

Space and Time in Clausal Nominalizations

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Clausal nominalizations in Blackfoot (Plains Algonquian: Alberta) partition into two main types: those formed from independent order clauses (i.e., matrix clauses), and those formed from conjunct order clauses (i.e., subordinate clauses). The two types exhibit a complementarity with respect to what the nominalization refers to; whereas the referent of an independent order nominalization (ION) is a licensed argument (i.e., the actor or the goal) of the predicate, the referent in a conjunct order nominalization (CON) is an unregistered participant (i.e., an adjunct or a secondary object). This paper focuses on the role of the spatiotemporal preverb *it-* in the two types of clausal nominalizations, with a view to understanding its syntax in both the nominal and verbal domains. Whereas in IONs, *it-* behaves as it does in clauses, namely to license spatiotemporal adjunct nominals (1), in CONs, *it-* necessarily provides the referent for the nominalization (2), even when the clausal syntax provides a position for another unregistered participant. Furthermore, CONs with *it-* exhibit differences depending on whether they have locative or temporal reference. For example, locative nominalizations obligatorily agree in number with a coreferential noun (3a), but temporal nominalizations cannot show nominal number agreement (3b), and in certain contexts, CONs with *it-* can receive locative but not temporal interpretations (4). I develop an analysis of these generalizations that builds on Bliss' (2011) treatment of *it-* as a head in the extended verbal projection that provides spatiotemporal boundedness. The differences between locative and temporal CONs is argued to follow from differences in the syntactic and semantic encoding of space and time.

- (1) *ómiksi itsipsstáyo 'kaiksi omi ksikkokóówayi*
om-iksi it-ipsst-a-yo'kaa-iksi om-yi ksikkokoowa-yi
DEM-PL it-inside-IMPF-sleep-PL DEM-INAN tent-INAN
“those ones who are sleeping in that tent” / NOT: “those tents in which s/he is sleeping”
- (2) *omi pookaiks otsitawaawaahkahpiyaa.*
om-yi pookaa-iksi ot-it-a-waawaahkaa-hpi-yaa.
DEM-INAN child-pl 3-it-IMPF-play.AI-CONJ.NOM-3PL
“That place where children play” (e.g. playground) / NOT: “children who play there”
- (3) a. *Nitsikáyaahsi'tsipi annistssk niyitahtaanists itáómiihkao'p-*(istsi).*
nit-ik-a-yaahsi'tsi-p-yi ann-istsi-hk niyitahtaan-istsi it-a-omiihkaa-o'p-istsi
1-INT-IMPF-like.TI-1:INAN-3PL DEM-PL-NV river-PL it-IMPF.go.fish.AI-21.CONJ.NOM-PL
“I like those rivers where we fish.”
- b. *Nitsikáyaahsi'tsipi annistssk ksistsikoyists itáómiihkao'pi(*-istsi).*
nit-ik-a-yaahsi'tsi-p-yi ann-istsi-hk ksistsikoyi-istsi it-a-omiihkaa-o'p-yi
1-INTNS-IMPF-like.TI-1:INAN-3PL DEM-PL-NV day-PL it-IMPF-go.fish.AI-21.CONJ.NOM-INAN
“I liked those days when we fished.”
- (4) *Kitsitsinoo omi kitsitáókska'sspi.*
kit-it-inoo-o om-yi kit-it-a-okska'si-hpi
2-it-see.TA-1:2 DEM-INAN 2-it-IMPF-run-CONJ.NOM
“I saw you where you were running.” / NOT: “I saw you when you were running.”