



# Variation in Agreement and Pseudo Noun Incorporation in Blackfoot \*

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- Joint work with Kyumin Kim and Moonhyun Sung

## 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)

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- one can be eliminated
- difference between dialects due to availability of null D head in older dialect

## 2 Background

### 2.1 Syntactic Structure

- Assume the following structures for nominals and for clauses

(1) nominal structure:  $KP > DP > NumP > nP > NP$

(2) clausal structure:  $CP > TP > AspP > vP > VP$

. phase heads: C, *v*, K (sometimes D), and *n* Chomsky (2000, 2001); Svenonius (2004) last one assumed

- Whole phase is spelled out - not sister to phase head Pesetsky and Fox (2003); Fox and Pesetsky (2005)

### 2.2 Prosodic Structure

- prosodic hierarchy (Nespor, 1999; Nespor and Vogel, 1986; Selkirk, 1984, 1986):

(3) Intonational Phrase ( $\iota$ )  
 Phonological Phrase ( $\phi$ )  
 Phonological Word ( $\omega$ )  
 Foot (F)  
 Syllable ( $\sigma$ )  
 Mora ( $\mu$ )

- $\iota$ ,  $\phi$ , and  $\omega$  interact with syntax
- lower categories only phonologically active
- dominant view: syntactic structure  $\neq$  prosodic structure (Bonet et al., 2019; Jun, 1998; Hayes and Lahiri, 1991)
- emerging view: syntactic structure = prosodic structure (Newell, 2008; Newell and Scheer, 2017; Newell and Piggott, 2014; Odden, 1987)
- evidence for distinct prosodic structure (i.e., problems for unification between syntax and prosody)

(4) [This is the cat] [that chased the rat] [that stole the cheese] (prosodic structure)

(5) This is [the cat that chased [the rat that stole [the cheese]]] (syntactic structure)

#### Intonational Phrase

- domain of "intonational contour"

- usually taken to be a root clause (topics, tags, etc.)

### Phonological Phrase

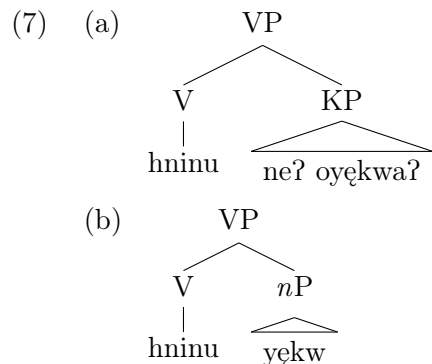
- domain of "phrase accent"
- sometimes pitch reset

## 2.3 Noun Incorporation

- bare N(P) or *nP* (root( $\sqrt{\quad}$ ) + categorial feature *n*)
- bare N incorporation: Lexical suffixation in Salish (Wiltschko, 2009).
- *nP* incorporation - Northern Iroquoian

(6) Noun Incorporation - Onondaga<sup>1</sup> (Woodbury, 1975)

- (a) *waʔhahninúʔ*                      *neʔ oyəkwaʔ*  
 waʔ-ha-hninu-ʔ                      neʔ o-**yək**w-aʔ  
 FACT-3SG.M.AG-buy-PUNC    NE   NPREF-**tobacco**-NFS  
 ‘He bought tobacco.’
- (b) *waʔhayəkwhahninúʔ*  
 waʔ-ha-**yək**w-a-hninu-ʔ  
 FACT-3SG.M.AG-**tobacco**-EPEN-buy-PUNC  
 ‘He bought tobacco.’



- IN is often larger than a bare root, e.g. Onondaga (Woodbury, 2003).

(8) *hodaʔditshó:daʔ*  
 ho-[at-aʔti-tshR]-ot-aʔ  
 3SG.M.PAT-[SRFL-lean-NLZR]-stand.upright-STAT  
 ‘He is using a cane.’

- IN includes a semireflexive (a kind of middle voice marker) and a nominalizer.

<sup>1</sup>Abbreviations: 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

## 2.4 Pseudo Noun Incorporation

- caseless nominals: undergo PNI (Dayal, 2011; Massam, 2001).
- typically a bare NumP or DP (no KP projection)

(9) Niuean

(a) *Kua fakahū he ekekafo e tohi.*  
PFV send ERG doctor ABS letter

‘The doctor sent the letter.’

(b) *Kua fakahū tohi e ekekafo*  
PFV send letter ABS doctor

‘The doctor sent the letter.’

- PNI object in (9 b)
  - no case
  - subject marked with absolutive
- Massam: PNI object must be adjacent to the verb

## 2.5 Blackfoot

- Algonquian language, spoken in southern Alberta (Canada) and Montana (USA).
- about 5000 speakers, undergoing language shift to English due to aggressive colonialization
- 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 morphology

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



- Animacy of absolute 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

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

- (a) *Náihkiitatsiwa*                      *omi*                      *pi'kssú*  
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 2.5, 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

(12) Blackfoot

- (a) *Náyisoyiiwa*                      *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 (12a) can appear pre-verbally, but that in (12b) cannot as shown in (13)

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

- (a) *Anni*                      *óta'si*                      *náyisoyiiwa*  
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

(14) Semantic characteristics of IN

- (a) *Íihkaniyaapiyaawa*                      *píítaa*  
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-yoohito   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.’

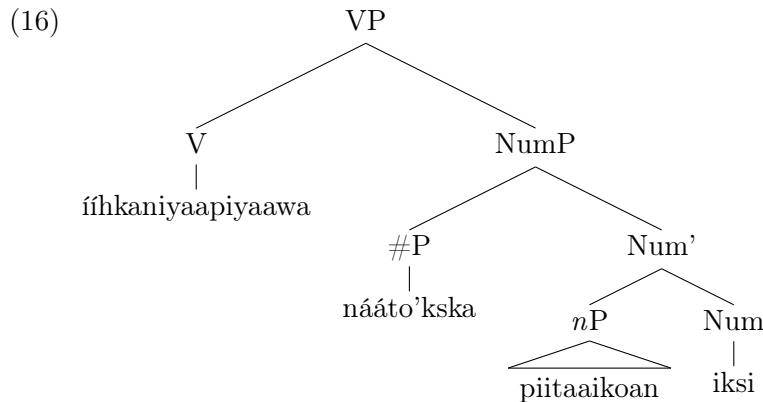
- (c) *Nitayááksooyo'si maataáki*  
 nit-yaak-ioyo'si maataaki  
 1-FUT-cook.AI potato  
 'I am going to cook a potato/some potatoes.'

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

(15) Morphosyntactic characteristics of IN

- (a) *Anna Joel ái'pihtakiwa omahkóóhkokotokists.*  
 ann-wa J wai'piht-aki-wa omahk-oohtokot-istsi  
 DEM-SG.PROX J haul-AI-PROX big-rock-PL  
 'Joel hauled some big rocks.'
- (b) *Nitsíihkoonimaahpinnaan nááto'kska piitáíkoaiks [plural + numeral]*  
 nit-ii-ohkoon-imaa-hpinnaan naato'kska piitaa-ikoan-iksi  
 1-IC-find-AI-1PL two eagle-DIM-PL  
 'We found two eaglets.'
- (c) *Nitáíkskimaa (\*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.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>In 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.

(17) strict adjacency violated in PNI (contra Bliss' report)

- (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.'

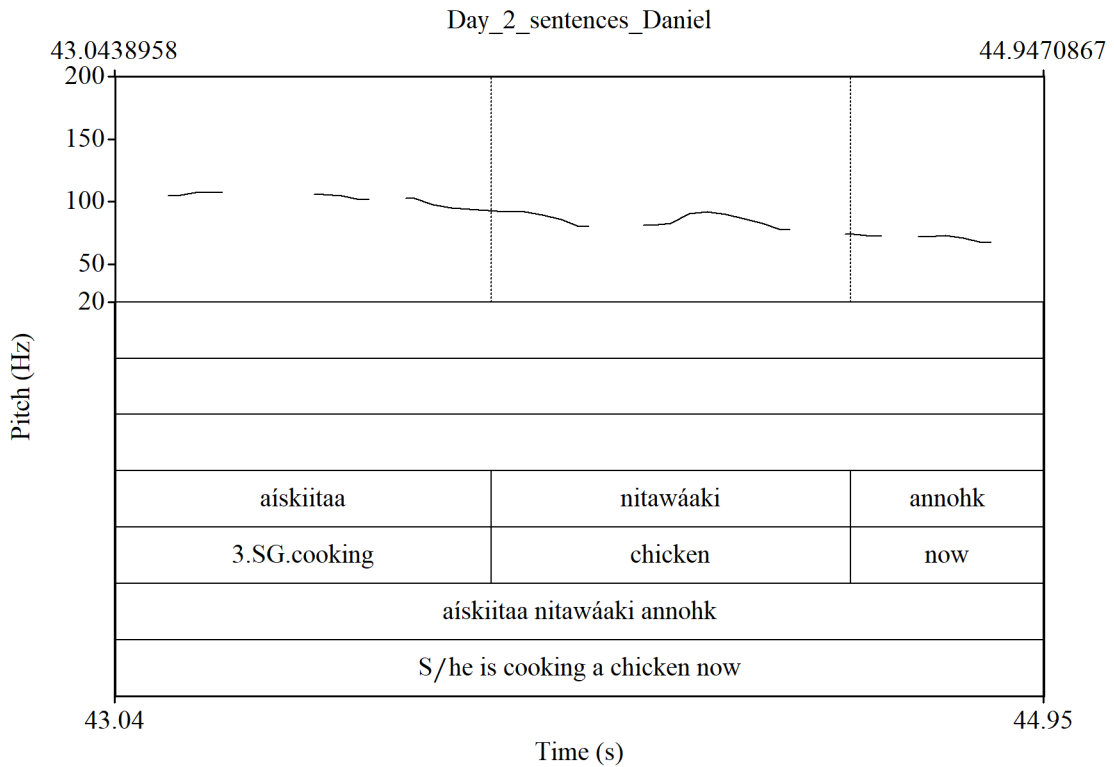
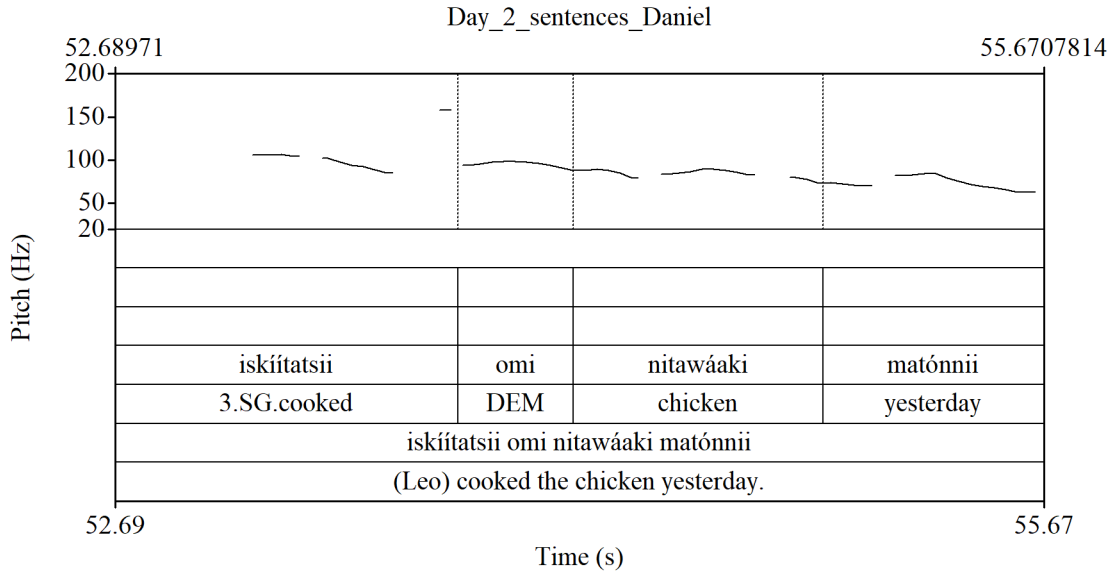
- temporal adverbials like *matónnii* can appear between verb and IN 17 c
- IN can precede V 17 d
- final devoicing indicative of prosodic boundary (Windsor, 2017)
- Prosodic Hierarchy (Selkirk, 1982; Nespor and Vogel, 1986):

(18) (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: Bliss/Matthewson Weber

- 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 Transitives

- 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 (19 a) or numeral (19 b).

(19) Bliss (2013)

(a) *Na Myaaniwa ayakohkónoyíiwa 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) *Nitsíinowayi nióókskami 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 Intransitives

- Nominals in Blackfoot typically require a demonstrative (17 a)
- Direct object can appear without a demonstrative (e.g., a bare noun)
- verb inflects as intransitive (17 b)
- Bliss (2013) characterizes an intransitive with a small nominal object as in (17 b) as PNI
- PNI object can be bare as in (17 b)
- PNI object can also have a bare N and a numeral (but still no demonstrative), example (20)
- Observe in the following example that plural marking is obligatory on the object (Bliss, 2013).

(20) *Nitohkómíihka níisitsim mamíks.*  
 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 (19b)
- Matthewson and Weber (2017) provide the following minimal pair.

(21) *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.'

(22) *á'pistotakiya*                      *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 Current Findings

- New data from Kainai Blackfoot - "Younger" dialect
- point out differences from Bliss/Matthewson Weber

### 4.2.1 Transitives

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

(23) (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

(24) (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.)'

### 4.2.2 Intransitives - PNI

- PNI allows a bare noun or bare plural object

- (25) (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

- (26) *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

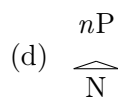
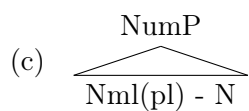
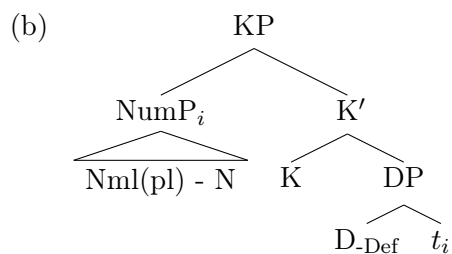
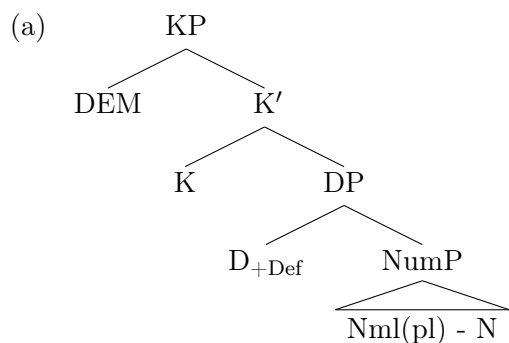
	<b>older</b>	<b>younger</b>
movement of PNI object	immediately post-verbal only	can scramble
adverbs and PNI	cannot intervene between V and Obj	can intervene
prosodic boundary (V+PNI Obj)	not tested	weak boundary
PL on both Dem and N	obligatory	optional/dispreferred
bare N	PNI only	PNI only
N-PL	PNI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

## 6 Discussion

### 6.1 Differences in PNI

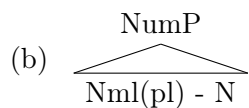
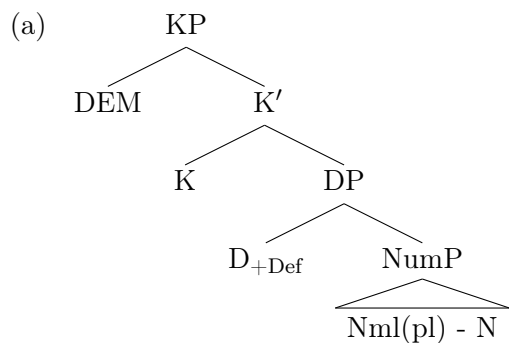
- tentative proposal: Older dialect has a phonologically null  $[-def]$  D head
- younger dialect lacks this head
- In both dialects K has an EPP feature
- Four possible structures in Older dialect

(27) Nominal Structures in "Older" Dialect



- 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

(28) Nominal Structures in "Younger" Dialect

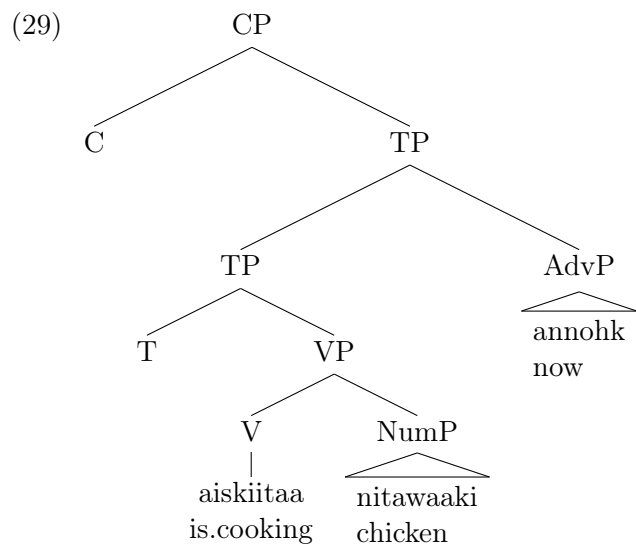


(c)  $\widehat{\text{N}}^{\text{nP}}$

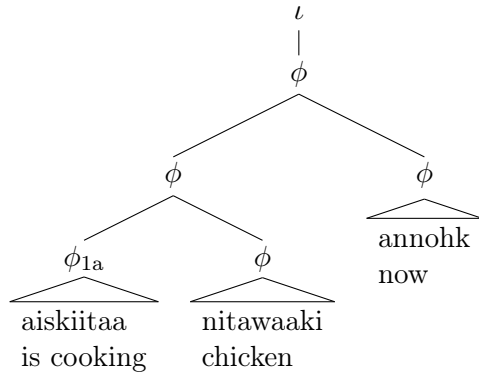
- structures for the following scenarios, respectively
  - full KP object - EPP satisfied by DEM
  - intransitive V with Nml + N
  - bare N
- Question:
  - Why can't *nP* satisfy EPP (possible answer below)
  - Why can't we have a bare DP? - bare DP PNI objects seem to be quite rare

## 6.2 Prosodic Properties

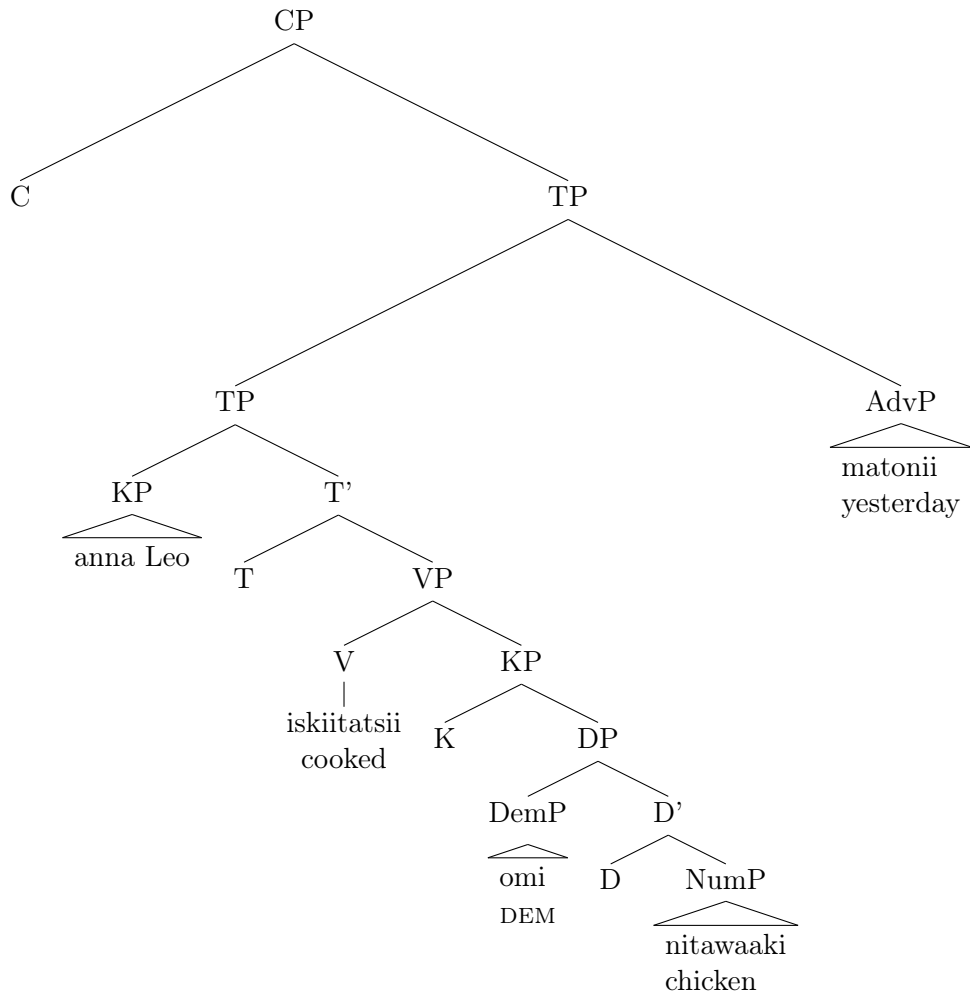
- PNI involves selection of a NumP rather than a full KP
- morphological evidence: no demonstratives; plural marking possible
- final-devoicing marks left edge of  $\phi$  (Windsor, 2017)
- not found with PNI object
- Match Theory:
  - Match  $\iota$  to clause (CP)
  - Match  $\phi$  to XP
  - Match  $\omega$  to X (syntactic word)
- Windsor argues that the verbal complex is a phonological phrase rather than a phonological word.
- based on final devoicing on verb



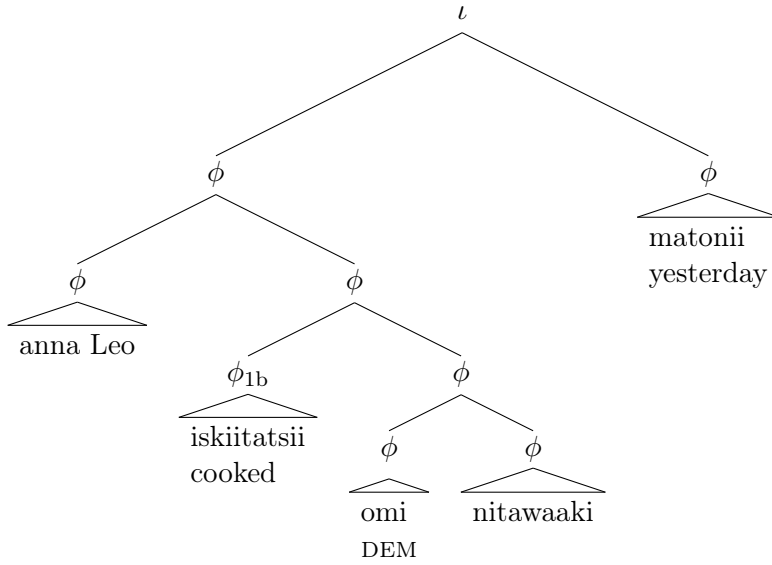
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(31)

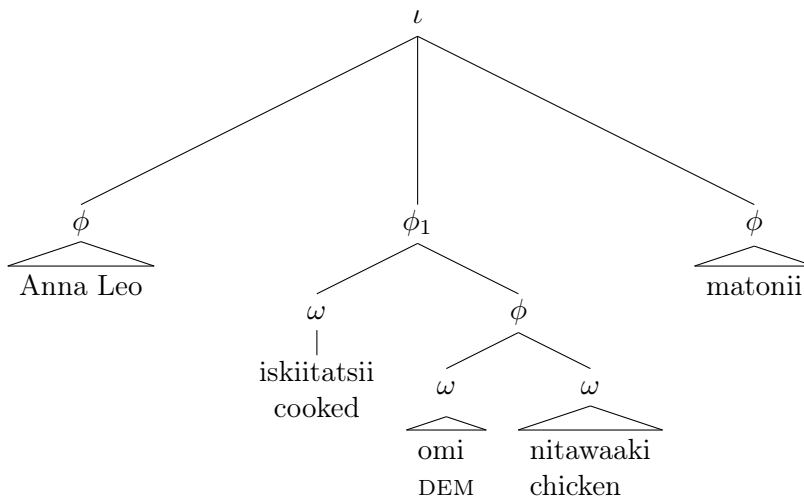


(32)



- Both  $\phi_{1a}$  and  $\phi_{1b}$  are minimal  $\phi$ 's
- $\phi_{1a}$  does not have final devoicing
- $\phi_{1b}$  has final devoicing
- no way to capture this asymmetry
- cannot relate all XPs to  $\phi$
- Prosodic Hierarchy = Syntactic Hierarchy (phases) (Newell, 2008; Kahnemuyipour, 2009)
- Match Theory is sensitive to phases rather than to syntactic categories (Selkirk, 2011)
  - Match  $\iota$  to CP
  - Match  $\phi$  to  $v$ P and KP
  - Match  $\omega$  to  $n$ P
- final-devoicing at right edge of  $\phi$ .

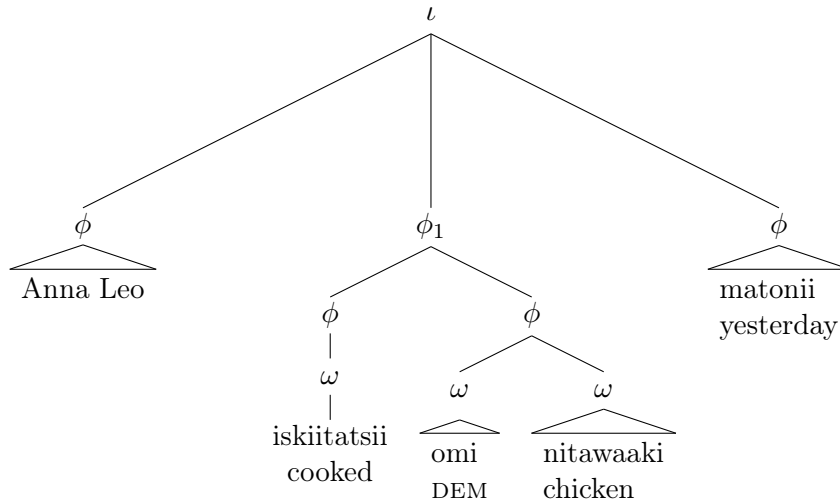
(33)



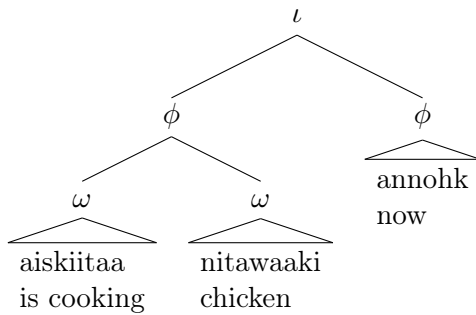


- STRONGSTART - a prosodic category cannot begin with a weaker element
- in 33  $\phi_1$  has two daughters:  $\omega$  and  $\phi$
- violation of STRONGSTART - left daughter is weaker than right daughter
- restructured as follows

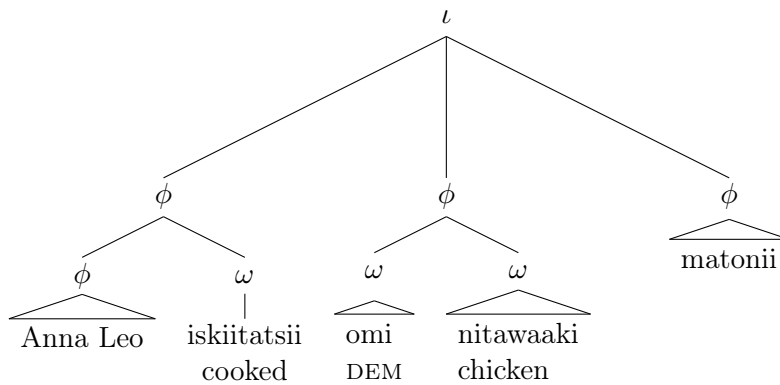
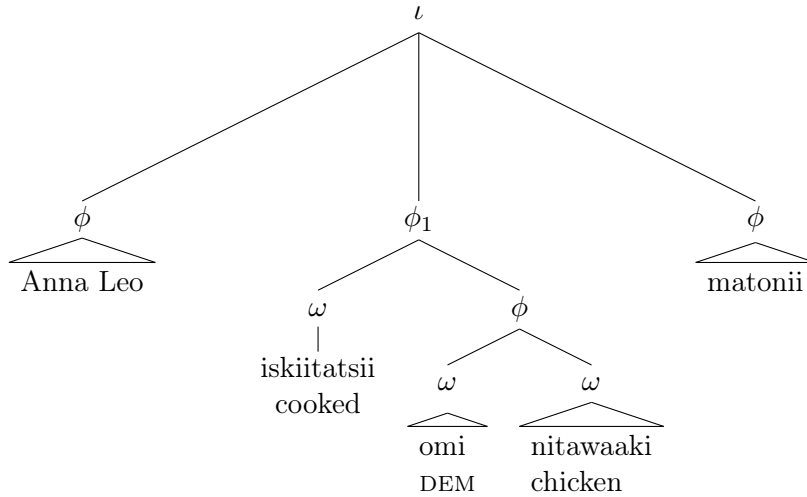
(34)



- right edge of  $\phi$  exhibits final-devoicing
- PNI structure



- no violation of STRONGSTART
- no restructuring necessary
- no final-devoicing on verb
- alternatively (thanks to Seunghun Lee):
- 33 (repeated below) is restructured as in 6.2



- Back to why *nP* cannot satisfy EPP
- As shown above, a bare *nP* is prosodically deficient
- DEM in Blackfoot forms its own  $\phi$  - 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

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