A Comparison of Locative PPs in Blackfoot and Plains Cree*

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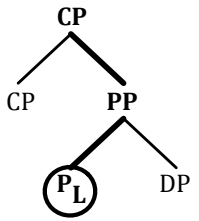
1. Introduction

- **Goal**: Account for similarities & differences in locative PP syntax of two Algonquian languages: Plains Cree & Blackfoot

- How the two languages are the same:
  - **locative Ps occupy non-argument positions**

- How the two languages differ:
  - ➔ PLAINS CREE ***-ihk*** (1a)
    - P = "lexical" P_L
    - **PP adjoins to C-projection**
    - P & DP form constituent
  - ➔ BLACKFOOT ***it-*** (1b)
    - P = "functional" P_F
    - **P attaches to I-projection**
    - P & DP discontinuous

(1) a.



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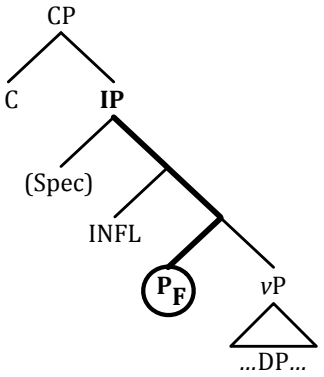


- attachment site of P — C-projection in Plains Cree, but I-projection in Blackfoot — is part of a larger set of structural contrasts, (2)

  (Blain 1997; Glougie 2001; Cook 2008; Déchaine & Wiltschko 2010; Ritter and Wiltschko to appear; Bliss in prep)

(2) HIGH VS. LOW ATTACHMENT IN PLAINS CREE & BLACKFOOT

	RELATIVELY HIGH ATTACHMENT	**RELATIVELY LOW ATTACHMENT**
	PLAINS CREE	BLACKFOOT
(i) P	**CP**	**IP**
(ii) N-domain		
• DP	CP	IP
• universal quantifier	CP	IP
• person proclitics	Spec, CP	Spec,IP
(iii) V-domain		
• initial change	Comp	Infl
• agreement	A'-agreement	A-agreement

• **methodological aside**: we pursue a micro-parametric syntactic analysis, where the syntax of cognate morphemes can vary, and the **syntax-morphology mapping is the primary source of variation** (Kayne 1996; 2005)
  - on this view, there are no large-scale macro-parameters; *pace* Baker (1996)
  - micro-parametric approach to Blackfoot & Plains Cree yields insightful & promising results

* Data are from fieldwork, unless otherwise indicated. Thanks to R. Ermineskin, B. Bullshields for assistance with Blackfoot, and T. Cardinal for assistance with Plains Cree.

- §2 What P does: licenses locative DPs
  §3 Where P lives: the external syntax of P
  §4 How P gets there: the internal syntax of P
  §5 Conclusion

2. What P does: licenses locative DPs

- Plains Cree & Blackfoot locative DPs are licensed by different (non-cognate) morphemes; we use "P" as a cover term for them

(3) LICENSING LOCATIVE DPS

	PLAINS CREE	BLACKFOOT
category	P	P
morpheme	***-ihk***	***it-***
position	nominal suffix	verbal prefix
word class	locative case (Cyr 1993)	relative root (Frantz 2009)
required w/ loc. DP	✓	✓

➔ **Generalization 1**: locative DPs require P
(4) Plains Cree ***-ihk***
(5) Blackfoot ***it-***

(4) PLAINS CREE
a. **Nimîcison* *mîcisokamk*.
ni-mîciso-n mîcisowikamikw
1-eat.VAI-LCL eating.place

b. *Nimîcison* *mîcisokamko**hk***.
ni-mîciso-n mîcisowikamikw-**ihk**
1-eat.VAI-LCL eating.place-**LOC**
'I ate **at** the restaurant.'

(5) BLACKFOOT
a. ******Nitsoyi*** ***omi*** ***itáóyo'pi.***
nit-ioyi om-yi itaoyo'p-yi
1-eat.AI DEM-INAN restaurant-INAN

b. *Nits**ít**oyi* *omi* *itáóyo'pi.*
nit-**it**-ioyi om-yi itaoyo'p-yi
1-**LOC**-eat.AI DEM-INAN restaurant-INAN
'I ate **at** the restaurant.'

➔ **Generalization 2**: P required even w/ other locative markers
(6) Plains Cree ***-ihk*** obligatory with other locative markers
(7) Blackfoot ***it-*** obligatory with other locative markers

(6) PLAINS CREE
a. *Apiw* ***tahkôc*** *nipêwin***(ihk)***.
api-w **tahkohc** nipêwin-**ihk**
sit.AI-3 **top.of** bed-**LOC**
'S/he is sitting **on** the bed.'

b. *Nîpawiw* ***cîki*** *nipêwin***(ihk)***.
nîpawi-w **cîki** nipêwin-**ihk**
stand.AI-3 **near** bed-**LOC**
'S/he is standing **near** the bed.'

(7) BLACKFOOT
a. *Anna Leo* ****(it)áóhkit**opiiwa* *otsinakáá'simiksi.*
anna L **it-a-ohkit**-opii-wa ot-inakaa'simiks-yi
DEM L LOC-IMPF-upon-sit.AI-PROX 3POSS-car-OBV
'Leo sat **on top** of his car.'

b. *Anna Leo* ****(it)áíssap**iyo'kaa* *otsinakáá'simiksi.*
anna L **it-a-ssap**-yo'kaa ot-inakaa'simiks-yi
DEM L **LOC**-IMPF-**inside**-sleep.AI 3POSS-car-OBV
'Leo slept **inside** of his car.'

- **Conclusion**: in Plains Cree & Blackfoot, P licenses locative DPs.

3. Where P lives: the external syntax of P

3.1. Diagnosing CP-level attachment of P

- Plains Cree P attaches at CP-level; Blackfoot P does not.

(8) DIAGNOSTICS FOR CP-LEVEL ATTACHMENT OF P

		Plains Cree	Blackfoot
1	P external to V-complex	✓	✗
2	P sensitive to clause-typing	✓	✗
3	P sensitive to left-periphery	✓	✗

➔ **Diagnostic 1: P is external to V-complex**
(9) Plains Cree P (***-ihk***) is external to V-complex
(10) Blackfoot P (***it-***) is **not** external to V-complex
(Assumption: in both languages, V-complex = CP)

(9) PLAINS CREE
a. [**CP** *nipimohtân*] [**PP** *wâskahikan**ihk*** *ohci*]
ni-pimohtâ-n wâskahikan-**ihk** oht-i
1-walk.VAI-LCL house-**LOC** ORIGIN-PRT
'I'm walking from the house' (Cook 2008:65, (18b))

(10) BLACKFOOT
a. *Tsimaa* [**CP** *kits**ít**so'kááhpa?*]
tsimaa kit-**it**-yo'kaa-hpa
where 2-**LOC**-sleep.AI-NONAFF
'Where did you sleep?'

➔ **Diagnostic 2: PP is sensitive to clause-typing**
(11) Plains Cree PP is sensitive to clause type (Cook 2008)
(Blackfoot PP is **not** sensitive to clause type; not shown.)

(11) PLAINS CREE
a. ***tanitê*** *kâ-itohtêcik* WH LOCATIVE
tan-**itê** kâ-itohtê-t-ik
WH-**LOC** C-go.VAI-3-PL(**CONJ**)
'Where did they go?'

b. *itohtêwak* ***êkotê*** INDEXICAL LOCATIVE
itohtê-w-ak êkw-**itê**
go.VAI-3-PL(**INDEP**) DEM-**LOC**
'They went there' (Cook 2008: 75, (33b))

➔ **Diagnostic 3: PP is sensitive to left-periphery**
Plains Cree locative modifiers front to left-periphery
(=P-to-F movement; Hirose 2012)
(12) optional in non-WH contexts
(13) obligatory in WH-contexts
(Blackfoot PP is **not** sensitive to left-periphery; not shown.)

(12) PLAINS CREE
a. *ê-nîpawit* [PP ***cîki mistoko-h***]
C-stand.VAI-3(CONJ) near tree.NI-LOC
'S/he is standing near the tree' (H1a)

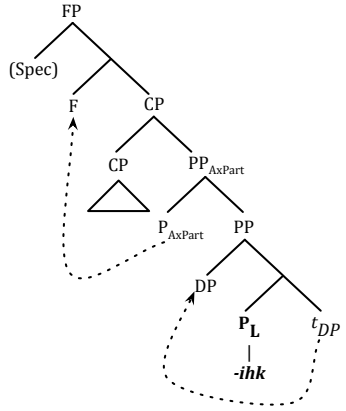
b. [F ***cîki***] *ê-nîpawit* [t_P [***mistoko-h***]
near C-stand.VAI-3(CONJ) tree.NI-LOC
'S/he is standing near the tree' (H2a)

(13) PLAINS CREE
a. *[*tânma mistik*] *kâ-nîpawi-t* [P ***cîki***]?
which tree.NI C-stand.VAI.3(CONJ) near (H19a)

b. [*tânma mistik*] [F ***cîki***] *kâ-nîpawi-t* [t_P]?
which tree.NI near C-stand.VAI.3(CONJ)
'Which tree was s/he standing near?' (H2a)

- Plains Cree P-to-F movement yields non-contiguous complex Ps
  (We return to the internal syntax of Plains Cree PP in §4.)

(14) PP adjoined to CP in Plains Cree



3.2. Diagnosing IP-level attachment of P

- Blackfoot P attaches at IP-level; Plains Cree P does not.

(15) DIAGNOSTICS FOR IP-LEVEL ATTACHMENT OF P

		Plains Cree	Blackfoot
4	**P internal to V-complex**	✗	✓
5	**P precedes inner aspect**	✗	✓

➔ **Diagnostic 4: P is internal to V-complex**
Diagnostic 5: P precedes inner aspect

(9) Plains Cree P (***-ihk***) is **not** internal to V-complex
[see Diagnostic 1 above: P is external to V-complex]

(16)a Blackfoot P (***it-***) is internal to V-complex
…***it-*** follows person prefixes, which are in Spec, IP
(Déchaine & Wiltschko 2010; Bliss in prep)

(16)a Blackfoot P (***it-***) precedes inner aspect
(imperfective *á-* = aspect (Bliss et al. 2012; Ritter to appear)

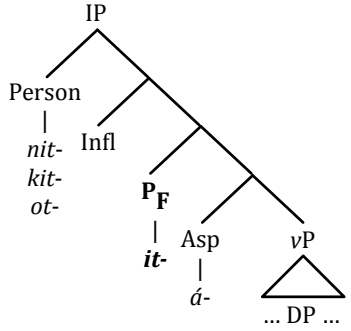
∴ Blackfoot *it-* below Spec,IP but above *v*P

(16) BLACKFOOT

a. ***Nitsítoyi*** *omi* *itáóyo'pi.*
nit-it-ioyi om-yi itaoyo'p-yi
1-LOC-eat.AI DEM-INAN restaurant-INAN
'I ate at the restaurant.'

b. ***Nitsita'paiss*** *omi* *passkáán.*
nit-it-a'p-**a**-ssi om-yi passkaan-yi
1-LOC-around-**IMPF**-be.AI DEM-INAN dance-INAN
'I am at the dance.'

(17) Blackfoot morpheme ordering



3.3. Diagnosing vP-level attachment of P

- Neither Plains Cree nor Blackfoot P attach at *v*P-level.

(18) DIAGNOSTICS FOR *v*P-LEVEL ATTACHMENT OF P

		Plains Cree	Blackfoot
6	PP selected by V	✗	✗
7	PP can be animate Goal	✗	✗
8	PP controls agreement	✗	✗
9	PP triggers direct/inverse	✗	✗
10	P in *v*P nominalization	(n/a)	✗

- **Background**: V can select for *v*P-internal PPs
  e.g. locative (*put*), directional (*give*), unaccusative (*arrive*), and position (*stand*) verbs select PP
  Error! Reference source not found. put obligatory PP

(19) a. **Emily put* [DP *the book*]
b. **Emily put* [PP *on the shelf*]
c. *Emily put* [DP *the book*] [PP *on the shelf*]

➔ **Diagnostic 6: PP is not selected by V**
Blackfoot & Plains Cree lack Vs that select PP, e.g. no 'put'
(20) Plains Cree 'place' is intransitive
(21) Blackfoot 'release' is transitive

(20) PLAINS CREE
a. *astâw*
astâ-w
place.VAI-3
'S/he placed (it) there' (cf. WA105)

b. *masnêykan* *astâw* ***pîhc****âyih* *labwêt****ih***
masnêykan astâ-w pîhc-âyih labwêt-**ih**
book.NI place-3 **inside**-STEM box-**LOC**
'She placed the book inside the box' (TC15a)

(21) BLACKFOOT
a. *Nitsíípo'tsii'pa*.
nit-ii-ipo'tsi-hp-wa
1-IC-release.TI-1:INAN
'I released it.' (Frantz and Russell 1995, p. 65)

b. *Nits****itssáp****o'tsspa* *omi* *ataksáákssin.*
nit-**it**-**ssap**-ipo'tsi-hp-wa omi ataksáakssin
1-**LOC**-**inside**-release.TI-1:INAN-PROX DEM box
'I put it in the box.; lit: 'I released it inside the box.'

- **Background**: double/applicative alternates with PP complement
(22) English double object alternates with PP
(23) Shona applicative alternates with PP

(22) ENGLISH
a. [VP give [DP *the child*] [DP *the ball*]]
b. [VP *give* [DP *the ball*] [**PP** ***to*** *the child*]]

(23) SHONA
a. *Mùfárò* *ákánd****ír****à* *Shìngí* *bhórà.*
Mùfárò á-kánd-**ír**-à Shìngí ∅-bhórà.
M. PST-throw-**APPL**-FV S. cl5-ball
'Mufaro threw Shingi the ball' (Bliss 2009, (44a))

b. *Mùfárò* *ákándà* *bhórà* ***kùná*** *Shìngí.*
M. á-kánd-à ∅-bhórà kùná Shìngí.
M. PST-throw-FV cl5-ball **to** S.
'Mufaro threw the ball to Shingi' (Bliss 2009, (44b))

➔ **Diagnostic 7: PP cannot be animate Goal**
(24) Plains Cree has applicative, but no PP alternant
(25) Blackfoot has applicative, but no PP alternant

(24) PLAINS CREE
a. *Nisanah****amaw****âw* *masnêykan* *Tomio*
ni-sanah-**amaw**-â-w masinahikan T.
1-send-**APPL**-DIR-3 book T.
'I sent Tomio a book'

b. *******nitsahên* *masnêykan* ***êkotê*** ***Tomiohk***
ni-itisah-ê-n *masnêykan* **êkw-itê** **Tomio-hk**
1-send-VTI-LCL book.NI DEM-LOC Tomio-LOC
['I sent a book to Tomio']

(25) BLACKFOOT

a. *Anna Rosie ímmskatoomoyiiwa anni óómi.*
ann-wa R immsk-atoo-**omo**-yii-wa ann-yi w-om-yi
D-PROX R. save.food-TI-**APPL**-DIR-PROX D-OBV 3-husband-OBV
'Rosie saved her husband some food.'

b. **Anna Rosie itsímmskatoomoyiiwa anni óómi.*
ann-wa R. **it**-immsk-atoo-omo-yii-wa ann-yi w-om-yi
DEM R. **LOC**-save.food-TI-**APPL**-DIR-PROX DEM 3-husband-OBV
['Rosie saved food for her husband.']

- **Background**: PP controls agreement in many languages
  (26) Shona (Bantu): locative subject controls agreement

(26) SHONA

a. Mu-rume a-ka-famb-a **mu**-sango
CL1-man AGR1-PST-walk-FV LOC.CL18-forest
'The man walked in the forest'
(adapted from Bliss & Storoshenko 2008, (4a))

b. **Mu**-sango **m**-aka-famb-w-a no-mu-rume
LOC.CL18-forest **AGR18**-PST-walk-PASS-FV by-CL1-man
'In the forest was walked by the man'
(adapted from Bliss & Storoshenko 2008, (4b))

➔ **Diagnostic 8: PP does not control verb agreement**
(27) Plains Cree locative PP doesn't control agreement
(28) Blackfoot locative PP doesn't control agreement

(27) PLAINS CREE

a. *Nisanahamawâw* *Tomio.*
ni-sanah-amaw-â-**w** Tomio
1-send-APPL-DIR-**3** Tomio
'I sent it to Tomio.'

b. **Nisanahamawâw* *Calgary.*
ni-sanah-amaw-â-**w** Calgary
1-send-APPL-DIR-**3** Calgary
'I sent it to Calgary.'

(28) BLACKFOOT

a. *Nitsííksisawaata**wa*** *anna niksísta.*
***Nitsííksisawaata** *anna niksísta.*
nit-ii-oksisawaat-a-**wa** anna n-iksisst-wa
1-IC-visit-DIR-**PROX** DEM 1-mother-PROX
'I visited my mother.'

b. **Nikáíto'too**wa* *Mohkínsstsis.*
Nikáíto'too *Mohkínsstsis*
n-ikaa-**it**-o'too-**wa** Mohkinsstsis
1-PERF-**LOC**-arrive.AI-**PROX** Calgary (lit: elbow)
'I've been to Calgary.'

- **Background**: *v*P-internal DP controls direct/inverse contrast
  (29) Plains Cree

(29) PLAINS CREE

a. *Niwâpamâw* *Tomio.*
ni-wâpâm-**â**-w T
1-see-**DIR**-3 T
'I saw Tomio' [1>3; DIRECT]

b. *Niwâpam**ik*** *Tomio.*
ni-wâpam-**ik**-w T
1-see-**INV**-3 T
'Tomio saw me' [3>1; INVERSE]

➔ **Diagnostic 9: PP does not trigger direct/inverse**
(30) Plains Cree PP does not trigger direct/inverse
(31) Blackfoot PP does not trigger direct/inverse

(30) PLAINS CREE

a. *Ê-apiyân cîki Jeff kâ-yapit* [1>PP$_3$]
ê-api-yân cîki Jeff kâ-yapi-t
C-sit.AI-1 near J. REL-sit.AI-3
'I sat near Jeff.' [lit. 'I saw near to where Jeff was sitting']

b. *Jeff ê-âpit cîki kâ-yapiyân* [PP$_3$>1]
Jeff ê-âpi-t cîki kâ-y-api-yân
J. C-sit.AI-3 near REL-EPEN-sit.AI-1
'Jeff sat near me.' [lit. 'Jeff sat near to where I was sitting']

(31) BLACKFOOT (*itap-*, variant of *it-*, expresses directionality)

a. *Nits**ítap**ohkipista kíksissta.* [1> PP$_3$]
nit-**itap**-ohkipistaa k-iksisst-wa
1-**LOC**-drive.team.**AI** 2-mother-PROX
'I drove (a team of horses) to your mother.'

b. *Ít**ap**ohkipista kíksissta niistóyi.* [PP$_3$>1]
ii-**itap**-ohkipistaa k-iksisst-wa n-iisto-yi
IC-**LOC**-drive.team.**AI** 2-mother-PROX 1-PRN-OBV
'Your mother drove (a team of horses) to me.'

➔ **Diagnostic 10: P is not contained in *v*P nominalization**

(32) Blackfoot ***-(hsi)n*** nominalization targets *v*P; permits locative modifiers, prohibits locative P (***it-***)

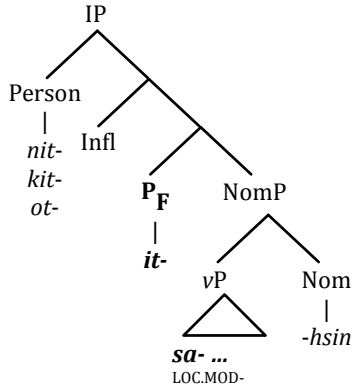
(32) BLACKFOOT

a. ***Sa**wááhkaani iksoka'piiwa*.
sa-waahkaa-n-yi ik-sok-a'pii-wa
outside-play.AI-NMLZ-INANINTNS-good-be.II-PROX
'Playing outside is good.'

b. ****It**áwaahkaani* *(omi otsitawááhkaahpiyaa)*
it-a-waahkaa-n-yi (omi otsitawaahkaahpiyaa)
LOC-IMPF-play.AI-NMLZ-INAN (DEM playground)

... íksoka'piiwa.
ik-sok-a'pii
INTNS-good-be.II-PROX
['Playing (at the playground) is good.']

(33) Blackfoot P is below Infl but above *v*P



3.4. Summary: the external syntax of P

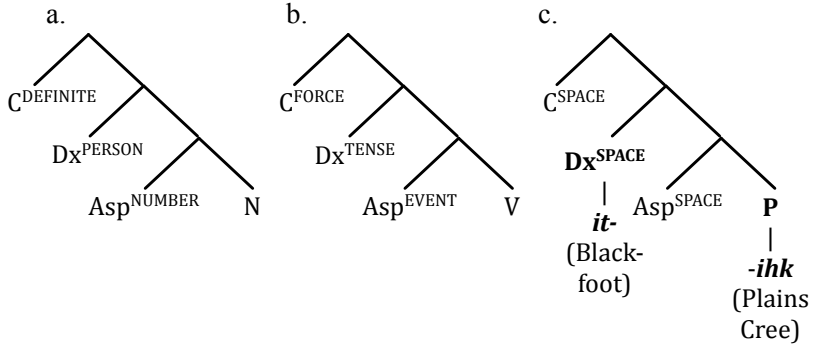
(34) DIAGNOSTICS THAT IDENTIFY WHERE P LIVES

		PLAINS CREE	BLACKFOOT
• CP-LEVEL ATTACHMENT OF P			
1	external to V-complex	✓	✗
2	sensitive to clause-typing	✓	✗
3	sensitive to left-periphery	✓	✗
• IP-LEVEL ATTACHMENT OF P			
4	discontinuous from DP	✗	✓
5	internal to V-complex	✗	✓
• *v*P-LEVEL ATTACHMENT OF P			
6	selected by V	✗	✗
7	can be animate Goal	✗	✗
8	controls agreement	✗	✗
9	triggers direct/inverse	✗	✗
10	P in *v*P nominalization	(n/a)	✗

4. How P gets there: the internal syntax of P

- **Background:** Lexical categories form extended projections with Functional categories; holds not only of N & V, but also P. (Koopman 2000; den Dikken 2010, amongst others)

(35) EXTENDED PROJECTIONS



- **Proposal**: Plains Cree & Blackfoot lexicalize different positions
  - Plains Cree ***-ihk*** = lexicalizes (spells out) $\mathbf{P}^{SPACE}$ (i.e. P_L)
  - Blackfoot ***it-*** = lexicalizes (spells out) **Dx** (i.e. P_F)

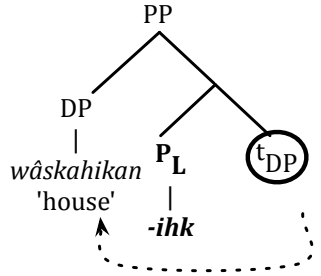
4.1. Plains Cree lexical P is P^{SPACE}

(36) PLAINS CREE

[**PP** *wâskahikan**ihk***	*ohci*]
wâskahikan-**ihk**	oht-i
house-**LOC**	ORIGIN-PRT
'from the house'	

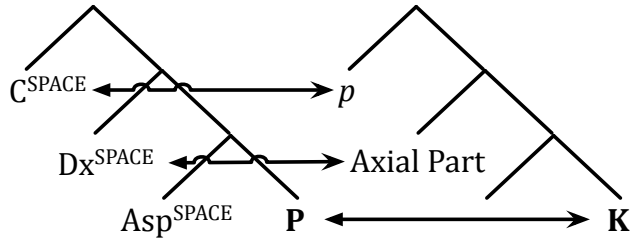
Q: Why does Plains Cree ***-ihk*** surface as a suffix on DP?
A: DP complement of P moves to SpecPP (cf. Déchaine 1999 on linearization of DP- & CP-internal constituents)

(37) leftward movement of DP to SpecPP in Plains Cree



- **Background**: labelling conventions of den Dikken (2010) & Svenonius (2010)

(38) a. den Dikken (2010) b. Svenonius (2010)

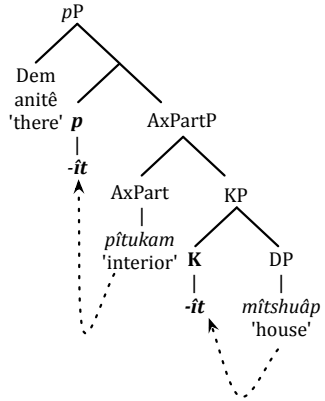


Q: Why do ***-ihk*** inflected Ns co-occur with other "modifying Ps"?
A: Modifying Ps are part of the extended projection of P.

➔ Plains Cree ***-ihk*** corresponds to K of Svenonius (2010)
(39)a Innu-aimun "prepositional *p*P" (Oxford 2011)
…combination of phrasal (DP) & head (AxPart) mvmt
(39)b Plains Cree extended projection of P
…only leftward phrasal movement (DP, PP=KP)
…creates surface post-positional structure

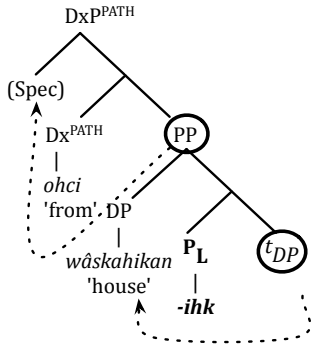
(39) a. INNU-AIMMUN: PREPOSITIONAL *p*P (Oxford 2011:139)

anite pîtukamît mîtshuâpît
there inside.LOC house.LOC
'there inside the house'



b. PLAINS CREE: EXTENDED PROJECTION OF P

*wâskahikan**ihk** ohci*
house.LOC from
'from the house'



➔ (40) Rhodes (2006) argues that post-positional structure is (diachronic) input for prefixal relative roots

(40) a. STAGE I (PRE-PROTO-ALGONQUIAN)
*[*ki:we:tenonki* ***iši***] *ki:we:ci*
ki:we:tenw-enki ***iši*** *ki:we:-t-i*
north(wind)-LOC **to** return-3SUBJ-INDICATIVE
'He goes back to the north.'

b. STAGE II (PRE-PROTO-ALGONQUIAN)
ki:we:tenonki* [***iši-**ki:we:ci*]
north(wind).LOC **P-** return-3SUBJ-INDICATIVE
'He goes back to the north'

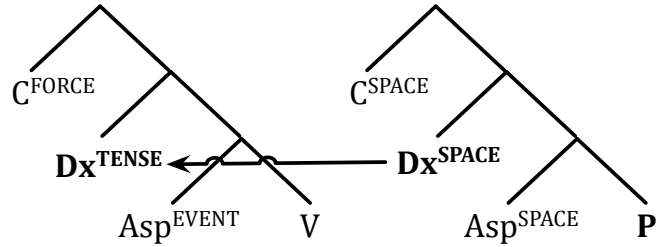
➔ for Rhodes, morpho-phono'l re-analysis yields prefixal **P-**
• has morpho-syntactic implications, to which we now turn

4.2. Blackfoot functional P is (mutated) Dx^{SPACE}

• **Background**
mutation$_{DEF}$: the transposition of an F-head from one L-domain to the counterpart F-head position of another domain

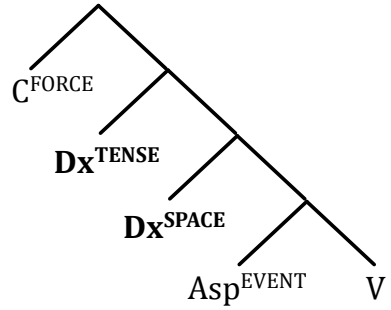
two logical possibilities (both attested)
(i) mutation can add F-head to another L-domain
…Blackfoot ***it-***
(ii) mutation can substitute one F-head for another
…Plains Cree ***ohci-***

(41) MUTATION OF Dx^{SPACE} FROM P-DOMAIN TO V-DOMAIN



➔ mutation via transposition of Blackfoot Dx^{SPACE} into V-domain leads to the **addition** of Dx^{SPACE} into V-domain (this transposition is no longer synchronically active)

(42) MUTATION OF Dx^{SPACE} IN BLACKFOOT



➔ mutation of Blackfoot Dx^{SPACE} means P does not directly combine with locative DP; i.e. no surface PP constituent

(43)a ∃ PP constituent, but P moves into the V-domain
… no un-incorporated alternant; no stranded spatial modifer; rationale for landing site obscure

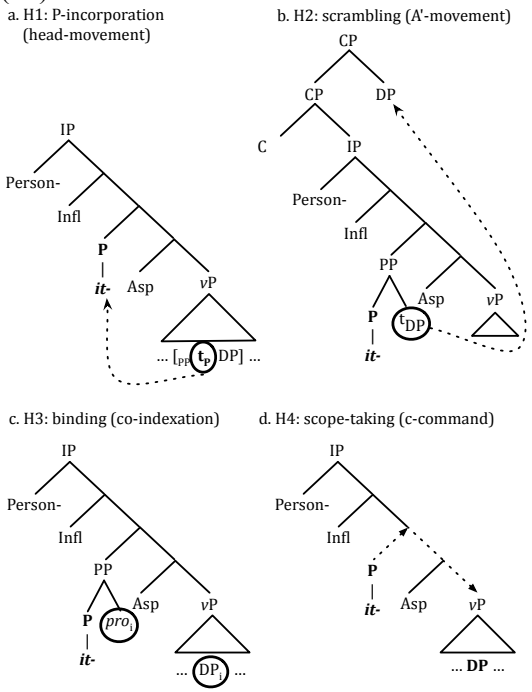
(43)b ∃ PP constituent, but DP moves out of V-domain
… dependency relation is illicit

(43)c ∃ PP constituent, null ***pro*** object of P construed w/ D
… dependency relation is illicit

(43)d **¬∃ PP constituent** (!), P construed with DP b/c it c-commands DP; i.e., P takes scope over DP

(Blackfoot DP is *v*P-internal, cf. Louie 2010; Bliss, in prep.)

(43) THE GEOMETRY OF BLACKFOOT P-



➔ (counter-intuitive) scope-taking analysis correctly predicts

(44) P must take scope over locative DP

(45) in absence of loc. DP, P can scope over temp. modifier

(46) elsewhere, P scopes over event (found in narratives)

(44) BLACKFOOT ***it-*** SCOPES OVER LOCATIVE DP

a. **Nítsooyi* *anni* *itáísooyo'pi*.
nit-ioyi ann-yi itaisooyo'p-yi
1-eat. AI DEM-INAN table-INAN

b. *Nits**it**sooyi* *anni* *itáísooyo'pi*.
nit-**it**-ioyi ann-yi itaisooyo'p-yi
1-**LOC**-eat.AI DEM-INAN table-INAN
'I ate at the table.' (Bliss 200x, (1b))

(45) BLACKFOOT ***it-*** SCOPES OVER TEMPORAL MODIFIER

a. *Nitsisttohkíhkiita* *o'takóóhsin* *ni'tókska***.**
nit-isttohk-ihkiitaa o'takoohsin ni'tokska
1-flat-bake.AI hour one
'I made pancakes at/(around) one o'clock.'

b. *Nits**it**sisttohkíhkiita* *o'takóóhsin* *ni'tókska.*
nit-**it**-isttohk-ihkiitaa o'takoohsin ni'tokska
1-**LOC**-flat-bake.AI hour one
That was when I made pancakes, at one o'clock."

(46) BLACKFOOT ***it-*** SCOPES OVER EVENT

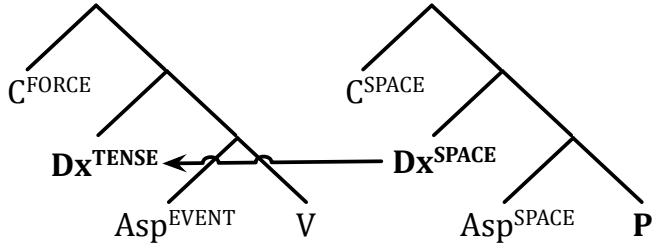
*Maanisto**i't**ssatsapssi* *miiyai* *ohkotokini*
m-aanist-o'-**it**-issa'tsi-his amiiyai ohkotok-in-yi
3-MANR-**LOC**-look.at.TI-CONJ DEM stone-NOM-OBV
'When she looked at the stone,…

*ota**it**satsipssak.*
ot-a-**it**-sitsipssat-ok
4-IMPF-**LOC**-speak.to.TA-INV
…it spoke to her.' (from Innisskimm, 6))

➔ mutation from P-domain to V-domain in Blackfoot
…correctly predicts Blackfoot ***it-*** is *v*P-external
…correctly predicts Blackfoo ***it-*** precedes inner Asp
…correctly predicts Blackfoot ***it-*** is in I-domain

➔ added bonus of analysis:
mutation in Plains Cree substitutes Dx^{SPACE} for Dx^{TENSE}
accounts for suppletion w/ affirmative & negative past tense
(still synchronically active for some speakers)

(47) MUTATION OF Dx^{SPACE} IN PLAINS CREE



(48) PLAINS CREE

a. ***Kî-wâpamêwak.***
Kî-wâpam-ê-w-ak
PREVIOUS-see.TA-DIR-3-PL
'They saw him/her'

b. Namôya ***ohci-wâpamêwak.***
Namôya ***ohci-*** *wâpam-ê-w-ak*
NEG **THENCE**-see.TA-DIR-3-PL
'They never saw him'

5. Conclusion

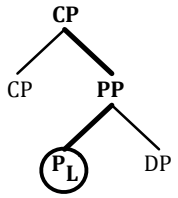
(49) DIAGNOSTICS THAT IDENTIFY WHERE P LIVES

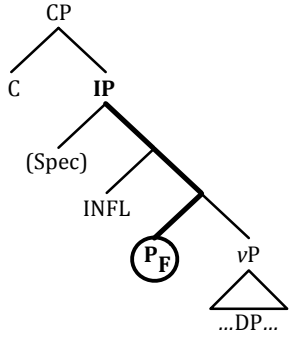
		PLAINS CREE	BLACKFOOT
• CP-LEVEL ATTACHMENT OF P			
1	external to V-complex	✓	✗
2	sensitive to clause-typing	✓	✗
3	sensitive to left-periphery	✓	✗
• IP-LEVEL ATTACHMENT OF P			
4	discontinuous from DP	✗	✓
5	internal to V-complex	✗	✓
• *v*P-LEVEL ATTACHMENT OF P			
6	selected by V	✗	✗
7	can be animate Goal	✗	✗
8	controls agreement	✗	✗
9	triggers direct/inverse	✗	✗
10	P in *v*P nominalization	(n/a)	✗

➔ PLAINS CREE ***-ihk***
- P = "lexical" P_L
- PP adjoins to CP
- P & DP form constituent

➔ BLACKFOOT ***it-***
- P = "functional" P_F
- P attaches to I-projection
- P & DP discontinuous

(50) a. PLAINS CREE ***-ihk*** b. BLACKFOOT ***it-***





Appendix

➔ PATH denotation composed by adding material to locative P
(51)a Plains Cree ***-ihk*** marked N occurs w/directional P
(51)b Blackfoot ***it-*** supplemented with directional marker

(51) a. PLAINS CREE
*masnêykan astâw **pîhc**âyih labwêt**ih***
masnêykan astâ-w pîhc-âyih labwêt-**ih**
book.NI place-3 **inside**-STEM box-**LOC**
'She put the book in the box.' (TC15a)
lit. 'She placed the book inside the box'

b. BLACKFOOT
*Nits**itssáp**o'tsspa omi ataksáákssin.*
nit-**it-ssap**-ipo'tsi-hp-wa omi ataksáakssin
1-**LOC-inside**-release.TI-1:INAN-PROX
'I put it in the box.;
lit: 'I released it inside the box.'

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Abbreviations: 1= 1st person; 3= 3rd person; AGR=agreement; AI = animate intransitive; APPL = applicative; C = clause-typing complementizer; CL = (noun) class; CONJ = conjunct; DEM = demonstrative; DIR = direct; EPEN = epenthesis; FV = final vowel; IC = initial change; II = inanimate intransitive; IMPF = imperfective; INAN= inanimate; INDEP = independent; INTNS = intensifier; NI = inanimate noun; INV = inverse; LCL = local (1st/2nd person); LOC = locative; NMLZ = nominalizer; NONAFF = nonaffirmative; PASS = passive; PERF = perfect; PST = past; PL = plural; POSS = possessive; PRT = particle; TI = transitive inanimate.