, but it can appear preverbally following the subject. This is shown in (20) below.

- (20) a. *Carmelle ínoyiiwa omi ksísskstakii.*  
 C iin-o-yii-wa omi ksisskstaki-yi  
 C see-TA-3:4-PROX DEM beaver-OBV  
 “Carmelle saw the beaver.”
- b. *\*Óomi Carmelle ínoyiiwa ksísskstakii.*
- c. *Carmelle óomi ínoyiiwa ksísskstakii.*

In (20a), the demonstrative and noun that comprise the object NP are string-adjacent. In (20b), the demonstrative has been preposed to the leftmost position in the clause, preceding the subject, and this is ungrammatical. (20c) shows the grammatical alternative, in which the demonstrative precedes the verb but follows the subject. In other words, the demonstrative modifier does not appear in the Focus position.

To summarize, the focus movement account predicts that the modifier should receive a consistent focus interpretation, and that it should appear in a focus position. Neither of these predictions is borne out in Blackfoot. In the following section, I look at one of the characteristics of discontinuous



expressions in Blackfoot that distinguishes them from those of other Algonquian languages, namely the fact that they require referential linking.

#### 4. Blackfoot Discontinuity = Referential Linking

Reinholtz (1999) shows that a “referential-linking” account of Swampy Cree discontinuous expressions is not tenable. In other words, discontinuity in this language is not dependent on the presence of a licenser (e.g., pronominal argument or other inflectional morphology) on the verb. In this section I demonstrate that, unlike Swampy Cree, only “referentially-linked” expressions can be discontinuous in Blackfoot. In §4.1, I show that this is true of discontinuous object NPs, and in §4.2, I extend it to discontinuous adjunct NPs.

##### 4.1 Discontinuous Object NPs

A clear illustration that discontinuity in Blackfoot requires a morphological index on the verb comes from the asymmetry between AI (Animate Intransitive) and TA (Transitive Animate) verbs. As observed in (18) and (19) below, both AI and TA verbs can take object NPs that are comprised of a numeral and a noun. However, only the object of a TA verb triggers agreement on the verb, and only TA objects can be discontinuous.

- (18) a. *Nitsíyaapi náto'kami piitááiks.*  
 nit-ii-yaapi nato'kami piitaa-iksi  
 1-IC-see.AI two eagle-PL  
 “I saw two eagles”
- b. *Náto'kami piitááiks nitsíyaapi.*<sup>4</sup>
- c. *\*Náto'kami nitsíyaapi piitááiks.*
- (19) a. *Nitsínoayi náto'kami piitááiks.*  
 nit-ii-ino-a-yi nato'kami piitaa-iksi  
 1-IC-see.TA-DIR-3PL two eagle-PL  
 “I saw two eagles”
- b. *Náto'kami piitááiks nitsínoayaa.*
- c. *Náto'kami nitsínoayi piitááiks.*

In (18a), an AI verb takes a postverbal direct object comprised of a numeral and a noun, and in (18b), this same direct object appears preverbally. In (18c), the

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<sup>4</sup> If we assume that fronting of the whole NP is a focus-type movement, the fact that this is licit (and fronting of the modifier alone is not) provides further evidence that discontinuity is not focus movement.

numeral and the noun are discontinuous, and this is ungrammatical. The same paradigm is shown in (19), but with a TA verb, and here, the discontinuous expression in (19c) is grammatical. Note that the object of the TA (but not the AI) verb triggers third person plural agreement on the verb.

The fact that objects of AI verbs cannot be discontinuous can be obviated when the object of the AI verb is indexed on the verb with a prefixal operator/quantifier<sup>5</sup> on the verb, as shown in (20) and (21).

- (20) a. *Nikákomiihka*                    *ni'tókskam* *mamú.*  
n-**ikak**-omii-hkaa            ni'tokskam    mamii  
1-**only**-fish-acquire.AI    one            fish  
‘‘I only caught one fish.’’ (not more than one)
- b. *Ni'tókskam* *nikákomiihka* *mamú.*
- (21) a. *Nitómiihka*                    *ni'tókskam* *mamú.*  
nit-omii-hkaa            ni'tokskam    mamii  
1-fish-acquire.AI    one            fish  
‘‘I caught one fish.’’
- b. \**Ni'tókskam* *nitómiihka* *mamú.*

In (20), the focus operator *ikak-* appears on the AI verb, providing a referential index for the direct object, and as shown in (21), when this prefix is present, discontinuity is licensed. In (21), we see that when the focus operator is omitted, the sentence becomes ungrammatical.

## 4.2 Discontinuous Adjunct NPs

The syntax of adjunct nominal expressions provides us with a second piece of evidence that discontinuity requires referential linking. Adjunct nominal expressions in Blackfoot are necessarily indexed on the verb via a **LINKER**<sup>6</sup>, a verbal prefix specifying the semantic relation of the adjunct to the predicate (Frantz 2009: 92-95). Unlike Swampy Cree (which permits ‘‘non-linked’’ adjuncts), Blackfoot adjuncts provide support for the claim that discontinuity requires referential-linking. As observed in §2.2, adjunct nominal expressions can be discontinuous:

<sup>5</sup> This points to one of the critical differences between Blackfoot and other Algonquian languages, e.g. Passamaquoddy (cf. Bruening 2001). Whereas Cree and Passamaquoddy have DP-internal quantifier words, Blackfoot’s quantifiers (with the exception of numerals) are all verbal prefixes.

<sup>6</sup> One exception to this is temporal adjuncts, which, in certain discourse contexts, do not require the spatiotemporal linker *it-*. I have not been able to elicit discontinuous temporal expressions and the prediction is that, in the absence of the linker, these would not be grammatical.

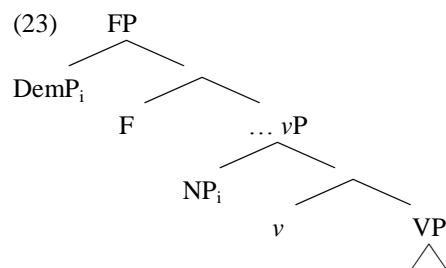
- (22) a. *Nítsitsipsstsó'kaa omi ksikkokóowa.*  
 nit-it-ipsst-yo'kaa om-yi ksikkokoowa  
 I-LOC-in-sleep.AI DEM-INAN tent  
 "I slept in that tent."
- b. *Óómi nítsitsipsstsó'kaa ksikkokóowa.*

To summarize, in this section I have shown that discontinuity is licensed only when a referential index appears on the verb. This index can take the shape of agreement (as in the case of the objects of TA verbs), a prefixal quantifier/operator, or a linker. In short, Blackfoot discontinuity requires referential-linking.

### 5. Blackfoot Discontinuity = Split DP

We have seen that discontinuous expressions show ordering constraints, and are only possible when there is verbal morphology that provides a referential index for the expression. The first of these observations is inconsistent with the predictions of the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis, and the second is consistent with the claim that discontinuity in Blackfoot is not the result of focus movement, which does not require referential linking. In this section I develop an analysis that captures the unique properties of Blackfoot's discontinuous expressions.

My proposal is that NPs and their modifiers are licensed in two different syntactic positions.<sup>7</sup> In particular, I suggest that NPs are merged in their theta (or adjunct)<sup>8</sup> positions,  $\nu$ P-internally, whereas modifiers (e.g., demonstratives and numerals) are merged in Specifiers of  $\nu$ P-external functional heads instantiated by indexing morphology on the verb. The proposal is schematized in (23) below.



This analysis differs from the referential linking analysis of the PAH in that NPs and modifiers are both licensed within the clause, rather than as clause-external adjuncts. It predicts the ordering restrictions observed in §2.2, and

<sup>7</sup> This idea is inspired by Wiltschko (2002) and Johns (2008), building on a proposal by Sportiche (1998).

<sup>8</sup> I assume that linked adjuncts are merged  $\nu$ P-internally, as they are necessarily event-related, cf. Bliss (2012).

further it predicts that there should be strictly local (i.e., clause-bound) relations between (i) modifiers/NPs and their indexing morphology, and (ii) NPs and their modifiers. In the following subsections, I demonstrate that both of these predictions are borne out.

### 5.1 Indexing Morphology is Clause-Bound

We have seen that there are three types of indexing morphology that licenses discontinuity: quantifiers, linkers, and agreement. In what follows I demonstrate that all three are restricted to only index nominal expressions within the immediate clause.

First, regarding quantifiers, in monoclausal contexts, prefixal quantifiers can associate with either the subject or the object, as shown in (24) below. However, in biclausal contexts, an embedded quantifier can only associate with arguments in the embedded clause; it is clause-bound. This is shown in (25).

- (24) *Nitohkanáóhpommatoo 'pinnaaniaawa*  
 nit-ohkana-ohpomm-atoos-p-innaan-yi-aawa  
 1-all-buy-TI-1:INAN-1PL-PL-3PL.PRN  
 “We all bought them.”  
**OR** “We bought all of them.” (Frantz 2009: 85)

- (25) *Nitsiksstahpinnaan [kitááhkohkanaistapohsoayi].*  
 nit-iksstaa-hpinnaan kit-aahk-**ohkana**-yiistapo-hs-oaayi  
 1-want.AI-1PL 2-NF-**all**-go.away.AI-CONJ-2PL  
 “We want you all to leave.”  
**NOT:** “We all want you to leave.”

Linkers are similarly clause-bound. They are required to license adjunct nominal expressions within the clause (26a), but cannot license adjuncts cross-clausally (26b), even if the adjunct is fronted to initial position (26c).

- (26) a. *Nitsikssta ninaahk\*(it)otomiihksa'si omi niyítahtaani.*  
 nit-iksstaa nit-aahk-**it**-oto-omii-hkaa-hsi omi niyítahtaan  
 1-want.AI 1-NF-**it**-go-fish.TA-CONJ DEM river  
 “I want to go fishing at that river.”
- b. *Nits(\*it)sikssta ninaahk(it)otomiihksa'si omi niyítahtaani.*
- c. *Omi niyítahtaani nits(\*it)sikssta ninaahk(it)otomiihksa'si.*

Turning now to agreement, it seems to be exceptional, as it can be cross-clausal. As shown in (27), the matrix verb can agree with either the subject (a) or the object (b).

- (27) a. *Nitsíksstaataa*      *anna* *Leo* *ninááhksspommowahsi.*  
 nit-iksstaa-t-a-wa      anna L      nit-aahk-sspommo-a-hsi  
 I-want-TA-**DIR-PROX**      DEM L      1-NF-help.TA-**DIR-CONJ**  
 “I want to help Leo.”
- b. *Nitsíksstaataa*      *anna* *Leo* *ninááhksspommooksí.*  
 nit-iksstaa-t-a-wa      anna L      nit-aahk-sspommo-ok-hsi  
 I-want-TA-**DIR-PROX**      DEM L      1-NF-help.TA-**INV-CONJ**  
 “I want Leo to help me.”

However, in earlier work, I independently motivated a control-type analysis of Blackfoot cross-clausal agreement (CCA), cf. Bliss (2009). Under this analysis, the matrix verb agrees with a null pro in the matrix clause that is co-indexed with the full noun phrase in the embedded clause. As such, CCA (and hence all agreement) is local.

In summary, the “linking” morphology in Blackfoot (i.e., quantifiers, linkers, and agreement) cannot link across clause boundaries. This restriction is predicted by my Split DP proposal.

## 5.2 Discontinuity is Clause-Bound

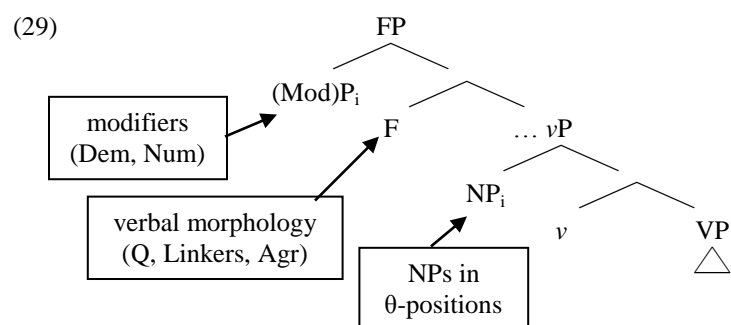
The second prediction of the Split DP proposal is that discontinuous expressions should not be able to span across clauses. This prediction is borne out; unlike Cree, Blackfoot discontinuity is strictly clause-bound. As shown in (28) nominal expressions in embedded clauses can be discontinuous within the embedded clause (28b), fronted within the embedded clause (28c), or even fronted outside the embedded clause (28d). However, they cannot be split across the clause boundary, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (28e).

- (28) a. *Nitsíkssta omááhksaowaatóhksaa omiksi imitááíks.*  
 nit-iksstaa om-aahk-saw-at-ohki-saa om-iksi imitaa-iksi  
 I-want.AI 3-NF-NEG-again-bark-NA DEM-PL dog-PL  
 “I want those dogs to stop barking.”
- b. *Nitsíkssta [omiksi omááhksaowaatóhksaa imitááíks.]*
- c. *Nitsíkssta [omiksi imitááíks omááhksaowaatóhksaa].*
- d. *Omiksi imitááíks nitsíkssta omááhksaowaatóhksaa.*
- e. *\*Omiksi nitsíkssta omááhksaowaatóhksaa imitaaíks.*

## 5.3 Summary

In this section I have proposed that nominal expressions in Blackfoot are split across two positions, with NPs being introduced vP-internally, and their

modifiers being introduced by vP-external functional heads instantiated by linking morphology. This is schematized in (29). Evidence for this proposal comes from the observation that discontinuous expressions in Blackfoot are clause-bound and require clause-bound referential linking.



## 6. Conclusions and Consequences

To summarize, in this paper I have shown that neither the PAH nor a focus movement account can account for the properties of Blackfoot discontinuous nominal expressions. I have proposed a Split DP analysis, in which NPs are merged vP-internally, and their modifiers are merged as Specifiers of functional heads instantiated by verbal morphology. This analysis can account for the fact that discontinuity must be licensed by a referential index on the verb, and it correctly predicts the ordering restrictions and locality effects observed with discontinuous expressions. It also predicts that, even when string-adjacent, the NP and its modifier do not form a constituent underlyingly. This raises questions about what evidence there is to support the idea that the NP and its modifier are not initially merged as constituents, and how string adjacency is derived. I leave these questions for future research.

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